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Evaluating Saudi EFL Secondary Schools Students' Performance on Paul Nation's Standardized Vocabulary Level Tests

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Abstract—The current study aims to evaluate Saudi EFL Secondary School students' performance on Paul Nation's Standardized vocabulary level tests .It also aims to examine the vocabulary size of EFL Saudi Secondary School students at Asir district. Two tools were used for collecting data. The first one was Paul Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT). The second tool was a questionnaire (TVLSQ) with 13 items .The purposive sample consisted of (80) students besides (20) English teachers. The study sample was selected from Abha secondary schools schools/Saudi Arabia. The study came out with the following results: Saudi EFL Secondary school students' vocabulary size word test falls within 1,000 frequency level, indicating that students are unable to grasp an average text. Saudi EFL Secondary School student who obtained higher marks in 1,000 word level also obtained higher marks in 2,000 –word level and vice versa. These results confirmed the high correlation between the two tests which hits 0.76.Moreover,in Paul Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test(VLT) the more words Saudi EFL Secondary school student knows, the better score his/her four skills. To most secondary school teachers as well as students, English grammar is the main focus on their teaching and learning, not the vocabulary.

Index Terms—evaluating, performance, standardized, vocabulary, tests, Saudi EFL, Secondary School, students

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Problem of the Study

Saudi secondary school students are taught a large number of words but some of them might not be useful to qualify them to perform well on vocabulary standardized tests such as VLT. This might cause a serious problem that influences other skills of English language such as reading, speaking, listening and writing. Moreover, there are other vocabulary aspects that learners have to master to give them a better chance to understand and use language effectively. These aspects include polysemy, connotation, associations and other lexical relations. Consequently, vocabulary learning is not a mere listing of words meaning but more complicated and problematic area of language learning.

B. Objectives

This research aims to:

1. Examine Saudi Secondary School students' vocabulary in accordance with Paul Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT).
2. Evaluating whether the vocabulary taught is of high or low frequency.

C. Questions of the Study

To meet the foregoing stated objectives the following research question is raised to find out to what extent:

Is the initial level of Saudi EFL Secondary School Students' vocabulary size lower than 1000 words as judged and assessed by VLT?

D. Hypothesis

This study is supposed to test the following hypothesis:

The initial level of Saudi Secondary School Students' vocabulary size is lower than 1000 words as judged and assessed by VLT.

E. Importance of the Study

This study is important for tests, textbooks designers and writers as it makes them pay attention to choice of the most widely used words in our everyday life and avoid stuffing teaching materials with useless passive words. It also draws

educators attention to what goes around them in the world in vocabulary teaching, acquisition, learning and updating of high frequency words.

The study is also important for test and text designers as well as for vocabulary acquisition researchers: for the former because they are better informed to create materials and tests suitable for different levels and educational needs, and for the latter, because empirical data from different groups of subjects can provide a baseline for comparison and help to identify patterns of vocabulary acquisition and development.

F. Limits

The study will also be conducted at some Abha Secondary Schools during the academic year 1439/1440 H (2018/2019). The number of subjects in this study is not large enough. They are students from the different schools, it cannot be thought the same results can be obtained else in Saudi Arabia. It needs for further studies in more secondary schools in other cities or provinces of Saudi Arabia. Finally, some assumptive for vocabulary learning and teaching are suggested. Future study of this kind is hoped to overcome the limitations of this study.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Background

Words are essential to communication. Little children learn to speak in isolated words and then in chains of nouns and verbs. The child who says "Daddy bye-bye ear" is easily understood by English-speaking adults. We expect students of a second language, however, to control the grammatical feature of that language as well as its vocabulary.

Students are idiosyncratic in the way they remember vocabulary – no two students are exactly the same. In particular, as students become more advanced, their individual interest and needs will help determine what kinds of words they will want to understand, remember and use.

Students who are immersed into a new linguistic setting tend to pick up vocabulary first, and then gradually develop a more accurate structural framework in which to use these words. ESL students in the United States of America will, therefore, concentrate on vocabulary acquisition and may use pidgin English before mastering standard English. English-speaking students of French or Spanish, on the other hand, will usually go through a course of instruction that focuses at first on mastery of the sound system and selected structures and subsequently stresses more intensive vocabulary work.

B. Selecting the Words to Be Taught

Even the best teachers in the most ideal settings can never teach all of the words that learners need. Choices need to be made, when deciding which words to address, teachers will find it useful to distinguish between increasing vocabulary. (introducing new words) and establishing vocabulary (building on and strengthening partial word knowledge.). Both are important. Paul Nation (1990) argues that "old material in any lesson is the most important" (p.7), in part because of the incremental nature of word learning. It is wise to build on initial investment in word learning by giving known words more attention and giving learners a chance to focus on new aspect of a word in contextualized settings. Therefore, teachers will want to select words that their students have seen before but may not be able to use in their own production. They will also want to select new words that students will need. These choices should be guided by students' needs, including their level of learning and their academic and professional goals. (Paul Nation, p.8)

The most important words in any language are those that are most frequent. The GSL, for example, is a high-frequency list made up of the 2000 word family that occur most frequently in a variety of domains (conversations, newspapers, novel, news programs etc); these high-frequency words make up at least 80% of written texts and 90% of conversation (Nation, 2008). Some frequency lists are designed for specific groups of learners. For example, the Academic Word List (AWL) (Coxhead's Academic Word list) Retrieved 12/12/2018 [Regardless of the specific target language and the condition of instruction, vocabulary is an important factor in all language learning and teaching. Students must continually be learning words as they learn structures and as they practice the sound system. This study aims at examining Saudi Secondary School students' vocabulary in accordance with Paul Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test \(VLT\), as well as evaluating whether the vocabulary taught is of high or low frequency.](http://www.cal.org/create/conferences/20...contains approximately 570 word families that occur most frequently in academic material across four academic domains (business, the humanities, law, and the physical and life sciences). It is based on a corpus of 3.5 million words and is designed to guide word selection for general academic preparation in all fields. The criteria for inclusions on this list were that the words not appear on the GSL and that they occur frequently and uniformly across the four domains. The AWL is used widely in dictionaries and course materials (see Coxhead, 2000). Other frequency lists identify technical words (words frequently used in specific fields such as science, medicine, or math) (Zimmerman, 2009, p. 117).</p>
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III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Subjects

There are two groups of subjects in this research: (1) Saudi Secondary School students answering Nation's tests (VLT). (2) Saudi male and female Teachers of English answering the questionnaire.

Participants of Nation's Tests

The participants sample selected for this study consisted of Saudi secondary students at Abha Secondary School complex. The purposive sample consisted of (50) students besides (20) English teachers. In total, 50 students returned completed tests (out of 80 approached, 20 of the respondents were male with the remaining 30 female students). Students aged between 16 and 19. The participants sample selected for this study consisted of Saudi secondary Teachers of English at Abha Secondary Schools. In total 20 teachers of English returned completed questionnaires (out of 30 approached). This purposive population of the research consisted exclusively of teachers of English who taught English language more than five years.

B. Instruments

The present study used two tools. The first one was Nation's standardized Vocabulary Level Test (VLT). The second tool was and the Teacher Vocabulary Learning Strategies Questionnaire. Meanwhile VLT was used to measure students' word level size. Additionally, TVLSQ was used to collect English teachers' overall opinions on vocabulary learning.

Questionnaire

The second tool of gathering data was the Teacher Vocabulary Learning Strategies Questionnaire which was adapted to teachers' experience, for example, with regards to the motivational aspects of English vocabulary learning, teachers' were asked about their students' knowledge of vocabulary and 'motivation'. The remaining sections, deal with linguistic aspects, English vocabulary teaching, and vocabulary teaching assessment.

1. Validity

To test the validity of the questionnaire, the questionnaire was pre-piloted first with some experts in the field, four assistant professors at King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia. A thirteenth item was added to the third (Evaluation of lexical competence), which was 'Paul Nation's Vocabulary Level Test is unique to assess my students' vocabulary size). Also, a phrase was added to the first item, 'outside classroom'.

2. Reliability of the Questionnaire

First, all the items included in The TVLSQ were checked for their reliability, Cronbach's alpha is well-known coefficient that estimates the proportion of variance that is systematic or consistent in a set of test scores.

The Cronbach's alpha scores ($n=20$) obtained for this study instruments were of 0,654, which can be considered a good indicator of its reliability. The major sub-scales obtained the following scores.

TABLE I.
RELIABILITY COEFFICIENT OF TVLSQ.

Total scores	Evaluation of Lexical Competence	Linguistic Aspects	Motivational Aspects	Q. Pivots
0.654	0.668	0.778	0.742	Reliability Coefficient
0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	Statistical dif.

It can be seen from Table 1 that TVLSQ has a higher degree of consistency reliability.

C. Procedure

1. Students' Vocabulary Level Test

Permission to undertake the research was first obtained from the principal of Abha Secondary School and then the head department of English Language. The total number of test copies distributed by the volunteer teachers was 80. The number of the returned valid copies was 50. The time allowed was forty minutes. The researcher, as a shooter trouble, ensured that the rubric of the test was very comprehensive and clear to all. The researcher marked the test. The maximum mark of the test was 30.

Ethics of scientific research were closely observed throughout the different stages of this study. This included (and are not limited to) respecting students' privacy, preserving and accurately presenting their answers, and not using threatening and/or fraudulent means to force them to participate in the study. Respondents were briefed about the nature and goals of my study in order to obtain their informed consent.

2. English Teachers' Questionnaire

As indicated in section 3.2, the participants of the questionnaire were teachers of English. There were 30 participants in total since each school of the complex had about 10 teachers of English. The total number of the questionnaire copies distributed by volunteer teachers was 30. The number of the returned valid copies was 20. This high rate of returned papers were attributed to the following reasons:

- Effort exerted by volunteer teachers, most of them were my colleagues.
- The investigated subject might be of great interest to respondents.
- Only one or two sections of the questionnaires were answered.
- Some participants carelessly answered the items of the questionnaire.
- Four or more items were unanswered. Thus, the number of valid questionnaire was 20.

- vi. was used to collect English teachers' overall opinions on vocabulary learning

IV. DATA ANALYSIS

A. Results

This section reports the results of the analysis of the data from the Teacher Vocabulary Learning Strategies Questionnaire (TVLSQ) which aimed at gathering data from other side of the learning process. The results were analyzed and discussed in order to answer the following research question.

Is the initial level of Saudi Secondary School Students' vocabulary size lower than 1000 words as judged and assessed by VLT?

The results show that Saudi Secondary School Students' vocabulary size is within 1000 word level. Below are the means and standard deviations, ranges, for students scores which show:

TABLE II

Function	T. Value	Standard Deviations (SD)	Mean(x)	Type of VLT
,01	6.65	7.18	23.48	VLT 1,000 words
		8.39	18.32	VLT 2,000 words

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations for the 1,000 word test and the 2,000 frequency band of the VLT. As can be seen, the mean score for the former is 23.48, whereas for the latter is 18.32

As can be also seen from Table 2 the mean scores achieved by Saudi secondary school students of some Abha's schools in both levels. The mean of 23.48 points obtained in the 1,000 frequency level drops sharply to 18.32 in 2,000 VLT. The results of the t.test applied to the means of each frequency level gave us the following value $T=6.65$. This value is significant at the .01 level.

It can be claimed that Saudi secondary school students know considerably fewer words from the 2,000 than from the 1,000 frequency level. The low scores achieve indicate that Saudi secondary school students know English words from the 2,000 frequency band.

The correlations were conducted between scores on the 1,000 and 2,000 word frequency levels. Results show a highly correlation between the two tests ($R=.76$)

In order to ascertain whether there are significant differences between the scores of the students in two tests, their means scores were compared for the 1,000 and 2,000 word level tests. Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations for both group.

TABLE III.

Standard Deviations (SD)	Mean(x)	Type of VLT
7.18	23.48	VLT 1,000 words
8.39	18.32	VLT 2,000 words

As can be seen from table 4 there is statistical difference between means scores of Saudi secondary school students in both tests (VLT 1,000 words=23.24), VLT 2,000 words=18.32). The differences are due to T. value which hits (6.65) (see table 2). These value are significant at the .01 level. The results confirmed the differences in favor of VLT 1,000 word test.

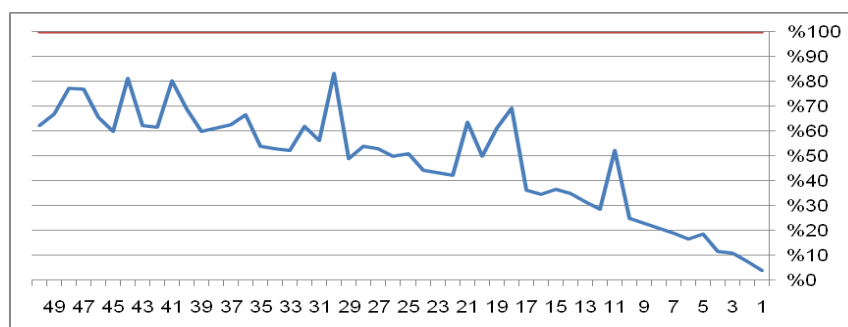


Figure 1. Shows Knowledge of words from VLT, 1,000 words was less than that of VLT, 1000 words.

As can be seen from Figure (1) that the English receptive vocabulary size of Sudanese Secondary school students as measured by the 1,000 word test falls within 1,000 frequency level. However, this does not mean that these students master this level since scores reveal that half of them recognize less than two-third of the words from this level..

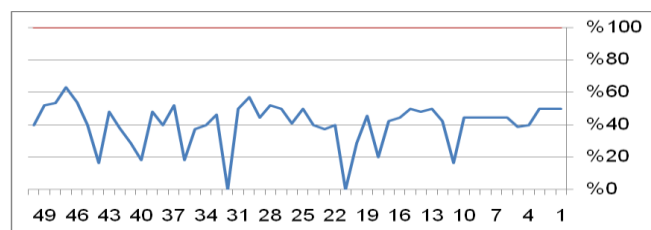


Figure 2. Shows Knowledge of words from VLT, 2000 words was less than that of VLT, 1,000 words.

As can be seen from figure 2 that Knowledge of words from the second thousand most frequent was less than that of the first one thousand.

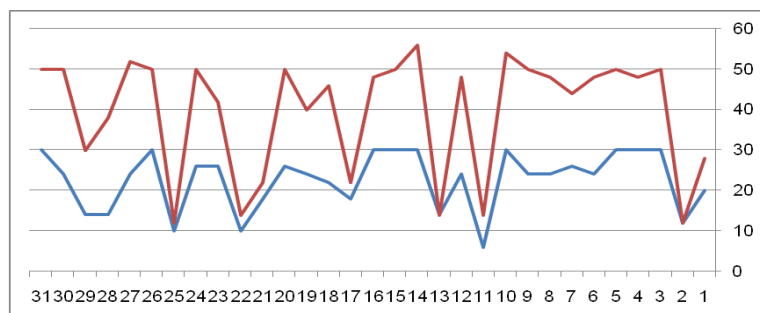


Figure 3. Compares the results of both tests (VLT, 1,000+ VLT, 2000 words)

As can be seen from figure 3 the performance of Saudi Secondary school students in 1,000 –word level was better than in 2,000 –word level.

Figure 3 indicates that, the student who obtained higher marks in 1,000 –word level also obtained higher marks in 2,000 –word level and vice versa. These results confirmed the high correlation between the two tests which hits, 76.

B. The Evaluation of Performance of Saudi Secondary School Students in 1,000 and 2000 VLT

1. Saudi Secondary school students 'vocabulary size is lower than the requirement of the curriculum. The reason for this is in Saudi secondary school, students have so many classes to learn they cannot spend much time on English.

2. Saudi Secondary school students do not have scientific vocabulary learning strategies. Many students remember words by reciting or copying, and they do not much know about useful vocabulary-learning ways.

3. Teachers and students do not pay more attention to vocabulary learning. To most secondary school teachers, English grammar is the main focus on their teaching, not the vocabulary. Language skills are important in language learning, vocabulary is the base of all the language skills, especially for students in secondary education. In this way, English teachers should focus on students' vocabulary learning and they must encourage their students to remember more words in order to improve their vocabulary size and then improve their language skills.

4. The typical way of students learning English is in a direct teaching by teachers in English classes, but in other lessons or not in the English class, English is not widely used. So, students do not have many opportunities to practice English. In addition, it is often limited for Saudi Secondary school students to read English materials, especially those have relation with language comprehension ability.

C. Testing Hypotheses

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis 1 is stated as follows:

The initial level of Saudi Secondary School Students' vocabulary size is lower than 1000 words as judged and assessed by VLT.

This hypothesis addresses Research Question 1 (see the introduction) which aims to find out the initial level of Saudi EFL Secondary School Students' vocabulary size which is hypothesized to be lower than 1000 words as judged and assessed by VLT. Consequently, through the data gathered this hypothesis was rejected and it was found that The English receptive vocabulary size of Saudi Secondary school students as measured by the 1,000 word test falls within 1,000 frequency level.

According to the instrumentalists view, individuals who perform better on a vocabulary test probably understand more of the words in texts they read than individuals who score lower do. The central idea of this hypothesis is straightforward: knowing the words enables reading comprehension. In other words, this position claims that vocabulary knowledge is a direct factor in the causal chain resulting in reading comprehension. The educational implications of the instrumentalist hypothesis are apparent: in order to improve students' reading ability. Vocabulary teaching should be regarded as a priority in the curriculum. The larger a student's vocabulary, the better he or she will understand a text.

D. The Results of Teacher Vocabulary Learning Strategies Questionnaire (TVLSQ)

1. More than 0, 95= the achievement of statements in real context.
2. Less than 0, 64= no achievement of statements in real context.
3. When the statement comes between 0, 64 and 0, 95 shows that achievement of statements in average level.

V. CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary of the Findings

1. The English receptive vocabulary size of Saudi Secondary school students as measured by the 1,000 word test falls within 1,000 frequency level.
2. The student who obtained higher marks in 1,000 –word level also obtained higher marks in 2,000 –word level and vice versa. These results confirmed the high correlation between the two tests which hits, 76.
3. There is statistical difference between means scores of Saudi secondary school students in both tests (VLT 1,000 words=23.24), VLT 2,000 words=18.32). The differences are due to T.value which hits (6.65), 1,000 word level was better than in 2,000 –word level .
4. The results show that Saudi Secondary school students 'vocabulary size is within the 1000 and 2000 word level. Their vocabulary knowledge is relatively low at the 2000 word level, indicating that they will struggle to understand an average text.
5. The results revealed that receptive of words in the 1000 and 2000 frequency levels plays a role in assessing reading, speaking, listening, writing quality. In this sense, the more words Saudi Secondary school student knows, the better score his/her four skills.
6. Many words students do not know the meaning of these words. That is to say, the percentage of the words students remembering is really low. It tells us Saudi Secondary school students 'vocabulary size in 2000 level test is so limited. .

B. Pedagogical Implications of the Study

Numerous studies indicate that vocabulary knowledge is an important factor for understanding when reading, writing text. Therefore, students' vocabulary assessment and instruction should be a focus of every English course especially at the secondary level in order to prevent the Matthew effect, that poor readers read less and acquire fewer words, while better readers read more and learn more words from their reading. .

To conclude vocabulary is central to language and of great importance to the language learners. Without the mediation of vocabulary and lexical knowledge, basic communication would be impossible even with grammatical or the other type of linguistic knowledge. It is considered by both first and second researchers to be of great importance in language competence.

It is vital to motivate students to rely on textual and contextual clues in dealing with unfamiliar words rather than looking them up in a bilingual dictionary

C. Suggestions for Further Studies

1. The results of the current research call for future research on surveying the relationship between receptive vocabulary, written skills and individual differences.
2. The present study might also be useful, with some modifications, to be carried out in the other secondary schools in Sudan to see if there are differences between students' performance in each secondary school.
3. More research on Saudi Secondary school students' vocabulary and teaching is required.

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Onomastics, Medicine and Politics in Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement*

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Abstract—Onomastics, medicine and politics in this study are a pragmatic way of depicting the psychosocial condition of Nigeria as an underdeveloped nation. The study explores Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement* from a literary onomastic standpoint with the aim of exposing socio-political anomalies in Nigeria. Nigerian leaders commit flaws of egoistical and individualistic interests which often go against the consciences of the led. On this premise, the study explores the characters' names in *The Engagement* with a view to gaining insight into Nigeria's sociocultural and political contexts. Furthermore, Postcolonial Theory and Halliday's Contextual Theory of Meaning serve as the study's theoretical constructs. The study is predicated on the underdevelopment of Nigeria which is epitomised as a psychological behaviour of characters in a nation that is under the siege of political anarchy and different social vices.

Index Terms—medicine, Nigeria, onomastics, osofisan and politics

I. INTRODUCTION

Femi Osofisan is one of the few authors whose works have not enjoyed criticisms from literary-onomastic researchers. This study will thus break the silence cum the dearth of Onomastic (study and science of names) research of Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement*. To achieve this feat, the study fuses Postcolonialism (psychosis) and Halliday's Contextual Theory of meaning as theoretical constructs. The reason for their selection is because the underlining themes of the text resonate political as well as medical orientation, which can be best appreciated through the instrumentality of charactonymy in a context of situation.

A Synopsis of the Text

The Engagement by Femi Osofisan is an adaptation of the short play, *The Marriage Proposal* by the Russian playwright, Anton Chekhov. The play is a farce which features a marriage proposal by a timid and hypochondriac young farmer, Elemude and Ronke, his neighbour's (Medayekan) daughter. During Elemude's visit to Medayekan's house, he is reluctant to express his intention; until he is nudged, is he able to regain his confidence. Shortly, Ronke surfaces to meet the timid Elemude. The duo sooner starts an argument over the ownership of a particular land. This attracts the interest of Ronke's father who tries to prevail over the situation. Medayekan is unsuccessful in calming the duo due to Elemude's obstinacy in spite of his poor health. As the play continues, Elemude faints and he is presumed dead. It is after this incident that Medayekan reminds Ronke of Elemude's proposal. After a while, Elemude regains consciousness, yet, he continues arguing until Medayekan releases both discordant lovers to marry each other.

II. METHODOLOGY

Postcolonial Theory and Halliday's Contextual Theory of Meaning serve as theoretical constructs for this study. The term postcolonial psychosis is a coinage from some tenets of Postcolonialism and partly Psychoanalysis. It is adopted in this study to explore the medical (psychiatric) topography of the selected play. Meanwhile, Halliday's Contextual Theory of Meaning with emphasis on the Yoruba naming tradition is used to analyse three (3) characters' names in Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement* (henceforth, *TE*). Also, the concept of satire is examined through the characters' names in the selected text which is then used as a paradigm to critique issues of underdevelopment in the Nigerian society.

A. Literature Review

Postcolonial Theory constructs its tenets on some aspects of social histories, cultural differences and political discrimination motivated by Eurocentric structures. In addition, the theory focuses on anti-colonial reaction as crux of its ideology which is duplicated in the works of literary and political critic especially, Femi Osofisan. The aim of postcolonial critique as evident in the works of the author is to provide a foray into the decolonisation of the minds of citizens of 'Third-world' states in view of exposing colonial and neo-colonial impacts, and essentially, to advocate for the socio-political and economic integrity of such states.

A number of theorists share this view, including Gayatri (1988); Bhabha (1988) and Ashcroft et al (1989). Our argument in this study is that, the Postcolonial Theory is a construct to reconcile history with contemporary realities particularly, with respect to Nigeria's naming tradition and modern politics. On this premise, the present discourse focuses on neo-colonialism manifesting as socio-political, economic and religious dysfunctions in post-independent Nigeria.

The thrust of this study is thus, on the negative effects of post-colonialism on the colonised states resulting in 'psychosis' or distorted view of reality. It is a form of 'hybridity' as postulated by Mohan (2006), exhibited by characters in such states in an attempt to relate with Western and their indigenous consciousness at the same time (cited in Adeyemi, Bisiriyu and Abarowei, 2016, p. 58). This conflict on the choice of 'consciousness' is the bedrock for postcolonial critics to enlighten their readers on the consequences of colonialism/neo-colonialism using literary texts.

Postcolonial psychosis is a term adapted from a study carried out by Adeyemi, Bisiriyu and Abarowei to describe the psychological trauma of people who have survived the colonial era as epitomised in the works of Osita Ezenwanebe's *Withered Thrust* and Helon Habila's *Measuring Time*. Their study and the present however differ in the aspect of conceptualising Postcolonialism. Their study is on colonial criticism whereas, the present study is on military and post-military criticisms and their implications on the political history of Nigeria through Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement*. The present study therefore, appraises the military and post-military eras with a view to gaining insight into the psychosocial experience of Nigerians.

Osofisan indigenously tackles political issues and imbalance of neo-colonial leaders in Nigeria without the intent of duplicating Eurocentric ideologies in his works, thus, he transports certain cultural practices of Nigerians into contemporary socio-political discourse of Nigeria. In this regard, a postcolonial critique of his work is thus, not a total demarcation of the old from the new, but instead, it is an attempt by the playwright to blend the old and new eras. Later in this study, the researcher, will unearth how Femi Osofisan deploys deep-rooted and metaphoric traditional names which have sociocultural implications in Nigeria to function beyond their original meanings in order to satisfy his satirical intent.

B. Halliday's Contextual Theory of Meaning

Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) inspired the Contextual Theory of Meaning that is, context of culture and situation in the mid-19th century and it is particularly the focus of applied linguists. The theory amplifies how certain conditions trigger variation of meaning and supply treasured information to understand the meaning of a text. Halliday's context of culture exposes the cultural background of the language used in the process of decoding the intended meaning of a text. Meanwhile, the context of situation basically implies "the environment of a text" (Halliday and Hassan, 1989, p. 46). For this study, the cultural milieu of Nigerians and the circumstances surrounding the production of a name is our concern.

C. Literary Onomastics

Onomastics is derived from a Greek word *onomastikós* 'onomastics,' an offshoot of *ónoma*, 'name.' It is the study of meanings and origins of names (Hajdú, 2002, p. 7). Allagbé conceptualises "literary onomastics" as the semantic significance of a character's name in alignment with his/her role in a work of literature (p. 20). To understand the meaning of a name in a literary discourse such as this, the sociocultural significance of a name must be amplified over its linguistic significance.

As a corollary, a literary onomastician exposes the meaning of a name by tracing it to its root that is, the oral naming tradition of a particular community (sociocultural context) where it is produced. Thus, a character's name in a literary text cannot be interpreted in isolation of culture. Meanwhile, characters' names in the selected text are situated within the Yoruba cultural milieu. Our argument in this study is that, characters' names in Osofisan's *TE* are banks of information which share deep connection with Nigeria's historicity, politics and sociocultural beliefs.

D. Satire

Femi Osofisan like many other Nigerian playwrights uses satire as an artistic mode of expressing the social reality in contemporary Nigeria. The use of satire in the selected text is intentional as the playwright attempts to mock the 'insanity' and 'recklessness' of Nigerian political leaders through his characters. Satire is a traditional weapon in the hands of the powerless against the powerful. Thus, it is the artist's mode of assessing an existing socio-political system. In the same vein, Bloom (1979) postulates that a satirical work derides vices, crimes and absurdities of men and individuals, of class and organisations, societies and civilisations (p. 49).

In view of the above definition, Femi Osofisan in *The Engagement* (1995) employs satire to ridicule the foibles of leaders/institutions within the Nigerian society across themes of class stratification, political instability, ethnic prejudice, land and culture conflicts in a context of marriage between Ronke and Elemude. Failed expectation and contradiction of both military and civilian administrations in Nigeria are further typified through the characters of Chief Medayekan and Elemude in *TE*. It would be discovered from our analysis that the deployment of humorous characters' names and actions within the selected text is purely an ideological strategy by Osofisan to excite and incite his readers to ponder on national issues that threaten amity in the Nigerian society.

E. Hypochondriasis as a Satire of Social Psychosis in Nigeria

African playwrights write about medical conditions whether physiological or psychological to satirise negative human experiences within the society, particularly, the masses who are apparently oppressed and beleaguered under tyrannical and repressive leadership. During the dialogue between Chief Medayekan and Elemude at the Chief's house, the latter comments, "Sir...I'm in such a state of nerves, as you can see..." (TE, p. 3). Again he attempts to summon courage as he relays his intention in seeking for his daughter's hand in marriage, he says, "I'll tell you straight away. The fact is...bissimilai! That fact is that...have come sir! (TE, p. 3). It was after a nudge by Ronke's father that he manages to relay his intention. While he is alone, Elemude reveals the reason for his restlessness which is apparently beyond the proposal, he suffers a medical ailment, which is identified in this study as 'hypochondriasis'.

Elemude: I'm in such a state that I'm beginning to hear noises in my head...(Drinks water hastily). I've developed this terrible heart disease. I flare up so easily, at the smallest provocation, and it's my heart which suffers the consequence...until I can find a song to calm me down! You see? Even now, my lips are trembling, and my right eyelid is twitching...No sooner do I get into bed and start dropping off to sleep that something stabs me in my left side...(TE, p. 8).

Hypochondriasis is a psychiatric condition in which a patient is afraid s/he has contracted a critical ailment even when it is untrue. According to the *American Psychiatric Association* (2000), hypochondriasis (HC) is a psychologically-induced condition of a patient who has symptoms of physical disease but with no organic cause (p. 2). In such a case, the patient out of anxiety may constantly seek for medical examinations (Schmidt, 1997, p. 214). In Osofisan's TE, Elemude complains that he developed a terrible heart disease as a result of tireless labour on his farm (TE, p. 7).

In TE, Elemude complains about having a heart disease which according to him is accompanied by several other symptoms such as; continual palpitation, short temper, absence of self-coordination, trembling lips, twitching eyelids, insomniac experiences at night (TE, p. 7) and paralysis (TE, p. 36, 40). He further complains that Medayekan's sitting room is cold (TE, p. 11), and that it suffocates him (TE, p. 36), he also cites that he experiences flashes in his head (TE, p. 18).

Chief Medayekan similarly exhibits symptoms of ailment, probably, due to old age or an undisclosed sickness. In the text, he requests thrice for a glass of water because he feels dizzy, suffocated and he is about to faint after engaging Elemude in a vehement argument. Meanwhile, Ronke comments that she is about to faint out of exhilaration about Elemude's proposal. Her supposed sickness is pretentious and in a bid to pressurise her father to seek Elemude's recall (TE, p. 26).

F. Argument as a Satire of Conflict in Nigeria

Argument in the play has been artistically used by the playwright to expose the conflict of interests among Nigerian leaders. The first instance is the disagreement between Elemude and Ronke, and Chief Medayekan who later joins them to argue on the ownership of a particular farmland. The discussion between Elemude and Ronke is first on the ownership of land before it degenerates into which individual has the better dog. It is obvious that the subject of discussion by the duo are sheer irrelevancies which indicate the cluelessness of the characters on the valid history of the disputed land. Interestingly, the conflict among the characters parodies past and current crises in Nigeria and the consequence of ignoring trivial and unaddressed conflicts. First, was the Niger-Delta uprising which led to several kidnappings and destruction of properties which at first, was assumed to be reaction against the neglect of the Federal Government by natives of oil-infested States. However, not quite long after the first crisis came the advocacy for the Biafran state by some groups from Eastern Nigeria. Currently, the Nigerian government is combating a propagandist movement known as *Boko Haram* ('Book is forbidden') with underlined agenda of islamising Nigeria. In sum, argument/agitation as demonstrated in TE breeds confusion instead of construction in a society/state.

G. Land Conflict as a Satire of the Ongoing Fulani Herdsmen Uprising in Nigeria

Another crucial theme in TE is land ownership/control which is a parody of current uprising between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers in some locales in Benue State, Nigeria. At a time, the herdsmen claimed that the reason behind ransacking some villages in the North-Central, Nigeria is to retaliate the killing of their livestock. Currently, the Fulani herdsmen have transformed into henchmen for some powerful political cabals in Nigeria. In the same vein, the rancour between Elemude and Ronke also turns messy to the extent that each party is bullying the other. A major concern in TE is the disparate perspectives of two intended 'lovers.' On one hand, Ronke cites folktales and traditional poetry to authenticate her family as owners of the concerned land. On the other hand, Elemude perceives such practices as barbaric and uncivilised therefore, he counters Ronke's claim with land documents.

Although, the text does not reveal the authentic owner of the land, Osofisan, being an advocate of culture, however, capitalises on the contradiction to educate the readers on the gap between traditional and Western customs. The playwright exploits the scenario to advocate the recovery of lost cultural values and ethos in Nigeria. Meanwhile, Wole Soyinka similarly illustrates the theme of cultural revitalisation in *The Lion and the Jewel*.

H. Political Psychosis as a Satire of Failed Leadership in the Nigerian Politics

The dialogue between Elemude and Chief Medayekan reveals the latter as a retired soldier who as a result of embezzling public fund among other controversies was demoted unceremoniously from the army. This is captured in the following conversation from the text:

Medayekan: I'm not used to being spoken to in that tone, and so forth!...I'm almost twice your age, and I've been in the army..."

Elemude: What has been in the army got to do with this? Your mates are being promoted generals, even in retirement! But you, it's over other people's land you want to win your medals!" (*TE*, p. 22).

Elemude: "Chief Medayekan! We have always been honest men. At least none of us was ever tried for embezzling money, like a certain retired army paymaster that we know!" (*TE*, p. 23).

Elemude: And it's an open secret that you were sent out of the army in disgrace, because..." (*TE*, p. 24)

The above excerpts indicate that Medayekan was formerly a military personnel before taking up his new-found status as an established agriculturalist which he probably, procured through corruption. Meanwhile, he still retains his military-like charisma. In the heat of Medayekan's anger, he threatens to lock Elemude in prison or shoot him if he did not take caution with his utterances:

Medayekan: He's just a malicious, double-faced, thieving fellow! Just the type for *Kirikiri* Maximum Security Prison..." (*TE*, p. 25).

Medayekan: Hold your tongue, I say! Or I'll shoot you like some miserable rat... (*TE*, p. 37).

Osofisan, through the artistic creation of Chief Medayekan, alludes to the military era in Nigeria from 15th January, 1966 to 29th May, 1999. The military leaders were initially celebrated as 'messiahs' who have come to rescue the polity from corrupt politicians following the collapse of the first democratically-elected government in 1966.

Quite understandably, military leaders were initially associated with superfluous charisma and magical potentials. It is in the same light that so-called 'native Africans' esteem past colonial rulers, who in the words of Ekeh (1978) were "perceived by most Africans in magico-religious terms, to have come to dispense good life" (p. 327). Thus, the military were seen as succour to the failings of politicians who took over power from the imperialists in 1960. However, the military intervention that Ademoyega (1981) describes as a "painless surgical operation designed to heal a disabled Nigeria" (p. 126) turns out to be a lethal injection. Shortly after the arrival of the military in the national politics in the 1980s and 1990s, Nigeria began to experience cataclysm especially, in the political and economic sectors. It became increasingly clear that the military had no solution to the myriad of problems that it intervened to tackle such as parlous economy, decayed infrastructure, poverty, corruption, ethno-religious conflicts and nepotism among other ills. Osofisan's *TE* draws the attention of the readers to the disfigured union of two individuals who are meant to be married, and in which one of them is fathered by a megalomaniac and self-important ex-military man.

Overall, Osofisan's selected text exposes different levels of lawlessness and hardship inflicted on the nation and its citizens by the military. The psyche of many Nigerians has been bruised, while some others have suffered individually and collectively. He demonstrates through *TE* that the intervention of the military does not qualify them as 'saints.' In sum, the selected text indicts the government either military or civilian, as agents of discord and moral decadence in the Nigerian society.

III. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

A. *Real/Marxist Name*

Chief Medayekan in *TE* is a retired soldier, agriculturalist, musician and father to Ronke. Meanwhile, Chief is the titular name for a paramount ruler over a particular locale. Osofisan uses the character to symbolise the bastardisation and commercialisation of traditional institution in Nigeria. The traditional institution used to be respite of the people for truth and justice. Traditional institutions conferred on people of proven integrity chieftaincy titles to recognise and honour them. Nowadays, the once revered institution however, has been turned into a commercial avenue where the highest bidder gets the titles. Fraudsters and 'philanthropists' who have money and wherewithal to buy the title are now the ones conferred with it. Osofisan portrays this sad situation in *TE* as Medayekan, a corrupt ex-military officer uses money to acquire a ridiculous chieftaincy title and a decent life for himself. Through the character, the playwright conveys the idea that chieftaincy titles are now being used to elevate people from the proletariat to bourgeoisie social class in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Medayekan's name sounds like *Mo d' ile aye d'ekan* (I arrived the world in affluence/born to be prominent) in Yoruba. It may connote an affirmation of one's good fortune, a natural, rather than an achieved endowment. The character's name probably, has a Marxist undertone with respect to Medayekan's portrayal as a corrupt ex-military officer. Considering Chief Medayekan's antecedent with the military, Osofisan uses this character's name to parody the military era in Nigeria, and to take an indirect swipe at former military Heads of State who turned civilian. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo aptly fills this category, as a former military general and President of Nigeria who turned a large-scale agriculturalist in Ogun State, Nigeria.

Most importantly, Chief Medayekan's name distinguishes the character as a type of bourgeoisie as against Elemude's name. In fact, his first impression at the clumsy arrival of the latter character at his house is that he has come to borrow money. A careful observation of the characters' names indicate that they are 'onomastic strategies' intentionally

deployed by Osofisan to distinguish characters and their roles in the text and also, exhibit the cultural milieu of the playwright.

B. Real/Gender Name

Ronke in the Yoruba culture denotes, 'I have found someone to pamper, nurture or care for.' She as the only daughter of Chief Medayekan enjoys all the attention and care lavished on her by her father. Her name complements her role as she freely expresses her opinion and marital choice which contrasts the traditional Yoruba patriarchal society. She is indeed, the centre of Medayekan's world, his music partner and history-preserver. She sings and recites all the folktales and stories to counter Elemude's claim to a disputed farmland every time she is needed.

In fact, at the end of the play, after she has realised the purpose of Elemude's visit, she uses her position and feminine sway to succumb her father to recall Elemude back to their house, even when it is against his will. Most importantly, the traditional Yoruba issue names that reflect care, nurture and pampering to the female child (Akinyemi, 2016, p. 6).

Thus, according to the above exposition on the peculiarity of feminine character's name, it would be negligent of Medayekan to deny his daughter care within the Yoruba context of her name. Consequently, the playwright's feminist inclination is expressed through the character's name. Her name probably, indicates the need for females to alter the stereotype attached to their gender in the African society.

C. Satiric/Psychological/Literary Name

Elemude is a neighbour to Medayekan. He is also, a young farmer, musician and Ronke's suitor. Contextually, the name is ambiguous. First, it denotes "the captor has arrived" and second, by punning the name, it would denote "the palm wine drunkard has arrived." As a captor, he has come to catch a lady and as a drunkard, he drinks. For clarity, palm wine is a white traditional liquor extracted from the trunk of a palm tree by a tapper in many cultures in Nigeria, especially, the Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups. Contextually, the character's name alludes to a major function of the liquor apart from personal consumption, it is also served to entertain guests at engagement/marriage ceremonies in Southwest, East and South-southern Nigeria respectively.

An aphorism among the Yoruba people complements Elemude's rabblousing traits, *Omuti gbagbe ise, o da'kerege o da'kerege bori*. It implies, 'a drunk forgets his penury till he forgets a gourd/calabash on his head.' Thus, this statement sheds more light on the utensil used to traditionally dish out and preserves palm wine. Unsurprisingly, the first encounter of the reader with the character of Elemude is an unstable, deranged and uncoordinated individual. His over-nervousness, girlish demeanour and reluctance to share his intention with Medayekan on the proposal to his daughter reveal a spineless coward with low-self-esteem.

Also, he quickly forgets his purpose of visit at Medayekan's house as he expresses rage each time he is challenged by Ronke on the ownership of a land adjoining theirs which he lays claim on. It has been pointed out earlier in the study that it seems Elemude suffers from a psychological disorder of 'hypochondriasis,' hence, the reason for his being hyperactive and obsession about having different symptoms of sickness that he exhibits. At a point, he feels pains in his head, leg, chest, eyes and other parts of his body without admittance to any in particular, he feels better only when music is therapeutically used on him.

This aspect indicates the importance of music to Africans, especially, in the Yoruba tradition. Music goes beyond the purpose of entertainment, Medayekan uses music to entertain Elemude at his arrival in his house, but, as events unfold, music is also used to recount and recall ancient folktales that define Medayekan's family as the owner of a disputed land, which is record-keeping. Similarly, music in the Yoruba culture is also used to appease and provoke emotions of the combating parties during the time of war. Fascinatingly, in many Yoruba palaces, songs are, as well, used to appease, eulogise, wake, jest, celebrate or spur kings into their daily activities early morning. It is often sung by 'Queens' (*Olori*), 'personal servants' (*Ilari*, so called because they draw a line between a half of their head neatly shaved and the half that is left unshaven), praise singers or 'royal chanters' (*Ak éw ò*). In the ancient Oyo, it is the duty of the court drummers and *ak éw ò* at the Òyó palace to wake up the king (i.e. *Alaafin*) with praises every day (Owolabi and Alagbe, 2008, p. 20).

Music interlinks with the character's name to reinforce his erratic traits which is similar to a winebibber's. Also, his name distinguishes him as a troublemaker who can disrupt a peaceful setting anytime he shows up. Furthermore, his name connotes someone that people should be wary of. A closer look at Elemude's name reveals that it is a satirical name which carries psychological implication on its bearer. It is not a generic name that people bear in the Yoruba milieu. Therefore, the playwright demonstrates an artistic ingenuity by designing the name to mock some leaders in Nigeria, hence the political theme underlining the text.

In this regard, Elemude's name may imply the nonchalant, indifferent and paedophilic nature of Nigerian politicians to taking critical decisions on certain issues of national interest. Thus in the process, they disrupt and desecrate the ancient landmarks of tradition and culture. We can therefore, claim that Chief Medayekan and Elemude's name parody some Nigerian politicians who propagate and instigate ethnic rivalry. Overall, Elemude proves the alcoholic feature inherent in his name by his non-comportment and ineptitude displays. He thus, fulfils the destiny attached to his name.

IV. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

By exploring names in Osofisan's *TE*, we have drawn a converging line among the variegated fields literature, history, culture, medicine and political studies. Characters' names have been unveiled in the study as sources for postcolonial discourses which are relevant to the political history of Nigeria, and also form bedrock to interrogate the psychiatric condition of 'hypochondriasis.' As discovered in the study, the ailment serves artistic, literary, satiric, political and medical purposes which typify contemporary Nigerian 'caricatured' political leaders. Summarily, hypochondriasis in *TE* is used by the playwright to buttress themes of political instability and underdevelopment in Nigeria. On this premise, the study invites critics to further interrogate onomastic and allied tropes in other works of Femi Osofisan. Such researches and the present study, would then be an impetus for relevant socioeconomic and political discourses that can foster development in Nigeria.

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Projecting Voice in Political Discourse: A Study of Saulos Klaus Chilima's Discursive Strategies, Malawi

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Abstract—The study takes a stance to explore the political discourse speech in Malawi as the country draws closer to the May 2019 general elections. This is a war-like zone period with different political figures pursuing, negotiating, and struggling for power. We specially mount our research to investigate how Saulos Klaus Chilima strategizes to get the winning card by exploring his voice and voice projection techniques during the launch of his party. We have hence borrowed insights from Heffer's (2013, 2018) Voice Projection framework (VPF) and used Nvivo 11 Pro software in the analysis. The study discovers that his launch speech is highly authorizing, persuading, converging, and highlighting with very few instances of centring, and indexing which made the speech more powerful, stimulating and impressive. The study brings a different dimension of analyzing political discourse by shopping a theory from Forensic discourse.

Index Terms—voice projection, political discourse, Saulos Klaus Chilima, accommodation, authority, discursive voicing

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Politics is the struggle for power; and language has become central as politicians pursue, enhance, negotiate, and struggle to achieve their goals. Every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language (Horváth, 2009; Fairclough, 1995). But how exactly does language serve that purpose? And how actually do politicians use language to influence course of actions? An attempt to answer these questions eventually led to the emergent of a new field of political discourse analysis, a sub-field within Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2006; Fairclough, 1995). Political Discourse Analysis deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse and domination through discourse. In this study, we intend to investigate how politicians use language and other semiotic means in an attempt to have voice, to make themselves be understood by others; and their capacity to project their perspective effectively by using data from Malawi. It is noted that politicians are people's representatives; hence, they arguably speak for their people (Kondowe, 2014a). Political speeches strengthen and renew the covenant between the people and their leaders. Be it inaugural address or campaign speech, politicians outline their perspectives and conduct that shape their people in the way they understand the system of their party or government at both theoretical and functional levels (Kondowe, 2014a). Therefore, the voice of politicians is taken as the voice of their people. The political voice embodied in their speeches and addresses can be seen to reflect the realities of their people. However, regardless that political discourse has provided rich data for researchers and scholars interested in discourse analysis, little attempts have been made to link the concept of voice and its impact on political speeches. The notion of voice projection is a metaphorical extension from the physical notion of actors throwing their voice out to their audience. If an actor succeeds in projecting their voice, their lines will be understood. If they succeed in projecting their metaphorical voice, their perspectives will be responsibly understood by the audience (Heffer, 2018b). In this study, we look at Saulos Klaus Chilima, Malawi's political actor, on how he projected his metaphorical voices during the launch of his United Transformation Movement party by analyzing his first speech that threw him into the front line of politics.

Saulos Klaus Chilima and his Transformation Movement Party

Saulos Klaus Chilima became the Vice President of Malawi in June 2014 after contesting as a running mate for Arthur Peter Mutharika (APM) and won the May 2014 presidential elections under the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) ticket. Before joining politics, Saulos Klaus Chilima (henceforth "SKC") held key leadership positions in companies like Unilever (1995-1998), Leasing and Finance Company (1998-2001), Coca-Cola (2002-2006) and Airtel Malawi (2008-2010; *Malawi Voice*, 2014), and became the first Malawian Chief Executive Officer for Airtel (Ngwira, 2014). He obtained his Ph.D in Knowledge Management from the University of Bolton in the United Kingdom in August, 2015. He obtained Master of Science (Economics) and Bachelor of Social Sciences (Economics) degrees both from the University of Malawi-Chancellor College in 2003 and 1994 respectively (*Malawi Voice*, 2014). As a student, he played a pivotal role in championing multi-party democracy when he was the president of Students Union at

Chancellor College (SUCC). Besides the vice-presidency, SKC served as a minister for disaster relief and public events. He had also been a stern critic of corruption in politics (Nhlane, 2018) and the citizens' blind loyalty towards their leaders, personalization of offices, victimization of others and nepotism (Malenga, 2018).

As the nation drew closer to the May, 2019 tripartite elections, tension grew between APM and SKC in the party's build-up towards the convention. Among others, it was noted that SKC was being sidelined in many government activities and was left out on some foreign trips and that the president was sending Minister of Foreign Affairs instead (Mpaka, 2016). Callista Mutharika, the former First Lady, was the first to come in the open to endorse SKC to be the DPP presidential touch-bearer at the expense of the incumbent APM (her brother-in-law), whom she said is aged. This worsened the working relationship between APM and SKC. This scenario seemed to repeat the history of bad blood between presidents and their Vice Presidents in Malawi. For example, President Elson Bakili Muluzi fell out with his Vice President, Justin Malewezi. Likewise, late Professor Bingu wa Mutharika also ran into conflicts with his Vice, Cassim Chilumpha just like Joyce Banda crossed her path with Khumbo Kachali as they went into May 2014 general elections (Mpaka, 2016). Therefore, the battle between APM and SKC camps were simply proving a curse running in Malawi political history.

Political tables turned around on 6th June, 2018, when SKC held a press conference in Lilongwe where he openly declared his lack of interest to contest as a presidential candidate for the DPP. He also announced his departure from the DPP but that he would continue serving as the VP of Malawi until the end of his term in May 2019 (Kalungwe, 2018). On 21st July, 2018, SKC launched his United Transformation Movement (UTM) in Lilongwe which later became registered as the UTM Party in readiness for the May 2019 elections. In early February 2019, UTM went into negotiations to form an electoral alliance with former president Joyce Banda's People's Party (PP), however the deal did not yield any fruit as the two parties failed to agree on the choice of running mate which led to PP's publicly withdrawal from the alliance (Kumbani, 2019). Therefore, when UTM party went to submit their presidential nomination papers to the Malawi Electoral Commission on 6th February, 2019, SKC revealed his running mate to be Dr. Michael Usi, the decision that received a mixed reaction and sparked a huge debate on social media (Kumbani, 2019).

II. STUDIES ON POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

As defined by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (2006), political discourse analysis (PDA) is a subfield of critical discourse analysis (CDA). PDA deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse and domination through discourse. Such analyses deal with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequalities that result from such domination, and such analyses must also answer genuine and relevant political questions (van Dijk, 2006). Such a discourse is identified by its actors or authors who are in this case politicians. There is a vast bulk of data that has documented presidential rhetoric across the world especially in the USA where there is huge literature on the discourse of presidential aspirants, senators, and president-elects with Barack Obama holding the number one spot (Ye, 2010; Horvath, 2010; Wang, 2010; Shayegh & Nabifar, 2012). Furthermore, Horváth (2009) examined the persuasive strategies in Obama's inaugural address using Fairclough's approaches, where he discovered that ideologically, the speech demonstrated pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity. His speeches have also been looked from the point of Hallidayan Systematic Functional Grammar (Wang, 2010; Ye, 2010; Shayegh & Nabifar, 2012) by analyzing transitivity, mood, modality, and his choices of personal pronouns. Much has also been documented on the rhetoric of Donald Trump. Relative to this, Kayam (2017) worked on identifying the readability and simplicity of Trump's speeches and debates, and it was discovered that unlike other candidates, he uses sentences and words that are shorter, less complex and can easily be understood even by 9-11 year-olds. Bonilla (2016) analysis also focused on the way the self/other-representation and mystification strategies are combined with conceptual metaphors in the construction of Trump's ideological discourse. Darweesh and Abdullah (2016) likewise looked at Trump's sexist ideology on how he negatively represents and underestimates women.

Faki (2014) also explored linguistic elements in political discourses of some contemporary African leaders such as Joseph Kabila (Congo), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Thabo Mbeki (South Africa) and John Atta Mill's (Ghana), using Transitivity Model and Speech Act Theory, as well as semantic representations appearing in their political speeches. In Malawi, of all the presidents, it has been observed that only the speeches of the third President, Bingu wa Mutharika are the ones that have been thoroughly explored. For example, Green (2007) investigated the discursive strategies Mutharika used at the United Nations General Assemblies (UNGA) during his first term of office from 2004-2007. In addition to this, Mutharika's 2009 inaugural address was also analyzed using the Theory of Transitivity by Kondowe, (2014a) and Interpersonal Metafunction by focusing on choice of mood, modal auxiliary operators, and personal pronouns (Kondowe, 2014b). This aside, the speeches by the other four Malawi presidents and their VPs have not adequately been analyzed, hence the need for this present study.

Rationale

This study intends to address a number of gaps in the current literature on political discourse. Even though some efforts have been made to document events of Malawian presidents which are available in some scholarly journals Green, (2007) ; Kondowe, (2014a); Kondowe, (2014b) and Kondowe *et.al.* (2014), little efforts have been made to document speeches of vice presidents. Most of the available information on the VPs merely exists in electronic formats on YouTube, Wikipedia, and some online journalistic articles which report on topical issues of the day as they emerge.

It is hard to get reliable published works about VPs speeches from credible sources such as scholarly journals. Even then, those studies that have documented Malawi's presidential speeches and those across the world, most of them have focused on inaugural and campaign speeches. It is also difficult to find published works that have analyzed speeches on party launching or those made during the establishment of political parties. However, what is more interesting in this study is that SKC formed his UTM Party while he was still serving the Malawi Government as VP. Now, it would be more interesting to see how he mobilized people to join his party, and how he craftily managed to attack his own government.

III. "HAVING VOICE" AND THE VOICE PROJECTION FRAMEWORK

In discourse, to 'have voice' is to have the capacity to project one's perspective effectively, the capacity to produce meanings and make oneself be understood (Blommaert, 2007). This, therefore, requires both an opportunity to voice your perspective and make that perspective be understood and get absorbed by your audience. Voice originates in the body as the articulation of sound in speech. And, that voice can be used to describe the characteristic tones of an individual speaker (Heffer, 2013, 2018a, 2018b). By extension, voice becomes the discursive style of the individual speaker or writer or even the style of a professional role, which becomes the speaker's voice, writer's voice or reporter's voice respectively. In other words, voice is also seen as an individual and social resource, as a capacity to be heard and understood ('have voice'). According to Hymes (1996), voice is not about freedom of speech but the 'freedom to have one's voice heard'. It is an unequally distributed resource that a speaker has more or less in a given context (Hymes, 1996). Every human being naturally has a voice, but in this context 'having a voice' is understood as an intrinsically social process with clear connections to social structure, history, culture, power and other resources. Some resources will, of course, be exclusive, others will be democratic; some will mark superiority, others inferiority; some will function well across different social contexts while others will be locked into specific niches of society (Blommaert, 2007). Powerless groups, for instance, will mostly lack voice and capacity to be heard and be understood. It is generally assumed that powerful figures have plenty of voice, and often times tend to be heard and understood in the process influencing a course of action (Heffer, 2013). Some institutions, in particular, tend to "freeze" the conditions for voice' so that you do not speak or write in the normatively imposed way, you will fail to be heard (Blommaert, 2007). Conversely, Heffer (2013, 2018a) further notes that having a voice does not automatically lead to one being heard, hence there is need to analyze the extent to which voice projection might lead to being understood in a given context. This leads us to our next discussion of Voice Projection Framework, and this is the model we have used in this study.

Heffer's Voice Projection Framework (VPF) models how one projects his/her voice to the intended audience in a given context. He proposes that voice comprises three key elements: perspective, projection and understanding. The VPF and the model focus on how the voice gets from perspective to understanding, the process he calls Projection (Heffer, 2013, 2018a, 2018b). According to the VPF, an individual or group's perspectives which are in form of a set of ideas, identities or styles get projected to an audience, who understands it to a greater or lesser extent. As such, successful projection leads to responsive understanding (Heffer, 2018a). The model aims to permit a nuanced understanding of projection that can help explain how individuals and groups lack/lose the voice and or gain that voice for it to become a powerful and effective tool of communication. In Figure 1, the diagonal line connecting perspective, projection and understanding indicates a simple theoretical sequence. Thus in order to have voice, one must have a perspective to project and the projection must lead to some form of understanding (Heffer, 2013).

In this model, perspective broadly covers the ways of being (Identity), ways of thinking (Ideas) and ways of speaking (Styles) that the speaker or group of speakers projects to a listener or an audience.

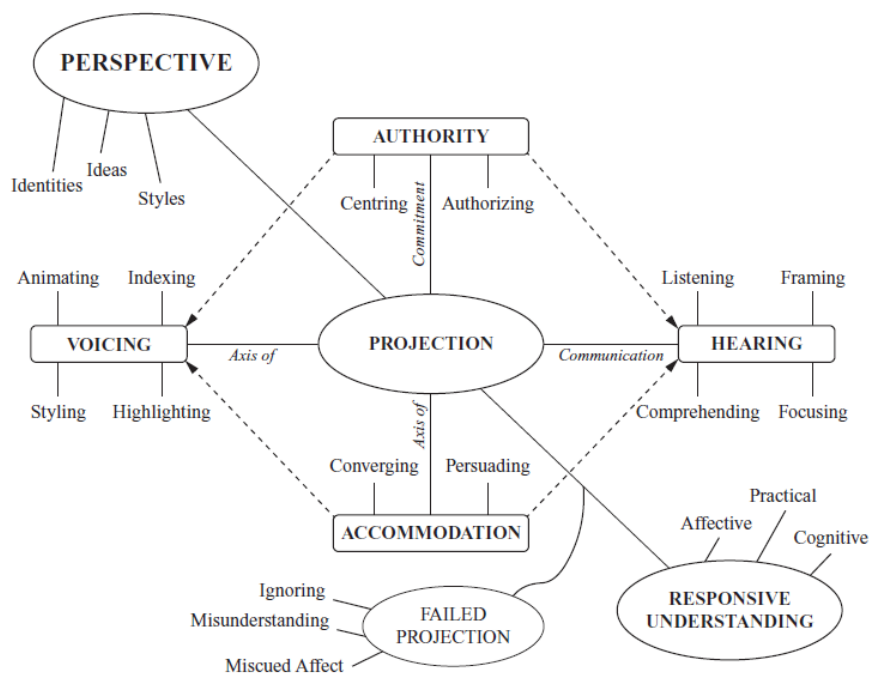


Figure 1: The Voice Projection Framework: Adopted from Heffer (2018a, p. 211)

Understanding is what we want to achieve from the audience; a pragmatic and active responsive understanding. Projection is the way voice is both actively and passively projected to the audience through voicing (sounding, styling, indexing, and highlighting), authority (centring and authorizing), and accommodation (persuading and converging; Heffer, 2018b).

We have chosen this model in our current study for a variety of reasons. Firstly, besides being a new model in discourse analysis, the VPF provides handy tools that are easier to use and apply to a given text. This model provides an ideal approach for identifying SKC's political voice about Malawi and the strategies he uses to project the perspective to his audience. Secondly, in the development of the model, he (Heffer) draws data from courtroom discourse using 'Vicky Pryce' Heffer, (2013) and a 'Dumb Jury' cases, Heffer, (2018a). This study, therefore, tests the strength of the model and its applicability to other forms of discourse like politics.

Research Questions

This study is motivated to answer the following questions:

- i. What is SKC's perspective (voice) about Malawi in line with political developments?
- ii. What discursive strategies have SKC used to project his voice to his audience?

IV. THE DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The speech under study was downloaded from YouTube in a video format. In order to make meaningful and informed analysis, we made the following steps: 1) the speech was translated from Chichewa (a local language) into English. 2) We thoroughly read it and highlighted key issues (the voices) that SKC wanted to project to the audience. 3) We then parsed the speech into clauses and identified key strategies employed at every clause level. These clauses were entered into Nvivo 11, qualitative data analysis software for themes and subthemes identification. To identify the perspective and the strategies used in the speech, we followed an inductive bottom-up approach allowing themes to emerge directly from the speech. Results of the findings have been visually presented in Figures 2 and 3.

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussions have been presented in line with the two research questions. The perspective (the voices) represents SKC's normative center that he intends to project to his audience as he mobilizes the people to join his newly formed political party which has no any structures on the ground. Therefore, we shall present his voices first then discuss the strategies he used later.

A. SKC's Perspective of Malawi (the Voices)

As already alluded to in the previous sections, we shall use the term perspective to refer to "his ideas" about the country. The study, therefore, identifies a polyvocality of perspectives presented sequentially through **highlighting** (to be explained in **section 5.2.3**) that we have grouped into three: i) Malawi in acute problems, ii) the need for reformation, and iii) building a better future for the country. His voices oscillate between the past and future Malawi by taking the audience back and forth, recalling their experiences regarding what the country has gone through from colonialism

through all the regimes to the current leadership and state of affairs. He promises his audience to see better Malawi should his UTM Party be given chance to rule Malawi after the May, 2019 general elections. Through **highlighting** the metaphor “Malawi on fire”, which is the crux of his address, SKC vividly brings to the fore mental experiences about how Malawians have suffered economically and socially in the previous and current regimes due to selfish leadership and poor governance. He deliberately repeats the idea that since democracy, the leadership has been inconsiderate and selfish, trying to accumulate wealth through corrupt and nepotistic practices. Current and former leaderships have taken advantage of the country’s weak structures to loot and plunder public resources even when the masses were languishing in poverty and hunger.

SKC implores every Malawian who has reached the voting age to go register and vote for his UTM party so that they can change the status quo. He strongly appeals to everybody to take out the fears, and join the efforts of the UTM in order to transform Malawi. He inspires everybody not to be threatened by any other politicians. He does so by citing some of the brave acts done by some notable citizens in the past for the love of their country. In rebuilding the country, he highlights key steps in the reformation process: changing and tightening some policies of governing the country, and working towards developing everyone regardless of political or regional affiliations. He finally concentrates on the theme of rebuilding the country by eliminating key problems facing Malawi as he outlines his plans once in power. To change some government policies and tighten principles which are weak, he singles out the provision of food security, good health facilities, good education, proper housing, reliable electricity, good security, proper land distribution, and creating jobs for the citizenry among others. He also promises to create bursaries for students during the first six months in power, create one million jobs in the first year, make sure all leaders who embezzled government funds return the money and get imprisoned for looting just to mention some. Therefore, in the subsequent section, we shall explore key strategies that he used to project his voice, how he delivered the speech and how he made himself be heard and understood.

B. SKC Voice Projection Strategies

We shall now give an analysis of the strategies SKC uses to project the above political ideological perspectives. We do so by looking at Heffer’s strategies as outlined in the VPF, and examine how SKC employs these strategies in his speech. However, we have not exhausted all the strategies in the VPF as others are not relevant to this study. We have only focused on those that relate well to the speaker’s style (Authority, Accommodation, and discursive voicing). This study does not take any interest in physical **voicing** and **hearing** since the latter mostly concerns the audience side while the former deals with sounding which is physical and not a result of style. Therefore, we mainly attempt to analyze how SKC executes his institutional power as the VP of Malawi, and as the presidential aspirant (Authority), how he adapts his speech to meet the diverse needs of his audience (Accommodation), and how his speech conforms to the standards.

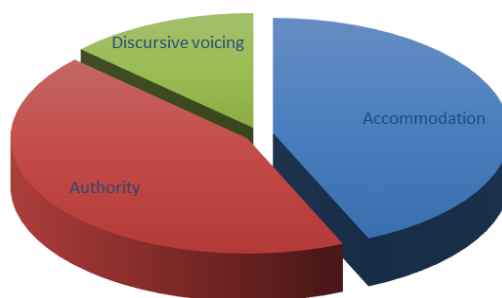


Figure 2: SKC's Voice Projection Super Strategies

In examining the three super-strategies, results indicate that Accommodation and Authority strategies rank highly by occurring 197 times (43.4%) and 198 times (43.6%) respectively, Discursive Voicing strategies come last with 59 occurrences (13%), as Figure 2 reveals. However, this does not imply that there are a total of 454 clauses identified from the speech. The analysis noted a lot of overlaps as some clauses have more than one built-in strategy, which were counted as two when entering into Nvivo, while other clauses do not contain any notable strategy. The analysis further notes that the speech is mainly oriented towards authorizing (42.29%) and persuading (33.70%). Styling strategies appear 03.52%, converging 18%, highlighting 09.96%, indexing 05.28% and centring 01.32%



Figure 3: SKC's Voice Projection Detailed Strategies

1. Accommodation strategies

Accommodation is defined as the extent to which the speaker adapts their speech to the audience by **converging** and **persuading** (Heffer, 2018a, 2018b). Converging is the adaptive communicative norms of the speaker. It can facilitate both comprehension and solidarity, and thus help project the voice. Hence, speakers of public discourse like politicians need both the capacity and motivation to converge with everyone. Persuading, on the other hand, is being rhetorically efficacious (Heffer, 2003). Successful voice projection requires an orientation to **persuading** rather than simply informing the audience. Going through SKC's speech, we have noted different aspects of converging where he moves his power status towards everyday discourse norm. In order to project his voice, he tries to narrow the gap between himself and the different groups of individuals in the audience. In his speech, SKC converges with the religious believers by citing the Bible (7 times), God/Jesus (5 times), and Quran (twice) as a way of appealing to the hearts of the faith community.

1. <13> Don't fear any human being. <14> **We should only fear God**
2. <100> [...] we should **read our Bible** Mathews 11:12, where **Lord Jesus** is saying since the days of John the Baptist until today, the **kingdom of heaven** is like war, and only those who are brave will be able to conquer.
3. <104> Even the **book of Quran** says no one can find something good until he works for it with dedication.

He also converges well with the elderly, by recalling the history of Malawi. He lists the martyrs and the events that surrounded the freedom fight for the country to gain independence from colonization, through one-party era, to multiparty democracy.

4. <119> **Even our colonizers**, who had all the necessary resources, they were defeated by armless people. **The one-party era**, which also had too much power, came to a downfall by the ordinary voices, poor people, people who loved their country, people who had no money.
5. <123> **In 1992**, there came our friends who fought for **democracy**. <124> **In 1964**, Mr Mwale and his friends **fought with the colonizers** when they were still young and they didn't fear **the whites**.

Most of the voters today, who are mostly young below the age of 25 years, did not experience the struggles SKC highlights. Therefore, he projects himself as someone who is well versed with the history of the country, and that he is a true Malawian. Such strategies help him project his voice successfully. Malawi is said to have been led by *matchona* (people who have spent much of their life in diaspora) who have no idea of how people suffered during the struggle for independence. SKC takes advantage of that to project himself as a different crop, a true Malawian the people must associate with. He also narrows the discourse gap by converging with the poor and takes himself as one of them by citing real-life examples that the poor experience in such an ailing economy:

6. <55> We are in a situation where **our children are failing to finish their education due to lack of finances**, and any other related resources **that can support their education**;
7. <56> when we have mud wall structures **that are killing our children in schools**, when we have **drug scarcity in hospitals**.

SKC uses his strategic competence that speakers require to get a 'pass' from members of different social groups as men of the people. He tries to assimilate and penetrate the minds of many people by citing real examples that different members of the audience experience. As noted by Sibande (2018), SKC adopts a strategy of simulation of strength, a legendary strategist giving a deceptive appearance that he suffers together with the poor (when actually he does not); hence the need for change and have a better Malawi. Such converging with different members of the local community's discursive norms is likely to facilitate the audience's comprehension and association.

Just like Obama, SKC also highly uses rhetoric questions as a **persuading** accommodation strategy. However, unlike Obama's questions that do not call for answers from the audience (Horváth, 2009), SKC's rhetorical questions are in form of polar interrogatives also known as yes-no questions. They have all the elements already specified, and the

audience is only expected to supply a truthful value, by either answering 'yes' or 'no' (Harris, 1984; Stivers, 2010). Generally formed by placing the verbal operator (i.e. *be*, *have* or *do*, or a modal verb such as *can*, *may*, *must*, *will*, etc.) before the subject. Consider the examples:

8. <14> We should only fear God. <15> **Do you understand?**
9. <38>...that you are tired and you are hungry to see things change. <39> **is it not so?**
10. <113> We people are mostly cowards and we are quick to say "it's impossible, the ruling party doesn't lose". Eh! <114> **A ruling party can't lose?** <115> **Are we sure they don't lose?**

As noted by Heffer (2013:15), successful voice projection generally requires an orientation to rhetoric, to persuading rather than simply informing the audience. By being rhetorically efficacious, SKC wants his speech to speak to the minds of his audience by involving them in the dialogue as an extrinsic motivation. This makes the speech powerful and impressive as he orients it towards being heard, a strategy which might eventually lead to active responsive understanding and boost the launch hype.

2. Authority strategies

Authority comes as a result of institutional power, and it influences voice projection by discursively imposing such power in their readers and listeners through discourse. A person is said to have authority over another in the degree that s/he is able to control the behavior of the other (Thomas, 1995). It is a ranking status or social stations of two groups of people, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have authority in the same area of behavior. In discourse, authority can be projected in two ways: through the practices of **centring** (working centripetally towards increasing normativity) and **authorizing** (conferring authority and legitimacy on speakers and discourse). SKC has legitimate authority over the audience in his capacity as VP of Malawi. In our analysis of SKC speech, we have not discovered much of the centring strategies apart from his preference to use a local code (Chichewa) as he openly stated in clause <45> *I will speak in Chichewa* than English which could hinder his voice projection to the illiterate audience which is mostly in majority. We have identified a series of authorizing strategies as he confers his authority as VP of Malawi and leader of UTM which are spread throughout the speech but highly as the speech progresses towards the climax.

As VP, SKC provides numerous examples of massive corruption and looting in government, as he cites real-time examples of how government's money gets stolen leaving people miserable. This is also clearly exemplified in his metaphor "the country is on fire" which he repeats about five times.

11. <81> The problem is that the **principles that govern the running of this country are weak**, <82> so when parties go into power, <83> **they just take advantage of the weak system and start mishandling things**.
12. <56> Our leaders are busy **giving each other business contracts**. <57> They do so by **inflating the costs of the contracts** so that <58> they share the excess and buy luxurious cars, and build mansions in town

However, some political commentators note that by projecting massive corruption and plundering of public resources as one of his voices, SKC is simply repeating same old stories already told by his opponents and this sounds like a cliché (Sibande; 2018). Sibande (2018) also argues that SKC was not supposed to launch his political party with ordinary perspectives and highly repetitive messages. However, of interest to our findings is how SKC makes his voices to be believed more than anyone else before by taking advantage of his authority as VP to offload the main cause of corruption (weak governing principles), how it is conducted (bogus contracts) and how it can be prevented (tightening principles of governance). We believe that without such authority, it would be hard for him to unearth such details and be believed. He further assures the people that as VP, he knows that the country has enough money for any development and that through him, he will make sure that all those who are corrupt will be made to return the money once he gets to power.

13. <173> Some of you might be asking, where shall you get the money? <174> To all of you who are here, my fellow Malawians, <175> **I am the Vice President of this nation**. <176> I am telling you that **we will find money**.
14. <149> Even if it's about constructing hospitals, <150> **there is money for that in this country**.
15. <158> Here is the message [...] all the money that you have been looting, our request is <159> **"start returning it"**. <160> Some might be tempted to say they will **hide the money** in foreign countries, <161> let me tell you this. <162> We will **get that money from the foreign countries** back to our country.

In projecting his authorizing voice in the above clauses about rebuilding the nation and reclaiming all the stolen money, SKC manages to intimidate the ruling DPP by inducing fear and making them panic and possibly inducing disorder in their camp. He further warns the alleged looters in the DPP to start returning the money, and that he will arrest them should they fail to return it within the 300day Amnesty period he will give them once he becomes president. Even though some people may look at it as bluffing, it is quite convincing and impressive in the manner in which he executes his authority and simulates his strength in his clauses. He goes further to talk about the planned rigging by the ruling party:

16. <356> There is a **machine that has been bought in this country** to spy on our telephone conversations. <357> Those of you who have bought this machine, <358> We know! [...] <361> And you want to **use that machine to rig elections**. <362> You have goofed! [...] <365> You are **TOO YOUNG** to rig elections.

By calling the ruling DPP "TOO YOUNG", SKC projects himself as a better and stronger candidate than the DPP, and the one better to protect and rebuild Malawi. He even goes further to assure the people that he will "eliminate quota

system”, and plans to “create one million jobs” in the first year once in power, improve electricity generation among others.

3. Discursive Voicing (Styling) strategies

As opposed to physical voicing (**sounding**), discursive voicing (**indexing, highlighting, styling**) is the one that relates well to the discursive/metaphorical projection. **Indexing** involves guiding the audience’s interpretation by pointing to particular ways of reading and listening. It relates well with Halliday’s notion of cohesion in textual metafunction in **framing** listeners’ understanding. On the other hand, **highlighting** is concerned with stressing the salient elements to enhance the audience’s **focusing**. Different aspects of indexing (05.28%) are used strategically in the speech to point to important points and hold the discourse parts together and build cohesion and coherence. For instance, <25> *let me begin*, <1> *let us remind each other*, <397> *I am repeating for the last time*, <398> *allow me to conclude* are all indexing devices that guide the audience in **framing** the discourse. As explained in section 5.1, cases of **highlighting** through high repetition, are the ones that have helped identify SKC’s voices, where he stresses on encouraging the audience to be strong, reminding them that the country is on fire that he will arrest the looters, about the need to change, amongst others.

Styling is the degree to which the speaker conforms to the standards and/or creates individuality in a talk (Heffer, 2013). In the first part of the speech (Clause <1> to <142>), SKC employs a variety of clauses that are ground-setting and uses a number of strategies to put the people at ease. He shows conformity to the political speech traditions, by opting for clauses that express gratitude to the masses, recalling the past and recent events before laying down his UTM agenda.

17. <25> **Let me begin by acknowledging** all the leadership that has worked so tirelessly to establish the UTM. <26> **Words only are not enough to thank you**, because you have done this by yourself. <27> You spared your time, your personal money and other resources. <28> You have been ridiculed, threatened, but you didn’t relent.

18. <30> I also specially **recognize** the former first lady Madam Callista Mutharika who was the first one to come in the open, asking this country to review its leadership. <31> This clearly showed you have a deep love for this country and its people, and that you didn’t even mind that you are putting your life at risk. <32> May God continue blessing you with wisdom and the courage He gives you.

The above clauses demonstrate the extent of SKC’s **conformity** to routine patterning and formulaic language common in everyday political discourse as a habitual ritualistic genre. Such **conformity** is likely to project one’s voice successfully as it facilitates listeners’ understanding since they are already exposed to various political discourse texts. A diversion to such a norm may lead to frustration, confusion and consequently loss of voice. As the political speaker “*acknowledges*” <25>, “*recognizes*” <30> his working associates, he eventually builds morale in the team while winning the heart of the audience simultaneously. However, Hymes (1996) sees stylistic conformity as a form of linguistic oppression. It blocks creativity and uniqueness and becomes a barrier to develop a voice worth hearing. It makes someone look lazy of thinking in coming up with their own strategies (Sibande, 2018). Nonetheless, SKC does not only **conform** but he also **creates** his individual style that he has now come to be identified with by his high sense of humor and frequent use of proverbs. He jokes that the thieves are even stealing right now as the rally progresses, that they have even become fat with their teeth too, that they have learnt to wear a neck-tie which they did not know initially; all this curtesy of the tax payers’ money. Such jokes appeal to the mental needs of some individuals as some members of the audience come to rallies to be entertained. The jokes also helped maintain a positive connection with the people, and manage to climax into a higher emotional experience which made the audience leave the rally in high spirits (Sibande, 2018). Proverbs also project him well as they package folk wisdom heavily in just a single sentence. Consider the following:

19. <20> *Mbewa ya pampani siwopa moto*. (a dying mouse does not fear death)

20. <93> *Sikadza kokha, kamawopa kulawula*. (nothing comes on a silver platter)

21. <212> *Zaeni kunyozetsa koma zathu zimene tazipeza tokha*. (Ones’ labour begets dignity while begging brings about contempt).

SKC uses clauses <20> and <93> to encourage people to be courageous and not fear death, to be strong and remember that nothing comes out of nothing. If they want things to change, they have to be agents of change. Proverb <212> instills the spirit of patriotism and hard-work in the people. They must not depend on assistance from elsewhere but they have to work hard to gain joy and dignity in the end. SKC is able to communicate a huge chunk of messages in just a single proverb.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study intended to explore SKC’s voice and strategies he uses to project his voice to the people of Malawi as the nation draws closer to the May, 2019 general elections. The analysis has discovered that SKC oscillates his voice from the past and takes the audience through the current leadership to the imaginary better future Malawi. He recalls all the economic hardships the people have experienced in all the regimes hence his call for change and build a better Malawi. He manages to do so by authorizing, persuading, converging, and highlighting salience in his voice. The study has presented a different perspective of analyzing political discourse by rescuing Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), one of the abused theories in political speech analysis. Heffer’s Voice Projection framework (VPF), a theory

shopped from forensic discourse has provided useful insights in unearthing SKC's political perspective, and his speech delivery strategies. If used strategically, words have the power to mobilize and manipulate people towards a course of action. The study is a step forward in documenting events surrounding political atmosphere in Africa and Malawi in particular given that such discourse has often appeared transient in journalistic articles, and rarely in scholarly journals. Results of this study will benefit researchers in politics and linguistics as they seek to bridge the gap between the two fields. The results are also very helpful in extending VPF realms of applicability from forensic discourse to political speeches.

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Immersion and Motivation to Become Teachers: A Comparative Study

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Abstract—This study aims to investigate and compare the relationship between immersion and motivation in two different groups of student teachers who enrolled in an immersion programme. With a group of student teachers whose social and cultural backgrounds are different – one group is from Mainland China and one is from Hong Kong – though they both are of Chinese ethnicity and speak the same Chinese variety, the reasons behind their studying a postgraduate programme and going on an immersion can be different. The method of data collection adopted for this study was a qualitative paradigm. In-depth interviews, both pre- and post-immersion, were conducted. Participants were also encouraged to send e-mails to the researcher during immersion that reflected on their experience. Results show that Mainland participants were motivated by desires to enhance their pedagogical knowledge in EFL teaching in order to satisfy implementation constraints in their homeland. In contrast, Hong Kong participants were primarily interested in improving their language proficiency in order to satisfy the mandatory language assessment required for graduation. Both groups, however, saw cultural enrichment as their secondary reason for undertaking immersion, in that it allowed them to better understand the culture behind the language and thus become better English teachers.

Index Terms—motivation, immersion, language acquisition, teaching pedagogy

I. INTRODUCTION

The social and educational environment of HK and China are different. HK had been a British colony until 1997 where English and Chinese are both the *de jure* official language in HK though Cantonese is *de facto* official language. HK enjoys a high degree of freedom guaranteed by the Basic Law. Its education system roughly follows the British system. 'Biliterate (Chinese and English) and trilingual (Cantonese, Putonghua and English)' proficiency is emphasised. English is a compulsory subject which all students must take starting from kindergartens. Task-based teaching and communicative approach are encouraged in EFL classrooms. As for China, English is taught as a foreign language and different regions and cities may start teaching English at different school levels. The common teaching method adopted in China is grammar-translation approach. With the diverse backgrounds of the participants but going on the same immersion programme, student teachers may have different motivation orientation hence affect the learning outcomes of the immersion programme.

In this study, there are two groups of culturally diverse Chinese EFL student teachers. The two groups of participants have their reasons to study for a PGDE – a postgraduate diploma in English Language education which provides graduates with a Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) if they can pass the Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers (LPAT). With the LPAT and a certificate in PGDE (English), graduates will be able to work as a qualified English teacher in HK. For the group of HK participants, all applied PGDE with a non-language related bachelor degree and would like to change their profession to English teaching; whilst the Mainland Chinese participants would like to have an 'overseas learning experience' other than their local degree and teaching experiences. They chose Hong Kong because of the wide use of English in HK, the city's proximity to the mainland, relatively cheap tuition fee compared to Australia, the UK and the US, and status as a free city, are other attractive factors.

One component of the current PGDE programme in this study is that all participants will need to go on an overseas immersion programme in an English-speaking country in addition to the taught modules and teaching practicum. In the past, the main purpose of an overseas immersion programme is to foster bilingualism in order to develop learners' second language proficiency and communicative competency. In addition to language enhancement, take Canada as an example, educators and parents believed that a French immersion programme would enable their students and children to appreciate the French-speaking Canadian culture as well as their own.

However, what is the participant motivation to go on an immersion programme? What would they like to achieve through immersion? Will an overseas immersion programme meet the motivation pattern of the group of postgraduate degree students? Additionally, will the same programme meet the motivation and expectations of the same group of students whom came from different cultural backgrounds? This paper intends to answer the above questions.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Motivation

What is motivation? The term *motivation* is derived from the Latin *movere* (to move). The idea of motivation is something that gets people going and keeps people moving. Motivation is in fact a complicated concept which can be affected by multiple interrelated dimensions of factors in determining a person's behaviour. Littlewood (1996) expressed the complexity of motivation, which includes many components like the individual's drive, need for achievement and success, curiosity, desire for stimulation and new experience. Dornyei (2001) pointed out the inherent natures of motivation in L2 research precisely that it is abstract, not directly observable, a multidimensional construct and inconstant. Dornyei (2001) described the meaning of motivation in the following terms, it "concerns the direction and magnitude of human behaviour, that is: the choice of a particular action, the persistence with it, the effort extended on it" and defined motivation as "the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritized, operationalised and acted out" (Dornyei, 2001, p.9).

B. *Motivation Theories and Approaches*

In the past few decades, motivation researches appear to be in an exhilarating state of flux. According to Weiner (1992), motivation theories can be categorized into three main approaches: mechanistic approach, attribution approach and expectancy-value approach. The most prominent theories of mechanistic approach are Freud's (1926) psychoanalytic theory and Hull's drive theory. Freud believed human behaviour is driven by instinctual desires (cited in Weiner, 1992, p.28-29). Hull's drive theory (1943) believed motivation is determined by drive, habit and incentive and it is affected by frustration, anxiety, conflict and despair. However, both Freud and Hull's theories have little relation to the actual classroom setting as they both only focus on biological needs and have separated the close relationship between motivation and learning.

Attribution theory, in psychology, indicates how a person explains the causes of behaviour and events. Heider (1958) indicated that perceivers attribute the sensory data to the underlying causes in the world, and later extended this idea to attributions about people - the core processes which manifest people in their overt behaviour can be attributed to the motives, intentions and sentiments. There are two types of attributions: external and internal attribution. External attribution refers to interpreting a person's behavior caused by the situation that the person is in. Internal attribution refers to internal factors like ability, personality, mood, efforts, attitudes, or disposition which caused the given behavior. With this concept, in the context of immersion, the external attribution is that the two groups of participants are to go on an immersion programme which they may see it differently because of different internal attributions hence produce different behaviours engaging in the immersion accordingly.

The third approach is expectancy-value approach and the most classic one is Atkinson's achievement motivation theory (Atkinson, 1966). Atkinson believed human's motivational behaviours are determined by their goals and by their subjective value. He believed individuals usually maximise their personal pursuits by selecting those activities which are likely to meet their high-valued goals. His theory focuses on two main factors: expectancy of success and value, the greater likelihood the learner perceives goal-attainment and value of a specific task, the higher degree his/her motivation will be. Apart from Atkinson (1966), several theories later proposed by Rotter (1982), Locke and Lathan (1990), and Eccles and Wigfield (1995) are applicable to the research context of the present study and therefore important to be included in this study to examine student motivation to go on immersion programme.

Rotter (1982)'s social learning theory is useful to the present study as he suggested behaviour potential is determined by the expectancy of goal attainment and the value of goal or reinforcement. Locke and Lathan (1990) later developed goal setting theory which is similar to expectancy-value theory in the sense that individual believe they can achieve the goal (expectancy) and the goal is important for them (value). Task value model proposed by Eccles and Wigfield (1995) also suggested attainment value refers to personal importance of achieving the task successful while cost refers to negative value components like effort and time and other emotional costs like fear of failure and anxiety.

C. *External and Internal Attributions of Motivation*

Gardner & Tremblay (1995) describes two distinct perspectives about motivation. The first is motivation as an element of an internal attribute. The second is motivation as an external attribute, i.e. motivation can be created by external force or reward. A hybrid perspective is that motivation can be an internal attribute and, at the same time, the result of an external force (Gardner & Tremblay, 1995). In the socio-educational model, motivation has most frequently been characterised into two orientations (Gardner, 1985). They are intrinsic and extrinsic motivational orientation. Intrinsic orientation refers to reasons for L2 learning that are derived from one's inherent pleasure and interest in the activity; the activity is undertaken because of the spontaneous satisfaction that is associated with it. Extrinsic orientations refer to reasons that are instrumental not from the inherent interest in the activity. Gardner & Tremblay (1995) however argued that motivation must be a characteristic of the individual and that it cannot be created out of nothing by an external force. An external force can arouse motivation, as when a teacher attempts to motivate students. The potential to be motivated must already exist and be a property of the student in order for a particular pedagogical technique to be effective. Their theory brought significant influence to the development of motivation theories and approaches in the following decades and possibly generations to come. In the context of Chinese and Hong Kong students, extrinsic and intrinsic motivational constructs are appropriate to have this group of students be tested in order to evaluate their motivation to go on an immersion.

D. Motivation and Immersion

According to past studies, every student teacher undertook their immersion programme with different motivations and returned with different learning outcomes and experiences. The most common motivations for undertaking immersion were mainly due to an external force as suggested by Gardner (1996). They are: language proficiency improvement and second language acquisition enhancement (Isalelli, 2004; Kuntz & Belnap, 2001; Pellengrion, 1998). The positive effects include fluency in speaking (e.g. Freed, 1995), lexical development (Clipperton, 1994), acquisition of phonology (Simoes, 1996); and strategy use (Lynch, Klee, & Tedick, 2001; Ife, 2000). In the context of language-teacher training, however, some learners would like to gain teaching insights from the experience of immersion. For example, developing teaching methodology (Mahan & Stachowski, 1989; McKay, Bowyer & Kerr, 2001) – past studies found that learners were able to compare and contrast different school systems through immersion (Clement & Outlaw, 2002) and acquire new attitudes and beliefs in teaching (Quinn et al, 1995). Vall and Tennison (1991-1992) argued that student teachers became more reflective about teaching. Meanwhile, immersion also caters to learners who would like to experience different levels of language input and cultural exposure (Barron, 2006; Diaz-Campos, 2004; Isabelli, 2004; Lafford, 2004) – the internal attribute suggested by Gardner (1996).

Based on the past studies, it is found that results have only focused on how immersion relates to a single aspect of learning outcome, i.e. language, teaching pedagogy (external forces) or culture (internal attribute), Heider's (1958) attribution approach and theories under the expectancy-value approach like that of Rotter's (1982), Eccles and Wigfield's (1995), Loacke and Lathan's (1995) and Gardner's (1996) deem applicable to explore the relationship between motivation and immersion.

With the application of the above psychological theoretical frameworks in this study, the significance of the study is multi-faceted:

- 1) There are several other motivation theories which are also applicable to be used in this study to examine participants' motivation to go on an immersion programme as stated above, this study will aim to explore the relationship between the results of the data and the stated motivation theories, and their inter-relationship, if any.
- 2) Studies on investigating the motivational attitudes of student teachers with different backgrounds towards immersion programme are scant, results of the present study will add new insights to the current field of study.
- 3) This study will focus on how learners of different backgrounds affect their motivations for experiencing immersion. With the results of the current study, it is hoped that the results will make contribution to the current literature on study abroad and/or teacher motivation, and shed light on designing an overseas immersion programmes for culturally diverse students.

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

For the purposes of this study, this paper aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the motivation for teachers of different backgrounds and origins share before they take part in immersion?
2. Have the motivations of teachers of different backgrounds and origins changed after they have taken part in immersion?
3. What are the reasons and relationships of the motivations found?

IV. METHODS

A. Design

The researcher adopted a qualitative approach to data acquisition over an extended period of time in order to see the developmental changes in participant motivation. The main means of data collection was through two rounds of semi-structured interviews, supported by e-mail correspondence between the researcher and the participants.

B. Procedures

At the beginning at the semester, the researcher sent an invitation letter by email to all EFL student teachers in a one-year postgraduate diploma course in English teaching (PGDE) in Hong Kong. To avoid pressure, the group of PGDE students were not notified that the researcher would be one of the module lecturer. Eventually, 10 out of 25 students expressed interest in participating in this study: Mainland China (n=5) and Hong Kong (n=5). The PGDE course is comprised of 12 weeks of taught modules in Hong Kong, 6 weeks of immersion in Australia, then another 5 weeks of taught modules and 8 weeks of teaching practice in Hong Kong. The 6-week immersion consisted of 3 taught modules, teaching practice of 3 days per week, stays with local host families, and excursions. During the teaching practice, students were supervised by a serving teacher at the placement school. Students were required to conduct lesson observations, prepare lessons and teaching materials, and teach.

Before the immersion officially commenced, the investigator held an in-depth face-to-face group interview with the participants to prompt their expectations of immersion. This session was aimed to collect base-line data for the project (RQ1). Participants were also invited for another in-depth face-to-face group interview session after returning from

immersion (RQ2). With the responses given by the participant, the researcher then compared and contrasted the motivational differences and similarities occurring over the immersion period (RQ3).

C. Participants

Before the PGDE course commenced, the researcher identified and invited 25 Hong Kong (HK) and Mainland Chinese EFL student teachers to participate in the project. Ten responded and expressed interests in taking part in the study. Table 1 shows the demographic features of the participants.

TABLE I.
PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Participant	Country of origin	Country of bachelor degree awarded	Gender	Years of learning English	Years of teaching English
1	HK	HK	F	17	0
2	HK	HK	F	17	0
3	HK	HK	F	18	0
4	HK	HK	F	17	0
5	HK	HK	M	17	0
6	Mainland China	Mainland China	M	10	3
7	Mainland China	Mainland China	F	11	3
8	Mainland China	Mainland China	F	10	4
9	Mainland China	Mainland China	F	10	5
10	Mainland China	Mainland China	F	11	2

All HK participants were students who graduated with non-English degrees and would like to become trained EFL teachers. As for the Mainland Chinese participants, they were all experienced EFL teachers with either English or education degrees. Because of the differing education systems in HK and China, the numbers of years of experience learning English were also different.

Participants from Mainland China are from Guangdong Province and their mother tongue is Cantonese while the first language of the HK participants is also Cantonese. None of the Mainland Chinese participants have studied in Hong Kong or been to Hong Kong before. When asked whether they planned to stay in HK for work after graduation, all HK participants expressed teaching in Hong Kong is their plan while none of the participants from Mainland China plan to stay. Their reason for coming to HK is purely for professional development.

D. Data Collection

Researchers conducted two rounds of semi-structured interviews with each group of participants (pre-immersion and post-immersion), i.e., four rounds of interviews.

The in-depth interview questions were structured in order to describe the developmental changes in motivation that drove them to immersion (see Appendix 1 for the interview questions). Similar semi-structured interview questions were used in the post-immersion interview to elicit any motivational change over immersion (see appendix 1).

To avoid miscommunication, interviews with the participants were conducted in their first language, Cantonese. All interviews were transcribed and translated from Cantonese to English for data analysis. Participants were also encouraged to send e-mails to the researchers to talk about their experiences any time during immersion, but this was not mandatory. By the end of the immersion, there were 24 e-mail correspondences received from the participants. E-mails were all conveyed in English.

E. Data Analysis

The researcher adapted a form of the 'phenomenological' approach to analyse interview data, proposed by Hycner (1985), because it presents a clear process of reducing and analysing interview data. The data were analysed by the researcher in a reductive manner (Dörnyei, 2007), as Silverman (2000) recommended, to avoid either imposing prior categories of analysis or prematurely forming such categories. A progressive approach (Verschuren, 2003) was used whereby each stage of data analysis informed the subsequent stage of data collection. Through the analysis, segments of data were de-contextualised and then reconceptualised into thematic groups. The analysis of data consisted of three phases: pre-coding, coding, and theorising. In this way, changes on motivation before and after immersion emerged.

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this study, all participants were asked in the pre-immersion interviews what they expected to learn from the immersion and tell the interviewer which reasons are the most important, less important and least important. Same questions were asked in the post-immersion interview to compare the responses. Data analysis revealed three main motivations for students to undertake immersion: *language improvement*, *pedagogical enhancement*, and *cultural enrichment*.

The motivation of going on an immersion can be categorized under Gardner's (1996) motivation framework. In the socio-educational model, motivation has most frequently been characterised into two orientations (Gardner, 1985).

They are intrinsic and extrinsic motivational orientation. Based on the above results, the intrinsic motivation orientation is cultural enrichment; while language enhancement and pedagogical enhancement are the extrinsic motivation orientation. Meanwhile, Gardner (1996) also presented a hybrid perspective - that is: motivation can be an internal attribute and, at the same time, the result of an external force (Gardner, 1996) and the present study found that the most significant internal attribute to motivate the two groups of teachers are different although neither group had any motivational change throughout the whole process of immersion. Table 2 summarises the results of the study.

TABLE II.
MOTIVATION AND IMMERSION

Motivation for going on Immersion	Mainland Chinese participants		Hong Kong participants	
	Pre-immersion	Post-immersion	Pre-immersion	Post-immersion
Language improvement	Least important	Least important	Most important	Most important
Pedagogical enhancement	Most important	Most important	Least important	Least important
Cultural enrichment	Less important	Less important	Less important	Less important

Table 2 shows that the Mainland Chinese teachers saw enhancing pedagogy as their main reason for immersion, followed by cultural enrichment and language improvement. However the main motivation for Hong Kong teachers was language improvement. Cultural enrichment was of secondary importance while pedagogical enhancement was seen as the least important. Further qualitative data below elaborates on the contrasting results. The reason for the consistency in motivation for immersion was revealed in e-mail correspondences and interviews of several respondents.

In one e-mail correspondence a Mainland participant stated,

"This is really a good experience. I saw students of different nationalities sitting in one class. The method the teacher used was also something I had never seen before. In this coming few weeks, I must try to absorb as much as I can." (CT 4, e-mail correspondence 20081214)

The above email excerpt can be explained by the goal setting theory suggested by Locke and Lathan (1990) why Mainland Chinese are motivated to enhance their pedagogy. According to the above excerpt, Mainland participant demonstrated her/his goal of experiencing and absorbing different teaching methods can be achieved (expectancy) and s/he would try 'as much as s/he can' to learn the teaching methods which is important (value) for him/her. With the goal and high value Mainland Chinese participants set for the immersion and their expectancy level on achieving the goal is high, motivation of pedagogical enhancement is therefore strong.

An e-mail from a Hong Kong participant also expressed her desire for language improvement during immersion.

"It was so difficult to fully understand what the Aussie said. Their accents are so different from ours, even to our lecturers who came from Australia. I think our lecturers had slowed down to make sure we understand them better... but now when I am here, this is not the case, I've found that I am still very far away from what I want to achieve." (HKT 5, e-mail correspondence 20081215)

This email excerpt can be explained by the task value model proposed by Eccles and Wigfield (1995). The HK participant wanted to enhance his/her language (attainment value) while the 'cost' refers to negative value components like effort and time and fear of failure and anxiety. From this excerpt, the 'cost' seemed high for the HK participant as s/he saw him/herself 'still very far away from what s/he want to achieve'. Although the Hong Kong participants believe enhancing language can be difficult, the value of enhancing language is still higher than that of pedagogical enhancement and cultural enrichment. To compare the two groups of participants' motivation by applying the theories proposed by Locke and Lathan (1990) and Eccles and Wigfield (1995) respectively, one can see that Hong Kong participants see achieving the task they set for going on an immersion is harder than that of the Mainland participants because the 'cost', in terms of anxiety is the hurdle of expectancy of success. The HK participants' view can be attributed to the need of passing the high-stake exam of LPAT and obtaining QTS which is the main objective of their enrolling the PGDE programme.

A. Pedagogical Enhancement

The difference in how the two groups viewed the importance of pedagogical enhancement were extreme, with Mainland Chinese considering it of highest importance, while Hong Kong participants considered it least. Mainland teachers considered their exposure to a different teaching context as highly important, with reasons revealed in Excerpt 1.

"We see learning how to teach as the main reason for going on immersion because I want to know how native speakers of English teach English to both EFL learners as well as the native students. I want to see how the teaching approaches are different. This is something I can't see back in Mainland China." (Excerpt 1, CT 1, pre-immersion interview, 13)

In an e-mail correspondence, a Mainland participant stated,

"Now that I am in Australia, I don't need to worry about my assignment nor work back home. I am pretty "empty" and waiting to be filled with insights... I found I am more receptive to new ideas in teaching." (CT 2, e-mail correspondence 20081211)

However, the HK group saw pedagogical enhancement as least important, as indicated by this participant:

"I don't think seeing how teachers of different countries teach is very important because teaching English to EFL learners are very individualistic. Observing how others teach in other countries may not help my teaching in my own context." (Excerpt 2, HKT 1, pre-immersion interview, 20)

On the other hand, Mainland teachers saw their teaching in a Western context as a great asset to their professional portfolio.

"If our students know that I had taught overseas or studied overseas, they tend to give us more respect because we are different from other English teachers. That's why I see the teaching experiences during immersion as a great bonus to my teaching experience". (Excerpt 3, CT 2, pre-immersion interview, 17)

Mainland participants saw developing pedagogy as their main motivation for undertaking immersion. Past studies, such as Mahan & Stachowski (1989) and McKay, Bowyer & Kerr (2001), also echoed the results of this study. Olson, and Jimenez-Silva (2008), found that studying abroad had a positive effect on both confidence and underlying ideological beliefs about teaching English language learners. Siegle & McCoach (2007) also concluded that immersion will normally enhance self-efficacy.

In China, with the heavy emphasis on the public examination, most teachers teach English according to the format of the public examination which in turn makes English learning monotonous and dull. Also, language knowledge weighs heavier than language use in EFL classroom because of the use of grammar-translation approach. Students place learning grammar and vocabulary the top priority in English learning hence expect teachers to teach the way they expect them to be. Young and Wong (2009) pointed out that students were not ready to accept any new approaches beyond their cultural framework.

However, according to the present study, pedagogy was considered important by the Mainland participants. The Chinese participants would like to implement innovative teaching approaches and ideas in their classrooms although they could neither change the curriculum nor the assessment. They believed that their students deserve a chance to enjoy the fun of learning English and learning English is not purely for instrumental values. Within their own classrooms and their own reach, they would like to bring in new teaching and learning approaches for students to experience the beauty of English and learning English can be of cultural and other values.

Now that the Mainland Chinese participants had experienced how English could be taught, they can reflect on how they can fine-tune and improve on what they can implement in their future teaching when they go back to China. Immersion was an opportunity for them to test their teaching hypothesis. As Vall and Tennison (1991-1992) believed, student teachers became more reflective about their assumptions and behaviours, and more active in problem-posting and experimentation of alternatives. Previous studies, like Williams and Kelleher (1987), also echoed the results. It was found that through immersion participants were able to compare and contrast different school systems, as suggested by Clement & Outlaw (2002) and Quinn et al (1995).

Alternatively, HK teachers viewed teaching experience during immersion as less important than their local teaching experience.

"Well, I think the teaching experience I am going to have at a local school will be more important to me. To my potential employers, the teaching experience I had during immersion was only part of my studies. What they care more... also what I care more... is the local teaching experience." (Excerpt 4, HKT 3, post-immersion interview, 35)

The two groups of participants see pedagogical enhancement differently because their expected 'values' of the exposing to different teaching approaches and pedagogy are not the same. The Mainland participants see the value of enhancing pedagogical knowledge their prime objective of going on an immersion while the Hong Kong participants do not because the 'value' to their professional development is low.

B. Language Improvement

Another contrasting view emerged regarding views on language improvement, in that HK participants saw immersion as a chance to enhance their language proficiency, while the Mainland group did not.

"In the whole immersion programme, I very much look forward to the home stay experience. I want to see how I will react to a 100% English environment. When I am in HK, I rely on Cantonese too much. That's why I didn't bother to brush up my English. When I am in an English speaking country, I know I won't have help but to speak English only. I want to see how much impact can bring to my English proficiency." (Excerpt 5, HKT 2, pre-immersion interview, 28)

Another HK participant also expressed her concern over passing the mandatory English proficiency test for Hong Kong English teachers.

"My major concern for the whole PGDE is that, I need to pass the LPATE (Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers of English). If I can't pass it, I can't graduate. I can only graduate with my passing the exam. That's why improving my English during immersion is my major concern. I will make sure I speak English only and interact more with the local people. Even my English may not be able to significantly improved, at least I want to boost my confidence in using English." (Excerpt 6, HKT5, pre-immersion interview, 15)

As HK participants correctly cited Hong Kong as primarily unilingual, they were particularly motivated to undergo immersion for the home stay experience as they believed it would be a major contributing factor in providing L2 learners with an authentic situation for developing both linguistic and communicative competence (Chaseling, 2001; Carlson, Burn, Useem & Yachimowicz, 1990; Koestler, 1986; Oppen, Teichler, & Carlson, 1990).

HK participants saw language development as the most prominent reason to go on immersion, even without teaching experience, because their biggest hurdle to graduation from the programme was passing the public examination. Immersion's positive effect on language development is based on a common assumption among educators and parents that significant contact with a host country's language will lead to higher proficiency in that language (e.g. Brecht, Davison, & Ginsberg, 1993; Isabelli, 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). This belief is supported by Isabelli's (2004), Coleman's (1997), and Freed, So & Lazar's (2003) reviews of literature showing that students studying abroad attained a higher proficiency than students remaining at home. As Rotter (1982)'s social learning theory suggested that behaviour potential is determined by the expectancy of goal attainment and the value of goal or reinforcement, language enhancement is deemed prominent to the group of HK participants because of the desire on authentic English communication and passing the LPATE. Hence much effort was emphasized by the HK participants as compared to the Mainland participants.

However, Mainland Chinese participants did not seem to worry about improving their language proficiency, as one stated,

"LPATE is not a major concern to me. My metalanguage is good enough to pass the exam. This is what we have been training all our lives back in Mainland China. Improving English is not a major concern. I just need more insights to pedagogy." (Excerpt 7, CT 2, post-immersion interview, 29)

Atkinson's achievement motivation theory (Atkinson, 1966) fully explains why the Mainland participants do not see language enhancement importantly. As Atkinson stated that human's motivational behaviours are determined by their goals and by their subjective value, Mainland participants maximise their personal pursuits by selecting those activities which are likely to meet their high-valued goals. Obviously language improvement is not perceived as high value by the Mainland participants, the motivation on language improvement is therefore relatively less strong.

C. Cultural Enrichment

Both Mainland China and Hong Kong participants see cultural enrichment as the second most important motivation, as the following excerpt revealed:

"I have been living in Mainland China all my life. I learn English from textbooks and TV but I have never personally experienced it. I want to be totally immersed in a western cultural environment to see what impact can bring to me as an EFL teacher." (Excerpt 8, CT4, pre-immersion interview, 42)

As this excerpt shows, cultural enrichment is part of the reason for them to enhance their teaching pedagogy, both of which are closely linked.

"I wanted to live, study and socialize in a different country. I wanted to see the world beyond my own. I think living in HK only is too limited for me as an English teacher. Teaching English is not just teaching a language, we are also introducing a different kind of culture to the students. I need the exposure to a different culture to know the language better. Now I can share more with my students..." (Excerpt 9, HKT 5, post-immersion interview, 26)

Both the Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong participants named cultural enrichment as an element of professional development, but language improvement and pedagogical enhancement are still more important than cultural enrichment in the eyes of the HK and Mainland participants respectively. It revealed that both groups of participants were extrinsically motivated to undertake immersion. They saw immersion as pragmatic (Gardner & Lambert, 1972).

Apart from both groups of participants being extrinsically motivated, they were also found to be intrinsically motivated to go on immersion. Cultural enrichment was found to be the second most important to their going on an immersion. They sought to be exposed to an authentic, native-English-speaking country in order to be immersed in the culture and thus become better teachers who understand the culture behind the target language they teach (Gardner & Lambert, 1972).

As Mainland China is primarily mono-cultural, the Mainland participants expressed their desire to be immersed in highly-different cultures for comparison purposes. Thus enhancing their own understanding of Chinese culture, they would have deeper insights of both cultures with which to better teach their own students (Wong, 2009). As Davcheva (2002) explained, immersion programmes elevate student teachers' development of intercultural teaching, learning dispositions, and their understanding of new approaches to designing intercultural teaching materials. Wiggins, Follo and Eberly (2007) also found similar results. By understanding the culture of the target community, a positive attitude toward cultural diversity can be generated, a critical component in the preparation of teachers. Throughout the process of immersion, it is the exchange of culture with the native speakers which makes immersion meaningful to teachers. Coleman (1997), Freed (1995), Allen & Herron (2003), and Regan (2003) affirmed that it is interaction with native speakers that drives acquisition of culture and language. To facilitate interaction with native speakers, program directors often recommend home stays, which many researchers (for review, see Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004) view as the

sine qua non of language study abroad, in that they serve as a potential sites for tertiary socialisation into target communities (Alfred & Byram, 2002).

D. Relationships between Internal and External Attributions

Looking at the results from the study, an interesting interrelationship can be generated by examining the relevant motivational theories and approaches explain the two culturally diverse groups of participants are motivated in going on an immersion programme.

For the group of Hong Kong participants (see Figure 1), they looked at language enhancement as the main motivation source for immersion because of the need on passing the LPATE (external attribution) but their fear and anxiety of failing is high hence believing that their expectancy on not be able to achieve the set task is high. Therefore, the external attribution is influencing the internal attribution of the Hong Kong participants' motivation on immersion.

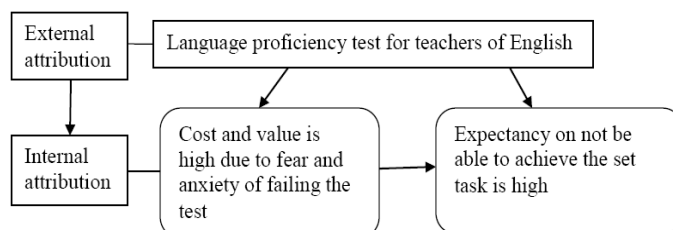


Figure 1. Language improvement and Immersion (Hong Kong participants)

For the group of Mainland Chinese participants (see Figure 2), the causal relationship is reversed. Mainland Chinese participants viewed pedagogical enhancement as a form of professional development due to their previous teacher training and the grammar-translation approach used in their school contexts (external attribution) but their fear and anxiety level of not being to experience new pedagogy is low hence believing that their expectancy on being able to develop and enhance their understanding on different teaching approaches is low. In sum, the external attribution is positively influencing the internal attribution of the Mainland Chinese participants' motivation on immersion.

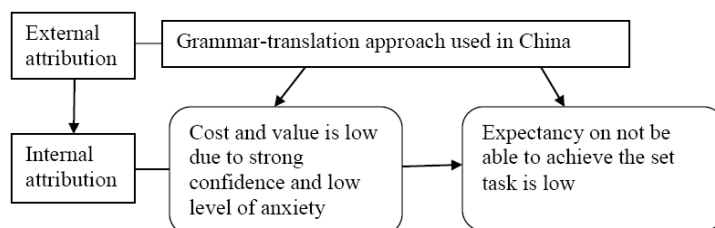


Figure 2. Pedagogical enhancement and Immersion (Mainland Chinese participants)

VI. IMPLICATIONS

This study found that participants of two different backgrounds were both extrinsically motivated to go on immersion, but with differing orientations of extrinsic motivation. The Hong Kong group was more inclined to seek language improvement, while the Mainland group was more inclined to enhance their teaching pedagogy. If this is the case, it is wise for programme coordinators to first examine student motivation for immersion so as to adopt a more flexible approach in arranging the durations of taught modules, school attachments, home stay experiences and other culturally related matters. If some participants are more inclined to practicum, an option of a longer school-attachment scheme should be allowed.

For participants who are more concerned with language learning during their immersion programme, a local peer group can be formed to act as personal tutors to facilitate simultaneous cultural enrichment and language improvement.

Regarding the intrinsic side of motivation, care must be taken to ensure the suitability of the host family. As the country's cultural ambassadors, they will highly influence the quality of linguistic input and indeed act as the lens through which the living style and cultures (and/or subcultures) of the host country will be understood.

One point should note is that the PGDE programme should also guide students to diversify their motivations. If the Hong Kong is inclined to improve their language, then they should be called to reflect on how and what English teaching skills and approaches they can improve on. Reflecting on the differences between those they see during immersion and those they have been experiencing can be of unexpected significance to their career.

As for the Mainland Chinese participants, they should also be called to the fact that there is still much room for improvement concerning their English language skills, especially the English they use in China is likely not for daily communication but purely classroom instruction. The authentic usage of English during an immersion can facilitate and arouse their awareness to their language improvement.

With the results found in this study, it will be worth extending the study to examine how different motivations affect what the participants gained from the immersion experience. Results will shed lights on the designing the content of the immersion programmes hence enhance the effectiveness of immersion experience to professional development.

VII. CONCLUSION

Learners of differing backgrounds undertook immersion with different motivations, reasons which must be better understood to create better future EFL teachers. It was found that Mainland participants were motivated by desires to enhance their pedagogical knowledge in EFL teaching in order to satisfy implementation constraints in their homeland. In contrast, Hong Kong participants were primarily interested in improving their language proficiency in order to satisfy the mandatory language assessment required for graduation. Both groups, however, saw cultural enrichment as their secondary reason for undertaking immersion, in that it allowed them to better understand the culture behind the language and thus become better English teachers. Motivations for immersion can be diverse yet equally powerful in creating more reflective, innovative, superior EFL teachers.

APPENDIX

The in-depth interview questions were structured in order to describe the developmental changes in motivation that drove them to immersion. The interview questions included:

1. Are you looking forward to the immersion?
2. What do you expect to learn during immersion?
3. Of all mentioned, which one is the most important? Which one is the least important?
4. Can you explain why ____ is the most important?
5. Can you explain why ____ is the least important?

Similar semi-structured interview questions were used in the post-immersion interview to elicit any motivational change over immersion. The interview questions were:

1. Did you enjoy the immersion?
2. What did you learn from the immersion experience?
3. Which one(s) is/are the most important?
4. Which one(s) is/are the least important?
5. Why?

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Research on Vocabulary in Chinese Commercial Contracts

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Abstract—Business English has already become a major field in linguistics. In contrast, Business Chinese has not seen the same level of activity, which is reflected in the comparatively small amount of teaching resources and related research on Business Chinese. One important example of a context in which business language is used is the commercial contract. This study is an analysis of the classification and characteristics of vocabulary used in Chinese commercial contracts.

Index Terms—commercial contract, business Chinese vocabulary, business language, legal language

I. INTRODUCTION

Business is a fundamental activity for human beings. In order for us to communicate in business, we use the sublanguages of business and business communication. Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007) define business discourse as “all about how people communicate using talk or writing in commercial organizations to get their work done” (p. 3). This study focuses on exploring the commercial contract, an important document commonly used in everyday business activity, so that we can conduct both a quantitative and qualitative description on the vocabulary used in Chinese commercial contracts. In society, contracts are made between natural persons or legal persons in order to carry out a particular purpose. Contracts clearly stipulate the rights and obligations of parties to the contract, thus resulting in a document that has legal validity. Given that our world has become more interconnected and globalisation has now become mainstream, contracts play a critical role in how individuals, companies, governments and so on, interact with each other in business. For those involved in the legal aspects of doing business, such as negotiators, lawyers, translators and so on, they are expected to be familiar with the linguistic characteristics of commercial contracts so that they can accurately understand the clauses drafted in contracts and can either reduce or remove any risks that could give rise to an unfortunate situation for the parties to the contract. As a formal legal document, the style of writing in commercial contracts has both characteristics of business language as well as legal language. This paper looks at the features of language used in Chinese commercial contracts including nouns, verbs, formal language, general language, legal language, standardization, as well as its precise and dynamic nature.

II. BUSINESS LANGUAGE

Sager et al. commented, “the lexicon of special languages is their most obvious distinguishing characteristic” (1980, p. 230), and that the main characteristics of specialized discourse include its economical nature, precision and appropriateness (1980, p. 323). Aurner (1940) described Business English as “[t]he vocabulary of business is that wide, inclusive, vigorous, and sometimes technical group of English words used for the purpose of making business operations efficient and successful” (p. 15). Given that linguists have already paid particular attention to the vocabulary that comprises Language for Specific Purposes in the case of English, we believe that the vocabulary used in Business Chinese also merits our attention. Business Chinese has been described as being communicative, goal-oriented, practical and having a professional nature (Deng, 2018, p. 161), yet these characteristics have only been described on the basis of subjective opinion and analysis, lacking data-based support and objectivity. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to carry out a statistical analysis of the vocabulary found in a database of Chinese commercial contracts.

In a study by Wu Haiyan (2014) titled “*Research on the vocabulary of Business Chinese*” (*Shangwu Hanyu Cihui Yanjiu - 商务汉语词汇研究*), Wu conducted both theoretical research and applied pedagogical research on the vocabulary of Business Chinese. This research incorporated a range of texts as the focus of the study, including Business Chinese teaching resources, a corpus from Peking University’s Centre for Chinese Linguistics, two English-Chinese bilingual dictionaries, a grading scheme on syllabic lexicon for Chinese International Education, and an examination syllabus for the Business Chinese Test from Peking University’s Office of Research and Development. Wu discovered that the vocabulary used in Business Chinese and general Chinese have their respective differences and similarities, and particularly, that seven different features (see Table 1) characterise Business Chinese.

III. RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF CHINESE COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS

The data used in our study come from authentic commercial contracts, that is, naturally occurring corporate language. The 40 contracts totaling 254,960 characters used were freely provided on official Chinese business and government websites. The data tabulated in this study are given in terms of absolute frequency. In order to make this study as representative as possible in terms of Chinese commercial contracts, we attempted to use a variety of commercial contracts differing in terms of format, purpose and content. Given the difficulty of obtaining authentic commercial documents, there is a duplication of a small number of contracts: Sale of Goods Contract (货物买卖合同) (3), Sales Contract (销售合同) (3), Purchase and Sale Contract (买卖合同) (2) (see Appendix A for all contracts used in this study). Naturally, given the wide range of commercial contracts that exist, this study has not been able to include all types of commercial contracts into the analysis. To carry out a statistical measurement of the vocabulary used in the contracts outlined in Appendix A, we used the Python programming language in order to obtain the relevant data.

Table 2 below shows the different parts of speech found in our database of Chinese commercial contracts. As can be seen from the results, nouns are the most frequently used part of speech.

TABLE II.
PARTS OF SPEECH IN DATABASE OF CHINESE COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS

Part of speech	Example	Marker	Frequency in database
Noun	合同	NN	61027
Verb	应	VV	26232
Adverb	依次	AD	7032
Cardinal number	1, 2, 3	CD	6933
Preposition	在	P	6587
Coordinating conjunction	与, 和, 或者	CC	4903
Non-describable adjective	共同	JJ	4390
Auxiliary word (的)	的	DEC	4319
Determiner	这, 那	DT	3847
“的” as a marker of possession	的	DEG	3628
Measure word	条, 本, 款	M	3117
Noun of locality	上, 下, 后, 前	LC	2781
Proper noun	中国	NR	2208
Ordinal number	第一	OD	1184
Pronoun	双方	PN	1183
Linking verb	是	VC	649
Verb	有, 没有, 无	VE	594
Adjective	先进	VA	579
Auxiliary word	所, 以, 而	MSP	536
Etcetera (等)	等	ETC	450
Noun for time	当月	NT	378
Subordinating conjunction	如果, 要是	CS	345
Preposition (被)	被	SB	206
Preposition (把)	把	BA	171
Modal particle	了, 吧, 吗	SP	112
Auxiliary word (地)	地	DEV	97
Preposition (被)	被	LB	89
Aspect particle	了, 着, 过	AS	69
Auxiliary word (得)	得	DER	2

TABLE III.
20 MOST COMMON FUNCTION WORDS AND CONTENT WORDS

Content word	Frequency	Function word	Frequency
合同	2918	的	8203
本	2284	和	1521
份	2061	在	1670
款	1963	或	1651
有	1627	为	1280
不	1620	及	1007
期	1327	对	876
甲方	1313	所	826
第	1272	并	800
乙方	1290	与	784
日	1257	由	764
管理	1207	之	615
条	1174	按	560
可	1092	向	541
内	979	将	476
后	848	因	411
应	844	按照	308
下	800	根据	283
规定	782	被	246
贷款	721	或者	201

Table 3 shows the most frequently used words in our database of Chinese commercial contracts. We have analysed these according to the traditional classification method of content words and function words, in which the former contain a practical meaning and can independently form sentences as they have a lexical meaning as well as grammatical meaning, while the latter only have either a grammatical meaning or functional meaning and cannot independently form sentences.

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS

In this section, we undertake an analysis of the vocabulary used in our database of Chinese commercial contracts.

A. Analysis of Parts of Speech: Nouns and Verbs

From Table 2 we can see that the most frequently used part of speech in our database is the noun, with a tendency to express concrete concepts, such as 基金 (fund), 技术 (technology), 产品 (product), 项目 (project), and so on. The second most frequently used part of speech is the verb, with a tendency to use verbs to express cooperation or trade between two parties: 提供 (to provide), 制造 (to manufacture; to make), 使用 (to use), 采用 (to use, adopt), 交付 (to deliver; to hand over), 支付 (to pay), 收到 (to obtain, to receive), and so on. We also found that many affixes have a strong ability to reproduce new words when combined with different characters. In such cases, their position is relatively fixed, while maintaining both a sense of its lexical meaning as well as revealing a tendency of how the part of speech is used to form new words. The examples below show how three different characters, “期” (time; period), “证” (certificate; proof) and “费” (cost; expense; fee), are used in our database of Chinese commercial contracts to form new words.

期:

日期, 延期, 船期, 按期, 保证期, 有效期, 保质期, 星期, 到期, 逾期, 交货期, 履约期, 同期, 每期, 分期, 前期, 合作期, 保期, 任期, 工期, 保修期, 质保期, 长期, 周期, 即期, 定期, 首期, 如期, 非分期, 当期, 存续期, 活期, 短期, 预期, 可延期, 中期, 限售期, 报告期, 不定期, 免仓期, 犹豫期, 假期, 试用期.

证:

单证, 信用证, 保证, 用证, 公证, 可证, 凭证, 签证, 身份证, 鉴证, 不保证, 教师证, 暂住证, 房产证, 开证, 权证, 合格证, 许可证, 查证, 签证, 验证, 认证, 使用证, 开证, 离婚证, 执业证, 不保证。

费:

服务费, 滞期费, 仓储费, 保险费, 运费, 空仓费, 检验费, 装卸费, 差旅费, 消费, 经费, 损失费, 公证费, 诉讼费, 仲裁费, 过户费, 律师费, 建筑费, 生活费, 医药费, 路费, 收费, 电费, 管理费, 自费, 培训费, 补助费, 运杂费, 保养费, 计费, 税费, 免费, 浪费, 安装费, 包装费, 住宿费, 招待费, 发布费, 制作费, 印刷费, 人工费, 杂费, 鉴定费, 旅费, 补偿费, 加工费, 保险费, 保障费, 工费, 耽搁费, 自费, 转让费, 入门费, 使用费。

From Table 3, we can see that the most frequently used verbs in our database are: 有 (to have; to possess), 管理 (to manage), 应 (ought to; should), 规定 (to stipulate). In the legal context, the modal verb “应” emphasises binding norms in legal texts, that is, it stipulates behavior that a party must do or is prohibited from doing (Yu Zhichun, 1991, p. 26). In Table 4, we have measured and compared the use of various modal verbs in our database of Chinese commercial contracts. It can be noticed that “应”, a low-to-medium value modal verb is used more frequently than other modal verbs. Below are examples of the use of “应” as found in our database of contracts:

(1) ...买方或其船方代理应及时通知卖方。

(2) 采用自主支付的, 甲方应定期报告或告知乙方贷款资金支付情况...

The negative form of “应” in our database is not “不应”, but is expressed as“不得”, as shown below:

TABLE IV.
FREQUENCY OF MODAL VERBS

Modal verb	Frequency
应	844
应当	282
可以	158
不得	120
必须	108
不能	107
需要	92
可能	83
能	58
禁止	25
能够	12
应该	4
务必	2

(3) 乙方有下列情况之一的, 甲方不得解除合同...

(4) ...在基金募集行为结束前, 任何人不得动用。

In a contract, “应当” and “必须” can be both translated into English as either “must” or “shall”. Therefore, L2 Chinese learners may find it useful to pay attention to the following point: while “应当” and “必须” may not be substantially different, “应当” is typically used in the legal context to refer to an obligatory norm rather than using “必须”¹.

B. Stylistic Analysis: Written Language and Spoken Language

Chinese contracts typically come in a written format and utilise formal language with relatively little oral or colloquial language, which shows the formality and solemnity that characterises this type of document. The results from this study are consistent with this view. For example, we found a relatively high number of conjunctions (和, 及, 并, 与, 或者), which is characteristic of formal written language. However, unlike other formal written business documents, we found that our database of contracts did not adhere to principles of politeness. For example, some formal written business documents employ language used to show courtesy and respect. In Chinese, a business letter may use language such as “盼望贵方佳音” (*we look forward to hearing from you soon*), “扰贵方 X 月 X 日来函询问之事, 我们很遗憾

¹ See: 《立法工作规范（试行一）》（法工委发[2009]62号文）。

的奉告...” (*regarding the letter that was sent on X, we regret to inform you that...*) and so on, conforming to the principles of politeness. Moreover, business letters can also use the passive tense to create a mild or gentle tone, yet in our database of commercial contracts, it was found that the passive tense was used to a relatively small degree.

From our results, it can be seen that there is a relatively high use of professional terminology, consisting of both Business Chinese and Legal Chinese, as seen in the following vocabulary: 信用证 (letter of credit), 不可抗力 (force majeure), 撤销 (to repeal), 法定代表人 (legal representative), 债权人 (creditor), 保证人 (guarantor), 合同签订地 (place of signing a contract), 委托方 (principal), 验收工作 (project acceptance), 串标行为 (colluding behaviour in bidding), 有效性 (validity; effectiveness), 约束力 (binding force), 简易程序 (summary procedure), 账簿 (account book), 著作权 (copyright), 清偿 (pay off; clear off), 债务 (debt; liability), 法律效力 (legal force), 仲裁 (arbitration), 权利义务转让 (transfer of rights and obligations), 唛头 (shipping mark), 违约金 (liquidated damages; penal sum), 著作权 (copyright), 解除合同 (terminate a contract), 解约 (terminate an agreement), 出口国 (exporting country), 增值税 (added-value tax), 管辖权 (right of jurisdiction), 利率 (interest rate), 浮动比率 (floating-rate).

We also found a particular group of vocabulary that while typically used in general Chinese, can take on a different meaning when used in a commercial contract. Accordingly, these words can be considered to be specialised vocabulary. For example, in general language, the term “责任” (duty; obligation) may not necessarily refer to a legal duty or obligation, but can simply refer to responsibility that a person has. In a legal context such as a commercial contract, the term “责任” refers to a legal duty or legal obligation, and can be interpreted in both a general and a narrow sense. By interpreting “责任” in a general sense, it refers to the responsibility of a group or individual to abide by the law, in which people consciously uphold their duties according to law while. The narrow meaning of the term “责任” refers to the responsibility that a lawbreaker owes for having carried out an unlawful act, and therefore, it is a duty or obligation that has legal force.

Given that Chinese commercial contracts contain a large amount of specialised vocabulary such as 管辖 (jurisdiction), 自由销售 (free sale), 约束力 (binding force), 要约 (offer), 默认条款 (implied term), 默许 (acquiescence), L2 Chinese learners who have not undertaken Chinese for Special Purposes (CSP) courses in the field of Business Chinese and Legal Chinese may face particular challenges. Moreover, an L2 Chinese learner may have successfully passed a high level of Chinese such as the highest level of the HSK examination, yet this may not automatically prepare a student to face the challenges of learning vocabulary contained in specialised documents such as commercial contracts. Given that the vocabulary listed in the HSK syllabus is general in nature, numerous words found in our database of commercial contracts are not listed in the HSK syllabus, such as: 美元 (US dollar), 仲裁 (arbitration), 装运 (shipping; loading and transport), 金额 (money; sum; figure), 失效 (invalid; to lose efficacy), 毛重 (gross weight), 总值 (total value; gross value), 履约 (to honour an agreement), 承付 (honour; to promise to pay), 越过 (to cross; to surmount; to negotiate), 争执 (dispute). This finding supports the fact that new and relevant CSP materials are important for L2 Chinese learners who use Chinese in a business or legal context. The research results shows that Chinese commercial contracts have a high level of professional language, and that contract drafters use standardized vocabulary. Examples 5-7 below show how specialised vocabulary is used in our database of contracts:

(5) 提前还款通知自到达贷款人之日起生效, 提前还款通知是不可撤销的, 借款人有义务按照其中注明的金額和日期提前还款。

(6) 通过管理人网站查询等方式知悉有关集合计划运作的信息, 包括资产配置、投资比例、损益状况等...

(7) “提成费”指在本合同有效期内, 由于乙方所给予甲方连续的技术咨询和援助, 以及甲方在合同有效期内连续使用乙方的商标和专有技术, 甲方向乙方支付的费用。

Although Business Chinese incorporates a large amount of specialized business terminology, one of its main characteristics is its specificity or clarity. Therefore, in order to ensure that both parties to a contract clearly understand its content, there is typically a large amount of general language as well business language, and naturally, different types of contracts also have different levels of specialisation. For example, one of the contracts examined titled “*Personal Loan Contract*” utilised a significant amount of language that has overlaps between business language and general language, as evidenced in the use of the following vocabulary: 费用, 公证, 分期, 还款, 借款, 方式, 执行, 调整, 登记. Compared to other types of specialized discourses, it may be said that the language used in Chinese commercial contracts has a lower degree of technical terminology compared to specialized discourse such as Medical Chinese (医学汉语) or Chinese used in other scientific fields such as chemistry (化学汉语) where specific terminology is used that would not be used in general Chinese.

C. Industry Analysis

Following the swift development in China’s economy, Business Chinese has naturally evolved. Therefore, from the perspective of sociolinguistics, we can explore the development of Business Chinese. The US linguist W. Bright considered that sociolinguistic research covers seven different aspects, of which is language change and the application of sociolinguistics (Bright, 1966). From this perspective, we can take a closer look at the changes of vocabulary used in

our database of Chinese commercial contracts. We used the historical retrieval function in the online BCC corpus to examine two particular vocabulary, “仲裁” (arbitration) and “不可抗力” (force majeure).

The first recording of “仲裁” in the BCC corpus was in 1946, and 41 records of its use were found in that year.² For example:

主佃相继发言后，即进入仲裁，首先是解决业主汤仞千与佃户的纠纷（汤有一百二十六亩地在教场乡，本人在上海未归，由庄头王树仁为代表）。（人民日报，1946）

Over the 20th and early 21st century, usage of “仲裁” in the BCC corpus saw an increase, and by 2001 it had been used 546 times. We can also see new types of collocations with the word “仲裁”:

我国仲裁制度的完善和对新形势的适应与否，直接关系到我国进一步改革开放的步伐和在国际合作和竞争关系中的地位。（人民日报，1946）

From this example (仲裁制度), we can see that “仲裁” is not used merely as an independent word, but following the evolution of new systems in global business, it has been paired with the noun “制度” (system) to describe a range of systems, such as: 经济仲裁制度 (economic arbitration system), 劳动仲裁制度 (labor arbitration system), 体育仲裁制度 (sport arbitration system), 现代仲裁制度 (modern arbitration system), 劳动争议仲裁制度 (labor dispute arbitration system), 美国现代仲裁制度 (modern US arbitration system), and 涉外仲裁裁决撤销制度 (system of repeal of arbitration award concerning foreign interests).

Similarly, the BCC corpus has a recording in 1949 of “不可抗力” being used:³

甲、因天灾事变或其他不可抗力致损失者。（人民日报，1950）

Previously in China, the legal phrase “不可抗力” (*force majeure*) had not existed, but following globalisation and the development of China’s economy, the phrase has been introduced into legislation and is commonly used in business and legal documents. The origin of “不可抗力” lies in the French Civil Code and the term “*force majeure*”. By 1985, China put forward a clear interpretation of the meaning of “不可抗力” in its legislation: *force majeure* refers to an event that is unforeseen by the parties at the time of making a contract, and where its occurrence and consequences cannot be avoided and overcome. The scope of *force majeure* can be agreed on by the parties and written into the contract.⁴ Although, the initial scope of “不可抗力” was limited to natural events such as floods, droughts and earthquakes, its scope has been broadened to include human events such as wars, riots, fires, and terrorism (Traore & Xiao, 2001). Thus, we can see that following China’s societal development, the meaning of “不可抗力” has evolved.

D. Other Characteristics

Standardization: From the words of the late Qing dynasty thinker, Liang Qichao, we know that Chinese legal language possessed certain fundamental criteria: “Legal language has three important elements: it must be clear, authentic and forceful.”⁵ Given that commercial contracts are a type of written document, they are able to give play to their own language, one which can express legal meaning. Unlike general language, legal language in contracts can impose obligations on parties, confer legal rights upon parties, and contracts themselves can be used as legal evidence in the case of a dispute. Therefore, given the legal role played by language in contracts, we can see a degree of standardization in the vocabulary used in contracts, so as to conform with tradition. For example, in our database of Chinese commercial contracts, these are some of the standard legal terminology found throughout the contracts: 不可抗力 (*force majeure*), 履约 (to honour an agreement), 补偿金 (compensation), 违约金 (liquidated damages; penal sum), 履行 (performance), 违反 (to violate), 委托人 (principal; consignor), 解除 (to discharge; to relieve), 仲裁 (arbitration), 受让方 (acquiring party; transferee), 出让方 (granter; transferor), 侵权 (tort; infringement), 义务 (obligation; duty), 业绩报酬 (performance-based compensation), 撤销 (to cancel; to repeal).

Precision: From Table 4, we can see that the commercial contracts have a high frequency of measure words, such as 份, 款, 期, 日, 条, reflecting an important characteristic of contracts, namely, its precision. We also found that our database of commercial contracts includes a significant amount of legal language. Legal language has been described as using vocabulary that is extremely precise and as having a purpose that is extremely clear and definite (Mellinkoff, 1963, p. 21), however, it is also important to pay attention to the fact that legal language can also be characterised as having a particular degree of vagueness or flexibility (Gibbons, 2003, p. 38). For example, in example (8) below, we can see how the character “等” (etcetera) is used to include a whole series of unfavourable changes in circumstances

² “仲裁” (arbitration) BCC data: 荀恩东, 饶高琦, 肖晓悦, 臧娇娇. 大数据背景下BCC语料库的研制[J], 语料库语言学, 2016(1).

³ “不可抗力” (*force majeure*) BBC data: 荀恩东, 饶高琦, 肖晓悦, 臧娇娇. 大数据背景下BCC语料库的研制[J], 语料库语言学, 2016(1).

⁴ Original text: “不可抗力是当事人在订立合同时不能预见, 对其发生和后果不能避免并不能克服的事件。不可抗力事件的范围, 可以在合同中约定。” Source: 《中华人民共和国合同法》第24条第3款。

⁵ Original text: “法律之文辞有三要件：一曰明，二曰确，三曰弹性，明、确就法文之用言之，弹性就法文所含意义言之。” Source: 梁启超先生1904年发表的《论中国成文法编制之沿革得失》。

that could occur, thereby making the contract make able to deal with any unforeseen changes in circumstance. In examples 9 to 10 below, we can see that although the character “等” creates an air of ambiguity or vagueness, it also helps to ensure that the contracts are more operative and complete.

(8) 甲方及担保人民事行为能力和经济状况是否发生不利变化等项, 并根据审查结果决定是否发放贷款, 此类审查不构成乙方的义务。

(9) 乙方所提供的技术资料应有统一的符号、统一的标准、统一的规范等, 不得有任何矛盾。

(10) 根据实际需要, 乙方有义务向甲方派遣专家并为甲方培训必要的技术人员, 来厂专家和培训人员的数目、时间、任务以及费用负担等, 由双方另行商议。

Dynamic nature: Following the development of business activity, a continuous number of new words have come into being to help describe business activity. From the Chinese commercial contracts included in this study, we found the following new words had been used:

并购 (merger and acquisition), 上市 (appear on the market; to be listed), A 股 (A-share), 普票 (ordinary VAT invoice), 追偿 (pursuing of recovery), 联营 (joint operation; consortium), 高利贷 (high interest), 贴现 (discount), 贴现率 (discount rate), 保证金 (cash deposit), 招投标 (tender; bid), 专利权 (patent right), 包退 (guarantee of replacement).

Moreover, our research results also included numerous foreign words, with foreign words from Japanese making up a significant proportion, and also abbreviated words. We referred to the resource titled “Dictionary of Chinese Foreign Words” (*Hanyu Wailaici Cidian* - 汉语外来词词典) (Gao Mingkai, 1984) and found that our database of Chinese commercial contracts includes the following foreign words from Japanese:

登记 (register), 电话 (telephone), 复制 (duplicate; copy), 故障 (fault; malfunction), 关系 (connection), 广告 (advertisement), 国际 (international), 回收 (reclaim), 机械 (machinery), 集中 (concentrate; focus on), 计划 (plan; project), 记录 (record), 交换 (exchange), 进度 (plan; schedule; rate of progress), 进展 (progress; evolve), 经验 (experience), 具体 (specific), 会计 (accountant; accounting), 类型 (type; form), 了解 (understand), 年度 (end of year), 评价 (evaluation), 权益 (benefit; interest), 实绩 (actual performance), 法人 (legal person), 统计 (statistics), 证券 (security; stock), 政策 (policy), 清算 (clearing; liquidation), 自由 (freedom), 电子 (electronic), 服务 (service), 劳动 (labour; work), 分配 (distribution; allocation), 基准 (standard; criterion), 金额 (money; sum), 金融 (finance), 经济 (economy), 企业 (enterprise), 商业 (business; commerce), 业务 (business; operation), 债权 (creditor's rights), 投机 (speculate).

We also found a small number of foreign words from English, such as: 软件 (software), 硬件 (hardware), 硬盘 (hard disk), 信息点 (POI – point of information), 数据库 (database). Regarding the use of abbreviated words, our database found that a number of Chinese commercial contracts use abbreviated forms of proper nouns. For example, 美国元 (US dollar) was abbreviated to 美元, 中证投资 (China Securities Information) was abbreviated to 中证, 股本权证 (equity warrant) was abbreviated to 权证, and 中华民国 (Republic of China) was abbreviated to 中华. Our database also found a number of other non-proper nouns, such as 财产权 (property right) being abbreviated as 产权.

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

From our analysis on Chinese commercial contracts, we have found that the vocabulary used in Chinese contracts is predominantly made up of nouns compared to other word types. For the purposes of teaching Chinese as a second language, we can see that many nouns can be taught according to their word groups, which is particularly helping for L2 Chinese learners who are studying the vocabulary of business Chinese. This study also shows that vocabulary in Chinese commercial contracts does not only consist of technical and specific vocabulary, but also of common words that can take on a particular meaning in the context of a contract, and thus it is important for L2 Chinese learners to be aware of these different meanings. Within CSP, word frequency analysis can help identify vocabulary grading and selection in language learning, as “the more frequently a word occurs, the more important it is for a learner to know” (Thoma, 2011, p. 107). Finally, this study shows how corpora can be used to facilitate understanding of terminology used in fields such as business and law, by helping students become aware of high-frequency terminology. To continue this line of research, we seek to carry out cross-linguistic research so that we can gain a deeper understanding of how terminology and formulaic language differs between languages in the context of commercial contracts. Moreover, apart from vocabulary, we can fully grasp the characteristics of business Chinese by exploring it from the perspective of commonly used sentence patterns in business Chinese, commonly used conventional expressions in business Chinese, and commonly used forms of wording in business Chinese (Deng Jingyi, 2018, p. 161).

APPENDIX. DIFFERENT TYPES OF CHINESE COMMERCIAL CONTRACTS USED IN THIS STUDY

Name	Amount	Name	Amount	Name	Amount	Name	Amount
Sale of Goods Contract (货物买卖合同)	3	Insurance Agent Contract (保险代理合同)	1	Personal Loan Contract (个人贷款合同)	1	Compensation Trade Contract for Purchase and Sales (补偿贸易购销合同)	1
Contract of Guaranty (保证合同)	1	Personal Credit Loan Contract (个人信用借款合同)	1	Contract for Sino-Foreign Joint Venture (中外合资经营企业合同)	1	Marketing Service Contract (市场宣传服务合同)	1
Business Commission Contract (业务委托合同)	1	International Commercial Contract (国际商业合同)	1	Contract for International Sale of Goods (货物销售合同)	1	Service Contract (服务合同)	1
Personal Small Consumer Loan Contract (个人小额消费贷款合同)	1	Securities Investment Fund Contract (证券投资基金合同)	1	Product Purchase and Sale Contract (产品买卖合同)	1	Brand Service Contract (品牌服务合同)	1
Sino-Foreign Joint Venture Contract (中外合作经营企业合同)	1	Construction Project Consulting Contract (建设工程造价咨询合同)	1	International Trademark Licensing Contract (国际商标许可合同)	1	International Propriety License Contract (国际专有技术许可合同)	1
Labor Contract for Foreign-Invested Enterprises (外商投资企业劳动合同)	1	Collective Asset Management Contract (期集合资产管理合同)	1	International Technology Transfer Contract (国际技术转让合同)	1	Contract for System Integration Project (系统集成项目合同)	1
Sales Contract (销售合同)	3	Personal Borrowing and Lending Contract (个人消费贷额度及支用借款合同)	1	Contract for Technology Import (技术引进合同)	1	Contract for Intelligent System Construction Project (智能系统建设项目合同)	1
Purchase and Sale Contract (买卖合同)	2	Processing Contract for Chinese and Foreign Supplied Materials (中外来料加工合同)	1	International Technology Service Contract (国际技术服务合同)	1	Contract for Science and Technology Project Consulting Service (科技项目咨询服务合同)	1
International Sale of Goods Contract (国际货物买卖合同)	1	International Patent Technology License Contract (国际专利技术许可合同)	1				

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Motivation to English Academic Writing: Chinese Students' Literacy Autobiography

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Abstract—This study looks at literacy as a site of power in which some forms of literacy practices have more power. Such power relations is even more complicated in English as a foreign language context, where school literacy, family literacy, and English language come into the picture. Many studies have explored different research methods to examine language learners' voices in literacy practices, while literacy autobiography (LA) is not frequently used. LA is a reflective, first-person narrative of personal engagement in literacy practices. Through the LAs from a group of third-year university students in China, this qualitative case study examines motivation to in-school writing in general, their L1 and L2 in- and out-of-school writing experiences in particular. The main dataset includes 25 participants' LAs; critical discourse analysis was used for data analysis. The findings suggest that their motivation to English academic writing is closely intertwined with their L1 academic writing, that it is the pedagogies employed in both L1 and L2 in-school writing that has affected their engagement, and that EFL students' border-crossing experiences between both temporal and spatial spaces have shaped their engagement in writing. More important, demotivated students are not necessarily slow students in writing classes.

Index Terms—literacy autobiography, motivation to EFL writing, disengagement, critical literacy

I. INTRODUCTION

L2 motivation has been the focus of study for at least three decades, while very few studies explored L2 writing motivation (Lee, Yu, & Liu, 2018), and even fewer explored EFL writing motivation. While it is widely acknowledged that motivation is subject to change due to the dynamic interaction of self and context (Lee et al., 2018; Oldfather & Shanahan, 2007; Takač & Berka, 2014). Explorations in English Language and Linguistics, 2(2), 77-103.), there needs more studies understanding EFL students' negotiation of self in EFL writing contexts. For this purpose, this study aims to explore a group of Chinese EFL university students' experiences in their past writing classes, and how this experiences affected their motivation to English academic writing.

Although fewer studies discussed the causes of demotivation to L2 writing, a larger group of scholars, both international and Chinese, focused mainly on teaching pedagogies (Lee et al., 2018), some discussions focused on strategies EFL students applied to promote their writing motivation (Hui & Ma, 2012; Hui & Chen, 2013), which still provide important insights.

The discussions on teaching pedagogies include many explorations of new teaching methods, such as (1) integrating multiple language skills in the writing process (Chen & Xiao, 2012), (2) unfolding the writing process (Yan & Ge, 2011; Zhao, Ao & Zhou, 2012), (3) designing situationally interesting writing tasks (Chen, Guan, Yu, & Yang, 2016), and (4) including an extended internet writing space (Yu, Qi, & Guo, 2012; Wang & Zhang, 2012; Wang & Xuan, 2010). And more importantly, some studies (Ai, 2015; Canagarajah, 2015) explored dialogic models of teaching which encourage more interactive contacts between students and teachers, in attempt to further promote students' motivation. These pedagogical discussions reveal the multiple layers of writing motivation, which include language skills, teachers' practice in class, writing spaces and a dialogic modal of teaching. In particular, it also implies that L2 writing motivation can be affected by writing contexts in the past and present.

Some studies explored contextual factors affecting EFL students' motivation to academic writing (Badiozaman, 2012; Lee et al., 2018; Lo & Hyland, 2007; Ren, 2017; Tran, 2007). Tran (2007) in a questionnaire study on 30 Vietnamese university students found that EFL students could write with more passion and independence when they have a sense of authorship in their act of writing in a foreign language. Badiozaman (2012) in a qualitative study on a group of Malaysian instructors and university students found that students' sense of self-concept, writing motivation, and institutional learning cultures are dynamically linked in the past and present. Lee et al. (2018) in their survey study of 1395 secondary students found that language proficiency and grade could significantly affect writing motivation. Students at higher grade were less motivated than those in lower grade, due to the pressure from standardized examinations and test-oriented learning culture. Ren (2017) in his study on a group of Chinese university students found that the students' motivation at the beginning and the end of a semester changed, the reasons of which were largely due to sociocultural factors such as teachers, students and teaching beliefs in a writing class. These studies imply one important point: students' motivation of writing can be closely linked to the sociocultural contexts of academic writing programs.

Many studies explored linguistic factors that affect students' writing motivation (Troika, Shankland, & Wolbers, 2012). It is understandable that linguistic factors play a fairly important role in the focal studies, yet two interesting studies may cast some further thoughts. Tessema (2012) in a qualitative study on a group of Ethiopian university instructors and students found that their perception of demotivation causes varied. While the instructors believed that it was because of the students' lack of requisite skills, the students believed that it was the instructors' failure to engage them. Similar disparity was also found from another study. Asadifard and Koosha (2013) investigated a group of Iranian instructors and university students on their perception of reluctance to English academic writing. The study found that the instructors believed the reluctance was due to task difficulties while the students believed it was lack of readership.

While these aforementioned studies have proved the complicity of motivation issue, it also reveals that both contextual and linguistic factors are more likely intertwined. While linguistic factors are undoubtedly significant, contexts deserve equal attention. In particular, the contexts in which EFL students are embedded are of particular importance because of its unique sociocultural and institutional circumstances. However, there are fewer studies in attempts to understand how contexts affect EFL students' English academic writing motivation, even fewer discussed Chinese EFL students' contextual factors (Lee et al., 2018). What's more, most studies on the focal issue used questionnaire, very few used students' narratives, which will be explained in the following section.

A. Literacy Autobiography as One Research Method

Literacy autobiography (LA) is learners' reflective narratives of their personal engagement in literacy practices. It is an effective tool to understand language users' sense-making journey of their literacy experiences (Ai, 2015; Bell, 1995; Canagarajah, 2015; Edwards, 2010; Gardner, 2018; Rose & Solé, 2004; Steinman, 2007). Through the reflective narratives, learners show their sense-making journey about the in- and out-of-school literacy (Gardner, 2018), L1 and L2 practices (Ai, 2015; Canagarajah, 2015; Steinman, 2007), and their identity construction as a student writer (Ai, 2015).

LA can facilitate not only learners' but also instructors' sense-making process. Instructors can also have insights of the process in order to reflect and adjust their pedagogical implementations. In Canagarajah's (2015) study, the LAs from an ESL student informed the instructor of the journey that the student underwent a dialogic pedagogy. These studies have cast important insights on the use of LA to understand both the learners' journey and instructor's pedagogical decisions.

In the limited number of studies on EFL students' writing motivation, some studies used questionnaire method (Asadifard & Koosa, 2013; Hui & Cheng, 2013; Hui & Ma, 2012; Lee, Yu, & Liu, 2018; Ren, 2017; Wang, Li, Chen, 2009), some used semi-structured interviews (Tessema, 2012; Troia, Shankland & Wolbers, 2012; Zhang & Hyland, 2018), and some studies used mixed methods such as interview and questionnaire (Badiozaman, 2012; Qin, & Yang, 2015; Wang, & Zhang, 2012). Very few studies used students' literacy autobiography to understand students' L2 writing motivation.

B. Significance of This Study

This study explores how a group of Chinese EFL students perceived their lower motivation to English academic writing. This study makes its contribution to the studies of EFL learners' English writing motivation. By looking at students' LA, this study attempts to explore students' sense-making process of their English writing motivation. This study contributes itself at two aspects: (1) it explores contextual factors that cause Chinese EFL students' English writing motivation; (2) it employs LA as a major data source for the focal issue.

II. METHOD

Since this study discusses EFL participants' motivation to English academic writing, it is necessary to know more about the participants' general background and their English language proficiency. This group of participants were from different provinces of China, yet the majority were from the Southern province in which the university locates. This university has a reputation for its English language teaching and research for decades, therefore students from this university have higher level of English language proficiency compared to students from other universities.

This research was based on an 18-week Advanced Academic Writing course offered to a group of third-year university students at a Southern University in China in 2016. The main data set was from the course, *Writing a Book Review*, offered by the researcher/instructor. The participants were from English and Education program, which prepares university students to become an English language teacher in K-12 contexts. Students in this program take courses on both English language and Educational theories. Data included the participants' LAs (N=25), and a questionnaire (N=89) at the end of the semester. The 89 questionnaire were from the four classes that the instructor taught in 2016, and the 25 LAs were from one class, randomly selected out of the four classes.

LA was the first writing assignment. I, as the instructor, read my LA to the participants, sharing with them my experiences with in-school writing. Since one purpose of this assignment was to understand how both L1 and L2 academic writing courses influenced their engagement, there were no specific requirements in terms of the length and contents. I did not specify whether this LA was about their L1 or L2 writing, nor about in-school writing or out-of-school writing, yet they were specifically told that they should write in English since this was an English

academic writing course. One week later, the participants submitted their LAs. A questionnaire was designed in order to understand the participants' engagement in academic writing, which is a tool frequently used by other studies on the focal issue (Lee, 2017). Thematic analysis method was used to analyze the 25 LAs in order to search for contextual factors that the participants claimed to have an impact on their L2 writing motivation.

III. FINDINGS

Both the questionnaire and the LAs suggest that the participants' experiences in school writing education is also a process of their understanding and negotiating with the logics of practices in school writing contexts. Specifically, the participants were found adapting to various school writing programs in the past and the present, meanwhile in out-school writing they were more active to construct their logics of practices. Second, those participants claimed demotivated in school writing were not necessarily slow students. The test-oriented writing education at high school disrecognized the participants' previous learning experiences and skills, yet they succeeded in writing for tests.

A. Adapting to School Writing Programs

The findings suggest that the school writing programs at different stages (i.e., primary, and secondary) had distinct practices. At elementary and junior high school, school writing encouraged students to connect their out-school and previous school writing experience with the current practice. The participants felt strongly motivated since such practice empowered them to share their personal life. As #6 participant said

Everything happened in my life was wrote down in my dairy. We handed in the diary every morning and in afternoon we got the dairy back with a mark on it. I think it is the happiest time of writing in my whole life because I can write down anything I want in my diary.

And the language skills they learned were also to express their 'whole life', as #10 participant said,

When I was in primary school, I learned to write some simple sentences, short paragraphs, and then short passages.... For example, describing one significant person or place, narrating my stories, or portraying my dream. ... Writing made us feel enchanted.

Such writing practice was also found corresponding to their family literacy practice, as #9 participant said,

I was required to keep a diary everyday by my grandmother, who used to be a famous Chinese teacher in my hometown. After finishing my homework, I had to write about something interesting during my school time. ...All of the diaries have still been treasured since now for they always remind me of my own story filling with laughter and tears.

These three excerpts showed a strong connection between school writing and out-school writing, and also between school life and out-school life. However, school writing programs started to be more test-oriented at senior high school, which appeared distinct from their previous writing experiences and their out-school learning experiences. This change also caused a new perspective on school writing. As #1 participant said, '... writing has become my task, my assignment, my burden'. The change involves more than writing skills, but also the culture of a writing class: the interactions between students and teachers. As #8 participant vividly explained her experiences in such a writing class,

I still remember that day my Chinese teacher Mrs. Li read my composition in front of the whole class, as Mr.Chen usually did in primary school. But this time was different, she read it out as a bad example. The title of the composition was Call for_____, first we had to complete the title then write an essay. I chose Call for loneliness as my topic, but I got C minus at the end. After Mrs. Li finished reading, she asked the students if they knew what was wrong with my composition. 'Class, remember, the idea of a composition is the most important part. You have to figure out why the test providers design this kind of topic and what kind of composition they want to read.' ... 'Clearly, the title is Call for_____, you should write something good, something desires us to pursue, like love, social ethics or honesty, right.' ..., she ... continued: 'That's why I fail you, Liz. I admit that the language is pretty good, but don't you wander from the subject again. Loneliness is not what your examiner want!' 'But I think...' I tried to defended, but her words got a big laugh, and no one heard me.

Liz, #8 participant in this study, called this experience "humiliating" and admitted that it still hurt when she wrote about this moment. As Lee et al. (2018) has suggested the school culture of writing at secondary school can be a possible reason why EFL students feel demotivated when they reach higher grader, this study verified this suggestion. And further, this study suggests that such school culture, to a certain extent, can bring learners a completely opposite feeling toward writing: it may also bring learners a sense of shame.

Interestingly, their LAs showed enthusiastic engagement in out-school writing. First, their out-school writing showed their abilities to engage in a variety of complicated writing practices such as poems, songs, love stories and blogs. As #1 participant said, 'May be I just like writing diary because there is no need to worry about what I should write and how good or bad my writing is'. #2 participant also said, 'I also liked to write down some little poems and copy some lyrics of my favorite songs in [sic] my blog'. #6 participant echoed, 'Absolutely it has nothing to do with logic or organization. The most important thing of writing is to turn my spoken language to written form, and as fluent as possible'.

Also, their out-school writing was complicated and sophisticated. Not only it was used to express their feelings, it was also used to solve issues in their life. As #8 participant said,

In last summer vacation I was undergoing a painful break-up. Like a color bubble bursts of in the sun, I found myself standing on a messy life with a heap of memories at my feet, ripped into pieces. Talking to people was not my style, this was why I put pen to paper, after several years, again.

As #15 participant explained how writing solved her family issues.

And recently, I found out one big function of writing is to solve problems between my mother and me. I think every mother and daughter have problems or disagreements sometimes which doesn't mean there are bad relationships between them. So do we. ... More importantly, it really strengthened my love towards my mother. Writing gave me an official opportunity to reflect my life, and to be a spectator to feel the deepest love from mother to daughter.

The participants felt disengaged in secondary school writing when they found the school culture and teaching pedagogy became test-oriented. They became more interested in out-school writing since they felt it was more personal, creative and interactive, yet they also realized that this space also has its rules which could affect their writing practice. Their out-school writing was mostly on Weibo, a public social network website for Chinese people to share their opinions. For every message, Weibo users can only write a message within 140 words, with no specific requirements on genre and topics. Although most participants claimed active participation on Weibo, one participant explained her experiences on Weibo.

As I don't have to write compositions for Chinese exams anymore, I gave up writing and enjoyed in sending microblogs with 140 words limit....One ordinary night, I suddenly came across an idea. I found a paper and pen, and began to design how I should write. It was so strange that I can't think of any long paragraph. All I can get is no more than 140 words.

It seems that the participants' experiences in school writing was a process of following two different types of logics of practices: during the elementary and junior high school, school writing was to introduce their voices into classrooms, while in senior high school, school writing became more test-oriented, and for writing for test-raters. In response to such a more restrictive function of writing, the participants seemed to explore out-school writing spaces; however, it does not imply that they failed the test-oriented school writing at high school. The following explains their frustration and also strategies they adopt in order to excel.

B. Lack of Motivation Yet Still Made It

The test-oriented high school writing required the participants to write in a highly structured format which usually had a designated opinion, sets of recommended sentences and vocabulary, because it may help them to obtain a higher score. Although aware of the purposes, the participants showed strong reluctance. As #3 participant said, "The formulaic writing always makes me feel I am forced to write, but not because I love to write".

This pedagogy conveyed an impression to the participants that argumentative writing was not just disconnected from their personal life, but also lacked vitality. (As instructors of academic writing, we know it is not true.) As #4 participant said, 'Each article is all in the same key. I don't like this kind of writing'. # 15 participant also said,

... those book reports, reviews, compositions, essays or researches took over diary to become my main writing experience. They were no longer the witness of innocence simply, but the impassive assignments, with the pressure of academy. I wrote for my teacher, for high score. Such kind of writing trapped me into the fear and alarm.

Although most participants showed their reluctance, even 'fear' toward such writing, the participants realized the importance of high school writing: it has been one of the mandatory writing tasks in both L1 and L2 for an entrance examination to university. Therefore, they managed to adjust since it can obtain symbolic capital important for further education. One common belief they held regarding their reluctance to write was that they lack of logical reasoning skills. As #11 participant explained,

However, I realized that it was a process to teach me developing my writing logic. For instance, I learnt how to develop a whole story in paper and pay attention to the point. When I was writing, all my emotion should be based on some specific things like my experience or what I saw.

Also, the participants started to learn how to write for teachers and test-raters, as #8 participant explained,

I became careful with what I think and what I write, measuring the intention behind the paper as well as pandering to what teachers liked. I wrote for test and I wanted high grade, so I started imitating the idea of news review, model essays and other materials. Turned out, this method was the safest one.

As instructors and researchers of academic writing, we all know the importance of writing for audience, and are familiar with the pedagogies enhancing our students such skills. Yet, from the participants' perception, it may not be what we wish it should be.

Also, some pedagogies caused a sense of uneasiness. As # 10 participant said,

The teacher taught us a lot about what a high-score composition should be like. ... we learned what kind of theme, format and writing techniques would be more appreciated, and we learned the ways to move teachers who would

grade our papers. In order to get a higher mark, I applied those ‘devices’ mechanically to my compositions, and just as what Han Han¹ said, I told lies.

#3 participant pointed out such pedagogy showed an opposite practice from their belief of writing, “The more devices and strategies of writing I learnt [sic] in classes, the more I felt I was getting farther and farther from WRITING. That’s somewhat disappointing to me.”. Some participants questioned such pedagogy as it appeared more like plagiarism. As #11 participant said, ‘... [the] teacher often let us recite some passage so that we can use them in the exams. It made me very uncomfortable, just like I steal someone’s belongings. I don’t like such writing which lost its meaning’.

It is important to point out, however, that the participants who claimed disengaged in argumentative writing were not necessarily under-performing student. Quite a few participants were top students in their high school. What #10 participant said can effectively support this point, ‘I didn’t like writing at all at the beginning, though my Chinese teachers all thought I was good at it’.

Although reluctant, the participants called argumentative writing “real writing” (#2 participant) since this genre was important in school and national assessment. Obtaining a higher score became a sole goal. As #13 participant said, ‘Whenever my composition got a decent score, I would feel great... At that time, the joy of writing lied in having a good score on test paper.’

Such test-oriented writing culture caused students to feel powerless. As #2 participant said, ‘...until I went into high school, writing took up a big percentage in the college entrance examination, whether English writing or Chinese writing. I was depressed but I can do nothing else’. More importantly, after the three year learning in such institutional culture, the participants realized that they need to regain skills to express their true self. As #4 participant explained, ‘now I am at university, I could freely express my opinions, but I forgot how to express my voices’.

To sum up, the participants’ demotivation to school writing could be interpreted as a form of resistance to the assessment-oriented pedagogy, while they also accepted the dominant ideology and pedagogy.

IV. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings resonate with other studies that literacy autobiography can reveal the depth of language learners’ negotiation and identity construction in writing contexts (Ai, 2015; Canagarajah, 2015; Ros i Sol é 2004). It can be also an effective method to understand EFL students’ writing motivation. In this study, the LAs disclosed the participants’ voices which have been seldom heard of from other data sources, adding substantial insights to what the questionnaire revealed.

The findings are based on a small group of EFL learners’ writing experiences, and the main dataset is LAs and a questionnaire, which may not be generalizable for broader groups. However, this study does provide insights in regard to the issue of EFL learners’ writing motivation.

The participants’ LAs reveal the complexity of EFL writing motivation. First of all, due to the unique sociocultural contexts EFL students usually situate, their motivation to English academic writing is closely intertwined with their L1 academic writing. In other words, language differences (i.e., L1 and Foreign language) do not always make learners’ experiences distinct in school writing. This finding echoes the current studies that EFL/ESL students’ writing motivation is more than their English language proficiencies (Chen, 2002; Cummings, Kim, & Eouanzoui, 2007), and that student writers’ prior L1 and L2 writing experiences can have significant impacts on the development of writing abilities (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2008). This study makes its contributing by pointing out that it is more likely because of the discourse and pedagogy of school writing that causes the disengagement. The disengagement is not always a result of lower English language proficiency. Rather, the test-oriented pedagogy has shaped in-school writing classes a symbolic space exclusive of previous in-school writing experience, and out-school life in the past and present. Therefore, the participants regarded both L1 and L2 in-school writing one space which is more likely linked to exams, tasks, highly-regulated writing without personal voices.

Secondly, this study makes its contribution by unfolding how the spaces of writing (i.e., school writing vs. out-school writing) in the past and the present play a more significant role in EFL students’ engagement in school writing. More specifically, EFL students’ border-crossing experiences between both temporal and spatial spaces have shaped their engagement in writing. Although these participants successfully crossed the borders, as they were passed the entrance exam and admitted to the university known for higher requirements of English language proficiency, their motivation to English writing was not necessarily strong.

Thirdly, the findings also indicate that the boundaries between in-school writing and out-school writing are constantly changing: In-school writing space is once connected to out-school writing, yet later becomes disconnected. Specifically, school eventually becomes a space exclusive of the learners’ past and out-school writing practice, with highly patterned writing practices. This space disempowers personal voices, while out-school writing is more dynamic and more inclusive of lived experiences. This finding agrees with Harklau’s (2000) research that the temporal space in which learners live can also shape their self-concept which further influences their level of engagement. This finding

¹ Han Han is a very popular and successful novelist in China. He has published a few articles on Chinese education system, and also a number of popular novels.

also resonates to current findings that ESL/EFL students' literacy practices in and out of school are more likely to be disconnected, and such disconnection usually disadvantages learners at school performance (Li, 2001).

Fourth, this study argues that the students' disengagement in school writing is not simply a matter of lower English language proficiency and of limited writing strategies; it is actually a resistance to the exclusive nature of in-school writing. Instead of looking at English academic writing differently from Chinese academic writing, academic writing as one in-school language practice in nature share more similarities than differences.

Therefore, the most urgent task for teachers and teacher educators is to explore how to link school writing to their lived experiences out of school space and their previous writing history. For EFL teachers, students should be encouraged to express their own voices in argumentative writing. A process writing approach which focuses on revision can be one choice. In the multiple-drafted writing process, learners take their time to negotiate with the text, with their peers, and with their instructor, from which they embark on a dialogic journey to question themselves and to discuss with their readers (i.e. peers and instructors).

However, it is also important to understand the highly-patterned teaching pedagogy which has been dominant in most Chinese high schools. The template-based writing has efficiently promoted students' writing to a standard that ensures for them to attend universities, although this pedagogy has also shown its exclusiveness of students' voices, and eventually decreased students' motivation to write. Thus, the central question is how to introduce argumentative writing as a genre inclusive of students' personal life. Most importantly, the introduction of argumentative writing needs to be connected to learners' previous writing genre (i.e., narrative writing), and their out-of-school writing. While attempts have been made to include learners' voice in the US higher and secondary writing education (Matsuda & Jeffery, 2012), it is agreed that their voices are from their lived experiences and from both in- and out-of-school spaces in the past and the present. Therefore, teaching pedagogies should explore the dialogic relations between learners' lived experiences in various temporal and spatial space and their academic writing. Studies (De Bernardi & Antolini, 2007; Klein & Rose, 2010) suggested that students' interests toward argumentative writing can be effectively promoted when they can write on topics that appear interesting to them, work as groups to share different opinions, and learn to explore information and resources to support their opinions. Therefore, if teachers encourage students to choose topics of their interests, and use students' stories in their writing, students may feel more motivated.

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A Comparative Study on English Translations of Military Terms in *Sun Tzu: The Art of War**

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Abstract—*Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, which was written by Sun Wu in the end of the Spring and Autumn period, is the oldest and the most famous military treatise in the world, and it has achieved a great popularity outside China. *Sun Tzu* is a book with universal value and eternal wisdom, which can be applied by people of all the times to human activities of all the fields. This book incorporates many military terms which are important for the understanding of it. All the Chinese commentators in the history have their own understanding of these terms, and the same is true for *Sun Tzu*'s English translators. The author of this paper aims to compare two English translations of *Sun Tzu*: the translation by American comparative philosopher Roger T. Ames and the translation by Chinese scholar Lin Wusun. The author selects twelve military terms from *Sun Tzu* and compares the translations of these two translators and makes an evaluation and comment on their renderings. In the end, he will try to explore the reasons behind the two translators' translation methods.

Index Terms—*Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, military terms, Roger T. Ames, Lin Wusun, English translations

I. INTRODUCTION

Sun Tzu: The Art of War, which has thirteen chapters, is the oldest and the most famous military treatise existed in the world. It is believed that it was written by Sun Wu, who was a contemporary of Confucius (551—479 B.C.), in the end of the Spring and Autumn period (770—453 B.C.), though some scholars have argued that it had come into being in the Warring States period (453—221 B.C.) and it was compiled by Sun Wu's disciples. There are little historical records on Sun Wu, but we know that he was born in Qi, which is present day Shandong province, and went south to serve the state of Wu, which is present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang province. There are three edition systems of *Sun Tzu*: the first is *Sun Tzu with Notes of Eleven Commentators* (*shi yi jia zhu sun zi*), which was passed down from the South Song dynasty (1127—1279 A.D.). The second is *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (*wu jing qi shu*), which was compiled in 1080 under the auspice of Emperor Shen of the North Song dynasty (960—1127). The third is the bamboo strips which were unearthed in 1972 in Silver Sparrow Mountain (*yin que shan*) of Linyi, Shandong province, and date back to the second century B.C. Sun Xingyan, a scholar from the Qing dynasty (1636—1912), also emended an edition: *Sun Tzu with Notes of Ten Commentators* (*sun zi shi jia zhu*), which belongs to the first edition system and is the base of many influential English translations.

Sun Tzu was ranked first in *The Seven Military Classics* and it was called *The Source of Chinese Military Wisdom*. In his forward to the translation of Samuel Griffith (1963), British military theorist Liddell Hart said: "Sun Tzu's essays on 'The Art of War' form the earliest of known treatises on the subject, but have never surpassed in comprehensiveness and depth of understanding.....Among all the military thinkers of the past, only Clausewitz is comparable, and even he is more 'dated' than Sun Tzu, and in part antiquated, although he was writing more than two thousand years later" (p. v). *Sun Tzu* is a book with universal value and eternal wisdom, which can be applied by people of all the times to human activities of all the fields.

The English translation of *Sun Tzu* began in 1905 by British captain E.F. Calthrop, who was serving in Japan and studying the Japanese language. His translation was named *Sonshi: The Chinese Military Classic*, and in 1908, he published a new translation: *The Book of War: The Military Classic of the Far East*. According to Luo Tian and Zhang Meifang (2015), over 50 translation versions of *Sun Tzu* have been published in the English translation history of it (p. 51), and the translators are from different countries and with different cultural as well as professional background. They read and interpreted *Sun Tzu* from their own specific perspectives. To know whether their background had affected their renderings of *Sun Tzu*, how the influence was manifested, and how *Sun Tzu*'s meanings were reflected in different translations, it is necessary to make a comparative study of the different translations by different translators.

This paper focuses on two translations of *Sun Tzu*: the translation by Professor Roger T. Ames (1947—) and the translation by Lin Wusun (1928—). Professor Roger T. Ames is an American comparative philosopher, internationally renowned scholar of Confucian studies. He obtained his doctor's degree in London University in 1978, and had been a professor of philosophy in Hawaii University from 1978 to 2016. Lin Wusun is a famous Chinese scholar and translator. He had been the director of China International Publishing Group (1988—1993) and vice director of Translators

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Association of China (1992—2004). Ames's translation was published in 1993 by Ballantine Books, New York, which was named *Sun-Tzu: The Art of Warfare: The First English Translation Incorporating the Recently Discovered Yin-Chueh-Shan Texts*, and it was based on Wu Jiulong's *Emendations and Commentaries of Sun Tzu (sun zi jiao shi)*. Lin's translation: *Sun Zi: The Art of War*, was published in 1994 in People's China Press, and republished in 1999 in Foreign Languages Press, and then republished in 2003 in Long River Press of San Francisco. His translation was based on the text emended by Wu Rusong and Wu Xianlin.

II. MILITARY TERMS IN *SUN TZU: THE ART OF WAR*

Sun Tzu is first and foremost a military classic, which, according to China's traditional methods of classifying books, belongs to *Military books (bing shu)*. During the reign of Emperor Cheng of the Western Han dynasty (202 B.C.—8 A.D.), Liu Xiang (79 B.C.—8 B.C.) was ordered to make a list of the existing books, and his list was named *Special Records (bie lu)*. After the death of Liu Xiang, his son, Liu Xin (?—23 A.D.) continued the compiling effort and finished a work called *Seven Categories (qi lue)*. These two books have the first official method of classifying books in the history of China, in which *Military books* is regarded as one of the six main categories. *Sun Tzu* was put in both the two works into the category of *Military books* (Liu Xiang & Liu Xin, 2008 p74, p166). This classifying method was adopted by Ban Gu of the Eastern Han dynasty (25 A.D.—220 A.D.) in his *On the Arts and Literature of The History of Former Han Dynasty*, in which he divided *Military books* into four categories: *On Strategies*; *On Xing and Shi*; *On Yin and Yang* and *On Military Techniques* (the meanings of those terms will be discussed later) (Ban Gu, 1997 p1756-1762). *Sun Tzu*, according to Li Ling, encompasses all those four categories, as the first three chapters belong to *Strategies*, chapter four to chapter six belong to *Xing and Shi*, chapter seven to chapter eleven belong to *Military Techniques* (Li Ling, 2010 p1-2), and *Sun Tzu* also has elements of *Yin and Yang* (Li Ling, 1990 p201-204).

Sun Tzu was written in the end of the Spring and Autumn period, therefore, its content had inevitably been influenced by the social culture and productive power of that times. The military management styles and weapons are also characteristic of that period. Also, as Mao Yuanyi, a scholar of the Ming dynasty (1368—1644 A.D.) commented: "Sun Wu had not neglected those military masters before him, and military scholars after him should not neglect him", *Sun Wu* had also been influenced by military masters of his home state of Qi, such as Jiang Ziya, Guan Zhong, Sima Rangju and so on. The military thought in *Sun Tzu* is also the product of Sun Wu's rich military experience and deep reflections on war. With the assistance of Sun Wu, the king of Wu had achieved several victories, such as the battle in Boju (506 B.C.), in which he defeated the state of Chu; the battle in Ailing (484 B.C.), in which he defeated Qi; and the meeting in Huangchi (482 B.C.), in which he thwarted the state of Jin. To truly understand *Sun Tzu*, including its historical implications, its origin and Sun Wu's thought, and retell them to readers of other languages, the translator has to figure out the meanings of military terms in *Sun Tzu*, as they are the essence of this treatise and the carrier of its military thought.

Military terms belong to specialized language, and they are used specifically in the military setting to illustrate military affairs. Some of them have also been borrowed by people of other fields to be used metaphorically. Military terms can be divided into different categories according to different classifying methods. The first official compilation of Chinese military terms began in 1906 by the Army of the Northern Warlords (*bei yang lu jun*), in which there are ten categories: military affairs, army forms, terrains, army marching, army stationing, encampment, logistics, engineering, military exercise and weapons (Su Guiliang, 1990 p184). Zhu Liangcai (1998), a scholar on *Sun Tzu* and military history, classified military terms into five categories: military weapons, military regulations, military strategies, military techniques and military formations. (p. 111) According to *Dictionary of Sun Tzu*, which was edited by Wu Rusong and published in 1993, there are 99 military terms in *Sun Tzu* (p. 14-26). But in the second edition of this dictionary, which was published in 1995, the military terms are condensed into 79 (p. 14-27). In *A Dictionary of Sun Tzu's Art of War*, which was published in 2015 and is the revised and enlarged edition of the last two dictionaries, there are 254 military terms, and they are grouped into eight categories: military strategies, military tactics, general qualities, opposite categories, military operations, organization and weapons, battlefield environment, and information and intelligence. (p. 353) This study adopts this listing and classifying of *Sun Tzu's* military terms and chooses typical terms from each category to make a comparative study of Ames's and Lin's translations.

III. A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF MILITARY TERMS IN *SUN TZU: THE ART OF WAR*

In this section, we will focus on twelve military terms in *Sun Tzu*, which have been chosen from the eight categories classified in *A Dictionary of Sun Tzu's Art of War*. We will discuss the meanings of each terms, examine how the two translators have translated them, and make a comment and evaluation on their translations.

A. *Military Strategies*

Example 1: "十六字诀"

This term refers to "上兵伐谋，其次伐交，其次伐兵，其下攻城", which is from chapter three of *Sun Tzu*.

Ames's translation: *The best military policy is to attack strategies; the next to attack alliances; the next to attack soldiers; and the worst to assault walled cities.*

Lin's translation: *The best policy in war is to thwart the enemy's strategy. The second best is to disrupt his alliances through diplomatic means. The third best is to attack his army in the field. The worst policy of all is to attack walled cities.*

Lin's translation is much longer than the Ames's, as Lin tries to expose the implied meanings of the original and Ames tries to preserve the concise style of it. Lin's translation has four sentences with four full stops, while Ames's translation has just one sentence, which is divided into four parts by semicolons, and the second, the third and the last part do not have the predicate "is". Lin adds "through diplomatic means" and "in the field" to make the original meaning clearer, but Ames's translation do not make this distinction. "The best policy in war" is more accurate than "the best military policy" to translate "上兵", because Sun Tzu is talking here the matters of war and confrontation, and "military policy" has a much wider range of meanings. Ames uses one word "attack" to translate the verb "伐", which is used before "谋" "交" and "兵", but Lin translates them into three verbs "thwart" "disrupt" and "attack", which is more appropriate in expressing the original meaning. According to Huang Pumin (2010), "伐交" means to flex your muscle to deter your enemy and do not resort to conflict and war. "交" means the two sides of your troops are facing each other on the battlefield (p. 108-113). However, both the two translators translate "伐交" into "attack/disrupt alliances", but attack alliances is also a kind of "伐谋".

Example 2: 形

"形" occurs 32 times in *Sun Tzu*, and its usages in chapter four, five and six refer to military strategies. We take one example from each of the three chapters:

(1) "称胜者之战民也，若决积水于千仞之谿者，形也。"

(2) "形之，敌必从之；"

(3) "故形兵之极，至于无形；"

Ames's translation:

(1) *It is a matter of strategic positioning (hsing) that the army that has this weight of victory on its side, in launching its men into battle, can be likened to the cascading of pent-up waters thundering through a steep gorge.*

(2) *.....shows himself (hsing), and the enemy is certain to follow.*

(3) *The ultimate skill in taking up a strategic position (hsing) is to have no form (hsing).*

Lin's translation:

(1) *So great is the disparity of strength that a victorious army goes into battle with the force of an onrushing torrent which, when suddenly released, plunges into a chasm a thousand fathoms deep. This is what we mean by disposition.*

(2) *.....puzzle him with deceptive appearances according to which he will react.*

(3) *Now the ultimate in troop disposition is to leave no trace of how they are disposed.*

There are four "形" in these three sentences. Ames translates them into "strategic positioning" "shows himself" "a strategic position" and "form" respectively, and adds the pronunciation of "形" after each translation to show that they are the same Chinese character. Lin translates the four "形" into "disposition" "puzzle him with deceptive appearances" "troop disposition" and "how they are disposed". The first "形" in this example means the appearance or the arrangement your army takes, and it cannot be recognized by your enemy. It's like you are in a position thousand rens' high, and nobody can see you. But when you begin to strike your enemy, it's like the water rushing from this high place and its force cannot be resisted. The second "形" means to show fake appearances or false arrangements of your army so that your enemy will be cheated and make wrong decisions. The third and the fourth "形" are related to each other, as the whole sentence means that to make your army have an appearance or take an arrangement, the best thing you can do is to make them unrecognizable to your enemy. Therefore, Lin's translation of the four "形" is more accurate and appropriate in reflecting the original meanings.

B. Military Tactics

Example 3: 兵无成势

This term is from chapter six, in which the whole sentence is: "故兵无成势，无恒形。能因敌变化而取胜者，谓之神。"

Ames's translation: *Thus an army does not have fixed strategic advantages (shih).....*

Lin's translation: *There is no fixed pattern in the use of tactics in war.....*

This term has the word "势", which Ames explains in detail in the introduction of his translation. Ames translates "兵" in this term into "army", while Lin translates it into "war". Ames translates "无成势" (or "无常势" in the text Lin based his translation) into "does not have fixed strategic advantages (shih)", while Lin translates it into "there is no fixed pattern in the use of tactics". In the original text, Sun Wu likens an army to the water. As water makes its flow, it has different strength or style according to different ground conditions it encounters. The same is true to an army, and it will have different strategic situations according to different conditions of his enemy. Therefore, it should make itself flexible and adjust its way of striking to suit different situations. According to Mei Yaochen, "势" means engaging your enemy in this context, therefore, "兵无成(常)势" means that an army has different kinds of engagement and does not

have the same kind of strategic situation all the time. The author cannot fully agree with both the two translators' translations.

C. General Qualities

Example 4: 静以幽，正以治

This term is from chapter eleven, in which the whole sentence is: “将军之事，静以幽，正以治。”

Ames's translation: *As for the urgent business of the commander: He is calm and remote, correct and disciplined.*

Lin's translation: *It is the responsibility of the commander to be calm and inscrutable, to be impartial and strict in enforcing discipline.*

In this term, “以” means “and”, and “静” “幽” “正” “治” are four adjectives to describe qualities a general should have. Both Ames and Lin translate “静” into “calm”. Ames translates “幽” into “remote”, while Lin translates it into “inscrutable”. Ames translates “正” into “correct”, while Lin translates it into “impartial”. Ames translates “治” into “disciplined”, and Lin translates it into “strict in enforcing discipline”. As for “幽” and “正”, Lin's choice of words are more appropriate, because “幽” means that a general should keep his plan in secret and do not let his men know what's in his mind, and “正” means that he should be fair in managing his army. As for “治”, Mei Yaochen also interprets it as “self-disciplined”, but considering the context, this word means that a general should be able to enforce discipline in his army. Therefore, Lin's translation of this term is more appropriate.

D. Opposite Categories

Example 5: 奇正

“奇” and “正” are opposite to each other, the former occurs seven times in *Sun Tzu*, and the latter occurs nine times. We take the three sentences that have both the two words, and examine the two translators' translations.

(1) 三军之众，可使毕受敌而无败者，奇正是也。

(2) 凡战者，以正合，以奇胜。

(3) 战势不过奇正，奇正之变，不可胜穷也。

Ames's translation:

(1) *It is “surprise” (ch'i) and “straightforward” (cheng) operations that enable one's army to withstand the full assault of the enemy force and remain undefeated.*

(2) *Generally in battle use the “straightforward” to engage the enemy and the “surprise” to win the victory.*

(3) *For gaining strategic advantage (shih) in battle, there are no more than “surprise” and “straightforward” operations, yet in combination, they produce inexhaustible possibilities.*

Lin's translation:

(1) *Thanks to the combined use of qi (奇) and zheng (正) tactics, the army is able to withstand the onslaught of the enemy forces.*

(2) *Generally, in battle, use zheng to engage the enemy and use qi to score victory.*

(3) *In military tactics, there are only two types of operation, qi and zheng, yet their variations are limitless.*

Both the two translators are consistent in their translation of “奇” and “正” in the above three sentences, and the translations in the first sentence have some added information. In their notes to the translation, both the two translators have the same reasonable explanation to “奇” and “正”, but their translations are different. Ames translates these two words into “surprise” (ch'i) and “straightforward” (cheng), while Lin translates them into qi (奇) and zheng (正). Ames offers the literal meanings and the pronunciations of the two words, while Lin gives the pronunciations and the Chinese characters in his translation. Lin's translation is more foreignized while Ames's translation is more domesticated.

Example 6: 虚实

“虚” and “实” are two opposite words, both of which occur six times in *Sun Tzu*. We take the two sentences that have both the two words, and examine the two translators' translations.

(1) 兵之所加，如以礮投卵者，虚实是也。

(2) 兵之胜，避实而击虚。

Ames's translation:

(1) *It is the distinction between “weak points” and “strong points” that makes one's army falling upon the enemy a whetstone being hurled at eggs.*

(2) *.....so on the path to victory avoid the enemy's strong points and strike where he is weak.*

Lin's translation:

(1) *By staying clear of the enemy's strong points and striking at his weak points, it is able to fall upon the enemy like using a whetstone to crush an egg.*

(2) *To operate the army successfully, we must avoid the enemy's strong points and seek out his weak points.*

Both the two translators translate “虚” and “实” into “weak points” and “strong points”, but in their expressions of these two sentences, there are differences. As for “虚实是也”, Lin’s translation can better expose the implied meanings of the original than the Ames’s. And in translating “击虚”, Ames is more flexible in the choice of words while Lin is more rigid. Ames’s rendering “strike where he is weak” is more appropriate than Lin’s “seek out his weak points”.

Example 7: 阴阳

“阴” and “阳” are also opposite to each other, the former occurs three times in *Sun Tzu*, and the latter occurs five times. We take the two sentences that have both the two words, and examine the two translators’ translations.

(1) 天者，阴阳、寒暑、时制也。

(2) 凡军好高而恶下，贵阳而贱阴。

Ames’s translation:

(1) *Climate is light and shadow, heat and cold, and the rotation of the seasons.*

(2) *Generally speaking, an army prefers high ground and dislikes the low, prizes the sunny side and shuns the shady side.....*

Lin’s translation:

(1) *By “heaven”, I mean the effects of night and day, of good and bad weather, of winter’s cold and summer’s heat; in short, the conduct of military operations in accordance with the changes of natural forces.*

(2) *Generally speaking, a maneuvering army prefers high, dry ground to low, wet ground; it prizes the sunny side and shuns the shady side.....*

Both the two translators translate “阴” and “阳” in the second sentence into “shady side” and “sunny side”, but their translations of them in the first sentence are different. Ames translates “阴阳” in the first sentence into “light and shadow”, while Lin uses more words to translate it: “I mean the effects of night and day, of good and bad weather”. The original meanings of “阴” and “阳” are the shady side and the sunny side of a mountain, but these two words have more sophisticated meanings in Chinese philosophy. They concern with Chinese people’s views of cosmology, and that all the things in the universe have these two opposite categories. Sun Wu puts “阴” and “阳” in the category of “天”, and “天” concerns with the right timing here, such as the right time in a day, the right climate conditions, the right seasons and so on. Therefore, “阴” and “阳” are also about the right timing. In the translation of “天”, it should not be restricted to “climate”, and Lin’s translation of “heaven” has too much religious implications. “阴阳” also contains a wide range of meanings, Ames’s translation of “light and shadow” is not so much about the right timing, and Lin’s translation of “night and day” and “good and bad weather” are only part of the meanings of “阴阳”. Therefore, the author proposes the transliteration of “天” “阴” and “阳”, and add notes to explain the meanings of these words.

E. Military Operations

Example 8: 火队

This term is from chapter twelve, in which the whole sentence is “凡火攻有五，一曰火人，二曰火积，三曰火辎，四曰火库，五曰火队。”

Ames’s translation: *There are five kinds of incendiary attack: The first is called setting fire to personnel; the second, to stores; the third, to transport vehicles and equipment; the fourth, to munitions; the fifth, to supply installations.*

Lin’s translation: *There are five targets for an attack with fire: 1) men and horses, 2) grain and fodder, 3) wagons and equipment, 4) warehouses, and 5) supply routes.*

Chinese commentators in the history have different understandings of this term. According to Li Quan, Du Mu, Zhang Yu and Mei Yaochen, “队” means “team” or “band of army”, but that’s also a kind of “人” in “火人”. Jia Lin and He Yanxi propose that “队” is the same as “隧”, which means the route of an army’s food supply. Considering the meanings of “火人” “火积” “火辎” and “火库”, this explanation of “火队” is more reasonable. Ames translates this term into “setting fire to supply installations”, and Lin translates it into “supply routes”. “Installation” usually refers to permanent posts or stations, which is the meaning of “库”, and cannot convey the meaning of “队”, and Lin’s translation of “supply routes” is more appropriate.

F. Organization and Weapons

Example 9: 选锋

This term is from chapter ten, in which the whole sentence is “将不能料敌，以少合众，以弱击强，兵无选锋，曰北。”

Ames’s translation: *If the commander, unable to assess his enemy, sends a small force to engage a large one, send his weak troops to attack the enemy’s best, and operates without a vanguard of crack troops, the result will be rout.*

Lin’s translation: *If the commander, unable to assess his enemy, sends a small force to engage a large one, pits his weak forces against the enemy’s strong, and operates without a vanguard of crack troops, the result will be rout.*

“选锋” means the elite and the strongest soldiers that have been chosen from your army. This method of organizing an army can enhance the overall strength of it. Both the two translators translate this term into “a vanguard of crack troops”, which can convey the original meaning properly. The two translators’ rendering of the whole sentence is the same except the translation of “以弱击强”. Ames uses “troops” which is different from “force” used before, and Lin uses the word “force” twice. Ames translates “强” into “best”, while Lin translates it into “strong”. Ames’s choice of words is more flexible while Lin is relatively rigid. Lin is more inclined to stick to the original word meanings.

Example 10: 輜輜

This term is from chapter three, in which the whole sentence is “修櫓輜輜，具器械，三月而后成”.

Ames’s translation: *To construct siege screens and armored personnel vehicles and to assemble all of the military equipment and weaponry necessary will take three months.....*

Lin’s translation: *For it takes at least three months to get the mantlets and shielded vehicles ready and prepare the necessary arms and equipment.....*

“輜輜” is a kind of vehicle used in assaulting walled cities in ancient times. It has four wheels and has hard objects over its body so that it can resist the enemy’s arrows, wood blocks and stones. One “輜輜” has the room for more than ten soldiers, and it can protect them to get near to the enemy’s city wall. But according to Du Mu, the purpose of this vehicle is to transport earth to fill up the enemy’s moat. Ames translates this term into “armored personnel vehicles”, which restricts the purpose of this vehicle to the transportation of soldiers. Lin translates it into “shielded vehicles” and does not specify the functions of it. The author proposes the transliteration of this term and add note to explain the structure and possible purposes of this vehicle.

G. Battlefield Environment

Example 11: 九地

“地” is the most frequently used word in *Sun Tzu*, in which it occurs 88 times. “九地” is from chapter eleven, which refers to “散地、轻地、争地、交地、衢地、重地、圯地、围地、死地”.

Ames’s translation: *.....the kinds of terrain include scattering terrain, marginal terrain, contested terrain, intermediate terrain, the strategically vital intersection, critical terrain, difficult terrain, terrain vulnerable to ambush, and terrain from which there is no way out.*

Lin’s translation: *.....there are nine kinds of regions to consider: dispersive (san 散), marginal (qing 轻), contested (zheng 争), open (jiao 交), focal (qu 衢), critical (zhong 重), difficult (pi 圯), beleaguered (wei 围) and deadly (si 死).*

These nine kinds of “地” is the “势” aspect of it, compared with the “形” aspect of it, such as “通” “挂” “支” “隘” “险” and “远”. The main difference between the two translators’ translations is that Ames only translates the meanings of the nine terms, while Lin also adds the pronunciation and the Chinese character after each translation. Ames translates “地” into “terrain”, which he also uses to translate the “地” in “地形” of chapter ten. He doesn’t make a distinction between the “形” and “势” aspects of “地”. Lin translates “地” in this term into “regions” and “地” in “地形” of chapter ten into “terrain”, which has made a distinction between the two. To translate “散” “轻” “重” and “圯” into “scattering/ dispersive” “marginal” “critical” and “difficult” cannot accurately express the original meanings, and transliteration plus notes should be a better option. “交地” means the place where all parties can come and go freely, so “open” is a better translation than “intermediate”. “衢地” means the place where there are other countries besides you and your enemy, therefore, it is to your advantage to go there first and get the help of those other countries. Ames’s translation “the strategically vital intersection” is a better rendering than Lin’s translation of “focal”.

H. Information and Intelligence

Example 12: 先知

“知” is also a frequently used word in *Sun Tzu*, in which it occurs 79 times. “先知” is a term that occurs two times in chapter thirteen. We take these two sentences and compare the two translators’ translations.

“故明君贤将，所以动而胜人，成功出于众者，先知也。”

“先知者，不可取于鬼神.....”

Ames’s translation:

(1) *Thus the reason the farsighted ruler and his superior commander conquer the enemy at every move, and achieve successes far beyond the reach of the common crowd, is foreknowledge.*

(2) *Such foreknowledge cannot be had from ghosts and spirits.....*

Lin’s translation:

(1) *The enlightened sovereign and the capable commander conquer the enemy at every move and achieve successes far surpassing those of ordinary people because they possess “foreknowledge”.*

(2) *This “foreknowledge” cannot be obtained from ghosts or spirits, nor from gods.....*

“先知” refers to the use of spies to get the intelligence of your enemy before the war begins. Ames translates this term into foreknowledge without quotation marks, and Lin translates it into “foreknowledge” with quotation marks, which highlights it and makes it a military term. “Foreknowledge” means the knowledge of something before it exists

or happens, and it has a much richer meanings than what Sun Wu intended by “先知”. “Foreknowledge” can also mean your precise anticipation of something’s coming. Therefore, this word is not the best choice to translate “先知”. It is advisable to explain this term’s meaning in the translation, and translate it into “the intelligence of your enemy before the war begins”.

IV. CONCLUSION

As the oldest and the most famous military treatise existed in the world, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War* has achieved a great popularity and attracted a large audience outside China. It is a success story of cross-cultural communications, yet insufficient research has been done on its English translators, who are from different countries and with different cultural as well as professional background. This study focuses on the English translations of *Sun Tzu* by American comparative philosopher Roger T. Ames and Chinese scholar Lin Wusun, and examines their translations of twelve military terms in *Sun Tzu*. The study shows that both the two translators did a good translation, but there are terms which the author cannot agree with their translations, such as “伐交” and “无成势”. As far as the twelve military terms are concerned, Lin’s translation is in general more accurate, but in the translation of some terms, Ames’s rendering is better than Lin’s. Lin is inclined to use more words to expose the implied meanings of the original, while Ames’s translation is more concise and can better preserve the style of the original. Lin’s translation is more foreignized and sticks to the original words’ meanings, while Ames’s choice of words is more diversified and his translation is more domesticated. In the translation of some terms, such as “天” “阴” “阳” “輶輶”, which contain rich meanings, the author proposes transliteration plus notes, so that translators can take readers to the original culture and show the rich meanings of it.

Lin Wusun is a Chinese scholar who is 19 years older than Roger T. Ames, so he has the advantage of understanding the original text. Also Lin considers *Sun Tzu* and *The Analects* as the two most important classics in traditional Chinese culture, as the former concerns with Wu (武) and the latter concerns with Wen (文) aspect of managing the country. Lin’s translation is included in the *Library of Chinese Classics*, and his aim is to promote *Sun Tzu* to the outside world, so he preserves much Chinese elements in his translation and sticks to the original words’ meanings. Ames, as a native English speaker, is flexible in his English language usages. His translation was initiated by the Random House (Xiaoli Tan et al, 2015 p140), so he may lack Lin’s inclination to explore the implied meanings of the original Chinese words, and his translation preserves the concise style of the original. Ames’s book of translation contains a great amount of information and its format shows a high standard of scholarship. In his long introduction, he explains the philosophical presuppositions of *Sun Tzu*, and asks foreign readers to apply Sun Wu’s worldview in their reading of the text. That’s the typical way of his translation of Chinese classics, which emphasizes the interpretive context of the original work.

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Curriculum Designs: Top-down or Bottom-up? —A Case Study in a Technological School of China

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Abstract—Competitive education around the world brings up many issues about curriculum design. In order to cultivate the ideal talents with abundant knowledge of language and specialties, it is necessary to design appropriate curricula. This comparative study has been carried out to discuss the appropriateness of curriculum designed for two parallel groups of English learners as a foreign language based on the survey in a technological school, a case study in China. In this special issue, curriculum design is likely to be problematic although it made a little improvement compared to the one before 2010: a) an analogical curriculum has been designed for both groups of students; b) what directions a curriculum design should follow, the more the better? c) how to balance a national curriculum, its localization and its implementation? d) top-down and bottom-up, language and specialty, which matters? This paper eventually puts forwards some suggestions which would be helpful for the future curriculum design.

Index Terms—curriculum, reform, English learners, ESP, top-down, bottom-up

I. INTRODUCTION

The boom of science and technology enables international exchanges and interactions more frequent and strengthened. China, as one of the members of WTO, has undoubtedly promoted her relationship with other countries, which provides a lot of opportunities in education along with challenges. Education could be examined as a “functional subsystem of economy wherein the economy is the dominant system” (Bank, 2012). That is, economy is the drogue of education. The competition among different nations is highly dependent upon knowledge and intellectuals, hence the comprehensive and cross-disciplinary talents are demanded in order to meet the need of current situation. Cramer (2007) confirms that “basic, scientific, economic, and technological literacies, multicultural literacy and global awareness” should be included in the most common twenty-first century skills. Students are expected to acquire those twenty-first century skills to be competitive in occupational environment. English, as a lingual franca, plays an important role in global communication. Yet students are not just required to speak fluent English, however also solve problems in special fields so as to have the priority to their rivals in job hunting, future promotion and further study and something like that. In other words, students are not just learning to speak a foreign language, however to enact with it. They have to be trained with competence or “fitness” in the working environment to keep themselves maintaining, growing and flourishing (East, 2000).

Government, educational departments, schools and universities are the crucial institutions to decide and conduct education reforms. Those institutions who are “responsible for preparing young people’s professional, social and personal future” contributes to the impetus of different levels of curriculum reform (Oudeweetering & Voogt, 2018). Therefore it is high time to revise the curriculum for school English education for the adaptation to the new era. Tyler (2008) suggests that “educated people should take the initiatives to adjust to the society and improve it rather than passively accept the social order”. Each individual is a subjectivity in the objective world. He added that it is school who has “the responsibilities to cultivate their pupils to fit into the current society and improve it accordingly”. Schools stir young people to “understand well enough and participate competently enough in the present society to be able to get along in it and to work effectively in it while they are working to improve it” (Tyler, 2008). It is likely that both of these two implications should be included in a modern school. Priestley and Sinnema (2014) summarized three trends of curriculum development, among which the very first one is a shift from subject-based towards competence-based curricula. This aspect will be fully discussed in this essay. “An increasing focus on the centrality of the learner and an emphasis on active forms of pedagogy” comes into being the second trend. The third one can be reckoned as “an international movement towards standard-based and outcome-based curricula” (Priestley and Sinnema, 2014; Sinnema & Aitken, 2013).

Curricula are education activities which can be viewed as a form of internationalization, regionalization and localization (Wahlström, Alvunger & Wermke, 2018). To date many colleges and universities have improved their curriculum designs for non-English Majors and English Majors respectively so as to cultivate comprehensive graduates. The author takes his technological institute as a case of study. College English is an obligatory course for all the non-English major students. Meanwhile English is taught to English-majors in the Department of Foreign Studies. In

the past decades, the curriculum requires the students to develop a strong skill of reading and a general skill of listening, speaking, writing and translating. However, as situation changes, it requires the students to develop a comprehensive skill of practice with English, especially listening and speaking, and use English orally and literarily in their future jobs. That is to say, students on one hand strengthen their general English ability, use English for their special purposes on the other hand. Non-English majors having their own specialties, once they can use English to solve some practical problems in their future jobs, they will be very competitive. On the contrary, English majors are seemingly in a dilemma not having practical skills like engineers because they only know the English language and its grammar. English after all is a tool of communication if they don't use it as the academic purpose or further study purpose. English majors are likely to have no advantages to compete with other majors. Chinese Ministry of Education issued English Teaching Syllabus for the every first time since 1980s, and then adapted for several times in the following three decades. The newest adaptation is the one in the year 2018. The national core curriculum for English language teaching is *de facto* a steer for nation-wide school language teaching at province-level. Because of the vast land and numerous schools, each school has conducted a slightly different curriculum policy at its own will. Many foreign language schools have changed their education policies after the national English Teaching Syllabus altered. The author has been at the service of a technological school for almost sixteen years. In his school, the department of foreign language studies designs the courses to cultivate the talents who master English and know economy and trade at the same time. Hence the English majors not only know the general languages, however also they can transfer to other fields like businessman, customs broker, and so forth. Accordingly, college English courses for non-English majors have been segmented into different sub-courses in order to make a switch from a general English to a more specific English. The target of making these changes in curriculum designs is to produce more competitive talents.

II. THEORETICAL BASIS

A. *The Influential Role of ESP*

ESP, as is well known, is short for "English for special purposes". Clearly it is the kind of English related to some special jobs or occupations. It is designed for the students with special learning purposes. Halliday and his co-author (1964) proposed in their book "The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching" the definition of ESP: "English for civil servants; for policemen; for officials of the law; for dispensers and nurses; for specialists in agriculture; for engineers and fitters". Generally speaking, general English teaching is not the only foci anymore. With the emergence of ESP, people from different language background can exchange their ideas and opinions in English in certain fields. People don't want interpreters to accompany them when going abroad for research or some international conferences. Now ESP has broadened its ranges from electronic trade, international finance, international trade to law, news, medicine, marketing, tourism, science and technology, academy, dissertation etc. It is time for educators to shift general English teaching to ESP teaching and change the curriculum of foreign language teaching. Richards(2008) gave us suggestion that we should "prepare materials to teach students who had already master general English, but needed English for use in employment, such as non-English background doctors, nurses, engineers, and scientists, prepare materials for people needing English for business purposes and future immigrants to deal with job situations". So learners' real needs should formulate the level of designing their English courses. Language needs may vary due to the different types of students restricted to their highly specific need.

B. *Bilingualism*

According to the Longman Dictionary of applied linguistics, Bilingual education meant "the use of a second or foreign language in school for the teaching of content subjects" (Richards, Schmidt, Kendrick & Kim, 2005). Richards et al. categorized Bilingual education programs into different types as the followings:

a) *The use of a single school language which is not the child's home language. This is sometimes called an immersion program;*

b) *The use of the child's home language when the child enters school however later a gradual change to the use of the school language for teaching some subjects and the home language for teaching others. This is sometimes called maintenance bilingual education;*

c) *The partial or total use of the child's home language when the child enters school and a later change to the use of the school language only. This is sometimes called transitional bilingual education.*

Type b) maintenance bilingual education is normally the case in Chinese universities, especially involved with foreign language teaching. More importantly, many universities put forward the bilingual education program in order to introduce the up-dated information and knowledge to the students who are not English majors with original language versions. However the English edition materials are so difficult to understand that the teachers use home language and English to explain alternatively. It is likely to be beneficial to the students in order to get what the teachers say. In this way, students can improve their specific ability in English environment.

III. A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON CURRICULUM DESIGN

Although assimilation is a term in linguistics, the author tends to believe that assimilation can occur in the curriculum development to a certain extent. That is, the goal of the curriculum for “College English” and for “English majors education” assimilates towards the middle point. According to the investigation in author’s technological school, the non-English majors are required to learn general English. In addition, they are also required to learn ESP so as to combine English to the specific fields. English majors, on the contrary, are trained to master all facets of general English, at the same time, to know about ESP in order to adapt to changing situation. Consequently the both of the graduates have similar ability—they have two swords: General English and English for Specific Purpose. After careful investigation the author summarizes the English curriculum in his technological school as the shown in Table I and Table II from 2003 to 2018.

A. Current Curriculum Design of “College English” for Non-English Majors

According to the 2004 Curriculum Require, college English should be divided into two parts: the EGP phase (freshmen and sophomore) and ESP Phase (juniors and seniors). The contents for freshmen and sophomores are mainly intensive reading for college English teaching: approximately 280 periods. Before 2010, college English curriculum performs the policy of 256 periods which are distributed into four academic terms (1st grade and 2nd grade) in author’s school. The English courses segmented into two sub-courses: intensive course and listening course. The former one is taught in the classroom with only detailed explanation of texts and writing skills, while the latter is practiced in the language lab mainly with the students’ automatic listening and some teachers’ explanation. At that time “College English (revised)” chief-edited by Dong Yafen has been recommended as the textbook. No other English-related courses were offered to the students anymore. The purpose of learning English for the students was to pass CET4(College English Test -Band 4) and CET6(College English Test -Band 6), a famous national English proficiency test for college students held twice a year in China. From 2003 to 2010. College English teaching was performed in a rather simplified way, with 64 academic periods in total each term for four consecutive term at Year one and Year two. Intensive reading, writing, listening and speaking are the most important activities in classroom teaching. There’s no clear cut between different teaching sessions. Only 16 periods have been allocated to the listening and speaking each term. After 2010, College English teaching reform was carried out one wave after another. In author’s school 256 teaching periods were compressed into 192 periods. What is more, the number of college English course has been surprisingly increased, from four courses to twenty-three courses. In other words, students will spend less time in learning more English courses in classroom.

TABLE I.
COMPARISON OF COURSE DESIGN FOR NON-ENGLISH MAJORS

Term	2003-2010	2011-2018	Times of opening
One	College English 1	College English I	7
		College English(reading and writing)II	7
		College English(listening and speaking)II	2
Two	College English 2	Oral English(preliminary)	3
		English listening	3
		English reading	2
		Practical English writing	3
		College English(reading and writing)III	7
		College English(listening and speaking)III	2
		College English III (video, listening and speaking)	6
		College English III (advanced English reading)	2
Three	College English 3	College English Listening (intermediate)	2
		Chinese culture (English version)	5
		A guide to English-speaking countries	5
		Listening and notetaking skills	3
		College English IV	7
		Business English	7
		Intercultural communication	7
		College English IV (English for science and technology)	1
Four	College English 4	English literature	2
		Translation practice and appreciation	3
		Advanced English reading	2
		Western short stories	1
		Tourism English	
		English writing	
		English movie appreciation	
		Japanese	
	Optional course(from 2nd term to the 8th term)		

Table I and Table II illustrates the trend of college English curriculum development. From Table I we can see that more English-related courses were added to the choices for the students, most of which are ESP courses. Apart from some basic courses, students have the opportunities to choose some other ESP courses in the selective sector, for example, English literature, business English, and intercultural communication etc. College English curriculum not only alters in this institute. The same thing happened in other universities. In order to cultivate the law talents who are cross-disciplinary, practical, international, and globalized, the law school in Beijing Foreign Studies University provides the basic forensic courses taught by the foreign teachers, some of which are bilingual courses. In Tsinghua University, some optional courses are set to enhance the students' language skills who have different majors background, different language levels to improve the comprehensive ability. General education help those to promote the cultural quality while ESP courses provide the students language support in their specialties and help them to read professional articles effectively, strengthen their integrated ability of academic exchange as well as academic writing in the same round.

B. Current Curriculum Design of Foreign Language Education for English Majors

Under the guidance of foreign language education requirement, there are mainly five basic traditional core competence factors for English majors: excellent ability in listening, speaking, reading, and writing; good basis for literature; some knowledge for liberal arts; well-commanded of business English and proper ability in translation (Lai Zheng, 2009). However with the appearance of inter-disciplinary talents and instruction of "English teaching syllabus for English majors in higher education", Lai either mentioned that the above five competence should be upgraded to the following: public speaking and debate skills; academic writing; computer-assisted professional translation; promotion of Chinese cultures in English; some knowledge for English of science and technology. In other words, English majors should learn general English (GE) in the first two years and learn EST (English for Science and Technology) and EAP (English for Academic Purpose) or ESP (English for Specific purpose) in the last two years. The Department of Foreign Studies is a newly founded branch in author's school. The curriculum policy maker just imitate the curriculum approach from other universities as models to design courses for their own development. From Table II, we can see, seventeen courses are designed for English major students before 2010. All of the courses are the usual courses developed for English majors. Orientations to cultivate English majors in author's school are put much on the specific details of mastering English language and knowing business. General English education and business English are the two learning directions at that time. Yet the courses shown in Table II provide us more information than we apparently see. After the year of 2010, education reform helps refine the course curriculum and learning directions. English majors include general English, business English and translation. About 52 courses are designed for those English majors students, three times than those before 2010. The courses offered to different learning directions are much more obvious and sense-making. Literature, business, and interpreting are the three parallel directions to cultivate English majors to be specialized in some occupational fields.

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF COURSE DESIGN FOR ENGLISH MAJORS

Before 2010	After2010	
Integrated English1-4	An integrated English course I-III	Appreciation of English poems
Listening	Video listening and speaking I-III	British and American women's literature
Oral English	Oral English	Comparative literature
A general survey of the United Kingdom and the United States	Society and culture of English-speaking countries	Intercultural business communication
Literature of USA and UK	An introduction to literature	Business English(integrated course)I-III
Advanced English1-4	Advanced English 1-4	Reading for Business English
English phonetics	English phonetics	English for international business negotiation
English Grammar	English grammar	Business English writing
Linguistics	An introduction to linguistics	Cross-border E-commerce
Lexicon	English lexicology	International payment
Bible culture	English reading and writing I-III	International project management
Intercultural communication in business	Bible culture	Oral English in business
English for trade interpreters	Intercultural communication	Computer-aided translation
E-trade English	Greek-roman mythology	Liaison interpreting
French1-4	Translation theory and practice	English-Chinese translation
Japanese1-4	English public speaking and debating	Chinese culture
	English rhetoric	English-Chinese interpreting
	English practical writing	Culture and translation
	English drama	Translation criticism and appreciation
	French 1-4	Chinese-English translation
	Japanese1-4	A history of translation in china and the west
	British and American literature (selected reading)	Translation project management
	British literature	Engineering translation
	English literature history	Culture translation
	Selective reading of English novels	Simultaneous interpreting
	A history of English literature	Consecutive interpreting

Comparing the two curriculum designs for English majors and non-English majors, it is notable that some similar revisions and directions appear. First of all, tremendous additions to the total number of the courses can be seen in either group of students. Over 5 times of the course added to the non-English majors and 3 times to the English majors. Both of them are focusing towards one direction: an inter-disciplinary talent, a moderate same point as illustrated in Figure I below. However each of them has its own advantage, we are likely to draw a conclusion that the non-English majors are trained to acquire the ability with “good command of specialties + English”, by contrast, English majors with “good command of English + specialties”. Culture, business, literature and translation are their common grounds. To be able to speak another language is not the ultimate purpose. Instead, to make good sense of a language and its culture and use it to do things becomes recognized in curriculum design and practice. Although they are approximately coming together toward the same point, they bear their own characters in curriculum feature. If we compare the curriculum design of Table I and Table II, non-English majors in the second phase are experiencing the first phase of curriculum practices of English majors but never follow up with it.

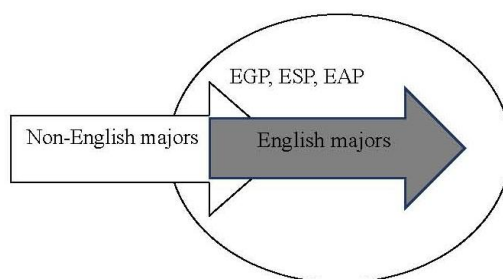


Figure 1. Assimilative Development Of Two Groups Of Students

IV. PROBLEMS IN THE CURRICULUM REFORM

Every coin has two sides. Sense-making curriculum designs can do good to the English language teaching. Yet curriculum design without deliberation and need-oriented survey brings some fatal problems as well. Some extra requirements into the original plans for the four years of study means great effort should be made by teachers and students in learning and teaching. A sudden and large-scale change in curriculum design will affect the stability and sustainability of education.

A. *The Broken Linkage between Syllabus and Performance*

The design of syllabus and curriculum implementation is a weak link in the language research in China. First of all, curriculum design is more theory-based other than practice-based. Curriculum designer just borrow some theories in European countries or even more developed countries to formulate their own curriculum and syllabus. It's hard to localize the global one in certain schools. Second, a more nation-wide curriculum cannot meet the need of unbalanced English education in such an expanding area in China. Reaching shared understanding is not easy due to some social factors like interests, power relation, individual biases and frictions between resistance and change forces (Pyhätö & Pietarinen, & Soini, 2018). To guide the language teaching, three parallel syllabuses: college English teaching, foreign language teaching, and preliminary English teaching are issued and revised occasionally. After the issue of national curriculum policy, it is somewhat difficult to realize it for different individual schools. Many obstacles are on the way including teaching staff and learning subjectivity. Teachers are the prominent component who realize the curriculum policy into a teaching action. Alvunger, Sundberg and Wahlström (2017) particularly emphasized that we need to understand the teacher's role as the one who transforms curriculum into practical teaching, with all the actual choices of inclusions and exclusions that such a transformation requires, and the one who converts the curriculum content into a form that becomes intelligibly and interesting for pupils.

Teaching is the form of realization of curriculum process in a combined context of teachers, students and classrooms. “The curriculum event in classroom settings jointly constructed by teachers and students” will not be accomplished without anyone of them (Alvunger, Sundberg & Wahlström, 2017). In this special issue, the author found that in his institute, the problems like unaffluent qualified ESP teachers, no proper teaching materials, students' inactive involvement increase the difficulties to implement new curriculum effectively. Most of the teachers are reluctant to update their professional knowledge and teaching methods so that they couldn't adapt to the current situation. According to the survey to the English teachers, large proportion of the language teachers have no ESP learning experience and seldom refer to other subjects. How could an English teacher teach international trade interpretation well without knowing the trade itself at all? If we ask an international trade teacher to teach the course, he or she is also not qualified with English language proficiency. Therefore that's the biggest problem in implementing the reformed curriculum! Curriculum initiatives that do not include sufficient professional development for teachers are unlikely to have the positive effects intended (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007). What is more, students were offered so many choices for further learning each term, however they don't seem to have the interest in the ESP, EAP courses

which are thought to be not useful in their future occupations. The curriculum solely based on the experience of one school may not be suitable or practical to the other. They lack of the concrete situation of language teaching in a concrete region.

B. The Controversy Between English and Specialty

Since English language is a compulsory course in China, students are learning English from primary and secondary school until universities, with consecutive learning for more than ten years. Learning English seems to be tedious and time-consuming. It really occupied plenty of time. In universities, students shoulder two responsibilities: to pass the CET and to master their own majors. How to balance the two things seems to be a problem to most students. According to a questionnaire on 4000 non-English majors in October 2004, carried out by China foreign language education centre, 19% of them spend almost all the time on English study, and 56% of them spend most of their time on it, and only 9% of them spend little. Many students increasingly complain about wasting so much of time in learning English that they couldn't have enough time to learn their professional majors. Consequently, some students cannot master their specialties with the result of failure in job hunting. English majors either encounter the same problem. They finally ignore the general knowledge and even at times they couldn't compete with non-English majors in language aspects, neither here nor there.

C. Top-down or Bottom-up?

Top-down and bottom-up are usually used to describe two different ways in implementing curriculum reform. Reforms that are grounded in research and theory can be defined as top-down whereas reforms that are heavily depending on teachers' involvement can be summarized as bottom-up (Mason, et al. 2005). Top-down approach bears the quality of power to change easily with less control of space and time. It looks like an arm-chair research which is more theoretical. On the contrary, bottom-up approach needs time and effort and has less power to be implemented. It is not uncommon that college English reform prefers the top-down to the bottom-up policy. Making a decision is an easy thing without any well-knit research before hand. Problems rise as we can see in Figure II below. Those course are outlined merely by curriculum makers with their own empirism. No preparation work has been done before students are accessed to the new courses. From 2011 to 2018, some course are regularly opened to students, intercultural communication, business English, college English (reading and writing) III, college English for instance. More specifically, some courses like western short stories, advanced English reading, English literature, college English IV (English for science and technology), college English listening (intermediate), college English III (advanced English reading), English reading, college English (listening and speaking) II, are opened no more than twice. That means students do not have the same courses to choose if they fail to pass the final examinations in the first round. Students push their way through loads of newly-opened courses which seems beneficial and fruitful.

This kind of curriculum design is more or less an action of casualty and arbitrariness. It is a waste of teaching resources and increases the burden of teachers and students. Li (2007) notes that any teaching reform has to be a systemic combination of a "top-down" and "bottom-up" policy, considering all facets of teaching, learning and administrating in a rational distribution of responsibility, power and benefits. There's no single method to make a well-rounded curriculum. Top-down approach is not the only way in designing a curriculum. Curriculum mediators, teachers and students all should be involved. We should do the before-hand investigation and need analysis. Then we can know what students exactly like and what they need to develop themselves. Teachers either have the right to decide what is appropriate to maintain within a sustainable and healthy curriculum. Students clearly know their own interest and their weakness and then improve themselves. It is not provable to open some of the courses if we don't do the need analysis on what kind of ESP courses students like or need to learn for their future. Need analysis and further investigation such as questionnaires, interviews should be the basic procedure before we make a curriculum reform. Both top-down and bottom-up should be employed.

Any teaching reform should be and must be based on need analysis to be sense-making and effect-making. The principle of a sound English language need analysis is to reckon students as an individuality and language user. From multi-facet angles, abundant analysis on certain student group have to be manipulated so as to obtain the relevant information of objective situation and learning context, contributing to the decrease of aimlessness and arbitrariness (Deng & Chen, 2012).

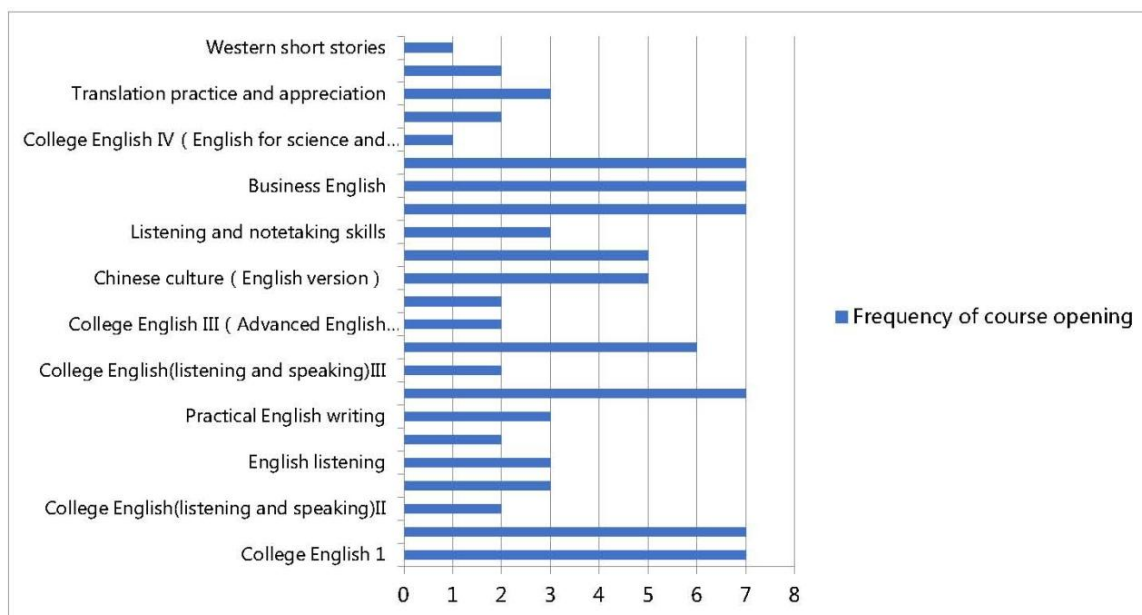


Figure 2. Frequency of Course Opening In A Technological School

V. CONCLUSION

The 21st century is an era of science and technology, an era of information, an era of comprehensive intellectuals. The excellent talents should have both abundant knowledge of foreign languages and focusing specialties. It is really urgent to design good curriculum for the schools and teachers. More investigations and much analysis should be put forward to design suitable curriculums for the students. Each university has its own features to be considered. From this aspect, it is a must to think about what an ultimate university cultivating program is: to cultivate the talents to be fit for the local regions or global circumstances. It is very much necessary to consider the location in this special issue in author's technological school. Most of the graduates from this college are going to work in some big metropolitan cities like Suzhou, Wuxi, Shanghai, where located lots of joint companies. Combining a top-down and bottom-up approach, a sense-making curriculum, some kinds of ESP courses and the like, realistic goals should be of much concern. Only with these attempts and confirmation, can we make great progress at the furious competition.

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On the Postmodern Narrative Techniques in *Slaughterhouse-Five*

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Abstract—Kurt Vonnegut is admitted as a great master of postmodern writer. Vonnegut's success is mainly attributed to his unique narrative approaches, various expressive methods and dramatic artistic effects. The application of metafiction is particularly obvious and significant in his novels. *Slaughterhouse-Five* is one of typical examples of the successful adoption of metafiction. The metafiction of Vonnegut's style, applied in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, shows itself in three distinctive approaches—non-linear narrative, collage and parody. Based on postmodern narrative theory, the application of these three distinctive narrative techniques will be analyzed in details in this thesis. The analysis mainly includes the reasons why they are applied in the novel and the functions how they work. The paper is mainly divided into five parts. Relevant information of Vonnegut, postmodern metafiction and previous researches are introduced in the first chapter. After getting better acquainted with basic knowledge, three narrative methods of Vonnegut's metafiction including non-linear narrative, collage and parody are separately and detailedly analyzed in the following three chapters. Every method applied in the novel deepens the anti-war theme, and then exposes war's evilness and absurdity further. Finally, the last part is a conclusion which is an emphasis on effects of Vonnegut's unique narrative techniques.

Index Terms—Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse-Five*, non-linear narrative, collage, parody

I. INTRODUCTION

Kurt Vonnegut's masterpiece *Slaughterhouse-Five* is a typical metafiction with many distinctive narrative techniques. To get better acquainted with Vonnegut's unique postmodern narrative techniques, knowing enough knowledge of life experience of the author and historical and cultural background of his time is necessary. Some basic information of Vonnegut, his novels, postmodern metafiction and relevant researches will be introduced in this part.

A. Kurt Vonnegut and *Slaughterhouse-Five*

Kurt Vonnegut (1922—2007) was one of the most far-reaching influential American writers in the 20th centuries. Vonnegut was admitted as a great master of postmodern writer. He was skilled in writing miserable stories in comic form and sneering at the crazy society in the face of despair and disaster. He was also known for his distinctive writing methods. His narrative techniques possessed various forms, such as parody, collage and so on. For instance, his novels always consisted of abundant fragmentized pieces which included quotations of wonderful poems, humorous doggerels, as well as indecent quartettes. Additionally, majority of his works were a mixture of autobiography and fiction. Vonnegut used to experience a period of heartrending army life as an American prisoner during World War II. He was imprisoned in Dresden, witnessing its perishment, which had a profound influence on his later works as a survival from Dresden Bombing. The most typical novel was *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969). Apart from *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *Cat's Cradle* (1963), *Breakfast of Champions* (1973), *Jailbird* (1979), *Timequake* (1997) all vividly showed unique imagination and special artful charm. Besides novels, Vonnegut also produced screenplays, essays and short stories. However, as for the thesis, narrative methods in the novel are attached more importance to.

Slaughterhouse-Five is also called *The Children's Crusade: a Duty-Dance with Death*. Vonnegut depicted a leading figure, Billy Pilgrim, who also experienced the firebombing of Dresden as a prisoner, as well as a survivor of the awful slaughter in the novel. Therefore, this novel was deemed to Vonnegut's autobiography by some scholars. An absurd journey, or more accurately, an almost frantic time travel of the Protagonist Billy Pilgrim was described in the novel. Vonnegut skillfully created a novel about the time travel of Billy who shared the identical traumatic experience in WWII with that of Vonnegut. Some deviant narrative methods flourished in the novel. Firstly, the author adopted deftly non-linear narrative strategy to narrate Billy's leaping life experience including the war-time prison in Dresden, the after-war home in America, and the Utopian Planet Tralfamadore through frequently shifted perspective and chaotic time-space view to expose war's absurdity and cruelty. What's more, the author also cited quantities of fragmental passages or sentences from different sources to reveal the nature of war in an indirect way. Except for these two distinctive narrative features, Vonnegut also created a new text on the basis of imitating some original religious stories, such as *The Pilgrim Progress* (1678) of John Bunyan in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Then he also applied the new text to an inappropriate or a totally contrary context to improve the effect of irony.

All in all, these features are the unique manifestation of non-linear narrative, collage and parody which all originated from postmodern metafiction. These distinctive narrative methods make the novel express its themes incisively and vividly.

B. Postmodernism and Metafiction

Postmodern writers use various postmodern narrative techniques in the boldest attempt for reference. Especially, the application of Metafiction is ubiquitous in the postmodern novels. "Meta" originally meant "after", serving as a prefix, in Greek. After the long history of development of languages, gradually Meta gained its new meaning "originality". Metafiction came into people's visions in 1960s, and then came to light. Afterwards, metafiction put a new soul into postmodern culture, especially postmodern novels. As a result, postmodern writers usually attempt to wield metafiction to express their real feelings about the world and search for truths at a crucial crossroads of fiction and reality.

As Patricia Waugh said, "Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality. In providing a critique of their own methods of construction, such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text" (Waugh, 1984, p. 2). In other words, postmodern novels are involved with the deconstruction and overthrow of traditional novels in their forms and narrative methods. Therefore, postmodern novels are also known as anti-traditional novels.

Traditional novels focus on characters, incidents or something related to the content of a novel. On the contrary, metafiction attaches more importance to the process how an author create a novel. For one thing, metafiction always prefers to directly inform readers that its author is making up a story. For another, the narrator always occurs in the novel in various capacities, even as the close company of the protagonist. In a word, the distinctive features of a metafiction show primarily in two aspects: one is elucidation of creation process; the other is exposure of the author's identification. Both two features offer a chance to explore the relation between fiction and reality. But Vonnegut made a breakthrough over initial metafiction in his own way.

The meta-fiction of Vonnegut style, applied in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, shows itself in three distinctive approaches—non-linear narrative, collage and parody. Each method has relatively distinctive features. Non-linear narrative does not follow chronological order of events, and behaves itself in an abnormal way, such as chaotic space-time view or transformation of personal perspectives. Collage means mingling various original parts of other materials and recombining them, then taking shape in a new text. Parody means that one novel imitates deliberately other novels' contents and forms to apply to an inappropriate and even converse context, so that the novel can realize its irony and criticism. As Simon Dentith said, "the contention is simply this: that parody is one of the many forms of intertextual allusion out of which texts are produced. In this sense, parody forms part of a range of cultural practices, which allude, with deliberate evaluative intonation, to precursor texts" (Dentith, 2001, p.16).

In conclusion, the application of these three methods adds energy and vitality to *Slaughterhouse-Five*. They play active roles in writing process of the novel. For Vonnegut, a simple statement of the firebombing of Dresden could hardly express the author's soreness and hatred. Additionally, there is no logic for a real war. As a consequence, Vonnegut chose metafiction as an "architectural blueprint", using all these approaches to separate his novel from the regular restricted by the cause-effect relation, chronological order and narrative completeness. In combination with the example of *Slaughterhouse-Five*, readers may find a shortcut to understand the theme of novel and the structure of meta-fiction. Their unusual magic to broaden readers' horizon will be specifically analyzed in the following parts in *Slaughterhouse-Five*.

II. NON-LINEAR NARRATIVES IN *SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE*

Based on all above information, Vonnegut had to search for a new access to reflect the cruelty of the Second World War to avoid turning the novel into a traditional reminiscence. However, traditional linear narrative technique wouldn't reach this special effect. Traditional realistic novel usually develop a story following a linear narrative. One of distinctive features of linear narrative is that the narrative time and the time line of a story are exactly same and synchronized. This narrative method aims at depicting and reproducing a story according to the original development of the story whether in time or space aspect. Under the circumstances, readers are passive to perceive, and even accept some truths that the author wants readers to know. However, non-linear narrative gives reader a new way to appreciate novels. Another typical feature of linear narrative is that the narration of a novel follows some kind of logical sequence, such as chronological order, spatial transference, and cause-effect relation and so on. Although those sequences sometimes are reversed, like flashback, readers can figure out the exact order that the novel abides by finally. Additionally, traditional novel usually takes the first perspective or the third perspective to tell a story under normal conditions. Otherwise, non-linear narrative has no specifically logical order to comply with. It always describes stories with a multi-angle of view or an intervened and leaping narrative space-time view. A novel can reflect itself on a deeper level by taking non-linear narrative. So Vonnegut created a seemed rough-and-tumble text by taking full advantage of non-linear narrative to express human beings' confuse and helplessness in the face of war. Therefore, the reason of application of non-linear narrative and its function will be focused in this chapter.

A. The Reason of Adoption of Non-linear Narratives

Vonnegut took non-linear narrative for a specific reason, and the reason exactly caused non-linear narrative in turn. In general, Vonnegut's post-war traumas mainly engendered the adoption of non-linear narratives. In order to understand the narrative, readers must get a better understanding of his mental traumas caused by the Dresden Bombing.

The tragedy of Hiroshima is universally known, while Dresden's secret is rarely acquainted by people. Dresden was as city with cultural heritages, and it has no war industries. Frederick Taylor also wrote that the city was largely undefended. People rarely anticipated the occurrence of the bombing. Nevertheless, the bombing still occurred. In the Bombing of Dresden in February 1945, around 25,000 people died, and over 1,600 acres of the city Dresden were destroyed by British and US Air Forces during three days. Comparing with atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Dresden bombing is more brutal and ruthless.

Based on the misery of Dresden, Vonnegut used to intentionally make a special introduction of *Slaughterhouse-Five*, describing as "The Dresden atrocity, tremendously expensive and meticulously planned, was so meaningless; finally, that only one person on the entire planet got any benefit from it. I am that person. I wrote this book, which earned a lot of money for me and made my reputation, such as it is. One way or another, I got two or three dollars for every person killed. Some business I'm in" (Vonnegut, 1981, p. 302). He witnessed the occurrence of the bombing. Therefore, his comments about the war were more authentic and credible than other reviews. However, the bombing left him no "benefit", but everlasting pain. This unavoidable sorrow laid a foundation of his non-linear narrative.

According to the above information, the reason why Vonnegut adopted non-linear narrative method cannot be separated from his experience as a soldier. The Dresden Bombing was an indelible pain in his memory. Recollecting his memory in a reasonable and sequential way seemed to be hard for a man who witnessed an inhumane and senseless slaughter. As Vonnegut said in the novel, "I don't think this book is ever going to be finished. I must have written five thousand pages by now, and thrown them all away" (Vonnegut, 1969, p. 7). He was even not sure whether he could finish it or not. That's what war left him, an unhealed war trauma. A series of post-traumatic stress disorders caused by war trauma are the main reasons why Vonnegut chose non-linear narrative. In other words, this is a kind of "Dresden complex".

The term "trauma", as the Oxford English Dictionary indicates, originally means "a wound, or external bodily injury in general", but it can also signify "a psychic injury, especially one caused by emotional shock, the memory of which is repressed and unhealed" (1989, p. 1252). Originally, the word "trauma" means some physical wounds. Afterwards, its meaning broadens as a mental disease caused by some emotional stimulus. Sigmund Freud is the forerunner in trauma studies. In terms of Freud, the definition of trauma, "involves a radical rethinking of the causality and temporality of memory. The traumatic incident is not fully acknowledged at the time that it occurs and only becomes an event at some later point of intense emotional crisis" (Whitehead, 2004, p. 6). In 1980, psychological responses after trauma was officially defined as post-traumatic stress disorder in magazine, named Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Therefore, Vonnegut stated in his novel, "People aren't supposed to look back. I'm certainly not going to do it anymore" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.11). He was unwilling to look back, and even afraid to recollecting the slaughter. That's one of the post-traumatic stress disorders—refusing to reminiscence. Another one is memory disorders. Vonnegut generated a lapse in memory and kept repeating some content again and again, such as narrator's name. Therefore, it took numerous bloods, toil tears and sweat for Vonnegut to write a book about the massacre under his "Dresden complex". For him, the war was what he mentioned in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, "And, even if wars didn't keep coming like glaciers, there would still be plain old death" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.3).

Vonnegut, "an abnormal narrator", suffering from some post-war traumatic stress disorders, could only express him in such a turbid and clueless thought. The protagonist Billy, same as Vonnegut, a survivor from the Dresden Bombing, could not acted as a normal person, addicting to time travel between the reality and the illusion. All in all, to accurately reflect Billy's post-traumatic stress disorders or the author's own psychological state, Vonnegut took non-linear narrative as a vital tool to uncover what the war brought to human beings, and to reveal his detestation to aggressive wars.

B. Transformation of Perspectives

In *Slaughterhouse-Five*, Vonnegut adopted a fire-new narrative mode to show his readers a distinctive anti-war novel. Vonnegut made a great difference in the comprehensions of readers, leading them to understand his war experience. As Gérard Genette evaluated, "Vonnegut integrated the author, the character and the narrator, which broke away the regulation of narration, not only its traditional structure, but also its logic of narration" (Genette, 1990, p.7). Vonnegut's self-discussion and self-reference made a breakthrough in traditional novels. Vonnegut, as an author, a character and a narrator, separately intervened the narration of the novel. He worked as a "narrator" to tell readers Billy's chaotic time travel appearing both in the novel and out of the novel. Meanwhile, he purposely placed himself into the first chapter and the last chapter, becoming a character in the novel.

Firstly, readers could easily find that Vonnegut's self-introduction consisting of his name, the places where he had been and the preparation for the novel, which was placed below his signature in the title page of *Slaughterhouse-Five*. In other words, Vonnegut as the author appeared in the novel from the title page. Following on, the author Vonnegut came up in the first chapter. However, he had already depicted the tragedy of Dresden to his readers in a character tone to his readers,

"I would hate to tell you what this lousy little book cost me in money and anxiety and time. When I got home from the Second World War twenty-three years ago, I thought it would be easy for me to write about the destruction of Dresden, since all I would have to do would be to report what I had seen. And I thought, too, that it would be a masterpiece or at least make me a lot of money, since the subject was so big. But not many words about Dresden came from my mind then-not" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.2).

The author frankly announced that he attempted to write a book about his experience in the Second World War, but he suddenly realized that he could hardly express what the war brought. In the novel, the author also said: "It is so short and jumbled and jangled, Sam, because there is nothing intelligent to say about a massacre. Everybody is supposed to be dead, to never say anything or want anything ever again. Everything is supposed to be very quiet after a massacre, and it always is, except for the birds". Except for the Dresden Bombing, the author's life experience was totally shown to readers.

Therefore, it might confuse readers that "the Vonnegut" appearing in the first chapter and the real author Vonnegut of this novel seemed to be the same person for their surprisingly similar life experience. For example, both of them experienced a period of heartrending army life as an American prisoner during World War II. They were imprisoned in Dresden witnessing its perish personally, which had a profound influence on their later works as survivors from Dresden Bombing. In fact, "the Vonnegut" in the novel was not the real author of this novel any longer. As an author, Vonnegut gave clear-cut clues at the end of the first chapter, telling readers that: "I've finished my war book now. The next one I write is going to be fun" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.10). Following on, he unveiled the beginning and ending of *Slaughterhouse-Five*. As Neil D. Isaacs pointed out that: "*Slaughterhouse-Five* is a book about the writing of the book" (Isaacs, 1973, pp.122-131). So did the last chapter. In conclusion, all the clear publicly-available content that the author revealed to readers aims at exposing his identity as an author, confusing readers that the novel is fictional.

Secondly, Vonnegut began to tell a story from the second chapter. The protagonist Billy and his absurd time travel were shown to readers. Meanwhile, the author Vonnegut became the first-person narrator of the novel. Vonnegut began to describe what happened to Billy's life to his real readers in detail. And he as a character in the novel disappeared in the following parts. Nevertheless, Vonnegut's voice as a character keeping coming out in the novel till the end of the novel: "It would make a good epitaph for Billy Pilgrim and for me, too...That was I. That was me. That was the author of this book" (Vonnegut, 1969, pp.55-56). He as a character reminded readers to carefully distinguish between "the narrator Vonnegut" and "the character Vonnegut" from time to time. Thus, the fictional meta-narrative created by Vonnegut in the beginning of the novel was dispelled. It is not hard to see that Vonnegut applied an omniscient and omnipresent mode of entire-focalization to describe Billy's miserable experience in the Dresden Bombing and his successful business life after war. Although the war ended, Billy could not escape from the dusty cloud of the war. Meanwhile, Vonnegut as a fictional character made a full explanation about the novel, especially in the first and last chapter.

All in all, no matter what a role Vonnegut played in and out of the novel, an author, a narrator or a character, he retrospected some important stages in Billy's life in an aloof and cynical tone. Especially, the simple sentence "so it goes" which occurred more than a-hundred times. And readers could feel Vonnegut's indifference to what happened to the surrounding. Every time it turned up, its meaning was deepened, and finally it became a harbinger of death. However, the cruelty of war and the loss of humanity were vividly exposed to readers by his unconcerned attitude. In *slaughterhouse-five*, Vonnegut expressed his own opinions and bewilderment about the world and human from the perspectives of the novel's narrator and character. Vonnegut combined himself with the novel's character through the transformation of perspectives, which was regarded as an innovation in narrative perspective. Vonnegut established unique tension of metafiction between construction of fictionality and deconstructing of it. All in all, the transformation of perspectives not only shows Vonnegut's masterly narrative skills, but also deepens the novel's themes—uncovering the miserable experience of some people involved in the Second World War to reveal wars' absurdity and abnormality in black humor technique.

C. Chaotic Time-space Views

Chaotic time-space view is another distinct feature of Vonnegut's non-linear narrative. The tangled time and space are also called fragments of time and space. The arrangement of time and space is extremely complicated in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. The narrative time constantly switches from the past to the present; the narrative space shifts from the earth to the planet Tralfamadore. He created a fire-new narrative mode, making a combination of reality and imagination, and synchrony and diachrony. The art of fragments could be apparently perceived through the whole novel. As James Lundquist pointed out that "Vonnegut strives to reveal new viewpoints in somewhat the same way the theory of relativity broke through the concepts of absolute space and time" (Lundquist, 1976, p.71) in his novel. At first, readers maybe feel confused when reading the novel. Gradually, readers might find the author's deep intension in a higher and broader perspective eventually.

Firstly, the tangled narrative time is a distinguishing feature of *slaughterhouse-five*. In the beginning, Vonnegut made it clear that "Billy Pilgrim has come unstuck in time" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.12). Then through description of Billy's symptom for losing in time, he gradually exposed the structure of fragmental time and space. After a piece of brief explanation, "Billy is spastic in time, has no control over where he is going next, and the trips aren't necessarily fun. He is a constant state of stage fright, he says, because he never knows what part of his life he is going to have to act in

next" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.12), interlaced time extended immediately. Vonnegut "mixedly loaded" Billy's life during a long period from 1922 to 1976. Fragmental slice of life constantly switched between the war life and after war life without control. The memories of the author or Billy about war were impaired. On Vonnegut's part, there was no need to follow the traditional sense of time or one direction from past to future. Some other scholars also supported him, for instance, "twenty years after the publication of SF, theoretical physicists like Stephen F. Hawking are becoming more convinced that there is no reason why under some circumstances the arrow of time might point from future to past rather than from past to future" (Xie, 2009, p.24). This kind of time view brought the past and the present in the same level. In fact, the author wanted to convey Billy's obsession in war's trauma, indifference to current life and hopelessness to future. Billy returned to the war so many times from his current life. That was because he could not help himself to recollect the war. He could not escape from what the war left to him: a serious mental disease with a physical symptom—memory disorders. All in all, Vonnegut attempted to reveal war's cruelty through the disordered time.

Apart from the chaotic time, tangled space is also deviant from traditional narration. The chaotic space also offered an opportunity to make a contrast between life on earth and life on Tralfamadore where "there is no beginning, no middle, no end, no suspense, no moral, no causes, no effects" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.88) far away from earth about 446,120,000,000,000,000 miles, reflecting a distinct death concept. As Vonnegut mentioned that, "The most important thing I learned on Tralfamadore was that when a person dies he only appears to die. He is still very much alive in the past, so it is very silly for people to cry at his funeral. All moments, past, present and future, always have existed, always will exist" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.13). Vonnegut created an imaginary planet—Tralfamadore, so that Billy could make his pungent complaints about war and death on the planet Tralfamadore. Nevertheless, Vonnegut's real purposes of creating a fictional planet were not to simply create an illusion, but to expose some truths. He conveyed a new concept of death that death was a way to renew ourselves by dint of Billy's experience on Tralfamadore. From this viewpoint, readers might guess that Tralfamadore was an ideal living environment for Billy. In this sense, Vonnegut created the ideal planet to express his attitude to death and hatred to war indirectly. Just like William Rodney Allen said that, "Vonnegut hopes to push the reader's perceptual horizon as far as he can toward infinity-toward the union of all time and all space" (Vonnegut, 1991, p.77).

In conclusion, the chaotic time-space view provides readers a fire-new perspective to get a better understanding of the novel. This perspective, for one thing, makes Billy slip the leash from the limitation of time and space in the earth, totally breaking our original comprehension to time and space to show Billy's serious post-war trauma. For another, it helps Vonnegut to reveal human being's helplessness, despair and frustration to real life. Finally, anti-war theme reaches its climax along with the time travel of Billy.

III. COLLAGES IN SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE

Collage is also one of typical manifestations of Vonnegut's metafiction. Collages are a prevailing trend in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Collages consist of the collage of some referenced fragments and that of chaotic contents caused by chaotic time-space view in the novel. Both of the two kinds of collages smash the coherence of the novel, which results in uncertainty of narration. Authors do not give readers any clue about what will happen in the next moment. It makes the content of a novel tanglesome and irrational. Nevertheless, the irrationality and disorder map the confusion of life. So they could better convey people's helplessness and passive acceptance of reality in such "a dementia praecox kingdom".

The former one is chosen to dissect collages of citations in the novel's content in this paper. When one first appreciates it, suddenly he/she feels that the whole novel is made up of odds and ends without the whole beauty. Actually, the application of collages is one of best lines in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. As mentioned, collage refers to a wide quotation of various materials from different sources. According to the above definition, collages in the novel could be divided mainly into three categories, including official sources, folk cultures, and literary works. Description about a war varies according to different people, different occasions and different sources. Every piece meticulously selected by Vonnegut has his intension. To sum up, materials of the Dresden's Bombing and other massacres involved in the novel add a heavy sense of history, while humorous and ridiculous folk cultures release readers' heavy pressure. These three collages and their special function will be analyzed in the following three parts.

A. *Collages of Official Sources*

About the Firebombing of Dresden, Vonnegut did not offer his opinions or materials relevant to the bombing direct. Instead, he borrowed some official sources which mainly refer to a Truman statement and a record of the population in Dresden.

Firstly, he quoted President Harry S. Truman's announcement about the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, "Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese Army base. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T... Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war. It was to spare-" (Vonnegut, 1969, pp.82-83). These detailed words thoroughly indicated the deadly lethality of atomic and Truman's strong ambition to conquer the whole world, giving too little care to lives of thousands of millions of innocent human beings. Through the citation, the author implicated that human being attempted to

enslave the entire world at the cost of numerous death. He accused of inhuman ambition at the expense of extinction of mankind, and further condemned that wars wantonly trampled on the value of existence.

Moreover, Vonnegut seemed to unconsciously gain information of Dresden's population when talking with his friend O'Hare. The record said, "On an average, 324,000 new babies are born into the world every day. During that same day, 10,000 persons, in an average, will have starved to death or died from malnutrition. So it goes. In addition, 123,000 persons will die for other reasons..." (Vonnegut, 1969, p.94). To these words, Vonnegut gave his response, "I suppose they will all want dignity" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.94). Whether in the Dresden's bombing or in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, wars devoured countless lives. However, dying seemed to be a daily thing, as natural as living. He implied that death is passively and reluctantly inevitable.

Both two pieces of quotation seemed to be irrelevant to the content of the novel. But, actually these official documents made excuses to wage war and made emphasis on the inevitability of death. These citations indirectly reflected Vonnegut's hatred to wars and his despair of survival. The anti-war theme deepens itself further.

B. *Collages of Literary Works*

As the proverb goes, "There are a thousand Hamlets in a thousand people's eyes". About the massacre of Dresden, different authors hold different views. Works written by other famous writers about war are frequently cited to expose thoroughly sin of war in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Vonnegut recorded the Dresden's Bombing through plentiful direct quotations. He depicted this historical tragedy in a round-about way. Some typical citation will be analyzed detailedly in the next paragraphs.

For instance, during a talk with his friend, Vonnegut mentioned a book named *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (1841), written by Charles Mackay. After Vonnegut said "Mackay had a low opinion of all Crusades", he cited, "History in her solemn page informs us that the Crusaders were but ignorant and savage men, that their motives were those of bigotry unmitigated, and that their pathway was one of blood and rears..." and "Now what was the grand result of all these struggles? Europe expended millions of her treasures and the blood of two million of her people; and a handful of..." (Vonnegut, 1969, p.29). Although Vonnegut did not immediately make his comment on war, this piece of words indicated that he had already taken his stand to war. These phrases, such as "ignorant and savage men" and "the blood of two million of her people", elaborated his contempt to war and pity to victims. Readers still could experience war's depression and sorrow, although Vonnegut did not describe excessively bloody scenes.

For another example, Vonnegut borrowed a little section of *Dresden, History, Stage and Gallery* (1908), written by Mary Endell. In a sense, war destroyed art, as Mary said: "Now, in 1760, Dresden underwent siege by the Prussians. On the fifteenth of July began the cannonade. The Picture-Gallery took fire... The devastation of Dresden was boundless... Das hat her Feind Gethan" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.9) in the novel. Dresden, a prosperous and cultural city lay in ruins in a trice, which aroused readers' inner sympathy. The devastation of war not only brought massive death, but also demolished human's spiritual civilization—art. Therefore, consequences of war are beyond the imagination, not an individual lost but a true decline of the world.

In summary, every piece of word that the author borrows from others works plays a role in increasing the anti-war effect. Though Vonnegut does not point out that war is cruel and evil, readers could feel angry and abomination to war through descriptions of other excellent scholars. Implicitly and automatically, Vonnegut gets strong resonance from readers finally.

C. *Collages of Folk Cultures and Other Sources*

A large amount of quotation of folk culture is also one of prominent collages. Various Folk cultures mainly consist of quartette, doggerel, prayers and slogans and so on. Apart from these cultures, soldiers' letter is also pasted in the novel. On one hand, those materials remit repression caused by others' works description about war. On the other hand, they aggravate derisiveness to war.

The most typical example is a prayer on Billy's office in the third chapter, which says:

GOD GRANT ME
THE SERENITY TO ACCEPT
THE THINGS I CANNOT CHANGE
COURAGE
TO CHANGE THE THINGS I CAN,
AND WISDOM ALWAYS
TO TELL THE
DIFFERENCE (Vonnegut, 1969, p.28).

Every word of this piece of prayer disclosed regrets and helplessness to life. As the prayer said, resignation to fate was a kind of wisdom. That is, struggling against fate is meaningless; and acceptance of death, war or other miseries is the right attitude. After reading, readers might feel the insignificance of human in the face of destiny. In addition, it also reflected that Vonnegut's spirit got caught into desperation after war.

Another typical example is a famous limerick. When Vonnegut felt hard to recollect memories of Dresden, he tried to relieve his anxiety by quoting some folk culture, such as:

There was a young man from Stamboul,

Who soliloquized thus to his tool,
 'You took all my wealth
 And you ruined my health,
 And now you won't pee, you old fool' (Vonnegut, 1969, p.3).

In spite of obsession with slaughter of Dresden, he could not make a book of Dresden for after-war trauma. Recollecting his memories of the war was killing him and leading him to nervous breakdowns. And he could not get rid of torment of the war. This dirty and vulgar limerick was a temporary relief to his sad emotion. Meanwhile, readers also could take a breath from depression in virtue of it.

Another intentional collage is a soldiers' letter, which says:

"Derby was imagining letters to home, his lips working tremulously. Dear Margaret-We are leaving for Dresden today. Don't worry. It will never be bombed. It is an open city. There was an election at noon, and guess what? And so on" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.66).

What a silly idea! Soldiers believed safety of Dresden and fancied going home, only to occur a dispiteous bombing without expectation. For one thing, the letter arouses readers' sympathy to those soldiers and awakened resentment to war. For another thing, the letter bitinglly denounces brutality of war and unprediction of future.

To sum up, folk cultures differ from other sources of citation, and they have two major functions. On one hand, these diverse cultures relieve readers' depression when they read the novel. On the other hand, Vonnegut ingeniously utilizes these quotations to create black humor to satire wickedness of war.

IV. PARODIES IN SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE

Parody is widely applied in post-modern novels as one of techniques of metafiction. Postmodern novels overthrow traditional novels by wielding parodies to convey some worries and anxieties. Parody owns far-reaching imitative objects, such as a sentence, a text, a classic work, and even an already existed historical event. Simply speaking, parody means borrowing other works to realize its effect of irony and scoff. Chris Baldick said that parody was "a mocking imitation of the style of a literary work or works, ridiculing the stylistic habits of an author or school by exaggerated mimicry. Parody is related to burlesque in its application of serious styles to ridiculous subjects, to satire in its punishment of eccentricities, and even to criticism in its analysis of style" (Vonnegut, 1996, p.161). Parodic targets in *Slaughterhouse-Five* are principally constitutive of Pilgrim's Progress, Adam and Eve in Eden and Jesus' Prediction of Death. Parodies make pungent contrasts between the parodic objects and the parodied texts to achieve a comical effect and convey special messages.

A. *The Pilgrim's Progress: Billy's Time Travel*

The Pilgrim's Progress (1678) written by John Bunyan, is one of the most remarkable religious novel. One part of the novel is about Christian's journey to celestial city, and the other part tells the travel of Christian's wife—Christina and her children to celestial city. The allegorical tale depicts the leading character Christian's spiritual journey and struggles from unbelief and sinfulness to salvation and glory. Careful readers could find that Billy Pilgrim in the novel shares the same word "Pilgrim" with the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is not a coincidence, but deliberation. In fact, Vonnegut skillfully uses the word "Pilgrim" to shorten the distance between Christian and Billy.

However, unlike Christian, Billy Pilgrim had a journey to an exoplanet—Tralfamadore to look for ways to run away from the world that he did not have courage to face. Being caught in painful memories in the Bombing of Dresden, Billy could only relieve himself from misery through a time travel to escape from death and war.

Generally speaking, Celestial city is to Christian as Tralfamadore is to Billy. What's different is that Christian searched a way to celestial city for his belief to god, but Vonnegut escaped to a fictional planet from violence and war because he lost his belief. Christian sublimated his personality with the persistent pursuit of belief. Ironically, Billy suffered from mental dissociation, losing his bearings in time travel. All in all, seemingly clumsy imitative writing masterly discloses Vonnegut's despair to survive in earth for relentless war.

B. *Adam and Eve in Eden: Billy and Montana in Tralfamadore*

Imageries of Adam and Eve frequently emerge in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. As the novel described that "He said, too, that he had been kidnapped by a flying saucer in 1967. The saucer was from the planet Tralfamadore, he said. He was taken to Tralfamadore, where he was displayed naked in a zoo, he said. He was mated there with a former Earthling movie star named Montana Wildhack" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.12). The author directly depicted that Billy imaged Tralfamadore as an Eden without war and evil. In addition, William Rodney also said, "Billy and Montana are the newborn Adam and Eve in a perfect world" (Vonnegut, 1991, p.93). Therefore, readers might dauntlessly guess that Tralfamadore perhaps is the Eden in the Bible. Nevertheless, the author declared unexpectedly, "On Tralfamadore, says Billy Pilgrim, there isn't much interest in Jesus Christ. The Earthling figure who is most engaging to the Tralfamadorian mind, he says, is Charles Darwin—who taught that those who die are meant to die, that corpses are improvements. So it goes" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.93) in the last chapter. So readers suddenly realize that Tralfamadorian is not the Eden in the Bible; Billy and Montana are not Adam and Eve.

Images of Adam and Eve are specialized in *Slaughterhouse-Five*, different from original figures in the Bible. The description of Adam and Eve was that "If you look in there deeply enough, you'll see Adam and Eve. Billy Pilgrim had not heard this anecdote. But, lying on the black ice there, Billy stared into the patina of the corporal's boots, saw Adam and Eve in the golden depths" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.24) in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Vonnegut deconstructed them, and then reinvented them, so that he could produce dramatic absurdity and inexplicability. For Vonnegut, the whole world is distorted and irrational. Therefore, there is a need to destroy the old planet, rebuilding a new "Eden".

In a word, Vonnegut never believed that any religion could help people to solve problems. He employed parodies to deconstruct the Bible's stories to express his anti-God, anti-Christianity, as well as other traditional religions after the Second World War. "Strong faiths in the past turn out to be painful doubts...literary descriptions of Christianity are usually slapstick or comedy", Reed, Peter J. Ed. described (Reed, 1996, pp.145-146).

C. *Jesus' Prediction of Death: Billy's Prophecy Related to Death*

In *Slaughterhouse-Five*, Vonnegut parodies Jesus Christ too. Allen used to say in her book, "Actually this vulnerable and miserable Billy Pilgrim is newborn Jesus in the novel" (Allen, 1991, p. 87). As Jesus was mocked by soldiers and passersby, Billy was laughed at by his comrade-in-arms during the war. Another important point was that Billy bore a striking resemblance to Jesus' death.

Billy knew exactly the time when he died and the killer who murdered him, as the novel showed, "Billy predicts his own death within an hour.... He is an old man now, living not far from here" (Vonnegut, 1969, pp.63-64). Billy even recorded a piece of word that "I, Billy Pilgrim, the tape begins, will die, have died and always will die on February thirteenth, 1976" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.63) to witness his death. Those words reminded readers that Jesus told his followers he knew who was murderer in the Last Supper. Similarly, the author narrated, "Early in 1968, a group of optometrists...the plane crashed on top of Sugarbush Mountain, in Vermont. Everybody was killed but Billy" (Vonnegut, 1969, p.12). After crash, Billy seemingly experienced a new born. In the Bible, the king slaughtered all the children below two years old in order to kill Jesus in Bethlehem. Jesus, like Billy, was also the only one who escaped from death. To some extent, Billy and Jesus obviously overlap.

However, when readers approve the identity's consistency of Billy and Jesus, Vonnegut overthrew the consistency. Billy was like a lifeless puppet, an anti-hero in the postmodern society. Billy was described as a new "Christian" who was controlled and contorted by external pressure. Moreover, Jesus' death was a sacrifice. However, Billy's death valued nothing. Though Billy preached some new concepts about time and life which learnt from Tralfamadorian to attempt to change people's opinions about their life, it was in vain. What Billy acquired in Tralfamadorian was negative acceptance or evasion to death. Because all the difficulties could explain in one sentence—so it goes.

Therefore, Vonnegut tactfully and vaguely criticizes religions by a parodied Jesus—Billy. This kind of parody makes readers realize that human beings have already lost their confidence to religions in this ridiculous and chaotic world. Because none of religion could provide a way to mitigate their spiritual pressure and creates a forever peaceful spiritual home. As for Vonnegut, Jesus Christ is helpless, as well as preposterous. To some extent, the loss of spiritual ballast makes postmodern people be immersed in belief crisis. However, the crisis is caused by tenterhooks to the turbulent times and the chaotic social order.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In a sense, narrative methods compose a basic framework of a novel. Metafiction is a characteristic narrative technique in the postmodern literature. It plays an important part in the postmodern novels. Vonnegut skillfully wielded metafiction in *Slaughterhouse-Five* to convey its anti-war theme to the extreme. Vonnegut made a breakthrough in metafiction, endowing it with features of non-linear narrative, collage and parody. His narrative techniques overturn traditional novels' narrative structure.

Firstly, the application of the abnormal narrative methods was caused by his mental trauma or his psychological illness after the Second World War. Although Vonnegut tried to recollect memories of war, he could not recall them well-organized and logically. Hence non-linear narrative emerges in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Tangled time-space view interprets massacre of Dresden cast its shadow to Billy and Vonnegut. Transformations of person make the novel waver between the reality and imagination. Secondly various materials of collages make contrasts among diverse accounts for the firebombing of Dresden. On one hand, citations of official sources and other works expose war's darkness and brutality in a serious way. On the other hand, folk cultures' quotation alleviates repression, comically revealing helplessness and despair to death. Finally, by virtue of parodies, Vonnegut criticized that religion could not assist mankind in shuffling off this mortal coil to express his loss of faith, and he revealed that people were caught into spiritual wasteland in the postmodern society. All in all, every method employed in *Slaughterhouse-Five* reveals the detestation to war and the desperation to survival consciously.

Based on the above information, no matter what narrative techniques adopted by Vonnegut, his purpose was to expose the theme of loss of humanity and hatred to wars. Frequent occurrence of "so it goes" also accurately reaches his purpose. At the time Vonnegut turned up in the novel as a narrator, the narrator talked about Billy's life before, during and after the war, as well as his life on Tralfamadore. Vonnegut described objectively and naturally several stages of Billy without any extra personal opinions. It makes reader feel the author's indifference and insouciance immediately.

Comrade-in-arms died; parents died; big bugs died; 135000 people died. Deaths were common things in the novel. Vonnegut used one sentence to response every death, "So it goes". It arose in the novel almost one hundred times. "So it goes" gradually became the symbol of death. This is the highlight of the author's black humor. It also made a contrast between the author's unconcerned statement and the story's cruel situation. Vonnegut did not give his opinion directly, but his abnormal reaction had already testified his attitude towards wars. It is no need to justify a war. Vonnegut told a miserable story about a survivor's postwar life in the perspective of a bystander, so that it could alleviate his pain. The appearance of "So it goes" fully reflected the author's helplessness and irony to reality, and reveal the novel's themes—loss of humanity and hatred to wars.

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Attitudes towards the Efficiency of English Culture Treatment at Schools: A Case of Iranian Kurdish EFL Learners

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Abstract—Language is used for communication and it is a carrier of culture. Culture and language are inseparable. If learners are successful in understanding and use of the target language, they need to have good knowledge of cultural aspects of the foreign language as well. Therefore it is essential to teach culture and language simultaneously. The present study aims to understand Iranian Kurdish EFL learners' attitude towards the way culture is addressed and treated in English language course at high schools. To this end, two hundred and fifty female EFL learners were selected based on availability sampling from two high schools in Boukan, West Azerbaijan and were asked to complete the attitude questionnaire. The results indicated that Iranian Kurdish EFL learners hold negative attitudes towards the way culture is treated at English course in Iranian high schools. At the end, the paper provides some recommendations for policy makers, textbook designers, and teachers in order to foster cultural awareness in teaching and learning process.

Index Terms—culture, cultural awareness, attitudes, English language teaching in Iran, English as a foreign language, communicative skills

I. INTRODUCTION

Teaching foreign languages includes more than building knowledge of grammar, phonology, and lexis. It consists of building cultural competence and understanding the culture of foreign language as well to facilitate communication. Language and culture are inseparable and one cannot think about a language without considering the culture of its native speakers. If we separate these two concepts from each other the significance of them will be extremely decreased. Language reflects culture in such a way that people can be able to observe culture via language (Brown, 1994).

A. Culture and Language

Culture is a very comprehensive concept. From anthropological point of view, culture is the way people live (Chastain, 1988). Culture provides the context of living, thinking, feeling, and relations with the other members of the society. It manages our behavior and makes us aware and sensitive to different issue. It helps us to know about other people's expectations from us as a member of the society and makes us aware of our responsibility towards others (Cakir, 2006).

There are different attitudes towards the type of culture within teaching English as a foreign language. Byram (2012) as cited by Savu (2016) mention that culture should be taught along with the English language to 'acculturate' learners into native speakers' culture. On the other hand, since English is a lingua franca, Jenkins (2005) states that we can approach this language in a culture-free context. In addition, two other approaches – modernist and postmodernist – focus on this very issue. The modernist or knowledge-based perspective considers culture as a static notion besides the language. In this approach knowing the code of language – four language skills along with grammar and vocabulary - is enough and learners are merely passive recipients of knowledge (Saeidi & Zamanian, 2017). Therefore, this approach separates cultural competence from language competence. On the other hand, in the second approach, culture is seen as a dynamic phenomenon and language and culture are interwoven and they are learn together. These days culture in learning foreign languages has changed from culture as information to community culture that is the same with it in special and historical manners (Koike & Lacorte, 2014).

Culture is interrelated with language learning, since language reflects values of a society, once you use a nation's language, more or less, you become a part of the nation's customs, attitudes, and behavior. Making communication in a foreign language does not merely about using a language lexically and grammatically correct, but you need to be socially competent in order to avoid misunderstandings, frustration or even social defects. Accordingly, people who are able of communicating through another language while they have no information about its surroundings, social situations, customs or philosophical sides of the targeted language (Farooq, Soomro, & Umer, 2018). The relationship between culture and language is such a close one that without culture language learners are at risk of becoming "Fluent

Fools" (Bennett, Bennett, & Allen, 2003, p.237). Hence, culture plays a key role in language teaching as well that is explained in the next section.

B. Role of Culture in ELT

Teaching culture has an effective role in teaching linguistic and communication competences. It provides the learners with the opportunity of gaining/changing attitudes towards native English speakers and their language. As a result, the learners may hold a positive motivation towards English. It goes without saying that positive attitudes towards a language enhance the process of learning the language (Gardner, 1985), so making learners familiar with English culture increases English language learning. By teaching culture, learners' intellectual curiosity leads them to notice that they can express their feelings, thoughts, and needs in the ways other than their own culture. However, we cannot find a known method in order to teach the class about cultural conditions. The teachers and lesson plan designers should prepare the cultural content in the books and concentrate on teaching language characteristics in accordance with the part of culture in learning languages (Abushihab, 2016). Accordingly Educational policy makers, teachers, and learning materials such as textbooks play a significant role in English language and culture teaching/learning process.

C. Textbooks

Culture as an inseparable component of foreign language learning should be present in English textbooks as well. Abdzadeh (2017) addresses culture in textbooks from two perspectives. First, localizing textbooks which refers to designing the material in a way that increase learners' engagement with language learning experience as well as making meaning out of it (Tomlinson, 2012) ; therefore, the gap between the learner and the teaching content decreases to a great deal. In fact, global English textbooks are criticized for their exclusion of student's local cultures (Matsuda & Friedrich, 2011). On the other hand, limiting content of English textbook to local culture has some disadvantages. It decreases learners' intercultural competence and makes them unable to use language naturally while communicating. Based on what has been mentioned so far, textbooks should contain the culture of English speaker countries. The cultural content of textbooks should focus on geography, education system, food and drink, festivals (Saeidi&Zamanian, 2017), and different customs at different occasions in order to provide deeper cultural insights in learners, enhance their cultural awareness, and improve their communicative competence.

D. Teachers

A teacher should be aware of both native and target culture and integrate language and culture teaching meticulously. Teachers tend to introduce target culture to the learners through proper inputs, textbooks, and appropriate activities in the classroom. For example, numerous techniques such as role play, readings, films, simulation, games, culture assimilators, culture capsules and culture-grams can be applied in the classroom to assist learners in practicing and internalizing English language and culture (Chastain, 1988). Accordingly, teacher training programs should prepare the teachers to transfer target culture in the classroom. Moreover, it should help teachers in learning how to draw the students' attentions to the distinctiveness of the native and target cultures rather than value judgments. Therefore, when a teacher tries to teach a language, he/she should not be judgmental or non-subjective (Peterson & Coltrane, 2003). Teachers should not undermine native values or over treasure the target culture. In addition, in order to increase learners' achievements, teachers are to change the classroom practice in the directions of 'thinking globally', 'acting locally' and 'thinking and showing local and universal acts. Universal acts are those that are international. Students should possess a lot of knowledge to have careers in future (Badrkhani, 2017). While some learners show positive attitudes towards English language and culture, there are learners who feel alienation towards English language, culture, and people; therefore, one of the other main tasks of a teacher is to be sensitive to the fragility of learners through using facilitative techniques that promote cultural awareness and understanding (Cakir, 2006).

E. Cultural Awareness and Language Teaching/Learning

Cultural awareness begins with developing sensitivity and understanding of people's beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and values. It leads people to more critical thinking. They believe that being aware of the cultural conditions, is a slowly developing understanding of how culture is, while you understand better yourself, about your culture and about the cultures of other people, and also a fine understanding of the cultures' differences. From Tomalin and Stempleski (1993) cultural awareness has three main features: awareness of one's own culturally-induced behavior, awareness of the culturally-induced behavior of others, and ability to explain one's own cultural standpoint. Suleiman (1995) states that finding out about the cultural awareness, will make the understanding of different views of the language easier, which makes language learning and teacher more productive.

Cultural awareness in language teaching is triggered by the fact that almost all of the learners are not exposed to cultural elements; therefore, they may face a notable challenge in communicating meaning to native speakers (Farooq, Soomro, & Umer, 2018). Cultural awareness broadens the minds of the learners, increase tolerance and create cultural empathy and sensitivity towards the native and target culture. Therefore that's why the teachers need to have an analytical view of the learners' knowledge requirements, about the knowledge of cultures, and acting in a fine manner of awareness. (Shemshadsara, 2012). Teachers should read up on the cultural characteristics, history and customs of the learners' native country as well as the target countries. Teachers need to deliver language instruction without bias,

discrimination or prejudice. Being culturally aware helps teachers to meet the needs of their learners and create an environment in which they feel comfortable and ready to learn. Provided with proper amount of cultural input in the classroom, Students can mix the cores of native and target cultures and build their own feeling and belief about the distinctions of culture between cultures (Savu, 2016). Accordingly in this part students fill the space between cultural distinctions and get to their personal and general targets (Crozet & Liddicaot, 2000). In this regard Saeidi and Zamanian (2017) mention that:

The main aim of the second language is facilitating the students to work with situations of the target culture while using their own culture which is of utmost importance in the communication between cultures (p. 258).

All in all, Cakir (2006) mentions the following items as the main reasons for arising cultural awareness in EFL learners:

- Making the skills of communication stronger,
- Finding out about the patterns of language and behavior about the target and the native cultures at a more understandable level,
- Making the international and different cultures understanding better,
- Making instruction more enjoyable to expand the awareness of the potential mistakes that may be related to comprehension, interpretation, and translation and communication.

It is good to say that there are some worries about, in what situation another culture can be taught in a classroom about foreign languages. The students are required to have suitable information about their own culture to stop sole focus on the target language. Therefore the teacher has to be able to create an atmosphere in which he can integrate cultural elements into actual language teaching. To be able to do this a teacher must have good information about both languages and cultures, since it may be possible for the students to mix up the elements in both cases (Farooq, Soomro, & Umer, 2018).

F. The Present Condition of ELT in Iran

Iran is a nation with various races, religions, lifestyles, languages, and cultures. Although several languages and dialects are spoken in Iran – such as Azeri, Gilaki, Balouchi, Kurdish, Arabic, etc. – Farsi is the official language of this country and used for giving instructions at schools and other academic places. Therefore, most of Iranian students are bilingual or even multilingual. Since language and culture are interlinked, Iranian students are bicultural/multicultural as well. Thus, Iranian foreign language teachers face a significant challenge in terms of dealing with target and native culture(s) of the students. Since the present study aims at exploring Kurdish EFL learners' attitudes towards the way English culture is treated in English classes at school, it is conducted in Boukan, a Kurdish speaking city located in West-Azerbaijan in which Turkish is a dominated language. Besides, Farsi, as the official language of the country, is used at schools. Consequently, EFL learners in Boukan are multilingual and multicultural who are to get familiar with a forth language and culture at EFL classes. This situation might become too challenging for both the teacher and the learners. Teachers must be prepared for elements such as awareness, knowledge and skills of the needed cultures and the learners have to face the challenges of cultural adjustment (Hashim, Johannes, & Majzub, 2011).

In Iran, English as a foreign language is an obligatory school subject that students are required to learn it since the age of 12 at schools. The most important part of teaching is grammar and reading skills (Riazi, 2005). Classes are relatively crowded for a language class and are teacher-centered. The mentioned factors imply lack of communicative skills namely writing and speaking. (Abdzadeh, 2017). On the other hand, Saeidi and Zamanian (2017) found that for the teachers, intercultural targets are of utmost importance and they prefer to promote acquiring communicative competence via English teaching, but their teaching practice can as yet not be characterized as based on cultural awareness and cultural competence development. They cannot devote extra teaching time to teach culture, because of the tight syllabus they have to follow. They don't pay much attention to the way the culture of a targeted language must be taught, instead they just focus on some limited skills as discussed before. In terms of English education policy in Iran, Abdzadeh (2017) states that English is used as a means to strengthen national identity and promote religious values via language education. She founds that Iranian textbook does not meet learners' needs in terms of cultural awareness. There is a similar situation in Saudi-Arabia as well. Alsamani (2014) reports that English courses of Saudi universities contain little amount of cultural data about native English speakers, because they think that it can have a bad effect on students' behavior and can be a threat to the students' Islamic identity.

English textbooks are all developed, published and distributed under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The text designers do not focus on the techniques and methods of teaching culture of the foreign language in the curriculum, but their focus is on the materials and the topics, which are based on linguistic and grammatical aspects instead (Abushihab, 2016). Therefore the language is only taught at a superficial and at times unnecessary way. The English books in Iranian school give almost no amount of information about the target language country. For instance most of the names of the people or the cities are Iranian. Even if this is a political decision we should admit that it could act as a hindrance towards second language learning (Javdani & Mahboudi, 2012). Aliakbari (2004) in his investigation of Iranian ELT textbook reports several shortcomings:

1. ELT textbooks in use in Iranian high schools did not prove helpful in developing inter-cultural competence and cultural understanding. It seems that books deliberately or not, distract attention from culture or cultural points.

2. There were a disproportionate number of topics on science and the related fields. The instructional goals of the text were found deliberately focused and narrow, with a major focus on science. There was almost no reference to other fields such as literature or other arts.
3. Reading passages lacked identity.
4. The texts were limited not only in the depth of cultural information but also in the range of the cultures depicted.

Based on what has been mentioned so far, sometimes, to follow the educational policy and cope with the requirements of the book, teachers cannot use a more creative, interpretative or critical approach. This can be considered as restricting the function of ELT.

G. Statement of the Problem

Several studies have proved that the language is interconnected with culture and culture is important to language acquisition (Byram, 2012). A foreign language cannot be learned properly without being aware of its cultural dimensions. Learning a language in isolation of its cultural roots hinders learners from becoming a socialized into its contextual use. How to communicate successfully is the most important part of language learning process. Accordingly, every element in language learning process, from policy making and text designing to teaching and learning activities, should foster culture learning in foreign language learners. EFL programs and the textbooks offered in Iran do not contain real-life cultural data about English native speakers. Moreover, in order to follow the syllabus, teachers have no time to present the culture of English native speakers; therefore, learners merely get linguistic competence and lack of communicative competence will encounter them with several problems while they want to communicate in English contexts.

H. Significance of the Study

The results of this study promote the readers' knowledge of Iranian Kurdish EFL learners' attitudes towards the way English culture is addressed in EFL course at school. The findings informs readers to what degree the English language learners would like English culture to be transferred in the classroom, because the learners are the individuals who may communicate with other English native speakers. In addition, the findings of this study bring new insights of Iranian English Learners' tendency toward the cultural issues. This research will help readers how two important factors like language and culture were addressed through textbooks and applied together in English classrooms in Iran. Furthermore, the reader recognizes the relationship between culture and language. In English language classrooms, these two factors are complements of each other.

I. Research Question

In order to achieve the objective in this study the following question was addressed by the researcher:

- What are Iranian Kurdish EFL learners' attitudes towards the treatment of English culture in ELT in Iran?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural awareness is playing a very important role in modern English teaching. It shows and proves to us even more that the culture and the language itself should be taught together and not separately (Byram, 2012). The importance of cultural awareness and its role in teaching/learning process is to the extent that it becomes the researchers' center of attention to have more research equipment to insights towards teachers and learners' attitudes and the role of cultural awareness in fostering foreign language learning. For example, in attempt to provide a valid and reliable research instrument for gaining teachers' attitudes towards critical cultural awareness, Atai, Babaii, and Bazargani (2017) provided a theoretical framework of critical cultural awareness, and developed and piloted a 37-item questionnaire to gather teachers' attitudes towards critical cultural awareness.

The very notion of cultural awareness in EFL teaching and learning process was of interest of many researchers (Shemsdsara, 2011, Cakir, 2006, Savu, 2006). Numerous studies investigated the attitudes, understanding and tendency towards the cultural awareness in both teachers and EFL learners as well as its impact in teaching English. Farooq, Soomro, and Umer (2018) focus on perception and practices of teachers regarding culture and English language teaching in Saudi Arabia. The data were collected from 121 (60 male and 61 female) teachers of different cultural background through a questionnaire on their perceptions and implication of teaching target culture in the classroom through English language courses. It was revealed that all teachers have knowledge about the aspects of the target culture to some extent, but how they deal with the target culture is affected highly by the curricular considerations and limitations.

In another study, Badrkhani (2017) conducted a questionnaire to 120 Iranian teachers (41 males and 79 females) to gain their attitudes and tendency towards the cultural awareness in the teaching context. The results showed that the Iranian male EFL teachers have more opportunities to communicate with people from the other cultures than the female teachers do. EFL male teachers claimed that they have difficulty in finding global subjects that they plan to each. Female EFL teaches said that they have more knowledge about Iranian customs while males claimed that they have more information about the Iranian history.

A study conducted by Saeidi and Zamanian (2017) investigated perceptions, practices and problems of 100 Iranian EFL teachers regarding raising students' Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) awareness. Based on a mixed-method design, using questionnaire, observation, and interview, the findings indicated an apparent disparity between teachers' perceptions about ICC and their current classroom practices. Teachers also identified and discussed a lack of training, time, and support to raise language learners' ICC awareness. This study provides strong empirical evidence supporting the claim that it is difficult for EFL teachers to integrate culture into their teaching in order to develop learners' intercultural competence.

Moreover, a study was conducted on multicultural awareness among preschool teachers in Malaysia by Hashim, Johannes, and Majzub (2011). A stratified random sample of 144 preschool teachers in the state of Selangor was selected. The result of the researches showed us that most of the preschool teachers have an acceptable level of cultural awareness while they teach in all their classes. These results also showed that it is not that much important if the classes are homogeneous or not. So to sum up about this case, it is important to say that we absolutely need more focus and more studies in order to reach ideal levels for having an ideal qualitative approach.

In a similar way, Sakka (2010) aimed at investigating Greek teachers' cross-cultural awareness and their views on cultural diversity in the classroom. People who participated in the study were 100 elementary and secondary teachers. 57 of them females. Cultural awareness was used in order to gather the needed data and the questionnaire was about views on cultural diversity and their roles in different classrooms. The results were shocking and showed very different ideas of the teachers towards this matter which proves to us even more why we need to have further studies in this case. We need a program and training for teachers which are rich in both curricula and the needs of the teachers as well, as these emerge in today's multicultural classroom.

In cultural awareness issue, not only teachers' attitudes and performance are important, but also foreign language learners' tendencies and points of view towards culture and its effect on learning the language play a crucial role in facilitating teaching and learning process. A body of investigation is devoted to this very issue. For instance, Arasteh, Tahriri, and Tous (2016) made a comparison between Iranian EFL students at two different levels (freshman vs. junior) with respect to their attitudes towards foreign culture. One hundred EFL learners were selected based on availability sampling and were divided into two groups according to their level (freshman vs. junior). All the participants were asked to complete the attitude questionnaire. The non-parametric Mann-Whitney U Test was run to test for possible differences between the two independent groups on their attitudes towards foreign culture. The results revealed insignificant difference between the freshmen group and the junior group. Thus, the null hypothesis was confirmed implying that there was not any significant difference between Iranian freshman and junior English major students' attitudes toward foreign culture.

Ahmed (2015) analyzed that a survey was done on 238 undergraduates of English as foreign language students in Malaysia. And in fact there were about 19 items on the questionnaire. The questions were about the elements that these students found about not being able to study and learn well. The barriers if you may call it. There were several objectives towards this study. 1) the attitudes that these students have about using English in different situations 2) causes that could have influences the effects of learning English for students 3) the perspectives and futures of learning English amongst non-major English students of Malaysia.

In addition, Alsamani (2014) identified the cultural aspects which are proper to be formed into Saudi EFL classrooms, trying to find the sources that these students needed for their knowledge and examining their ideas towards it. The study was about student teachers and language experts. The data that were needed were collected via a test of cultural awareness diagnostic test and the questionnaire that was needed. The results showed us that these students need learning different aspects of the language including the target culture and also that need audio/visual media more than they do right now. The other important result was that their opinions are pretty positive about the target language and people.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Participants

The research population consisted of high school students of Boukan, West Azerbaijan, and the research sample merely included the students of the third grade. A total of 261 female teenagers within the age range of 16-17 were selected through availability sampling method based on their year of study. However, 11 students were rejected due to incomplete and incorrect responses; therefore, the final participants of the investigation include 250 students. The participants were Kurdish speakers of Boukan learning English as a foreign language at school. It is noteworthy that Farsi is the official language of Iran and used while teaching and giving instructions in all school subjects such as English.

This study is an attempt to investigate the effectiveness of addressing English culture in teaching/learning process in Iranian's Kurdish high schools as well as gaining Kurdish students' attitudes towards this very issue. Accordingly, both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to indicate a comprehensive picture of the issue. To do so, two instruments were utilized in order to gather the required data: questionnaire and interview.

B. Instruments

1. Questionnaire

In order to gather the quantitative data, an attitude questionnaire was deployed. In a previous study, an adapted version of Tamimi and Shuib's (2009) questionnaire had been utilized by Javdani and Mahboudi (2012). Therefore, a justified format of this research questionnaire was prepared and piloted before applying to the main participants. Following some modifications according to the objectives of the study, a 15-item-questionnaire with a Likert-type scale of 3 points (Agree, Disagree, Don't know) was administered to the participants 3 months after the beginning of the academic year (November 2018). The questionnaire was deployed in English; however, due to different English proficiency levels of the students while administering the questionnaire, the researcher translated and/or explained some parts in Kurdish/Farsi orally whenever there was a need.

2. Interviews

In order to gain deeper insight towards students' points of view regarding English culture and how well it is transferred through teaching/learning process, a short interview in Farsi/Kurdish was conducted as well to provide the related data for qualitative analysis. The researcher and two English language teachers (M.A. in TEFL) of the same high school conducted the interviews right after the completion of the questionnaire by the participants. Each interview took 3-4 minutes and audio-taped.

The participants were to provide answers to the following questions:

1. Do you like learning English? Why?
2. Would you like to take more courses in English language?
3. Are you familiar with English culture (customs, occasions, social relations, etc.)?
4. How do you like English culture?
5. How much do you learn about English culture in your English course at school?

C. Data Analysis

Statistical analysis of the data gives a comprehensive image of students' attitudes towards English language culture and efficacy of the way it is addressed in Iranian high schools. Accordingly, the percentage of provided answers to the 15 questions of the questionnaire was calculated by SPSS 18, and the results are provided in Table 1.

D. Results

TABLE I.
THE RESPONSE PERCENTAGES OF KURDISH STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH CULTURE

Item	A	D	DK
1. There is little place for culture in textbooks in Iran.	69.3	12.7	18.0
2. The content materials or textbooks are shallow and superficial.	70.0	16.7	13.3
3. The English taught in Iran is a representation of Persian thoughts and ideology.	70.7	23.0	6.3
4. English teaching in Iran does not foster learner's intercultural communication in English.	85.0	9.7	5.3
5. At least some subjects like physics and chemistry should be taught in English at the secondary level in Iran.	42.7	40.0	17.3
6. The teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools.	62.3	25.7	12
7. English textbooks should focus on target culture.	60.7	24.0	15.3
8. English textbooks should focus on native culture.	40.7	49.3	10.0
9. English textbooks should focus on international target culture.	59.7	17.3	23.0
10. Most selected English input is neutral and artificial.	71.7	11.0	17.3
11. English teachers and students should be permitted to decide what is culturally necessary or unnecessary.	43.3	23.0	33.7
12. English teaching in Iran is based on censorial rather than pedagogical motives.	58.3	22.0	19.7
13. Almost all English teachers know the significance of natural and authentic texts.	39.3	11.7	49.0
14. Iranian students could have better opportunities if English were taught as effectively as it is being taught in the neighboring countries.	45.0	12.7	42.3
15. The government should decrease its direct influence on the education in general and English teaching in particular.	31.7	20	48.3

Note: N= 250; A = Agree; D= Disagree; DK = Don't Know. Values are all in percentages.

Attitudes of Iranian Kurdish high school students towards how English culture is learnt and transferred were gathered by an attitude questionnaire and the percentages of the answers were calculated and analyzed. As it can be seen from Table 1, about two third of the students (69.3%, 173 participants) believe that there is little place for culture in textbooks in Iran. Interestingly, 70% students (175 participants) hold the idea that the content materials or textbooks are shallow and superficial. Along with this result, almost the same number of students express that the English taught in Iran is a representation of Persian thoughts and ideology. A notable majority of the students (85.0%, 212 participants) believe that English teaching in Iran does not foster learner's intercultural communication in English, at the same time, 42.7% (107 participants) of the students incited that at least some subjects like physics and chemistry should be taught in English at the secondary level in Iran. More than half of the students (62.3%, 155 participants) think that the teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools.

Additionally, 60.7% believe that English textbooks should focus on target culture. On the other hand, less than half of the students (40.7%, 102 participants) preferred textbook's focus on native culture and 59.7% of the students are interested in international target culture. A great deal of students (71.7%, 179 participants) hold the idea that Most selected English input is neutral and artificial. 43.3% (108 participants) of the students' responses indicate that English teachers and students should be permitted to decide what is culturally necessary or unnecessary. It is worth mentioning that more than half of the students (58.1%) think that English teaching in Iran is based on censorial rather than

pedagogical motives. Moreover, only 39.3% of students (98 participants) believe that almost all English teachers know the significance of natural and authentic texts, and 45.0% (112 participants) of the responses showed that Iranian students could have better opportunities if English were taught as effectively as it is being taught in the neighboring countries. Last but not least, only 31.7% (79 participants) of the participants felt that the government should decrease its direct influence on the education in general and English teaching in particular.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of the data analysis along with the interviews show that, on the one hand, Iranian Kurdish students possess positive attitudes towards English language, English learning, and English culture. Not only are they eager to learn this language properly, they also would like to take more courses in English and they think the teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools (62.3%). On the other hand, a great deal of the participants hold negative attitudes towards the way English culture is addressed in the English course. Students are aware of the fact that English learning in Iran does not foster learners' intercultural communication in English. Accordingly, this issue can be addressed from three aspects:

First, policy makers and textbook designers in some countries such as Iran think that knowledge of another culture especially western culture will disconnect their people – in this case students – from their native culture and leave a negative effect on their attitudes and behavior towards their own culture; therefore, some aspects of western culture are eliminated from Iranian English course syllabus by the authorities (Javdani&Mahboudi, 2012). Although teaching four language skills has also been emphasized as one of the main aims of the national curriculum, careful analysis of the curriculum document suggests that its main concern is about reading comprehension and grammar, and the target culture has no way in the teaching/learning process. This fact is in line with the study's findings that report more than half of the students believe that English teaching in Iran is based on censorial rather than pedagogical motives, as well as 48.3% of the students don't know whether government should decrease its direct influence on English teaching or not.

Secondly, teachers have a significant role in arising cultural awareness in the learners. In spite of supporting intercultural objectives and are tendency to promote the acquisition of intercultural communicative competence through their English teaching, Iranian teachers neglect cultural aspects in their teaching process. It is because they cannot afford extra teaching time to teach culture, since they have to stick to the tight syllabus they should follow. Moreover, teachers deal with culture to the extent they appear in the textbooks and no supplementary instrument such as book, videos can be used in teaching.

Last but not least, the efficacy of Iranian English textbook – as a main means to provide English culture – is under question. More than half of the students would like their books to focus on English culture (60.7%) as well as international target culture (59.7%) rather than Iranian culture (40.7%). However, the focus of English textbooks in Iran is merely on the native culture and no English culture input is available in the textbooks. Along with the same line, a significant majority of the students (71.7%) believe that most selected English input is neutral and artificial; therefore, the need to have related authentic input and material is completely felt.

With an eye to what has been mentioned so far there is no surprise that 45% of Iranian students think that they could have better opportunities if English were taught as effectively as it is being taught in the neighboring countries.

The findings of our study revealed that the status of cultural awareness and practice in EFL program is far from satisfactory. The results indicated that Iranian Kurdish EFL learners hold negative attitudes towards the way culture is addresses in English course at school. Although they have tendencies to learn more about English language and culture, the educational policies, curriculum, and accordingly teachers and textbooks don't give them the chance of acquiring paralinguistic features of language besides its linguistics skills. Language learning and cultural awareness are related and they ought to be taken into consideration while designing syllabuses of foreign languages. The curriculum planners ought to provide learners with a sample of the cultural aspects so that they can share knowledge with native speakers. In addition, language teachers must become familiar with the different cultures and gaining their knowledge. While learning English language, students may fail to recognize the importance of the different cultures, but the EFL teachers would help them to consider the importance of this issue. Teachers should remind the students that the people with different cultural backgrounds are also respected and appreciated.

The findings of this study recommend the Iranian material developers to add English cultural items in textbooks. That is, students' textbooks need to be prepared in a way that could make more opportunity for the students to get more familiar with the foreign culture. In fact, learners are in need of textbooks that make them more interested and motivated to enhance their positive attitude towards foreign culture. By doing so, learners are motivated and raise their communicative skills along with linguistic skills, and are able to communicate properly.

To conclude, further studies can be conducted to explore the affecting factors of teachers', learners' attitudes towards the culture. Moreover, the effect of cultural awareness on students' language achievements on EFL learners regarding different cultural background, English language proficiency level, age, gender, etc. can be investigated.

APPENDIX. QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Students,

The present questionnaire's aim is to learn about what you believe in terms of English language teaching and learning process, content of your English textbooks, and your point of view towards the relevancy of natural input to your success in your English course. The researcher thanks you for your kind participation in advance.

What are your attitudes towards the following issues?

Items	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
1. There is little place for culture in textbooks in Iran			
2. The content materials or textbooks are shallow and superficial.			
3. The English taught in Iran is a representation of Persian thoughts and ideology.			
4. English teaching in Iran does not foster learner's intercultural communication in English.			
5. At least some subjects like physics and chemistry should be taught in English at the secondary level in Iran.			
6. The teaching of English should start as early as the first grade in the Iranian schools			
7. English textbooks should focus on target culture.			
8. English textbooks should focus on native culture.			
9. English textbooks should focus on international target culture.			
10. Most selected English input is neutral and artificial.			
11. English teachers and students should be permitted to decide what is culturally necessary or unnecessary.			
12. English teaching in Iran is based on censorial rather than pedagogical motives.			
13. Almost all English teachers know the significance of natural and authentic texts.			
14. Iranian students could have better opportunities if English were taught as effectively as it is being taught in the neighboring countries.			
15. The government should decrease its direct influence on the education in general and English teaching in particular.			

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Application of 5P Teaching Method in China's Middle School English Teaching*

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Abstract—Directed by the traditional teaching methods, China's middle school English teaching pays much attention to passing down linguistic knowledge, ignoring students' learning motivation, which leads to students' inadequate ability of English application. 5P Teaching Method aims to improve students' self-learning ability and their language application ability, which requires teachers to change their roles and strengthen the interaction with students. Meanwhile, it can provide an active and lively environment for English teaching. This paper analyzes the application of 5P Teaching Method in middle school English teaching in China and proves its necessity and validity.

Index Terms—5P Teaching Method, application, English Teaching

I. INTRODUCTION

Teaching methods are adopted to accomplish the task of teaching. Under the guidance of certain teaching methods, teachers guide students to acquire knowledge and skills, as well as to promote their physical and mental development. Teaching methods aim to achieve certain teaching goal and to complete certain teaching tasks, which are significant ways to solve problems in teaching activities. Teaching and learning is a kind of bilateral activity, thus teaching methods should also be bilateral which can explore the truth of both teaching and learning activities effectively. However, many traditional teaching methods usually attach importance to teachers' teaching while ignoring students' thinking and involvement. With the development of education, more and more teaching aims put forward higher requirements for teaching methods, so that there should be suitable reformation and innovation of teaching methods to keep pace with times.

5P Teaching Method refers to teachers' adoption of five procedures in the English teaching process, i.e. preparation, presentation, practice, production and progress. Based on the traditional 3P Teaching Method, it focuses on the objectives of the New National English Curriculum Standards in China and aims to improve students' self-learning ability, English language application ability and intercultural communication ability. The first procedure, preparation, aims to create a suitable and unique situation according to the teaching contents for students to enter naturally and actively. Then follow presentation, practice and production, which are all made in a student-involved atmosphere to arouse students' enthusiasm of learning. Progress is the last procedure, which can help students not only acquire but also apply what they have learned. There is no doubt that a suitable and scientific teaching method plays an important role in the language teaching process. A useful teaching method can not only attract students' interests to study, but also motivate teachers to make changes according to the development of education. In order to improve the current situation of learning English in China's middle school, the author puts forward the application of 5P Teaching Method, which is efficient to foreign language teaching.

II. CURRENT SITUATION OF CHINA'S MIDDLE SCHOOL ENGLISH TEACHING

In recent years, China's middle school English teaching has such problem as being eager for quick success and instant benefits. Teachers have the authority, while students lose the chance to learn by their own. Teachers take exam score as the main way to evaluate students' ability, while students' language application ability is ignored. The problem of exam-oriented education is still very serious, especially in the graduating class, which kills students' learning creativity and initiative. In addition, students are usually asked to do so much exercises for exams, that they don't have freedom to think on their own and don't have enough time to practice their practical English skills, including pronunciation, listening and speaking ability.

A. Current Situation of English Pronunciation

There are three key elements of English language learning in China's middle school, including vocabulary, grammar and speech. The former two elements are both showed through speech which plays a pivotal role in verbal as well as written communication. Learning speech can not only lay a solid foundation for learning English language, but also

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benefit students' communicative activities. However, many middle school teachers and students in China often ignore the relationship between speech and pronunciation. Students always recite English words one by one, instead of learning the pronunciation of words in speeches. This mechanical learning method can only get half the result with twice the effort.

Speech is the essence of English learning. To make a speech well, English learners should start from good pronunciation. From the beginning of learning English, students should be strict with themselves on pronunciation, and teachers should guide students to develop good pronunciation habit. Only in this way can students lay a solid foundation for better English learning in future.

In China's middle school, a common phenomenon is that students try very hard to improve their English pronunciation by recite single words. However, they ignore the stress and intonation which are important in communication.

According to a survey, there are mainly four reasons. First of all, English phonetic knowledge only accounts for a small proportion in the college entrance exam, thus it is not paid much attention to. Many students just focus on English reading, grammar, and vocabulary, while ignoring pronunciation, esp. stress and intonation. The second reason is that the arrangement of English learning contents is scattered without a coherent learning process. It will make students learn pronunciation skills in a fragmental way. The third reason is that some of our middle school English teachers don't attach too much importance to speech recognition. They only teach phonetic symbols instead of the important factor of phonemes. Thus students read words or sentences just according to their own memory without considering the phonetic symbols. Lastly, many students learn English pronunciation in a Chinese way. For instances, they usually use Chinese phoneme to pronounce English; they often ignore the stress, rhythm and intonation in English. Because of their Chinese study and living environment, many students tend to be influenced by Chinese pronunciation, while paying little attention to the stress, rhythm and intonation in English pronunciation.

B. Current Situation of Listening and Speaking

As a communication tool, English must be spoken to people. It is important to know what to say, when to say, and what kind of people we talk with, so we must understand the skills and methods clearly (Hedge, 2000). The essential purpose of acquiring a foreign language should be application and communication in which listening and speaking are in a vital position. Listening is the acquisition of language and the precondition of communication, while speaking is the application of language acquired and the key of communication. Therefore, in China's middle school English teaching process, the cultivation of students' listening and speaking ability ought to be emphasized. Rich and colorful teaching aids ought to be used to motivate students.

However, influenced by the traditional education model and the existing examination system, traditional English teaching methods usually lack of listening and speaking training in most areas of China, especially rural areas. Teachers still dominate the middle school English class without considering English as a communication tool to make students master the language. These traditional education model leads not only to a waste of time in English class, but also to students' passive acceptance of English knowledge. Some students are tired of English learning, and even give up learning English. In some middle schools, teachers add listening practice into English teaching, but this kind of listening course is only completed for examination, while ignoring the essence of listening English. Some teachers will put unit listening training together, or let students do some listening practice before exams, not for the cultivation of students' listening ability, but only for the exams.

Another phenomenon common in China is "dumb English". Listening and speaking training in middle school English teaching ignores the linguistic context and English culture, which limits the improvement of students' English communication ability. Meanwhile, with a large number of students in China's middle school classes, teachers cannot pay attention to every student and not every student has the chance to speak English in class. Thus, the cultivation of English listening and speaking ability is of great difficulty. In addition, some middle school English teachers' professional skills are not enough. Some teachers in the rural areas of China cannot even pronounce some basic words correctly. Middle school English teaching requires teachers not only to have excellent management ability, but also to have great English skills including listening, speaking, reading, writing, translating and viewing. What's more, English teachers should have the ability to design class activities. Teachers' organization and coordination ability also play an important role in the teaching process. In some rural area of China, middle school English teachers fail to cultivate students' ability to speak English, which leads to students' "dumb English". In addition, the current evaluation model in many areas cannot be adapted to the new curriculum reform, which causes a vicious circle of English learning. Some teachers in rural areas simply give up the training of students' listening and speaking ability. What's worse, some students are affected by teachers' incorrect pronunciation or by certain dialect. All in all, the current situation of students' listening and speaking ability is not optimistic at all.

III. THE NECESSITY OF ADOPTING AN EFFECTIVE TEACHING METHOD

In order to improve Chinese students' English self-learning ability and their English language application ability, it is necessary to adopt certain effective teaching method in middle school English class and to provide an active and lively environment for English teaching and learning. Teacher and students should work actively in the English classroom and

have high quality of completing teaching tasks. Therefore, it is vital to make a correct choice and adopt effective teaching method. In many cases, some teachers' language teaching lacks of high efficiency, which is not because they don't have high language level but because they don't have appropriate or effective teaching method. Thus it is of great necessity for teachers to choose and use appropriate and effective teaching method.

The choice of teaching method should be based on the teaching aims, to effectively achieve different teaching aims. In addition, there are some other key factors need to be taken into consideration.

Firstly, teaching method should be adopted according to the teaching content. As for the different requirements of different teaching contents, there are certain flexibility and diversity considering the selection of teaching method. Teacher should have a deep understanding and systematic arrangement of certain teaching content while preparing the class. A proper and effective teaching method should be adopted in this process.

Secondly, teaching method should be adopted according to the features of students. It requires teacher to make a scientific and rational analysis of the students in general, as well as take some specific points into consideration. Teacher should keep a balance while choosing the suitable teaching method, so that students can achieve the most and acquire the language actively and naturally.

Thirdly, teaching method should be adopted according to the ability of teacher. Teacher should have an authentic and objective evaluation of his or her own ability. Teacher must fully understand and grasp the adopted teaching method and apply it into practice effectively. That is to say, teacher should consider own advantages and disadvantages and find out the appropriate teaching method.

Last but not least, teaching method should be adopted according to different teaching conditions and teaching environment. Under the guidance of teaching method, the class should also be conducted while making full use of the teaching environment and teaching conditions. So that the teaching activity can achieve its desired and best effect.

IV. ADVANTAGES OF 5P TEACHING METHOD

5P Teaching Method is developed basing on 3P theory of English class organization. It refers to teachers' adoption of five procedures in the English teaching process, i.e. preparation, presentation, practice, production and progress. The basic arrangement of each class begins from preparation and ends with progress. Preparation includes review of the previous knowledge and leading in the new class, with a view to creating a suitable and unique situation according to the teaching contents for students to enter naturally and actively. Then teacher adopts suitable presentation ways to lead students into the new knowledge and helps students grasp the situation of new language contents. Teacher should try to create a language environment which is good for students to acquire the new knowledge through practice and production. Therefore, the last step can be achieved effectively and efficiently, that is, progress, which can help students not only acquire but also apply what they have learned. Generally speaking, the advantages of 5P Teaching Method in China's middle school English teaching could be summarized as follows.

Firstly, it can arouse students' initiative to learn.

Due to the long-running influence of examination-oriented education, teachers often adopt the teaching method of "indoctrination", imparting knowledge to students in a stereotyped way. Students only accept passively without any interaction with teachers. As time passes, students will lose interest in learning English. 5P Teaching Method encourages the communication between students and teachers, so that teachers can accurately learn the psychological needs of students and mobilize the classroom teaching atmosphere. 5P Teaching Method gives students so much time and space that students can participate in classroom activities and have the willingness to learn English. It makes students change from "I have to learn" to "I want to learn". Rich and vivid classroom activities motivate students to participate and to cooperate actively and efficiently. Students can acquire language skills of high efficiency in the process of taking part in activities. In addition, students are guided to make objective and rational self-reflection each time in the progress part, which is of great significance for their all-round improvement.

Secondly, it can train and develop students' critical thinking ability.

Guided by 5P Teaching Method, teachers pay much attention to effective teaching design and raise suitable topics for students to think and discuss. In the process of group discussion, pair work and presentation, students can improve their critical thinking ability while at the same time applying English knowledge to speaking and writing. From students' performance, teachers can reflect effectively and improve their teaching design in time according to the feedback. 5P Teaching Method gives students enough time to think on their own. In order to ensure that students can acquire English language knowledge and application skills, the method focuses on teacher's guidance and students' active participation. Students are divided into several groups. Teacher gives time for students to conduct group discussion. After that, there should be at least one student in each group to make the presentation in front of the whole class to give their group's opinion. Through the exchanges and cooperation with each other, they can have divergent thinking, open their mind and broaden their horizons. It is very good to encourage students' enthusiasm and creativity.

Thirdly, it can create a good language learning environment for students.

The universal phenomenon for Chinese students to learn a foreign language is the lack of language learning environment. Students in many middle schools in China have few chances to contact with people from English-speaking countries. Their learning materials are mainly confined to textbooks. As is known to us all, children are largely affected by mother tongue from they are born. While their childhood "language acquisition system" is

gradually losing as they are growing up. So it is especially important to provide the English learning environment for middle school students to arouse their English language acquisition system. Although China is in high-speed development nowadays, in quite a number of middle schools in China, the English education is still relatively backward without advanced teaching equipment and qualified faculty. In view of the above situation, the main way for middle school students to learn a foreign language in China is still classroom learning. Thus it is essential to reform the old teaching structure and apply 5P Teaching Method so as to give students plenty of opportunities to practice English, to cultivate their ability of using English in real or simulated situation, and to practice spoken English in a very interesting and relaxing environment. 5P Teaching Method can create all kinds of teaching environment for students, so that they have various chances to show their talents. In the process of applying 5P Teaching Method, students can put English into real practice. For instance, in certain teaching contexts, the teacher asks students to put the English text into a small drama. This allows students to practice speaking English in a very interesting and real environment.

Fourthly, it can help to cultivate students' cooperative competence.

Cooperative learning is another crucial factor to middle school English learning in China. In the practice and production parts of 5P Teaching Method, group discussions and pair work are the essential classroom activities. Teacher assigns some tasks for students to express their opinions during group discussions or pair work. Students are willing to participate in such tasks actively and enthusiastically. After discussion with group members or partners, students' understanding of English language would be more reasonable and comprehensive. Thus the advantages of cooperative learning are very obvious in comparison with the traditional competitive learning. What's more, the relationship between students themselves and the teacher are improved significantly through discussion and cooperation. Students' cooperative competence can be enhanced largely, which is beneficial not only to their English learning but also to their future career, for cooperation is vital in all walks of life in our modern society.

Fifthly, it adopts multi-media teaching aids to help students' learning.

In the teaching process of English in China's middle school, multi-media aids are commonly used under the guidance of 5P Teaching Method. Multi-media teaching aids are featured by the suitable use of Internet, computer and other modern technology, which can give students a deep impression during the English learning process. For example, in the presentation part, teacher can download some pictures or videos from the Internet related with the English learning content. Those vivid pictures or videos can give students rich feelings of language and culture. All these are beneficial to the development of students' independent thinking ability and creativity. Another typical example is the application of WeChat group in the progress part. After class, students can share their feedbacks instantly in their WeChat group, where they can also give their opinions on certain topics freely. Multi-media aids are necessary to China's middle school English teaching in the modern society.

V. THE ROLES OF TEACHER AND STUDENTS IN 5P TEACHING METHOD

In the current curriculum reform in China, students' self-learning ability, cooperation awareness and inquiry spirit are advocated. This is not only a matter of new idea, but also a matter of new teaching method. Traditionally, in China's middle school English class, teacher imparts knowledge to students, and students receive those contents passively. However, we need to break the traditional teacher-centered concept and guide students to learn actively on their own. That is to say, students should be the master of learning. An effective English class should involve students in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language, and their attention should principally focused on meaning rather form (Nunan, 1999). Therefore, the roles of teacher in 5P Teaching Method should be adjusted as follows.

Firstly, teacher is the reformer of teaching methods. With the rapid development of society, teacher also needs to keep up with the times. Teachers are required to have sensitive insight into the trend of current teaching reform in China, and return the initiative of learning English back to students. Harmer (1993) defines teacher's roles as "controller, assessor, organizer, prompter, participant and resource-provider" (Harmer, 1993, p.201). Traditionally, the rigid regular consciousness makes teacher the inculcator and supervisor while neglects the full play of students' entity and potential. Thus, teacher should transform from the inculcator of knowledge into the organizer, guide as well as participant of kinds of learning activities. The classroom is no longer teacher's stage alone, but students' free platform to show themselves. To become a qualified English teacher in the new era, the first thing for middle school English teacher in China is to update the teaching concept, and then to reform the classroom teaching with the realization of effective English teaching method.

Secondly, teacher is the designer of classroom teaching. To improve the efficiency of English classroom teaching, teacher should first pay attention to students' personality and design the teaching tasks or activities based on students' character and interests. The efficient teaching design should stimulate students' enthusiasm of learning English and should be in accordance with teaching aims including knowledge aims, ability aims and emotional aims. English teacher, as the designer of English teaching, should take knowledge and skill, process and method, emotion attitude and values into consideration. Through the teaching design, teacher should help students to reach their potential to the full extent, which not only can stimulate students' interest in English learning, but also is beneficial to achieve the teaching aims. It requires English teacher to design the classroom activities and tasks based on the usage of language in the real context, so that students can apply what they have learned into practice naturally.

Thirdly, teacher is the conductor of the whole class. A class in middle school is just like an orchestra. In order to have an excellent performance, the organization and direction of a qualified and responsible conductor is of great significance. Thus in the middle school English teaching process, teacher should guide students to build a scientific and effective classroom teaching environment together. Students should become the subject of English learning, participate in the class teaching process and cooperate with each other to achieve a better performance. Teacher should be full of passion to involve the whole class in the English learning, to motivate students' autonomic learning and cooperative learning. Under the guidance of 5P Teaching Method, teacher should be very good at organizing discussion in China's middle school English class. English is a tool for communication. In the learning process of English articles, students should discuss the main topics and related issues. It can not only deepen students' understanding of the works, but also improve their English skills in a comprehensive way, including listening, speaking, reading, writing, translating and viewing. It deserves to be mentioned that teacher should have good control of the time, and help students to discuss freely but not blindly. The freedom of students' performance should always be under teacher's guidance and directions.

VI. CONCLUSION

In the process of applying 5P Teaching Method into China's middle school English teaching, teachers should notice that this method is completely different from the traditional English teaching method in China. 5P Teaching Method refers to teachers' adoption of five procedures in the English teaching process, i.e., preparation, presentation, practice, production and progress. In the first step, preparation, review and warm-up are included, in order to remind students of what have learnt and introduce students to the new contents in a natural way. For the presentation part, teachers do their best to present the new knowledge in an interesting and acceptable way so that students can acquire the language points and cultural notes as effective as possible. Practice makes perfect, thus it is essential for teachers to design various exercises for students to practice. Then colorful productions would appear under teachers' guidance. In addition, teachers should give some necessary tips and hints, and make suitable comments, which is of great significance to students' progress. To sum up, effective application of 5P Teaching Method can improve students' English skills and their language application ability in a comprehensive way. But is also requires English teachers in China to improve themselves in various aspects, including solid knowledge of English language and culture, intercultural competence, the ability of teaching design and communication with individual students. Only in this way can they make full use of 5P Teaching Method and turn the English classroom into students' platform for improving kinds of English skills and comprehensive competence.

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Investigation into Current Condition of the Cultural Capital of Chinese EFL Teachers in the Universities of Sichuan Province in China^{*}

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Abstract—Pierre Bourdieu put forward famous Cultural Capital Theory, which includes the embodied cultural capital, the objective cultural capital and the institutionalized cultural capital. This article investigated the current condition of the cultural capital of EFL teachers coming from the four universities of Sichuan Province in China from three aspects of the cultural capital: the embodied cultural capital, the objective cultural capital and the institutionalized cultural capital. Results show many EFL teachers are difficult to accumulate their embodied cultural capital, objective cultural capital and institutionalized cultural capital because of the diverse requirements of different universities and the diverse English levels of different students.

Index Terms—the objective cultural capital, the institutionalized cultural capital, the embodied cultural capital, teachers' burnout

I. INTRODUCTION FOREWORD

Recently with the development of Internet, MOOC (2014), which means “Massive and Opening Internet Lessons”, has been widely used in EFL teaching in China. The advantages of MOOC are opening, productivity and fragmentation, which can change students' studying ways and EFL teachers' teaching ways. It means EFL teachers should adjust the teaching objects, the teaching content and the teaching evaluation and it brings more responsibilities and higher requirement to EFL teachers. In order to guide students to fit the reform of teaching methods, EFL teachers should exert the professional expertise and subjective initiative.

II. BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL CAPITAL THEORY

Pier Bourdieu (2017), French sociologist, put forward Theory of Cultural Capital at the end of 1960s and the early of 1970s and published *The Forms of Capital* in 1986. He suggested the capital should fall into three categories: the economic capital, the cultural capital and the social capital. The cultural capital among them consists of the embodied cultural capital, the objective cultural capital and the institutionalized cultural capital. The embodied cultural capital includes individual cultural quality and individualizes character that individual persons should accumulate for the long time. The objective cultural capital includes papers, works, personal teaching diaries and books written by the writers. It needs the assist of the economic capital and it means the personal possess of the cultural product, which features inheritance and development. The institutionalized cultural capital includes the ways to conform the legalization of the embodied cultural capital, such as certificates of degree, diplomas, award certificates and certificates of title, etc, which is the recognition and guarantee of personal legalized cultural capital and which will not change according to the will of individual cultural capital. These three kinds of capital can be measured and the persons who own more total cultural capital than the others can have the dominant positions in the society.

Now many Chinese scholars research Chinese EFL teachers' education and development from the viewpoint of Cultural Capital Theory. For example, Li qingling (2010), explored the outlet problems of Chinese intellectuals; Li jingqi (2012) probed change of the social status of Chinese teachers in rural schools; Zhang zhihao (2016) investigated Chinese ideological and political teachers' development in Chinese private universities. Now there are many EFL teachers in Chinese colleges and universities but few scholars research how much they can own their cultural capital and research how it will affect development of EFL teachers. This article puts the focus on the investigation of the current condition of Chinese EFL teachers' cultural capital and tries to get to know how it influences EFL teachers' self-development and classroom teaching.

III. RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND METHODS

A. Purpose of Research

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This article investigated Chinese EFL teachers' current condition of the cultural capital from three aspects of the embodied cultural capital, the objective cultural capital and the institutionalized cultural capital. The teachers investigated are from the following Chinese universities :Sichuan University of Arts and Sciences、West of China Normal University、Southwest Petroleum University and North Sichuan Medical College, all of which are located in Sichuan province in China.

B. Research Methods

Research methods include the interview for some Chinese EFL teachers and questionnaires survey. In the first stage the writer interviewed ten EFL teachers for an hour and put forward the following questions: 1. How do you think of the change of college English teaching methods? 2. What's your current teaching wish? 3. How do you improve your teaching quality? 4. How do you improve your English proficiency in your spare time? In the second stage EFL teachers investigated will finish one questionnaire and the questionnaire is adapted according to the ones written by Wang Nan (2017) and Sun Yuan (2013) which were related to the relevant content of college English teachers' professional development. The questionnaire includes three aspects of the cultural capital: the embodied cultural capital, the objective cultural capital and the institutionalized cultural capital. Every aspect consists of the specific choices varying from three items to eight items.

C. Research Objects

Research objects for interviewing are ten college English teachers chosen from Sichuan University of Arts and Sciences and West of China Normal University. Among of them four teachers are over 45 years old and four teachers are between 45 years old and 35 years old and two teachers are under the age of 35 years old. The time for interviewing lasts one hour and ten teachers are teacher A , teacher B, teacher C, teacher D ,teacher E ,teacher F ,teacher G ,teacher H ,teacher I and teacher J. Ninety EFL teacher from four universities including Sichuan University of Arts and Sciences、West of China Normal University、Southwest Petroleum University and North Sichuan Medical College filled in ninety questionnaires via E-mails and there were eighty seven valid questionnaires.

IV. RECORDING AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS FOR INTERVIEWING TEN COLLEGE ENGLISH TEACHERS

Question one: How do you think of the change of college English teaching methods? Question two: What's your current teaching wish?

Teacher A said: "With the development of Internet students have many ways to acquire knowledge and they will not regard their teachers as the authority of knowledge. Many students had learned English for more than ten years before they entered universities so the purpose of English teaching in Chinese universities is to combine many teaching models to assist and help students study、improve their studying interest and help them solve the difficulties in their studies. Now I have four English lessons for every class and teaching time in the class is short and teaching materials are limited. I will assign students some studying tasks after school and supervise and urge them to finish. I think under the current social condition EFL teachers should change teachers' roles." Teacher B said "In my English class I think the focus is to make students keep their interest to study English then students will study actively. But it's hard to achieve it. In this term I teach five different classes. Three classes are the advanced classes and two classes are the adjustment classes. Students' English levels are quite different among different classes. When I teach in the adjustment classes, I often help students review some English grammar which they didn't learn well in their senior schools and most students always keep silent in the classes and most of them can't finish the studying tasks after school. I have to use the traditional teaching methods to teach them, which means the I still guide the whole teaching in the class. Although I know English teachers should change their teaching models, it still depends on the specific students' English levels. My teaching wish is to teach my students well and finish the scientific research tasks assigned by my university." Teacher F said "Now my university not only demands teachers to improve teaching quality but also demand every teacher should finish some scientific tasks within the required time otherwise teachers will have deductions to wages. I didn't finish my scientific research tasks last year and I am under great pressure now. I hope the university can reduce some amount of the scientific research tasks for teachers , after all most teachers' main purpose is to teach their students well and if they have free time they can choose to do some research jobs."

Question three: How do you improve your teaching quality? Question four: How do you improve your English proficiency in your spare time?

Teacher C said "My university puts forward the major tasks for English teachers who should help students pass examinations of CET Four and CET Six, and if the ratio to pass examinations is too low the teacher will be blamed by the leaders and will feel lose face . Although we want to give students more autonomous studying, our English teaching still focus on the practice of English grammar and English vocabularies studying because it's useful to pass the examinations." Teacher E said "In our college the dean summons EFL teachers to have English teaching and research meetings sometimes and holds the observation and learning teaching activities. In summer vacation and winter vacation EFL teachers can attend English training classes held by the publishing houses and can listen to some English lectures given by some experts in this field. I think it's still not enough for English teachers to improve their teaching quality. In Chinese universities and colleges EFL teachers are often under great pressure because of the demanding for the higher

professional titles. One male teacher among sixty-one EFL teachers in my college has got the doctor degree and all the female teachers don't get the doctor degree." Teacher E said "My major is English Curriculum and English Teaching Methods Research and this term I have undertaken a teaching research project. I have made some research and interviewed some teachers and their students in some classes, hoping to find the valuable topic to research. It will last long time to do it and I haven't done it continuously because of my busy teaching job because I have eighteen lessons in one. I hope we don't need to teach so many lessons every week then we can have time to research and improve the teaching methods to teach students well and students can also learn more from teachers." Teacher G said "We should finish the research tasks assigned by our university every year. As a young teacher I have a lot of teaching task to finish every week and at the same time I need to write the academic paper and prepare the examination for the doctor degree. So I don't spend much time in my teaching and often teach my students in the traditional teaching ways."

The results of interviewing reveal that most EFL teachers know they should change the traditional teaching models in which teachers dominate and guide the class teaching and students only listen to teachers' teaching passively. Because of different teaching requirements of different universities and diverse students' English levels, most teachers don't spend much time and energy studying and trying the new teaching models in their classes and still adopt the traditional teaching models. Teaching models are static, monotonously and doctrinal and EFL teachers also can't develop their subjective initiative. Because of their busy workload the teachers can't spare more time and energy to study and get further training, so the teachers can't write enough academic papers, which can make them not get the higher professional titles. It's hard for them to get embodied cultural capital, which will influence the forming of the objective cultural capital and institutionalized cultural capital.

V. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRES AND ANALYSIS

TABLE I.
EFL TEACHERS' BRIEF INTRODUCTION WHO HAVE FILLED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRES

age	male	female	professors	associate professors	lecturers	teaching assistants
between 20 and 30 years old	12	18	0	0	1	5
between 30 and 40 years old	11	20	0	7	18	5
between 40 and 50 years old	7	8	6	16	12	0
between 50 and 60 years old	5	6	3	7	7	0

TABLE II.
INVESTIGATION OF THE EMBODIED CULTURAL CAPITAL

items of questionnaire	knowing it quite well (%)	knowing much about it (%)	knowing some about it (%)	knowing a little about it (%)	not knowing at all about it (%)
1.cultural background knowledge of English-speaking countries	68	20	12	0	0
2.English- teaching capability	65	25	10	0	0
3.the adjustment for reforms of college English teaching models	59	20	21	0	0
4.good English-writing capability	58	30	12	0	0
5.knowing well about the ways of college English teaching reform	36	40	20	4	0
6.good spoken-English communication ability	39	35	16	10	0
7.knowing well about the knowledge of pedagogy and psychology	29	28	34	9	0
8.knowing well about English pedagogical content knowledge	30	28	19	23	0

Results of questionnaires above show most EFL teachers under investigation have rich English professional knowledge and teaching experience and have excellent capability for writing and communication in English. They know American and British culture quite well. Most teachers believe English teaching reform is coming and now the teaching concepts and teaching models for college English are quite different from before. Some teachers also think they don't know the knowledge of pedagogy and psychology quite well because they didn't study the major in English Curriculum and English Teaching Methods Research but the other majors, for example, British literature, etc, but they think it doesn't influence the class teaching much because the teachers can increase their teaching experience little by little.

TABLE III
INVESTIGATION OF THE OBJECTIVE CULTURAL CAPITAL

items of questionnaire	always (%)	often (%)	sometimes (%)	seldom (%)	never (%)
1.often using multimedia assisted teaching	89	4	4	2	0
2.often purchasing English teaching materials	31	27	30	10	2
3.often purchasing English newspapers and English magazines	28	14	10	40	8
4.often writing the reflective diaries about teaching in the class	8	5	62	20	5
5.often publishing the thesis about English teaching	32	28	30	5	5
6.often making the videos involved in English teaching	5	5	4	68	18

Results reveal that nearly all English teachers have used multimedia assisted teaching and the teaching courseware which is downloaded from the Internet. Most teachers also said they didn't make the teaching courseware themselves because it would cost much time. Only a fraction of teachers often publish some papers about English teaching and few teachers will write their reflective diaries about teaching and teaching experience.

TABLE IV.
INVESTIGATION OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED CULTURAL CAPITAL

items of questionnaire	always (%)	often (%)	sometimes (%)	seldom (%)	never (%)
1.often having chances to attend academic meetings about English teaching and engaging in the advanced studies	15	13	25	37	10
2.often trying many ways to get all kinds of credentials	21	19	30	25	5
3.often working hard to get the higher title of a technical post	39	40	10	11	0

Thirty seven percent of the teachers reveal they have few chances to attend the academic meetings about English teaching except some seminars in summer and winter vacations. It's also difficult for them to engage in the advanced studies because of the busy teaching tasks and because of the care for families. To get the high titles of the technical posts is hard for EFL teachers and many teachers will try hard to get them and get many kinds of credentials at the same time because they are useful for their self-development.

VI. RESULT OF INVESTIGATION FOR THE CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND SUGGESTION

A. Accumulation of the Embodied Cultural Capital

The questionnaire reveals that only fifty-seven percent of EFL teachers investigated know the knowledge of the pedagogy and psychology quite well; fifty-eight percent of EFL teachers investigated know English pedagogical content knowledge quite well, which will affect teachers' observation, judgement and understanding for their teaching and their students. Seventy-nine percent of EFL teachers investigated said they could adapt themselves to the reform of college English teaching models well and seventy-six percent of EFL teachers investigated said they had some ideas of the ways of college English teaching reform, but when asked about the detailed and specific operational approach of the teaching reform, many teachers couldn't say much about it. Because different universities have different teaching aims and the students have the diverse English competence, many EFL teachers still adopt the traditional teaching methods. Because of the lack of the teaching staff many teachers have the heavy teaching tasks to finish and at the same time are faced with great pressure of improving academic qualifications and teachers titles and finishing the scientific research tasks.

The school-based in-service training is a good way to solve this problem. Chinese universities and colleges can encourage EFL teachers to have the school-based in-service training which can become one part of the teaching tasks. It is flexible and economic to carry out and can reduce the burden of time, expense and energy. It depends on EFL teachers' practical problems and needs and it's based on the universities where the teachers work so it's easy to manage. It can avoid the old task assignment model from the top leaders to the secondary teachers and can change the teachers' passive working attitude into the teachers' voluntary and autonomous working attitude, which can combine the whole manpower, the material resources, the finance and information resources together and can effectively develop, activate and make the utmost of it. The school-based in-service training can improve the quality of education and promote EFL teachers' communication and cooperation and accelerate the development of the universities and colleges.

B. Accumulation of the Objective Cultural Capital

The questionnaire reveals ninety-three percent of the teachers investigated often use the multimedia assisted teaching, which shows the teachers can catch up with development of the society, and fifty-eight percent of the teachers investigated often purchase English teaching materials and forty-two percent of the teachers investigated often purchase English newspapers and English magazines. Only thirteen percent of the teachers say they often write the teaching

experience summary and the teaching reflective diaries and only ten percent of the teachers investigated say they often make the videos involved in English teaching and only sixty percent of the teachers investigated say they often publish thesis about English teaching. It shows EFL teachers pay more attention to finishing their teaching tasks and pay less attention to the analysis and reflection about the class teaching. Many EFL teachers are weak in the capacity for the scientific research and it's hard for them to find the valuable research topics from their English teaching.

EFL teachers can probe many ways to enhance the teaching cooperation and improve the class teaching quality, for example, Mutual Exploration Supervision Teaching Model(2015)、CARL Model(Cooperative、Autonomous and Reflective Learning Model)(2014)、Teaching Reflection and Teaching Diaries, etc. Mutual Exploration Supervision Teaching Model proposes the process that the supervisors and the visiting teachers can guide and observe the lessons of the in-service teachers or the other teachers mutually, which can provide chances for both supervisors or the visiting teachers to find the teaching problems and improve the teaching quality. It can change FLT teachers' teaching behaviour in the classroom, increase teachers' cooperation and reduce teachers' burnout. CARL Model stands for the cooperative、autonomous and reflective learning model, which can lead to the teachers' and students' development and improve the teaching quality. McTaggart & Kemmis and Smith Bartlett(2002) put forward Teaching Reflective Circle, which includes five stages: planning、getting information、analyzing、evaluating and acting. EFL teachers can use the teaching diaries as one of the ways to collect the information involved and can write the teaching diaries to reflect the class teaching.

C. Accumulation of the Institutionalized Cultural Capital

The questionnaire shows only twenty-eight percent of EFL teachers investigated often have the chances to attend the academic meetings and get the further professional training and it's hard for many teachers especially the young teachers to get these chances to acquire the new knowledge and new concept. It also shows forty percent of the teachers investigated will try many ways to get different credentials in order to enrich their professional quality. EFL teachers are often under great pressure because of the requirement of universities and colleges for the higher titles of the technical posts and seventy-nine percent of the teachers investigated will try their best to get them.

EFL teachers should work in the loose environment, which means the universities and colleges should develop the online classes and encourage the teachers to combine the traditional class teaching methods with the new online classes and change the old evaluation system which the teachers' scientific task comes first and the class teaching quality comes second. EFL teachers should be freed from the heavy teaching tasks and should change into students' mentors、helpers and counselors. EFL teachers should have more time to reflect themselves and become the research-oriented teachers and guide the whole class to have the good development.

EFL teachers can probe the ways to enhance the teachers' cooperation and facilitate the students' autonomous studying, because there is not enough academic connection and cooperation and communication among them. Many teachers just focus on their own classes too much, which will bring out the teachers' burnout if it lasts quite long time. Teachers' burnout will affect the teachers' enthusiasm and will lead to the decrease of the teaching quality. In order to avoid the teachers' burnout EFL teachers should break the current condition of the academic isolation among them and have the resource sharing and the academic cooperation. EFL teachers' mutual aid and cooperation can increase their zeal to teach well and their subjective initiative and accelerate their professional self-development.

D. Limitations of the Research

First, the survey is mainly based on the form of questionnaire which has not been proven to be valid or reliable, and the questionnaire is primarily descriptive. Second, the samples are mainly from two universities due to my limited resources and the number of the samples is not big enough to make the survey more reliable.

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Typological and Diachronic Motivations for Syntax and Semantics of Chinese Resultative Construction

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Abstract—Motivations for syntax and semantics of Chinese Resultative Construction have been primarily attributed to thematic operations, syntactic movements or argument raising within its components by previous researches. However, such an attribution has resulted in not inconsiderable theoretical and practical issues and controversies, e.g., over generation, existence of quite a few exceptions, unlicensed violations of theoretical rules and principles. This paper re-examined motivations for syntax and semantics of Chinese Resultative Construction from typological and diachronic perspectives within the framework of Construction Grammar. It is argued that syntax and semantics of Chinese Resultative Construction are typologically motivated by Causative Constructions in the sense that its syntactic and semantic properties are inherited from different kinds Causative Constructions while they are diachronically motivated in the senses that they are historically inherited from Serial Verb Construction [V V] due to semantic shift and disyllabification. This paper has provided totally different explanations for syntax and semantics of Chinese Resultative Construction by focusing on their gestalt properties, in stark contrast to previous emphasis on bottom-up motivations from components of Chinese Resultative Construction, which will prove a breakthrough for further research on syntax-semantics interface of Chinese Resultative Construction.

Index Terms—Chinese resultative construction, construction grammar, motivation, linguistic typology, diachrony

I. INTRODUCTION

Chinese Resultative Construction (represented as [V R], henceforward CRC) is a highly debated topic in Chinese Linguistics. It encodes causative meaning and has long been thought of as a Chinese-specific construction which manifests the syntactic flexibility and structural conciseness for rich meaning. The main reason why CRC was thought to Chinese-specific is that two separate predicates are juxtaposed to convey causing event and result event respective but unlike what Comrie (1989) has called Analytical Causative Construction, CRC behaves like a single predicate, and is even endowed with a high productivity. In other words, it is neither Analytical Causative Construction, nor Morphological Causative Construction, nor Lexical Causative Construction in Comrie's (1989) sense.

Previous researches on CRC have focused primarily on the structural uniqueness of CRC, and paid too much attention to how its syntax and semantics can be derived from its components. Even though tremendous achievements have been gained on this topic, there still remains not inconsiderable issues and controversies, especially in terms of motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC. Previous researches have mainly been confined to verb-centered and reductionism-oriented views and attempted to explore motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC from its components by thematic operation, syntactic movement or argument raising. However, this practice has neglected the holistic or gestalt properties of CRC, which results in issues and controversies concerning over generation, existence of quite a few exceptions, unlicensed violations of theoretical rules and principles, to name just a few. Therefore, it is in urgent need to re-scrutinize motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC from new perspectives. This paper attempts to investigate this issue from typological and diachronic perspectives within the framework of Construction Grammar.

II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON MOTIVATIONS FOR SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF CRC

Syntactic and semantic motivations for CRC have been explored by various strands of linguistic theories but unfortunately CRC has also posed some threats to those theories. In this part, we will review how it has been explained by Generative Linguists, Valency Grammarians, and Cognitive Linguists as well.

Researches on syntactic and semantic motivations for CRC from the Generative Linguistic perspective divide into two groups, with one group arguing that CRC is derived from its components through lexical rules, while the other claiming that it is the derivation of its components through syntactic rules, or more specifically syntactic movements. Li (1990, 1993, 1995, 1999) is the representative of the lexical group. He maintained that CRC is a kind of compound verbs with V being the head, and it projects to the syntax directly. Its thematic structure is derived from the theta roles of its component verbs through thematic operations including Theta Identification, Structured Theta-grid, Head-feature Percolation (Li, 1990, 1993). This, however, only explains such prototypical instances as (1a), but fails to account for

those of (1b). In this case, Li (1995) distinguished two hierarchies, the thematic hierarchy and the causative hierarchy. The former is devised for prototypical instances of CRC while the latter for non-prototypical ones like (1b). However, the existence of this thematic hierarchy has been extensively criticized for its being ad hoc, and specially set for CRC like (1b) (see Shi, 1998; Her, 2007; Huang, 2008; Xuan, 2011).

- (1) a. Ta [da-po] le boli chuang.
3sg [hit-broken] PERF glass window
Lit.: He hit and caused the window to break.
'He broke the window'
- b. Jihuang [e-si] le henduo ren
starvation [starve-dead] PERF many people
Lit.: The starvation starved many people and caused them to die
'The starvation starved many people to death'

Sybesma (1999) is the representative of the syntactic group and he copes with CRC quite differently from the lexical group does. According to Sybesma, CRC is a kind of syntactic structure and is the result of the direct syntactic projection of its composing verbs through syntactic movement. However, syntactic movement rules also come across exceptions when confronted with (1b). In this case, a light verb CAUSE without phonetic realization is introduced during syntactic movement. However, this approach also suffered the same criticism as the lexical group did.

Valency Grammarians adopts a quite similar view to the lexical group in Generative Linguistic approach, but they emphasize on the valency of composing verbs in CRC and attempt to illustrate the syntax and semantics of CRC through argument raising. This approach is represented by works of Wang (1995), Guo (1995, 2002), Yuan (2001) and Shi (2008). According to them, arguments of V and R are raised, in line with a set of prescribed rules, as semantic roles of CRC. However, when this explanation is faced with instances like (1b), the causer of CRC has to be conceived as introduced either externally or by a causative hierarchy which remains to be controversial.

Main stream researches on motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC are exclusively conducted from Generative Linguistic and Valency Grammar approaches. There are also few studies on the topic employing a Cognitive Linguistic approach for example Shen (2004), Song (2007), Zhao (2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) and Xiong & Wei (2014a, 2014b), etc. Shen (2004) and Song (2007) resort to Talmy's Force Dynamic theory and claim that CRC are metaphorical extensions of Caused Motion Construction. They have been concerned with the conceptual structure or event structure, i.e., the semantics of CRC. According to them, semantics of CRC is motivated by Caused Motion Construction through metaphor. However, the metaphorical link between Resultative Construction and Caused Motion Construction is still controversial (Boas, 2003; Wang, 2009, 2011; Dong, 2014). Zhao (2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) and Xiong & Wei (2014a, 2014b) adopt a Construction Grammar approach. These studies are carried out on the basis of Goldberg's research of English Resultative Construction (Goldberg, 1995). Consequently, they regard CRC as an Argument Structure Construction just like English Resultative Construction, and try to explicate syntax and semantics of CRC in terms of the fusion of verbs composing CRC with Argument Structure Construction. However, in the process of fusion, the Semantic Coherence Principle is quite liable to be violated, thus leading to the abuse of coercion.

In summary, most of previous researches have prioritized the components of CRC and seek to explain the motivations for CRC's syntax and semantics from the syntax and semantics of its composing verbs. Such a verb-centered and reductionism-oriented perspective has suffered from various theoretical and practical problems, such as prescription of ad hoc rules, violations of Theta Criteria, Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), or Semantic Coherence Principle, and over generation or insufficient explanation for all kinds of CRC. That is also the reason why we advocate new explanations for motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC from both linguistic typological and diachronic perspectives within the framework of Construction Grammar, which will put gestalt properties of syntax and semantics of CRC in the first place instead components of CRC.

III. TYPOLOGICAL MOTIVATIONS FOR SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF CRC

The reason why previous exploration of motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC suffered from various theoretical and practical problems is that they are restricted to the components of CRC and equate the syntax and semantics with that of the composing verbs, which neglects the holistic or gestalt properties of CRC. This paper adopts a Construction Grammar approach which argues that linguistic knowledge is a structured inventory of constructions, form-meaning pairings, with varying degree of complexity and schematicity (Langacker, 1987; Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Hilpert, 2014). In this sense, CRC is a construction. On this prerequisite, motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC have to be re-examined since as a construction CRC is characterized by idiosyncratic syntax and semantics that are independent of its components. Therefore, the linguistic typological perspective is invoked. We will analyze how syntax and semantics of CRC can be motivated by that of Causative Construction, or more specifically, how gestalt properties of syntax and semantics of CRC can be explained by typological relations between CRC and Causative Construction.

A. Constructionhood of CRC

According to Goldberg (1995, p.4), "C is a construction iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established

constructions". Influenced by Langacker (2005), Goldberg (2006, p.5) re-defined construction as any linguistic pattern "as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist" and "patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency". The definition is simplified as "learned form-function pairings at varying levels of complexity and abstraction" in Goldberg (2013, p.17). Although interpretations for a construction vary, one thing remains constant, that is, whether a construction is formally/semantically predictable or not, it is an entrenched pattern with holistic or gestalt properties. Based on such an understanding, we claim that CRC is a construction and in particular, it's a Complex Predicate Construction instead of Argument Structure Construction like English Resultative Construction.

First of all, CRC is formally characterized by idiosyncratic features that are independent of its component verbs. The most direct manifestation of this formal idiosyncrasy is that the transitivity of the whole is irrelevant to either V or R. For example, when V is intransitive and so is R, CRC can either be transitive or intransitive construction, with the transitive case instantiated by *zhan-lei* 'stand-tired' in (2a) while intransitive case by *nao-xing* 'make noises-awake' in (2b). In addition, as Shi (2008) has pointed out, CRC as a whole conveys the function of predication but syntactically behaves differently from simple verbs that constitute it. Semantically, the meaning of CRC, i.e., causative meaning cannot be predicted from its components. In other words, both syntax and semantics of CRC are featured by idiosyncrasies not predictable from its components. Thus, it is a construction. However, what kind of construction is it, Argument Structure Construction like English Resultative Construction, or Complex Predicate Construction?

- (2) a. Ta [zhan-lei] le
 3sg [stand-tired] PERF
 'He stood (for a long time) which caused him to be tired.'
 b. Ni hui [nao-xing] haizi
 2sg will [make noises-awake] child
 'You will wake up the child.'

Zhao (2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) and Xiong & Wei (2014a, 2014b) have claimed that CRC is an Argument Structure Construction as they referred to researches on English Resultative Construction by Goldberg (1995). However, they have been frustrated by unlicensed violations of the Semantic Coherence Principle and rampant construction coercion, which means they may have misunderstood CRC. We re-analyzed CRC from a typological perspective and argue that it is Complex Predicate Construction (in the narrow sense), instead of Argument Structure Construction like English Resultative Construction.

Complex Predicate Construction is composed by two or more verbs whereby no explicit coordination, subordination or other syntactic dependent relations exist between these composing verbs (Aikhenvald, 2006, p.1). It behaves like but is not equal to simple verbs. For example, it has the same tonic feature as a simple verb and occupies the core syntactic position in a clause as the predicate (Aikhenvald, 2006; Haspelmath, 2016). According to these properties proposed by Aikhenvald (2006), Haspelmath (2016), as well as other typological studies, for Complex Predicate Construction, CRC is exactly a Complex Predicate Construction since CRC is composed of two verb V and R, and there is no explicit syntactic relations between them, and additionally, [V R] as a whole behave like a single verb.

The constructionhood of CRC means that any analyses of CRC have to take into consideration its gestalt properties and its syntax and semantics cannot be fully motivated by the syntax and semantics of its components.

B. Syntactic Inheritance Relations between CRC and Causative Constructions

Causativity is a basic semantic category and all languages are equipped with linguistic devices to convey causative meaning (Shibatani, 2002). However, linguistic devices vary cross-linguistically even within a single language. For example, English uses the Argument Structure Construction [Subj V Obj Obl] to encode causative meaning while in Chinese causative meaning is encoded by Complex Predicate Construction [V R]. There are actually two kinds of Resultative Constructions in Chinese, the juxtaposed form [V R] and the detached form [V DE(得) R].

Comrie (1989) distinguished three types of Causative Constructions by formal parameters through linguistic typological studies, that is, Analytical Causative Construction, Morphological Causative Construction, and Lexical Causative Construction. These three Causative Constructions are characterized by distinctive features. Analytical Causative Construction is characterized by employing separate predicates to express the notion of causative and the result (Comrie, 1989, 167). For example, in (3) *shi* 'cause' is used to express causative meaning while a separate verb *renshi* 'recognize' is invoked to express the ensuing result. The most prototypical Morphological Causative Constructions are causatives relating a non-causative predicate through morphological devices, such as affixation. For example, in ancient Chinese language, a change of tone is utilized to derive a causative construction from the non-causative equivalent. Such a device leaves its traces even in modern Chinese, as in (4a) and (4b) where *yìn* means to drink while *yìn* to make someone drink. In addition, Morphological Causative Construction is prototypically productive. As for Lexical Causative Construction, independent lexical constructions are used to express a causative meaning and its counterpart, for example, the use of *die* and *kill* in English.

- (3) jiaoyu shi ni renshi le zhenli
 Education cause 2sg recognize PERF truth

‘Education caused you to recognize the truth.’

- (4) a. yǐn shuǐ sì yuán
 Drink water consider source
 ‘While drinking, don’t forget the water’s source.’
 b. yǐn niú huí lái...
 drink cattle return

Lit.: Return after making the cattle drink.

CRC is usually construed to be neither a prototypical case of Analytical Causative Construction, nor Morphological Causative Construction, nor Lexical Causative Construction. However, seen from the other way around, it inherits properties from all of these Causative Constructions. The property of employing separate verbs to express causing event and result event is inherited from Analytical Causative Construction but different from Analytical Causative Construction, two separate verbs in CRC are juxtaposed. Most of Vs or Rs in CRC behave like affixes (though they are not in essence) and thus CRC is quite productive in modern Chinese. Such a property of productivity is inherited from Morphological Causative Construction. At the same time, CRC is a distinct construction from the non-causative use the lexical constructions V or R. In this sense, it is also syntactically related to Lexical Causative Construction.

In summary, from the linguistic typological perspective, CRC is essentially a hybrid type of Causative Construction which has inherited formal properties of Analytical Causative Construction, Morphological Causative Construction, and Lexical Causative Construction. Therefore, syntax of CRC is motivated by Causative Constructions.

C. Semantic Inheritance Relations between CRC and Causative Constructions

On the basis of a tripartite categorization of Causative Constructions, Haiman (1985), Comrie (1989), Dixon (2000, 2012), Fan (2000), Guo & Ye (2001), etc., investigated the causative meanings expressed by different Causative Constructions. They found that causative meanings vary across those Causative Constructions in the sense that causative meanings expressed by some Causative Constructions are more direct and compact than that of others. In other words, Causative Constructions differ in causative meanings in terms of their directness and compactness to the extent that such directness and compactness is positively related to the formal compactness of those Causative Constructions. According to these researchers, Lexical Causative Construction is most compact in form, with the formal compactness decreasing from Morphological Causative Construction to Analytical Causative Construction. Consequently, directness and compactness of causative meaning decrease along with the compactness of formal compactness of those Causative Constructions, which can be represented as a hierarchy in Figure 1.

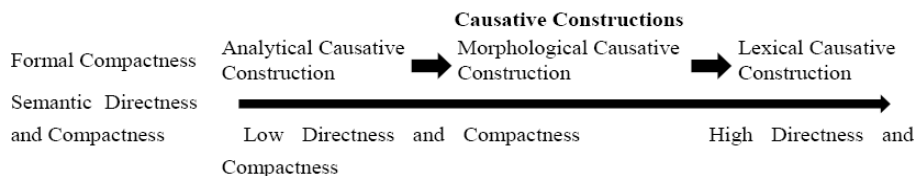


Figure 1: Relation between Formal Compactness of Different Causative Constructions and Their Causative Meanings

The syntax of CRC has been claimed to inherit from formal properties of all the three kinds of Causative Constructions. Similarly, the semantic properties, that is, the properties of causative meaning are also inherited from those Causative Constructions. More specifically, CRC is formally compact which means that it is also semantically compact and direct. Such a statement is verified by Ye & Guo (2001) who have argued that causative meaning conveyed by CRC is direct since the temporal distance and conceptual distance between causing even and causing event is short. However, according to Zhan (2013), the conceptual or semantic distance between causing even and causing event cannot be too short. Otherwise, the acceptability of the CRC will decrease. For example, Zhan has conducted an extensive survey on (5) in large corpora and found that no instances are available. He argued that *ku* ‘weep’ necessarily leads to *yanjing shi* ‘eyes become watery’, that is, the semantic distance between *ku* ‘weep’ *yanjing shi* ‘eyes become watery’ is much too short, to the extent that *ku-shi le yanjing* does not convey enough information according to the Maxim of Quality in pragmatics advocated by Grice (1975). As a consequence, its acceptability is questionable.

- (5) ???ku-shi le yanjing
 Weep PERF eyes

Lit.: wept and caused the eyes to become watery

Based on what has been discussed above, it is safe to draw the conclusion that semantics of CRC is motivated by Causative Constructions and specifically by Morphological Causative Construction since causative meaning expressed by CRC is direct and compact on the premise that it is not excessively direct.

IV. DIACHRONIC MOTIVATIONS FOR SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF CRC

Previous part has focused on the typological motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC, especially how syntactic and semantic properties of CRC can be explained through the typological relation between CRC and Causative Constructions. However, it does not expound where and how the syntax and causative meaning of CRC have arisen.

This has to be dealt with from a diachronic perspective. Therefore, this part contributes to the diachronic motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC.

A. Origins of CRC

In ancient Chinese, there is no such construction as CRC in modern Chinese and causative meaning is expressed by causative use of non-causative verbs. The causativization of verbs can be achieved either through a change in tone or without any overt formal change. The former case can be exemplified by (4) whereby *yīn* is causativized as *yìn* by changing its tone while the latter can be instantiated by (6) whereby *po* ‘break’ is causativized without overt change.

- (6) a. Liang bi po
 Liang surely break
 ‘Liang (an ancient state in Chinese history) will surely break down’
 b. Jiangjun bi po Qin
 General surely break Qin
 ‘You (the General) will surely defeat Qin (an ancient state in Chinese history).’
 (7) Peigong...sui ru po Qin
 Peigong then get to break Qin
 ‘Peigong (Liu Bang, the first emperor of Han Dynasty)... then got to Qin and defeated it.’

There are cases where the causativized verb is juxtaposed after another verb that denotes an event happening temporally before the event denoted by the causativized verb due to sharing objects or omission of pronouns such as *zhī* (之), thus giving rise to the form [V V]. For example, *ru* ‘get to’ and *po* ‘break’ in (7) are juxtaposed because they share the same Object “Qin”. However, early [V V]s are Serial Verb Constructions instead of Resultative Constructions according to Wu (1999) who argued that the two juxtaposed verbs are syntactically loosely related since the separate form is much more frequent than the juxtaposed form. In addition, the semantic relation between the juxtaposed verbs is not so much cause-result relation as temporal sequential relation in that many verbs in the first slot of [V V] are not conceivable as causative verbs, for example *ru* ‘get to’ in (7).

In a nutshell, CRC formally originates directly from the Serial Verb Construction [V V] and is semantically related to causative use of verbs in ancient Chinese. But how does the Serial Verb Construction [V V] evolve into CRC?

B. Disyllabification, Semantic Shift and Constructionalization of CRC

With evolution of Chinese language, there is a time period when both syntactic and semantic changes occurred to the Serial Verb Construction [V V] and the causative meaning expressed by causative uses of verbs shifted to [V V]. However, it is highly controversial as to when these changes happened exactly. In general, four time periods have been identified by previous diachronic studies, that is, Pre-Qin period (about 1500 BC-1100 BC), Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), Six Dynasties period (386 AD-618 AD), and Tang Dynasty (618 AD-907 AD). We are not so much concerned with the specific time when changes occurred to the Serial Verb Construction [V V] as these changes per se.

Though scholars have not reached a consensus on the specific time period when the Serial Verb Construction [V V] is constructionalized to CRC, they do have on why these changes happened. Two major changes in ancient Chinese language have been observed in the history, i.e., declination of causativization of verbs and rising of disyllabification. It is claimed that ancient Chinese language witnessed a declination of causativization of verbs which is evidenced by emergence of [V Obj V] construction and combination of causative verbs such *zhishi* ‘cause’ with verbs previously causativized (Li, 1987; Wu, 1999; Jiang, 1999; Shi, 2011), as exemplified by (8a). In addition, rising of disyllabification in the history has also been witnessed, which not only happens to [V V] construction, but also other grammatical structures including nouns, adjectives, etc.

- (8) zhishi tou po
 Cause head break
 Lit.: caused (his) head to be broken
 ‘broke (his) head’

Declination of causativization of verbs and rising of disyllabification have exerted significant influence on Chinese grammar and brought about CRC. Specifically, with the declination of causativization of verbs, the second verb in Serial Verb Construction [V V] does not express causative meaning any more. Instead, it only expresses the result state. In this case, semantic neoanalysis happened to Serial Verb Construction [V V]. The result of this neoanalysis is semantic shift, that is, causative meaning previously expressed by causative use of the second verb is shifted to the whole structure. In this sense, [V V] acquired causative meaning through semantic shift. At the same time, due to the semantic neoanalysis and rising of disyllabification, the form of [V V] also changed. Previously the first V and the second V are in coordination which means they are symmetrical. However, after the semantic neoanalysis, they become syntactically asymmetrical though debates arise as to which one is head. In addition, [V V] changed into a single phonetic unit from previously a phonetic cluster of two phonetic units. With both semantic change and formal change in Serial Verb Construction [V V], CRC is constructionalized. The process of its constructionalization can be represented by Figure 2.

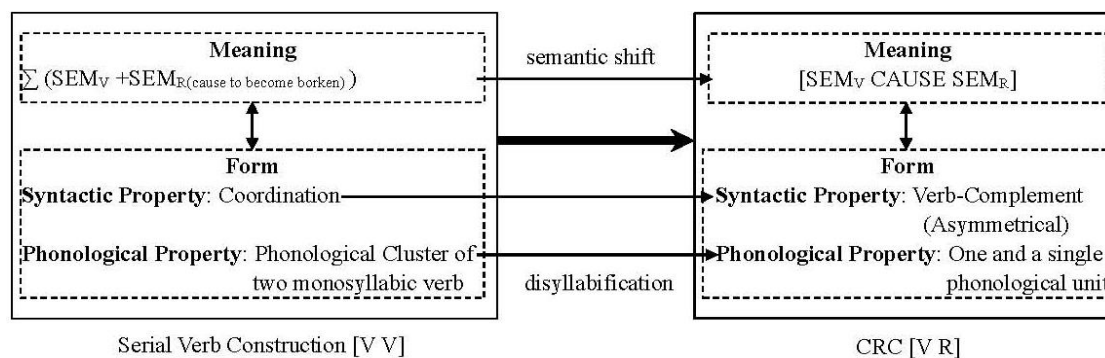


Figure 2: Constructionalization of CRC

Through the diachronic investigation of how CRC has constructionalized, it becomes apparent that both syntax and semantics of CRC are diachronically motivated in that the syntax of CRC is historically inherited from Serial Verb Construction [V V] due to disyllabification and semantic neoanalysis while semantics of CRC is the result of semantic shift whereby causative meaning expressed by causative uses of verbs in the history of Chinese language is shifted to [V V] construction because of the declination of causativization of verbs.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper has been committed to the typological and diachronic motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC. It argues that CRC is a construction and Complex Predicate Construction in particular, and both its syntax and semantics cannot be fully motivated by its composing verbs. Taking into consideration the gestalt properties of its syntax and semantics, we reached the conclusions that: (i) syntax of CRC is typologically motivated by Causative Constructions in the sense that syntactic properties of CRC are inherited from both Analytical Causative Construction, Morphological Causative Construction, and Lexical Causative Construction, while semantic properties of CRC is typological motivated by Morphological Causative Construction in the sense that causative meaning expressed by CRC is direct and compact but not as direct as Lexical Causative Construction; (ii) syntax and semantics of CRC are diachronic motivated in the sense that syntax of CRC is inherited from Serial Verb Construction [V V] due to disyllabification and semantic neoanalysis while semantics of CRC is inherited from semantic shift through which causative meaning expressed by causative uses of verbs in the history of Chinese language shifted to [V V] construction because of the declination of causativization of verbs.

This paper offers a totally different perspective on motivations for syntax and semantics of CRC and provides a breakthrough for further research on syntax-semantics interface of CRC.

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On the Way to a Good Man Again—An Analysis of Amir in *The Kite Runner* from Perspective of Freud's Personality Structure Theory

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Abstract—The *Kite Runner* is the first novel that was written by Afghan-American writer Khaled Hosseini. This novel tells the story of an Afghan immigrant boy called Amir in the United States and his spiritual redemption of his fault made during his childhood, using the first-person perspective. This thesis attempts to analyze Amir's triple personality thoroughly: id, ego and superego from Freud's personality structure theory, making readers have a deep understanding of how Amir lost, how to form the powerful self, and finally to complete the sublimation of his personality to be a good man. Meanwhile it aims to analyze how Amir forms his own ego.

Index Terms—The *Kite Runner*, Amir, personality structure

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

The *Kite Runner* is the first novel that was written by Khaled Hosseini who is an Afghan-American author, which was published in 2003. Soon after that, it ranked as a top one New York Times bestseller, with more than seven million copies sold in America, over twenty million copies around the global. Moreover, it has been translated into forty-two languages all around the world. This work mainly tells the story of Amir, a young boy from Kabul, Afghanistan. One day Hassan, Amir's close friend as well as his home servant, suffers an act of violence from a few local bad guys, while young Amir fails to prevent it due to his selfishness and cowardice. Then, Amir's guilt can not be relieved, and he chooses to charge Hassan with stealing his valuable present in front of his father and drive Hassan away from his home. Afterwards, grown-up Amir lives in pain and guilt in America, but he still dare not face the past when he did harm to innocent Hassan. Not until the truth comes eventually does he attempt to make amends for his fault by going back to his hometown and rescuing Hassan's son in the war-stricken Afghanistan without any doubt and fear.

II. INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF FREUD'S PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

Sigmund Freud, an Austrian neurologist and the founder of psychoanalysis, developed a model of personality structure, comprising the following three parts "id, ego and super-ego". As Freud (1933) described the relationship among these three components of human's personality structure that the id is related with the trends which are uncoordinated instinctual set. Then in people's daily life, the super-ego plays a critical and moralizing part. The ego is an organized, realistic part, balancing the desires between the id and the super-ego in people's inner heart. Thus, We may conclude from his description that these three components in a state of harmonious balance that make one's personality sound. Otherwise, the disorder among them will threaten the normal development of one's personality.

In one interview, Khaled Hosseini(2007) once presented his personal view on this story he wrote: "As a writer, I hope that the reader can find what he or she is looking for when reading a novel: moving stories, participating characters, feelings of loss, changed by the experience of the characters. I want the reader to react to the emotion of the story especially." (P.9)Therefore, Amir, as a protagonist in *The Kite Runner*, whose id, ego, superego vividly presented in the whole story that can be deeply analyzed from the perspective of Freud's personality structure. By analyzing the three elements of the protagonist's personality in the novel, this paper helps readers to get across the psychological factors of the protagonist's personality in the novel from a broader view, and provide readers with a new perspective of the interpretation of this literary work.

III. AN ANALYSIS OF AMIR FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FREUD'S PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

A. *The Id: Amir Is on the Way to Sin*

As far as Amir's father concerned, Amir is coward, lacking the ability of self-defense and prefers burying his head in books to doing sports vigorously as his father's wish. To Amir's jealousy, Amir's father cares more about Hassan, the son of their servant, than his own son. The young Amir never seems to live up to his father's expectation which makes Amir feel he is a kid without the care from his father. But Hassan's courageous character and performance always wins his father's praise. Based on Freud's theory of psychology, Calvin Springer Hall (1987) once explained his opinion on

children's admire for parents' love as follows, "The Loss of their identification is commonly suffered among children who are coldly treated by their parents. In order to regain their parents' love, they try their most effort to act according to their parents' will." (P.75) That Amir's mother died when he was born makes Amir enjoys no maternal love. Amir's father is declared sole guardian to Amir later. Thus it makes him crave fatherhood and hope to gain his father's approval through his own efforts. Under such circumstance, the id drives Amir to hate Hassan, desire more parental love. Then the opportunity for Amir to earn his father's affection comes: the winter traditional kite-fighting tournament will be held, whose rules are flying your kites, cutting the opponents, running for the last cut kite. As expected, Amir wins by cutting all opponents' kites. Hassan as Amir's assistant, cups his hands around his mouth to Amir before he runs the falling blue kite for Amir: 'For you a thousand times over!' he said. Then he smiled to his Hassan and disappeared around the corner." (Hosseini, 2003, P.73) On his way home with the found falling kite, Hassan is raped violently by Assef, a young bully, for Hassan refuses to hand this kite into him. However, Amir only watches the violence suffered on Hassan in the darkness without standing up to rescue the poor lamb, Hassan.

"I had one last chance to make a decision. One final opportunity to decide who I was going to be. I could step into that alley, stand up for Hassan—the way he'd stood up for me all those times in the past—and accept whatever would happen to me. Or I could run.

In the end, I ran.

I run because I was a coward. I was afraid of Assef and what he would do to me... That's what I made myself believe. I actually aspired to cowardice, because the alternative, the real reason I was running, was Assef was right: Nothing was free in this world. Maybe Hassan was the price I had to pay, the lamb I have to slay, to win Baba. Was it a fair price? The answer floated to my conscious mind before I could thwart it: He was just a Hazara, wasn't he?" (Hosseini, 2003, P.84-85)

According to Freud, the id is unconscious by definition: "It is the dark, inaccessible part of our personality. We approach the id with analogies: we call it a chaos, a cauldron full of seething excitations. ...It is filled with energy reaching it from the instincts, but it has no organization, produces no collective will, but only a striving to bring about the satisfaction of the instinctual needs subject to the observance of the pleasure principle." (Freud, 1933, P.105-106) With regard to the pleasure principle, as an American psychologist, Charles R. Snyder (2007) depicted it that the reason why people have a tendency to pursue the pleasing pleasure and get away from suffering pains and sorrows is that they desire to satisfy biological and psychological needs.

At that moment, there is a fierce struggle between the id and the super ego in the mind of Amir. During the process of struggle, the superego tends to be vulnerable, while the id dominates young Amir, instigating him to commit a crime to meet his psychological needs. Confronted with danger and interest, Amir chooses to keep silent and betray Hassan in exchange of his father's love and appreciation, which turns out that Amir is a selfish, coward and even despicable boy controlled by the id. Amir loses himself in the only quest for recognition and emotional love from his father. Thus, Hassan is forced to be a victim to satisfy Amir's selfness. Hassan spends most of his life in compromising with the surrounding environment, and his self-expression is dominant. This compromise preserves his living space in the Amir's family, but it depresses himself deeply without any abreast. However, Amir's heart will be tormented by the chosen selfish choice in the future. As a result, Amir is on the way to sin virtually.

B. The Super Ego: Amir Is on the Way to Awareness

As Snowden Ruth (2006), who has strong interest in the psychological works of Freud and makes some contribution in studying this academic area at the University of Birmingham, expressed the opinion that: "The super-ego aims for perfection. The super-ego works in contradiction to the id, striving to act in a socially appropriate manner. The super-ego controls our sense of right and wrong and guilt. It helps us fit into society by getting us to act in socially acceptable ways." (P.105-107)

Hassan is a servant in Amir's family, but he appears as a perfect image, not including his physical defect, harelip. As described in the work, "Hassan was true to his nature. He was incapable of hurting anyone." (Hosseini, 2003, P.11) Hassan chooses to forgive, even after Amir hurts him on purpose. Zheng Suhua (2015) pointed out "Hassan is a master of kite chaser. In the novel, kites symbolize the purity of human nature. The reason why Hassan is able to catch a kite every time is because he possesses the purest quality of human beings. Then, he never loses his way in chasing the kite of life and his daily life." (P.75) What moves readers deeply is the words he says to Amir: "For you a thousand times over!" In the novel, Hassan makes a weird dream. "We were at Ghargha Lake, you, me, Father, Agha sahib, Rahim Khan, and thousands of other people. It was warm and sunny, and the lake was clear like a mirror. But no one was swimming because they said a monster had come to the lake. It was swimming at the bottom, waiting." (Hosseini, 2003, P.65) The image of monster shows up in Hassan's dream, what does it present? Freud applied other writers' opinion to show the relationship of dreams to waking life, as "for apparently it can often be observed in great majority of dreams that, rather than freeing us from ordinary life, they lead us right back into it.....The content of dreams is always more or less determined by the individual personality, by age, sex, class, level of education, mode of life and by all the events and experiences of our lives hitherto." (Freud, 1999, P.10) Thus, we may infer that the showing up of the monster does exist in Hassan's real life, no matter the gangs, Amir or Amir's father.

More or less, those people like everywhere monsters actually have done harm to Hassan now and then. That is why the monster shows up in Hassan's dream rather than in others'. However, in Hassan's personality structure, the needs of

the id are ruthlessly crushed by the superego in his inner heart world and the outside world, and his ego obeys the rules created by superego unconditionally, so Hassan who is dominated by super-ego following Amir with faithfulness, defending Amir with courage, which influences Amir thoroughly and makes Amir's soul redeemed as well. In other word, it is Hassan who has crucial influence on Amir's later change in thoughts and actions as a good man.

Amir's father is also portrayed as a perfect and epic image, a typical Pashtun (an ethnic group from Afghanistan and Pakistan), who is physically strong and charismatic, impossible to ignore in the crowd. He is one of the richest merchants in Kabul, who donates large amount of money to build orphanages, schools for local kids and help people in need. "Now, no matter what the mullah teaches, there is only one sin, only one. And that is theft. Every other sin is a vibration of theft. Do you understand? When you kill a man, you steal a life. You steal his wife's right to a husband; rob his children of a father. When you tell a lie, you steal someone's right to the truth. When you cheat, you steal the right to fairness. Do you see? There is no more wretched than stealing, Amir. A man who takes what's not his to take, be it a life or a loaf of *naan*... I spit on such a man. And if I ever cross paths with him, God helps him. Do you understand?" (Hosseini, 2003, P.19-20) As cited above, to his father, the act of theft is the most heinous sin, which Amir agrees with from the depth of his heart full of the pure adoration and admiration. It is Hassan and Amir's father as shaped images without any flaws controlled by super-ego that awakens Amir's awareness to pursue his own super-ego.

C. *The Ego: Amir Is on the Way to Redemption*

In accordance with the reality principle, the ego aims to follow the id's drive in realistic ways. The purpose of it is to benefit themselves in the long term rather than bringing grief in the short term. The task of it is to seek a balance between the realities happened in daily life and the primitive drives or desires while satisfying the id and super-ego at the same time. Freud (1933) conceded that the ego is driven by the ego, as well as restricted by the super-ego. While, it may be turned down by reality, striving to bring about related harmony among the forces and influences which are caused by reality. Meanwhile the ego breaks out in anxiety with realistic anxiety concerning the external world, moral anxiety upon the super-ego, neurotic anxiety about the force of the passions that implanted in the id readily.

How does Amir's ego form?

First of all, Amir is a child whose conscience never fades out. The inner growth of Amir as the protagonist deserves our deep consideration. Behind the external growth of him in the novel is the growth process which is from innocence to betrayal, then from inner confession to final redemption. After teasing or playing tricks on Hassan, Amir always feels guilty about it. Therefore he gives Hassan old shirts or broken toys, which he supposes it may make up for a harmless prank. Besides, during his adult period, despite of his wife's infertility, Amir refuses to adopt any children with the following reason, "Perhaps something, someone, somewhere, had decided to deny me fatherhood for the things I had done. Maybe this was my punishment, and perhaps justly so. It wasn't meant to be, Khala Jamila had said. Or maybe, it was meant not to be." (Hosseini, 2003, P.204) Amir even regards this incident as a punishment for his unforgivable fault made against Hassan, living in pain and remorse all the time, which promotes the awakening of his ego gradually.

In addition to the internal factor, Rahim Khan, as a best friend of Amir's father, acts as a mentor, playing a vital role on Amir's way to redemption. In Amir's childhood, Rahim Khan always plays the role of Amir's father mentally, supporting and encouraging Amir, leading Amir to pursue ego by overcoming the suppression of id, which is a way to be a good boy as expected. "On his way out, Rahim Khan hunkered before me and handed me my story and another folded piece of paper. He flashed a smile and winked. 'For you. Read it later.' Then he paused and added a single word that did more to encourage me to pursue writing than any compliment any editor has ever paid me. That word was Bravo." (Hosseini, 2003, P.35) While in Amir's adulthood, he leads a satisfying and peaceful life in America, which is disturbed by a call from Rahim Khan, saying: "Come, there is a way to be good." (Hosseini, 2003, P.207) Thus, his id and super ego has a fierce struggle, before he determines to go back to his hometown. Amir is driven by the id he should enjoy current peaceful life, the happy marriage, the prosperous career in America. Meanwhile, he is driven by the super-ego he should not behave as an ostrich burying his head in the sand anymore and he should go down the path of being a good man to face his fault made before bravely. Eventually, his super-ego succeeds in making him act by his appearing ego.

What's more, it's commonly accepted that men have absolute control over marriage and property in Afghanistan. Kate Millet (2000) expressed that this determines the position of men within and outside the family is both material and ideologically sound. Under the influence of Afghan traditional culture and religion, men hold the absolute right to speak in family life, and the role of father is also shaped by the image of majesty, tallness and bravery to win the adoration and admiration of children. In this novel, the patriarchal representative of male supremacy is the father of Amir in the upper class. Therefore Amir reveres and worships his father, tends to be dependent on his father. After meeting Rahim Khan in Kabul, Amir knows the truth Hassan is his illegitimate half brother which is a shock for Amir. Amir's father has an affair with the wife of Ali, his servant, making her give birth to Hassan. In accordance with the theory of theft proposed by himself, his father can be called a theft, stealing Amir and Hassan's right to the truth to preserve his own dignity. Several years later, his father with Amir flees to the United States and starts a new life because of the war. As his father is busy in supporting his family to cultivate Amir in terms of academic study and daily life, having more opportunities to care about Amir's feelings with parental love that Amir used to desire. Naturally, the relationship between the father and son is well developed. Amir's character is fully developed in the process which makes Amir admire his father more and more from his own heart. However, the father passes away with the secret story of his life without admitting that he

did harm to others before to his son. When he was young, he made a terrible mistake controlled by his own id, causing the tragedy of Hassan's whole life and leaving himself regretful for the rest of his life. "How could he have lied to me all those words? To Hassan? He has sat me on his lap when I was little, looked me straight in the eyes, and said, There is only one sin. And that is theft... When you tell a lie, you steal someone's right to the truth. Hadn't he said those words to me? And now, fifteen years later I'd buried him, I was learning that Baba had been a thief. And a thief of the worst kind, because the things he'd stolen had been scared: from me the right to know I had a brother, from Hassan his identity, and from Ali his honor. His *nang*. His *namoos*." (Hosseini, 2003, P.243-244) With his father image of super-ego collapses all of sudden, Amir sets foot on the challenging journey to rescue Hassan's son, Sohrab, from Kabul filled with war, death and terror to end all the liars and betrayals of Amir and his father to the dead Hassan. In the end, Amir's ego forms strongly, realizing his redemption to make him a good man again.

The last but not the least, to some extent the serious racial prejudice also affects Amir's personality development. The concept that the Pashtuns are destined to be superior to the Hazaras and the fact that the Pashtuns in Afghanistan discriminate against and persecute the Hazaras as a matter of course makes it inevitable that Amir as a protagonist have a prejudice against Hazaras when getting along with them in his daily life. "I blew the dust off it, sneaked it into bed with me that night, and was stunned to find an entire chapter on Hazara history. An entire chapter dedicated to Hassan's people! In it, I read that my people, the Pashtuns, had persecuted and oppressed the Hazaras. It said the Hazaras had tried to rise against the Pashtuns in the nineteenth century, but the Pashtuns had 'quelled them with unspeakable violence.' ... I did know, like that people called Hazara mice-eating, flat-nosed, load-carrying donkeys. I had heard some of the kids in the neighborhood yell those names to Hassan." (Hosseini, 2003, P.9-10) Although Amir and Hassan drinks the same milk, they takes the first step on the same lawn in the same yard, deep down in Amir's mind, the two can never be friends. Subsequently, Amir is forced to abandon his abundant life in his hometown and move to settle down in America far from the harsh ethnic prejudice of Afghan society completely. However, at the same time, as from a different race from the United States, Amir and other persons from Afghanistan experience invisible or explicit racial discrimination in their daily life. "As for the diaspora, they drift away from their native land to a new country as their temporary home to accept or even adapt to its custom which is completely different from the previous cultural custom. But these persons are hard to abandon their memory of the homeland that belongs to themselves in their deep heart, not to mention their memory of the whole nation. While the physical bodies have a destination, but the spirit of them has no end. This phenomenon seems unsolved dilemma." (Wang Huimin, 2016, P.131) During his stay in America with his father, he realizes what a foolish mistake he made, which is one of the reasons why he dares to face his own mistakes and form his own ego.

IV. CONCLUSION

In the novel related with the growth of characters, the hero's redemption of his sin is usually realized by the corresponding person's inspiration and instruction, but ultimately it is by the change of his thought and behavior. First, in *The Kite Runner*, the hero Amir suddenly realizes his unforgettable sin after receiving a phone call from a stranger, and then he feels a deep remorse and a sense of morality in his own heart. It is these urge of positive energy that prompts him to take a decisive decision and determine to return to Afghanistan instantly. The end of this text, Amir yells what Hassan once promised to him sincerely "For you, a thousand times over." to Sohrab. Even though Amir used to hurt Hassan under the drive of the id, he finally forms his own strong ego, facing and making up for his fault, saving himself from the sins and becoming a real life-runner with a sound personality.

Many of us may hurt someone when we were young, like Amir, driven by the id, for the sake of greed or desire. After all, we may lead our life affected by the hidden guilt caused by the sin. However, as long as we dare to face up to our past, make up for it, we will become a really happy person with strong ego embedded in our mind. Even if we can't meet the needs of superego all our lives, we should strive to balance our relationship between the id and ego to live as a strong self with sincerity in our deep heart. A person who can stand up for himself or herself will become a person who can stand up to anything.

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Posthuman Biopredicament: A Study of Biodystopia in Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go**

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Abstract—Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go* is a novel that depicts a typical biodystopia. By recollecting the clones' tragic experience of organ donation for the benefit of humankind, it discusses the bleak posthuman prospects of science, the double manipulation of life by power, and the metaphorical dimension of posthuman lifewriting. Ishiguro approaches the theme from the clones' perspective, taking the clones as a metaphor to demonstrate the actual circumstances of human life, therefore the novel could be seen as a parable about human nature. This paper proposes to analyze, from the aspects of science, power and metaphorical lifewriting, Ishiguro's unique art in creating a biodystopian narrative that reflects universal human conditions and reveals the posthuman biopredicament.

Index Terms—Kazuo Ishiguro, *Never Let Me Go*, science, power, biodystopia

I. INTRODUCTION

Together with V. S. Naipaul and Salman Rushdie, the Japanese-born British novelist Kazuo Ishiguro is hailed as one of the "Postcolonial Trio" in the contemporary world of British literature. Since the publication of *The Remains of the Day* in 1989, his literary vision has no longer remained exclusively confined to the "mother country" of Japan from before his emigration to the UK, nor has he chosen to continue focusing on the "exotic touch" by exporting Japanese culture. Instead, Ishiguro has become increasingly interested in the universal condition of human lives. Just as the citation for the Nobel Prize in Literature of 2017 goes, Kazuo Ishiguro "in novels of great emotional force, has uncovered the abyss beneath our illusory sense of connection with the world" ("Nobel Prize in Literature," n.d.). In truth he has always regarded himself as an "international writer." Under the influence of "cosmopolitanism" with its ideas that transcend a nostalgic feeling for hearth and home, Ishiguro published in 2005 his sixth novel *Never Let Me Go*, presenting in an unusually artistic way a story of "posthuman" growth that serves nothing less than a parable for modern human beings. With its heroine Kathy recounting her past experience to an imagined audience, the novel tells a tragic tale in which a group of "clones" grow up to adulthood only to find they are predestined to donate, all the way till the end of their lives, bodily organs to the humankind.

The birth of "Dolly"—the first sheep cloned at the University of Edinburgh, UK—in 1996 marks the fact that "cloning," a technology that almost borders on an impossible myth, has finally become a reality. When *Never Let Me Go* was published against such a scientific background nine years later, it was not only much loved by readers, but also extensively reviewed in the critics' circle. Shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize 2005, this thin but insightful book has won many literary awards including the *Time* magazine "Best Novel of the Year." As the novel inquires into subject matters like genetic duplication, biological engineering, and prospects of future medical practice, most critics tend to define it as a dystopian novel with an affinity to science fiction. For instance, Toker and Chertoff (2008) think that *Never Let Me Go* represents a "mildly melancholic dystopia" (p. 163). Griffin (2009) points out that it belongs to the category of "critical science fiction" (p. 653). And Barnes (2005) suggests that the novel "falls in the science fiction subgenre of alternative history" (p. D6). With its typically accessible narrative of science, the novel has assuredly carried on the Anglophone tradition of literary dystopias. As part of a long line of novels including *Frankenstein* (1818), *Brave New World* (1932), and *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) that share a common dystopian motif, *Never Let Me Go* reflects upon the underlying issues and dilemmas that western society would often come across with the development of science and the implementation of political power. Though the cutting-edge technique of biological cloning supplies fodder for Ishiguro's literary creation, yet in his work scientific elements are almost nowhere to be found, invisible or even "absent" to the readers' eye. Just as one reviewer famously states, "Inevitably, it being set in an alternate Britain, in an alternate 1990s, this novel will be described as science fiction. But there is no science here" (Harrison, 2005, p. D5). *Never Let Me Go*, thus regarded "without science," also counts as science fiction of a peculiar kind. However, it is even more of a biodystopian novel. With his singularly magnificent imagination, Ishiguro creates for his art a group of clones, aiming to explore the nature of being human in a "posthuman" age. Its observation on science ethics, its perception of

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power politics, and its concern for human life are motifs both hidden deep within the text and integrated to one another's advantage. From the perspectives of science, power and metaphorical lifewriting, the following part will deal with the issue of how Ishiguro draws a metaphor of cloning to create a bio-narrative that not only reflects universal human conditions but also reveals the posthuman bio-predicament.

II. INDIFFERENCE OF SCIENCE TOWARDS LIFE VALUE

Although science takes the “absent” form in *Never Let Me Go*, the context of biological technology or medical application that permeates the entire narrative is hinted at or conveyed in an indirect way. In the novel, Hailsham is an institution that appears to be a boarding school, with students not the least unlike “normal” people, while in fact they are far from “normal.” As the story proceeds mid-term, readers would suddenly find to their dismay that the word “students” is but a euphemistic way of calling these people who are clones “duplicated” from human models. To these “students” Miss Lucy as one of the Guardians who are teachers of a sort would say: “Your lives are set out for you. You’ll become adults, then before you’re old, before you’re even middle-aged, you’ll start to donate your vital organs. That’s what each of you was created to do” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 81). In this isolated world, the heroine Kathy and her fellow students lead a “normal” life. As she remembers it in a measured tone, the common daily routine stands in stark contrast with the truth gradually revealed that they are actually all clones, highlighting in the “posthuman” age a particular social phenomenon: the coexistence of natural human beings and the clones. On the other hand, the use of such ordinary words as “student,” “carer,” “donate” and “complete” has demonstrated in an obscurely devious way the dichotomy between “normal people” and their artificial counterparts, which is a bio-power relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the consumer and the consumed. Despite the fact that *Never Let Me Go* neither concerns itself with concrete details of science nor participates directly in the scientific debate, which is to say it lacks “scienticity” as Harrison’s review indicates, the issue of life value in a “posthuman” age raised by Ishiguro in the novel, however, bears an intimate connection with the development of contemporary science.

Never Let Me Go was “gestated” (to match the scientific lingo here) and later published during a period—the early 2000s—when cloning, biological developments, and the debates associated with these more generally, were causing much controversy across the globe. Though it is regrettable that the first genetically edited babies immune to AIDS were born in China last November without notifying the national authority for medical ethics and caused large-scale public criticism and professional censure, almost all countries in the world have banned the practice of “reproductive cloning” out of concern for science ethics (Griffin, 2009, pp. 646-647). If readers have a fair idea of these hot issues concerning biological engineering, then they would no doubt take an interest in, or even find an echo with this up-to-date but sensitive topic in the novel. Ishiguro has proposed a certain possibility for organ donation, that is, a fictional alternative to harvest organs from the bodies of clones produced from human beings. As a consequence, the latest developments of cloning serve not only as a crucial premise for the plot to unfold, but also a major reason for the large amount of attention the novel has received worldwide. Griffin (2009) points out that in Ishiguro’s *Never Let Me Go* the story happens into a “near past,” and “the salience of that near past is in part derived from the continuity of the scientific debates alluded to in the novel in the present” (p. 653). In his essay, Griffin (2009) has listed the developments of cloning in the UK at the beginning of the present century, such as the legalization in 2002 of “therapeutic cloning” which is intended for the research of diseases as opposed to “reproductive cloning” which aims to create particular types of babies (e.g. prenatal gender selection), and how the courts in Britain has granted permission for doctors to use cloning technology to save a five-year-old boy suffering from a genetic disorder. These achievements have put legality of clones’ cultivation high on the public agenda.

If we were to take an overview of the progress made by biological technology, and genetic engineering in particular, in the early 2000s, it wouldn’t take a genius to find an interesting phenomenon, i.e. an imbalance between theoretical advancement and practical value, or in other words the problem of how to make the application of one technological innovation more “cost-effective.” In the opinion of Squier (1995), “as material practices have a low success rate, the potential for iatrogenic health damage, and a problematic relationship to a pronatalist culture and society, reproductive technology has been indicted...as: unsuccessful, unsafe, unkind, unnecessary” (p. 115). So in terms of the common goal of harvesting organs, genetic engineering represented by cloning would surely take the brunt from the almost simultaneous achievements of the tissue-growing technology. Furthermore, cloning humans for organ harvesting purposes has already been marginalized—if it ever was a scientific consideration—as biotechnological developments have “veered into new directions” (Griffin, 2009, p. 649). Scientists have been trying to produce human organs in other ways that do not involve cloning. In fact, they have made some breakthroughs in this field. Scientists, for example, have successfully cultivated autologous spare parts from tissues of the human bladder with the help of latest techniques in tissue-engineering (Atala, et al., 2006, p. 1241). This technology, though it has only been applied to a biologically simple organ, signaled “the beginning of the actualization of growing organ tissue and creating organ replacements from engineered materials” (Griffin, 2009, p. 649). Thus it would no doubt circumvent the need to “duplicate” intact human bodies so as to yield the needed organs for transplantation, which to a great extent reduces the likelihood of the novel’s fictional events coming true in reality.

Never Let Me Go, however, is by no means a realistic novel bound to describe true details of science. Ishiguro has chosen not to depict how those clones are exactly produced, nor has he indulged his writing to touch upon much of the

actual medical process of organ removal. Instead he has focused on the life experience of these clones before and after their organ donation to the human beings, thus avoiding the obsession imposed by dystopian tradition with undue writing about future possibilities of science and actual applications of technology. In other words, what really concerns Ishiguro is not so much the bright prospect of medical application for biological sciences as the “dim view” for human beings in a “posthuman” age, which is fabricated ahead of time by the author’s artistic imagination. According to the story, reproductive possibilities are reduced to the minimal for both human beings and the clones, being replaced by a mania of the former for longevity, and by an enforced sacrifice of the latter to ensure the former’s prolonged existence. Indeed it is a tragic future, when the clones are deprived of their right of life by natural human beings. As a result, the fictional world in the novel can be viewed as a peculiar scientific dystopia with allegorical propensities. Science has made human society more convenient than ever before, but it has also brought about potential attitudes of disrespect and disregard for the value of human life. In order to cure fatal diseases humankind has abused cloning technology unscrupulously, making one part of the species—the natural part—live longer at the cost of denying the other part—the cloned part—their right of life.

“And for a long time,” says Miss Emily, “people preferred to believe these organs appeared from nowhere, or at most that they grew in a kind of vacuum. ...and people did their best not to think about you. And if they did, they tried to convince themselves you weren’t really like us. That you were less than human, so it didn’t matter” (Ishiguro, 2006, pp. 262-263). Displayed on various levels of the fictional narrative through the use of common expressions, this sort of discriminating “knowledge” not only exists in the tremendously different identities of the clones, guardians and the mysterious absolute authority “them,” but also emerges from the separate spaces where the clones and the human beings live respectively. To the clones who live after a fashion in an “isolated zone,” the human beings as their “possible models” are like all sorts of “images,” such as “the actors you watch on your videos” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 81), pictures on porn magazines and little advertisements (Ishiguro, 2006, pp. 134-135), or clerks working in an “office with a large glass front” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 140). In Ishiguro’s novel then, “ideas about difference...are enacted and disturbed” (Anderson, 2002, p. 644) through the alienating effect that the uncommon use of common words provokes. In Ishiguro’s advancing imagination of the future, science has enabled human beings to produce exact copies of themselves through the cloning technology. But these clones are nothing but holding units for spare parts, whose existence is maintained solely for the medical need, and whose right of life is deprived under the indifferent “planning” of science.

Thacker (2001) in his study divides science fiction into two categories. The first is the one that showcases the value of actualization or application of science, “in other words the science fiction which science creates in order to model the future,” and the second is “critical science fiction” that reflects “potentialities” of science so as to criticize current social situations, its primary intention being “to comment upon, and intervene in, the ‘history of the present’ in terms of its cultural and ethical dimensions” (pp. 157-158). Obviously *Never Let Me Go* falls into the second category of “critical science fiction.” In the novel, the group of clones has been reduced to a means, the adoption of which would fulfill the end to cure human diseases and prolong human life. Such an outrageous treatment of living breathing bodies which are not dissimilar to our own despite the fact that they were produced and not born, serves as Ishiguro’s criticism against the abuse of science and the disregard for life value; it also denotes his insightful thinking into the one essential issue of philosophy, namely the nature of being human, or how a human being should behave to be worthy of the title “human.” Modern science and technology have brought numerous benefits to human society, in the mean time they have also created among human beings no less amount of chaos and confusion, especially the great uncertainty for the human future brought about by the technology of genetic cloning. By narrating a dystopia where human reproduction has been marginalized under the combined forces of the life-prolonging obsession and the body-duplicating methodology, Ishiguro constructs an allegorical world in which science, technology and society are closely interrelated. In this parable of human life, Ishiguro has proactively refrained from projecting the actualization of science. Instead he has effectively revealed a dismal future when science would pose a potential threat to the human life experience. Hidden underneath a surprisingly calm narrative are the author’s heartfelt concern for future prospects of science, his profound reflection of life ethics, and his strong criticism against the ideology of “scientism.”

In a 2005 interview on BBC Radio 4, Ishiguro gave some explanations for the background of *Never Let Me Go*, a novel which to some reviewers is at odds with the contemporary social situation. In reality the scientific breakthroughs after WWII lie in the field of nuclear physics, whereas in the novel the story is set in an alternative history in which the post-war scientific achievements are within the biotechnological domain. Ishiguro, however, argues that since human beings managed to get themselves into such a terrible mess during the Cold War arms race, with nuclear destruction posing as a very tangible threat to our survival, it would have been equally possible for rapid advancements in biotechnology to create a similar, albeit fictional situation in his literary work. “In order to take medicine forward, in order to take cures forward,” says Ishiguro to the audience, “we often do have to take risks and some of them are very profound risks” (qtd. in Butcher, 2005, p. 1300). This remark, logical and convincing as it is, would no doubt trigger a moral tension in the heart of the conscientious reader, who as he/she reads the novel cannot help but be caught between individual senses of self-identity of human beings who see themselves as persons and the reality of a system of power that uses them merely as bodies, as a similar dilemma is earnestly expressed and expediently overcome in Miss Emily’s confession that borders on a “willed ignorance” which is typical for the oppressor in a standard power regime: “There was no time to take stock, to ask the sensible questions. Suddenly there were all these new possibilities laid before us,

all these ways to cure so many previously incurable conditions. This was what the world noticed the most, wanted the most. ... There was no way to reverse the process. How can you ask a world that has come to regard cancer as curable, how can you ask such a world to put away that cure, to go back to the dark days? There was no going back. However uncomfortable people were about your existence, their overwhelming concern was that their own children, their spouses, their parents, their friends, did not die from cancer, motor neurone disease, heart disease" (Ishiguro, 2006, pp. 262-263).

With vivid delineations of the clones' fate, Ishiguro brings to light the potential indifference and wanton disregard for life value from the perspective of science and technology. Set in a narrative background featuring the scientific development of such biological technologies as human cloning, organ reproduction, removal and transplantation, *Never Let Me Go* highlights the gap mentioned "between the range of medical practices (actual and hypothetical) known as reproductive technology, such as AID, IVF..., cloning and so on, and their representations" (Squier, 1995, pp. 114-115). Griffin points out that this gap actually exists between biotechnological developments and their literary indicators, justifying the fact that the novel "effectively coalesces a number of different but interrelated biotechnological developments—cloning, organ harvesting, designer babies—into one set of fictional preoccupations, simultaneously condensing their diverse meanings into a particular critical perspective" (Griffin, 2009, p. 649). Indeed such a comment is delivered to the point, as Ishiguro draws from the reality of scientific development his writing material, with which he forms his own artistic thoughts on the scientific effects. Thus the theme of the novel breaks free from the science fiction tradition that emphasizes the minute depiction of scientific details, for not only does it express a skeptical attitude towards scientific progress or convey a critical view about "scientism" like such science fiction as *Frankenstein*, but more importantly it reveals behind scientific breakthroughs the deeper issue of the power and nature of life, and explores the scientific investment with life as well as the ensuing problems of life value and science ethics. In terms of setting and theme, *Never Let Me Go* transcends the dystopian narrative tradition and brings the genre of science fiction into a new dimension of narrative biodystopia.

III. POWER-DRIVEN DOUBLE MANIPULATION OF LIFE

In *Never Let Me Go* Ishiguro imagines a dismally "posthuman" view that might be brought forward by future genetic sciences. But as a tool used for the "good" of human beings, the highly-advanced cloning technology is held in the hands of a certain ruling group called "they" who have never showed themselves throughout the story, or in other words under the political control of those in power in a "posthuman" society. As a result, while Ishiguro envisions the possibility that rapid technological developments in a "posthuman" age might have caused life value to suffer from callous disdain, he also probes into the hidden manipulation and potential oppression of life, which is implemented through a highly politicized power system. Situated in rural England, Hailsham with its landscape would without fail impress the reader as an idyllic place fit for a traditional public school. From the look of it life at Hailsham appears nothing less than that in a utopia. However, as the story proceeds, the institution gradually exhibits every feature of a Foucauldian panopticon: there is a strictly arranged schedule for the daily life of students, who are subject to the constant control of their guardians. All of this gives expression to two important characteristics of the Foucauldian power, i.e. a political investment of the individual body and an invisible manipulation of the collective mind.

When politically invested with power, the clones in *Never Let Me Go* are almost cultivated into what Foucault calls "docile bodies." For those people in power, members of a modern society must possess docility which, though at the cost of losing the maximum amount of individuality, would induce individuals to perform productive activities and fulfill various tasks assigned by the authority in a submissive and efficient way. In Foucault (1976/1978)'s opinion, this bio-power that oppresses individual bodies is just one of the very basic social factors that have promoted the rapid economic growth of western capitalism ever since the Enlightenment, "the latter [the development of capitalism] would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes" (p. 141). Thus the human body gets involved in the political domain, and comes under the direct interference of power. He also contends that "the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body" (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 26). In a similar way, the students living in Hailsham resemble a group of penned animals waiting to be slaughtered, their sole purpose of existence being to donate their vital organs to human beings in due course. As far as the school is concerned, what are deemed of social value are the students' bodies rather than their minds, so that radical thoughts are always nipped in the bud through the banning of "misleading" literature and so on. The students' lives are only of use if they take good care of themselves, bodily speaking, to ensure the health of organs growing inside. To achieve the goal of making them docile, "discipline" must be brought to bear upon the interior of the institution. This discipline education of the students is very similar to what Foucault (1975/1995) has termed as "a 'new micro-physics' of power," by which he means to illustrate "a certain mode of detailed political investment of the body" (p. 139). In other words, those in power would often resort to meticulous disciplinary modes to interfere with the body in a specifically political way, all for the purpose of subjecting individuals and controlling their behavior.

Hailsham of the novel clearly resembles a breeding factory of the clones, but it also serves on various levels as a metaphorical space constructed by Ishiguro for the Foucauldian power discipline and its invisible manipulation. In order to make sure that discipline is efficiently implemented, the power authority has set the school complex in an enclosed space, almost entirely cut off from the rest of the world. The principle of "enclosure," in Foucauldian disciplinary

machinery, should be neither constant nor indispensable, so that Hailsham makes a more flexible and detailed advantage of the spatial effects, allowing senior students a certain amount of freedom of action. They are required by the school to move to some semi-enclosed adult communities—one of which is called the Village—after their study, and live there for a period of time to mix in with human beings before they start to donate. As far as Foucault (1975/1995) is concerned, “Discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations” (p. 146). In *Never Let Me Go* various aspects of the students’ lives are left in the care of different guardians, who are instructed to allow students free access to school facilities on condition that their actions are conducted strictly within the confines of the complex. Like prisoners these students are regularly let out for “exercise” and granted certain personal space, lest their bodies or minds be undermined for lack of vigor or stimulation during the disciplinary process.

Besides the assignation of an “enclosed” space to the positioning of Hailsham, its eighteen-storey main building with an open view, its sporting pavilion with high windows, and its surrounding shrubs and hedges are all suggesting complex metaphors of political power. Situated at the bottom of a valley with fields sloping high on all sides, the main building of Hailsham is not only a symbol for the school, but also a center for the planning and manipulation of power. Just as Foucault (1975/1995) says, “The perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly. A central point would be both the source of light illuminating everything, and a locus of convergence for everything that must be known: a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a center towards which all gazes would be turned” (p. 173). The school building in the novel is exactly such a central point. On the one hand, its design offers great advantage for observers up on the top floors to spy on students, because “from almost any of the classroom windows in the main house—and even from the pavilion—you had a good view” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 34). On the other hand, its conspicuous shape in striking contrast with the landscape also means that “they” from the outside could very easily put the building itself, with every clone inside, on continuous surveillance. Thus between the students, guardians, and “them” who are from the outer world, an apparent link of hierarchical observation emerges, by which the schoolhouse serves as a central point both to see everything and to be seen by everyone.

Furthermore, Hailsham has adopted multiple means to control the students, with its strict regulations and punishments showing in particular how bodies are disciplined by power. In the first place, certain criteria are established to judge the students’ mental performance according to their various academic capabilities to meet the said standards. Their creativity, in one particular case, is differentiated by their paintings being accepted or denied into the gallery of the “Madame,” a quasi-mysterious figure supposedly belonging to the “they” circle. The institution also frequently employs examining methods, which according to Foucault (1975/1995) “combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment” to form a “normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish” (p. 184). For instance, as the school is responsible for the health of the students’ bodies, so physical check-ups are regularly carried out to decide whether their bodies are up to the medical requirements for “donors.” As a highly ritualized procedure, medical examination betrays indeed a “superimposition of the power relations and knowledge relations...in all its visible brilliance” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 185). Another instance is that in order to keep fit, the clones are deprived of the ability to reproduce. They could acquire sexual knowledge and are free to have sex, but their choice of sexual partners is strictly censored lest they catch venereal diseases. And even guardians who have acted against safety protocols are severely punished, just as Miss Lucy is banished from the school because she has told the students in plain words the true purpose of their existence. Therefore Hailsham like the “camp” is exactly such a perfect disciplinary apparatus, the veritable “diagram of a power that acts by means of general visibility” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 171).

Apart from the political investment of the clones’ bodies, another characteristic of the control that power exerts over life is the invisible manipulation of the clones’ spirit. Creating a terrible atmosphere and disseminating dreadful rumors are its primary means to assert forbidden zones of mentality. The woods in Chapter 5, for example, along with horrible tales of chopped off bodies and wandering ghosts beyond the school boundaries, play an effective part of intimidation on the students’ minds. Casting a “shadow over the whole of Hailsham” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 50), these woods make sure that their presence is felt on the students’ imagination day and night, ensuring the safety of their bodies while at the same time restricting their spiritual freedom. In Chapter 7 an equally ghastly metaphor has been made between the electrified fences around the prison camps of WWII and the non-electrified ones at Hailsham when the students are having a class of English with Miss Lucy. The imagined possibility of committing suicide by touching the prison fence and the allusion to terrible accidents happening at the school fence have both intensified the intimidating effects of a disciplinary power at work deep within the students’ psyche. Its invisible manipulation brings them a fear that grows so strong that the experience has even gradually integrated into part of their personality as they reach adulthood. A permanent mark upon the minds, such an intrinsic fear refuses to go away after the students graduate and leave to become donors. That is why the barbed wire fence on the way of the boat-seeking trip would upset and nearly paralyze Ruth to the extent that she needs supporting by Tommy and Kathy to pass through.

There is, above all, a pervasive humanizing atmosphere around Hailsham that not only denotes the human beings’ attainable but misrepresented hope of making them more “like us,” of turning them into loving and sensitive individuals, but also betrays a deceptive strategy of empathetic education that plays a catalytic role in promoting altruism and affection as the true end of manipulating the clones’ soul. This subtle tactic aiming to mold the clones of *Never Let Me*

Go into willing donors, contends Whitehead, echoes the “contemporary debates regarding the value of the arts and humanities, and the empathetic effects of literature on readers” (Whitehead, 2011, p. 56). Based on the liberal arts, Hailsham’s curriculum not only encourages students to paint pictures regularly but also imposes a habit of reading with a special preference to Victorian novelists like George Eliot and Thomas Hardy. As the plot unfolds, Ishiguro appears to offer a defense of the humanities as the necessary panacea, because the arts, especially literature, “make us more enlightened and sensitive citizens and/or professionals” (Whitehead, 2011, p. 55). The students are being trained as professional carers, and their literary education seems to have cultivated a close bond of affection towards one another. Indeed as the novel proceeds to its final section, Kathy, Tommy and Ruth are portrayed as individuals brimful of human virtue, even though they are not accorded the status and rights of human citizens within the dystopian political system that has brought them into being. However, this outcome of making them good carers and donors comes at the cost of raising in their minds false beliefs in a society that denies them any future—the rumor of donation deferral is a good example, because they draw from literature not only templates of good-will but also misleadingly fictional indications of social advancement. Reviewed in this light, the empathetic education at Hailsham becomes a sham hailed to impose altruism on the psyche of the clones, an accomplice in a hidden system of spiritual manipulation to which they are unwittingly subject.

The empathetic effects of reading literature are represented by Ishiguro not to broaden a very important political vision for the clones that would otherwise have demanded they grasp the true nature of their spiritual slavery, but instead to restrict rather than expand their imaginative capacities for identifying the social good. In other words, the inherently altruistic value of literary empathy is challenged and rendered morally ambiguous in *Never Let Me Go*. Although there does exist a possibility that literature can be productive of an empathetic sensibility among certain readers, the complex connection between reading, compassion and social justice can never be simplified into an intrinsic or causal relationship which the current received opinion has easily taken for granted. Just as Keen (2007), who highly doubts the common view that identification with literary works can result in our becoming more altruistic, asserts: “I ask whether the effort of imagining fictive lives, as George Eliot believed, can train a reader’s sympathetic imagining of real others in her actual world, and I inquire how we might be able to tell if it happened. I acknowledge that it would be gratifying to discover that reading Henry James makes us better world citizens, but I wonder whether the expenditure of shared feeling on fictional characters might not waste what little attention we have for others on nonexistent entities, or at best reveal that addicted readers are simply endowed with empathetic dispositions. ...I would be delighted to affirm the salutary effects of novel reading, but I am not prepared to take them on faith” (p. xxv).

Hailsham symbolizes a dystopian society where life is ruthlessly subjected to political investment, where all the students are daily disciplined in spirit to carry out various tasks without existential consciousness of their own. Under the political manipulation of power they are forced to succumb to an involuntary lethargy that takes a tremendous toll on both their bodies and minds. In due course these clones are completely subjugated, with a morbid mentality perennially confused. Only vaguely conscious of what lies ahead of them in the future, the students do have an inkling about “donation,” yet they are far from inclined to probe deeper into the matter. With a spiritual restriction imposed upon them by the school ever since they were little, they are unable to see other possibilities for their lives apart from a planned fate which they take comfort in accepting together and which induces them in the end to “donate” their right of life in an involuntary though seemingly proactive way. Like Foucault’s modern state that turns life into a principle object for the projections and calculations of state power, Ishiguro’s world of clones has callously invested life with politics on both individual and collective levels, rendering the continuance of it, in terms of either longevity or reproduction, susceptible to the covert and yet extremely efficient double manipulation of political power.

IV. METAPHORICITY OF POSTHUMAN LIFEWRITING

Posthumanism, as a term closely connected with and also starkly contrary to humanism, has emerged following the development of 20th century technologies. As far as a posthumanist is concerned, humankind is no longer considered as a deified species with unalienable rights or exclusive properties over other seemingly lesser or lower species. The posthuman theory “displaces the boundary between the portion of life—both organic and discursive—that has traditionally been reserved for *anthropos*, that is to say *bios*, and the wider scope of animal and non-human life, also known as *zoē*,” claiming that “*zoē* as the dynamic, self-organizing structure of life itself stands for generative vitality. It is the transversal force that cuts across and reconnects previously segregated species, categories and domains” (Braidotti, 2013, p. 60). Under criticisms from 20th century thinkers like Nietzsche, Fukuyama and Foucault, the human image shaped by the humanist tradition gradually crumbles. With humanity in a traditional sense constantly weakened by such symbols of the scientific age as computerized robotics and gene-centered bioengineering, and with life itself being digitalized by informational codes, humankind seems now to have been on the threshold of a “posthuman” age of highly developed artificial intelligence and genetic biology. When considered from this interestingly new perspective, the line between the clones and human beings in *Never Let Me Go* no longer appears so clear and visible, for “post-anthropocentrism displaces the notion of species hierarchy and of a single, common standard for ‘Man’ as the measure of all things. In the ontological gap thus opened, other species come galloping in” (Braidotti, 2013, p. 67). With the help of advanced science, human beings could turn into “posthumans” by transplanting vital organs from the clones; while “posthuman” clones, as creations of a genetically duplicating process, could obtain rich feelings and life

experience through an acquired education to become “human beings.” Therefore the relationship between natural human beings and the clones is not only antithetic, but also interdependent and interchangeable in its complex metaphoricity. In other words, “posthuman” lifewriting in Ishiguro’s novel is distinctly metaphorical.

In *Never Let Me Go* this metaphorical lifewriting is firstly based on the interchangeability within two sets of basic dichotomies, i.e. natural humans/the clones and body/soul. When Tommy and Kathy hear of a rumor that a deferral of donations could be obtained by proving to the unknown authorities that they are properly in love, they decide to visit Madame with Tommy’s pictures to win over this chance of being together for several more years. However, instead of achieving their goal, they get to know from Madame the true purpose of her gallery. The paintings are collected from these clones not so much to “reveal your inner selves...display your *souls*” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 254) as to “*prove you had souls at all*” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 260). And Miss Emily admits to them that this rumor of getting a deferral by appealing to an imagined humanity—namely to prove a consciousness of love—is never true. Her confession no doubt satirizes the human (or the guardians’) attempts to encourage a manifestation or materialization of the clones’ soul, since human beings only care about those vital organs inside the clones’ body after all. When asked by the clones if they could count as human beings, if their lives have any value at all, Miss Emily answers them in a seemingly resigned and sympathetic way, though she is in fact the very emblem of human egotism and hypocrisy. In Ishiguro’s novel the clones such as Kathy have led lives full of human experience and acquired emotions rich in human subtlety, whereas natural human beings like Miss Emily and Madame have eventually turned as cruel and cold as a machine. In the form of memoirs, Ishiguro tells his tale from the students’ perspective as though he were one of them, a clone who sees and feels as they do. Undoubtedly, this shows that Ishiguro has taken the group of clones as a core symbol invested with unusual metaphoric properties to help him explore the universal meaning and common value of life. Kathy’s memories are constantly filled with a certain “warmth” or “sweetness,” but in truth they both challenge the “Hailshameful” scheme of “donation” and accuse its masterminds who are represented by human beings such as Miss Emily and Madame. As a consequence, Ishiguro’s remembering narrative is also a life narrative with strong metaphoric implications. It is not only an elegy of the clones for their lost life power, but an allegory of the human beings for their life value as well.

In Agamben (1995/1998)’s opinion, “if today there is no longer any one clear figure of sacred man, it is perhaps because we are all virtually *homines sacri*” (p. 115). The clones in *Never Let Me Go* are very much similar to the “sacred men” in Agamben’s terms, which is another important metaphorical dimension of Ishiguro’s lifewriting. What Agamben means by the term “*homo sacer*” or “sacred man” is that under certain conditions, individual life becomes doubly excluded on both the political and legal levels, so that it is thoroughly abandoned in a state of violence. Therefore it is far from a good thing for a man to become or to be made “sacred.” In fact, according to Agamben’s textual research, the ancient Latin expression “*sacer esto*” (“May he be sacred”) expresses a wish with a sinister tone, or a curse as it were; “and *homo sacer* on whom this curse falls is an outcast, a banned man, tabooed, dangerous...” (Agamben, 1995/1998, p. 79). In order to find further evidence that could shed more light on the exact meaning of the curse, which Agamben (1995/1998) has found implies “at once the *impune occidi* (‘being killed with impunity’) and an exclusion from sacrifice” (p. 72), he quotes Pompeius Festus’s treatise *On the Significance of Words* for an interpretation of “*homo sacer*” in archaic Roman law: “Neque fas est eum immolari, sed qui occidit, parricidi non damnatur (‘It is not permitted to sacrifice this man, yet he who kills him will not be condemned for homicide.’)” (p. 71). This, in Agamben’s words, is called a double exclusion of “*sacratio*” (“sanctity”), which means life is both excluded from the human law (it may be killed) and from the divine law (it cannot be sacrificed), both from the domain of the profane and from that of the religious.

As “sanctity” deprives the sacred man of any status in god’s sphere, his life is thus first nominally transferred to the gods by way of a death threat, indicating the initial round of violence; in fact, as his body already belongs to the gods and yet still keeps an “incongruous remnant of profanity” (Agamben, 2005/2007, p. 78), it is therefore also excluded from sacrificing rituals, which denotes the second round of violence. This kind of double violence obliterates individuals from both the human and the divine law, rendering their life august (holy) and accursed at the same time so as to become a form of complete “bare life,” that is to say, “the life of *homo sacer* (sacred man), who *may be killed and yet not sacrificed*” (Agamben, 1995/1998, p. 8). In Agamben (1995/1998)’s mind, “bare life” and “sacred life” refer to the same thing, for “*homo sacer* belongs to God in the form of unsacrificeability and is included in the community in the form of being able to be killed. *Life that cannot be sacrificed and yet may be killed is sacred life*” (p. 82). In a word, by probing deep into the ancient meaning of the term “*sacer*” Agamben (1995/1998) has managed to unravel the enigma overshadowing an image of the sacred that, before or beyond the religious, “constitutes the first paradigm of the political realm of the West” (p. 9). Complementing Foucault’s view that life is included into the *polis* (city) as an object of the projections and calculations of State power, Agamben (1995/1998) argues that “at once excluding bare life from and capturing it within the political order, the state of exception actually constituted, in its very separateness, the hidden foundation on which the entire political system rested” (p. 9).

Similar to “*homo sacer*,” the clones in Ishiguro’s *Never Let Me Go* are also excluded from the community because they have been created in a way different from natural human reproduction, “each of us was copied at some point from a normal person” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 139). Abandoned by human beings, these clones are reduced to the form of “bare life” to be captured, expropriated and controlled by a sovereign power. They may be killed, and yet the law which is

supposed to forbid or punish this killing is suspended here, so that the absent power authority (represented by “they” in the novel) could slaughter them (the clones) and make use of their organs without fear of incurring the wrath of law. In addition, the process of life cloning is not unlike that of the creation of Adam by God. Therefore in the clones’ world, human beings as creators of life would very naturally assume the status of gods. The callous attitudes of these gods to refuse to acknowledge the clones as humans after all are equivalent to excluding the clones from the human domain which serves no less than a sphere of the sacred in the eyes of these clones. In Agamben’s theory, the ambivalence of human beings as a sacred domain gives expression to an “inclusive exclusion” of life, or “exceptio” in his words, which might be readily used to illustrate this peculiar state of Kathy and her fellow clones—they belong to human beings (as they are “duplicates” cloned from human models) but they do not identify with human beings (as they are artificially created rather than naturally born into this world). A “state of exception” is partly separated from the community by those wielding power (meaning human beings) whose sovereign operation (the so-called “sovereign judgment”) excludes the clones’ life from the space where it should have been protected and reduces it by abandonment to “bare life.” In modern societies, veiled under the life-preserving bio-political logic to save people through organ transplantation lies just a ruthless destruction of the bare life of those who are deemed “not deserving” to live (Agamben, 1995/1998, p. 160-165). This is the very bio-dystopian logic for the human beings in *Never Let Me Go* to deal with the clones. The life value of these clones is determined by their organs, so much so that after three or four “donations” they would become what Agamben (1995/1998) gruesomely terms as “life devoid of value” (p. 139). Once this boundary of value based on the human needs is crossed, “life ceases to be politically relevant, becomes only ‘sacred life,’ and can as such be eliminated without punishment” (Agamben, 1995/1998, p. 139). In *Never Let Me Go*, the scenes where Ruth and Tommy gradually lose their lives in the value-emptying process of donation are filled with such poignancy that surely no one would deny them as vivid expressions of the said callous logic in literature.

In human consciousness, the sole purpose of creating clones is to provide the much needed organs to cure disease. Compared to containers, these clones are of no value on their own, their utility value being asserted only during the process of giving away the contents of the containers—their vital organs—to the human beings for transplantation. Clones are asked to “donate” until they are “complete;” however, in human society such ruthless destruction cannot be defined as “murder,” and therefore do not count as punishable by law but instead as an altruistic deed which aims to save human lives. Meanwhile, the human beings in the novel are fearful of the possibility that a generation of created clones with “superior intelligence, superior athleticism” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 264) would usurp their supremacy, so much so that they “recoiled from that [producing clones for medical use]” (Ishiguro, 2006, p. 264) and finally closed all the “donation” projects, hoping their damnable practice would fade away into oblivion. It stands to reason to infer that for human beings abandoning or shutting down the program means a large-scale slaughter of the clones, not merely for their organs but more importantly as a preemptive move to prevent them from replacing humans to become rulers. As such, the human behavior to make use of the clones’ bodies without willing to take risks or responsibility indicates an ambivalent attitude of human beings toward the clones.

The ruthless abandonment and slaughter, when transcribed into Agamben’s language, could almost mean the “sovereign ban” in which a human victim (a clone in *Never Let Me Go*) who may be killed but not sacrificed—*homo sacer*—is captured. “The sacredness of life,” Agamben (1995/1998) points out, “in fact originally expresses precisely both life’s subjection to a power over death and life’s irreparable exposure in the relation of abandonment” (p. 83). This no doubt illustrates from the reverse side the necessity of making the clones sacred; namely, that human beings must oppress the clones’ spirit with power and obliterate their life by abandonment. Only in this way can the clones be completely reduced to bare life destructible at any time and can the human beings take advantage of the clones’ bodies without scruples. To some extent closing the donation program is nothing less than the ultimate expression of a posthuman life-sacralizing ideology. At the end of the novel, Kathy calmly accepts her destiny to become a “donor.” Perhaps Ishiguro intends to use Kathy—a figure of his clones that comes closest to a human being—to express metaphorically the following key thesis: that in modern society everyone has the potential to become a “sacred man” and is likely to be abandoned in a “state of exception.” Agamben (1995/1998) says that “every society—even the most modern—decides who its ‘sacred men’ will be. ... Bare life is no longer confined to a particular place or a definite category. It now dwells in the biological body of every living being” (p. 139-40). Therefore Ishiguro’s argument in part echoes Agamben’s opinion, but more importantly Ishiguro is different from Agamben in that *Never Let Me Go* constructs with artistic images of the clones a metaphor for a “posthuman” society, in which the author strives to express profound concerns about the relationship between life and power, and to deliver serious thoughts on the nature of being human.

V. CONCLUSION

In *Never Let Me Go*, Ishiguro has described a dismal “foreground” for future science in a “posthuman” age, revealed the manipulative mechanism of political power over individual lives, and displayed a new dimension of lifewriting in the construction of metaphorical juxtapositions. By using the “clones” as a metaphor to reflect upon the living condition and life situation of the humankind, Ishiguro has leapt in his literary endeavor from the power politics on the narrative surface layer to the bio-politics hidden under the narrative deep structure. In an interview Ishiguro confessed: “I’d have to say that my overall aim wasn’t confined to British lessons for British people because it’s a mythical landscape which

is supposed to work at a metaphorical level. ...I think if there is something I really struggle with as a writer, whenever I try to think of a new book, it is this whole question about how to make a particular setting actually take off into the realm of metaphors so that people don't think it is just about Japan or Britain, but also give it that sort of ability to take off as metaphor and parable" (qtd. in Vorda, Herzinger & Ishiguro, 1991, p. 140). Ishiguro has perfectly fulfilled his aim and answered his question in *Never Let Me Go*, a novel that highlights the English myth as a metaphor for the entire human race. Through depicting the clones' tragic fate, Ishiguro's novel indeed "takes off" as a cautionary fable that reexamines the power and value of life. It not only expresses strong criticism on social reality like the traditional dystopian narrative, but also represents with an exquisite artistic finesse the biopredicament for humankind in a "posthuman" age.

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