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About the journal

Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University in two issues per year, June and December, in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

Submission and fees

Submissions are accepted from all researchers; authors do not need to have a connection to New Bulgarian University to publish in ESNBU. Submission of the manuscript represents that the manuscript has not been published previously, is not considered for publication elsewhere and will not be submitted elsewhere unless it is rejected or withdrawn.

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All authors, peer reviewers, and members of the editorial team must disclose any association that poses a Conflict of Interest in connection with manuscripts submitted to ESNBU. Our [Conflict of Interest Policy](#) applies to all material published in ESNBU including research articles, reviews, and commentaries.

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English Studies at NBU invites contributions for Volume 5, Issue 2 to be published in December 2019. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

The Editors are open to suggestions for special issues of ESNBU devoted to particular topics. Recommendations for such issues may be forwarded to the Editors.

Subjects covered by this journal

Language & Linguistics; Language & Literature; Language & Communication; Literature & Culture; History & Cultural Studies; Language Learning & Teaching; Translation & Interpreting Studies; Creative Writing & Art History, and Audio-visual Translation.

Submissions

Please email your submissions to englishstudies@nbu.bg.

For more information on how to submit, please visit our *Submissions* page at <http://esnbu.org>.

Before submission, please also consult the *EASE Guidelines for Authors and Translators of Scientific Articles to be Published in English*, freely available in many languages at www.ease.org.uk/publications/author-guidelines. Adherence should increase the chances of acceptance of submitted manuscripts.

Submission of the manuscript represents that the manuscript has not been published previously, is not considered for publication elsewhere and will not be submitted elsewhere unless it is rejected or withdrawn.

Manuscripts written by authors whose mother language is not English should be checked by a native speaker or a professional language editing service before submission. Manuscripts submitted in poor English will be returned without review.

Every research manuscript submitted for publication to ESNBU is checked for plagiarism, duplicate publication and text recycling after submission and before being sent for initial editor screening and double-blind peer review. By submitting your manuscript to ESNBU you are agreeing to any necessary originality, duplicate publication and text recycling checks your manuscript may have to undergo during the peer-review and production processes.

EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Aren't I glad to welcome you to Volume 5 of English Studies at NBU!

Lots of news to share with our readers.



Affirming our presence

We are now a voting member of CrossRef and have assigned DOI numbers to all published articles. This will ensure more transparency, visibility and credibility in the journal. It is useful in other aspects too - we can now check bibliographies and we can start implementing the Cited-by service for individual articles.

More recently, we have signed an agreement with RSCI Core Collection - Russian Science Citation Index (РИЦ) and our issues are slowly making it into the full-text indexing database.

We are also currently being evaluated by IndexCopernicus and we expect the results later in the autumn. MIAR, the Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals of the University of Barcelona, has given us a higher index, ICDS = 9.1, up from 2.8 in 2017.

ESNBU is now in OpenAIRE and the Library of Congress, USA and the articles can be found through BASE, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine.

Web site wise, we started displaying the WoS accession number of the articles so that readers can easily identify them on Web of Science.

Becoming even more 'Open'

Our OpenData initiative is gaining traction with close to a third of the articles opening up their datasets under a CC BY 4.0 License. We display the OpenData badge on the landing page of the article on the web site to acknowledge the contribution of the authors to the OpenData access initiative.

You will also notice that more and more reviewers are opting for open reviews and disclosing their names. We'd like to hear comments from our readers regarding our Open Reviews and how this influences their opinion of the article and the journal as a whole.

The verified reviews on Publons (now part of the Web of Science group) keep growing. See our journal profile here <https://publons.com/journal/34145/english-studies-at-nbu>.

As always, you are welcome to send us your comments or contact the authors or the editors for further dialogue. We look forward to getting feedback from you, and continue to welcome submissions for our upcoming issues. You can find out more about submitting a paper to ESNBU on our web site.

We keep posting useful resources in the News section on the web site <http://www.esnbu.org> and our Facebook group <https://www.facebook.com/groups/esnbu>, so come back soon.

Finally, I would like to thank our authors, old and new reviewers and the entire editorial team for their help and support in the preparation of this issue.

You are about to embark on a journey in time and across the world, starting with the 11c Sufi mystic, al_Ghazali, through the emotionality of the Romantic Gothic novel writer, Ann Radcliff, through the modern film adaptations of Shakespeare's "Richard III" of Pachino and Lockraine, to the modern post-colonial Anglophone African poetry of Hyginus Ekwazi.

Teaching and translation wise, an article is exploring vicarious learning in the translation classroom and how it influences students' self-efficacy beliefs, while another explores the emotions of second-language learners when writing a research essay.

We close this issue with a survey of the attitudes of researchers in academia towards plagiarism.

I wish you good reading!

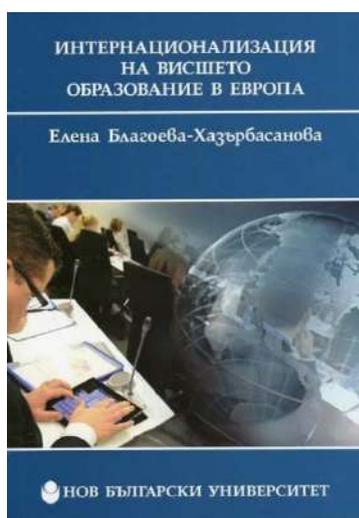
Kind regards,

Stan Bogdanov,
Managing Editor
englishstudies@nbu.bg

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE - BOOK REVIEW

by Boris Naimushin

New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria



Book Details

Title:

Internatsionalizatsiya na vissheto obrazovanie v Evropa
[Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe]

Author:

Elena Blagoeva-Hazarbasanova

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The Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe, published in Bulgarian by the New Bulgarian University Press in 2013, is a timely book. With Bulgaria's accession to the European Union in 2007 and the reform of higher education in the pre-accession period (2000-2007), mobility and internationalisation of higher education became a priority for Bulgarian universities. Dr. Blagoeva-Hazarbasanova was well placed to write this book based on her personal experience of work as Director of the Office of International Affairs and lecturer in the Centre for Public Administration Studies at the New Bulgarian University. Between 1993 and 2012, she participated in many national, European and international projects as a coordinator, expert, consultant and trainer, including projects under the PHARE, TEMPUS and ERASMUS programmes. The resulting work is a comprehensive handbook on the issue, the first in its field in Bulgaria. It is a practical book, with examples of how to translate theoretical knowledge into successful projects.

The book is structured in nine chapters, including an introduction and conclusions, plus two appendixes. The author's style is clear and concise. After an analysis of the rapidly expanding theoretical literature on internationalization, she looks at the European dimensions of internationalisation and mobility. Elena Blagoeva-Hazarbasanova provides detailed information about the EU programmes and initiatives aimed at advancing the internationalisation of higher education. The book then explores the political, economic, cultural and scholarly incentives for the internationalisation of higher education at the national and institutional levels and the evolution of the internationalisation models since 1970s. The next chapter brings to the fore success-measuring approaches in the internationalisation of higher education. It focuses in particular on the components of performance assessment and key performance indicators with regard to the internationalization of higher education and the internationalisation index of universities. Finally, the author outlines possible strategies and perspectives for the development of the internationalisation of higher education.

Of course, the internationalisation of higher education in Europe and the world has come a long way since the book came out; some of the programmes have come to an end or have been transformed and new programmes and processes launched. Nevertheless, the book serves well as both a comprehensive reference on the history of the internationalisation of higher education in the EU in the first decade of the 21st century and a practical handbook for policy makers, researchers and students.

References

Blagoeva-Hazarbasanova, E. (2013). *Internatsionalizatsiya na vissheto obrazovanie v Evropa* [Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe]. Sofia: New Bulgarian University.

DEEN (FAITH) AND DONYA (THE SECULAR): AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S THE ALCHEMY OF HAPPINESS

Ali Mirsepassi, New York University, USA

Tadd Graham Fernée, New Bulgarian University, Bulgaria

Abstract

The 11th -12th century Abbasid philosopher al-Ghazālī is the center of controversy today in Western societies seeking to understand Islamic radicalism. The article initially examines the al-Ghazālī debate, split between popular images of al-Ghazālī as a fanatical enemy of rational thought, and scholarly depictions of a forerunner of postmodernism. After analyzing a principle example of the latter tendency, centered on the Persian term *dihlīz*, the article undertakes a sociological investigation of al-Ghazālī's *Alchemy of Happiness* within the historic context of the Abbasid crisis of political legitimacy. The troubled historic vista of Abbasid politics, the unique role of al-Ghazālī as representative of ideological power, and the crucial influence of the intercontinental Sufi revolution, are discussed. The analysis focuses on al-Ghazālī's central concepts of *deen* (faith) and *donya* (the secular), that he employed to stabilize and guarantee the continued political success of the multi-civilizational Abbasid state. Spurning the dogma of unified identity, al-Ghazālī recognized the civilizational pluralism underpinning Abbasid political survival. Reconciling multiplicity and unity, al-Ghazālī labored to integrate Islamic and non-Islamic intellectual traditions. Three elements are investigated: (1) Investing epistemology with social significance, al-Ghazālī opposed orthodox conformism; (2) Denouncing ignorance, the passions, and intellectual confusion, al-Ghazālī promoted the dialogic principle – not dogma – as the unique public guarantee of the universal truth; (3) This universal truth had an exclusively secular, not religious, dimension, based on the *deen/donya* distinction, separating universal secular truth from religious identity. An intellectual exploration of the secular dilemma, of corresponding imaginative magnitude, hardly existed in Western societies at the time. This casts doubt on the current academic enthusiasm for representing traditional Islam in the mirror image of French post-structuralism, and the false depiction of al-Ghazālī as the dogmatic enemy of reason. It opens an entire terrain of possible research that is barely tapped, which contradicts the confused dogmas of Islamic radicalism. A secular conceptual dualism pervaded the Islamic tradition, indeed pre-dating European secularism.

Keywords: al-Ghazālī, Abbasid Empire, Islamic philosophy, state-making, Sufism, secular

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The contemporary al-Ghazālī debate

The Abbasid-era Persian philosopher Abû Ḥamid Moḥammed ibn Moḥammed al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) figures colorfully in current public debate in the West. What makes the al-Ghazālī debate so significant in Western controversies on Islam? Source materials are diverse. They include Salman Rushdie's Magical Realist novel *Two Years, Eight Months, and Twenty Eight Nights* (2015), Abdul Latif Salazar's documentary film *al-Ghazālī: the Alchemist of Happiness* (2004), the American astrophysicist and public intellectual Neil de Grasse's depiction of al-Ghazālī as the catalyst of Islamic civilizational "collapse", and the 2010 CUNY Great Issues Conference panel "The Rise of Intellectual Reform in Islam", featuring scholars Baber Johansen, Ebrahim Moosa, Abdulkarim Soroush, and Talal Asad.

This article has two parts: (1) It examines CUNY conference panelist Moosa's 2005 *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination*, in which al-Ghazālī is a postmodern forerunner of Foucauldian anti-modernism, citing the liminality concept in the Persian *dihlīz*. As with Julia Kristeva's "abject", a border condition invokes a "strange land of border and otherness" (Kristeva, p. 192). Against Hegel's 'universal history' in 'absolute knowledge', the "abject" invoked the multiple confluences of stateless refugees scattered across post-Cold War Europe (Kristeva, pp. 229-63). Moosa's *dihlīz* has "everything" to "do with poetics and imagination, subjectivity and citizenship", "related to the past", while "equally related to the present and the emergent Muslim subjectivity" (Moosa, p. 24). Did al-Ghazālī portend Kristeva's view of the powerless everywhere and nowhere, as liberation from nation-state power fettered in inside/out imaginings? (2) To evaluate Moosa's *dihlīz*, this article analyses the 11th and 12th century Abbasid context, to interpret *The Alchemy of Happiness* through the alternative optic of *deen* (faith) and *donya* (the secular). *Donya*, in Farsi and Arabic, means "this world", or the "material" world. In *Dehkhoda Encyclopedia*, "*donya*" is explained as "the world we live in, not the other world" (Dehkhoda, p.275). Other meanings include "the material world," "being in the world", "on the earth", and "worldly existence." *The Alchemy of Happiness* uses the Persian *donya* for human life matters outside of *deen*.

The core of the contemporary al-Ghazālī debate is in opposing views of "rationalism": (1) Eurocentric modernists (i.e. Hegel) declare Islam incompatible with Enlightenment reason, and (2) postmodernists see al-Ghazālī offering spiritual liberation

from modern instrumental reason (i.e. Moosa). Al-Ghazālī was the fanatical foe of Greek “rationalism”, Rushdie suggests. We see ‘philosophical’ dichotomies mystifying a sociological explanation of al-Ghazālī’s complex intellectual response to Abbasid social changes. Al-Ghazālī envisioned a new conceptual window (i.e. *deen/donya*) to Abbasid politics. Intellectual and political crisis haunted the 11th and 12th century Abbasid transition. Al-Ghazālī experienced proliferating institutions and populations as a crisis of faith. A blind spot pervaded the Abbasid debate, misrecognizing the need for freshly conceptualized social relations (i.e. individual Muslims to the multi-civilizational Abbasid state). Al-Ghazālī’s *deen/donya* tentatively engaged this unfamiliar and many-sided problematic, conceptually remapping objective knowledge through a dynamized optic.

Al-Ghazālī, we argue, *at some moment in his lifetime* recognized the need for a new secular optic to secure the political success of the multi-civilizational Abbasid state. However, al-Ghazālī shrank into a mystical solution, thereby avoiding the critical reflection required to crack the state-individual conundrum. Yet the al-Ghazālī case shows the secular question as part of the Islamic intellectual legacy, rather than derivative of Western discourse. There are three elements: (1) al-Ghazālī opposed orthodox conformism and hypocritical Abbasid power, making *deen* everyone’s natural entitlement (i.e. naturalizing revelation) using conceptual resources of the popular Sufi movement to socialize epistemology; (2) Denouncing ignorance, the passions, and intellectual confusion, al-Ghazālī promoted the dialogic principle – not dogma - as the unique public guarantee of universal truth; (3) Universal truth had an exclusively secular, not religious, dimension, in the *deen/donya* distinction, separating universal secular truth from religious identity. Al-Ghazālī mistrusted ontological arguments from identity: because I am a Muslim (or Christian, etc.), I am therefore right. This posed a risk to universal truth. He urged the dismantling of arguments to examine their distinct elements. Truth was raised over religious identity, to secure secular knowledge crucial to the functioning of the Abbasid Empire as an economic-technological ensemble. This implied a critical epistemology grounded in self-knowledge. Al-Ghazālī emphasised the use of reason to make a good society. Ultimately, he argued for the blamelessness of secular knowledge, in a historic interval where many violently rejected opinions from different religions or sects.

In Search of the Anti-Modern

Contemporary postmodernist dogma occludes the state-individual problematic in al-Ghazālī's *deen/donya* distinction. One example, *Al-Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination*, by Ebrahim Moosa, richly analyses al-Ghazālī's thought through multiple intellectual traditions. *Dihlīz*, the "third space", explains al-Ghazālī as a "frontier thinker", on the "threshold (*dihlīz*) of multiple narratives of thought" (Moosa, p.34). Al-Ghazālī certainly was a frontier thinker. However, *dihlīz* illustrates the limits of al-Ghazālī's intellectual horizon. In Persian literary tradition, *dihlīz* is ambiguous, being the transitional space between "home" (private, individual, or other-worldly) and the public or this-worldly space. One may feel neither at home nor among community in *dihlīz*. It is therefore unlikely, as Moosa contends, to provide the fountainhead of modern Islamic community revival. Still, *dihlīz* offers an imaginative gaze back into self and community from afar. It anticipates Adam Smith's "impartial spectator", in the 1759 *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, where alien viewpoints unsettle local parochial prejudice. Perhaps, therefore, it opens the possibility of reconfiguring home and the world.

Poetics of Imagination reproduces postmodern anti-Enlightenment dogmas that obstruct this possible view. The "anti-modern dream" is coiled within Islamic studies, uncritically assuming the Enlightenment project has failed the Islamic experience. Its inside/out claims to authentic cultural identity have deeper, unspoken roots in 20th century intellectual thought, traceable to Martin Heidegger's 1927 *Being and Time*. *Poetics of Imagination* exemplifies this utopian sensibility, colorful and magical, epitomized in the potentially tragic search for an alternative to modernity from *within* the Islamic tradition: pure, untainted by colonialism or modernity, intriguingly "other", far from drab supermarkets and TV news, a separate reality. This intellectual romanticism is as remote from the lived reality of contemporary Muslims as from the life and career of al-Ghazālī.

The pure identity fantasy tallies with political Islamism, an all too real destroyer of countless Muslim lives, and, to a lesser extent, other lives. An elective affinity links certain "harmless" academic discourses and tragic political currents in the wider world. In the Kashmir catastrophe, the population is torn between two toxic political fronts. Local madrasas combine anti-infidel hate with the Ottoman Empire glorified as holy

perfection lost, while the deadly guns of the Indian state pound down. The Spring of 2016 saw a multitude blinded by bullets and brains awash with toxic convictions. Thousands had learned that secular analysis – the only pragmatic solution for this festering geopolitical crisis – was a sacrilegious imperialist plot. Meanwhile, ensconced within the pleasures, boredoms, and frustrations of academic parlor life, loquacious denunciations of vacuous modernity in similar - if more sophisticated - terms proceeded apace. The anti-modern dream has roots in 1960s French post-structuralism. Michel Foucault, with initial obscure Avant Garde dreams of the “death of man” (i.e. Western modernity), made a similarly tragic 1979 journalistic foray to celebrate Iran’s Islamic State (Foucault, p. 397). These streams obstruct recognition of the state-individual problematic in al-Ghazālī’s thought, a missed historic opportunity to rethink fundamental political categories.

Moosa sees al-Ghazālī’s “third space” between dogmatic theology and rational ethics, the liminal and magical mode of *dihlīz*. *Dihlīz* is ethics informed by aesthetic imagination (Moosa, p.27-34). Ethics is thereby spared what Mahatma Gandhi called “the acid test of reason and universal justice” (Chandra, pp. 3-29). Moosa argues the relevance to the contemporary crisis of Islamic countries in the following terms:

“The issues that preoccupy Muslim communities in the twenty-first century relate [to] the revolution in knowledge—questions of identity, and the place and role of ethics. New forms of knowledge are a direct result of the hegemony of modernity.” (Moosa, p.25)

Moosa’s *dihlīz* is an alternative to “hegemonic modernity”. Two scholarly concepts of “modernity” currently circulate: firstly, Heideggerian anti-modernism, widespread since *Being and Time*; secondly, sociological modernity, rooted in Marxian, Weberian, and Durkheimian sociology, examining post-industrial power dynamics. Moosa embraces the first: “In our time, the dominant paradigm is the imperium of modernity, in which liberal capitalism predominates, a capitalism that marginalizes traditions other than the one from which it emerged in unprecedented ways” (Moosa, p.264). Capitalism is reduced to a univocal mono-culture, its uniquely Western “rationality” seeking total control – precisely Heidegger’s anti-liberal view. Modernity, here, is not modern institutional forms of power distribution, or an analytical grid for demystifying real-world power configurations. While al-Ghazālī did not have a modern sociological optic, he was certainly very remote from Heideggerian anti-modernism.

Poetics of Imagination presents a culturalist “Modernity” as a totalizing system. Once vanquished, a new world of pluralism and cultural autonomy (i.e. *dihlīz*) shall flower. This is highly fanciful. It derives not from Islamic tradition, but European counter-Enlightenment ideology. In condemning “modernity” as an agent of “epistemicide”, Moosa lapses into a vague politicizing:

“We are better at knowing what we do not want than we are at fully knowing what we want. However, we do know that we desire a paradigm shift and seek emergent knowledge, both of which will facilitate transitions to alternative futures.” (Moosa, p.264)

The highly ambitious vagueness rings with Heideggerian triumphalism: “alternative ways of knowledge and knowing” are “part of the strategy for ending epistemicide” (Moosa, p.264). Al-Ghazālī’s “liminality” will magically solve contemporary crises – of poverty, inequality, power abuse, corruption, gender issues, famine, and war - while excluding the institutional lessons of modernity (i.e. democratic power organization, social reform of capitalism). The re-grounding of public meaning in hermeneutically conceived religious revelation is the solution: “A crucial difference [from “modernity”] was that it was not an ego-centered notion of the self,” but “related to tradition, revelation, knowledge, and society” (Moosa, p. 264). Moosa calls for creative holy revivalism: “The need to stem this epistemicide is self-evident, as is the necessity to rehabilitate and articulate subaltern modes of knowledge” (Moosa, p.263). The formula follows *Being and Time*: “The past is made present”, “as a creative problem susceptible of opening up new possibilities” (Moosa, p. 264). In *dihlīz*, Moosa elevates a feature of Ghazālīan thought to a Foucauldian metaphysic of universal epistemic indeterminacy.

Poetics of Imagination, however, contains two important arguments: (1) al-Ghazālī detaches truth from identity; (2) al-Ghazālīan philosophy is inclusive of diverse cultures, with a political-epistemological function. These features of al-Ghazālī’s thought – based on *deen/donya* - provide democratic and even secular ethical resources. Against political forms, i.e. institutions and conditions, Moosa emphasizes political content. Political content arguments center the “good will” of the ruler, the “purity” of the cultural source, the “natural goodness” of a class, or emancipatory “modes of thought”. The *Poetics of Imagination* espouses the final category. No one “new mode of thought” (*dihlīz*) is a remedy in modern politics. Rather, the problem concerns institutional arrangements, which must permit organized public dialogue for seeking pragmatic solutions to problems

facing dynamic modern societies. Neither excessive modernism nor secularism, liberal institutions or rationalist thought, cause the crisis in Muslim majority societies. One core problem, however, is the entrenched intellectual tradition (i.e. in Iran, Al-e Ahmad, Ali Shari'ati, Ahmed Fardid, etc.) reproducing the utopian template articulated in *Poetics of Imagination*. The consequence is a dearth of sociologically concrete solutions from intellectuals in positions of trust and responsibility.

Al-Ghazālī's lifetime: economic, political, ideological and military power

The Alchemy of Happiness offered an ethical system for individual and community, to overcome the political and moral crisis of Abbasid growth in social complexity. Al-Ghazālī's argument that "the key to the truth about the divine is knowledge of the self" contained a social meaning (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 13). Densely populated centers of commerce and industry were composite societies. Al-Ghazālī's theory is a pluralistic effort to accommodate diversity: "God is one, but He will be seen in many different ways, just as one object is reflected in different ways by different mirrors" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.44). Al-Ghazālī sketched a broadly open ethical ideal of good citizenship within the Muslim community. His preoccupation was not epistemic indeterminacy as a postmodern metaphysic. The focus was the 11th century market and state-law nexus, crystalizing with the expansion of the Abbasid Empire, and the attendant social identity crisis. Al-Ghazālī asked: "if you do not know who you are, how can you know others?" Knowing others is also knowing the self. A worldly shift transpires where religious knowledge "is possible by knowledge of God's creation, which is the world". Empirical knowledge is valued: "knowledge of the wonders of the world is achieved by the senses. And these senses are the essence [*ghavam*] of the body." The body is not merely natural, but a social metaphor, its "hands and feet" like "the craftsmen's city", while "the heart is the monarch and reason the vizier" (al-Ghazālī, 1991, pp. 13-20).

A centrifugal moment for *economic power* destabilized the foundations of judgment about the self and the world. Changing orders of wealth and power subverted public trust: "the love of wealth and esteem become diseases of the heart which attract men to hypocrisy, falsehood, deception, enmity, and jealousy" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 992). There were those "pretending to be Sufis, and misguiding people is their forte" (al-Ghazālī, 2001,

p. 655). Con artists donned religious mantles in a rapidly transforming society of strangers. A fissure ruptured the reliable surface of public stability, trust, and intelligibility.

It was a centrifugal moment, also, for burgeoning *political power* ensnared in patterns of inter-sectarian violence. Al-Ghazālī was born in Tabaran, a district of Tus, Persia, in 1058, in the new Seljuk Empire. The nomadic Seljuk Turks, staunchly Sunni converts, had overrun central Asia through Persia, smashing the Turko-Persian kingdoms. An Amir overran Baghdad, hoisting the green Shi'a Fatimid banner over the Abbasid capital, removing its black flag. The Isma'ili Fatimid dynasty of Cairo challenged the Abbasids for the titular authority of the Islamic ummah, supported by Shi'a sections of Baghdad. Until 1135, following al-Ghazālī's death, political crisis immobilized the Abbasid caliph amidst feuding warlords. The Seljuk outpost of al-Ghazālī's upbringing was one of many imploding fronts. Following the Abbasid Golden Age (775–861), the Empire had splintered into dynasties.

At thirty-three, al-Ghazālī, jurist and theologian, attained the summit of academic life in the new Abbasid university system. The centrifugal moment extended also to *ideological power* through multiplying intellectual networks. Al-Ghazālī's state sponsors saw an intellectual champion capable of renewing universal Abbasid legitimacy (El-Hibri, p. 16). In the late 9th century, weakening Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad had provoked disintegration anxiety across the Islamic Empire. Al-Ghazālī, the foremost Abbasid intellectual, confronted an epistemological crisis: stabilizing knowledge meant the survival of Islamic civilization, and the cosmic plan of God. Spurning dogma, al-Ghazālī recognized the *de facto* civilizational pluralism underpinning Abbasid political survival. Reconciling multiplicity and unity, he labored to integrate Islamic and non-Islamic intellectual traditions, imaginatively reconfiguring the relation between the divine source of the Islamic past, and the multi-centered compromises permitting Abbasid survival in the chaotic *donya* of the political present.

This involved a critical component. Al-Ghazālī harshly judged theologians, as “lacking in integrity and intellectual independence”. They were “sycophants groveling at the feet of political leaders”. Al-Ghazālī charged that, although the “learned” are the “guides to the road” to salvation, the “times are devoid of them”. The “learned” believed “there is no knowledge except government decrees”. They sought “through polemics

[to] attain glory” (Moosa, p.8). The Islamic world endured a political legitimacy crisis. The interconnected problems of fragmentation, economic change, and the Islamic encounter with foreign traditions of scientific knowledge, formed a circulatory process, in which *military* power was also critical. Al-Ghazālī differentiates self-knowledge and an external order depicted in military allegory: “your truth is inner essence; everything else is Their consequence, army, and servant” (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 15). In a military metaphor, al-Ghazālī differentiates *zاهر* and *باطن* as components of self-knowledge, embedding the empirical within a new universal culture:

“If you would know yourself, know that They created you from two things: the outer shell (*kalbad-e zاهر*) called the body, visible with the eyes; and the inner essence (*ma’ni-e baten*) called the spirit (*nafs*), life (*جان*), and the heart (*دل*), which is knowable through the inner eye (*basirat-e baten*)” (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 15).

Military and technological expansion was revolutionizing Abbasid self-knowledge. Subject populations, from Sub-Saharan Africa to China, included heirs to rich traditions of scientific knowledge. The militarily expansive Islamic Golden Age excelled in the civilizational arts of science and philosophy, incorporating the diverse cultural legacies of Persia (architecture, textiles), Greece (Aristotelian philosophy), China (paper) and India (astronomy, mathematics). Scientific knowledge initially signified status. It became a political necessity for maintaining vast populations through mechanics, physics, hydraulics, agronomy, and medicine. Expanding military costs, constructing new capitals, and heavier tax burden on rural populations, led to abandoned fields, and disrupted Mesopotamian irrigation works. Peasant land flight produced banditry, while dissident religious sects organized peasant uprisings. The circulatory dynamics of Empire building, with technological capacities restricting movement, produced a governance crisis within the large and expanding Abbasid empire, encompassing South, East, Central and Western Asia, the Mediterranean, and East Africa (Brown, p.90). Al-Ghazālī was concerned with reconciling civilization-building powers with a worsening crisis of Abbasid political legitimacy. He articulated these political anxieties in the quest for self-knowledge:

“[The path to] getting to know the heart’s army is long. Its objective will become clear with an example. Know that the body is like a city. The hands, feet and body-parts are like the city’s workers. Lust is like a tax, anger is like the city police, and the heart is the city’s king, while the intellect is the king’s

minister. The King's sole wish is to put the country in order." (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 20).

All was not well in the metaphorical city. Espionage, obtaining secret information without the permission of the holder, implies conflict and power struggle: "They created the senses as spies for the intellect. They created the intellect for the heart so that it may be its candle and its light" (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 20). Why should the senses need to spy on the outer world, unless it posed an existential threat, while also offering important information? Al-Ghazālī implies "spying" here as "explorers" or "messengers". The uncertainty is resolved in emphasizing reason in making a good society. Intuitive knowledge, *elm-e ghalb*, is the path to the truth. However, as we will see, rational knowledge is important in knowing God, and living rightly in the world. They are not reduced to one. Al-Ghazālī cares deeply about establishing a meaningful connection between the body, mind, and human soul, which requires recognizing their differing domains.

Legitimacy Crisis as Personal Experience

Perhaps al-Ghazālī's outpost provenance encouraged pragmatic analysis of the Caliphate, a patchwork of multiple military conquests interwoven by symbolic allegiance vows to the Abbasid caliph. The Empire was like a puzzle, not pieced yet. Al-Ghazālī wrote: "Government these days is a consequence solely of military power, and whosoever he may be to whom the holder of military power gives his allegiance" (Rizvi, 2002, p.356). Violence, truth, and Providence perplexed him. The legitimacy crisis had roots in the Prophet Muhammad's death. Opposing sects had struggled over leadership rights, linked to eternal salvation, from Abu Bakr and Ali, the roots of the Sunni-Shi'i conflict. The unified Abbasid Empire should have reflected divine unicity, the Empire of Sharia, where the most insignificant act fell within its domain. Baghdad, "the City of Peace" (b. 762), was round with four gates, intended to reconcile the disc of the heavens with the four quarters of the known world, as the political and religious center of worldly fate (Amir-Moezzi, p. 820).

Al-Ghazālī's professional experience was a visceral reaction to these elevated expectations. The Sharia, embryonic in the Qur'an, required hermeneutic labors, the Islamic science of *Fiqh*. As caliphal authority strained under ceaseless leadership struggle, the *Sunna* (i.e. social and legal custom) officially contracted to the Prophet,

ending the early caliphal days of routine divine inspiration remaking Sharia law. Sunni jurists now fulfilled the interpretative labors of the Abbasid state. Al-Ghazālī, at the summit, faced his responsibility with the dread of walking on a wire – with the civilization that trusted him - above Hell. He struggled intellectually within a whirling circle: “[first principles] can only be repelled by demonstration; but a demonstration requires knowledge of first principles ... it is impossible to make the demonstration”. It is as if sister faith and sister chance were fighting. Al-Ghazālī recalled this interval as an “unhealthy condition”, a “malady”, and a “baffling disease” where, for “two months”, he “was a sceptic, in fact though not in theory nor in outward expression” (Watt, p.13). Faith faltered in intellectual confusion, while strangers of uncertain motivation populated the metropolis.

Enter the paranoiac compulsion of the phantom interrogator: “Perhaps behind intellectual apprehension there is another judge who, if he manifests himself, will show the falsity of the intellect in judging, just as, when intellect manifested itself, it showed the falsity of sense in its judging” (Watt, p.12). Al-Ghazālī became anxious over infinite regress, the malignant potential of invisible horizons. This labyrinthine skepticism is far from systematic scientific doubt. The imaginary interlocutor “heightened the difficulty by referring to dreams”. In the Qur’an, dreams link prophets to the divine. Abraham saw himself in a dream sacrificing his son, Joseph was a dream interpreter, and several dream experiences of Muhammad are recounted. In sleep, God collects the souls of the living, along with those of the dead, but the souls of the living return for a time ordained. Tradition divided dreams into three categories: Satanic destabilization, inconsequential, and divine messages. Al-Ghazālī gives this tradition an unusual twist. Dreams represent the collapse of all certainties. His inner interrogator said: “it is possible that a state will come upon you whose relation to your waking consciousness is analogous to the relation of the latter to dreaming” (Watt, p.13). How do you know that, at this second, you are not asleep in your bed? Dreams, by this account, are an imperfection of waking. Waking is an imperfection of higher levels of hidden reality.

The Sufi Exit

The popular Sufi movement was expanding, from India to Spain, against sectarian controversy and elite theological wrangling. In inner torment, al-Ghazālī first

seriously considered the Sufi path as a means to regaining “health and even balance” (Watt, p.13). The Sufi-turn involved “turning away from wealth and position, and fleeing from all time-consuming entanglements”. Al-Ghazālī’s life became a “veritable thicket of attachments”. His “teaching and lecturing” involved “sciences that were unimportant and contributed nothing to the attainment of eternal life” (Watt, 30). Weary of the Abbasid intellectual establishment, the appeal of the Sufi alternative grew. Upward self-transcendence circumvented the tangle of pointless legal disputes among jurists. Sufism viewed the first four caliphs as “pious”, while Umayyad and Abbasid activities were of no interest to them. Nor did the Sunni/Shi’a sectarian split matter (Rizvi, 2003, pp.24-25). What an open horizon, to al-Ghazālī, on the road to paradise. Al-Ghazālī had already contributed an original knowledge theory to Islam’s rich rationalist tradition, threading back through the Mu’tazila-Ash’ari controversy, and the philosophers al-Farabi (878-980) and Ibn Sina (980-1037). This Helleno-Christian intervention was behind him now. Intellectual labors, for the Sufis, distracted from the quest for upward self-transcendence. Life must be lived from one moment to the next, for God is ceaselessly remaking the world at each instant.

Al-Ghazālī never fully reconciled with the Sufi view, ultimately, returning to the Abbasid establishment after dropping out for eleven years. His Sufi encounter inspired him to a broad and public reformulation of the Sharia for Abbasid times. Al-Ghazālī admired Sufis as “men who had real experiences, not men of words”. Sufism involved immediate experience, a “tasting” which embraced the “knowing” and “being” distinction: “What a difference there is between being acquainted with the definition of drunkenness ... and being drunk! Indeed, the drunken man while in that condition does not know the definition of drunkenness nor the scientific account of it” (Watt, 29). In 1091, al-Ghazālī had undergone an existential crisis, physical and religious. “God”, he wrote, “put a lock upon my tongue so that I was impeded from public teaching”. An “inability to digest” made “food and drink unpalatable”, and he felt “on the verge of falling into the Fire” (al-Ghazālī, 1980, pp. 19-20). The drama unfolded in a Baghdad of multiple nations, colors, and creeds, teeming with traders, military recruits, and slaves, the center of the Hanafi and Hanbali schools of Islamic law, and of translation and scientific experimentation. Commerce, industry, and the banking system made Baghdad the civilizational fountainhead of the Arab Islamic Empire. Yet the metropolis was

polarized between localized and tribal military powers, while the ulama lacked the executive power to impose religious uniformity. The Empire thus strained under institution-building failure. Believing “the choice still remained open”, he resolved to “quit Baghdad” (Watt, p.30).

At the grey terminus of life’s road, death awaited al-Ghazālī, where, like a prison gate, choice would be cosmically eradicated. A “voice of faith was calling, ‘To the road! To the road!’” The devil spoke seductively: “‘This is a passing mood’, he would say, ‘do not yield to it, for it will quickly disappear’”. The devil grasped the implications of fallen social status: “if you leave this influential position, these comfortable and dignified circumstances where you are free from troubles and disturbances, ... then you will probably come to yourself again and will not find it easy to return to all this” (Watt, p.30). A man abandoning family and professional occupation for an itinerant life, yet who feels guided by a higher power, must traverse alternating resolution and indecision. Al-Ghazālī “lost his power of choice”. God “made it easy for my heart to turn away from position and wealth, family and friends” (Watt, p.31). Contemporaries thought he fled in fear of “action by the government”. Others thought an “evil influence” was possessing the “circle of the learned”. Most felt perplexity: “There was much talk about me among all the religious leaders of Iraq, since none of them would allow that withdrawal from such a state of life ... could have a religious cause” (Watt, p.31).

For about ten years, al-Ghazālī lived the Sufi life. He would revive Islam’s former pristine purity (*mujaddid*). Al-Ghazālī undertook an inner “annihilation” process, ridding himself of the intellectual clutter of the philosophical “absolute”, single minded prayers leaving only inner emptiness to be filled by the presence of God (Rizvi, 2003, p.87). For two years, he had “no other occupation than the cultivation of retirement and solitude”, with “religious and ascetic exercises” (Watt, p.31). In the mosque of Damascus, isolated in the minaret, or alone at the Rock of Jerusalem, al-Ghazālī believed “it is above all the mystics who walk the road of God; their life is the best life, their method the soundest method” (Watt, p.32). Towering spiritually above his old Abbasid clerical colleagues, the Sufis’ every moment, asleep or awake, pursued *fana* (complete absorption through ceaseless recollection of God). The learned scholars had “no way of” improving either the Sufis’ “life or character”. Al-Ghazālī started to “behold angels and the spirits of the prophets”, before reaching “stages in the way” that are “hard to

describe in language". At intervals, however, he was stung by "anxieties about my family", "the entreaties of my children", "though at one time no one had seemed less likely than myself to return" (Watt, p.32).

Donya was all but eclipsed by *deen*. Yet al-Ghazālī returned from the world of Sufi illumination with a message for humankind that *donya* might be redeemed. He again became a mouthpiece for the Abbasid regime, in its propaganda war against the Fatimid and other opponents. He would do so proactively, resisting corruption, while revolutionizing the Abbasid sense of divine mission. Al-Ghazālī declared:

"[Corruption] is a fixed and determinate character of this time; what benefit to you, then, are solitude and retirement, since the sickness has become general, the doctors have fallen ill, and mankind has reached the verge of destruction?" (Watt, p.39)

It was no relapse: "I myself know that, even if I went back to the work of disseminating knowledge, yet I did not go back." He reasoned that "previously I had been disseminating the knowledge by which worldly success is attained; ... But now I am calling men to the knowledge whereby worldly success is given up and its low position in the scale of real worth is recognized" (Watt, p.40). Al-Ghazālī would reconcile himself with power by reconceptualizing *donya*, incorporating all erstwhile adversaries: the philosophers, the *ta'lim*, popular prejudice, and even mysticism. An external show of faith, for keeping order among the common people, is not adequate for restoring Islam to its original purity. The many who simply conform religiously to protect wealth and family, and scale the power summits, are in error. Backsliding, as in wine drinking, is gravely serious, requiring a "pious sovereign who is all-powerful" (Watt, p.39).

Return to the Sciences

Al-Ghazālī manifestly does not privilege statelessness as a moral optic, as in the quasi-anarchism of Kristeva's "abject". He envisions the state as the instrument of public virtue. Yet his dogma, far from rigid, sprang from the primordial encounter with incommensurable alien reality. Objectivity and self-knowledge unite in an existential road: "You must seek the truth about yourself, of what you are, whence you came, where you're going, what your purpose is, and for what purpose you were created. This involves both in what your happiness consists, and in what your hardship consists" (Al-

Ghazālī, 1991, pp. 13-14). Al-Ghazālī had always combined an inquiring mind with a will to truth: “To thirst after comprehension of things as they really are was my habit and custom from a very early age”. He claims: “I have poked into every dark recess, I have made an assault on every problem, I have plunged into every abyss, I have scrutinized the creed of every sect”. He was open to diverse views: “Whenever I meet one of the Batiniyah [i.e. Isma’ilis], I like to study his creed”. Al-Ghazālī critically engaged received convention: “as I drew near adolescence the bonds of mere authority (*taqlid*) ceased to hold me and inherited beliefs lost their grip upon me, for I saw that Christian youths always grew up to be Christian, Jewish youth to be Jews and Muslims youths to be Muslims (Watt, p.11).”

Al-Ghazālī, using an empirical and comparative perspective, bordered on a secular epiphany concerning the universality of cultural indoctrination. A given community is wedded existentially to its customary religious identity, much as it is uniquely bound to its common language. From a comparative perspective, he might have concluded, the cultural and linguistic roots produced by indoctrination are quite relative. Al-Ghazālī, however, undertook his enquiry from a prior dogmatic framework. A pure religious origin to Islam (*fitra*) had been corrupted. Al-Ghazālī aspired to differentiate “between sound tradition and heretical innovation” (Watt, p.10). He hence retreated from the sociological epiphany, aspiring to rebuild the initial religious certitude that his community alone possesses the unique truth, while all others wander in error. This explains his “inner urge to seek the true meaning of the original *fitra* [original nature], and the true meaning of the beliefs arising through slavish aping of parents and teachers”. He aimed to “sift out these uncritical beliefs, the beginnings of which are suggestions imposed from without, since there are differences of opinion in the discernment of those that are true from those that are false” (al-Ghazālī, 1980, p. 3).

Yet al-Ghazālī’s reconstruction of *fitra* was historically conditioned. In redefining the belief-transgression frontier, using *deen* and *donya*, he rescued precious secular knowledge imperiled by fanaticism, while making Sharia a partly prescriptive and partly-rational dialogic force governing all human affairs. Al-Ghazālī’s middle way concluded that the transcendental Sufi world was, after all, perfectly in accord with a rational explanation of events. Al-Ghazālī made Revelation part of a logical progression of natural mental capabilities. Tracing a phenomenology of human growth, al-Ghazālī

located the senses of touch, sight, and hearing, the mental powers of discernment, and the elevation to intellect, as unfolding features of God's "original condition" (*fitra*). Beyond the intellect was "yet another stage" (i.e. prophecy), where "another eye is opened, by which beholds the unseen, what is to be in the future, and other things which are beyond the ken of intellect" (Watt, p.34). The prophet ranked above adult intellect, who, in turn, exceeded the child's natural capacity of touch, sight, and hearing. The condition of the average adult is an inner battlefield of conflicting armies: "Know that man's heart has a connection to multiple armies, which lie within, and each gives it a behaviour and a characteristic: some are bad and cause self-destruction; others are good and lead it to happiness" (Al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 22).

Al-Ghazālī analogically naturalized the prophetic capacity of revelation in *donya*, indicating "something analogous to the special faculty of prophecy, namely dreams. In the dream-state a man apprehends what is to be in the future" (Watt, p. 34). From the universally primal human capability to touch, to the rarer ability to see angels, there is a unified and universal schema in *fitra* as designed by God. Al-Ghazālī reconceived *fitra* with a socially unifying foundation. Sufis must accept the rules of orthodoxy, while the orthodox must accept the visions of the Sufis. No longer did dreams undermine all certainties, instead guaranteeing higher mystery within a rationally unified world (*donya*). Al-Ghazālī wrote:

"the power of the combined knowledge of sciences and trades, with understanding the contents of books— geometry, mathematics, medicine, astronomy and religious sciences – forms one indivisible force. It contains the many fields of knowledge. Indeed, the entire world exists within it, like a grain of sand in the desert. ... Acquiring knowledge through education is the way of the sciences." (Al-Ghazālī, 1991, pp. 27-30)

Al-Ghazālī thus invested epistemology with social significance, celebrating education, science and trade, while contextualizing revelation within the pyramidically conceived social enterprise of scientific knowledge (i.e. child-like senses, adult intellect, and special prophecy). He wrote: "The intellect is one of the stages of human development in which there is an 'eye' which sees the various types of intelligible objects, which are beyond the ken of the senses." Beyond this, "prophecy also is the description of a stage in which there is an eye endowed with light such that ... the unseen and other supra-intellectual objects become visible" (Watt, p. 35). Certain

sciences, al-Ghazālī argues, depend upon the adoption of a larger than human perspective: “there are some astronomical laws based on phenomena which occur only once in a thousand years; how can they be arrived at by personal observation?” Al-Ghazālī’s “extra-intellectual objects” transcended the empirical, while establishing the recognition of multiple new social occupations within a wide cultural vista (Watt, p.36).

Extending the comparison to a social division of labor, al-Ghazālī argues: “if you are familiar with medicine and law, you can recognize lawyers and doctors”. The same ‘recognition’ principle explains authentic prophets, providing “necessary knowledge” that Muhammad is “in the highest grades of the prophetic calling” (Watt, p. 36). Prophecy becomes a calling comparable to medical practitioner in a divine labor division. Just as the astronomer sees the larger spatial-temporal reality, the prophet sees the end of the world in the “Last Day”. Al-Ghazālī thus socialized revelation within the naturalized epistemic continuum of *donya*. With a final existential twist, a rigorous habitus principle disqualifies outsiders who have not followed the path from judging prophecy. To judge prophets, one must make a “trial” based upon “several thousand instances”, where the inner peace procured is the basis of “necessary knowledge beyond all doubt”. It is an existential matter of lived experience, requiring experimental repetition over time. The scientific feature is only a “drop in the ocean of prophecy” (Watt, p. 35). A larger Sufi framework encompasses socially graded scientific knowledge.

A curious dream populism ensues. Dogma is fixed in the primordial encounter with an alien reality, as the learned are humbled in relation to the commoner. The *donya* vision corresponds to the levelling Sufi mass movement, while yet preserving Abbasid social structure. Al-Ghazālī writes: “Prophecy and guardianship come from the degree of integrity in mankind’s heart, attained initially by the general population through discoveries made in dreams, giving a path to wakefulness” (Al-Ghazālī, 1991, pp. 34-35). Al-Ghazālī’s naturalization of prophecy opened the terrain to the commonest citizen, despite urging mass exclusion from the dangers of formal education. The “light of prophecy”, the source of divine law, is analogically accessible to the ordinary population through dream experience. Everyone can dream, thus fleetingly partaking of prophecy. The very error of natural scientists and theologians has been to estimate truth in terms of “the measure of their [own] observations and reasonings”. The alien quality of dreams allows the future to inexplicably leak through. Just as someone with no

“acquaintance with fire” would reject that “a thing the size of a grain” could “consume a whole town”, so the “strange features of the world to come” – lucidly recognized only by prophets – are rejected by those lacking their perceptive powers (Watt, p.42). Al-Ghazālī’s long sojourn off the map of organized Abbasid society located Sufism and orthodoxy within a common but heterogeneous intellectual space. Every common person could reach the summits of ultimate reality by dreaming in the valley where *deen* and *donya* meet within an ontological continuum.

The Spirituality of a Good Life

Al-Ghazālī therefore articulates a social ethic much broader than coercive state power. How to make the sea of difference into a shared citizenship was a core problem of the *Alchemy of Happiness*. Written around 1105, in the twilight of al-Ghazālī’s life, the book contained reflection upon a lifetime. Four rationalist premises echoe earlier epistemic claims from the *Deliverance from Error*: (1) the founding purpose of ascertaining “truth from amidst a welter of sects”; (2) to shift from “servile conformism to independent investigation”; (3) to overcome the restriction of “truth to uncritical acceptance of the Imam’s pronouncement”; (4) a “thirst for grasping the real meaning of things” (al-Ghazālī, 1980, p.3). Certainly, al-Ghazālī argues for independent thought, celebrating intellectual labor, even as he popularizes prophetic experience as “strange” dream encounters through a mass-based and egalitarian Sufi scheme.

Al-Ghazālī builds the core argument upon a Sufi-Orthodoxy antinomy: “how can man long for a thing of which he has no knowledge?” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.44). God cannot be known as an object of human knowledge: “no one knows the real nature of God but God Himself” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.10). God’s greatness “immeasurably transcends our cognitive faculties” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.15). Al-Ghazālī argues: “For perfect happiness, mere knowledge is not enough” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.45). Yet “happiness is necessarily linked with the knowledge of God” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 11). The antinomy follows: (a) we can never be happy without the knowledge; (b) we can never have the knowledge; (c) yet happiness is a civic duty. As we saw, “knowledge of God is possible by knowledge of God’s creation, which is the world” (Al-Ghazālī, 1991, pp. 13-20). It is not direct knowledge, but existential experience. Al-Ghazālī finds existential resolution to the epistemic quandary in that “man was intended to mirror forth the light of the knowledge of God” (al-Ghazālī,

2001, p. 24). Resolving the antinomy using Sufism, al-Ghazālī produces an existential, not epistemic, theory of the “good life”. He argues: “An exact philosophical knowledge of the spirit is not a necessary preliminary to walking in the path of religion” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.8). To know God is to love God, in the Sufi tradition, which in its perfect state is to “love all men” and the “whole of creation” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.47). From this premise, al-Ghazālī constructed a dialogic basis for universal truth in a vision of universal public belonging, grounded in *donya*.

Al-Ghazālīan citizenship involves an entire web of interdependent social relations in a material vision of human society. The “real necessities”, “clothing”, “food”, and “shelter”, involve a complex labor division based on “weavers, builders, metal workers, tailors, masons, and smiths”. Provided these workers remember God and the material essentials, without becoming overly “entangled in” or “fascinated by” the world (*donya*), they fulfil their divine function. This involves a “moral equilibrium”, avoiding “jealousy, hatred, hypocrisy, pride, deceit, etc.” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.22-23). We might compare this to the 18th century British Enlightenment centered on the “moral sense”. Al-Ghazālī’s theory of Islamic social practice encompasses music and dance, singing birds and green grass, even Sufi erotic poetry (al-Ghazālī, 2001, pp. 26-27). It affirms the everyday worldly politics of pure enjoyment, as “the rational soul in man abounds in marvels, both of knowledge and power” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.9). There is joy in a meal, a walk, or a conversation, in *donya*. Al-Ghazālī praises married life over sainthood. The priority of taking care of dependents is esteemed over religious war (al-Ghazālī, 2001, pp. 36-37). One of Islam’s greatest thinkers asserts that quietly raising a happy family is superior to murder and destruction upon the path of Holy War.

Al-Ghazālī’s *donya* affirms scientific knowledge and practical ethics as *epistemology*, while sealing divine purpose with an *existential* principle. There is equal praise for achievements in the public space, such as “wishes for a livelihood, or for wealth, or learning.” To attain these, in an activist and social vision, man “must not merely say, ‘God is merciful’, but must exert himself” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.17). Al-Ghazālī affirms secular and practical knowledge, criticizing the Sufi tendency to “decry all knowledge” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 11). As microcosms of God, each human being is “entrusted with a little kingdom” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 14). In inherent human ignorance of “naked reality” (seen only after death), practical rationality mediates everyday

conduct and the divine plan. The “true greatness of man lies in his capacity for eternal progress” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 12). In this “progress”, the this-worldly and the otherworldly are mutually interdependent within a *donya/deen* continuum of “foreseeing and providing for the future” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.24). This entails socially embedded “responsibility” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 25). Al-Ghazālī’s vision is not a Pythagorean or Orphic belief in the immortal, immaterial human soul imprisoned in the human body. The soul is a “traveler who visits a foreign country for the sake of merchandise and will presently return to its native land”, which it must ceaselessly recollect (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 8). Moral knowledge, for al-Ghazālī, is social action in concrete circumstances, *donya*. Everyone must perform their social function. Reveling in the ambiguity of the liminal (*dihlīz*) is certainly frowned upon, even as that liminal space provides a universally unifying network for differences. But *dihlīz* is not home. Home is power, the secure grounding of Empire in *donya*.

New Tensions of Abbasid society

Al-Ghazālī occasionally relapses in anti-social Sufi idealism: “avoid means as you would a dead animal” as “death is the only truth” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 910). To undermine the wealth and power nexus would have destroyed the Abbasid Caliphate. Al-Ghazālī squarely faced this: “know that however reprehensible money is in some respects, it is also commendable in others, for there is both evil and good in it. And it is for this reason that God— the most excellent— has declared it in the Quran to be good” (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 152). His argument concerns regulating “the virtues of trade and vocation” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 465). The publicness is manifest: “There are many matters of this world and the Hereafter which cannot be fulfilled without the help of others” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.610). We return to the grounding epistemic self-knowledge principle: “nothing is closer to you than yourself,” and “if you do not know who you are, how can you know others?” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 13) It is a social, not a mystical, proposition.

Al-Ghazālī promotes a basic human ethic: “justice and fair play in dealings with others is of paramount importance to a Muslim” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 486). Examples reflect the new dilemmas of an affluent society: hoarding and prices, unequal wealth distribution, resentment and organized resistance from impoverished underclasses, and deviations from rule of law in property acquisition. For instance, multiplying

entrepreneurs are “wantonly buying the goods from the not so well off, poor, or destitute, at the higher price than its value, like cotton wool from the widow or the orphan” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 500). These iconic religious images of the dispossessed are an index for new class divides imperiling Abbasid stability.

Al-Ghazālī's politics address the conflicts of the new Abbasid society: “the condemnation of kings is based on the following facts – cruel and autocratic conduct” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.527). The secular ethic is striking: the criterion is not unconditional obedience to Sharia. Instead, references to Sharia are limited to benign sociological generalization. Allusions to social conflict, however, are vivid. The unspoken voice of the impoverished mass is articulated through Satan: “Satan misleads by whispering, ‘God forbid how it is just on the part of Allah that He has distributed the wealth without any cause – a transgressor has so much wealth that he does not know its true assessment, nor where to spend it, and kills many hungry, while giving them not a penny” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.928). Arbitrary social inequality condemned by Satan anticipates Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where the devil championed the cause of the Civil War underclass. Al-Ghazālī, moreover, replies practically to Satan's demand, urging wealth redistribution: “wealth according to need is a panacea” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.936). A wealthy man should share his riches with the people (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.933). Yet wealth, if the Abbasid Empire is to thrive, cannot be categorically denied. Within the state-law ambit, it is a public benefit: “lawful wealth is a good thing for man” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 928). It becomes a curse through temptation to illegality, envy, and power struggle. Iblis has replaced “statues” (i.e. idols) with wealth, and the “world is the shop of Satan” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, pp.908-910). The antinomies between religious sensibility and practical state-making characterize *The Alchemy of Happiness*, exemplified in this image: “Wealth is like a snake. It has poisons as well as panacea” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.931).

Al-Ghazālī posits a golden rule: “the secret is in treating others the way one would like to be treated by others” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 495). A strikingly secular ethic (*donya*) overrides religious dogmatism: “an upright person who is more human and compassionate towards those he meets, is far above those who are merely righteous” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.497). It means: those rigidly adhering to one interpretation of holy sources impede the construction of well-organized power and prosperity. The text is replete with ethical images confirming an emergent social ethic: “A man with a full

stomach forgets the hungry and poor” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 782). Honesty is esteemed: “A man’s word is his bond. A pledge broken is a trust shattered” (al-Ghazali, 2001, p.570). In trade, “there should be no cruelty to animals” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 483). We must “call each other with words of love and respect” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p. 555). He calls this “doing good things out of noble motive” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.499). A larger community of economically divided populations is implied. Excessive economic and political power inspire anti-social ethics, forgetting the principles of cohabitation: “kingship and landlordism are the cause of love of the world” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.926). Property acquisition was dividing populations, as political power abuse generated acrimony. The philosopher presents guidance and council to cope with these complex social problems. Yet nowhere does he promote a unified ideological identity to reap heaven’s most dazzling rewards.

Revival and Freedom

Conflicting public spatiality pervades al-Ghazālī’s arguments. He describes a situation which anticipates the sociological concept of a “complex society”:

[...] negotiations emerged among [workers] that gave rise to conflicts of interest, for each person was not satisfied with their lot and counted on others. So, three other kinds of requirements emerged from among the trades: politics and rule, jurisdiction and governance, and Islamic jurisprudence, known as the law of mediation. Each is a trade, even if most of the work does not depend upon the hands. In this way, jobs of the world have become many and interdependent, with the Creator at the center. (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 75)

The theme of exile correlates with the displaced identity of the “complex society”: “to leave one’s home and heart is very agonizing. But the escape becomes necessary” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.623). A further reaction is a mood of revival for a more natural and less self-conscious time in the Muslim past: “Everything was upright and above board, and an unwritten code of conduct prevailed” (i.e. the rule of the first four caliphs, when divinely sent inspiration remade Sharia law). However: “the reverse is the case now. The sincerity and sympathy of people for their brethren is in decline and vain questioning about other’s affairs is on the increase” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.605). A “complex society” produces the doubt of others’ motives: the insoluble and dark sea hidden by nature from others and oneself. Obsession with motives reflects unrest in the public space. The question of destiny implies agency, as populations cease to accept

their place. Satan represents this dangerous fissure in the Abbasid political body: "Satan involves a man in the question of destiny although its secret is hidden from all" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.929). Al-Ghazālī, while discouraging open revolt, urges reformed behavior for all social classes. The rich are either "generous or miserly"; the poor either "contented or greedy" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.923). An implied practical ethic will redistribute wealth to preserve Abbasid power and prosperity.

Two traditions of conceptualizing freedom occur in al-Ghazālī's thought. Al-Ghazālī's initial notion of agency figured the traditional pre-modern notion of "free will" in subordinating the "passions" – unbidden impulses to hunger, anger, lust, and fear – to self-disciplined reason. This is the alchemical shift "from the animal to the angelic" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.24). Al-Ghazālī's theory, at this level, is an explicit political allegory. In obtaining "knowledge of oneself and of God", the "body may be figured as a kingdom, the soul as its king, and the different senses and faculties as constituting an army". Reason is the "vizier", passion the "revenue collector", and anger the "police officer". Passion must be "kept in due subordination to the king, but not killed", with "its own proper functions to fulfill". If passion masters "reason, the ruin of the soul infallibly ensues" (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.9). It is the unified body politic. There is also a second, more modern and pluralistic, conception of freedom of the will. This is the notion of "free will" as human agency confronted with multiple context-dependent alternatives. This double meaning of "free will" was the core meaning of "happiness" (*sa'adat*), contrasting with contemporary Islamist notions of total submission and blind obedience.

Any large political and economic compound reposes upon tacit collective trust. Al-Ghazālī's existential doubt crisis, far from merely intellectual, was rooted in the civilizational crisis of trust undermining Abbasid legitimacy. As the foundations of confidence in the Islamic universal polity crumbled, men looked elsewhere for reassurance. These uncertain times gave the Shi'a message – that the Islamic community, having gone astray, required redirection – a renewed public attention. Both Shi'a branches, the Twelvers and the Isma'ilis, profited from public confusion. A man of a strong mind can impose a mental disorder upon himself, an experiment becoming compulsion. Al-Ghazālī, after a "protracted effort" to "doubt" sense perception and necessary truths, found that he "could no longer trust sense-perception". Haunted by the invisible movement of immobile shadows, he suspected only "first principles" of

mathematical calculation provided accurate knowledge. The “heavenly body” of the sun, seen only as “the size of a shilling”, is shown by “geometrical computation” to be “greater than the earth in size” (Watt, p.12). Nothing in the world was obvious.

Truth and Dialogue: a modern concept of freedom

The Alchemy of Happiness explicitly rejects absolute knowledge for anyone. Seeking to understand time and space in their full significance involves “crossing the bounds of sanity” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.85). Rather, al-Ghazālī promoted self-critical detachment: “If a man struggles his whole life, in his eye appreciation and criticism by others may become equal” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.1002). Reason involves listening. Because of “reason”, “the soul of man holds the first rank among created things” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.10). Reason was a unifying human ideal, in pursuit of cohabitation in a community of difference. A limit to divine knowledge follows, urging against “knowledge” hardened into “dogmatic prejudice” (al-Ghazālī, 2001, p.10). Al-Ghazālī wrote:

“Arrogance lies in knowledge, for when the scholar sees themselves as possessing complete knowledge, they see others in effect as animals as compared to themselves, and arrogance overtakes them. This will result in them expecting care and service, and respect and submission from people.” (al-Ghazālī, 1991, p. 257)

Al-Ghazālī reached a striking epistemic conclusion. He declared the independence of a truth-statement from the speaker: (1) He bifurcated truth into a secular category, without significance for religion (mathematics, logic), and the religious category of revelation; (2) Al-Ghazālī also argued that every truth-enunciation consists of clusters, which may contain truthful or non-truthful elements. To locate the pure truth, these clusters require dismantling; (3) From this, al-Ghazālī condemned fanaticism. Muslim fanaticism, based on prejudice, condemns the speaker in view of identity, and thereby may blindly condemn the elements of truth spoken by a pagan, Christian or other non-Muslim; (4) Because the truth is independent, and is composed of clusters, every enunciation requires a careful unpacking by the sincere truth seeker. This entails the necessity for a dialogic operation in all truth seeking, including theological disputes dividing Fatimid and Abbasid scholars with deadly geopolitical stakes. From a philosopher reputed to have suppressed rationality in favor of Islamic dogmatism, this should invite reconsideration. How did al-Ghazālī reach the independent truth thesis, and why did he give it such importance within the Abbasid intellectual context?

Opposing blind fanaticism to truth seeking, al-Ghazālī introduced the epistemic theory of clusters. Sometimes truth and falsehood are mixed within a single discursive cluster. He wrote: “Weak intellects have concluded that, since their author is a falsifier, [their ideas, books, etc.] must [also] be false” (Watt, p.21). One must differentiate true and false assertions within any single discursive cluster, irrespective of religious belonging or ethical standing. The “ignorant man” thinks that “religion must be defended by rejecting every science connected with the [rationalist] philosophers” (Watt, p.18). This discredits religion. When an educated non-Muslim “hears who has knowledge of such matters by apodeictic demonstration”, he “does not doubt his demonstration, but, believing that Islam is based on ignorance and the denial of apodeictic proof, grows in love for philosophy and hatred for Islam” (Watt, p.18). Universal objective knowledge exists for all human beings, independently of religious belonging. The ignorant of all religions might deny it, based on narrow fanaticism. By doing so, they do not stop the knowledge from being true. Moreover, they harm their own religion in ignorantly denying objective knowledge. Knowledge of *donya* is autonomous of religious belonging.

Hence, al-Ghazālī writes: “A grievous crime indeed against religion has been committed by the man who imagines that Islam is defended by the denial of the mathematical sciences” (Watt, p.18). Al-Ghazālī holds that “there is nothing in revealed truth opposed to these sciences by way of either negation or affirmation, and nothing in these sciences opposed to the truths of religion” (Watt, p.18). He argues that “Nothing in logic is relevant to religion by way of denial or affirmation”. Further, “Just as it is not a condition of religion to reject medical science, so likewise the rejection of natural science is not one of its conditions” (Watt, p.19). Two mutually independent types of objective truth exist in the world, *deen* and *donya*. By al-Ghazālī’s account, a non-Muslim can profess the truth over a Muslim, within the secular realm of objective knowledge. Individuals who illegitimately mix secular and religious categories, of whatever religion, al-Ghazālī argues, only cast doubt upon themselves. These confused utterances only “impair [others’] belief in the intelligence of the man who made the denial and, what is worse, in his religion” (Watt, p.19). Religious identity cannot substitute the value of secular objective knowledge in dealings with *donya*. Consider the Ottoman myth of the red apple (*Kizil Elma*), where the Empire was predestined to conquer the world because

it was an Islamic empire (Berkes, p. 57). Al-Ghazālī, conceiving this problem centuries before, certainly disagreed. A modern consequentialist conception of freedom is implied, where technology operates on objective principles impervious to identity.

Al-Ghazālī saw a dual reality. Objective reality has overlapping but mutually excluded divine signs (*deen*) and quantitative properties (*donya*). The sun and the moon as physical entities endure independently of human existence. Any pagan can accurately measure their quantitative reality, but only Muslims can correctly perceive the divine signs. He writes: “There is nothing here obliging us to deny the science of arithmetic which informs us specifically of the orbits of sun and moon” (Watt, p.19). Al-Ghazālī explained Islamic objections in terms of *deen*: “the recognition that nature is in subjection to God most high, not acting in itself but serving in the hands of its Creator” (Watt, p.20). The sun, the moon, the stars, and the elements are commanded. The overlapping dimensions of objective reality, al-Ghazālī argues, have their danger zone in metaphysics. Here, al-Ghazālī advances an argument concerning the hazards of “intellectual confusion”. The “errors of the philosophers” al-Farabi and Ibn Sina occur in “the conditions of proof they lay down in logic”. In denying bodily resurrection, arguing that God knows only universals, and proclaiming the world everlasting, they “differ from all Muslims” (Watt, p.20). Al-Ghazālī writes, “I have presented the grounds for regarding as corrupt the opinion of those who hastily pronounce a man an infidel if he deviates from their own system of doctrine” (Watt, p.20). His predecessors were “infidels” because they went astray logically, not because they embraced non-Islamic ideas *per se*.

Al-Ghazālī did not aspire to terminate, but rather to promote, Abbasid public dialogue, warning of the perils of ignorance, passion, and confusion. His fundamental epistemological insight was against thinking based on blind allegiance, while affirming the need to neatly differentiate the true and false components of any discursive cluster. Al-Ghazālī writes: “the proximity between truth and falsehood does not make truth falsehood nor falsehood truth” (Watt, p.23). We hereby understand al-Ghazālī’s long dialogue with the Fatimid Isma’ili doctrine. He condemned the Fatimid ideology for mistrusting rationality: “Rational considerations are not to be trusted, according to your view”. He contends, however, that rationality is inescapable: “the matter comes back to the intellectual proofs that you deny”. The stakes of unresolved intellectual dispute

between rival empires was politically grave: “blood was shed, towns reduced to ruins, children orphaned, communications cut and goods plundered”. Al-Ghazālī seeks not to obliterate the Fatimid ideology, but to meet it half-way: “We went a long way in agreeing with them; we accepted their assertion that ‘instruction’ is needed and an infallible ‘instructor’” (Watt, p.24).

The Abbasid regime instructed al-Ghazālī to undertake a propaganda war against Fatimid ideology: “I received a definite command from His Majesty the Caliph to write a book showing what their religious system really is” (Watt, 23). Al-Ghazālī undertook serious research, studying books and interviewing members of the sect. Indeed, he did the job of analyzing the Ta’limiyah system too well. He recalled that: “some of the orthodox (Ahl al-Haq) criticized me for my painstaking restatement of their arguments. ‘You are doing their work for them’, they said, ‘for they would have been unable to uphold their system in view of these dubious and ambiguous utterances had you not restated them and put them in order’” (Watt, p.24). The Abbasid regime had intended al-Ghazālī to rubbish the Fatimid Caliphate ideology. Instead, he analyzed and reconstructed the system. In his defense, al-Ghazālī stated: “Where such a doctrine is widely known, it ought to be refuted, and refutation presupposes a statement of the doctrine” (Watt, p.24).

Against the grain of other Abbasid intellectuals, al-Ghazālī believed in the necessity for a systemic and rational method of intellectual exchange, and not the partisan fanaticism of seeking to merely annihilate the adversary’s view. He argues: “I could not be satisfied with the prospect that I might be suspected of neglecting the essential basis of their proof, or of having heard it and failed to understand it My aim was to repeat their false doctrine as far as possible, and then to bring out its weak points” (Watt, p.24). Al-Ghazālī attributes the dangerous spread of false ideologies to the systemic absence of rational dialogue: “Violent fanaticism ... provoked the supporters of truth to prolong the debate with them about the presuppositions of their argument” (Watt, p.24). That is, Abbasid intellectuals, blindly rejecting the Fatimid argument based on belonging, attacked it fruitlessly upon specific points which were, in fact, universally true as *donya*. Al-Ghazālī suggests that hating your enemies clouds your judgment. The controversy in question, the need for an infallible instructor, al-Ghazālī

holds to be a universal truth common to the Fatimid and Abbasid Empires. In one case it is the Imam and in the other Muhammad. He contrived a logical common ground.

Conclusion: the secular (*dunya*) and religious (*deen*)

The Islamic tradition is perhaps lacking less in the idea of the secular (*dunya*), and more in the social structural processes of secularization. This includes the political and social institutionalization processes, involving differentiation of public and private spheres, and the crystalizing of their relative autonomy from the state. This was certainly not viable in the 11th century Abbasid Empire. If anything, however, Islamic intellectuals engaged the problems of “complex societies” prior to their Western counterparts. It is hard to find an intellectual assault of corresponding imaginative magnitude in Western societies at the time of al-Ghazālī’s intervention. Al-Ghazālī’s thought represents a provisional reckoning with the structural and institutional issue of complex societies, imaginatively renegotiating the new Abbasid political space of economic expansion, institutional proliferation, cultural innovation, and religious pluralism. The rival Egyptian Ismaili state contributed to ideological crisis. Sufism posed an existential challenge through its self-nihilating practices, challenging social organization in the name of the divine. Converted Sunni nomadic Turks from the East undermined Abbasid stability. Pluralism was the foremost intellectual and political challenge facing al-Ghazālī, a man committed in equal parts to spiritual sincerity, and Abbasid material civilization. The *Alchemy of Happiness* investigated the causes of these complex events, in a comprehensive ethical manual for all Muslims, portraying what constitutes a good citizen in the Islamic community where the “world is a market place passed by pilgrims on their way to the next” (al-Ghazali, 2001, p. 18). These sociological rudiments explain the historic duality of secular and religious life within the Islamic context more convincingly than the postmodern notion of an inauthentic Western “episteme” penetrating Muslim societies in the colonial era.

Having struggled for a decade as a Sufi with the highest forms of ineffable consciousness, al-Ghazālī wisely clung to the essential thread of his earlier and comparatively mundane intellectual endeavors. The “true nature of prophecy”, he maintained, was in the “original condition” of *fitra*. The combination of a deep crisis of doubt, and a profound conviction of the truth of his received worldview, provoked al-

Ghazālī to overcome the unreliable polyvocal contest through personal discovery of the absolute, or the genuine ontological anchor lost in past time. *Fitra* is historically an Epicurean and Platonic idea of humanity's innate consciousness of the eternal. At the base of al-Ghazālī's quest was the breakdown of the mutual human trust underpinning a human civilization in crisis, and the attendant personal despair. His writings show his epistemic investigation was no mere pedantic exercise: "Now that this despair has come over me, there is no point in studying any problems except on the basis of what is self-evident, namely, necessary truths and affirmations of the senses." The Qur'an, by this account, or revelation, is not a self-evident source of truth. It requires the socially mediated dialogic interval of persuasion. Al-Ghazālī thus broke away from "beliefs I had merely taken over from others" and "the trust most men have" (Watt, p.12).

The secular (*donya*) refers to non-religious matters as al-Ghazālī understood them: firstly, economy, the arts, marriage, and so forth; and, secondly, knowledge of the world based on empirical evidence, logic, and reason. Al-Ghazālī does not consider them an oppositional binary. This casts doubt on the current academic enthusiasm for representing traditional Islam in the mirror image of French post-structuralism, as we saw with Moosa. Similarly, Talal Asad (also at the 2010 CUNY Great Issues Conference) argues that Europe was the unique origin of the religious-secular dualism. He writes: "The terms 'secularism' and 'secularist' were introduced into English by free thinkers in the middle of the nineteenth century" to "avoid the charge of being 'atheists' and 'infidels'" (Asad, p.23). He then asserts that the "secular" is a fake category, as applied to Islam, for it has roots uniquely in Christianity. For "the secular" is "neither continuous with the religious that supposedly preceded it" nor "a simple break from it". It is "certain behaviors, knowledges, and sensibilities in modern life" (Asad, p.25). And "secular Europe" is "ideologically constructed in such a way that Muslim immigrants cannot be satisfactorily represented in it" (Asad, p.159). Asad hereby reproduces the similar "incommensurability" argument of Islamism and the extreme Right. Within limits, Asad makes an important point. Many European scholars, especially the Orientalist tradition, have ignored the historical genealogy of the secular in Islamic classical texts and practice. However, Asad is mistaken in failing to acknowledge that a comparable conceptual dualism has also pervaded the Islamic tradition. This intellectual stream pre-dated European secularism. So long as the Foucauldian

dichotomy between “modernity” and “subjugated knowledge” persists, this rich terrain of intellectual and empirical history will remain occluded.

Al-Ghazālī’s *Deen-Donya* discussion provides a counterpoint to destabilize the formulaic anti-modern current of Asad’s argument. There is nothing like the “Europe and its other” dynamism, if we examine intellectual history within the institutional matrix of “complex societies”. “Complex societies” are Karl Polanyi’s category for comparative analysis in early modernity. It is hardly an exaggeration to locate the Abbasid Empire within the category as a 12th century variant. Harold J. Berman’s *Law and Revolution* has done this for European societies, arguing that elements of modernity’s institutional matrix require a deeper 11th century historical excavation. Here, we have presented a comparable case for an Islamic intellectual history integrating al-Ghazālī within expanding Abbasid civilization. Al-Ghazālī addressed a crisis of culture and values in the Abbasid Empire. His notion of ‘revivalism’ was really a matter of constructing a pragmatic – even sociological - knowledge. His writings articulated, for Muslims, a concrete notion of Islam for all aspects of a newly complex life, including personal and collective aspects of a dynamic and growing composite civilization. Al-Ghazālī categorized these matters in terms of *Donya* [this world] and *deen* [faith or religion]. This is the germ of a dualism that Asad, and his followers, neglect to acknowledge. It results in a romantic simplification of the global Islamic civilizational legacy, a formulaic anti-modernist template ideal for the crudely nihilistic worldview of contemporary Islamists.

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EMOTIONS VOCABULARY AND THE RECONCEPTUALISATION OF EMOTIONS IN ANN RADCLIFFE'S "THE ITALIAN, OR THE CONFESSIONAL OF THE BLACK PENITENTS"

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Abstract

The article undertakes the analysis of Ann Radcliffe's novel *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents* (1797) from a history of literary emotions perspective which, I argue, yields insights into the attitudes towards emotions embedded in Radcliffe's works. A reading of the novel from such a perspective also complements the critical studies of the artist's engaging with the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility. The novel is read as a text that registered but also participated in the dissemination of an epistemology of emotional experience articulated in the idiom of eighteenth-century moral philosophers – Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith – at the same time as it retained some of the older, theology-based conceptions of passions and affections. The dynamic in which the two frameworks for understanding the emotions exist in the novel is explored through a close reading of the vocabulary in which Radcliffe rendered the emotional experiences of her fictional characters. In this reading it is the passions which are found to have been invested with a variety of meanings and attributed a range of moral valences that most noticeably foreground the movement from a generally negative towards a more complex appreciation of powerful emotions.

Keywords: Ann Radcliffe, passions, affections, emotions history, moral philosophy

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One of the significant perspectives from which the body of critical readings of Ann Radcliffe's novels has been shaped is that of looking into how these texts engaged with the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility. The interpretations produced have ranged significantly - from claiming that her novels fully endorsed the ideal of sensibility and on those grounds conferring upon Radcliffe the title of a "high priestess of sensibility," to contending that they articulated a much more complex attitude to this social and cultural phenomenon, one that combined positive appreciation with an awareness of the dangers entailed in excessive, self-indulgent sensibility. (Howells, 1978; Ross, 1991, p. 155; Smith, 1973, p. 577)

Among other things, such analyses have demonstrated that with her novels Radcliffe reached out beyond the boundaries of the gothic novel convention as established by writers like Mathew Gregory Lewis, to significantly expand its thematic and ideational repertoire. Indeed, the engagement with the widely popular notion of sensibility and the various forms of its socially acceptable and welcome public manifestations allowed Radcliffe to explore and problematise some of the aesthetic and moral issues that were integral to the sensibility discourse. All this has embedded her work in the larger context of the slow-paced, manifold changes occurring in the various ways of understanding and thinking about the emotions and their role in human life in the eighteenth century.

As Thomas Dixon (2003) argued in his *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, the eighteenth century witnessed the culmination of a major reconceptualisation of emotional experience. This entailed a shift, a transplanting of concepts from within a framework that had had almost exclusive theological underpinnings to the growingly secular domains of medicine, physiology, philosophy, psychology, etc. The changes in the understanding of the emotions that this shift occasioned surfaced in the changing emotions vocabulary of the time which demonstrated an unprecedented variety (Frevert, 2014, pp. 1–31). Some of the words that had formed the core of this vocabulary, like 'passions' and 'affections', retained their high frequency relative to other words that made up the emotions-lexicon of the times, but did so at the price of the considerable alteration of their meanings. Others, like 'appetites' and 'perturbations', slowly dwindled down to a rather scanty representation in texts theorizing the emotions. The new developments in the fields of

moral philosophy and the cult of sensibility that came to dominate society brought into use the words 'sensibility' and 'sentiment'. The century also saw the more and more pronounced presence of the word that was to become the one all-encompassing term which the newly emergent field of psychology adopted – 'emotion'.

The way in which Radcliffe's work registered this shift, happening as it was in various contemporary discourses, is evident in the integration in her novels of some of the newly emergent ideas about the emotions. The rendering of the experiential aspect of emotions, their role as motivators of action, their moral evaluation in her works reveals an intertwining of the newer with the more stable, older understandings of emotions. The aim of this article will be to assess the integration of the new ways of understanding the emotions, especially those spelled out in the works of some eighteenth-century moral philosophers, in *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents* ((1797) 2008b) – the last of Radcliffe's works to be published during her lifetime. This objective will be pursued by an analysis of the ways in which the author employed an emotions vocabulary in which passions were granted particular prominence. It is in the use of the latter word that the destabilizing of older meanings, their volatilisation by the new meanings which came to challenge them is foregrounded.

The motivation for the choice of *The Italian* out of all of Radcliffe's novels derives from the understanding that in writing it the author "went appreciably beyond a schematic psychology that divided characters into the simple categories of the innocent and the corrupted" (Cottom, 1985, p. 51) and that emotional depth and variety are implied in this new psychological complexity. A comparison with *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (Radcliffe, (1794) 2008a) - allegedly the artist's most popular novel, offers sufficient evidence of this. For example, the word 'passion(s)' and its derivatives 'passionate', 'passionately' '[un]impassioned', which form one of the focuses of attention in this article, are employed with a relatively high frequency in both novels: eighty-eight occurrences over the 672 pages of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and seventy-seven over the 415 pages of *The Italian*. The latter text, however, demonstrates a variation of meanings that is lacking in the former. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho* passions are made the property of the characters which are outright negative, like the arch villain Count Montoni, and of those other characters who unthinkingly inflict suffering upon others. 'Passion' here is used to refer to emotions stemming from excessive egoism and corresponding disregard of

others. They are thus defined in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* in exclusively negative terms - as emotions which are detrimental to man and capable of bringing about the complete ruin of one's moral integrity and standing in society. In the words of Sister Agnes - the mentally distracted, dying nun of this novel: "Sister! Beware of the first indulgence of the passions; beware of the first!" Emily, and together with her the novel's readers, receive a stern warning about the passions' powers to lead one "to the commission of crimes. For which whole years of prayer and penitence cannot atone" (Radcliffe, 2008a, p. 646). The attribution of this warning to a character who has given up the world to dedicate the rest of her life to the church, as well as the temporally distant setting of the story, encourage here a reading of the passions within the old theological framework - as stemming from the sensitive/animal soul of man, as part of the punishment inflicted by God on man for his disobedience.¹ *The Italian*, on the other hand, registers a far from univocal understanding of the passions, one that retained some of the older, conservative suspicion towards them but also allowed for the newer, more nuanced understanding of them. This tension in Radcliffe's understanding and appreciation of passions is behind the "double-edged attitude toward extravagant feeling - both indulgent and disciplinarian" that Adela Pinch also remarked upon (1996, p.111).

'Passion' had, in the centuries up to the early seventeenth, been used alternatively as a term denoting what Augustine and Aquinas understood as the unruly appetites of the sensitive soul - pitted against the calm affections of the intellectual soul - or, as a term that encompassed all human emotional experience.² The eighteenth century continued to use the word 'passion' with both meanings, at the same time as it considerably modified the latter. Dixon has mapped these changes, registering, on the one hand, the continuity of the Aquinian conception of the passions and, relative to them, the affections, with the works of theologians like Jonathan Edwards, Isaac Watts whom he provisionally labelled the "Christian revivalists" and, on the other, pointing out the growingly secularised rearticulations of these notions in the works of moral philosophers like Joseph Butler, Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid (Dixon, 2003, pp. 62-97). The coexistence of the more conservative theological and the rational

¹ Both Thomas Dixon (2003, p. 29) and Susan James (1997, pp. 13-14) remark on the prominence in the writings of early modern authors of this understanding of the passions and of man's inability to control them as punishment for Adam's sin.

² For a discussion of the continuity between Augustine and Aquinas' views about the passions and affections, see Dixon (2003, pp. 26-61).

frameworks as well as the fact that none of them contained a fully coherent, unified vocabulary of the passions and affections meant that the conceptual field was in a state of flux, distinctions were often fuzzy and rigorous consistency of terminological meanings could be lacking within the scope of a single work. In the midst of this terminological heterogeneity, it is worth exploring how non-theoretical texts, ones belonging to the fields of fictional literature and the popular print culture, employed this vocabulary, thus participating in its consolidation or further diversification. The choices made in these texts can be seen as manifestations of their authors' allegiance to any of the recognizable theoretical frameworks within which human emotional life was being conceptualized in the eighteenth century. A survey of Radcliffe's novels reveals the writer's use of an emotions vocabulary which evokes some of the key ideas articulated in works by the century's moral philosophers – men like Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith. It is possible to speculate, in the light of Radcliffe's upbringing and the milieu of her adolescent years, on the appeal these ideas must have held for her. The novelist's biographers, Norton Rictor and Robert Miles, have both drawn attention to the formative influence exerted on her by two men from her family – her uncles, Thomas Bentley and John Jebb, whose spiritual and intellectual sympathies lay with latitudinarianism and rational dissent (Miles 1995; Rictor, 1999). Both Miles and Rictor write of the sometimes lengthy periods of time during which the young Ann Radcliffe lived in the households of these uncles and of the impact this must have made on the cultivation of her aesthetic tastes, on her intellectual development and the formation of her religious beliefs. The role played by latitudinarian and natural theology ideas in “the presentation of the issues of nature, the supernatural and the providential in her novels” (Mayhew, 2002, p. 274) and in the shaping up of Radcliffe's aesthetic (Chandler, 2006) has already received critical attention. Equipped with a perceptual framework underpinned by the precepts of rational dissent, Radcliffe was preconditioned to be receptive to the kind of ideas about the emotions espoused by moral philosophers whose religious allegiances, Dixon pointed out, were often engaged with “a more rationalistic form of Christianity”, as well (Dixon, 2003, p. 69).

One of the conceptual transformations of emotions vocabulary that *The Italian* registers is that of the words ‘passions’ and ‘affections’ as well as the distinction between them. The shift from a theologically-based to a secular morality framework

effected by moral philosophers had already rearranged the emphases in how these two categories were perceived. Thus, in Francis Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (2002) one finds the affections defined as the 'general'³ calm emotions arising from the "rational apprehension of good or evil", either for oneself or others, and the particular passions as "violent confused sensations, connected with bodily motions" (p. 43). Dixon remarked on the similarity of this distinction between general and particular emotions to the classical Christian one between higher rational appetite and lower sense appetite (Dixon, 2003, p. 83). However, Hutcheson, makes another noticeable distinction, this time within the range of emotional experiences he called particular - between calm particular affections and violent particular passions. It is these particular passions and affections that Radcliffe's novel thematises and explores from a close distance. The standard against which they are evaluated is the one with which philosophical morality operated and which attributed positive or negative value to emotions depending on whether they contributed to or prevented both the private and the public good. *The Italian* demonstrates an attitude towards the passions and affections that combines, on the one hand, the more traditional suspicion of the passions and appreciation of calm affections and, on the other - the acknowledgment of a positive potential in passions and a suspicion that calm affections can sometimes appear hypocritical, masking an insensitivity to other human beings.

The probing into the possibility of a positive aspect to passions leads again to Hutcheson who also argued in favour of some of the strong passions. The example he gave offered justification of anger - a particular, selfish passion he classified together with ambition, covetousness, hunger, lust and revenge - in cases when it was motivated by a noble sentiment, or employed as a cautionary emotion against the envy of others:

Anger, which some have thought an useless Passion, is really as necessary as the rest; since Men's Interests often seem to interfere with each other; and they are thereby led from Self-Love to do the worst Injuries to their Fellows. There could not therefore be a wiser Contrivance to restrain Injuries, than to make every mortal some way formidable to an unjust Invader, by such a violent Passion. (Hutcheson, 2002, p. 39)

³ Hutcheson distinguished general passions from particular passions.

Embedded in the economy of the passions that Radcliffe elaborated in *The Italian* is another understanding that points towards moral philosophy's discourse on the passions and affections. The seventeenth and eighteenth century had witnessed the discrediting of the will as the faculty managing the passions and moral philosophers like Hutcheson and Hume denied reason the power to manage and control passions. For Hutcheson, it was possible, through disciplined effort and fostering general benevolent desires, to dissolve bad associations of ideas that provoked violent passions for unworthy objects and so become able to redirect passions towards what was good both for the self and others. Hume was even more straightforward in ousting reason from the position of a controlling agent. In the second book of his *Treatise of Human Nature* he granted passions the power to mutually impact one another: „Nothing can oppose or retard the impulse of passion, but a contrary impulse“ (2007, p. 266). What gave a moral anchor to such a self-regulating system of the passions was the notion, shared by moral philosophers, of man's innate moral sense. The latter was trusted to discriminate between morally good and wrong passions and discourage man from the latter. It is a moral sense of this kind that brings about the most striking passion shifts and moral transformations in the novel.

These several ideas briefly reviewed here were an integral part of the moral philosophical discourse that permeated the fabric of cultural life of the ever-expanding public sphere in the eighteenth century. This fact allows us to assume, even as we remain aware of the reclusive character of Ann Radcliffe's life and of the resulting scarcity of information regarding it, that the author was familiar with these ideas about the passions and the affections, if not firsthand from the original texts in which they were first formulated, then from the variety of rearticulations they were being given in contemporary novels, conduct books and other kinds of writing. These assumptions offer sufficient ground on which to enquire into how the latter have been woven into the emotions vocabulary of her novel.

The narrative of *The Italian* exhibits a noticeable range of emotions-related vocabulary which features both the older terms – ‘passion(s)’, ‘affection(s)’ and ‘perturbation’ – and the newer ones – words ‘emotion(s)’ and ‘feeling(s)’. With the exception of ‘perturbation’ which is used only nine times in the novel, the other words mentioned are used with relatively high and relatively equal frequency. Significantly,

'emotion(s)' and 'feeling(s)' are consistently used as words of neutral moral connotation, while 'passion(s)' and 'affection(s)' bring into the novel connotations that are respectively marked as negative and positive and it is these the text both foregrounds and interrogates.

Radcliffe's use of the word 'passion' in *The Italian* extends to the denotation of both short-term and complex long-term emotions. The novel explores and evaluates the presence and various manifestations of these in the characters and in this process two oppositional pairs are found operating. One is based on the traditional early modern differentiation between bad passions and good affections; the other distinguishes between kinds of passions on the grounds of the moral principles articulated by eighteenth-century moral philosophers. The latter distinction pits the protagonist Vincentio di Vivaldi against the characters of his mother, the Marchesa di Vivaldi and Schedoni, her confessor. The former opposes Vincentio's passionate emotional makeup to the affectionate one of his beloved, Ellena di Rosalba. These two oppositions seem to create a perspective on the young man and his emotions that is contradictory since it implies both a positive and a negative evaluation. However, a close reading of the novel reveals that the opposition of Vincentio's passions to Ellena's affections is anything but clear-cut, for both categories of feeling become subject to interrogation in which the univocal negation of the former and affirmation of the latter is lost. Of the two it is the probing into the notion of the passions that is the more foregrounded - through the character of Vincentio the novel takes tentative steps towards affirming the positive value of some passions at the same time as it retains a sense of unease with regard to passions generally conceived.

As implied in the preceding paragraph, *The Italian* has three characters whose behavior is determined by their passionate natures - the love-struck protagonist Vincentio di Vivaldi, and the two antagonists - Marchesa di Vivaldi and her confessor Schedoni. Of the three, Vincentio is the one who demonstrates the greatest emotional complexity since he is the one male protagonist of a Radcliffe novel in whom passions are so prominent and identified as the motivators of his actions. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho's* Valancourt the author had already created a positive male character incidentally yielding to passional outbursts, but it was in *The Italian* that she engaged with a comprehensive study of the implications of passional excess for a good character.

The more conservative view of powerful passions as wrong is the one that is more immediately felt informing the development of the character and the evaluative stance adopted towards him. The narrative traces Vivaldi's transformation from a man who easily gives in to passions, allowing them to dictate his actions, into one who is capable of consciously exercising control over them. The culmination of this process is reached in the episode in which Vivaldi, a prisoner of the Inquisition, realises that acting upon his passions of "grief, indignation and despair" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.198) might prove harmful to both him and Ellena. His decision and ability to curb an impulse to burst free and rush in search of his beloved is presented as an act in which his passions – implicitly identified as vice – seem "to become virtues" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.198). Leading up to this moment are various others in which references to the passional side of Vivaldi's character are accompanied with different excuses, all of them symptomatic of a sense of anxiety embedded in the text and stemming from the attribution of powerful passions to a positive character. This sense surfaces early in the narrative – at the first instance in which Vincentio is described in more detail:

Vincentio inherited much of the character of his father, and very little of that of his mother. His pride was noble and generous as that of the Marchese; but he had somewhat of the fiery passions of the Marchesa, without any of her craft, her duplicity, or vindictive thirst of revenge. Frank in his temper, ingenuous in his sentiments, quickly offended, but easily appeased; irritated by any appearance of disrespect, but melted by a concession, a high sense of honor rendered him no more jealous of offence, than a delicate humanity made him ready for reconciliation, and anxious to spare the feelings of others. (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 8)

The passage introduces the young man's passionate nature as the negative counterpoint to the positive trait of his noble pride. The choice of pride as a positively laden feature that can counterbalance a tendency to passional excess is an early indicator of the novel's complex take on the passions. Listed by the theological tradition as one of the seven deadly sins, pride here appears rearticulated as a passion that can be either morally right or wrong. Thus, in the Marchese the pride of a "principled mind" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 7) is what adds moral substance to his pride of birth. The absence of moral integrity in the Marchesa leaves her with the kind of vain pride that sets going the train of vicious scheming and persecution in the novel. Notably, the narrative points out that it is from his father that Vincentio has inherited his noble pride, attributing to him an integrity which outweighs the negative implications of the passionate

temperament inherited from his mother. This widening of the range of moral valences for the concept of pride in the novel is one that is also found in Hutcheson's *Essay on the passions*. In it he acknowledged an awareness of the traditional way of regarding pride "in a bad Sense" (p. 46) and listed it together with the unambiguously wrong passions and practices of "*Sloth, Luxury, Debauchery, Insolence*" (p. 92), with "*Avarice, Petulancy or Lust*" (p. 65) and contempt of one's fellow-creatures. At the same time, he also found it sometimes denoting the desire of honour and power as well as "Joy upon any apprehended *Right or Claim to Honour*" (p. 46). At other places in the essay he went on to argue that desire of esteem and pride presupposed the presence of a moral sense, if they are to be seen as natural (p. 75). The descriptive sketches of Vivaldi and his parents in the first chapter of the novel show Radcliffe differentiating between the kinds of pride characteristic of them on the grounds of the presence of absence of moral principles in them. In referring to the Marchesa's pride the narrative points out that "her pride was that of birth and distinction, without extending to morals" and later the description introducing Schedoni draws attention to his spirit which showed not "the aspirings of a generous mind, but rather the gloomy pride of a disappointed one" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.34). The narrative, as it unfolds, continues to add qualifiers to the characters' pride, making the distinction more and more pronounced. Thus, further mentions of Schedoni's pride define it as "haughty" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.238) and mingled with malignity; in the Marchesa it is "jealous" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.293) and is coupled with prejudice (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 122); in both it is easily exasperated (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 53, p. 166) – all of this making their pride the antithesis of Vincentio's and his father's pride.

The attributing of positive value to pride where it is grounded in moral integrity is so assertive in the novel that it is the one passion that the reader finds in the character otherwise defined in terms of her complete independence from passions' sway – Ellena di Rosalba. Ellena's pride, the narrative informs the reader, derives from her sense of having inherited a "nobility of soul" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.26) and from the fact that she has been able to sustain an honest life by means of honest work. At almost every point a reference is made to it, Ellena's pride is qualified by an epithet that reasserts its positive value. It is alternately described as "just pride" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 32, p. 69, p. 11, p. 125), as "pride of conscious worth" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 68), "proper

pride" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.181), "honourable pride" (Radcliffe, 2008b,, p.70) and "decorous pride" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p.182). And, as if to prevent any possibility of passions and their association with human flaws from attaching to Ellena, the word 'passion' is never used to define the kind of pride found in her. The one time it does appear in a part of the text related to her is when Ellena, going over her encounter with the abbess of the convent where she is kept prisoner, thinks approvingly:

of the frankness, with which she had asserted her rights, and of the firmness, with which she had reproved a woman, who had dared to demand from the very victim of her cruelty and oppression. She was the more satisfied with herself, because she had never, for an instant, forgotten her own dignity so far, as to degenerate into the vehemence of passion (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 85)

The reference to Vivaldi's noble pride is only one of the means by which the narrative deals with the anxiety of leaving its passionate protagonist morally culpable. The same description which opposes pride to his passions offers one more excuse by pointing out the nature of Vivaldi's passions as inherent in his character rather than as consciously cultivated. Indeed, all of the protagonist's passionate outbursts are presented as his impulsive responses to context-specific prompts rather than as carefully performed displays of the kind witnessed in his mother's behavior. The spontaneity of Vivaldi's passions is actually rendered in positive terms, as eloquently indicating his emotional sincerity – a feature that Ellena's aunt, Bianchi, is quick to observe (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 24). A further tempering of the passions' negative implications is achieved by attributing them to Vivaldi's youth. The narrative, thus, reveals a persistent commitment to countering every aspect of the young man's passionate nature with a positive feature in his character.

The justification and even legitimation of some of Vivaldi's displays of powerful passions is the next step the novel takes, and which it accomplishes by tracing the origin of these passions in the character's profound sense of justice and humaneness. The "delicate humanity" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 8) mentioned in the first character description of Vivaldi is nothing less than a version of those sentiments like sympathy, benevolence, compassion which, the eighteenth-century moral philosophers argued, were inherent in man's nature. The use of the word 'delicate', which Barker Benfield has noted was in the eighteenth century often construed a synonym of 'sentimental' is thus also a sign in Vivaldi of the sensibility the eighteenth century valued so highly (1996, p. 299). The

combination of passionate temperament and refined sensibility makes of the character a modified version of the conventional fictional man of sensibility found in Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*. Vivaldi is resistant to the neurotic feebleness and profuse tear-shedding for which the sensitive characters of eighteenth-century fiction were sometimes criticized. His more powerful passions find an explanation in the gender-specific arguments, extensively reviewed by Barker-Benfield, about nervous excitability and proneness to varieties of emotions elaborated in eighteenth-century medical discourses on the nerves. According to these arguments, which became widely adopted and can be found informing works like D-r John Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, men were generally regarded as predisposed to the experience of strong passions while women, with their finer nerves and "natural softness", were inclined to the experience of more subdued, calmer affections (2008-2009, p. 14).

The narrative justifies strong passions which overpower Vincentio di Vivaldi at moments of crisis in the novel and dictate a behaviour that breaches established codes of propriety by tracing their origin to the protagonist's deep-seated compassion and love of honour. Lead by his love and determination to protect Ellena, Vivaldi visits the Spirito Santo convent where, believing Schedoni to have been involved in the sudden disappearance of Ellena, he demands to know where she is and his passionate remonstrances disrupt the monk's penance and the peace of the place (Radcliffe, 2008b, pp. 103-105). Later, when he meets the Superior of the convent where Ellena is kept prisoner, Vivaldi, provoked by the Superior's abusive and threatening references to Ellena, feels "indignation and contempt" rise in him and he counters the Superior with the unsparing portrait of her own moral faults (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 120). Vincentio's determination to defend Ellena's honour makes him oppose even his parents. The language in which he articulates his sense of duty towards his beloved, as part of what he considers to be "the first duty of humanity" - "to defend the oppressed" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 30) - is immediately evocative of Hutcheson's way of defining compassion as the public passion that "will engage us to succour the distressed even with our private Loss or Danger" (Hutcheson, 2002, p. 39). This duty, dictated by compassion, Vincentio further identifies as based on a principle of grandeur "which ought to expand all hearts and impel all actions" (Radcliffe, 2008, p. 30). To the observation of this duty and principle he ties up his own sense of honour and virtue becoming in this way an

embodiment of Hutcheson's combination of "Abhorrence of the injurious, and Love toward the injured, with a Sense of Virtue, and Honour" (Hutcheson, 2002, p. 39) as evidence that public passions reveal an amiable side to human nature.

Compassion and desire for honour and virtue which justify most of Vincentio's passionate outbursts are also at the heart of a torturing "conflict of passions" inside him to which the narrative refers more than once (Radcliffe, 2008b, pp. 13, 30, 31). The two irreconcilable passions are the protagonist's filial love for his parents and his amorous love for Ellena. Each passion is paired with a moral principle – a sense of duty that teaches Vincentio to honor his parents and a sense of duty that obliges him to defend the honor of his beloved. What sets them against each other and subjects Vivaldi to emotional suffering is the rigid social prejudice of his parents who refuse to accept Ellena di Rosalba as a match for their son. Adding further cause for emotional turmoil is the young man's jealousy which stems from his uncertainty regarding Ellena's affections.

The experiences through which Vincentio is thus shown going through are rendered as agonizingly painful (Radcliffe, 2008b, pp. 13-14). His state of mind, described by the words "tortured", "fired", "alarmed" – communicate an understanding of strong passions as capable of severely impairing one's capacity for clear sensory and mental perception and as posing a serious threat to one's wellbeing. Vivaldi is thus presented as a victim of the emotions raging within him, but while lack of passional restraint is one thing held responsible for his suffering, another is the selfish pride of birth keeping his parents from accepting Ellena as a match for their son and so leaving him divided between his loyalty to them and love for Ellena. The suffering of her beloved so touches the young woman that she is led to question the moral integrity of her own disciplined adherence to dignity, delicacy and carefully regulated affections:

Her very virtues, now that they were carried to excess, seemed to her to border upon vices; her sense of dignity, appeared to be narrow pride; her delicacy weakness; her moderated affection cold ingratitude; and her circumspection, little less than prudence degenerated into meanness. (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 181)

Compassion here produces a qualitative change in Ellena's perception of what she considers her virtues. The moment they are seen as implicated in the causes of Vincentio's suffering, they acquire the nature of vices. This episode in the novel thus

destabilises the value-laden contrast between bad passions and good affections as the value of each is made dependent on their being conducive, or at least not threatening to other people's wellbeing. This shift of emphasis in the novel is another one of the links connecting Radcliffe's work to moral philosophy in the field of which the contrast between passions and affections was gradually being replaced by that between selfish and public passions and affections generally considered.

The antagonists in the novel – Marchesa di Vivaldi and her confessor, Schedoni – are the characters who illustrate the full measure of the disruptive potential believed to be held by strong private passions. The narrative allows for no ambiguity with regard to the moral valence of the passions associated with them – in several places in the text these passions are defined as evil (Radcliffe, 2008b, pp. 179, 291, 292, 223). Selfish passions and the deliberate and persistent ways in which the Marchesa and Schedoni cultivate and nurture them are unequivocal indicators of the morally compromised nature of these two characters. The care with which they try to prevent the public display of these passions set them in contrast to Vivaldi's emotional spontaneity and sincerity. The introductory descriptions of both the Marchesa and Schedoni emphasise this duplicity in their characters. The Marchesa is defined as a woman of "violent passions, haughty, vindictive, yet crafty and deceitful; patient in stratagem, and indefatigable in pursuit of vengeance" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 7).

The description of Schedoni draws attention to the emotional inscrutability of the front he presents to others. His face is implicitly compared to a solid mask that prevents the communication of emotions: "There was something in his physiognomy extremely singular, and that cannot easily be defined. It bore the traces of many passions, which seemed to have fixed the features they no longer animated." (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 35)

The emancipation from passion that Schedoni's expressionless appearance seems to imply is, however, illusory – the narrative offers ample evidence of the role that passions, particularly those deriving from his pride, play in the confessor's behaviour. There is an element of undermining irony in that, in its fixed form, his face has preserved the signs, if not the life, of his former passions. Later in the story, it becomes clear that in his former life, before he loses his social standing and wealth, the confessor has been completely unrestrained in flaunting his passion in public. The suppression of emotional

display is thus in his case a necessity and safety measure. The traces of passions, frozen on his face, are a constant warning of the possibility of Schedoni manifesting them freely again, should he regain his high social status and wealth.

The Marchesa and Schedoni also serve as illustrations of the conventional notion of the volatility of the passions. Both characters feel certain about their abilities to exercise control over the public displaying of their passions and over the passions of those around them, yet at critical moments both fail to do so. The Marchesa employs her skill to interrogate her son about Ellena without alarming him too much. Schedoni uses his skill in affecting sympathy to manipulate the Marchesa into believing she first came up with the idea of murdering Ellena. Against this background Radcliffe demonstrates the illusory nature of control over passions as she shows both characters failing to suppress a sudden surfacing of anger, malice and fear in moments when they have been shocked out of their equilibrium. When Vivaldi accuses him of having conspired with the Marchesa to frustrate his plans of marrying Ellena, Schedoni cannot cover up the spite that rises in him, allowing Vivaldi to witness a "dark malignity overspread" his features (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 51).

The unpredictability and the difficulty of controlling passions is further complemented by their harmful potential both for those they are directed at as well as for those who are the source of their origin. The young Vincentio di Vivaldi, who is assailed by conflicting emotions of allegiance to his parents and love for Ellena, is unable to reconcile his passions and is tormented by the clash between conflicting principles and between the resulting conflicting passions within him. With the Marchesa and Schedoni the focus falls on the added detrimental effect of passions stemming from excessive selfishness. The accusations Vincentio has directed at Schedoni in the convent subject the confessor to suffering, "terror" and "mortifications of various kinds" and the revenge that he begins contemplating is rendered as a process of "fermenting the direst passions of his nature" (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 109). Fermentation here appears to echo the use of the notion in the field of the medical discourses on human physiology and physiology of the passions in particular - a notion which had been brought into prominence by the work of the seventeenth-century doctor, Thomas Willis, who saw it as essential to life but also as capable of triggering disease (Caron, 2015, par. 7). Fermentation as a property of blood, making it run faster along its course in the body, was connected both to fever and to the

engendering of passions. It thus comes to enhance the overall effect of sickness in Schedoni who, the narrative points out, is also changed in appearance so that he resembles “a spectre rather than a human being” (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 110). The conscious control over the passions-fermenting process Radcliffe has given Schedoni points to the self-inflicted nature of the emotional pain he experiences.

Seen as powerful forces capable of taking control over the body and the mind of man and of inflicting suffering, through the two antagonists of *The Italian* the passions are also shown to have a corrective potential and function. Both the Marchesa and Schedoni find out that the selfish passions that they nurture and in accordance with which they act are forcefully countered by passions that arise within them, taking them by surprise. The first such moment for Vincentio’s mother happens while she is discussing the plan of murdering Ellena with Schedoni at the Spirito Santo monastery. Hearing a requiem sung by the choir upon the death of someone in the monastery she is overcome by the thought of mortality and the enormity of the intended act of the murder. Even though she cannot at this point recognize her own fault in allowing her selfish pride to dictate her perception and actions, the Marchesa is nevertheless terrified by the prospect of becoming the cause of the death of another human being.

The desperate passions, which had resisted every remonstrance of reason and humanity, were vanquished only by other passions; and, her senses touched by the mournful melody of music, and her superstitious fears awakened by the occurrence of a requiem for the dead, at the very moment when she was planning murder, she yielded, for a while, to the united influence of pity and terror. (Radcliffe, 2008, p. 177)

The struggle between passion within her surfaces in visible somatic symptoms of distraction like “short and interrupted” breathings, sighs, change in the colour of her complexion, crying, absent-minded walking (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 177).

The sudden unexpected promptings of compassion are, even more significantly, what prevents Schedoni from acting according to his selfish passions of ambition and pride and so from murdering Ellena himself. Facing Ellena as she is trying to escape the house where she has been kept prisoner by Spalatro, having to meet the look of suffering and fear in her eyes triggers inside him the passion, alternatively called compassion, pity, sympathy, benevolence, which moral philosophers like Hutcheson, Hume and Adam Smith claimed to be inherent in human nature. The effect of shock this

produces on him is rendered in a language that includes as many words denotative of strong emotions as possible – “agitation”, “conflict of passions”, “perturbation”, “violent and contradictory” emotions, disbelief at finding his heart “sensible to some touch of pity” (Radcliffe, 2008b, pp. 223-225). Even though Schedoni calls the touch of compassion for Ellena to which he yields “a weakness” (Radcliffe, 2008b, p. 223), the argument about the power of benevolent passions to disarm selfish passions is assertively conveyed in the novel.

Recent assessments of the trends in critical thinking about Radcliffe (Cooper, 2010; Watt, 2014) have noted the shift from a perception of her works as embedded in conservative social and political views (Durant, 1982; Talyor, 1991) towards recognition of a latent radical component in them (Miles, 1995, Norton, 1999). The dynamic between the conservative and the radical in Radcliffe, articulated by Robert Miles as that between “a surface narrative that seems to go in a conservative direction, and her subtext, which moves in quite other ways” (Miles, 1995, p. 176) offers a pattern that encapsulates the relationship between the conservative and radical meanings with which Radcliffe used emotion words in *The Italian*. The traditional theological opposition between passions and affections which appears to have a dominant presence in the novel is consistently if subtly interrogated, reconceptualised and complemented by infusing it with the meanings articulated in the works of the century’s moral philosophers.

This has several implications for the novel and its place in its contemporary social and literary milieu. One such implication stems from the tentative questioning of the privileged status of affections as the norm for women’s expected emotional experience and behaviour and from the suggestion that such a norm was founded on a socially constructed, gendered stereotype of propriety. In thus suggesting that a wider emotional repertoire be made available to women Radcliffe’s novel can be seen as aligned with the much more passionately outspoken “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman” in which Mary Wollstonecraft argued against women’s containment in an intellectually constraining and emotionally enfeebling sentimentality contrasted to men’s allegedly more robust emotionality and intellectual potential.

Published as the novel was in the decade that saw the libertarian enthusiasm of the French revolution get out of hand and become disfigured into the violence of the

Terror - its probing into the righteousness of morally justified passions, anger, in particular, is understandably careful yet prominent enough. At the same time as it singled out and naturalised passions that grew out of concern for the other, the novel also mapped the limits beyond which even such passion can spin out of control and do more harm than good. Perhaps most significantly assertive, however, in the face of the disillusionments following the Revolution is the faith the novel articulated in the presence of an essential compassionate impulse in human nature.

Considering the popularity and the large contemporary readership that Radcliffe's novels enjoyed it can be argued that the novel's thematisation of emotional experience here discussed, must have provoked, disrupted or resonated with the many readers' perceptions of the emotions, thus actively participating in the ongoing shaping and reshaping of the conceptions of the emotions at the end of the eighteenth century.

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LOOKING FOR HETEROGLOSSIA AND CHRONOTOPE IN NEW YORK AND LONDON: PACINO AND LONCRINE'S ADAPTATIONS OF *RICHARD III*

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Abstract

The relationship between a cinematic adaptation and its literary source has sparked scholarly debates in the field of adaptation studies. Developed by the Russian literary critic, Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), dialogism can shed new light on the adaptation-source tie as it highlights the mutual interaction between the two sides. The present study argues that Al Pacino and Richard Loncraine's versions of William Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1593) stress such a dialogic aspect of the adaptation process. Within this dialogic framework, Pacino's *Looking for Richard* (1996) establishes a heteroglossial relation with the play as it seeks to eliminate the gap between Shakespeare and the movie's modern viewers. Loncraine's *Richard III* (1995), however, is marked by a significant chronotopic strategy which situates Richard in new social and political contexts through a change in the play's temporal and spatial elements.

Keywords: dialogism, heteroglossia, chronotope, adaptation studies, Mikhail Bakhtin, William Shakespeare

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William Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1593) has long been popular among filmmakers as it elaborates on the details of a significant part of English history through its alluring protagonist. Laurence Olivier, Richard Loncraine, Al Pacino and Jeremy Whelehan are only some of the directors who have recently focused on different dimensions of the play in their cinematic projects. The present article is set to focus on Pacino and Loncraine's adaptations of the play.

The study will apply the theory of dialogism by the Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1985-1975) to the investigation of relationships between the two adaptations and their dramatic source. In particular, the study finds that Bakhtin's notions of heteroglossia and chronotope can be useful and insightful tools for a clarification of distinctions between the approaches of Pacino and Loncraine's cinematic versions toward the play.

Using heteroglossia and chronotope, the study argues that each of the two movies highlights a distinctive feature of dialogism in its approach toward Shakespeare's history play. While both seek to remove the cultural divide between Shakespeare's text and language and their contemporary socio-cultural contexts, *Looking for Richard* carries out its project through focusing on heteroglossia while Loncraine's movie adopts an intricate chronotopic strategy to fulfill its aim. The next section will dwell on heteroglossia and chronotope as discussed by Bakhtin. The study, then, will investigate the heteroglossial nature of Pacino's film. Next, the idea of chronotope underlying Loncraine's *Richard III* will be elaborated on. Finally, the chapter will draw on some of the main conclusions of the study.

Heteroglossia, Chronotope and Dialogic Adaptation

Several attempts have been made recently to give credit to those film adaptations of literary texts which seek to engage with their contemporary cultural and historical contexts in a process that is often referred to as recontextualization. As a result of this recontextualization, the literary source no longer remains an absolute and inviolate center which the adaptation has to strictly adhere to. According to Jack Boozer, "any preoccupation with fidelity to the literary original and its presumed superiority also tends to constrain the discussion of each film's immersion in its own particular cultural and historical moment" (2008, p. 10). One important development that can help

highlight the importance of contextual forces is Bakhtinian dialogism which contains, among others, concepts of heteroglossia and chronotope.

Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia, "the Tower-of-Babel mixing of languages" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 278) illustrates the presence of a multiplicity of social languages and utterances organized in a text. These languages never stop changing. In other words, "Bakhtin used heteroglossia to refer to the contextual specificity of meaning in the utterance, the radical heterogeneity of the utterance in its centrifugal and centripetal elements" (Hitchcock, 1998, p. 84). While centripetal elements seek to enforce the stability in hierarchies, the centrifugal forces of heteroglossia destabilize established contexts and hierarchies. These forces show that aspect of our experiences which can be called, to use another Bakhtinian term, carnivalesque. Every utterance marks the point where these forces interact with each other.

Therefore, we deal with languages and not a single language. Each of these languages reflects one specific aspect of the world we experience. As a result of these reflections, we are invited to contemplate more on and remain active participants in the process of social experiences. Thus, an adapted cinematic version of a literary work, "through its heteroglot system of effects (visual, audio, written and so on), points at such 'varied horizons', impelling us to engage with other aspects of social experience and other members of the interpretative community, generating a network of 'creative perception' and dialogic participation" (Flanagan, 2009, p. 10).

A heteroglossial text "reflects the fundamental other-languagedness or 'double-voicedness' of human experience", revealing "the simultaneous constitution and transgression of boundaries relating self to the other in the medium of historical time" and integrating "the situated freedom to transform existing structures with a recognition of the embeddedness of human activities in pre-existent space-time frameworks" (Sandywell, 1998, p. 197). The concept underlines that a text, as a discursive event, is not an isolated unit in a specific culture. All ideological structures and value systems of a particular cultural influence and are influenced by a certain text.

Although Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia has important social and historical implications, his focus on verbal arts prevented him from investigating heteroglossial

applications in other areas. Adaptation studies, in particular, can base its analysis of adapted versions of literary works on this concept. The interpretation particularly works well for those adaptations that intend to recontextualize classic texts and relate them to their contemporary issues and discourses.

Another important concept in Bakhtin's theory of dialogism is chronotope; a name used to describe "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). Despite its seemingly simple definition, chronotope is not restricted to time and space but it is a value-laden concept as situatedness in a particular time and space necessarily invokes certain values. As Michael Holquist maintains, chronotope "brings together not just two concepts, but four: a time, plus its value; and a space, plus its value" (2002, p. 152).

Since our situatedness in a specific time and space invokes certain values, it exerts considerable influence on our ethical decisions as well. For instance, Liisa Steinby argues that the adventure chronotope, which Bakhtin associates with the ancient Greek romance, indicates that "human action does not arise from human will alone, understood abstractly as totally free. On the contrary, what a hero can actually do is strictly limited by the chronotope in which the events take place. Of course, he still has to make choices – and he is ethically judged accordingly – but the spectrum of his choices is chronotopically restricted" (2013, p. 118). This is another way of saying that "a human being is always conditioned by his surroundings in his action, although he never loses his ethical autonomy" (Steinby, 2013, p. 118).

In addition to the first type of chronotope that Bakhtin finds in the ancient Greek romance, he elaborates on two other major chronotopic types in what he calls ancient "*adventure novel of everyday life*" (1981, p. 111; emphasis original) and ancient "*biographical novel*" (1981, p. 130; emphasis original). His discussion of forms of time and space in the novel also includes such minor chronotopes of road, threshold, inn, and castle. As for Bakhtin the utterance is "intimately linked to the space-time (chronotope) that constitutes the speech as well as narrative" (Aronowitz, 1995, p. 128), these chronotopes, despite their differences, have the ability to shape the story as "they are the organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250) of the story.

Moreover, Bakhtin's interpretation of time and space elements contributes to his life-long emphasis on the open-endedness and unfinalizability of a given utterance. Jonathan Stone contends that "the very idea of a chronotope, an appreciation of time that is dependent on the position of the actor, requires a degree of instability that excludes the possibility of absolute time and space" (2008, p. 412).

A chronotope's potential to defy the absoluteness of time and space, its emphasis on the value-systems evoked by certain spatial and temporal elements, and its role in creating a network of relations between textual elements and multiple contextual forces suggest that it can address some of the contemporary debates in adaptation studies.

In what follows, the article argues that Al Pacino's movie takes Shakespeare's text as an emblem of high culture in the canon of Western literature to bridge the cultural divide between the Bard and the contemporary popular culture or mass culture in the United States. It further contends that elaborating on the modification of Loncraine's treatment of chronotope can shed new light on the connections he creates between his adaptation, his contemporary audience and Shakespeare's play.

Al Pacino and Looking for Heteroglossia

Al Pacino's *Looking for Richard* is a half-cinematic, half-performance adaptation of one of Shakespeare's most complex history plays. Through his meta-cinematic method, Pacino revolutionizes the whole idea of adaptation. The movie's unusual arrangement of traditional performance scenes, hectic neighborhoods of New York City and rehearsal meetings has made it a unique adaptation of not only *Richard III*, but of all Shakespearean films.

The movie belongs to a tradition of adaptations that, according to Ariane Hudelet, "do not try to provide a definitive version of the text, but instead attempt to represent rather our relationship to literary works, to capture a specific type of reception at a specific moment" (2012, p. 259). The film shows the director-actor Pacino preparing himself for an adaptation of Shakespeare's play, conducting research on the period, asking residents of Manhattan how they feel about Shakespeare, interviewing scholars and famous Shakespearean actors, casting his crew members, and rehearsing the scenes.

Pacino in this documentary struggles to make New Yorkers interested in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. This dialogic project soon reveals the inherent clash between two languages: Shakespeare's language and the language that people use to communicate in a late twentieth-century metropolitan like New York. The adaptation highlights the heteroglossial aspect of language which is "made up of loosely bound generic wholes, subgeneric wholes, accents, systems, dialects, and constantly fragmented layers of language working together, or at battle, or at play" (Hoy, 1992, p. 765).

The film also follows another confrontation, this time between Pacino and Shakespeare. Early in the film, Pacino encounters one of the biggest challenges of staging or filming a Shakespeare's play. He walks on the stage for his Richard part, but soon realizes that his only spectator is a man who resembles William Shakespeare. The man shakes his head hopelessly, leaving Pacino with no choice but to walk off the stage without saying a word. Pacino, though upset by the reaction, realizes that traditional methods of staging a Shakespeare's play, which stick rigidly to the Bard's text and discard contemporary contexts, will not work anymore. A big change in the adaptation process is required.

Pacino, thus, perceives he must find Shakespeare in the streets of New York to make him accessible for the public. Although he makes small modifications in the language of the play, his primary purpose is not to abandon Shakespeare's language to make a modern *Richard III*. In this documentary, "Shakespeare's language is, for the most part, 'done straight' but in a manner that invites large incursions of urban American speech patterns; involves the compression of long speeches into shorter ensembles of speech-actions; and dislocates entire passages from their moorings in the Shakespearean text in order to restructure our experience of the play" (Cartelli, 2003, p. 189).

In other words, Pacino seeks to show how his contemporary American fellows can speak their modern English and still enjoy Shakespeare's poetic words. His street interviews investigate not only Shakespeare's words, but his speech pattern and famous blank verse. However, Pacino's quest, though acclaimed by some critics, has drawn strong criticism from Shakespearean scholars who argue that the Hollywood star treats every banality about Shakespeare like a great discovery. Charles Marowitz, for example, maintains that *Looking for Richard* is a kind of "'Shakespeare For Dummies,' with actors

shouting 'Eureka' as they stumble on to every cliché and banality thrown up in over four centuries of remorseless Richardizing" (2004, p. 71). Marowitz adds that another wrong assumption in Pacino's project is his belief that he is supposed to find the Shakespearean spirit in every line of *Richard III*. Pacino's finding-Shakespeare-in-every-word-of-the-play assumption, which turns to a group attempt to decipher Shakespeare's text, makes him forget that before he carried out his project, many directors and actors have created Richards which may be different from that of Shakespeare but equally valid.

What is true about Marowitz's critique of Pacino's film is that almost all his filmic choices are highly affected by his purpose to bold the huge gap between his contemporary language and early modern English language. But what Marowitz misses is that Pacino's project, regardless of his choices, is first and foremost a quest to find heteroglossia. He seeks to construct a world for his film in which these two languages challenge, but not suppress, each other.

The juxtaposition of these two languages in a cinematic context, which is marked by rapid intercuts and irregular past and present scenes, illustrates the postmodern mindset of the director in his heteroglossial quest. The movie also probes such binaries as high culture and mass culture, old and new, and the UK and the US. Emma French argues that "the binary between American 'trash culture' and Shakespeare as both British and universal classic is also exploited by the posters and trailers for the film" (2006, p. 37).

Pacino's task, then, is postmodernizing Shakespeare's text for the consumption of mass culture. He endeavors to fulfill this goal "through a classical mixture of 'high' and 'low' cultural traditions, a mixture that is essentially one of forms: dramatic extracts intercut with what Pacino calls the 'doc-drama type of thing'" (Sinyard, 2000, p. 70). Pacino's preoccupation to depict these binaries emerges in the arrangement of his street interviews which sharply contrast the ones conducted with British Shakespeare scholars. The movie's generic variety is another proof for its decentralized postmodern design. Incorporating various elements of "bardolatry, iconoclasm, and postmodern irony all at once, the bard's cameos in *Looking for Richard* aptly illustrate the signature doubleness with which contemporary popular culture invokes its Shakespearean other" (Lanier, 2007, p. 100).

Although Pacino opens his adaptation with the word 'now', which shows his aim to make a Shakespearean film for the present, he does not intend to make Shakespeare accessible for his peers by modifying or simplifying his language; rather, he looks for a way in order to grasp the meaning of Shakespeare lines and then transform them in a straightforward, clear narrative for the contemporary audience, hence heteroglossia underlying his quest. Pacino's movie is not simply an adaptation of Shakespeare's play "but a meditation on what Shakespeare means at the end of the twentieth century" (Sinyard, 2000, p. 58).

This postmodern adaptation of Shakespeare's history play invests on the Bard's potential to appeal to the popular culture. Shakespeare's heteroglossial texts entail elements of both popular and high cultures, revealing their "multiple (and sometimes colliding) meanings" (Henderson, 2007, p. 6). This potential for attracting people with diverse social backgrounds gives Pacino an opportunity to carry out his heteroglossial project. One crucial moment in Pacino's project is his interview with an African American beggar. The man's answer to Pacino's questions on the importance of studying Shakespeare for a late 20th century society reassures the director to pursue his heteroglossial project: "We should speak like Shakespeare ... We have no feelings. That's why it's easy for us to get a gun and shoot each other ... But if we felt what we said—we'd say less and mean more" (*Looking for Richard*). The interview "appears to confirm the filmmakers' belief that Shakespeare speaks to everyone at the precise moment that Pacino's quest is thrown into relief as luxurious" (Walker, 2006, p. 17). The man's remarks give Pacino enough confidence and motivation to make an adaptation that speaks both to Shakespeare and (post)modern individuals.

Richard III is not among Shakespeare's plays familiar for the public as he is mostly associated with *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. Shakespeare's history plays are generally less known for the public. *Richard III*, in particular, is a difficult play as there are many characters and incidents which make it hard for ordinary people to follow the story. Moreover, a comprehensive understanding of *Richard III* depends to a great extent on one's familiarity with at least three other history plays as Richard's story concludes Shakespeare's first tetralogy which also entails *Henry VI* parts 1-3. The audiences' connection with the play requires their background information about an important part of English history; a period that includes Wars of Roses, House of

Lancaster, House of York, etc. More to the point, the play's "peculiar combination of archaic-sounding language and a modern-seeming protagonist" (van Elk, 2007, p. 1) further perplexes its viewers.

Pacino acts out the play's opening speech, "now is the winter of our discontent / Made glorious summer by this sun of York ..." (1.1.1-2) for a group of seemingly college students. He, then, asks them if they know what these opening words mean. None of the students knows the meaning of Shakespeare's words and, more importantly, none is interested in understanding what Shakespeare really wants to say. This unwillingness, albeit disappointing, helps Pacino realize that *Richard III* fits his project's objectives as it can highlight the gap between Shakespeare and modern New Yorkers better than plays such as *Hamlet* and *Othello*.

The director's other strategy to emphasize the need for probing into Shakespeare's text is his choice of cast members. His cast includes almost none of the actors or actresses whose names are traditionally associated with Shakespeare. As a result, most cast members are clearly uncomfortable and confused when they want to speak Shakespeare's early modern language. Their 'discoveries' of Shakespeare's language—which might be banalities for experienced Shakespeare actors such as Kenneth Branagh and Derek Jacobi—further draws attention to contemporary unfamiliarity with the Bard and his language.

The film's unusual style is itself a heteroglossial contact between stage and screen. Sarah Hatchuel maintains that "the centripetal stage gives way to a centrifugal cinematic locus as soon as the camera field participates in hiding the limits of the acting space. In other words, as soon as Pacino's camera concentrates on the actors and avoids filming the stage apparatus around them, the theatre *mise-en-scène* starts resembling a cinematic one" (2004, p. 97). This rare juxtaposition of stage and screen moments in a cinematic adaptation of Shakespeare provides a heteroglossial framework for Pacino to carry out his heteroglossial project. Even the opening title of the movie suggests that Pacino's 'Richard' project soon changes to a 'Looking for Richard' one. The movie's uneven format along with its meta-cinematic design, arranged in a dialogic way, is unprecedented in movies based on Shakespeare's plays.

This format is not without its drawbacks, though. *Looking for Richard* confuses a story that is already highly confusing for many people. With its quick crosscuts between medieval sites, crowded New York streets, offices of Shakespeare's scholars, rehearsal room, stage, Shakespeare's house, the Globe, etc., the movie "tosses around the spectator from location to location without much explanation or warning in between" (Marshall, 2009, p. 141). As a result, the spectators might lose their concentration on the storyline because they have to cope with several unexpected shifts. This puzzling style is against Pacino's purpose to show to modern audiences that Shakespeare can still be relevant and even beneficial to their lives.

It's noteworthy to mention that Pacino's semi-documentary belongs to the category of interactive documentary; a type which, according to Warren Buckland, "makes the film maker's presence prominent, as he or she interacts with the people or events being filmed. In other words, all interactive documentaries by definition draw the filmed people and events into direct contact with the film maker. The content of the interactive documentary is based primarily on interviews, which draw out specific comments and responses from those who are filmed" (1998, p. 111). This multiplicity of voices leads to the adaptation's unique discursive diversity because "as soon as you allow a variety of discourses into a textual space—vulgar discourses as well as polite ones, vernacular as well as literary, oral as well as written—you establish a resistance (to use Davis's work) to the dominance of any one discourse" (Lodge, 1990, p. 22). As a result, despite what some critics slam as Pacino's extremely high-profile presence in the movie, the structure of *Looking for Richard* prevents the role of the lead characters to hold back other voices and discourses.

Pacino's project to fill the gap between Shakespeare and New Yorkers is dialogic because it engages him in a process to mull over the unstable conditions that can give an utterance a meaning different from what it would mean in other times and places. The adaptation even implies dialogic ties between *Looking for Richard* and Pacino's earlier cinematic roles. The council meeting where Lord Hastings is arrested and sentenced to death is described as "a gathering of dons" (*Looking for Richard*). This scene cleverly alludes to Pacino's part in Francis Ford Coppola's *Godfather* films.

The heteroglossial feature of the adaptation influences its ending as well. Regarding stage productions of Shakespeare's plays, Alan C. Dessen argues that "often final scene changes are designed to change or reinforce a particular sense of an ending. Such alterations are widespread and are to be found in comedies, histories, tragedies, and romances" (2004, p. 111). This can also explain Pacino's decision for the ending of *Looking for Richard*. Given the contemporary setting of the film, Pacino seems unable to end his adaptation in a tragic way as Shakespeare did. In a condition of explicit heteroglossia, the movie shows Richard's death, but immediately shifts to contemporary Pacino who acts out the death scene in a comic and quasi-buffoonery way. The idea originates from the fact that the director cannot find a suitable context for Richard's death in modern New York where 'grand' tragedies appear out of place.

Pacino's version of *Richard III* is mainly an inquiry on Shakespeare's position in the popular culture. As a result, many lines and scenes of the play are removed in the film. However, the quest cannot be discarded as incomplete: "Pacino stages only some ten scenes from one play-though with great cumulative power and clarity-and in this incompleteness, with all it must suggest and encompass, provides the most complete of recent Shakespeare film experiences" (Combs and Durgnat, 2001, p. 61). The sense of completeness that we feel at the end of the adaptation is heavily dependent on its heteroglossial aspect which allows all constituents of the process to be involved in a dialogic network of relations. When the movie comes to its end, Pacino seems to have accomplished his goal to prove that it is feasible to live in the postmodern New York City and still comprehend and enjoy Shakespeare and his characters.

Richard Loncraine and Looking for Chronotope

Loncraine's adaptation demands to be interpreted in relation to its contemporary social and political contexts. The film sets the play in late 1930s England, transforming Richard to a tyrant who is conspiring to usurp the British throne. Loncraine has recontextualized the play to present "a parable of twentieth-century fascism which resonates with the rising popularity of the British National Party during the 1990s" (Walker, 2006, p. 19).

Although the movie lacks the documentary aspect of Pacino's *Looking for Richard*, it is similarly eclectic, mixing elements of multiple genres including science

fiction, slasher film and western movies. *Richard III*, in particular, alludes to two main cinematic genres: British heritage film (referring to movies that depict England of the decades before World War II in a nostalgic way) and American gangster film (a genre that focuses on gangs and organized crime). This generic combination is further supported by using American actors for some key roles in this British adaptation of Shakespeare. Not only do Annette Bening (Queen Elizabeth) and Robert Downey Jr. (Queen Elizabeth's brother) guarantee the movie's box office, their high profile presence in Loncraine's film as opposed to Shakespeare's text is another aspect of the director's response to his contemporary spectators. Moreover, the casting of American actors "gives the new 'interloping' Woodvilles a social identity so distinctively different from the traditional British aristocratic York family we are shown, that the audience will immediately discern the cultural contrast from their accents and performances" (Hindle, 2007, p. 160). Loncraine's adaptation, thus, forms a network for various literary and cinematic genres to interact with Shakespeare's history play.

Loncraine's change of chronotope is significant in the overall effect and success of his movie. In cinematic adaptations such as Loncraine's *Richard III*, the audiences experience a triangular chronotopic relation. The first part of this triangular is the temporo-spatial framework of the dramatic text. Then, we face the time and space of the adaptation's plotline. Finally, the chronotopic triangle is formed when these two frameworks interact with the time and space in which the movie is received by the audience. The way a director handles the dialogic relation between these three parts determines the overall reception of their adaptation as "chronotopes influence a text's potential reception" (Collington and Collington, 2014, p. 793).

Loncraine's emphasis on the tripartite chronotopic structure of his adaptation process is evident in his efforts to convince his viewers that they are watching a version of *Richard III* which takes place in the 1930s. Unlike Shakespeare's play which begins with Richard, Loncraine's version postpones the lead character's first appearance to the 4th minute when he shoots dead a senior army officer. This deferment allows the director to familiarize his audience with a chronotope which is neither Shakespearean nor contemporary. Furthermore, in the first ten minutes of this adaptation, no single word of Shakespeare is used. The director decides to introduce the setting, background, and all major characters and their relations and then move to Shakespeare's text.

As “the ‘individuality’ of the speaker and ‘originality’ of the utterance arise from their exclusive positioning in time and space” (Morgan, 1996, p. 37), the camera throughout the movie photographs items belonging to the 1930s London: cars, newspapers, clothing, authentic Abdulla cigarettes and recognizable architectural elements. The movie’s exclusive chronotopic positioning helps the director to create an original utterance in the form of an alternative reality which constantly interacts with Shakespeare’s utterance. Moreover, a probe into the movie’s four tag lines shows that preserving this dialogic interaction has been of paramount importance for Loncraine. Two are quotations from Shakespeare: “I can smile, and murder whiles I smile” (*Henry VI Part 3*) and “I am determined to prove a villain, and hate the idle pleasures of these days” (*Richard III*). The other two are non-Shakespearean, albeit with Shakespearean aura: “power conquers all” and “what is worth dying for ... is worth killing for” (*Richard III*).

Although the movie is set in the 1930s, “there is no conflict with a known historical outcome like that of the Second World War to undermine the film’s effect. It avoids specific reference to the region’s civil war of the 1980s, but inevitably the film’s action is haunted by those events, and the images of street-to-street fighting are all too familiar from reports of war zones across the world” (Jackson, 2014, p. 32). It is how Loncraine defines the intricate relation between his three chronotopes. He uses Shakespeare to express his contemporary political and social concerns in the context of a relatively distant past. Despite the acclaims that Loncraine’s method has received, some argue that it fails to address the potential of Shakespeare’s play by reducing it to a condemnation of fascism and “displacing it to a comfortably distant past” (Aune, 2006, p. 43).

But the ‘distant-past’ chronotope allows Loncraine to carry out what Pacino was essentially seeking to do in his heteroglossial project: minimizing the gap created through years between Shakespeare and popular culture. Instead of highlighting Shakespeare’s timelessness, Loncraine “assigns Shakespeare to a specific, though anachronistic, time period” (Johnson, 2004, p. 49). Therefore, the chronotopic tie between historical past and contemporary society is a crucial feature of Loncraine’s adaptation. As the chronotope is a phenomenon that “crystallizes action and the meaning of action” (van der Liet, 1999, p. 208) and “one of the principal generators of artistic meanings” (Best, 1994, p. 291), the chronotopic schema in Loncraine’s film creates meaning by providing “a screen for contemporary anxieties and dilemmas”, thus

enabling the adaptation to be both “the bearer of its own histories and a bridge to wider societal analysis” (Eley, 2001, pp. 837-8).

Frequent direct addresses to the camera by the lead character (acted out by Ian McKellen) indicate the most intimate moments not only between Richard and the movie viewers, but, more significantly, between Shakespeare and modern audiences. These meta-cinematic moments suggest Shakespeare is looking directly into the eyes of the film’s viewers, revealing Richard’s plots to them. Despite its attempt to appeal to the audience at the end of the twentieth century through a pre-World War II story, the movie is not, as it may seem, a radical departure from its Shakespearean source. Loncraine’s movie preserves “the original language, the relationships among characters, the principal events, most of the basic political themes - in short, it is decidedly in keeping with the dramatic demands of the play text and is ultimately conservative” (Fedderson and Richardson, 2009, p. 8).

Mitchell and Snyder argue that the director’s concern to stress the affinities between Richard and Hitler as larger-than-life tyrants reflects “each era’s need to condense evil into a manageable singular figure outfitted in the readily identifiable physical ‘costume’ of disability” (2000, p. 116). Loncraine’s chronotope helps him make sure that his viewers will easily recognize Richard’s evilness as the movie’s time-space framework frequently reminds them of the Hitler-Richard analogy.

The chronotope of the final scene, which happens in an industrial London monstrosity, is not only an update of Shakespeare’s Battle of Bosworth, but a final reminder—or warning—that a modern tyrant like Richard can wreak havoc on an entire nation. Richard’s rise to the top of a huge metal structure and his final fall into burning flames signify symbolically what Lily Alexander describes as “the *chronotope of rise and fall*” (2007, p. 29; emphasis original). The ascent and descent illustrate the end of Richard’s efforts to transcend the chronotopic framework in which he is situated. This is exactly how a chronotope works: allowing the individual to preserve his ethical authority but at the same time imposing some constraints on his decisions.

Loncraine has selected a classic text to make a postmodern film set in modern Britain. He joins disparate temporal and spatial elements in an integrated cinematic

structure. A chronotopic reading of Loncraine's adaptation underscores how the British director creates a modern context for a classical text to respond to some of his contemporary social, cultural and political concerns.

Conclusion

The present study investigated two late twentieth century adaptations of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Each adaptation approaches the source text in its unique way. The research argues that Bakhtinian heteroglossia and chronotope can highlight the relation that Al Pacino and Richard Loncraine seek to establish with Shakespeare's play respectively.

Pacino's project is explicitly heteroglot as it seeks to find a way for modern audience to retain their language but simultaneously comprehend and enjoy Shakespeare's language. The postmodern intercuts in the movie further show that the movie is in fact a quest to establish a relation of heteroglossia, or as Robert E. Kohn calls it, "the assortment of socio-ideological languages" (2005, p. 210) between Shakespeare fictional characters and American audience.

Loncraine's adaptation, on the other hand, establishes a chronotopic relation to Shakespeare's play. Loncraine's Richard is a 1930 Nazi-like tyrant who shares features of both a Shakespearean villain and a dictator at the end of the twentieth century. This representation of Richard is supported by other visual elements in the tripartite chronotopic relation in the movie.

To sum up, the endeavor in both movies is to retain Shakespearean climate in their contemporary contexts. Pacino's purpose, in particular, is to find a way for the co-existence of Shakespeare's language and modern American English while Loncraine pursues certain political and social purposes by creating a new chronotopic context in his adaptation. Despite their different approaches, both movies suggest that Shakespeare's *Richard III* is capable of being imaginatively and innovatively adapted long after its birth.

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MIRRORING THE SOCIETY, MIRRORING ITS HOSPITALS: HYGINUS EKWUAZI'S POETRY AND THE CHALLENGE OF NATION-BUILDING

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Abstract

Anglophone African poetry has become a significant medium through which African society from the year 2000 to date is mirrored. The younger Anglophone African poets, widely referred to as the poets of the third-generation, have always used their poetry as means to respond to both historical and current socio-political circumstances that tend to distinguish Africa from the rest of the world. Their poetry now constitutes counter-hegemonic discourse against bad leadership in Africa and against corrupt African social and medical institutions. Using Hyginus Ekwuazi's *The Monkey's Eyes* as a representative poetry of the younger Anglophone African poets, emphasis is made on how the poet depicts the African society and its hospitals. The paper analyzes the collection as a sequel to all other collections of poetry produced by the younger poets at this period. It reveals the condition in which the poetry is produced and how it has responded to the decay in African society and its hospitals. The paper points out that though the older generation of the Anglophone African poets responded to similar socio-political situation, the younger generation of the Anglophone African poets has become the prominent voice in this period and that their poetry provides a clear picture of what is happening in Africa within this time space. Being a new set of voices on the terrain of the Anglophone African poetry, a study of this poetry opens up a new platform upon which this so-called "aesthetic of rage" is appreciated.

Keywords: society, Anglophone Africa, poetry, third-generation, hospital, nation-building

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The poetry of the younger generation of the Anglophone African poets, now referred to as the poets of the third generation, has become a medium through which the contemporary socio-political and economic situation of the African society is mirrored. As part of contemporary postcolonial African intellectual disposition, the Anglophone African poetry of the third generation has always been seen as part of the counter-hegemonic force that pulled down the military despotism in Africa. This connection between the poetry and the resistance against the oppressive military regimes in Africa has dominated present third generational discourses. Of particular importance is contemporary Nigerian scholarship where the poetry is defined as the poetry of military resistance. For instance, in his article entitled “Bayonet and the carnage of tongues: the contemporary Nigerian poetry speaking truth to power”, Diala (2017) describes the poetry as an “appropriately characterized” poetry of “counter- hegemonic” against military regimes in Nigeria (p.1). Oyeniyi Okunoye (2011, p. 83) has also been noted to argue that the poetry is part of a well-articulated intellectual engagement against the oppressive military regimes which lasted for four decades in Nigeria, and by extension Africa. Egya (2012) maintains in the article “Historicity, power, dissidence: the third-generation poetry and military oppression in Nigeria” that “military oppression represented the dominant condition of production for the poetry” (p. 425).

However, despite the important role this poetry undertook during the military era by becoming a very important voice through which the despotic military regimes were resisted, since year 2000 to date the poetry has been used to engage corrupt political leadership and the worsening socio-political situation of the African societies. The poetry now seems to be the lone voice seeking the redemption of the contemporary society and the condition for the production of cultural and political correction. The poets of the period whose poetry dominate contemporary intellectual space are all Anglophone African poets of the third generation who started writing from the year 2000 or whose poetry became recognized from the year 2000 to date (see Charles Nnolim, 2009, p. 228). Our concern in this paper therefore is to establish this new poetic voice as a continuum of the popular condition of production which the Anglophone African poetry of the third generation is associated with. The paper seeks to reveal this poetic production as a new trajectory in the condition of production of the Anglophone African poetry of the third generation using Hyginus Ekwuazi’s *The Monkey’s Eyes* as a point of reference. Like all other poetry produced before the time, the poetry is part of the coherent, sustained and

well-articulated intellectual and cultural activities to put the society back on the track of sanity. Since most scholarships on the poetry of the third generation are limited to discourses on Nigerian poetic tradition, this paper is therefore an avenue to remap the poetry as the totality of African poetic engagement during this period.

In order to properly position the poetry as part of the postcolonial intellectual paradigm, this paper has been divided into four subsections. While the first subsection introduces the poet as an important member of the society who is also responsible to the society, the second subsection discusses the intellectual background of the poetry. In the third subsection the poetry of Hyginus Ekwuazi, a leading poet of the period, is analysed as a poetry representing this postcolonial tradition. The fourth subsection is the conclusion. In it inference is drawn from the discourse as contained in the entire paper.

The Poet and his Responsibility to his Society

The poetry represents the poet of this time as a very important member of the African society who cannot detach himself from the contemporary situation of his society. Hence, he reflects that society in whatever he writes. It has also portrayed him as “an organ developed by the society to respond to its need for meaning” (Andre Brink cited in Diala, 2017, p.3). In most cases one sees some connections between the content of the poetry and the views circulating in the society as it concerns Africa’s need to outgrow its present socio-political challenges. It is for this reason the poetry is described, to use the words of Nurrudin Farah, as the voice of “everybody”:

[A poet] however, is in a sense everybody; he is a woman, he is a man: he is as many other selves as those whose shadows reflect his ghostly images; he is as many other selves as the ones whose tongues he employs to articulate his thoughts; he is as many other selves as there are minds and hearts he dwells in. He is the raped continent; he is the maltreated worker; he is the struggle itself- or at least its spokesperson (1983, p. 3).

While representing the poet as “everybody’s spokesperson”, the poetry is a charge to the poet of the time to function as the voice of the society. Andre Brink describes the general poetic responsibility in the context of providing the society with that needed meaning which is capable of causing “healing”. To be able to fulfil this function, the poetry of the Anglophone African poet of the third generation requires the poet to perform his duty properly, in that, unless his functions are properly performed, he would have nothing to offer the society. But if he does his duty properly and if “his

diagnosis is heeded”, then “healing” will be possible for the society (see Andre Brink, 1983, p. 235). What this then entails is that the poetry, to also use the words of Per Wästberg, is “part of the nation-building effort” (p. 20). Through it the poet teaches and has a very direct influence which can make the poet suffer for what he teaches. In the bid to fulfil its function of teaching, the poetry, like all other generational poetry, documents “a time of transition” and reflects “what is still in the memory of the living” (Wästberg, 1986, p. 17).

In order to perform this function, the poetry of the Anglophone African poets of the third generation has made its subject matter dominantly the social and political condition of the African continent from the year 2000 to date. The poetry mirrors the corruption in the society and its adverse effect on African hospitals. The poetry performs its duty to the society by representing the poets as Africa’s contemporary bard and oracle in whose hands the salvation of the society lies and in whose voice is the urge to address the challenges confronting contemporary African society from the year 2000 to date. Through this poetry the challenges of the contemporary African society and its hospitals can be seen more clearly and exactly than other organs of the society. The poetry represents a visionary, a warning voice and a builder of the future of the African society and its hospitals. Of matter of emphasis, all generations of African poetry have produced poetry that is akin to this poetry as it concerns its usefulness to the society. In a conference in Hasselby, Wole Soyinka also made a submission that further depicts the usefulness of African poetry to the society. In the conference Soyinka maintained that African poetry must not just be contented with “chronicling the customs of the society” but should be used, as he also puts it in the preface to his play *Opera Wonyosi* (1981), to “expose, reflect, indeed magnify the decadent, rotten underbelly of a society that has lost its directions, jettisoned all sense of values and it is careering down a precipice as fast as the latest artificial boom can take it” (p. x). In the case of the Anglophone African poetry of the third generation, it is only in doing this that, in the words of F. Chung and E Ngara, “our consciousness and our perception” (p. 12) of the African society and its hospitals can be shaped and sharpened.

The Third Generation and the Issues of Its Conception

In his introductory article entitled “The writer in modern Africa”, delivered in Stockholm at the Second African Writers Conference in 1986, Wästberg argued that the

younger generation of the African poets has grown up and concern themselves with what happens in Africa after post-independence Africa: “Their point of reference is now Africa, not Europe. They know they have to chart the future without much outside help. They are not obsessed by colonialism, rather by corruption, greed, inefficiency and elitism” (p. 19). He posits further that they try not “only to protect their freedom of action but seek a way of acting”. They “take the side of the powerless”. They “write of victims of the arbitrariness of others” and “sing no songs in praise of the victor” (Wästberg, 1986, 19). In his essay entitled “The Role of the African Writer in National Liberation and Social Reconstruction”, Emmanuel Ngara also maintains that one of the functions of this poetry “is to awaken the oppressed, to make the citizens of Africa aware of the new reality so as to challenge that reality and fight for a more humane society” (p. 131). F. Chung and E. Ngara also posit that the basic functioning of African poetry is “to render social justice to people that have been silent so that they should not have lived in vain” (p.25). It is therefore to bring these functions to their fulfilment that the term “generation” is first employed upon the terrain of the postcolonial African literature.

This is to say that the use of the term “generation” to contemplate the temporal positioning of writers in time is not new in the postcolonial African literary discourse. Its use as a marker of positioning writers in time started as an attempt by a group of writers to introduce their literature to the transnational African literary community. This group of writers led by Niyi Osundare, Kole Omotoso, and Femi Osofisan (see James Currey, 2008, p. 52) were the first to put it to use by describing Chinua Achebe and Christopher Okigbo’s generation as the first generation writers and by accusing them of being too “concerned with explaining Africa to Europeans” (p. 52). They also described themselves as the second generation writers and posited that their writing will concern Africa’s “contemporary social and political reality and must explain Africa to Africans” (p. 52).

The third generation is a continuum in this tradition of usage to properly position the writers of the time in the postcolonial African literary space. The generation is “widely believed to have been announced by and in the 1988 anthology, *Voice from the Fringe: An ANA Anthology of New Nigerian Poets*, edited by Harry Garuba” (Egya, 2012, p. 426). Adesanmi and Dunton note that this generation embodies the poetry “produced by emergent writers who had acquired a creative identity markedly different from that of the second generation writers” (2005, p. 7). As part of the

assertions that announced the generation, in his introduction to the anthology, which happened to be the first of the several anthologies published by the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA), the editor Harry Garuba notes that “there is a significant literary renaissance taking place all over the country, especially in the genre of poetry” (p. xv). In the introductory essay contained in the special issue of *English in Africa* in May 2005 devoted to the generation and edited by Pius Adesanmi and Chris Dunton, it is observed that, as at that time, “little or no scholarship [has been done] on the rapidly expanding body of work” (2005, p. 7) produced in the generation. With the issue, the editors “signal the entry of the new writing into the arena of African critical discourse” (2005, p. 8). They argue further that the issue is “a timely legitimation of our initial efforts to bring scholarship to bear on this significant body of writing and a recognition of the fact that more scholars have now turned their attention to this significant corpus of new writing” (2005, p. 8). In another special issue of *Research in African Literature* edited by Pius Adesanmi and Chris Dunton, it is declared that the writing of the generation “does exhibit distinctive features, in terms of scope of characterization, thematic and formal characteristic” (2008, p. ix). Brenda Cooper also posits that the writing of the generation is distinct and unique. It is a demonstration of a generation that has properly positioned itself for the challenges of the time. Adesanmi and Dunton also refer to the writing as:

texts born into the scopic regime of the postcolonial and the postmodern, an order of knowledge in which questions of subject hood and agency are not only massively over determined by the politics of identity in a multicultural and transnational frame but in which the tropes of Otherness and subalternity are being remapped by questioning erstwhile totalities such as history, nation, gender, and their representative symbologies. (2005, p. 15)

Unlike the previous generations, the third generation which period spans between 1988 and the present (Remi Raji, 2005, p. 22) can be classified into two parts. The first is the early part of the generation, the very one which was announced with the publication of the *Voice from the Fringe* and concerns military dictatorship and their activities. This part of the generation is between 1988 and 1999 which represents a period of military despotism in Africa. Chronicling the activities of this part of the generation, Adepitan (2006) observes that:

The 1980s and 1990s heralded the arrival of a new breed of African writers who in ordinary circumstances would be described as constituting a new generation. But they came labouring under too many anxieties. The political landscape was becoming more and more desperate; before they learned to write many were co-opted into the vanguard of literature as an instrument of protest and that was all they wrote. (2006, p. 25)

The second is the latter part of the generation which focuses on the activities of corrupt politicians and the state of the African continent. As an important part of the third generation African Literature, it was announced by and in the 2004 Association of Nigerian Authors conference captioned "ANA-Imo National Conference". In his keynote address, during the conference, Charles Nnolim described this second part of the generation as the counter-hegemonic force of the third generation African literature which is expected to take the affairs of African literature in the continent to the next level. He goes further to affirm that this part falls between the year 2000 and the present (see Charles Nnolim, 2009, p. 228). While commenting on this period of the generation, Niyi Osundare describes the generation as the "poets' generation." This description stems from the generation's tendency to produce more poets than any other generation in Africa and their temperament which "ranges from anger through desperation to despondency" and "his identification of the demon that hounds them" (cited in Diala, 2017, p.11). Osundare also addresses the poets of this time as the "midnight children". He said the generation is made up of poets "who have spent the first three decades of their lives confronting the nightmare that the country" as well as the entire African continent has become (Osundare cited in Adagboyin, p.20). However, as this younger generation of poets began to publish, many of their poetry express the feeling of "a sense of renewed energy and commitment and of identifying within themselves a collective identity that set them apart from older writers" (Hewett, 2005, p.74). Affirming the commitment of the poets of this period to the functions which they set for themselves for the betterment of their society, Hewett observes thus:

Many of them have also chronicled the growing intellectual community that encouraged many writers to continue to write even when things were at their worst: ANA monthly readings, gatherings at literary salons, publication in ANA anthologies and literary journals, and appearances in the pages of the Post Express Literary Supplement and the Vanguard, which provided much-needed forums for literary debate and discussion. (p.74)

To emphasize the significance of this latter generation of the Anglophone African poetry of the third generation, Hewett has further noted that “the emerging account of this generation is one of triumph over adversity.” It represents “a story of courageous individuals refusing to be silenced. [...] It is a remarkable story, one that is still being written by critics and writers themselves” (p.74).

Among the leading poets of this time whose poetry is a very important example of the literary production in the period is Hyginus Ekwuazi. Having won the ANA National Literary Awards with his various collections at different times, Ekwuazi can be said to be one of the representative poets of Nigeria of the third generation in particular and Africa of the third generation in general of the year 2000 to date. His poetry depicts the situation of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general at the centre of his poetic motif. Ekwuazi’s poetry mirrors the African experience and reveals the continent in chaos. Ekwuazi’s collections include *Love Apart*, *Dawn in to Moonlight*, *The Monkey’s Eyes*, and *That Other Country*. This paper is particularly focused on Ekwuazi’s third collection, *The Monkey’s Eyes*, since, unlike the other three, the collection mirrors the condition of Nigerian as well as most African hospitals.

African Society and its Hospital: Hyginus Ekwuazi’s *The Monkey’s Eyes*

The hospital in Nigeria as well as in Africa has been represented in the latter part of the Anglophone African literature of the third generation as an institution that is currently facing challenges. In Bakari Ojo Rasaki’s *Once Upon a Tower* African hospital is portrayed in the drama genre as being dominated by graduate doctors who do not know their left from their rights because the society celebrates what Nnolim calls “fake graduates” (Nnolim cited in Solomon Awuzie, 2017, p. 3). This situation is reiterated in another leading prose work in the period, Camillus Ukah’s *When the Wind Blows*. In this prose work we are presented with another “fake graduate” in Medical Laboratory Science. Adaku, a “fake” Laboratory Scientist, “who graduated a dangerous fake” (Awuzie, 2017, p. 7), by bribing her way through the university, later got a job in the hospital where she was expected to sample blood. The first person whose blood she sampled died after taking in the blood as a result her incompetency. It is this same situation that is revisited in the poetry genre in Ekwuazi’s *The Monkey’s Eyes*. Its

inclusion in the poetry genre has heightened the tension previously generated in the Anglophone African literature of the third generation.

Like most African literary titles that are taken from proverbs and poems, the title of the collection, *The Monkey's Eyes*, is coined from the popular Nigerian proverb: "Anyone who really wants to know how gravely sick monkey's relation was, should see the red eyes monkey acquired from blowing the sick room fire" (*The Monkey's Eyes*, 2009, p.11). The connection between the title of the poetry and the proverb from where it is coined emphasizes how gravely sick the African society is and its hospitals have recently become. It also represents the significance of the poetry as a very important platform through which the society of the period vis-à-vis its hospitals are mirrored for corrective purposes. For this purpose the poetry takes on all aspects of the hospital in its contemplation. This is further stressed in the preface to the collection, where it is noted that the collection is about "a patient-persona who journeys through the hospital: through its rites and its rituals of healing; through the schedules and the protocols of its bureaucracy: and through the stress and strain of its restrictions" (p.6). As the persona journeys through the wards of the hospital, the state of African society as well as its hospitals are mirrored and also bemoaned.

The revelation in the collection starts with the first poem of the collection, "Why doesn't a death sentence deafen the ears?" In the poem, a picture of the African hospital as a place of death is painted. This is as a result of the nonchalance with which the African doctors discharge their job in the hospital. The doctor in the African hospital treats human life like a mere commodity, hence he tries as much as possible not to leave any memories. He tries as much as possible not to leave any trace of his patient's death or pain in the hospital. Any trace of pain or death in the hospital that is "sooner left" is quickly completely wiped out "like footsteps/ on shifting sands" (p. 13). In the hospital, the doctor displays his uncertainty about most of the ailment his patient brings before him yet he shifts "the gear of his uncertainty/ as he [moves] further into that region of impassivity/ where doctors spend their work hours" (p. 14). And then, from that "alienating distance", the doctor would speak. The doctor's voice when he speaks portrays his uncertainty and carelessness towards the patient persona's illness. His voice according to the patient persona shows "no stress, no colour" and "each syllable" that proceeds out of it wears "the cloak of the one preceding it", each usually lifeless, as

though there is “a machine / somewhere inside him churning it out” (p. 14). While he manages “to remain untouched, totally / untouched” the patient is to him “no more than a / mathematical problem that he must couch in the language / of a weather report” (p. 14). The consequence of this is that being in attendance in an African hospital causes fear. The kind of fear that comes is “like a deluge” (p. 14).

In the second poem of the collection entitled “My silent vow now a covenant prayer,” the patient persona contemplates whether those approaching the hospital do not do so with fear in their hearts. He asks a rhetorical question that has an overriding significance in the entire collection: “They who go through this gate – who go in to take a bed/ do they not approach this gate with dread in their heart?” He recounts the condition of the hospital that is capable of instilling fear in anybody. The first is the “failed & ailing health-care delivery system”. The second is “the spidery holes in the ceiling into which the hospital’s supplies all disappear”. The third is the “medical personnel who siphon patients & resources to their own private businesses”. The fourth is the “outmoded, badly refurbished, totally unreliable life support & diagnostic equipment bought & installed at a higher cost than the modern and the new” (p.15). He asks another perturbing rhetorical question: “they who go through this gate – who go in to take a bed ...” does the hospital gate “not say to them”: Abandon hope, all who enter! – here, you’ll die more than a little everyday / every day, you’ll slide more than a little / beyond cure / beyond care” (p.15).

In another poem, entitled “One fine tomorrow, I’ll arise and take up my bed”, the patient persona compares illness to criminality and the hospital ward to “the cell for the most hardened cases” (p. 18). This comparison stems from the patient persona’s perception and depiction of the condition of the hospital as “the region of the damned” (p. 18). The condition in which the patient persona finds himself in the hospital is horrible. He describes it as a “depressing,” “forlorn” and “abandoned” condition. This is evident in the look of everyone in the hospital ward. Everyone is described in the hospital as wearing that “self-pitying look ... that the dream-is-o’er look” (p. 17). There is also “no getting away from the smell and the sight/ and the sound of decaying humanity in a decaying hospital” (p. 17). The smell in the hospital is that of a deep rottenness that no incense and no antiseptic / can hide” (p. 17). The poem contains lots of rhetorical questions that all reveal the dread that have taken the significant part of

the patient persona's stay in the hospital. Yet with the use of the word "covenant", in "My silent vow now a covenant prayer," it is implied the patient persona attends the hospital because he has no choice and has no other place to go for treatment. He stresses the act of going into the hospital for treatment as just to fulfil all righteousness. The hospital is also revealed as a microcosm of Nigeria and the entire African continent— a place where everything goes wrong and nobody cares. In "How do I colour-code for hope?" the patient persona is expected to always use the "laboured corridors and staircases" because "the lifts are dead and not a thing [...] / seems to have been planned for efficiency and ease" (p. 26). The lab tests take the patient "up and down and round and round the hospital" (p. 26). The persona stresses that he now knows what an African hospital really is:

- the hospital is
 where the heaviest traffic is in hope & despair
- the hospital is
 there where illnesses of every make are put on the
 shelf ...& if you were asked to choose you'd be only
 too happy to choose the one you brought along ... (p.26)

In "Can't you suffer them, my visitors, to come unto me", he also notes that to "be on a hospital bed" in Africa "is to shout loud and clear": "Here's a life that's about to reach its ashes!" (p. 59). Being in hospital bed in Africa is also compared to wearing "a neon light that screams to any passer-by": "Life is full of misery, / life is full of loneliness / life is full of suffering-/ but can't it ... this miserable, / lonely, suffering life ... can't / it go on ... can't it go on just a / little longer?" (p. 59). The hospital bed is described as "an uncharted border bound on all sides by fear and loneliness" and also "bound on all sides by pain and worry" (p. 59). In "By their footsteps and their bedside manners ..." the persona reveals that the doctors carry the aura of pain about. He perceives it whenever the doctor turns up at his bedside. At first he thought it was guilt but later realized it was pain: "that kind of pain that scorns company / that kind of pain that sours every dish & / that kind of pain that builds sandbags in the eye-/ that rarest kind of pain that hysterically insists / that tomorrow's pain will be even worse" (p. 63).

The patient persona also attributes the "undefined odour" in the hospital to the "big dumpsite" usually and "quietly growing right / within the premises" (p. 26). This is part of the reason the "hospital bed spawns dreams" (p. 34). In "blank spaces in family

portraits” the patient persona notes that each time his “head touches the pillow a million / dreams jostle to glue” his eyelids together (p. 34). Hence in “When shared loss becomes a knot that binds” he describes the dream and the past that it recasts as “another country” – “a country into/ which this illness has given [him] a multiple entry visa” (p. 40). In “These varied chords of goodwill” the goodwill custom made card brought to the patient persona while he is in his sick bed, “sags with tips on how to survive hospitalization” in Africa (p. 55):

- ‘Distrust all nurses, big & small, especially when they come bearing medication: they’re paid to take care of only the sick: they have to keep you sick ...if they must remain in business!’
- ‘Don’t be fooled: the doctor doesn’t know all; let him know you know he doesn’t.’
- ‘If they say any food is good for you, avoid it ... that way they can’t poison you; remember, that you’re paranoid doesn’t mean you don’t have enemies’
- ‘Demand an increase in the alcoholic content of all your medication; if they refuse, explore other avenues of getting alcohol’
- ‘Worry about everything: how the country is going to the dogs, the falling standards of education, global warming & financial melt-down ... worry all you can for hypertension is the surest sign that you’re alive & kicking ...’ (pp. 55-56)

In “No... not for me will any vulture wait” the patient persona reveals that the hospital is designed to constantly see people die. This is part of the reason the mortuary building is attached to the hospital ward. Patients come in alive through the hospital ward but are taken home through the door of the mortuary dead. The patient persona recounts the incident that happened in the hospital thus: “Wilfred Wuyep: he had been discharged [...] while waiting for the family car [...] he slumped, right there, in the ward/ And home for him, became the mortuary” (p.130). The collection further stresses that that is the reason there are lots of beautiful cars in front of the mortuary while there are none in front of the hospital ward. The collection does not just reveal these situations through the words contained in the lines; it supports the content with live pictures and newspaper reports. On page eighty three (p. 83) there is a live picture of the hospital environ. The picture captures both the entrance to the hospital ward and the mortuary. While there are no vehicles at the entrance to the hospital ward, there are lots of

vehicles at the entrance to the mortuary. Below the picture, it is written: “the will to die/ and the will to live -/ could there be any better way of strengthening the one / and weakening the other than by locating the morgue / in the daily view of the sick?” (p. 83) On page ninety six (p. 96), we see another picture where two giant billboards stand side by side at a road side. While the first giant billboard announces the death of a woman who died “after 80 years of neglect”, the other is a billboard proclaiming a governor’s “giant strides in the health sector.” Under the picture, it is also written thus:

from where she stood, she could see, all too clearly,
the giant chest-thumbing billboard that, like a cock
falsely proclaiming a new day, proclaimed
His Excellency’s giant strides in the health sector
a chest-thumbing, giant billboard
that ought to have been planted at the gates of
every cemetery, large and small ... (p. 96)

These pictures and the newspaper reports are meant to bring the poetry closer to reality. It must be noted that the tradition of including pictures and newspaper reports of these kinds in collections of poems is a very new practice in African poetry writing, yet it gives credence to the ideas that are expressed in the collection. With words, pictures and newspaper reports, the poetry emphasizes the deteriorating condition of the African hospitals.

Conclusion

As part of the poetry produced by one of the leading poets of the Anglophone African poets of third generation, Ekwuazi’s *The Monkey’s Eyes* is poised to be one of the leading voices of the poetry of the generation to stand up to the challenge that is bedevilling the African hospital. There is this anonymous popular assertion that “a healthy society should have a healthy hospital.” The poetry of the Anglophone African poets over the years has represented the African society as an unhealthy one: Niyi Osundare, one of the leading Anglophone African poets, has been quoted to have maintained that “ours is not a human society.” This is to say that a human society that is not qualified to be addressed as human is not healthy. With a similar disposition, the Anglophone African poets of the latter part of the third generation embodied in Ekwuazi and his collection, *The Monkey’s Eyes*, has revealed that even an unhealthy society deserves a healthy hospital. When an unhealthy society parades an unhealthy hospital,

its citizenry are left with virtually no hope. The poetry of the Anglophone African poets of the third generation finds the African society in this situation hence their poetry becomes a counter hegemonic discourse to positively reposition the society and its hospital. To do this, it has taken the challenge to mirror the society and its hospital for the purpose of reprove and correction and to condemn the decay that is gradually spreading and now engulfing most African hospitals. One of its guiding principles is to bring to the people's realization that a society whose hospital celebrates death cannot make any headway.

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VICARIOUS LEARNING IN THE TRANSLATION CLASSROOM: HOW CAN IT INFLUENCE STUDENTS' SELF-EFFICACY BELIEFS?

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Abstract

This action research study aims to analyse the ways in which vicarious learning, one of the sources of self-efficacy beliefs according to Social Cognitive Theory, can materialise in the translation classroom. To achieve this aim, a mixed methodological approach was adopted based on the following techniques: the interview, the survey, classroom observation and focus groups. Results show that vicarious learning took place in the translation classroom where this study was performed both through the students' comparison with professional translators and between peers. More particularly, a collaborative learning environment and practices such as the presentation of translation projects by the students, role-plays or discovering the careers of previous graduates favoured vicarious learning and thus positively influenced the participant students' self-efficacy beliefs, according to their perception. The results obtained contribute to shedding light on some ways to incorporate students' self-efficacy beliefs in translator education, satisfying the need underlined by several authors.

Keywords: translator education, self-efficacy beliefs, vicarious learning, action research, students' perceptions, mixed research

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Vicarious learning as a source of self-efficacy beliefs

Self-efficacy beliefs play a central role in Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura 1986, 1997), where they represent a *self-perception* of one's *ability* to perform a *particular task*, as the following definition illustrates: 'the belief[s] in one's capability to execute required actions and produce outcomes for a defined task' (Wood, Atkins, & Taberner, 2000, p. 431). It must be noted that the terms *self-efficacy beliefs* and *self-efficacy* are used as synonyms in the literature on (Educational) psychology. However, in this study the term *self-efficacy beliefs* will be employed consistently, thus following the terminological proposal by Haro-Soler (2018a, 2019b). This terminological decision aims to avoid the confusion that may arise from the association of *self-efficacy* with one's ability, instead of with what someone believes that can achieve thanks to their ability. As Bandura (1997, p. 391) highlights: '[self-efficacy beliefs are] concerned not with the skills one has but with judgment of what one can do with whatever skills one possesses'.

With reference to conceptual and terminological aspects and in order to clearly delimit the meaning of the object of this study, it is important to distinguish self-efficacy beliefs from other similar concepts which also constitute forms of self-perceptions, such as self-confidence, self-esteem and self-concept. As shown in Figure 1, a hierarchical relation exists between self-confidence and self-efficacy beliefs. Both constitute a self-perception of one's own abilities, but whereas self-efficacy beliefs are task specific, self-confidence refers to the general abilities that a person has and is not related to a particular activity (Haro-Soler, 2018a; Schunk & DiBenedetto, 2016).

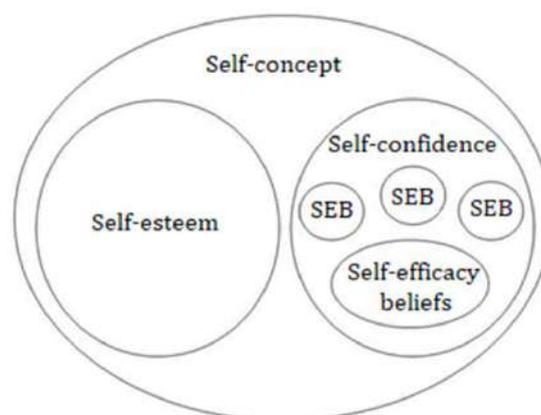


Figure 1. Self-perceptions. Translated from Haro-Soler (2018a)

Self-esteem is an individual's perceived sense of self-worth (Schunk, 1991), that is, a self-perception of one's social and personal value (Pajares, 2000), not of one's abilities. Finally, self-concept 'represents one's general perceptions of the self in given domains of functioning' (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003, p. 5) and includes perceptions of one's abilities together with a perceived sense of self-worth (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003; Pajares & Miller, 1994). This is why self-concept is considered to embrace self-confidence and self-efficacy beliefs (self-perceptions of one's abilities), as well as self-esteem (sense of self-worth) (Schunk & DiBenedetto, 2016; Shavelson & Bolus, 1982).

Once the meaning of self-efficacy beliefs and the differences between this and other forms of self-perceptions have been clarified, it is time to analyse the effects that self-efficacy beliefs can have and, especially, the sources from which they can be generated, among which is vicarious learning. According to Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986, 1997) and subsequent studies, self-efficacy beliefs can influence decision-making and the effort and persistence used when performing a task. In other words, individuals who trust their abilities to successfully complete a task tend to persevere longer in the pursuit of adequate strategies and solutions, discarding less appropriate ones (Bandura, 1995; Tabernero, 2004; Zeldin & Pajares, 2000). Self-efficacy beliefs can also increase motivation, as those who trust their real abilities tend to establish challenging objectives that function as motivational incentives (Bandura, 1997). Finally, self-efficacy beliefs facilitate the control of emotional states such as stress or anxiety. These emotions may prevent individuals from making the best use of their internal resources and from identifying adequate strategies to solve the problems arising during task-performance (Bandura, 1997; Cabanach, Valle, Rodríguez, Piñeiro, & González, 2010).

As for the sources of self-efficacy beliefs, this self-perception generates from the information provided by four sources: mastery experience, verbal persuasion, physiological and emotional states and vicarious learning. In mastery experience, successes can foster the confidence one has in their abilities to perform a particular task, whereas failures can diminish it (Bandura, 1997; Pajares, 1997). Verbal persuasion must be understood as comments delivered by others with the aim of 'convincing people that they have the ability to succeed at a particular task' (Lunenburg, 2011, p. 3). Nevertheless, persuasive comments must be based on the individual's real abilities, as,

otherwise, subsequent failures will disconfirm unrealistic self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1997; Schunk & DiBenedetto, 2016). In a different direction, the appearance of certain physiological and emotional states, such as pain or stress, during task-performance can be perceived by the individual as a sign of incapacity and vulnerability and thus impact negatively on their self-efficacy beliefs (confidence) to complete the task. Finally, whereas mastery experience is based on the results of one's actions, vicarious learning, also called observational learning, is based on the performance of others that the individual perceives as models. In this sense, the successes attained by the model are interpreted by the individual as his/her own successes and can increase his/her self-efficacy beliefs, whereas the model's failures can lead the individual to doubt his/her abilities to complete the task that the model was unable to successfully perform (Bandura, 1995, 1997). Therefore, the perceived similarity to the models becomes crucial for the impact that vicarious learning can have on self-efficacy beliefs:

The impact of modeling on beliefs of personal efficacy is strongly influenced by perceived similarity to the models. The greater the assumed similarity, the more persuasive are the models' successes and failures. If people see the models as very different from themselves their beliefs of efficacy are not much influenced by the models' behavior and the results it produces. (Bandura, 1995, p. 8)

Apart from the interpretation of the models' successes or failures as one's own performance, vicarious learning can influence the observers' self-efficacy beliefs to the extent that individuals can learn effective skills and strategies to manage particular tasks by observing the behaviour of competent models (Bandura, 1995, 1997). This means that vicarious learning allows observers to develop their abilities and to attain subsequent mastery experiences that eventually boost their self-efficacy beliefs.

In this section we have defined self-efficacy beliefs, have distinguished it from other similar concepts and have presented its sources and effects, paying special attention to vicarious learning. In the following section we will move to the field of Translation Studies and, more particularly, to the Didactics of Translation in order to analyse the situation of research on self-efficacy beliefs in translator education.

Self-efficacy beliefs in translator education

Research on self-efficacy beliefs to translate, that is, a translator's confidence in his/her ability to translate adequately, is relatively recent in Translation Studies. Although for the last decade several studies have been performed on this construct (Albin, 2012; Atkinson, 2012, 2014; Bolaños, 2014, 2015; Bolaños & Núñez, 2018; Ho, 2010; Muñoz, 2014; among others)¹, further research is needed, especially from an educational perspective. Even though research on self-efficacy beliefs has been intense in a wide variety of fields (Torre, 2007), especially in Education (Bolaños-Medina, 2014; Pajares, 1996), little attention has been paid to self-efficacy beliefs in research on translator education (Atkinson & Crezee, 2014). This lack of attention contrasts with the previously stated benefits that self-efficacy beliefs can bring for (translation) students, and may be due to the difficulty of establishing didactic objectives for the development of realistic self-efficacy beliefs, as well as for other translator's self-perceptions² (Presas, 1998; Way, 2014).

Within this framework, several authors (Fraser, 2000; Way, 2009; Atkinson & Crezee, 2014; Haro-Soler, 2018a) have underlined the need to empirically identify pedagogical approaches and teaching-learning practices that can have an impact on translation students' self-efficacy beliefs, with the final aim of incorporating the explicit development of realistic self-efficacy beliefs in translator education programmes. In an attempt to contribute to satisfying this need and to overcoming the difficulty that this entails, a few empirical studies have recently been performed. Among them is the study by Atkinson (2012), who presents different practices that can be implemented in the translation classroom to foster students' self-efficacy beliefs. These practices include self-reflection on one's strengths and weaknesses in order to gain awareness of one's real abilities to translate; positive and constructive feedback; and a theoretical explanation of the functioning of the concept of self-efficacy beliefs, followed by group discussion.

¹ See Haro-Soler (2019b) for a detailed revision of the studies on self-efficacy beliefs to translate.

² Among them are self-esteem and the translator's self-concept. Due to space limitations and since these self-perceptions do not constitute the object of this research, we refer the reader to the studies by Ehrensberger-Dow & Massey (2013), Göpferich (2009), Gross (2003), Hunziker (2016), Kiraly (1990, 1995, 1997) or Muñoz (2014) on the translator's self-concept, as well as the research by Cifuentes-Férez & Fenollar (2017) on self-esteem in Translation Studies.

Online collaborative work can also positively influence translation students' self-efficacy beliefs according to the results of the longitudinal mixed-methods study carried out by Yang, Guo & Yu (2016). Similarly, the students participating in the qualitative study by Haro-Soler took part in other two focus group studies in which the perceptions of translation teachers (2017) and students (2018b) were collected in order to discover teaching practices that had influenced the latter's self-efficacy beliefs during the four-year degree in Translation and Interpreting that they were about to finish. Among the practices identified were scaffolding, continuous assessment, constructive feedback, tutorial sessions, and gaining awareness of one's real abilities as a translator. Of special relevance is the systematic quasi-experimental study that Haro-Soler (2018a, 2019d) performed to identify and analyse pedagogical approaches, teaching practices and teachers' behavioural factors that can impact translation students' self-efficacy beliefs. Even more recent is her research on the use of rubrics (Haro-Soler, 2019c), the use of self-assessment instruments (Haro-Soler, 2019e) and the adoption of the so called caring teaching approach (Haro-Soler, 2019f) to help students develop realistic self-efficacy beliefs as translators.

The study presented here follows the line initiated by the authors cited in the previous paragraph and pursues the general aim of shedding light on some ways to incorporate self-efficacy beliefs in translator education programmes in a structured way. More specifically, this study aims to analyse the way in which one of the sources of self-efficacy beliefs, vicarious learning (Bandura, 1995, 1997), materializes in the translation classroom. This has allowed us to identify teaching-learning practices that can influence translation students' self-efficacy beliefs through observational learning, as will be shown in the following sections. It must be noted that this is the only study on vicarious learning and its impact on the students' confidence to translate that has been performed in the field of Translation Studies to date³.

³ Note that Atkinson (2014) presents vicarious learning as a potential practice to help translation and interpreting students understand explanatory style and locus of control (two of the components of his psychological skill model), but this author does not suggest the use of vicarious learning for the development of the students' self-efficacy beliefs.

An action research mixed-methods study

The study performed to meet our aim can be classified as action research, since it derives from a problem identified in translator education (the need to incorporate self-efficacy beliefs explicitly and in a structured way in translator education programmes) and seeks to find solutions for this situation, finally improving the educational context (Nunan, 2007).

A mixed methodological approach was adopted in this study, in which both qualitative (interviews, focus groups and classroom observation) and quantitative techniques (survey) were implemented. Our decision to follow this mixed approach is in line with the view of Glackin & Hohenstein (2017), who point out that despite the fact that quantitative approaches have been traditionally adopted to study self-efficacy beliefs, a mixed methodological approach would allow researchers to perform more exhaustive and holistic research on this form of self-perception. In this line, Wyatt (2014, p. 16) explained that ‘mixed methods and qualitative research designs seem to have the potential to produce insightful findings that can make the study of [...] self-efficacy beliefs of greater use to [...] educators than has previously been the case’.

This study was performed in a semester-long compulsory translation course taught in the third year of the undergraduate degree in Translation and Interpreting offered at the University of Granada (Spain). The selection of this course is due to the fact that the course teacher was willing to allow a researcher (the author of this paper) to observe her lessons. Moreover, we detected, through previous focus groups with teachers of the degree (Haro-Soler, 2017), that some practices that could support vicarious learning (such as the collaborative preparation of translation projects by students) were going to be implemented in this course.

After selecting the environment for our study, the methodological flow described below was followed:

1. Interview with the course teacher. Before the beginning of the semester, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the course teacher. This interview allowed the author of this paper to familiarise herself with the teaching method that was going to be followed during the semester, the practices that were going to be implemented and the resources that were going to be used. The interview lasted approximately one hour.

2. Classroom observation. All the lessons during the course were observed by the author (four hours per week over 15 weeks), who also registered the practices implemented in the classroom in detail, as well as aspects related to their implementation (such as duration, teacher's and students' roles, frequency of implementation, resources used, etc.). To accomplish this task, the Observation Sheet designed and used in previous studies (Haro-Soler, 2018a) was used.

3. A questionnaire was distributed at the end of the semester to discover the students' perceptions of the influence that the practices implemented during the course had had on their confidence as translators. The questionnaire included demographic questions, as well as a scale where the participant students had to indicate the type of influence that several practices had had on their self-efficacy beliefs (positive, negative or null), and the intensity of this influence (if any) (barely influential, quite influential, very influential). The questionnaire underwent a validation process consisting of the verdict of a panel of six experts in questionnaire design and Translation Studies, and a pilot study with 21 students.

4. After the distribution of the questionnaire, focus groups were organised with students enrolled in the course to collect rich and complex qualitative information (Krueger, 1991) on the reasons why the practices implemented during the course had influenced (or not) their self-efficacy beliefs. In other words, qualitative data obtained through classroom observation and focus groups would allow us to understand and interpret the quantitative data obtained through our questionnaire and to detect those practices that had favoured vicarious learning. Therefore, triangulation constituted the heart of our empirical study.

The course teacher and the students enrolled in it were asked to sign a consent form at the beginning of the semester. In this form they agreed to voluntarily participate in this study, which would include classroom observation, the distribution of a questionnaire and group interviews whose audio would be recorded. They were also informed that the data collected would be anonymous and exclusively used for research

purposes. The teacher also signed a similar form when participating in the interview conducted before the beginning of the course.

As for the students participating in this study, 31 out of the 32 students enrolled in the course completed the questionnaire. The majority of them were women (87.1%) and all students were between 19 and 22 years old.

After collecting the questionnaire in the last lesson of the course, the author obtained permission from the teacher to recruit volunteers to participate in a focus group session. A total of 14 students volunteered. They were distributed in two focus groups (6 participants and 8 participants) according to their availability and taking into account the recommended size of a focus group. In this sense, although no agreement has been reached on the exact number of participants in focus group sessions, Suárez (2005) recommends that this number should oscillate between 3 and 13 and Ibáñez (2015) suggests groups of between 5 and 10 participants. Both focus group sessions were held in the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting of the University of Granada in February 2017, were moderated by the author and each of them lasted approximately one hour and a half. The conversation was recorded (after obtaining written permission from the students) and later transcribed by the author. After that, the resulting textual material was reduced (classified and organised within different thematic blocks corresponding to each of the practices implemented during the course) and interpreted⁴.

Before continuing, it is worth highlighting that the aim of focus groups is not to generalise the results obtained, but to understand the participants' opinions of a particular situation. In our case, the information collected in the two focus group sessions organised allowed us to understand some of the reasons why, in the participants' opinion, certain teaching practices had influenced (or not) their confidence as translators. Among these reasons was vicarious learning, as will be shown in the following sections.

⁴ Focus groups were held in Spanish, so the students' statements included later in this paper were translated by the author.

Results: vicarious learning in the translation classroom

After analysing and triangulating the quantitative and qualitative data collected through the research techniques previously described, we detected that the following practices had favoured vicarious learning during the semester-long course in which our study was performed and had thus positively influenced the students' self-efficacy beliefs to translate, according to their perception: being shown the professional experience of former students of the degree who had successfully joined the labour market, presentations in the classroom of translation projects prepared collaboratively by different teams of students, and collaborative work based on role-play.

Learning about the careers of previous graduates of the degree

One of the practices implemented by the course teacher consisted of sharing information with the students on the successful careers of previous graduates of the degree. Through the *interview* with the teacher before the beginning of the semester and, especially, through *classroom observation* it was registered that to implement this practice the teacher used a PowerPoint presentation including the name, educational background, photo and key aspects of the professional experience of former students, from whom she had obtained permission.

The results collected through the *questionnaire* show that being made aware of the careers of previous graduates had a positive and relevant impact on the self-efficacy beliefs of the majority of the participant students, according to their opinion:

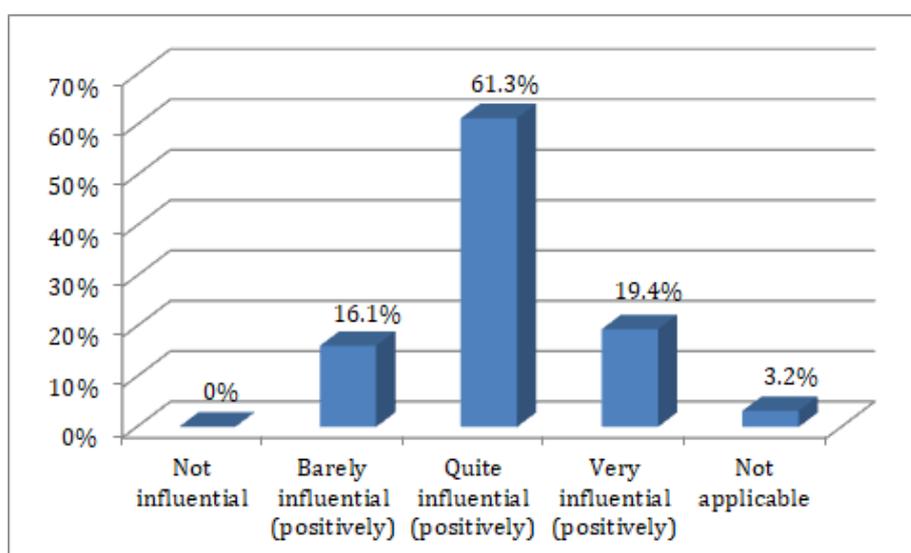


Figure 2. Students' opinion on the influence of previous graduates' careers on their self-efficacy beliefs

As shown in Figure 1, 80.7% of the participants indicated in the questionnaire that discovering the successful careers of previous graduates of the degree had influenced their self-efficacy beliefs quite positively or very positively. More particularly, 61.3% of students considered that this practice had been quite influential and 19.4% believed that it had been very influential. One participant selected the option 'Not applicable' and indicated that she had not been able to attend the lesson where the presentation on previous graduates' careers had taken place.

Qualitative data collected in the *focus group sessions* allowed us to shed light on these percentages and to understand that the positive impact that this practice has had on the students' self-efficacy beliefs was due to vicarious learning. More specifically, 12 focus group participants (all of whom indicated in the questionnaire that this practice had turned out to be quite influential or very influential) explained that they identified themselves with the previous graduates, who they perceived as models, and thus interpreted the models' successful incorporation into the labour market as their own possible future success. In the words of the participants: 'Getting to know that former students are working as professional translators helped me gain confidence because if other students have got it, why won't I get it too?' (participant 5 in the second focus group session).

The other two participants in the focus group sessions considered that this practice had barely influenced their confidence as translators. As they explained, this limited influence was due to the fact that they did not perceive the graduates as models, since these participants paid more attention to individual differences than to their similarity to former students of the same degree, which hindered vicarious learning. In the words of one of them: 'It did not help me much since everything depends on each person, someone can achieve one aim, but another person may not' (participant 5 in the first focus group session).

In short, the results presented above indicate that letting the participant students know about the successful professional experience of former students of the degree favoured the self-efficacy beliefs of most of the participants due to vicarious learning based on their comparison with the graduates.

Presentations of translation projects in the classroom

Thanks to the qualitative information collected through the interview with the teacher and, above all, through classroom observation, we detected that during the semester-long course where our study was performed students had to work collaboratively in teams of five members in order to prepare different translation projects. Each team was responsible for the presentation in the classroom of at least two of these translation projects. During the two-hour presentation, each team of students did not only have to show the result of their project, that is, the translation that they had collaboratively elaborated, but they also had to share with their peers and the teacher the different steps taken to accomplish the project (project management, research, terminology management, translation problems encountered, solutions adopted and changes made in the revision phase of the project). Moreover, each team had to justify their translation decisions before the teacher and the other students, who intervened asking questions, presenting their own translation solutions or suggesting other alternatives. Therefore, collaboration did not only take place within each team, but also occurred in the classroom, which constituted a collaborative learning environment where the team responsible for the presentation, the other students and the teacher constructed knowledge collaboratively.

The results obtained through the questionnaire distributed at the end of the course show that, in the opinion of the majority of the students (80.6%), presentations of translation projects in the classroom influenced their self-efficacy beliefs quite positively or very positively:

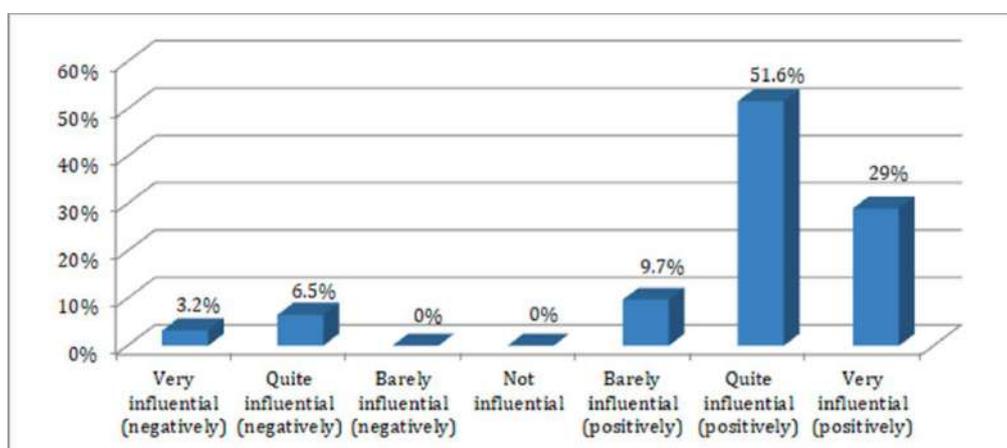


Figure 3. Students' opinion on the influence of presentations of translation projects on their self-efficacy beliefs.

Thanks to the focus group sessions organised we could detect that vicarious learning was one of the reasons of the notable positive influence that presentations had had on the majority of students' self-efficacy beliefs. To this respect, five students explained in their focus group session that to see that the team responsible for the presentation had successfully completed the translation project led them to increase their confidence in attaining this level of performance too. This was possible due to their identification with the students' presenting the project with regard to the abilities that they all possessed:

When I saw that a team had done a good job, I thought that I could do such a good job too, as I have the same skills and tools as they have. That is, to think that if they could, I can too, gave me confidence. (Participant 1 of the first focus group session)

Three participants also declared that classroom presentations by their peers allowed them to detect that they were not the only ones who made mistakes, but that their classmates sometimes committed the same errors. In this sense, 'to see that all students were at the same stage of the learning process' (participant 3 of the first focus group session) allowed these participants to become aware of the fact that mistakes are part of learning and that these should not lead them to doubt their abilities to translate.

Furthermore, another participant explained that the presentations had influenced her self-efficacy beliefs quite positively because they allowed her to discover her classmates' abilities to translate and to compare them with her own abilities. When she detected that her abilities were superior to or at the same level as those of the peers who she perceived as competent models, she calibrated (increased) the confidence she had in her abilities as a translator.

The reasons why classroom presentations positively and notably influenced the self-efficacy beliefs of most students through vicarious learning presented so far relate to the identification and comparison of the participant students with their peers. Nevertheless, as explained in the first section of this article, vicarious or observational learning can also occur when a competent model help others to develop their abilities (to translate) and thus to attain achievements that finally increase the observers' self-efficacy beliefs. This was experienced by one of the participants in the focus groups. She

explained that the fact that the teams presenting the project reproduced the research strategies that they had applied to solve certain translation problems, before the teacher and the other students, helped her learn the adequate strategies that she should have applied, as well as trust her abilities to apply them in subsequent projects:

[In classroom presentations] you discovered the steps you should have followed, how to carry out the research phase, for instance. To learn all this helped me a lot later at home, because I knew how to solve problems, which strategies could be applied, in which documentary sources I could look for information; and I was sure I was following the right way. (Participant 1 of the second focus group session)

To sum up, according to the results presented in this subsection, classroom presentations have supported vicarious learning during the course in which our study was carried out. More particularly, vicarious learning derived from presentations has taken place through the comparison between peers, and when peers acting as competent models taught their classmates strategies to attain mastery experiences (Bandura, 1997) that finally increased their self-efficacy beliefs.

It must be noted that the reasons presented above are not the only motives why classroom presentations have positively and notably influenced the self-efficacy beliefs of the majority of the students. Following our aims, as Krueger & Casey (2015) recommend when analysing and interpreting qualitative data, only those reasons related to vicarious learning have been presented. Other reasons will be shared in detail in subsequent publications and include direct experience in justifying translation decisions or mastery experiences attained when answering the teachers' questions. It is also worth-mentioning that two of the three students that indicated in the questionnaire that presentations had negatively influenced their self-efficacy beliefs participated in the focus group sessions and declared that this negative influence was due to their fear of speaking in public.

Role-play

As the teacher explained in the interview conducted before the beginning of the course and as was registered through classroom observation, students had to play roles within their teams when collaboratively preparing translation projects. These roles reflected the different stages of the translation process and were the following: project manager, researcher, terminologist, translator and reviser/editor. Each member of the

team had to play one (or more) of these roles in each translation project and roles had to be interchanged in subsequent projects. Role-play was not only put into practice during the elaboration of the project, but also when presenting it in the classroom. For instance, the researcher was responsible for presenting the documentary sources used, for justifying their reliability and for showing to other students and to the teacher some of the research strategies applied. Therefore, feedback provided by the teacher and classmates was both collective (applicable to the whole team) and individual (applicable to each member depending on the role played).

The results obtained through our questionnaire show that the vast majority of the participant students (90.4%) consider that role-play influenced their self-efficacy beliefs quite positively (45.2%) or very positively (45.2%):

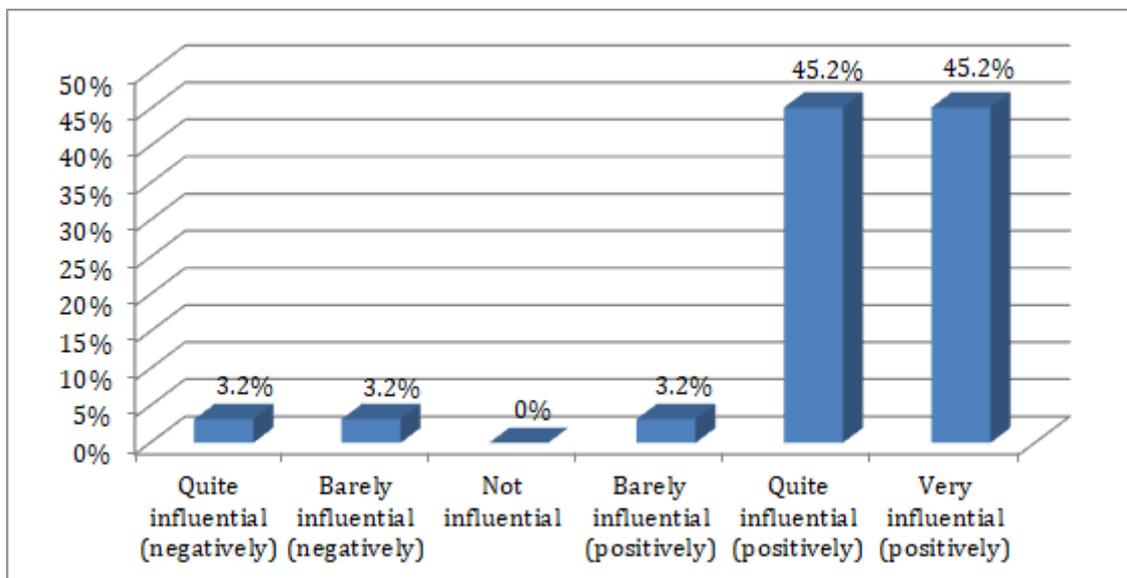


Figure 4. Students' opinion on the influence of role-play on their self-efficacy beliefs

One of the reasons for this positive influence relates to vicarious learning based on the observation of the adequate strategies applied by other team members (and by other teams, as has been explained in relation to classroom presentations) when playing a particular role. In this sense, four participants in the first focus group session explained that to see how their teammates (and other classmates) had played a particular role helped them know how to solve the difficulties associated with the role in question. As a consequence of that, they felt more confident when performing the tasks related to this role and attained achievements that positively impacted their self-efficacy beliefs. In the words of one of them:

It helped me gain confidence to see how other teammates had played certain roles, to see how they had solved the difficulties encountered and to know what the teacher had told them, because this let me know what to do when I had to play the same role. (Participant 1)

Other reasons why role-play positively and notably influenced the self-efficacy beliefs of most students relate to enactive learning, that is, to the development of the students' abilities through direct experience, as will be described in future publications.

Conclusions

In an attempt to contribute to filling the vacuum identified in translator education with respect to the development of realistic self-efficacy beliefs by students, the action research study presented here was performed. More specifically, this study pursued the aim of analysing how vicarious learning, one of the sources of self-efficacy beliefs according to Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986, 1997), materialises in the translation classroom, in order to identify practices that can allow translator educators to help their students trust their real abilities as translators.

To achieve this aim a mixed methodological approach was adopted. Before the beginning of the course where this study was performed we interviewed the course teacher, which allowed the collection of qualitative data about the pedagogical approach adopted. Moreover, classroom observation was applied and all lessons of the course were observed by the author. We also used the survey, which adopted the form of a questionnaire that the participant students completed at the end of the course and where they indicated their perceptions on the influence that practices implemented during the course had had on their self-efficacy beliefs. Finally, two focus group sessions were organised, which were essential to understand some of the reasons why the practices implemented had influenced (or not) the students' confidence as translators, from their perspective.

Several practices that support vicarious learning and that have positively influenced the self-efficacy beliefs of the majority of the participant students have been identified. These practices include sharing with the students information about the careers of previous graduates of the degree, classroom presentations of translation

projects and role-play. In the first practice vicarious learning and its positive impact on the students' self-efficacy beliefs take place through the comparison with former students, whose professional attainments were interpreted as future attainments by the participants. Similarly, classroom presentations of translation projects supported vicarious learning as they seemed to allow students to identify themselves with those responsible for the presentation and thus to realise that, like the team presenting, they were also able to successfully complete translation projects. Moreover, presentations led some participants to become aware of the fact that all students make mistakes and that there is no reason to doubt one's abilities because of common errors that are part of the learning process. In a different direction, presentations constituted a space where students could learn from their peers (competent models), improve their abilities and attain mastery experiences, which finally fostered their self-efficacy beliefs. Vicarious learning based on the teaching of strategies by competent models did not only occur during presentations, but also within each team, where it was favoured by role-play.

Consequently, the results obtained seem to indicate that a student-centred approach based on the collaboration between students within a team, between different teams of students and between the teacher and the students can help students trust their real abilities as translators.

As the results presented show, we have met the aim pursued, since different practices that can positively influence students' self-efficacy beliefs through vicarious learning have been identified. It must be noted that this is, to the best of our knowledge, the first study performed on vicarious learning and self-efficacy beliefs in Translation Studies. We hope to have contributed to shedding light on possible ways to incorporate self-efficacy beliefs in translator education, thus satisfying the need identified by several authors. Nevertheless, although this study represents a step forward, further research is necessary in this direction. Future research could include the replication of this study in different courses and different universities, as well as the development of quasi-experimental studies where self-efficacy beliefs are measured at the beginning and at the end of the course. Quasi-experimental studies would allow researchers to analyse the impact that certain practices, such as those that support vicarious learning, may have on self-efficacy beliefs.

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EMOTIONS ACROSS THE ESSAY: WHAT SECOND-LANGUAGE WRITERS FEEL ACROSS FOUR WEEKS' WRITING A RESEARCH ESSAY

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Abstract

Pekrun's (2000, 2006) questionnaire-based model of academic emotions is widely used. However, Appraisal analysis of qualitative data offers richer detail. This study used Appraisal analysis to assess the subjective attitudes realised by students across four weeks during which they wrote an essay. Results indicate that judgments and appreciations were nearly as frequently-realised as emotions, and the distribution and attitudinal profile differed in all 4 weeks of the task. Positive and negative realisations of capacity, quality, impact and complexity resembled a typical U-shaped learning curve. Polarity suggested that week 3 was the most difficult for participants, and negative emotional dispositions increased across the task where negative surges peaked in weeks 2 and 3. This study highlights the value of Appraisal analysis in detailing the subjective attitudes evoked by academic emotions. It suggests that emotion-focused questionnaires exclude relevant content, concluding for a small set of emotions before sufficient study has been undertaken.

Keywords: academic achievement, academic emotions, second-language writing, essay-writing, Appraisal analysis, subjective attitudes

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Worldwide, university students write essays. Reflecting on this task, they rarely stop to sift and separate their thoughts and feelings. They respond subjectively, and with many diverse attitudes. Consider these comments, taken from reflections written by undergraduates during 4 weeks of producing a research-based essay:

Table 1

Examples of Student Attitudes Realised During Writing a University Essay

EXAMPLE SUBJECTIVE ATTITUDES FROM STUDENT REFLECTIONS	
1	I feel that this course offers a chance for me to grow
2	I feel like I could elevate my language skills
3	I feel a bit worried as I do not know what standard of writing my paper is at
4	I feel like my writing skills are starting to get worse, so its making me feel like this class is starting to get a lot harder
5	I feel like there is a huge weight on my shoulders
6	I feel empty inside haha
7	I feel better and from now on I will not feel stressed again
8	I feel more stressed than the last feelings reflection
9	I feel relieved, tired, and slightly burnt out. If I could, I'd probably go home and take a nice, long nap, stuff my face with snacks, and watch the Fresh Prince of Bel Air.

Some of these statements contain lexis representing emotions with a biophysical substrate (“worried”), some do not (“this course offers”), and some could be considered self-deceptive (“from now on”). Some are metaphorical (“weight”), and some complex, such as example 7’s assertion of feeling nothing followed by an ironic laugh. All are authentic statements, written by students who were in the process of producing a research essay. This paper explores the question, if scholars want to find out what learners feel when they are learning, what will give them better data – a questionnaire listing a short set of emotions, or student reflections?

Literature Review

Tertiary writing tasks are complex, involving multiple components and eliciting a variety of emotions. The subjective attitudes realised in the above examples are not biophysically-based emotions, but it would be difficult to say they are not relevant to understanding the experiences that accompany academic work. Subjective states have been increasingly noticed as significant to learning. “The inextricable link between affect and cognition is a fundamental assumption adopted by the major theories of emotion” (Graesser & D’Mello, 2012, 145). Pekrun’s (2010) model of academic emotions has been applied by many scholars (Linnenbrink-Garcia & Pekrun, 2011). That model

attaches emotions to four aspects academic learning, framed as achievement, epistemic, social and topic emotions. Achievement emotions such as anxiety/comfort, enjoyment/boredom, or frustration/fulfilment are elicited by learning activities and outcomes, of which some prospectively frame the future such as hope/despair, and some retrospectively characterise the past, such as pride/shame for previous successes or failures (Zeidner, 2007). Epistemic emotions are elicited during complex input when learners are processing information, such as surprise and enjoyment, or anxiety and confusion (Craig, D'Mello, Witherspoon & Graessner, 2008). Social emotions are elicited in the interaction with other learners, such as admiration/contempt, or liking/antipathy (Weiner, 2007). Topic emotions are elicited by learning specific class content. These include a variety of emotions triggered by personal learner responses. While they do not reflect the learning process per se, they can impact it positively or negatively (Ainley, 2007).

Pekrun's model, based mainly on previous work done within states-and-traits psychology, uses the Achievement Goals Questionnaire (Pekrun, Elliot & Maier, 2006) and the Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (Pekrun, Goetz, Titz & Perry, 2002). The latter assesses eight positive and negative emotions (hope, enjoyment, pride, boredom, anger, anxiety, hopelessness, shame), but pre-form emotion within the prompt, for example: "I feel confident while studying", "I feel angry while studying"). Using a questionnaire means that participants do not generate or define the feelings recorded. Thus, our model of academic emotions is to an unknown degree constituted by and reflective of the emotions included in the questionnaire. Further, the questionnaires were administered after the semester's end, and the timing of administration may impact the emotions students report. Then too, data gathered from questionnaires may suffer from the kinds of skews which impact self-reporting (Paulhaus & Vazire, 2007). By comparison, qualitative methods such as free writing are more likely to reveal the full range of emotions involved. Finally, while academic work elicits various emotions, it also elicits a broad range of subjective responses which repackage emotion as judgements and appreciations. It is useful to analyse these, also, in trying to understand the interior states elicited by academic work.

Emotion is a construct. It sits within the broader area of subjective attitude. Contemporary neuroscientific models identify emotions with a biophysical substrate,

but also reveal that we are constantly engaged in appraisals, or multifaceted constellations of responses to external stimuli, which have cognitive, somatic, motivational, situation-specific and communicative dimensions (Scherer, 2000; Moors, Ellsworth & Scherer: 2013). Appraisal models are more complex, allowing that “a person can have a multitude of emotional experiences that do not correspond to the categories proposed by any basic emotions theorist” (Ellsworth, 2013: 126). Systematic organisations of subjective and emotional lexis have also emerged within psycholinguistics, which resemble classifications within psychology and thus are “not arbitrarily posited” (Bednarek, 2009, p 150). Though morphosyntax varies, lexicogrammar realising subjective evaluations is found in all languages and may be taxonomised within semantic classes (Fontaine, Scherer & Soriano, 2013). Sentiment analysis is the collection of techniques used to assess subjective evaluations, including but not limited to emotion, within extensive textual, or corpus data (Argamon, Bloom, Esuil & Sebastiani, 2007). Among these techniques, Appraisal analysis, based in systemic functional linguistics, offers the most semantically delicate result. Appraisal analysis focuses on three systems within language – (a) attitude, comprising the words and phrases through which we evaluate ourselves, others, objects and events, (b) engagement, through which we either take our ideas as clear and correct, or take a stance with reference to a broader discussion, and (c) graduation, through which we emphasise selected ideas (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This study used Appraisal analysis to discover the full range of subjective attitudes realised in student writing, across four weeks during which they produced an essay.

There are four main differences between Appraisal analysis, and Pekrun’s model of academic emotions. First is the object of study. Emotion has a complex history of labels and debates (Scherer, 2000; Pekrun, 2016). What Pekrun terms “academic emotion” arose from multiple earlier paradigms from self-regulation to cognition, with “largely unresolved...conceptual boundaries” (Pekrun, 2016, p 121). He therefore subsumes emotion and mood within “affect”, bundled together with a set of “omnibus variables” (2012, p. 261) including self-concept, self-beliefs and motivations. Appraisal analysis need not define these constructs, as it assumes that specific areas of lexicogrammar evolved to enable people to realise meanings they wanted to convey. Appraisal denominates the entire field “attitude” (Martin & White, 2005). The Attitude system may be seen in Figure 1.

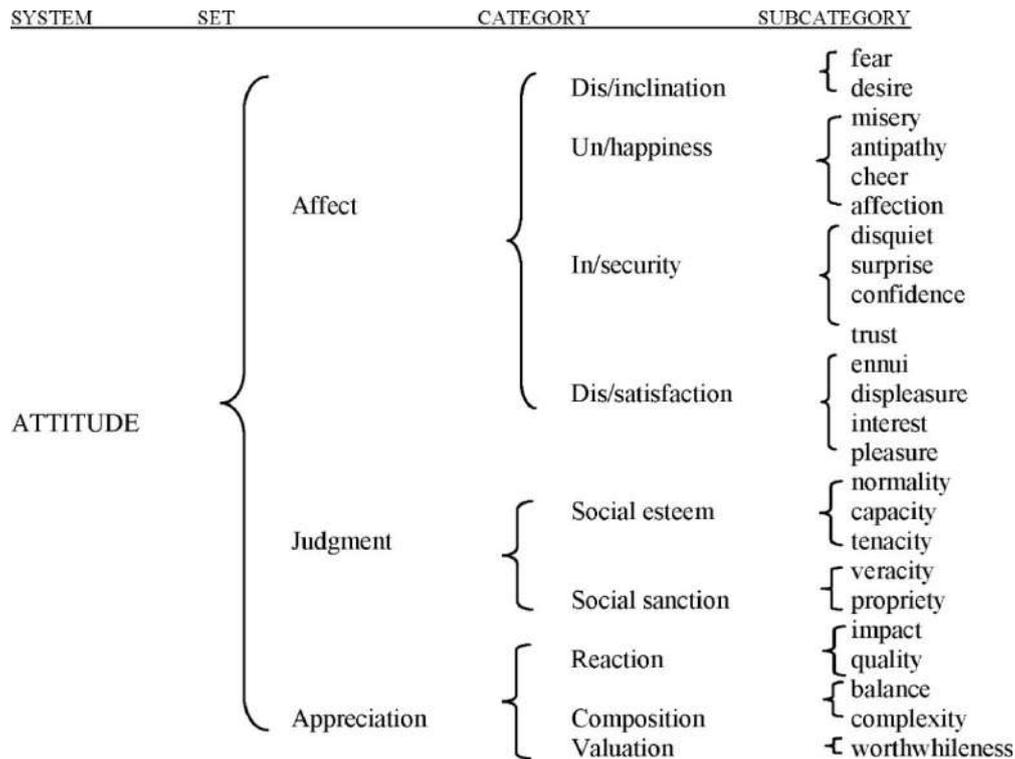


Figure 1. The attitude system

This model acknowledges the physiological substrate of emotion within the fundamental “affect” set, which taxonomises words and phrases realising emotions. Two further sets rework emotion as statements of: (a) judgment, evaluating other people and their actions, and (b) appreciation, evaluating objects and events. Attitudes may be realised directly, by overtly inscribing the attitude (“today’s class was very enjoyable”), or indirectly by evoking it (“I had so much fun...I laughed so much”). Direct realisations allow the author to “own” or proclaim an attitude through congruent grammatical structures, which “bear a natural relation to the meanings they have evolved to express” (Halliday, 1985, p. xviii), as in “I love writing”. Languages also offer extensive resources for lexicalising emotion, setting it at a distance from the self in various ways. Grammatical metaphor is among these, where an emotional experience has become a noun or a thing (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006). For example, “Idleness is not in our favor, since there is still a lot to be discovered and developed” performs the author’s contextual literacy through sophisticated registerial choices, (ii) deflects criticism by placing the author within a larger similar group, and (iii) projects an improved future state. This statement really is not equivalent to “We’re lazy, we know we have to read and write more”. This is an example of what may be gained, by attending to nuances rather than fundamentals.

Second, Pekrun's valence comprises two states, positive and negative. This has the merit of making emotional valence clear, but masks authentic nuance. In Appraisal analysis, polarity is represented along a cline. The term "graduation" comprises linguistic resources through which people locate their view finely along a spectrum of opinion (Martin & White, 2005). For example, "it's okay" is only somewhat positive, where "quite good" is moderately positive, and "that is freaking fabulous!" is strongly positive. Negative attitudes may be similarly graduated, and also various neutral ("so-so", "meh"), mixed ("yes and no", "comme ci, comme ça") and self-recusing attitudes ("no comment", "no idea"). Languages offer rich resources for modulating the strength of an utterance, including word choice ("I had gotten a bad grade"), quantifiers ("the sources should contain some specific points that are in the thesis statement"), intensifiers ("I always have so many ideas"), repetition ("As I do more and more research I come in hand with new findings"), modal adjuncts ("If I hadn't understood different sources I would probably be giving the reader a false understanding"), hedges ("Rhet class started to be kind of complicated"), boosters ("I really hope that in the next essay I work at a faster pace") and downtoners ("I need to study like hell") (Thompson & Muntigl, 2008).

Third, what Pekrun calls activation, referring to physiologically stimulating or relaxing emotions, is absent from Appraisal. While acknowledging that the degree of activation is significant to student learning, Pekrun defines no scale – the difficulties of doing so are significant. Appraisal analysis need not define degrees of stimulation, or measure their impact in academic contexts, as it takes language as a proxy for the experiential scales and degrees experienced by people. However, graduation resources are applicable to any attitude realised. Where Pekrun offers "sad" and "exhausted" as low-activation negative emotions, Appraisal graduates authentic and semantically sensible comments like many found in our corpus. For example, the realisations "[t]his week's feeling is being totally exhausted" and "I am really sad that they were the last" would be classified as low-activation by Pekrun, but as strongly intensified negative affect in Appraisal. Both "sad" and "exhausted" are classed as affect by Pekrun, where "sad" would be considered affect (Un/happiness-misery) but "exhausted" a judgment of capacity, within Appraisal. This is not to devalue Pekrun's model - understanding these

as negative and deactivating constructs a useful image of academic emotions. But insight may also be gained from exploring authentic attitudinal nuances using Appraisal.

Fourth is engagement. In both theories, engagement mediates the individual's interiority in relation to context. In Pekrun's model, engagement connects emotion with academic achievement (Pekrun, Elliot & Maier, 2009). Emotions positively or negatively shape cognitive resources and processes, focus attention, enable working memory, assist flow and motivation, facilitating effort and persistence (Pekrun & Linnenbrink-Garcia, 2011). Yet the studies that ground this part of the model are not integrated within a particular research school or theoretical paradigm, reducing their interpretive value and validity. In Appraisal analysis, engagement comprises resources for realising intersubjective alignment (Martin & Rose, 2008). Authors may take a stance dialogically, positioning themselves with respect to a wider community of discourse (Biber, 2006). Numerous clause types allow this alignment, for example shared pronouns, "we" for "I" with author borrowing support for their ideas ("Idleness is not in our favour") (Graff & Birkenstein, 2010). Causes may realise endorsement ("I think that through conferences this issue is resolved"). Typification subsumes the subject within a class of like subjects ("I realized it is not a straight to the point kind of writer") (Brinton, 2008).

Pekrun's model of academic emotions reveals major features of the emotions associated with academic work. However, it is not based on any systematic and comprehensive effort to inventory students' emotions, and disregards many other subjective evaluations that academic work elicits. This study used Appraisal analysis to assess personal reflections written over four weeks by students in a freshman composition course, in order to construct an accurate and particularised image of the subjective attitudes elicited by a common academic task. A comprehensive comparison of the two models was not possible in a single paper. This study explores the first and major difference between the two models, emotion vs. attitude. Research questions explored were: how does Appraisal's expanded array of subjective attitudes compare with the eight contained in Pekrun's model, when applied to the data elicited in the personal reflections of students writing an essay? What distribution of positive and negative emotions, judgments and appreciations, were elicited by this academic task? How did attitudes change across the time period during which students were doing the

academic task? What do we gain from using Appraisal's greater detail and nuance, when interpreting the subjective states that academic work evokes?

Method

Participants were 85 undergraduates registered in a freshman composition course. All were Arabic speakers with English skills at the TOEFL iBT83 or IELTS 6.5 level required for studying in an English medium-of-instruction institution. Data was collected in five sections of the course. Participants wrote weekly reflections of about 100 words over four weeks during which they produced an essay. Section teachers followed a teaching protocol, and used the same prompt: "What was this class like for you this week, and why?" Reflections elicit more subjective language than do other academic genres such as essays (Ramanathan & Kaplan, 2000).

Data collection procedures were regulated through a teaching protocol and meetings. During data collection in the classroom, teacher talk was limited to a brief introduction stating that they wanted to find out how students were doing, and respond to any issues arising. The teaching protocol instructed teachers to (1) request that students not comment on the instructor, and (2) remind students to give their personal views ("just tell me about the class and what it's like for you personally. That means what it's like for you when you're in the class and when you're doing stuff out of class"). Teachers were also instructed to (a) tell their classes that different students would have different views and this was entirely acceptable, (b) respond mildly positively to every comment students made about the reflections, (c) validate every view expressed equally with all other views, and (d) encourage students to discuss their ideas with other students if they so desired, but not to engage in such discussions themselves due to the authoritative influence of their role, and to prevent students repeating teacher ideas in an effort to gain favour or grades. Finally, teachers were instructed not to (a) give their own opinion or ideas, (b) agree with one student more than another, (c) write any words on the whiteboard during the reflection task, and (d) discuss the prompt with one student more than another. Students emailed reflections to teachers, who anonymised data and sent it on to a team member functioning as data compiler, who checked it and sent it to a team member functioning as data analyser. A 10-week pilot phase routinised the reflection task for students, ensuring that attitudes realised did not

unduly reflect new experiences in their first semester in university, and accustomed teachers to data collection procedures. Participants wrote two essays during the pilot phase, ensuring attitudes realised reflected an academic task they were somewhat habituated to, rather than an exceptional challenge.

Data was analysed using the software CorpusTool, which offers semi-automatic tagging for the semantic word-classes of the Appraisal system architecture (O'Donnell, 2008). When people express a personal point of view, they choose words from the range of those they are familiar with. These realisations may be aggregated into corpora, in order to seek attitudinal patterns (Pang, Lee & Vaithyanathan, 2002). Automatised text-tagging is long-established in computational linguistics, with softwares applying taxonomically organised concordances built from machine-learning classification tasks, adjusted by human oversight. These softwares efficiently sort text into hierarchicalised word-classes (Polanyi & Zaenen, 2006). That is, they do so more quickly and reliably than human taggers (Subassic & Huettner, 2001). Sentiment analysis softwares apply these tagging techniques to quantify affect, opinion and stance markers (Yang, Lin & Chen, 2007). Emotional lexis is the easiest for softwares to tag (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). While machine-tagging is imperfect, software can disambiguate most cases of unclear language, for example homonyms for synonyms, and mis-spellings. While error rates are low, machine tagging has difficulty with squeeze-text, sarcasm and irony (Argamon, Bloom, Esuil & Sebastiani, 2007). For this study, machine attributions were checked by the lead researcher, who has hundreds of hours of experience with Appraisal analysis and software tagging. This combination is viewed as most reliable (Wiebe, Wilson & Cardie, 2005).

Data

Data from the five sections was aggregated into a corpus of 43 075 words, and separated into 4 weekly subcorpora. The number of participants varied across the four weeks from 85 in the first to 60 in the final week. Subcorpus size ranged from 12,496 words in week 1 to 6,378 words in week 4. Average reflection length varied from 157.06 words in week 2 to 112.3 in week 4. The number of attitudes realised ranged from 2092 in week 1 to 1163 in week 4. Attitudinal density ranged from 167.41 words/1000 in week 1 to 172.60 in week 4, as in Table 2.

Table 2
Corpus and Weekly Subcorpora Data

W	NP	NC	AVL	N AT	-VE	%	+VE	%	AT DEN
1	85	12 496	148.76	2 092	786	37.57	1 306	62.43	167.41
2	78	12 251	157.06	1 887	695	36.83	1 192	63.17	154.03
3	82	11 590	141.30	1 983	1 019	51.39	964	48.61	171.10
4	60	6 738	112.30	1 163	564	48.50	599	51.50	172.60
	mNP=76	T=43 075	a=139.86	T=7 125	T=3 064	a=43.57	T=4 061	a=56.43	a=166.29

Realisations of attitude were unevenly distributed among the Affect, Judgment and Appreciation sets. Affect comprises lexicogrammar realising emotions with a biophysical substrate (“Im SO SO scared about this essay”). Judgments rework emotion as assessments of people and behaviours. Judgments of social esteem assess social roles, norms and expectations. For example, “Doctor is very understanding when we ask for extra time” reworks a positive feeling of pleasure as an attribute of another person. Judgments of social sanction assess matters of law, rules, duties, religion, right and wrong (“thanks for the style sheet guide which gives instructions on how should it be”) (Hunston & Thompson, 2000). The Appreciation set comprises lexicogrammar reworking emotion as evaluations of objects and events outside ourselves. For example, “I still need to practice more on reading complex material” reworks a negative feeling of displeasure as an attribute of academic work.

In total, there were almost equal realisations of Affect and Appreciation, with less Judgment. However, distribution varied across the weeks, as in Figure 2.

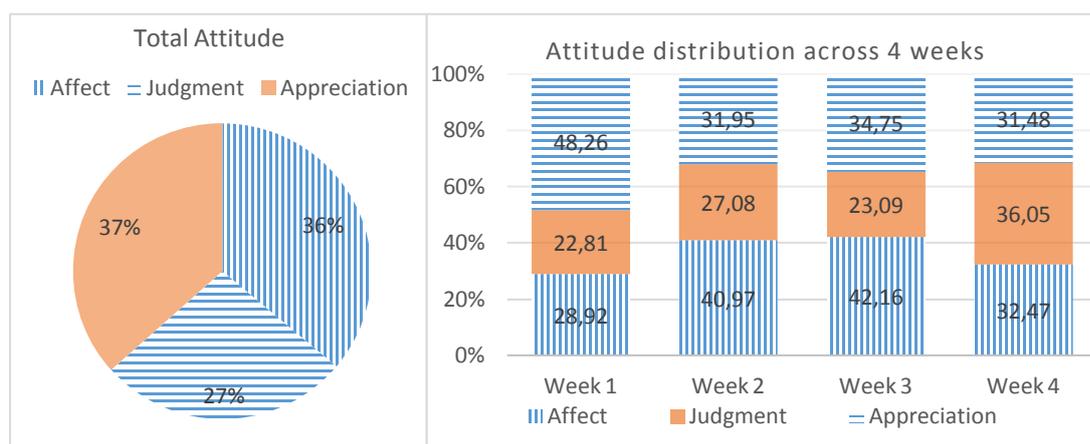


Figure 2. Distribution of affect, judgment and appreciation in total, and over 4 weeks, using Appraisal analysis

By comparison, using Pekrun’s 8 emotions to represent student emotions realised through elicited qualitative data constructs a very different image, as in Figure 3.

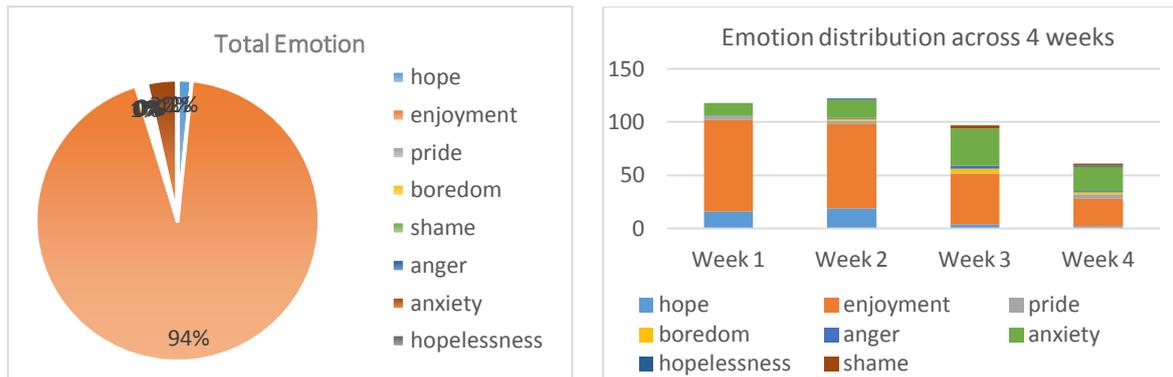


Figure 3. Distribution of emotion in total, and over 4 weeks, using Pekrun's model

Using Pekrun's model, the presence of some specific emotions is exaggerated. Thus, using Pekrun's model, we would conclude that enjoyment was the overwhelmingly most frequent emotion experienced during writing the essay, and anxiety the most common negative emotion. Yet this was not a frequent experience, occasionally students felt hope, and other emotions were not frequently experienced.

Appraisal analysis revealed different profiles for each week as in Figure 4. More judgment and appreciation than affect were realised in week 1. Affect increased in weeks 2 and 3, where Appreciation decreased. In week 4, the number of subjective attitudes decreased in all three sets, though judgment increased proportionately to the other two, and the amount of realisation in all three areas was fairly equal, as in Figure 3. By comparison, Pekrun's questionnaire data was collected after all academic tasks had been completed (Pekrun, Goetz, Titz & Perry, 2005; Pekrun, Elliot & Maier, 2006).

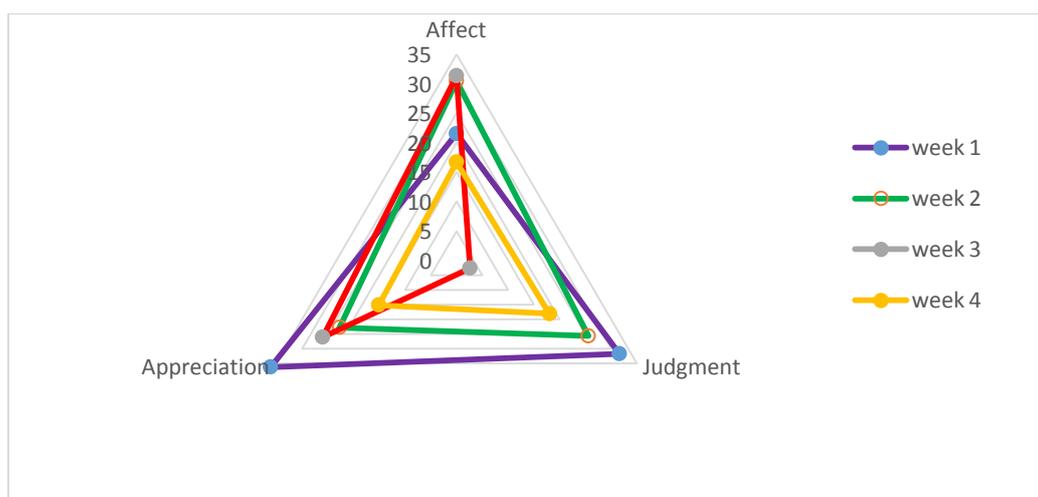


Figure 4. Comparison of weeks for distribution of affect, judgment and appreciation. They capture emotion at one moment only, and that moment is not actually part of the learning period. Pekrun's model could accommodate a time series through periodic use

of the questionnaires. But this leaves the question of what measures to use to represent emotional variation across the learning task.

Realisations in the ten most frequently-realised subcategories comprised 50-85% of all positive and all negative attitudes, in all weeks (see Appendix 1). Of these, Judgments of capacity, and Appreciations of impact were the most common, followed by Appreciations of complexity and quality, as in Figure 5.

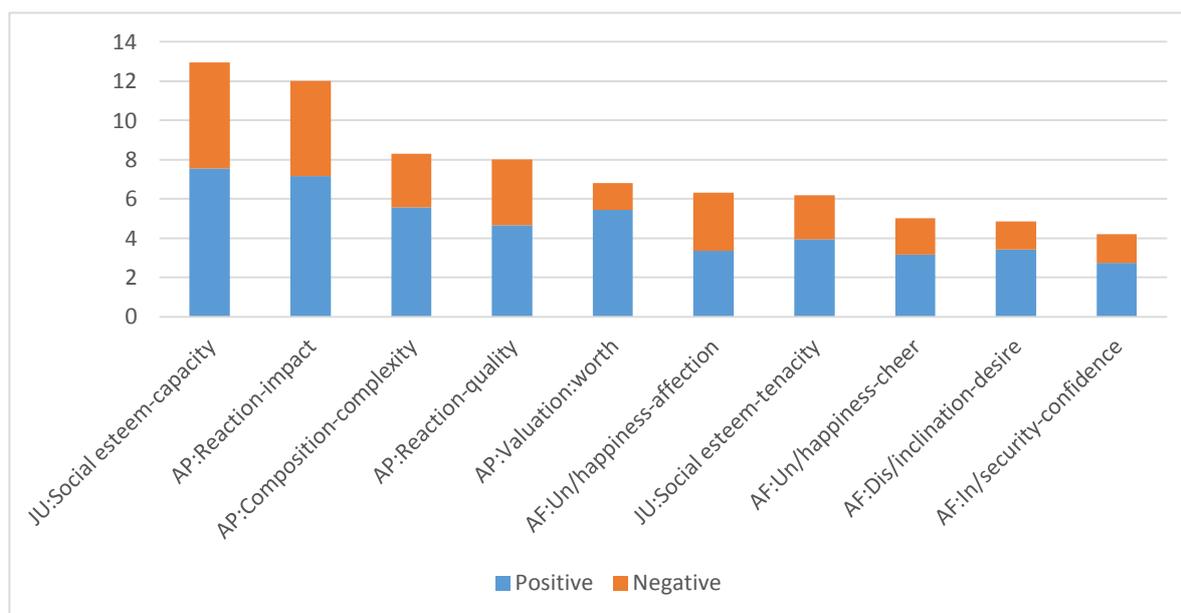


Figure 5. Ten most frequently-realised attitudes, ranked (positive-negative percent)

Feelings of affection and judgments of tenacity and worth were realised about half as frequently as capacity and impact. Feelings of cheer, desire and confidence were realised about one-third as frequently as capacity and impact. The 24 semantic subcategories included in the Attitude system reflect the available lexicogrammar – words and phrases that have developed to allow people to say things they want to say. While many subcategories are not strongly realised in response to a given experience, Appraisal makes proportions and comparisons possible and visible. Pekrun’s model includes only a small part of this potential.

Attitudes were more positive than negative in all but week 3, as in Figure 6. Negative attitudes ranged from 36.83% in week 2 to 51.39% in week 3 (see Table 1). Positive attitudes ranged from 48.61% in week 3 to 63.17% in week 2. Compared to Pekrun’s model, Appraisal analysis distinguishes kinds of affirmation and negation, placing attitudes on a cline, and identifying prior versus contextual meanings (Wilson,

Wiebe, & Hoffman, 2009). While a full analysis of polarity in the reflections corpus cannot be done in this paper, analysis of dispositions and surges, and of specific positive and negative attitudes, suggest the value of treating polarity as complex.

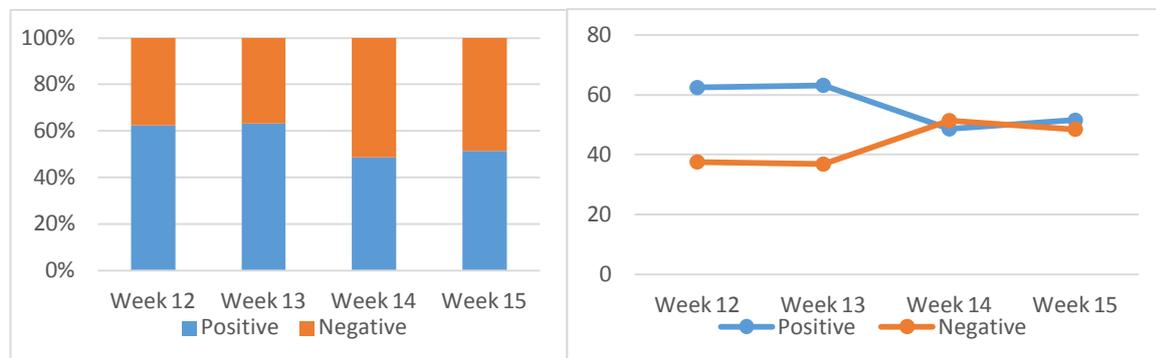


Figure 6. Positive and negative attitudes across 4 weeks

Appraisal analysis distinguishes between emotions realised as an ongoing dispositions (“I like to write, I do it in my free time”, “The assignment that we are currently working on is worrying me”), and those realised as surges (“I felt really disappointed after my bad performance in the last exam”, “I was too excited about starting the primary research”). In this corpus, there were more negative surges than dispositions. Negative dispositions increased slightly over the four weeks, where negative surges rose in weeks 2 and 3, and fell in week 4. There were more positive dispositions than surges. Dispositions varied slightly across the 4 weeks, where dispositions rose slightly in week 2, and then fell, as in Figure 7.

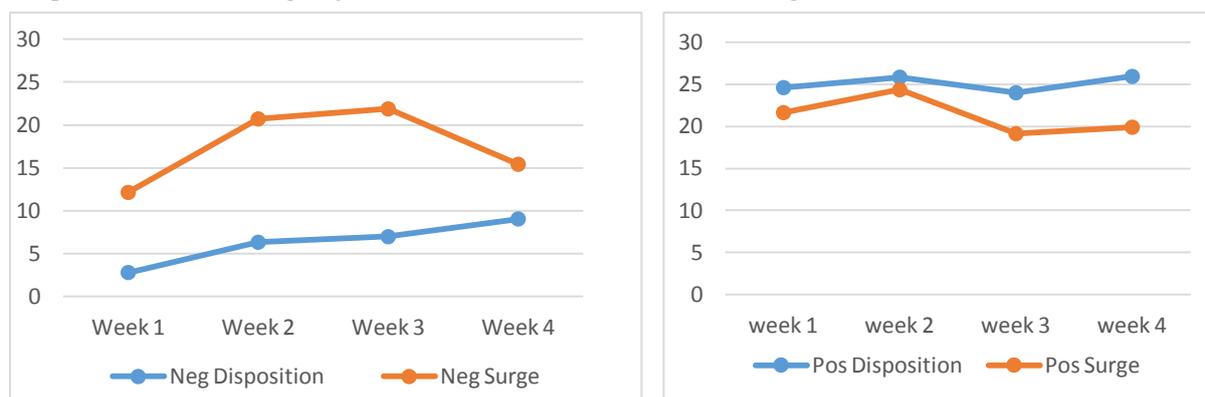


Figure 7. Negative and positive affect as dispositions and surges, across 4 weeks

Changes in specific positive and negative attitudes across the 4 weeks reveal the complexity of the subjective experience of academic work. Positive Judgments of capacity increased in week 2, decreased in week 3, and remained unchanged in week 4. Judgments of capacity (“can,” “know how to”, “able to”, “have the ability”, “have the knack”, “am X enough to”, and so on) realise skills the writer has attained and routinely

puts into action (Panther & Thornburg 1999). This suggests students felt they were able to do the task during the initial half of the period, then felt less able, with these feelings remaining stable in the final week, at a slightly lower level than they had begun with. A similar pattern was found for Appreciations of quality, which rework emotion as attributed characteristics of an event or object outside the self (“this wonderful material that has been illustrated through classes”) (Scherer, Schoor, Johnstone, 2001). The qualities of the task were experienced as increasingly positive during the first two weeks of work, after which this decreased below the initial level, where it remained at the end of week 4, as in Figure 8.

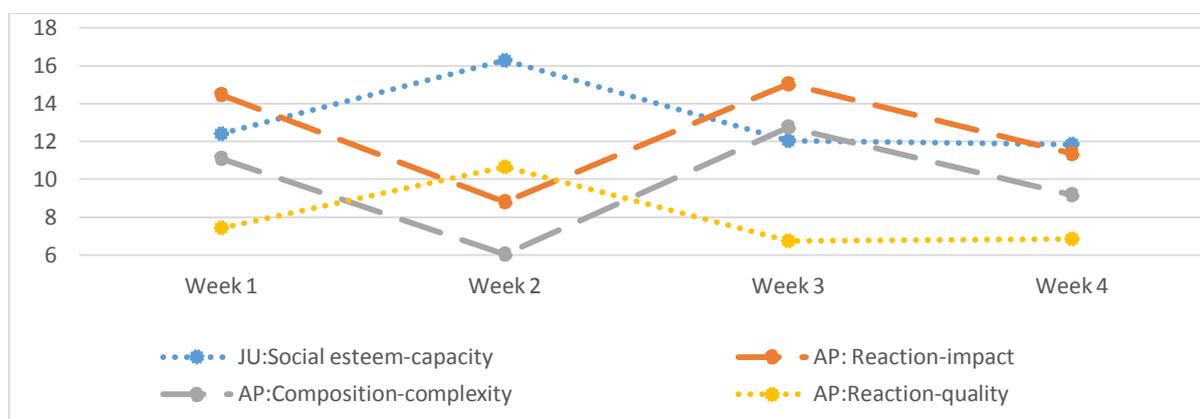


Figure 8. Positive capacity, quality, impact and complexity across 4 weeks

An opposite pattern was found for reactions of impact and appreciations of complexity. Reactions of impact rework emotions as attributes of objects and events outside the self. For example, in “this last week was the most exciting one in the whole course”, the attitude clearly realises the writer’s feeling, even though grammatically it modifies “week”. These are the closest attitudes to emotion, outside the affect system (Martin and White, 2005, 25). Appreciations of complexity rework emotion in terms of composition and order (“avoidance of hasty generalizations is key in order [to] argue one’s point logically and in a formal manner”). The increase in realisations of capacity coinciding with a decrease in complexity at the end of week 1, followed by a reversal between weeks 2 and 3, resemble the typical U-shaped learning curve. This is when an initial period of confidence is followed by a period of more realistic understanding of the task demands, which elicits student effort and thus learning (Case & Moelius, 2007).

This interpretation is supported by frequently-realised negative emotions. Realisations of negative capacity (“i am unable to pull it through and get it together”) decreased over 3 weeks, and then levelled off. Negative impacts decreased, but increased again as the deadline loomed (“all the deadlines is stressing me out”). Negative complexity and quality followed the same pattern as positive complexity and quality: decreasing at first, then increasing, probably reflecting a more realistic assessment of the challenges of the academic task, as in Figure 9.

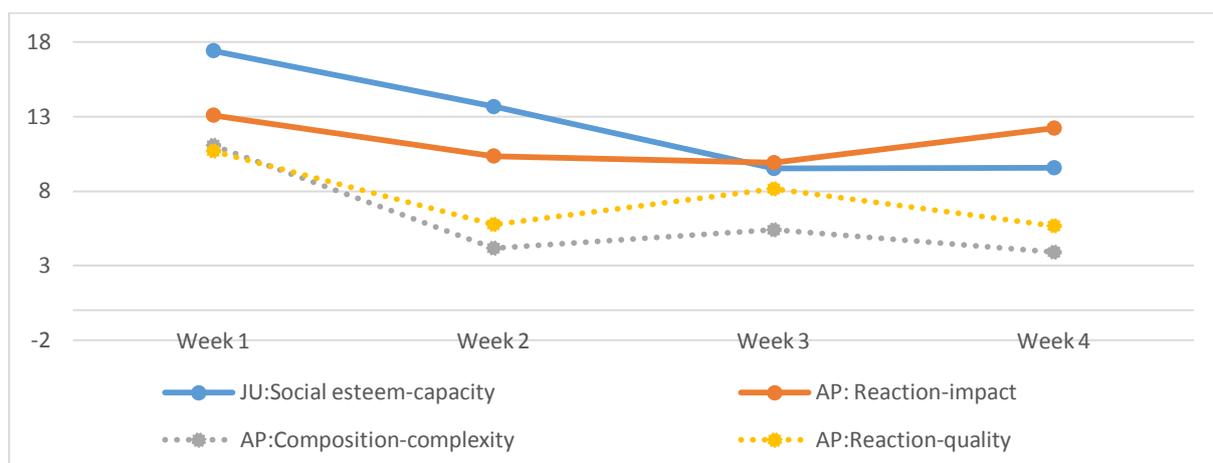


Figure 9. Negative capacity, quality, impact and complexity across 4 weeks

Discussion

This study has generated five main results. First, the relatively equal distribution of affect, judgment and appreciation indicates that emotion is not the only area significant to understanding students’ subjective experiences in doing academic work. This is not surprising: all languages include resources for people to realise subjective attitude indirectly, as this is a cornerstone of polite pragmatics in most cultures (Leech, 2014). This result highlights the potential for altering and developing our theoretical understanding of the subjective states associated with and elicited by academic achievement, by including the full area of subjective evaluation.

Second, the potential for Appraisal methods to contribute to developing Pekrun’s model has been made visible in this paper. These differences have the capacity to develop both the theory of academic attitudes, and to contribute to developing methodological approaches to this issue. For example, they include (a) the impact on our understanding of academic attitudes, depending on whether we choose to notice the

entire attitudinal range or only some emotions, (b) the impact of method on results, particularly the question of pre-determining a specific list of relevant emotions and Appraisals as compared with allowing them to emerge from participant realisations, (c) the potential for studies of appraisals collected as a timeseries across the period of the academic work, to re-envision current models of academic attitudes as a dynamic and staged process, as compared to focusing on emotions recollected after the work has been completed, (d) the suggestion of model development inherent in this study's discovery of frequently-realised emotions which were not noticed in Pekrun's model, especially capacity, impact, quality and complexity, (e) the utility of measures such as polarity, dispositions and surges to detail our model of academic attitudes, and (f) the suggestion that specific emotions and evaluations covary across the timeframe of academic work. The results of this study do not warrant any rejection of the current model. But they do suggest the interpretive possibilities that could accompany widening the area of response through Appraisal analysis.

Third, the ten most frequently realised attitudes demonstrate that Appraisal analysis may nuance the current model. This has utility, in broadening the applicability of the model to the study of diverse populations. As more of the world's population gains desired access to higher education, and as higher education becomes globalised, more studies will be needed of academic attitudes, noticing variables such as culture, gender and individual differences.

Fourth, the difference of the final week in polarity, the specific positive and negative emotions realised, and the amount of attitude realised, may reflect the smaller subcorpus size, but also may reflect genuine differences in academic attitudes at a late stage in the learning process. These results imply significant differences across the timeframe of academic work, and suggest that stages might be articulated. Fifth, encoding dispositions as compared to surges suggests the value of considering both states and traits in a comparative framework, as impacting the subjective experience of academic work. Appraisal analysis may be amenable to use in defining individual differences, and then modelling these across the timeframe of a piece of work.

Conclusion

This study has raised some questions about how to develop the current model. Among these, the following seem significant: how should we determine which attitudes to include in a model of academic achievement-related evaluations? Those which are numerically most frequently realised? Those realised at a specific stage of the work undertaken, or those which define a particular stage? What measures should we use to indicate (a) the initial emotional state, (b) the polarity and semantic change across the learning period, (c) an end state, and (d) frame individual and cultural differences? Finally, how do we balance clarity against authenticity and richness of data. In an era of increasingly extensive data mining, there are many practical options for using large datasets to model complexity. The value of Pekrun's model is that it offers clarity in defining central issues. This study's limitations include a small and second-language participant group, one academic task type, an inability to access attitudes after the due date, and possible cultural impacts. Still, it suggests that we cannot determine these elements until we have assessed the detail.

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Appendix 1

A. Positive realisations in the ten most frequently-realised attitudes

RANK	ATTITUDE	WEEK 1		WEEK 2		WEEK 3		WEEK 4	
		N	%+VE	N	%+VE	N	%+VE	N	%+VE
1	JU: Social esteem-capacity	162	12.40	194	16.28	116	12.03	71	11.85
2	AP: Reaction-impact	189	14.47	105	8.81	145	15.04	68	11.35
3	AP: Composition-complexity	145	11.10	72	6.04	123	12.76	55	9.18
4	AP: Reaction-quality	97	7.43	127	10.65	65	6.74	41	6.84
5	AP: Valuation-worth	124	9.49	113	9.48	66	6.85	82	13.69
6	AF: Un/happiness-affection	43	3.29	82	6.88	58	6.02	26	4.34
7	JU: Social esteem-tenacity	78	5.97	62	5.20	76	7.88	63	10.52
8	AF: Un/happiness-cheer	68	5.21	87	7.30	34	3.53	32	5.34
9	AF: Dis/inclination-desire	73	5.59	85	7.13	61	6.33	23	3.84
10	AF: In/security-confidence	49	3.75	75	6.29	35	3.63	34	5.68
		1028		1002		779		495	
		78.71% +Att		84.06% +Att		80.81% +Att		82.64% +Att	

B. Negative realisations in the ten most frequently-realised attitudes

RANK	ATTITUDE	WEEK 1		WEEK 2		WEEK 3		WEEK 4	
		N	%-VE	N	%-VE	N	%-VE	N	%-VE
1	JU: Social esteem-capacity	137	17.43	95	13.67	97	9.52	54	9.57
2	AP: Reaction-impact	103	13.10	72	10.36	101	9.91	69	12.23
3	AP: Composition-complexity	87	11.07	29	4.17	55	5.40	22	3.90
4	AP: Reaction-quality	84	10.69	40	5.76	83	8.15	32	5.67
5	AP: Valuation-worth	32	4.07	8	1.15	24	2.36	23	4.08
6	AF: Un/happiness-affection	96	12.21	62	8.92	40	3.93	31	5.50
7	JU: Social esteem-tenacity	59	7.51	36	5.18	39	3.83	25	4.43
8	AF: Un/happiness-cheer	3	0.38	54	7.77	39	3.83	35	6.21
9	AF: Dis/inclination-desire	2	0.25	13	1.87	30	2.94	10	10.11
10	AF: In/security-confidence	12	1.53	19	2.73	34	3.34	29	5.14
		615		428		542		330	
		78.24% -Att		61.58% -Att		53.19% -Att		58.51% -Att	

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PLAGIARISM IN ACADEMIA

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Abstract

This contribution probes into the attitudes towards plagiarism in academia as it details the results of a questionnaire study within the larger framework of a joint Bulgarian-German research project on plagiarism in academia. The questionnaire focused on investigating the scope of the notion of plagiarism as Bulgarian academics understand it and second, looking into the availability of a system of support to prevent transgressors and/or sanctions for transgressing academics across Bulgarian universities. The results of the questionnaire suggest that while there appears to be a consensus among Bulgarian academics about the different facets that make up the notion of plagiarism, the reported attitudes towards plagiarism practices vary greatly, reflecting a non-uniform perception of what constitutes an offense. It also shows a deep dissatisfaction with existing anti-plagiarism regulatory systems in Bulgarian scientific institutions.

Keywords: academic plagiarism; perceptions; anti-plagiarism policy

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OpenData: Data for this study is available under a CC-BY 4.0 license at <https://doi.org/10.17632/7h2jfpvspj.1>

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Theoretical background

The present study is part of a larger project focusing on plagiarism in academia and more particularly on text plagiarism in the social sciences in Germany and Bulgaria. This emphasis is triggered by the fact that although data falsification and data fabrication are also considered to be severe breaches of academic ethics, they are more likely to occur in the 'hard' sciences with their dependence on experimental data, while the social sciences rely predominantly on language for justifying claims and argumentation. One should, of course, not forget to mention in this context the plague of custom essay writing as a form of cheating, which has received special attention, for instance, in the UK (QAA 2016). From a more general theoretical perspective, the project concentrates on the evaluation of current definitions of plagiarism in terms of their variation, relevance in the digital age, ethical and legal aspects. The methodology includes literature survey, questionnaires and informal interviews with scholars in Germany and Bulgaria, plagiarism case studies in the two countries, as well as envisaging English-speaking academic cultures for comparison.

The problem of plagiarism in science is as old as science itself but at present it is further exacerbated by the ever-increasing development and spread of new technologies and the vast amount of information they provide, thus posing an extremely serious challenge to society as a whole and research institutions and scholars in particular in terms of the preservation of copyrights on intellectual products, which is also directly related to career and financial benefits. Gilgoff (2001, p. 51), for instance, states that: "as the Internet makes cheating easier and more tempting, many professors are putting less faith in honor and more in fear". At the same time, the Internet also makes plagiarism more visible, mainly through the existing plagiarism detection software such as Turnitin. This is substantiated by the fact that many developed countries constantly update their regulations on plagiarism, universities and other research organizations adopt stringent measures to nip it in the bud through regulations, special training of students in good academic practices and imposing strict penalties, including expulsion without the right to continue their education. Thus, if one looks at the websites of any university in the English-speaking countries (Australia, Canada, the US, the UK, New Zealand), one would find thorough descriptions of what is considered to be academic misconduct, instructions on how to avoid it and punishments if committed.

Nevertheless, the views on what constitutes plagiarism vary among researchers engaged in the debate on its theoretical, as well as practical aspects. On the one hand, scholars such as, for instance, Flowerdew and Li (2007, p.164) maintain that:

There is an increasing consensus among scholars that rather than viewing plagiarism simplistically as dishonest behavior, it is necessary to distinguish between intentional and nonintentional plagiarism, characterized respectively by an intention to cheat, on the one hand, and ignorance of the expected conventions on the part of novices learning the target discourse conventions, on the other.

This understanding of plagiarism has been mainly fueled by the bulk of studies on student plagiarism that has attracted a lot of attention in the past couple of decades. For example, Sowden (2005) singles out cultural conditioning; Liu (2005) suggests insufficient language skills; different preventive measures one might undertake, such as assignment design, have also been proposed (Zobel & Hamilton, 2002; Wiedemeier, 2002; Heckler, Forde & Bryan, 2013), as well as training in paraphrasing (Walker, 2008) or 'revised institutional plagiarism policies combined with authentic pedagogy' (Howard 2007, p. 3). Pecorari (2015), among others, argues that one should distinguish between 'patchwriting' as a way of using sources by relying heavily on them and their wording, on the one hand, and 'prototypical plagiarism' (ibid., p. 1), where there is an intention to deceive. 'Patchwriting' is a term coined by Howard (1993, 233) and defined as: "Copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one-for-one synonym-substitutes". It is usually associated with texts produced by students who lack either experience, or knowledge, or understanding of how to integrate sources in their writing. Such texts are considered to be more typical of L2 writers but L1 writers are not excluded, either (see Howard et al. 2010). This is supported by a study by *The Times* (2016), which involved 129 UK universities and revealed that: 'Students from outside the EU were more than four times as likely to cheat in exams and coursework'. For instance, 'At Queen Mary University of London 75% of postgraduates found to have plagiarised were from overseas with a third from China' – facts that make the authorities speak of an extremely worrying cheating epidemic especially in post-graduate courses of studies.

Chandrasoma et al. (2004), on their part, differentiate between 'transgressive and nontransgressive intertextuality' depending on whether the intertextuality 'transgresses institutional conventions' (Chandrasoma et al. 2004, p. 172). They see transgressive intertextuality as socially embedded and suggest ten aspects that have to be taken into account in judging a text, namely: 'intentionality, development, identity, resistance, student epistemologies, common knowledge, mediated discourse, interdisciplinarity, variability, and task type' (Chandrasoma et al. 2004, p. 189).

Zwagerman (2008) offers a more psychological viewpoint on the results of staff and institutional efforts to eradicate plagiarism by maintaining that stringent measures do not lead to building up students' integrity but rather to creating scarecrows, thus dividing the students into plagiarists and non-plagiarists – something that creates further tensions in a university environment. This issue, however, will not be pursued further in the present paper since it deals with plagiarism by academics which should not be tolerated in any form.

Curiously, serious studies into plagiarism committed by academic staff are virtually nonexistent, unless we count punctual references to particular plagiarism cases, mostly in non-scientific literature: Martin (1984, 1994) is among the few who note the unequal share of attention given to student vs. staff plagiarism on the one hand, and to what he calls competitive (where the individual academic's career depends on the allocation of credit) vs. institutionalized plagiarism (ghostwriting and similar practices, accepted in our society as part of normalcy, 1994, p. 40). This distinction can lead to the legitimate question of why we take a moral stance on the former kind of plagiarism and tend to tolerate the latter. For obvious reasons, our study approaches the question from the point of view of competitive plagiarism, as our respondents are all academic staff whose career depends on the allocation of credit. However, an in-depth discussion of these matters goes far beyond the scope of the present paper.

Some of these aspects, namely identity, student epistemologies and common knowledge are related to another strand in plagiarism research, which emphasizes the impact of culture on the understanding of the concept. A plethora of studies have

devoted their attention to the differences between the Western and the Eastern cultural models and beliefs (e.g. Chien, 2014; Moon, 2002; Shi, 2006) that eventually pose enormous difficulties for both students and scholars from the Eastern part of the world when they try to enter the Western academia. Issues arise with identity in terms of collectivism versus individualism, epistemology in view of previous educational experience, socially accepted philosophy and ethics, as well as regarding what is considered common knowledge and what – not. Convincing as it may seem, the cultural explanation has been disputed a lot - Pecorari (2015, p. 4) displays its ‘fundamental contradiction’ as follows: ‘If factors inherent in some cultures cause a predisposition to plagiarize, then plagiarism does not violate a universal academic value; it violates a belief locally situated in the English-speaking world’ Pecorari (2015, p. 4). In any case, the present study does not aim at arriving at a specific definition of plagiarism, but rather at establishing scholars’ attitudes towards it.

Therefore, present article focuses on one aspect of plagiarism research, namely scholars’ attitudes to and understanding of the notion in Bulgaria, elicited through an anonymous questionnaire. In contrast to the above-mentioned, as well as other similar works, the main point of interest here is plagiarism committed by academics, not by students. It has to be mentioned here that, at present, we are not aware of studies probing the attitudes of academics towards plagiarism by their peers. Following Chandrasoma et al. (2004), some preliminary assumptions while preparing the questionnaire, therefore, were that experienced scholars: (1) are acquainted with academic ethics in general and what is considered plagiarism in particular, thus excluding the option of plagiarism being unintentional, non-transgressive or patchwriting; (2) are aware of disciplinary differences and the requirements of their own discipline; (3) have already developed their academic identities; (4) are not likely to resist established norms and standards for academic publications; (5) are aware of what is considered to be common knowledge in their field and would thus not necessarily require acknowledgement.

In cultural and epistemological terms, it is worth noting that present-day Bulgarian academic culture could be seen as one in a period of transition. From the end

of WW II until 1990, it was heavily influenced by the Soviet academic tradition which brought about a high degree of ideologization, epistemological restrictions, interrupted access to publications from outside the Eastern Block and the knowledge presented therein, as well as censorship. All this led to encapsulation of the academic community and its culture whose interrelationships and ethics were dictated more often than not by scholars close to the ruling Communist Party rather than scholars standing out for their professional achievements. At present, some of these scholars are still active, and their students, whose generation occupies the key positions in science and higher education management, continue to uphold some of the negative remnants of the old tradition. The probably most outstanding one is the practice of “scratch my back, and I’ll scratch yours”, that is, anything goes and is positively appraised if publications under review, especially for promotion purposes, are authored by a related person. Reviewers thus tend to turn a blind eye even to cases of plagiarism, following the above-mentioned old tradition.

As a result, in spite of the fact that there are young Bulgarian academics who have studied abroad and/or have had contacts with foreign colleagues through collaborations, in spite of the unlimited access to publications and information, these young scholars cannot as yet gain enough influence and thus introduce Western academic standards and values in terms of adhering to the principles of academic integrity. Many scientists in Bulgaria believe that the decentralization of academic procedures, introduced by a new law in 2010, and giving the universities the right to award academic degrees and titles, has had a negative effect on the quality of promoted staff (see e.g. Benbasat, 2014) and has facilitated the flourishing of pseudo-science (or Google-science, as Benbasat calls it, (p.5)) in Bulgaria. These phenomena are not unheard of in Romania, which followed a similar development path to Bulgaria, and in Russia, where pseudo-science seems to have reached alarming dimensions (Rostovtsev, 2017). Lancaster (2017, slide 26) presents the results of two recent studies on ‘Academic Integrity Maturity’ in 33 countries, including various parameters, where Bulgaria holds the last position – a sad fact that demonstrates once again the urgent necessity of both research in the field and undertaking counter-measures.

Having in mind the above-said, as well as the fact that cases of plagiarism are, unfortunately, quite frequent in Bulgaria, the hypothesis tested through the questionnaire was that Bulgarian scholars would have a fuzzy, incoherent and probably distorted perception of what constitutes plagiarism and what adequate measures can be taken in order to combat it. The main driving motivation behind the study is a growing worry of dissolving academic standards to a point where scientific research loses its credibility due to a vast bulk of pseudo-science, eroding the merits of robust intellectual work. Regardless of the exact understanding the respondents who took part in the study have of the elusive notion of plagiarism, the leading sentiment is towards zero-tolerance of scientific white noise, which has the curious characteristic of perpetuating itself.

Questionnaire description

The questionnaire was designed as a combination of an unprompted section, open ended questions, multiple choice questions, Likert-scale questions ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree with a 'neither agree or disagree' option, allowing for a more nuanced expression of the respondents' opinions. The questionnaire targeted the researchers' perception of several major issues: background information of the researchers' uses of academic resources; the nature of plagiarism and their attitudes towards plagiarism practices, the reasons for plagiarism and the controversial issues of unintended and translated plagiarism; finally, the issue of anti-plagiarism measures, where both existing punitive and preventive measures were addressed. Thus, the questionnaire can reliably provide a grasp of the Bulgarian researchers' attitudes toward plagiarism in their complexity and in considerable detail.

The questionnaire was disseminated online, via an emailed link, in Bulgarian in major scientific institutions and Bulgarian universities. It was tested for adequacy in a small pilot (three test-respondents); these results have not been included in the final report. The questionnaire was filled out by 88 respondents. There is considerable variation in the professional fields of the researchers across the total number of respondents: 41 of the respondents come from the field of natural sciences (including chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, plant physiology, ecology, geology, molecular

modeling, astrophysics, biophysics, Earth magnetism), 44 work in the field of social sciences (linguistics, psychology, philology, philosophy, literature, ethnology, communication, medieval studies, economics), and 3 respondents come from the field of engineering (robotics and technical science). The country of affiliation of the scholars is predominantly Bulgaria (84), one scholar each for Spain and Germany, and two for the US. For the purpose of keeping anonymity, especially considering the sensitive character of the content, the questionnaire was distributed in Google Docs and there was no question referring to the respondents' affiliation. Therefore, it was not possible to establish statistically which and how many universities and research institutions participated. Besides, despite the measures taken to ensure anonymity, considering the fact that Bulgarians are very suspicious about disclosing their identity, it was decided not to ask questions related to respondents' personal ways of dealing with plagiarism.

The respondents are for the most part in mid-career, with 22 % ranging between 11 and 20 years of experience, and 26% up to 30 years. Young researchers are a minority (around 10%) and end-of-career researchers make for the other 41% of the respondents. 69% of the respondents hold a habilitation as their highest title (associate professor or full professor), 26% hold a PhD. The country where the title was awarded is predominantly Bulgaria, with 5 of the titles having been awarded by countries other than Bulgaria, displaying the low mobility of researchers, who generally prefer getting their degrees in their home country.

Academic staff in Bulgaria report predominantly using online libraries and the Internet to look for literature and they are increasingly adopting scientific social networks such as ResearchGate.net and Academia.edu for the ease of reaching both published and unpublished research; concurrently, their interest in science metrics oriented databases such as SCOPUS or the Web of Science is equally on the rise. Interestingly, filing and sharing systems such as Mendeley, for example, are not very popular, making it difficult to apprehend the way Bulgarian academics manage the digital load of files which they download (if they do).

Results and discussion

The core of the questionnaire concerns the very notion of plagiarism and it starts with a general ranking of the basic breaches of academic misconduct. The results are displayed in Figure 1 below:

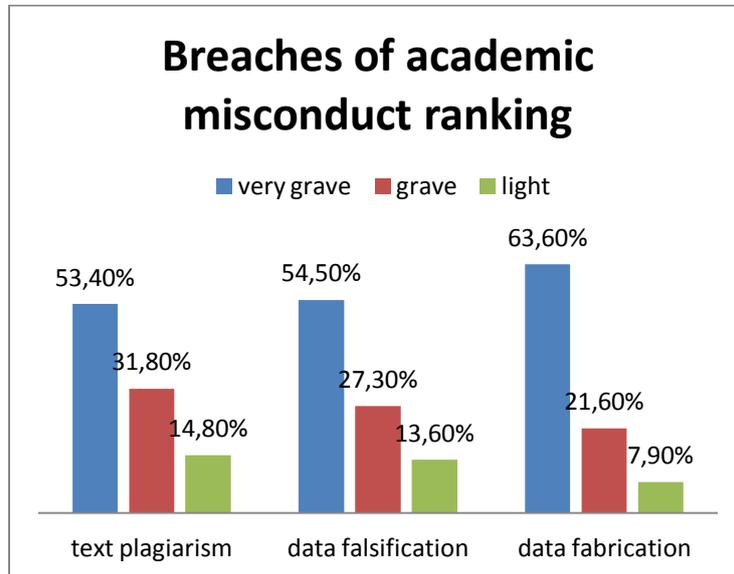


Figure 1. Ethical offences ranking

Data fabrication is considered by a vast majority of our respondents to be the most serious offence at almost 64%, followed by data falsification (54.50%) and text plagiarism (53.40%). It is significant that the number of respondents who ranked the offence as being light is lower for data fabrication (7.90%) in comparison to data falsification (13.60%) and text plagiarism (14.80%). The comparative moral weight of making up results is thus evaluated to be bigger than for falsifying results; as for textual plagiarism, the respondents were less categorical about what the weight of the offence is. This question reflects the intuitive idea that there are degrees to the fraudulent behavior, which our respondents perceive as outright lying for data fabrication (where there is no study to speak of), tweaking the data as less straightforward lies in data falsification and borrowing the language as less significant in comparison. Notably, 35.23% of the respondents gave the same estimate three times, thus expressing their perception of the gravity of the offenses, but refusing to propose a ranking. Interestingly, when they considered questions 9 and 10, the respondents seemed to have predominantly textual plagiarism in mind.

Figure 2 presents the details about the researchers' attitudes towards plagiarism elicited under the form of several statements on different aspects of text plagiarism practices:

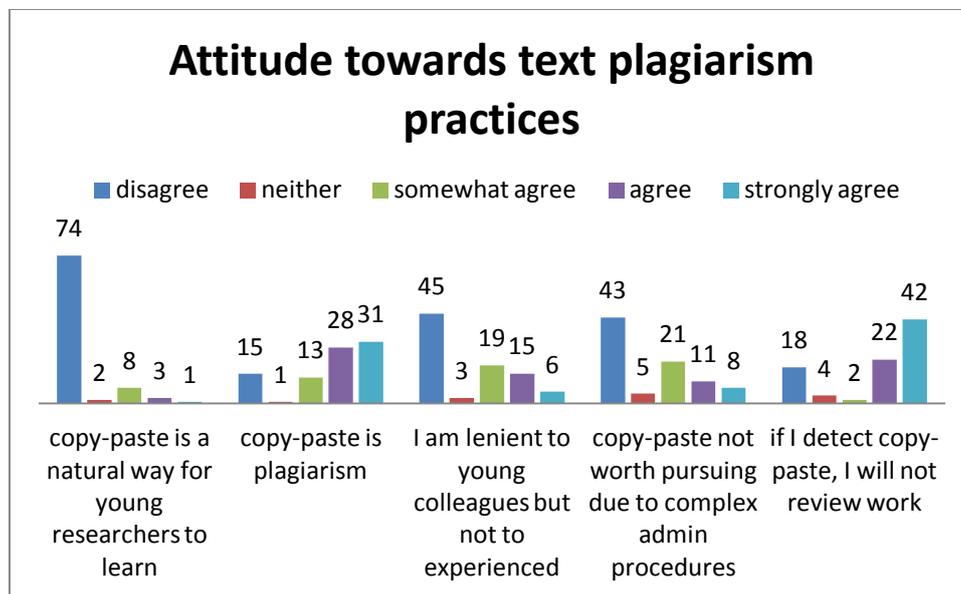


Figure 2. Attitude towards text plagiarism practices in absolute numbers

Even though the respondents agreed almost unanimously that copy-pasting is not the proper way to learn to do research (with 84% of the respondents categorically endorsing this statement), they are less uniformly eager to condemn text plagiarism regardless of the amount of text plagiarized, with 15 people who disagree, 1 undecided and 13 who agree to an extent, making up for 29 people who have reservations about accepting the statement (about 32% of the respondents). This reservation echoes concerns about some practical issues around certifying the fact of plagiarism, namely how much text taken verbatim from a source which is not properly referred to should be enough to ascertain the fact of plagiarism. However, the phrasing of the statement suggests several small chunks found in a manuscript and the researcher's attitude toward this occurrence should follow the logic of the peer/ instructor, not the logic of the judge; thus, any instance of copied verbatim text without proper attribution should be recognized as being an instance of plagiarism.

It is interesting to note that most of the respondents are willing to apportion relative blame for plagiarism according to the experience of the researcher, with 43 respondents (almost 50%) who would either excuse young researchers for plagiarizing, or who are inclined to do so. And this regardless of the fact that the majority of the

respondents agree that young researchers should not learn academic writing by plagiarizing the works of others. The logic behind this answer is unclear: whether our respondents believe that it is a more common occurrence to see plagiarized work from young researchers than from experienced researchers is hardly the case, as among the reasons for plagiarism lack of experience has not been cited (see below). The respondents are divided on the issue of exposing and pursuing cases of plagiarism, with about half of the respondents replying categorically that cases of plagiarism should be pursued, and the other half of respondents presenting answers across the entire spectrum of nuances. To anticipate, the responses to questions 16 through 19 provide a partial context to the answers given here, painting a picture of virtually inexistent anti-plagiarism procedures and a general feeling of hopelessness in the face of the plagiarism tolerance perceived by the respondents in the Bulgarian academic community.

Yet, respondents predominantly state they would refuse to review works if they detect plagiarism. It should be noted here that agreeing to review work that turns out to be plagiarized does not entail producing a positive review of the work; this may well be the opportunity to expose a plagiarist; refusing to engage with such works thus contradicts the responses to the previous question. It might be that besides each researcher's personal experience with plagiarism (plagiarizing students, the occasional breaking news story or unfortunate personal experience of coming across a plagiarized manuscript/work), our respondents may be lacking a comprehensive grasp of the scope of the practice and the proper responses towards such cases. It should also be mentioned that the common practice in Bulgarian institutions does not encourage the staff's getting acquainted with each other's scientific production; internal seminars aiming at presenting each member of staff's research are an extremely rare occurrence and thus having one's work critiqued by colleagues is equally highly unusual. Often, when cases of plagiarism are uncovered about a colleague, they are not publicly discussed, and people are reluctant to discuss them in private. This policy of silence may be exasperating and seem wrong to many researchers; however, the tendency presented by the answers to this question reveals that plagiarism is not an issue that is comprehensively thought about by every researcher and attitudes toward the occurrences presented here are not the result of a specific ethical viewpoint on the issue. Of course, not embracing a zero-tolerance attitude toward plagiarism is not a sign

of low ethical values; it is merely a sign that the lack of an integrative and consistent approach to plagiarism in the affiliated institutions can impact the researchers' attitudes toward particular occurrences of the practice.

Figure 3 depicts our respondents' take on the very notion of plagiarism and its different facets. This question reflects the extensive literature on the issue of the different practices that have been identified as plagiarism or unethical academic practices. Bulgarian respondents in their majority identify those as instances of plagiarism; for some of the practices there is a degree of variation which will be expounded below.

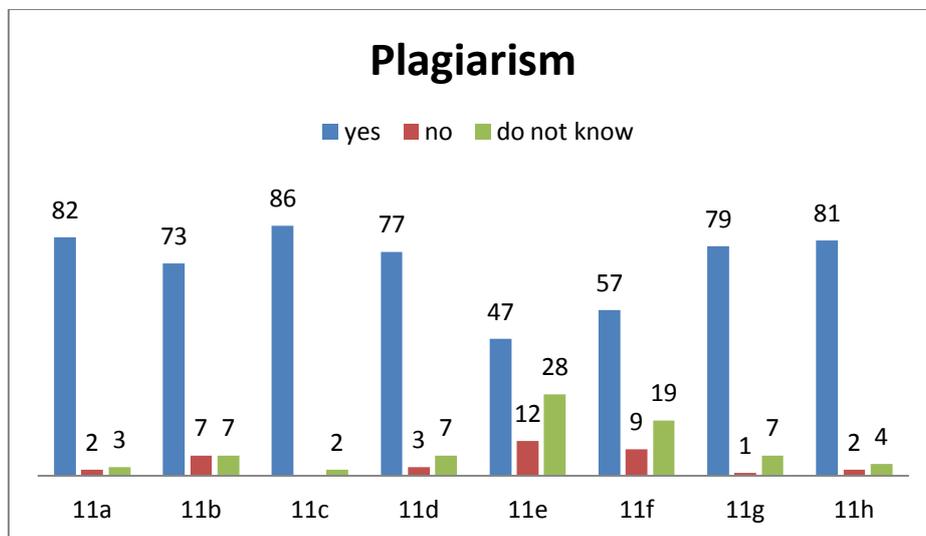


Figure 3. The notion of plagiarism in absolute numbers

11a: Stealing or buying a complete work that is not your own in any format, with the intention of presenting it as your own: 5 respondents were unsure about whether stealing or buying counted as plagiarism.

11b: Paraphrasing portions of work that is not your own, without referencing the source: 14 respondents unsure of whether this counted as plagiarism.

11c: Copying portions of work that is not your own, without referencing the source: only 2 respondents unsure whether this is plagiarism.

11d: Adopting the ideas of others, without referencing the source: curiously, 10 people did not think it was plagiarism, when 14 thought paraphrase (which essentially borrows the message or the idea of the work) was not plagiarism.

11e: Adopting the structure of an existing analysis, without referencing the source: this question has split the opinions of the respondents as 53.41% thought it is plagiarism, 31.82% do not know whether it is plagiarism, and 13.64% believe it is not plagiarism.

11f: Hiring a ghostwriter to do the work also elicited different responses, as 21.60% do not know if this counts as plagiarism and further 10.23% think it is not.

11g: Creating a text using a patchwork of different paragraphs, all from one or several different original documents, without referencing the source(s) is less controversially an instance of plagiarism, with 7.95% being unclear about the issue.

11h: Translating texts from sources and presenting those, without referencing the source, is also unequivocally recognized as a plagiarism practice by the respondents.

Several observations about these results come to the fore: generally, our respondents tend to associate the practices described with plagiarism. The most divisive practices for the respondents are hiring a ghostwriter for academic purposes and borrowing the structure of an existing analysis. While the former results may be surprising – it goes against the very core of academic excellence if someone else has penned the work, so the expectation is that this practice will qualify as fraud, fraudulent practices in academia tend to be regrouped under the heading of plagiarism – the latter result may be partially explained by the variation in interpretation. It has to be mentioned here that contract cheating is on the rise in Bulgaria and there is a large number of firms offering these services. It is of course the case that particular academic genres share a common structure; for example, a research article is composed of an introduction, literature review, aims and methods section, discussion section and conclusions section. It may be the case that the respondents interpreted ‘structure’ in the question to refer to these broad categories of the way the exposition is presented. However, the structure of an analysis often includes not merely a formal sequence of elements, but an approach, a particular view or direction of the analysis, which reflects an original author’s voice and is usually the result of a complex relationship between the chosen theoretical framework and original ideas about the treatment of the data.

The results reflect the methodological problem of recognizing paraphrasing plagiarism, which has been taken up by Bulgarian legislators who passed an anti-plagiarism bill in 2018. However, the Member of Parliament proposing the bill in a

surprising move suggested that exposing cases of paraphrasing plagiarism is a matter of subjective evaluation and opinions can vary as to whether or not a piece of text has been plagiarized. Interestingly, with the liberalization of free access text-matching software and the amount of research directed to detecting paraphrasing plagiarism, expectations about the degree of certainty in acknowledging a piece of writing as plagiarized ought to increase. On the other hand, the level of sophisticated language work on borrowed content could translate as a clear indication of intent in disguising fraudulent acts. Curiously, regarding sources in a foreign language, translating paragraphs and using them without due credit is less controversially attributed to be a plagiarism practice by 92% of the respondents. It is unclear what difference our respondents saw between paraphrased passages without due credit and translated passages without due credit, as in both of the cases the original source material is not taken verbatim.

Certainly, text-matching software is not the save-all solution; despite clear advances in technology and recent research going into teaching such software to match for translated text (Turnitin has started offering such an option since September 2018), software can yield false positives, can miss instances of plagiarized text completely, and it can be tricked (Foltynek, 2018). The use of text-matching software is increasingly being promoted as a pedagogical tool, helping inexperienced writers to produce texts (Bretag, 2018); concurrently, its institutional uses and applications are (almost) predominantly oriented towards students (thus, learners), with academics being generally opposed to using the software to sift through expert production (personal communications from German scholars; their opposition being mainly due to fears of leaking content before publication and improper use of intellectually protected content).

These results confirm Martin's concern (1994) that regardless of whether we consider student plagiarism or plagiarism of experienced academics, we might focus too much on the least serious cases: contract cheating, of which ghostwriting is an accepted form of institutionalized plagiarism (Martin, *ibid.*) where students (or academics) hire somebody to pen the paper for them, is extremely difficult to catch or prove. The complexity of plagiarism practices and the way particular cases are treated betrays nonetheless a tendency to overemphasize student offenses and to downplay the scope of plagiarism in peers.

Our respondents' take on the issue of translated plagiarism, which is the practice of inserting passages translated from a foreign-language source without proper acknowledgment, can be seen on Figure 4 below:

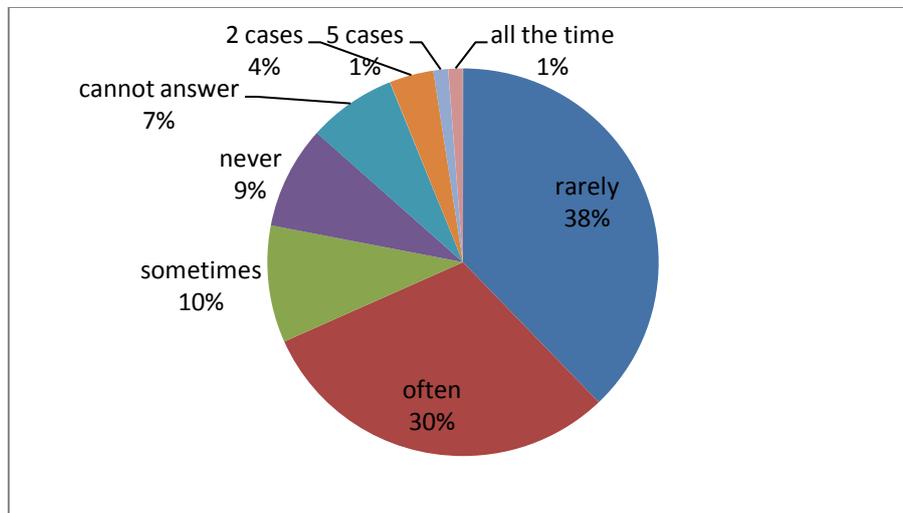


Figure 4. How often have you come across translated plagiarism?

Although the issue of translated plagiarism is not exactly new, it has received less attention in comparison with textual plagiarism. Because of its nature, it has gone largely unnoticed, and this peculiarity transpires in the answers: the number of the respondents who have never come across such cases or cannot tell whether they have is at 16%, with 38% of the respondents reporting having come across translated plagiarism rarely. Adding here 5% who have seen at least 2 to 5 such cases, it amounts to two thirds of the respondents who have had little experience with this kind of plagiarism practice. One third of the respondents consider that it is a common occurrence.

Translated plagiarism poses a significant challenge for plagiarism detecting programs, although in the past decade attempts have been made to develop translated plagiarism detecting systems which translate and match up text in electronic repositories; it is often human reviewers who are better able to detect inappropriately used translated content. For a vast majority of the respondents, detecting the act of translated plagiarism has been an accident – 35 (39.8%) report that they happened to know the originals, thus recognizing the deed; 2.3% detected it by accident. In both cases, it was familiarity with the content which gave the plagiarist away. Some respondents (13.6%) cite style differences, language incoherence or bad language as being the elements raising their suspicions about or as being indicative of translated

plagiarism. One respondent cited as a suspicion-raising element the lack of intellectual potential of the author for conducting research. In two cases the respondents were able to recognize translated plagiarism as their own production had been plagiarized. Respondents also report that they had been forewarned of translated plagiarism, that they had a colleague complain publicly about being the victim of plagiarism, that they always use plagiarism detecting software and that they directly compared with the sources. 18 respondents did not provide answers to this question and further 4 indicated the question did not apply (because they had answered the previous question by the negative). It is apparent from these results that researchers are generally well-attuned to deviations in language and style and that they are able to identify familiar content, even when presented in another language, as belonging to a particular author. It is reasonable to assume that unless the researcher is looking for fraudulent practices such as translated plagiarism, only familiarity with the sources which have been plagiarized can raise suspicion of wrongdoing. All the more surprising seems the reluctance of some of the respondents to identify paraphrases without due acknowledgement as plagiarism – taking the translation perspective, paraphrases translate an idea into the same target-language.

The source-language and target-language in translated plagiarism identified by our respondents reveal a tendency of plagiarizing from foreign language sources in order to publish in Bulgarian: English (40%), Russian (16%), French (7%) and German (4%) were among the most frequently cited source-languages, with Polish and Arabic mentioned by one respondent each. 5% cited Bulgarian as the source-language. 23% did not answer the question. Some respondents commented that so-called 'rare' languages are chosen for this as plagiarists believe those are less spoken among the academic community; however, the predominance of English language sources reveals a tendency in Bulgarian scientific production to draw from English-language sources replacing Russian-language sources.

In spite of the assumption underlying this study, namely that unintended plagiarism will not be considered as feasible in the case of experienced academics, a question related to this issue was included in the questionnaire in order to grasp the respondents' viewpoint. This question, surprisingly, elicited a vast array of responses, with 17% of the respondents abstaining from answering and 6.8% unable to make a

suggestion. The most common responses were “there is no such thing as unintended plagiarism” (17%); 15.9% cited arriving at the same conclusions/results or a coincidence of ideas; 6.8% suggested unintended plagiarism could occur when citing somebody who had plagiarized. Part of the answers concerned memory or organization problems (given here in absolute numbers): forgetting to add the reference (3), problems of note-taking (1), using examples without the sources (1), sloppiness (1), forgetting about the source of an idea one has heard (1), technical mistake (2), or mistakes occurring as a result of manual compilation (1), and reproducing phrases up to 7 words (1). Some respondents identified using co-authored text as one’s own (1), auto-citation (1) and appropriating ideas (3), the structure of the methods section (1), citing common knowledge (2), and citing digital encyclopedias (1) as being instances of unintended plagiarism. Part of the responses point out poor professional training (2), poor language knowledge (4), lack of knowledge about plagiarism (1) and more specifically students’ lack of knowledge about the rules (3) or point the blame toward the advisor (2).

Among these results, the responses which define unintentional plagiarism as a mistake where there is no intention to deceive, or as a coincidence amount to 25%. Ignorance about plagiarism makes up for 27% of the responses. It may be suggested that our respondents see the intention to deceive as a necessary part of the definition of plagiarism as most of its definitions seem to suggest. The dimension of intent complicates further the already complex problem of plagiarism identification. Including the intent to deceive shifts the point from identifying instances of plagiarism to demonstrating the intention to deceive and this was apparent in the answers to the next question: “Unintended plagiarism is not a crime – agree or disagree” (see Fig. 5). Overwhelmingly, the respondents endorsed the statement that unintended plagiarism is fundamentally different from plagiarism in that it lacks the intention to commit fraud: 4% fully agree, 17% agree and 44% rather agree, for a total percentage of 65% of the respondents. 15% more are unwilling to commit to the statement, leaving only 20% who do not accept the statement. The way the question is phrased has our respondents subscribe to the idea that unintentional plagiarism should not be punished.

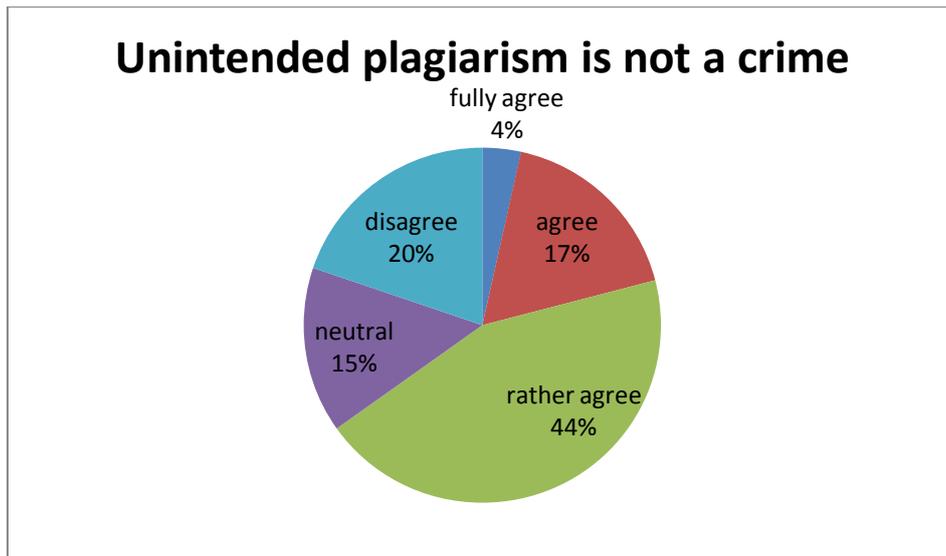


Figure 5. Attitudes towards unintended plagiarism.

While the respondents do not see fault with cases where they assume there is no intention to deceive, they identify many different reasons for plagiarism, with 81.82% of the respondents selecting more than 2 answers. Fig. 6 depicts the most popular answers, which are the inability to conduct research (for 79.55%) and lack of punishment (for 75%). Around 34% mention carelessness, 27% insist on the pressure to publish, and 29.5% cite lack of knowledge about plagiarism as the reason. Most of these answers suggest a clear intent to plagiarize on that part of plagiarists: they either know they are not up to conducting research and plagiarize, or else they take advantage of the loose system which does not punish the guilty. It is less clear whether it is reasonable to assume that members of the academic community may be ignorant about plagiarism or, even conceding that they may, assume they lack intention to deceive in appropriating someone else’s content.

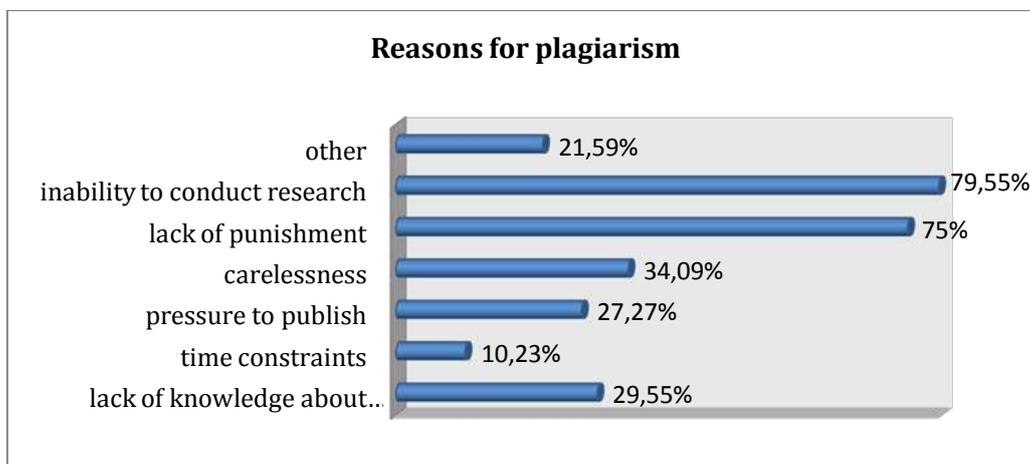


Figure 6. Reasons for plagiarism according to the respondents

Our respondents offer an array of different additional reasons for the deed: lack of ethics (3), the deed is tolerated in our society (2), ambition which exceeds the abilities of the plagiarist (6), a complex of inferiority (2) or by narcissism (1), for money when the institution rewards publications (1), unawareness of similar studies (1) or bad language (1), and one respondent suggested it was done because it was easier and faster. Finally, one responded that the question was a paradox as 'scholar' and 'plagiarism' should exclude each other. It is interesting to note that the majority of our respondents see plagiarism from a moralistic point of view, as a practice that should be shamed or which exposes a deficiency of character or ability in the plagiarist.

The next series of questions concerned the existing anti-plagiarism measures in Bulgarian institutions, so that the scholars' attitudes could be put into perspective with regards to existing anti-plagiarism legislation and/or regulation in Bulgaria. First, the respondents provided information about the consequences of exposed plagiarism in their affiliated institutions. Many respondents pointed out that no consequences befell plagiarists in their institutions (40.9%), while 13.64% did not provide any answer. The latter could be interpreted as either that their institution did not have any procedure or that no consequences could be reported on; either way, it amounts to more than 50% of the respondents endorsing the claim that plagiarists enjoyed complete impunity in Bulgarian institutions. 13.64% answered not having any knowledge about the matter. The rest of the answers can be grouped under two headings, real consequences and moral consequences. Among the real consequences – a punishment which affected the plagiarist's career – the respondents cite delays in the habilitation procedures (5), loss of title (1), loss of position (6), court trials (2) and testimony in front of an ethics committee (2). One respondent reports on a case in their institution in which the plagiarist eventually lost their job, but for reasons unrelated to plagiarism as plagiarism is not punished in the institution. Moral consequences include shame (1), loss of public trust (1), public blaming (2) and private conversation with the plagiarist (1).

It is interesting to note that 14.8% of the respondents use highly hedged expressions to report of the punishment: "it depends on the researcher's social capital", "probably", "most likely", "could", "should not", and "highly likely". The use of hedges points at the respondents' uncertainty in the real application of the punishment and/or uncertainty in the procedures that are actually established in the institution. The

language our respondents used to report on the matter shows clearly that they do not believe the institution to be equipped with the necessary procedures to cope with plagiarists and that not every case receives a public outing. In three cases the respondents suggest that the concrete reaction of the institution will depend on the researcher under suspicion, with four suggesting that the institution will prefer to hush up the scandal to “protect [that] institution’s reputation”. In further three of the answers the respondents suggest that plagiarists exist in their institution but feel protected by the lack of a clear definition of plagiarism in the Bulgarian Penal Code and by the lack of proper procedure in the institution’s rulebook. The general feel of the answers is that the respondents do not have any faith in the ability of the institutions to combat academic plagiarism and that institutions cover by their silence plagiarists in an ill-guided attempt to protect the institution’s reputation.

The next two questions probed the use of text-matching software in the respondents’ affiliated institution. The results largely conform to our expectations, as Bulgarian universities have not universally adopted the use of text-matching software: 52.27% of the respondents report that no such software is used, with further 23.86% reported not knowing whether it is the case. We feel inclined to interpret these answers as negative, because, if plagiarism detecting software were implemented in an institution, the staff would be required to use it with students’ papers and hence would be aware of such a requirement. 13.64% of the respondents report using such software (of which one reports using such software privately, not in the institution), with 2 more reporting they used alternative methods of plagiarism detection, text corpora and search engines to match text, especially for students’ papers. Considering the volume of student plagiarism (about which we have also written, Breuer et al., 2014; Chankova, 2017), ignoring the problem of plagiarism at the undergraduate and graduate level seems extremely worrisome; one of the few public scandals exposing plagiarists in Bulgaria showed that the researcher had used her students’ papers to pass them as their own, which were poorly written and/or plagiarized (as exposed in Benbasat, 2014). Few universities in Bulgaria seem committed to combat the problem by requiring students to submit papers through an online system, which checks for plagiarism; it is unclear, though, whether the same procedure is applied to researchers. On the question how exactly the plagiarism detecting software is used, 43.2% of the respondents report

that the question does not apply or that such software is not used; 38.64% give no answer. Only 18.2% respondents provide answers on the use of such software, with few reporting that the use is 'superficial' (2), probably meaning that there is no formal procedure to use it; or that it is optional (3) or that students use it (1). Few others state the use of software is successful (1), through Moodle (1), or that the software is accessible (3). 3 respondents report that such software is used to check manuscripts (other than students').

The next question targeted the aspects of the existence of support measures for plagiarizing colleagues or pre-emptive measures to deter plagiarism practices. The existence of such practices would be the mark of the awareness of the need to coach both students and young researchers and of the concern of the institution about preserving its ethical integrity. Most of the respondents reported that no such measures exist in their institutions (43.2%), and those who are unaware of the existence of such measures are 12.5%. 15.9% left blanks. 14.8% of the respondents report that there are practical measures which aim at elevating the research standards in institutions, such as practical seminars on academic writing, with emphasis on proper use of sources, offered to undergraduate and graduate students. 6.8% cite the existence of ethics committees, which two of them describe as "useless". Talks with the plagiarists (6.8%) and signed affidavits of authorship (2.3%) are followed by special rules in the institution's statutes (1). Two of the respondents commented on the question that plagiarists are incompatible with researchers and the institution should not be attempting to help them in any way. With 71.5% of negative answers, it is clear that Bulgarian institutions do not take the issue of academic plagiarism with the seriousness it deserves. Respondents share in their answers their disgust at hushed up cases of plagiarism, their indignation about a staff member who lost their job after exposing a plagiarist; it thus seems that almost every researcher in Bulgaria has knowledge of a plagiarist who enjoys impunity in their institution. This is supported by a number of publications in the mass media, specialized journals and reviews, which demonstrate parallel texts – the original and the plagiarized parts. The existence of pseudo-scientific outlets in the form of departmental proceedings volumes or pseudo-scientific journals – which are not peer-reviewed, but publish any manuscript which comes their way – further help establish the low scientific culture in Bulgarian academia.

When prompted to comment on the effectiveness of the measures (if such exist), overwhelmingly the respondents answered by the negative (57.95%) or reiterated that there are no measures (22.73%), with 6.82% leaving a blank field, for a total of almost 88%. 5.7% of the respondents consider that there are (some) effective measures and 6.82% are unable to decide whether the existing measures in their institution are effective. Those results suggest first that any anti-plagiarism measures, if such exist in the institution, are merely nominally fighting plagiarists without any actual effects. And second, Bulgarian institutions do not have a consistent system of preventing/ fighting plagiarism, regardless of whether students or members of staff are concerned. Even in case there is such a system, our respondents have very little faith in its effectiveness to prevent and fight plagiarism.

Thus, our respondents' reaction to the final open-ended question of the questionnaire – whether we need additional measures to fight against plagiarism more effectively – was well anticipated. Only 3 of the respondents believe no additional measures are necessary, with further 3 who are unable to tell and 7 blank answers. Out of the remaining 75 answers, 38 of the respondents answered by the affirmative (Table 1).

Table 1

Suggestions on Additional Measures to Combat Plagiarism, in Absolute Numbers

Yes	38	fire plagiarist	1
review control	3	special institution	3
Affidavit	1	Prison	2
positive measures	1	No	3
strip away title	3	do not know	2
plagiarism laws	16	pseudo-science does plagiarism	1
Software	2	it cannot be done in Bulgaria	1
trials are useless	1	constant battle	2
public shaming	2	n/a	1
use Google/Facebook experience	1		

Interesting insights about the feelings and perceptions of the extent of the problem and how it impacts our society and the academic community in Bulgaria can be gathered from the suggestions to this question. One researcher shared his sad

experience with finding his own works plagiarized on two different occasions; after consulting lawyers, he was told that such trials do not go well in Bulgaria, following which he decided to drop the charges. His feeling of disgust transpires through the words he used, calling Bulgarian justice system “ineffective and corrupt”. This is related to the (heretofore) lack of anti-plagiarism legislation, a concern which is reflected in many respondents calling for anti-plagiarism legislation – 18.2%, or the creation of an independent committee with the power to issue binding decisions on cases of plagiarism (4.55%). Many respondents point out another aspect of the problem - the existing high tolerance towards plagiarism in the academic community and the complicity of reviewers for PhD theses and habilitations, who provide positive reviews regardless of the value of the work and/or whether it has been plagiarized. Many believe that poor education may be at the root of the problem, saying that graduate students should be better educated. Several of the respondents believe that such measures could not be implemented in Bulgaria, pointing out that officials received titles while being employed in the public sphere and that the very perception of plagiarism in society needs to change. Some believe that anti-plagiarism measures should be implemented at the institution level, while insisting it should be a constant effort to reform the mindset and not a sporadic big-case hunt. Some respondents believe that additional measures are necessary, but are unable to articulate the kind of measures needed to address the problem. Interestingly, there are respondents who believe that public shaming could be deterring from plagiarism; these suggestions seem a little naïve as the high-profile cases that have flooded the media attracted much public shaming, to no avail.

Conclusions

The results from the survey suggest several general tendencies in the attitude of Bulgarian scholars to plagiarism:

- They are fully aware of the problem and the fact that it is widely spread in the country;
- They fail to acknowledge some types of plagiarism as such: unintended plagiarism tends to be a recognized category, while structural plagiarism seems to be unclear for many respondents;

- ‘Inability to conduct research’ and ‘lack of punishment’ are perceived as the two main reasons for resorting to plagiarism, where the first is person-oriented, while the second is institution/academic community-oriented;
- Plagiarism detection occurs mainly coincidentally; text-matching software is implemented very rarely at just a few institutions; some of the respondents were not even aware of the existence of such software products;
- There is general reluctance to deal with cases of plagiarism due to a feeling of disillusionment as far as the implementation of efficient measures and punishment are concerned;
- There is a clearly expressed desire for the introduction of anti-plagiarism measures, with ‘introduction of laws’ as the leading one, which once again demonstrates scholars’ discontent with and lack of trust in the academic institutions, as well as the academic ethics of the community.

The study as a whole should call for a necessity for a deep change of attitude on the part of scholars in Bulgaria towards plagiarism of any kind, as well as for provoking public intolerance which inevitably involves the support of the mass media. Any such change of attitude can be realized not only through educational but also with legal measures to be enforced at all levels in science and education. However, as mentioned above, in spite of the plethora of publications in the mass media exposing dire cases of plagiarism, as the saying goes, dogs bark, but the caravans move on, so the necessity of resorting to legal measures seemed inevitable.

In fact, while the manuscript was being prepared, the Bulgarian Parliament voted in the long-awaited anti-plagiarism amendments in the legislation (March 2018), which consists of a legal definition of plagiarism, creates a special independent committee (consisting of 5 members) and opens up the possibility to investigate plagiarism allegations regardless of the time of the offense. It is envisaged that the offenders’ academic degrees and titles will be revoked and the offenders – dismissed immediately. The legislation came after prolonged public debates on the issue and as it was passed, it provoked controversial reactions: some scholars point out problems with the independent committee and the apparent inability of the new legislation to stop fraudulent habilitation procedures. Besides, the definition of plagiarism enshrined in

the law is extremely sketchy: ‘Plagiarism’ is the presentation of academic works as one’s own, which are fully or partly written or created by someone else, without due referencing, for the procedures for acquiring academic degrees or titles’ (Law amending and supplementing the Law on the Development of the Academic Staff in the Republic of Bulgaria 2018, p. 9).

First, the word ‘partly’ used in the definition is too vague and may lead to a wide variety of interpretations and thus – to controversies and endless debates, possibly also court proceedings with an unpredictable outcome. The latter statement is fully supported by the results described above. Second, it is not clear whether the definition refers to ‘one-to-one’ copies or also (as it should), to the theft of ideas. And last but not least, the text refers only to cases of plagiarism established in the course of procedures for acquiring academic degrees or titles, while it is no secret that the phenomenon can widely be observed in all kinds of publications and at all stages of a scholar’s academic career. Nevertheless, the new law seems to be at least a first step towards combating plagiarism in Bulgaria – a wish expressed by practically all respondents in the present study.

The Commission on Academic Ethics started its work in November 2018. By now (February 2019) it has discussed 4 cases, all of them related to procedural problems, where three of them were deemed irrelevant. No cases of plagiarism have been put on the table so far (MON 2019).

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Appendix: Questionnaire

1. Field of research, country, number of years as a researcher
2. What is your age? 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66 or older
3. What is the highest degree you have completed?
 - Bachelor degree
 - Master degree
 - PhD
 - Other (please specify): _____
4. In which country did you receive this degree? _____
5. Where do you look for information for your research? Please number in order of frequency (1 being the most frequent, 3 the least frequent)
 - Physical libraries
 - Online libraries
 - Academic search engines (e.g. Mendeley, Google Scholar, Research Gate, Academia) and academic electronic databases (e.g. JSTOR, Eric, Project MUSE, Scopus) for searching or for storing information
6. Please specify which academic search engines and electronic databases you use
7. Please arrange the following types of academic misconduct in order of perceived severity in your field (1 being the most severe and 3 the least severe):
 - Text plagiarism Results falsification Results fabrication
8. How do you react to other researchers' 'copy and paste' of texts from the Internet or other sources without acknowledgement? (You may tick more than one answer)
 - This is a natural way for young researchers to learn academic writing
strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
 - This is a pure case of plagiarism even if small chunks of texts are concerned
strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
 - I am more lenient to young researchers than to experienced scholars in this regard
strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
 - It is not worth pursuing cases of 'copy and paste' due to complex administrative procedures
strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
 - If I detect 'copy and paste' I will not accept to review the manuscript
strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
 - Other (please specify): _____
9. Are the following practices instances of plagiarism?
 - Stealing or buying a complete work that is not your own in any format, with the intention of presenting it as your own
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Paraphrasing portions of work that is not your own, without referencing the source
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Copying portions of work that is not your own, without referencing the source
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Adopting the ideas of others, without referencing the source
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

- Adopting the structure of an existing analysis, without referencing the source
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Hiring a ghost-writer to do the work
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Creating a text using a patchwork of different paragraphs, all from one or several different original documents, without referencing the source(s)
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Translating texts from sources and presenting those, without referencing the source
a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 - Other (please specify): _____
- 10.** Have you ever come across translated plagiarism?
- 11.** If yes, how did you detect it?
- 12.** Which was the source language _____ and which was the target language _____?
- 13.** What, in your opinion, constitutes "unintended plagiarism"?
- 14.** Do you agree with the following statement: "Unintended plagiarism is not a crime"?
- strongly disagree - disagree - neither disagree nor agree - agree - strongly agree
- 15.** Which, in your view, are the reasons for a scholar to resort to plagiarism (You can tick more than one):
- Lack of knowledge of what is defined as plagiarism
 - Time constraints
 - Ineptitude for conducting research
 - Institutional pressure to publish
 - Simple carelessness
 - Lack of punishment / consequences
 - Other (please specify).....
- 16.** What would happen if a scholar at your institution was found guilty of plagiarism in one of their research publications?.....
- 17.** What digital tools or other techniques are available at your institution for helping to detect plagiarism by scholars?
- 18.** How are these tools used?
- 19.** What services and support are available at your institution for discouraging plagiarism by scholars?
- 20.** Do you find the regulatory mechanisms for combating plagiarism among scholars at your institution efficient?
- Yes, because.....
 - No, because.....
- 21.** What other kinds of measures should be introduced and at which levels in order to make plagiarism among scholars combating efficient?

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