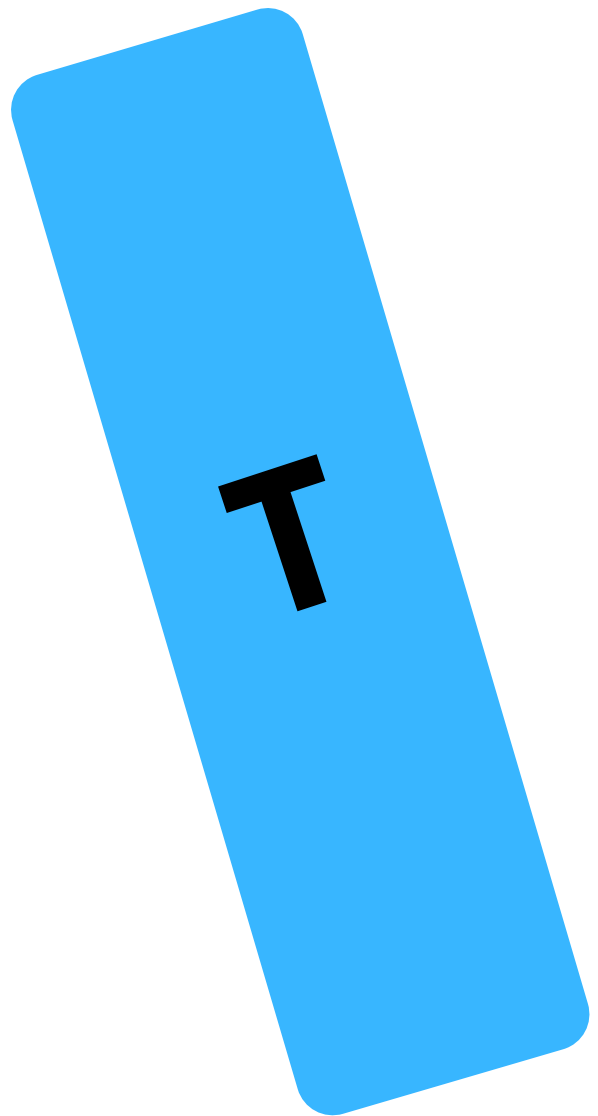
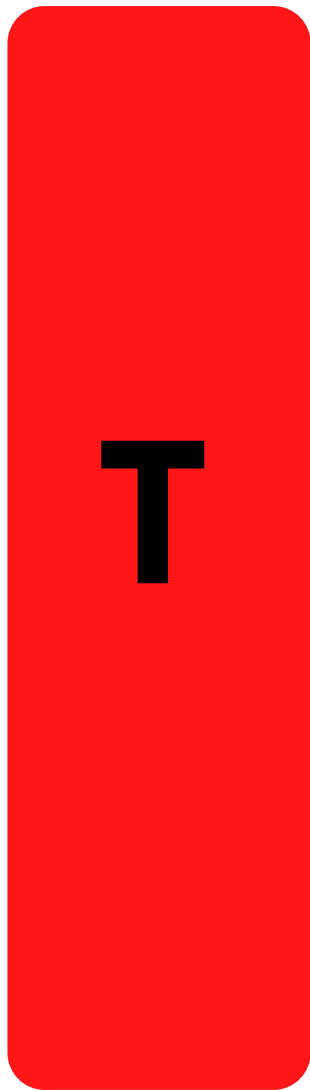


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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Relationship among Turkish EFL Learners' Willingness to Communicate in English, Self-efficacy Perceptions and Linguistic Self-confidence

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to investigate the level of English preparation class students' WTC in English, their self-efficacy perceptions, and their linguistic self-confidence. This study also aimed to explore the possible correlation among these variables. Eighty-four Turkish EFL learners studying at compulsory English preparatory classes at Yozgat Bozok University in Turkey participated in the study. A mixed-method research design was adopted. The quantitative data were collected through 4 five-point Likert-type scales: the WTC scale, the Communication Anxiety Scale, and the Perceived Communication Competence Scale, and the Self-Efficacy Scale. The qualitative data involved semi-structured interviews conducted with 30 of the students. Both qualitative and quantitative data revealed that students were somewhat willing to communicate, they perceived themselves somewhat confident in English, they did not experience much communication anxiety, and they had a medium level of perceived self-efficacy in English. Correlation analyses showed that there was a negative relationship between communication anxiety and other three affective variables, namely, perceived communication competence, willingness to communicate and self-efficacy. The findings further revealed a positive relationship between students' willingness to communicate and other variables such as their perceived communication competence, self-efficacy, and linguistic self-confidence. A positive relationship was also observed between students' self-efficacy and their perceived communication competence and linguistic self-confidence. The implications of the study were discussed and some recommendations for further studies were made.

Keywords

communication anxiety, communication competence, linguistic self-confidence, self-efficacy, willingness to communicate

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Introduction

The second language acquisition (SLA) research on individual differences has revealed the impact of affective variables on learning and using the target language.

Among these affective variables, L2 learners' willingness to communicate (WTC) inside (MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Conrad, 2001; Merç, 2008; Peng & Woodrow, 2010) and outside (MacIntyre et al., 2001; Zeng, 2010; Modirhameneh & Firouzmand, 2014) the classroom, their self-efficacy perceptions (Bandura, 1977, 1993, 1997; Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2006; Mills, 2014), and linguistic self-confidence of those learners (Clément, 1980, 1986; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; MacIntyre, Noels, & Clément, 1997) have been of great interest to researchers in the field. Each of these variables has been investigated both individually and for their relation to other affective factors affecting the success of L2 learning such as motivation (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Fallah, 2014), anxiety (Cubukcu, 2008; Merç, 2015; Öz, Demirezen, & Pourfeiz, 2015), and attitudes (Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005, 2007; Yu, 2011). Although the relationship between self-confidence and WTC (Yashima, 2002; Fushino, 2010); between perceived self-efficacy and WTC (Taşdemir, 2018) has been examined in some studies, the relationship among these three variables has not been described comprehensively. In this regard, the current study concentrates on the relationship between WTC and other affective factors, namely, self-efficacy and linguistic self-confidence.

For many researchers, language learning involves being able to communicate in that language, and in order to acquire a language, producing comprehensible output is an indispensable condition. While Krashen (1982) suggests that comprehensible input enables learners to acquire the language, Swain (1985), despite admitting the importance of input in SLA, claims that the acquisition of a language is impossible unless the learners produce comprehensible output. MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1998) argue that the major aim of second language instruction should be to create learners using the language willingly for authentic communication with people from different cultural backgrounds. Dörnyei (2005) underlines the prominence of communication by indicating that the aim of communicative approaches is to improve the learners' competence in communication in the target language. He maintains that people may avoid joining second language communication situations despite having high communicative competence. He further states that there are some linguistic, psychological and contextual variables mediating between possessing communicative competence and being able to put "this competence into practice" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 207).

From the researchers' emphasis on communication, we may infer that a learner should use the language in order to acquire it, and some learners may be unwilling to communicate in the classroom although they have high communicative competence. Bandura (1977) remarks that perceived self-efficacy may affect an individual's choice of settings and activities, and through expectations of ultimate success, it may also affect his/her coping efforts when they are commenced. He additionally explains that efficacy expectations identify the degree of efforts people make and persistence to cope with obstacles, so people's efforts will be more active when they have stronger perceived self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, p. 194). As we see from Bandura's emphasis on perceived self-efficacy, it may influence learners' willingness to do something, and this case may be true for their willingness to communicate in target language, as well. Yang (2004) stresses that learners' self-efficacy beliefs influence their behaviours, attitudes and efficiency while learning a second language. Then it will be beneficial to investigate the relationship between WTC and self-efficacy perceptions as both are regarded as important determinants of learners' success or failure in language use. Clément, Baker, and MacIntyre (2003) indicate that L2 confidence predicts WTC and identification with the second language group, and the degree of L2 WTC and identification will eventually determine real L2 use. We have hitherto seen that L2 learners' WTC, their self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence may be equally important determinants of their success in L2 production. Therefore, investigating the relationship among these variables may provide valuable insights for second language research.

Literature Review

Willingness to Communicate

WTC was first conceptualized by McCroskey and Baer (1985) with regard to first language communication. The earlier studies of Burgoon (1976) and some other researchers (e.g. Heston, 1974) conceptualized this phenomenon as unwillingness to communicate, and it was defined as "a chronic tendency to avoid and/ or devalue oral communication" (Burgoon, 1976, p. 60). McCroskey and Baer (1985) regard WTC as a predisposition which is trait-like and personality-based and indicate that people vary

considerably from each other in the extent to which they speak. They conceptualize this “variability in talking behaviour” as WTC (McCroskey & Baer, 1985, p. 1). The individual’s feelings at that time of communication, recent communication experiences, the person spoken to, the appearance of interlocutor and such other situational variables may affect WTC, and thus it is “to a major degree situationally dependent” (McCroskey & Baer, 1985, p. 1). McCroskey and his associates, despite accepting the effect of situational variables on WTC, regard the WTC construct as a personality trait because they maintain that individuals tend to show similar WTC in various situations (McCroskey & Baer, 1985; McCroskey & Richmond, 1990).

MacIntyre (1994) developed a casual model in order to test the relations among five personality-based constructs: introversion, anomie, self-esteem, alienation, and communication anxiety which were identified earlier by Burgoon (1976) as determining factors of WTC. He included a sixth variable, perceived competence, in this model. His study showed that perceived competence and communication apprehension caused WTC together (MacIntyre, 1994, p. 135). MacIntyre’s this study was related to WTC in the native language. MacIntyre et al. (1998) indicate that WTC in the L2 may not be a manifestation of WTC in the L1. As they also remark, in a previous study (Charos, 1994), a negative correlation was found between WTC in the L1 and L2. Therefore, WTC in the L1 may not be the same as WTC in the L2. MacIntyre et al. (1998) attribute the difference between WTC in L1 and L2 to “to the uncertainty inherent in L2 use that interacts in a more complex manner with those variables that influence L1 WTC” (p. 546). As an example, they specify that most adults differ in terms of their communicative competence in the L2, although they have a high competence in their L1 use. Thus, WTC in the second language was investigated by MacIntyre and Charos (1996) in order to determine the relations among several affective variables discussed in MacIntyre’s (1994) casual model and Gardner’s (1985) socio-educational model. They found that WTC construct developed by MacIntyre (1994) seems to adapt to the WTC in the second language context. Their findings revealed that perceived competence and language anxiety have a direct effect on WTC, and increased opportunities for communication directly influence an individual’s WTC in the L2. It means that WTC in the L2 is established by a combination of the person’s perceived language proficiency, lack of

anxiety about speaking, and the increased chance to use the language (MacIntyre & Charos, 1996, p. 17).

MacIntyre et al. (1998) developed a “Heuristic Model of Variables Influencing WTC” as illustrated in Figure 1 below. MacIntyre et al. (1998) remark that a learners’ WTC is affected by several factors until they reach the top of the pyramid where they are ready to use the L2. MacIntyre and his associates make a distinction between situational and enduring influences on WTC. They explain that the enduring influences (e.g., learner personality, intergroup relations etc.) symbolize permanent characteristics of the environment or person who takes place in almost any situation, while the situational influences (e.g., knowledge of the topic, desire to talk to a person etc.) represent temporary and context-dependent factors in which an individual acts at a given time. As Figure 1 shows, there are six layers representing the situation-specific influences (layers I, II, & III) and the enduring influences (IV, V, & VI). According to this model, they define WTC as “a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using an L2” (MacIntyre et al. 1998, p. 547). In this model, they aim to explain the underlying reason for individual differences in the desire to start L2 communication. At the top of their model, they treat WTC as the last step in preparing the learner for showing communication behaviour. As they emphasize, WTC symbolizes the possibility of the learner’s L2 use in authentic interaction with other person when she/he is given the opportunity. The rest of the model shows that the desire to initiate communication with others is influenced by specific-situational and enduring influences. As they state, the pyramid refers to situational factors in which a specific person spoken to exists, and there is the desire and self-confidence to communicate with that person. They explain that this desire arises from control or affiliation motives, or both. They further explain these concepts by stating that control motives refer to the situations where individuals try to affect each other’s behaviour, whereas affiliation motives represent people who are attractive or often encountered (e.g., close friends etc.). Their model also shows the main immediate effect of self-confidence. As Clément (1980) suggests, self-confidence is a combination of lack of anxiety and perceived competence. Referring to MacIntyre et al.’s (1998) heuristic model, MacIntyre et al. (2001) point out that WTC has a more direct effect on communication than perceived communicative

competence and anxiety do. They add that perceived communicative competence and anxiety are not isomorphic with WTC although significant correlations among these three variables were reported in previous studies (MacIntyre & Charos, 1996). In the heuristic model, several layers consisting of enduring influences on WTC were also proposed, including intergroup issues, motivation, and social situations.

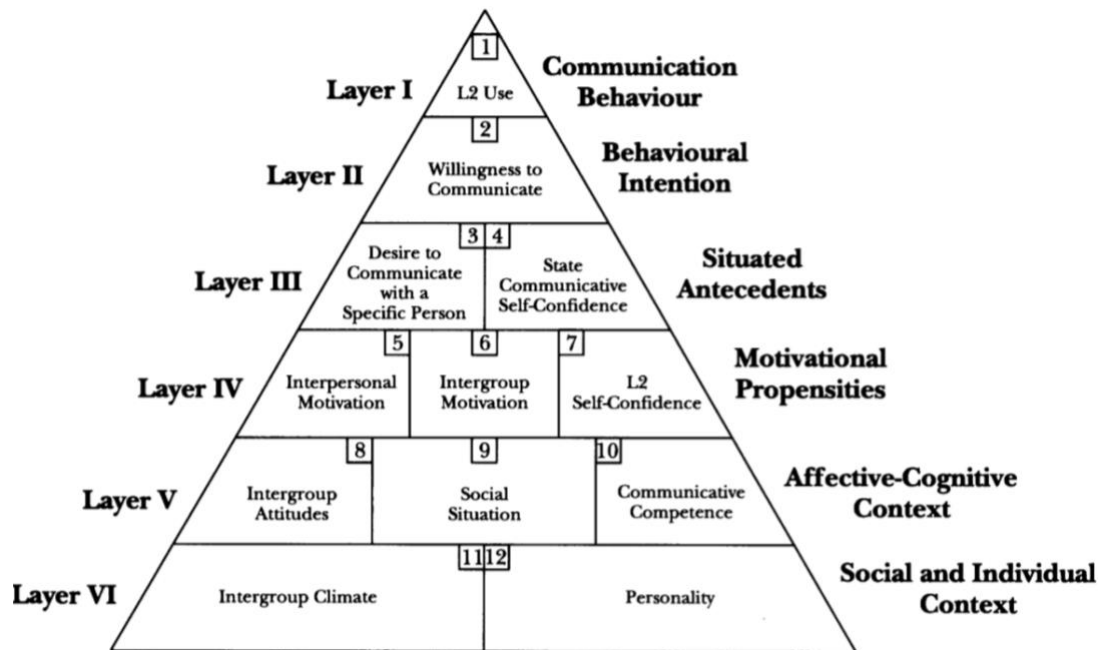


Figure 1. Heuristic Model of Variables Influencing WTC (MacIntyre et al. 1998, p. 547).

There have been many other studies conducted to investigate the relationship between WTC and other variables. Some studies reported a direct relationship between self-confidence in L2 and WTC (Yashima, 2002; Fushino, 2010; Fallah, 2014; Khajavy, Ghonsooly, Hosseini Fatemi, & Choi, 2016; Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005, 2007); between international posture and WTC (Yashima, 2002); between academic achievement and WTC (Oz, 2014); between language learning strategy use and WTC (Merç, 2014); between perceived self-efficacy and WTC (Taşdemir, 2018); and between high speech fluency and WTC (Wood, 2016).

Linguistic Self-Confidence

As pointed out earlier, self-confidence in the L2 comprises a lack of anxiety and perceived communicative competence (Clément, 1980, 1986). Clément (1980) developed a model (Figure 2), in which he illustrates the socio-motivational factors that determine communicative competence in the L2. It is assumed that

communicative competence involves both linguistic and non-linguistic components (e.g., persistence in L2 study, etc.), and language aptitude also influences communicative competence. According to this model, as Clément and Kruidenier (1985) indicate, fear of assimilation and integrativeness are determinants of motivation depending on the linguistic milieu, and motivation in turn, determines the competence in the L2. In a multicultural environment in which contact is possible, “a secondary motivational process” connected to self-confidence develops (p. 24). They further explain that in Clément’s model, anxiety of second language use is subsumed by the notion of self-confidence that also involves the person’s self-evaluation of her/his proficiency in the second language. They add that when there is pleasant and frequent contact, a person’s self-confidence in using the L2 develops and in such settings, the most influential determinant of motivation for learning and using the L2 is self-confidence. Clément and Kruidenier’s (1985) study proved that the combination of anxiety of language use and self-evaluation of one’s proficiency in the second language generate “the latent construct self-confidence” (p. 33). The two constructs (language anxiety and perceived competence in the L2) of self-confidence were found to correlate negatively in the previous studies (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; MacIntyre et al, 1997). It is assumed that high perceived competence and low language anxiety together confirm the construct of self-confidence. In another study carried out by MacIntyre, Baker, Clément and Donovan (2002), a negative relationship between communication apprehension and perceived competence was confirmed, and these variables were found to correlate with WTC in the L2. Similarly, Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) emphasize that foreign language anxiety negatively affects the development of students’ communicative competence.

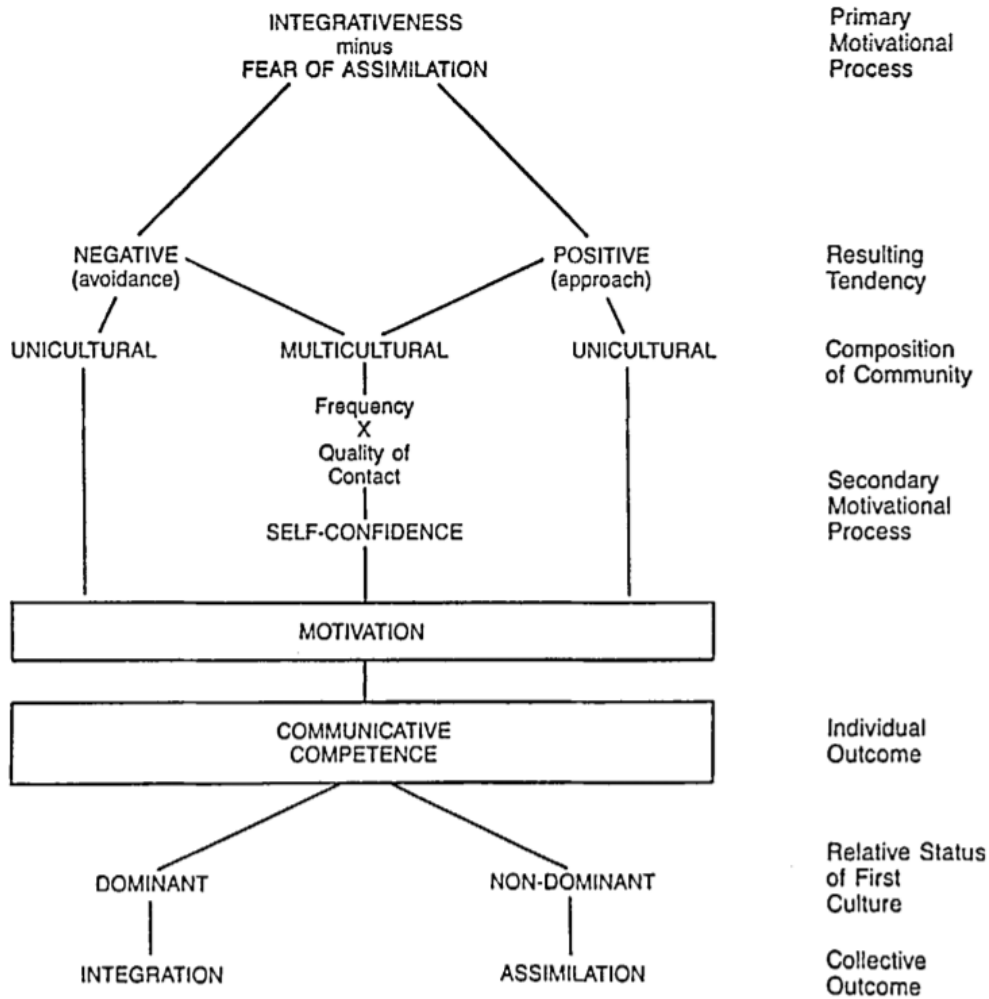


Figure 2. Schematic representation of individual mediational processes (Clément, 1980, p. 150)

In MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) heuristic model (see Figure 1), it is proposed that if state anxiety increases, it will lower a person's self-confidence, and thus lower his/her WTC. It is also assumed that some factors such as intergroup tension, previous bad experiences, presence of crowded people listening, and fear of assimilation may increase anxiety. MacIntyre et al. (1998) state that perceived competence is expected to increase if a person is in a situation encountered before, and they regard state self-confidence as one of the most immediate predictors of WTC. MacIntyre et al. (1998) remark that L2 confidence relates to the relationship between the L2 and the individual, so it differs somewhat from state-perceived competence. It is seen as one's belief in his/her ability to communicate in the second language adaptively and efficiently. They indicate that L2 self-confidence has two components. The cognitive component concerning the self-evaluation of L2 competence and the affective

component concerning language anxiety, or in other words, a person's discomfort he/she experiences while using the L2. They further explain that communication experience, communicative competence, interlocutor's personality variables serve to determine L2 self-confidence.

Perceived Self-Efficacy

Bandura (1997) defines perceived self-efficacy as “beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments” (p. 3). He states that people's psychosocial functioning may be affected by their personal agency mechanisms. Among these agency mechanisms, people's beliefs in their personal efficacy have great importance. Bandura (1997) further emphasizes that beliefs in efficacy affect the courses of action people choose to take, the effort they make in given endeavours, the length of their endurance in the face of failures and difficulties, the degree of their stress they experience in dealing with environmental demands, and the level of their achievements they realize. Similarly, Mills (2014) defines self-efficacy as “an individual's beliefs in his/her ability to perform a designated task or complete an activity and may be used as a predictor of future performance” (p. 8). Mills (2014) points out that personal, environmental, and behavioural factors affect people's functioning. Bandura (1977) proposed a model determining that self-efficacy beliefs are derived from four major sources of information: “performance accomplishments, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and physiological states” (p. 191). In another study, Bandura (1993) summarizes the various influences of perceived efficacy as follows. As he states, people having a low sense of self-efficacy avoid doing difficult tasks as they regard them as personal threats. They easily give up when they have difficulties, and their sense of self-efficacy cannot be recovered easily. Thus, it leads to failure. These people are easily overwhelmed with depression and stress. Bandura (1993) explains that a strong sense of self-efficacy, on the other hand, facilitates a person's accomplishment in various ways. He states that people having high efficacy do not see the difficult tasks as threats, rather they regard them as challenges to be dealt with. This efficacious approach helps them to be interested in activities, to set challenging targets and to maintain commitment to these targets. When they are unsuccessful, they increase and

continue their efforts, and they think that their failure stems from lack of effort, knowledge and skill. They can recover their sense of self-efficacy quickly after unsuccessful experiences. Their efficacious outlook creates personal accomplishments, decreases stress and depression. Bandura (1993) further points out that self-efficacy beliefs are the result of “a complex process of self-persuasion that relies on cognitive processing of diverse sources of efficacy information conveyed enactively, vicariously, socially, and physiologically” (p. 145).

In their investigation of the relationship between anxiety and self-efficacy, and proficiency in reading and listening in French L2, Mills et al. (2006) found that learners having low self-efficacy in reading may suffer from anxiety and it may also affect their sense of self-efficacy negatively.

In Dörnyei's (1994) L2 motivation construct, self-confidence encompasses self-efficacy, language anxiety, causal attributions and perception of L2 competence. Dörnyei (1994) explains that self-confidence is one's belief in his/her capability to produce results, achieve goals or showing competent performance on tasks, and it is a prominent dimension of self-concept. He points out that it seems to close to self-efficacy, yet it is used in a broader sense, and “self-efficacy is always task-specific” (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 123).

All these studies show the importance of self-efficacy in learning a second language, and its relationship with other influencing factors such as language anxiety and linguistic self-confidence. The literature shows that WTC, self-efficacy and linguistic self-confidence play important role in L2 learners' language learning process and successful language use. Therefore, in order to contribute to the literature, this study investigates the relationship among learners' willingness to communicate in English, self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence.

Significance and aim of the study

As language teachers, we see that Turkish EFL learners have mostly moderate L2 WTC in English (Altınar, 2018; Başöz & Erten, 2018; Asmalı, Bilki, & Duban, 2015; Öz et al., 2015; Şener, 2014), and sometimes they may abstain from speaking English although they have enough communicative competence and declarative knowledge. These learners' self-efficacy beliefs and their linguistic self-confidence may affect their communicative competence. In order to understand the underlying reasons, it is

crucial to examine the relationship among L2 learners' WTC, their self-efficacy and linguistic self-confidence that may directly or indirectly affect learners' successful L2 use. Although there have been many studies investigating the relationship between WTC and linguistic self-confidence, there are few studies (Pajares & Johnson, 1994; Mills et al., 2006; Taşdemir, 2018) examining the relationship among learners' self-efficacy beliefs, WTC and linguistic self-confidence. Therefore, the current study aims to explore the relationship among Turkish EFL learners' willingness to communicate in English, self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence. For this purpose, this study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- 1- What are EFL learners' perceptions of their willingness to communicate in English, their self-efficacy and their linguistic self-confidence?
- 2- Is there a correlation among students' willingness to communicate in English, their self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence?

Methodology

Research Design

In this study, a mixed method research design was adopted through collecting both quantitative and qualitative data to get a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem. Cresswell (2012) points out that “uses of both quantitative and qualitative methods, in combination, provide a better understanding of the research problem and question than either method by itself” (p. 535). As a type of mixed method design, an explanatory sequential mixed methods design was used as we first collected quantitative data and then qualitative data. Cresswell (2012) states that “the rationale for this approach is that the quantitative data and results provide a general picture of the research problem; more analysis, specifically through qualitative data collection, is needed to refine, extend, or explain the general picture” (p. 542).

Participants

The study was conducted with 84 Turkish EFL learners who were studying at compulsory English preparatory classes at Yozgat Bozok University in 2018-2019 Spring semester. 39 of them were English Language Teaching (ELT) Preparatory

students and 45 of them were English Language and Literature (ELL) Preparatory students. 58 of them were females, 26 of them were males. Their ages ranged from 18 to 21. Their English proficiency level is mostly intermediate (B1). This was determined according to their English scores they got from Proficiency Exam, quizzes, their midterm and final exams, and according to their course books. Convenience sampling method was adopted in this study as the participants were available for the study and convenient to the researcher. Moreover, as the permission from the administration and the consent of the students at Yozgat Bozok University were granted, convenience sampling method was best suited to the current study. Convenience sampling is selected as the participants are available and willing to take part in the study, and although it cannot be said with confidence that the participants represent the population, the sample may give valuable information in order to answer the hypotheses and questions (Cresswell, 2012).

Data Collection Tools

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were utilized for gathering data. The quantitative data were collected through 4 five-point Likert-type scales: the WTC scale, the Communication Anxiety Scale, and the Perceived Communication Competence Scale, and the Self-Efficacy Scale. Back-translation method was used in order to ensure the accuracy of translation. All the scales were translated into Turkish, then they were translated back into English. A native speaker working at Yozgat Bozok University, an expert working as an associate professor doctor and teacher trainer at Anadolu University and another expert working as a doctor and teacher trainer at Yozgat Bozok University also evaluated the accuracy of translation. In order to ensure validity of the scales, these experts additionally checked whether the content of the scales relate to what is really aimed to measure and identified that the questionnaire items are valid. The qualitative data involved semi-structured interviews conducted with 30 of the students.

WTC scale. 12 items were utilized in order to assess students' WTC in English with regard to 4 communication contexts (speaking in meetings, speaking in public, interpersonal conversations and groups discussions) and 3 types of receivers (friend, acquaintance and stranger) (e.g., "Talk in a small group of strangers in English", "Talk with a friend while standing in line in English", "Talk in a large meeting of

acquaintances in English”). This scale which was previously used by McCroskey (1992) and Yashima (2002) was adopted from Bektaş-Çetinkaya’s (2005) study. In her study, students chose the percentage of the time from 0% to 100% in order to indicate their willingness to communicate in each situation. In the current study, this range was changed to 1 to 5 in order to allow the students to decide their willingness level easier. Students were asked to choose the frequency of their willingness to communicate in each given situation ranging from 1 (I never communicate) to 5 (I always communicate). If the mean score for the total WTC is between 1 and 2.5, it is accepted as low WTC level, or it means that the participants are unwilling to communicate. If the mean score for the total WTC is between 2.51 and 3.99, it is accepted as medium WTC level, or it means that the participants are somewhat willing to communicate. If the mean score for the total WTC is between 4 and 5, it is accepted as high WTC level, or it means that the participants are highly willing to communicate. Cronbach’s α of this scale was .89 which is accepted highly reliable as Alpha coefficient value of the scale is over .70.

Linguistic self-confidence. As self-confidence in the L2 comprises a lack of anxiety and perceived communicative competence (Clément, 1980, 1986), it was measured through communication anxiety scale and perceived communication competence scale.

Communication anxiety scale. It was measured by 12 items which was related to the same 4 communication contexts (speaking in meetings, speaking in public, interpersonal conversations and groups discussions) and 3 types of receivers (friend, acquaintance and stranger) (e.g., “*Have a small-group conversation in English with strangers*”, “*Give a presentation in English to a group of acquaintances*”, “*Talk in English to a small group of friends*”) as in the WTC scale. The scale which was previously used by MacIntyre and Clément (1996) and Yashima (2002) was adopted from Bektaş-Çetinkaya’s (2005) study. In Bektaş-Çetinkaya’s study, the participants assessed their communication anxiety by choosing a percentage from 0% to 100%. This study applied this range between 1 and 5 to help the students decide their anxiety level easier. The participants were asked to choose the frequency of their communication anxiety in each given situation ranging from 1 (I never feel anxiety)

to 5 (I always feel anxiety). If the mean score for the total communication anxiety is between 1 and 2.5, it is accepted as low level of communication anxiety. If the mean score for the total communication anxiety is between 2.51 and 3.99, it is accepted as medium level of communication anxiety. If the mean score for the total communication anxiety is between 4 and 5, it is accepted as high level of communication anxiety. Cronbach's α of this scale was .89.

Perceived communication competence scale. 12 items which were previously used by MacIntyre and Charos (1996) and Yashima (2002) and adopted from Bektaş-Çetinkaya's (2005) study were used to assess the participants' English communication competence. The receivers and contexts are the same in this scale as in the WTC and Communication Anxiety Scale (eg., "Have a small-group conversation in English with acquaintances", "Give a presentation in English to a group of strangers", "Talk in English to friends"). The same range in Bektaş-Çetinkaya's (2005) study was converted to 1-5 in this scale for the same purpose as in the WTC and CA scales. Students were asked to select a number ranging from 1 (I entirely feel incompetent) to 5 (I entirely feel competent) to assess their competency in each situation. If the mean score for the total perceived communication competence is between 1 and 2.5, it is accepted as low level of perceived communication competence. If the mean score for the total perceived communication competence is between 2.51 and 3.99, it is accepted as medium level of perceived communication competence. If the mean score for the total perceived communication competence is between 4 and 5, it is accepted as high level of perceived communication competence. Cronbach's α of this scale was .93.

Self-efficacy scale. In order to assess students' self-efficacy perceptions, a self-efficacy scale which was developed by Yanar and Bümen (2012) in Turkish language and adopted from Taşdemir's (2018) study was employed. There were 34 statements in the scale involving 4 language skills. There were 8 items for reading (e.g., "I can understand when I read an English text", "I can visualize what I read", "I can easily find the information I look for in an English text"), 10 items for writing (e.g., "I can write a good paragraph or composition", "I can emphasize important points while writing English", "I can rewrite an English text with my own words"), 10 items for listening (e.g., "I can understand what is spoken in English", "I can

understand the emotional accents in a sentence I listen to”, “*I can understand what I hear when I watch English TV channels /movies*”), and 6 items for speaking (e.g., “*I can express myself in English in an interview (University entrance, job application etc.)*”, “*I can answer the questions asked in English*”, “*I can speak English in a way that a native speaker of English can understand*”). The participants were asked to select a number ranging from 1 (Never true of me) and 5 (Always true of me) in order to express how capable they think they are in each situations. Their perceived self-efficacy levels are accepted as low if their mean score is between 1 and 2.5; as medium if their mean score is between 2.51 and 3.99; and as high if their mean score is between 4 and 5. Cronbach’s α of the scale was .94.

Interviews. In order to have a deeper understanding of the students’ WTC, their perceptions of self-efficacy and their linguistic self-confidence, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 30 participants as a qualitative research tool. There were 12 interview questions in total which were adapted from relevant studies in the literature (Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005; Taşdemir, 2018). Four items were related to WTC (e.g., “*Would you like to have a daily, interpersonal (dyad) dialogue with a friend in English? If you would like or wouldn’t like, what is the reason for this?*”); six of them were related to Self-efficacy (e.g., “*To what extent do you understand English texts? For example, can you understand the questions in the texts in the exams? Can you find the answers to the questions in the texts?*”); one of them was related to Perceived Communication Competence (e.g., “*How do you think your level of English is? Do you find your language level sufficient in terms of speaking English, understanding what you listen to, reading what you read, and writing text in English?*”); and one of them was related to Communication Anxiety (e.g., “*How do you feel when you need to communicate in English? (Remember the time when you communicated in English, how did you feel?) Do you generally feel anxious or happy to use English?*”). In order to establish validity of the interview questions, the aforementioned experts were asked to evaluate whether the interview questions are really measuring what is intended and they identified that the questions are valid for the purpose of the study.

Procedure

Before the data were collected, the ethical committee report issued by Konya Technical University was taken (report no:2020-06). All the students were given a consent form and they were informed about the aim of the research and the content of the questionnaires. Students completed the scales during their course hours in their classes. It took the participants nearly 40 minutes to complete the questionnaires. Three days later, after conducting the questionnaires, the interview sessions started. The interviews were conducted with 30 students whose consent was taken beforehand. 17 of them were from English preparation class of ELT department and 13 of them were from English preparation class of ELL department. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Each interview lasted between 10 and 15 minutes depending on the students' statements. The whole process of interviews was completed in six days as the interviews were conducted out of students' class hours. Both questionnaires and interview questions were administered in Turkish in order to avoid possible misunderstandings and to let the participants express themselves clearly and freely.

Data Analysis

For the 1st research question, as quantitative data analysis, descriptive statistics were used to determine the level of students' willingness to communicate in English, perceptions of their self-efficacy and their linguistic self-confidence. As for qualitative data, content analysis was conducted. From labelled segments of data, overlapping or redundant codes were extracted and then similar codes were arranged. These codes were reduced to broader themes manually and then reported. In order to negate any bias and establish consistency of the implementation, inter-rater reliability was also considered. An experienced researcher in applied linguistic field followed the coding and analysis processes. For the 2nd research question, Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations were employed in order to determine the relationship among students' willingness to communicate in English, self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence. As linguistic self-confidence comprises a lack of anxiety and perceived communicative competence, it was measured through communication anxiety scale and perceived communication competence scale. In order to find out the

total score of linguistic self-confidence, the following measurement, which was proposed by Fushino (2010) was made:

$$\text{Linguistic Self-Confidence} = (\text{Mean of Communication Anxiety Reversed} + \text{Mean of Perceived Communication Competence}) / 2.$$

Results

What are EFL learners' willingness to communicate in English, perceptions of their self-efficacy and their linguistic self-confidence?

Students' perceptions of their willingness to communicate. First, students' WTC levels were examined. As seen in Table 1, the quantitative data overall showed that the participants were somewhat willing to communicate in English ($M=2.93$, $SD=.77$). They were more willing to communicate in English with their friends and acquaintance than communicating with strangers. For instance, they were more willing to present a talk to a group of friends ($M=3.64$, $SD=1.15$) and acquaintance ($M=3.58$, $SD=1.22$) rather than presenting a talk to a group of strangers ($M=2.96$, $SD=1.15$). It appears that they were most willing to present a talk to a group of friends whereas they were least willing to talk with a stranger while standing in line.

As for the qualitative data, the participants' responses to the interview questions regarding WTC were examined. Qualitative analysis revealed consistent results with quantitative results. When they were asked whether they would like to communicate in English among a group of acquaintance, 24 students out of 30 (80%) stated that they would be willing to communicate. On the other hand, 6 of them (20%) preferred not to communicate in that case.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Students' Perceived WTC

WTC Scale	N	Mean	S.D.
1-Present a talk to a group of strangers in English.	84	2.96	1.15
2-Talk with an acquaintance while standing in line in English.	84	2.77	1.24
3-Talk in a large meeting of friends in English.	84	3.06	1.12
4-Talk in a small group of strangers in English.	84	2.40	1.13

5-Talk with a friend while standing in line in English	84	3.06	1.13
6-Talk in a large meeting of acquaintances in English.	84	2.79	1.18
7-Talk with a stranger while standing in line in English.	84	2.11	1.01
8-Present a talk to a group of friends in English.	84	3.64	1.15
9-Talk in a small group of acquaintances in English.	84	3.20	1.12
10-Talk in a large meeting of strangers in English.	84	2.29	1.16
11-Talk in a small group of friends in English.	84	3.32	1.04
12-Present a talk to a group of acquaintances in English.	84	3.58	1.22
TOTAL	84	2.93	.77

When they were asked whether they would like to communicate with their friends in daily life, 29 of them responded positively while only 1 of them responded negatively. When they were asked whether they would like to present a talk to a group of strangers in English, 17 of them (56.6 %) responded positively while nearly half of them (13) responded negatively. They were also asked to indicate how they would feel while making such a presentation. The following excerpt represents one of their statements:

“Yes, I would like it. Because my aim is to be an academician, and in this case, I will always make presentation in front of people I do not know. Since I am an extrovert and enthusiastic person, I could make my presentation without worrying.” (ELL Student 18).

It seems that they were more willing to communicate with their friends and acquaintances, but less willing to communicate with strangers, which is similar to the questionnaire results.

Students' perceptions of their linguistic self-confidence. As the L2 self-confidence comprises a lack of anxiety and perceived communicative competence, it was measured through communication anxiety scale and perceived communication competence scale. L2 self-confidence was measured by adding the mean of reverse-coded communication anxiety and the mean of communication competence, and then they were divided by two. As a result, as Table 2 below demonstrates, students did not experience much communication anxiety in English ($M=2.49$, $SD= .75$) and they had a medium level of perceived communication competence in English ($M=3.34$,

SD= .73), and in turn it seems that they perceived themselves somewhat confident in English language ($M=3.42$, $SD= .61$).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Students' Linguistic Self-Confidence

	N	M	S.D.
CA	84	2.49	.75
PCC	84	3.34	.73
CA REVERSED	84	3.50	.75
LING. SELF-CONF.	84	3.42	.61

In interview questions, when the participants were asked how they felt when they needed to communicate in English, nearly half of them (13) indicated that they felt anxious. Most of the students stated that their feelings varied according to their moods, the type of receivers (friends, acquaintances, or strangers), the environment they spoke and the topic of communication. The following quote exemplifies their statements:

“If the people I communicate with in English are familiar, I will never worry, but if I do not know them, I will be a bit anxious. However, in any case, I like speaking English.” (ELT Student 14).

Some students attributed their anxiety to fear of making mistakes as seen in one of their comments below:

“I am very obsessed with grammar. For that reason, making grammatical mistakes scares me so much. I'm nervous about this.” (ELT Student 10).

On the other hand, some students attributed their anxiety to lack of communicative competence, while some of them believed that they had enough competence in speaking English. One of the students commented as follows:

“I feel a bit nervous when I speak English. Because I am not good enough at speaking it.” (ELL Student 25).

Some of the participants expressed that they felt more anxious at the beginning of a conversation, but later, they felt less anxious as the conversation continues. The following statement demonstrates this case:

“At first, I feel anxious, but as time passes and I speak more, I feel more comfortable.” (ELL Student 24).

Overall, it seems that students did not experience too much anxiety and their anxiety level does not seem to prevent them communicating with others in English as most of them indicated that they became happy and self-confident when they spoke English.

In order to explore students' perceived communication competence, as an interview question, they were asked what their English level was and whether they found their language level sufficient in terms of speaking English, understanding what they listened to, reading what they read, and writing English texts. Nearly half of the students (13 out of 30) indicated that they found their English level sufficient, while 11 of them (36.6 %) stated that they did not think their level was sufficient. The rest of the participants (6 students, 20%) stated that they had a medium level of English. Most of the students who regarded their proficiency in English as high stated that they were not sufficient in either speaking or listening skills as much as other skills. The following extract shows this situation:

“My English level is high in terms of writing and reading, but I think that I need to improve my speaking skills and feel comfortable while speaking English as I do not practice speaking English so much.” (ELT Student 2).

The participants who regarded themselves as insufficient expressed their insufficiency in various skills. Some of them stated their speaking and listening skills were insufficient, while a few of them felt less competent in speaking and writing or listening and writing skills. The following quote illustrates one of their perceptions:

“I wish I could speak more fluently, and I had an English accent. I also wish I was more creative in writing skills. I am quite good at listening. I would like to overcome my concentration problem while reading something.” (ELT Student 10).

Some students regarded themselves as having a medium level of English. The following quote represents their statements:

“In general, I am quite good at reading texts and writing activities which have a medium level. But I need to improve my reading skills and other skills for the activities which include high level of English.” (ELL Student 28).

When we evaluate the results of both communication anxiety scale and communication competence scale in total, it may be stated that students seem to have perceived themselves somewhat confident in English language as they had low communication anxiety and medium level of perceived communication competence. As stated earlier, linguistic self-confidence is defined as the combination of a lack of communication anxiety and a higher perceived communication competence. Similarly, interview data demonstrated that students did not experience too much anxiety and their anxiety level does not seem to have prevented them communicating with people in English. In addition, students regarded themselves as more or less competent in speaking English. The qualitative data also showed that students seem to have perceived themselves somewhat confident in English.

Students’ self-efficacy perceptions. According to Table 3, in general, students had a medium level of perceived self-efficacy in English ($M=3.67$, $SD= .54$). They perceived themselves most efficient in reading ($M=3.92$, $SD= .63$) and least efficient in writing ($M=3.52$, $SD= .52$). It seems that students perceived themselves less efficient in productive skills (speaking and writing) than receptive skills (reading and listening). However, there was not a considerable difference between listening and speaking. Overall, they perceived themselves moderately efficient in four skills.

When the interviewees were asked whether they felt efficient in reading in general and to what extent they understood English texts, more than half of the participants (18 out of 30) indicated that they perceived themselves highly efficient in reading, but 12 of them (40%) stated that they had a medium level of self-efficacy in reading. Although they mostly did not have a low self-efficacy perception for reading, they expressed their inefficacy in some areas related to reading. The most stated inefficacious areas were vocabulary (13 participants), grammar (4 participants) and academic texts (6 participants). One of the excerpts from the students regarding themselves inefficient in vocabulary and/or grammar is as follows:

“If it is not an academic text, I can understand it very well. If we give a score out of 10, my understanding level is 7. I can answer the questions easily if they are not asked indirectly. I view myself at a moderate level in English. I have a medium level of grammar and vocabulary knowledge, but I view myself as successful in reading.” (ELT Student 15).

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of Four Language Skills in Terms of Perceived Self-Efficacy

	N	Mean	S.D.
Reading SE	84	3,92	.63
Writing SE	84	3,52	.52
Listening SE	84	3,64	.68
Speaking SE	84	3,63	.83
Total SE	84	3.67	.54

A few interviewees remarked that they had difficulty in understanding academic texts even though they perceived themselves efficient in reading. The following quote reveals their inefficacy in academic texts:

“I usually understand most of the texts as long as they are not academic texts and at advanced level. I feel efficient in reading, but I believe that I need to improve myself in understanding the books at advanced level and the conversations in movies.” (ELL Student 28).

The interview data regarding their writing self-efficacy revealed that most of the students (21 participants, 70%) seem to have perceived themselves efficient in writing at a moderate level while only 9 of them (30%) thought that they were efficient enough in writing. This is in line with quantitative findings. Some of the students who had a medium level of self-efficacy expressed their inefficiency in vocabulary or grammar as seen in the following statement:

“Although I make minor mistakes in grammar and vocabulary while writing a composition, I feel efficient in writing. However, I am aware that I need to make an effort to be completely efficient in writing. But I believe that I will be able to fill in the forms such as a curriculum vitae and an invitation card.” (ELT Student 14).

As in quantitative data, the interview results also revealed that students had a medium level of listening self-efficacy as most of them (21 participants, 70%) appear

to have perceived themselves efficient in listening at a moderate level while only 9 of them (30%) thought that they were efficient enough in listening. The participants mostly attributed their lack of efficiency in listening to the pace of speaking and speakers' accent as seen in the statement below:

"If people have a clear accent, I can understand them, but if they speak fast and with an unclear accent, I cannot understand them." (ELT Student 16).

When the participants were asked to what extent they could express themselves in English while meeting their daily needs (shopping, giving directions etc.) if they were abroad or in a touristic area, more than half of the students (18 participants, 60%) indicated that they saw themselves efficient enough in this regard while 12 of them (40%) had a medium level of speaking self-efficacy perception. Some of the participants indicated that they did not feel efficient enough in speaking in such situations due to lack of vocabulary as seen in one of the quotations below:

"I can express myself in daily conversations, but they may require some technical vocabulary, so I need to improve my vocabulary further." (ELT Student 10).

According to the findings obtained from both quantitative and qualitative data, in general, it appears that students in this study had a medium level of perceived self-efficacy in English. They perceived themselves most efficient in reading and least efficient in writing, but they had a medium level of self-efficacy in all skills. The data gathered from the interview questions also supported quantitative findings.

Is there a correlation among students' willingness to communicate in English, their self-efficacy perceptions, and their linguistic self-confidence?

Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations were employed in order to determine the relationship among variables. Linguistic self-confidence is characterized as a higher perceived communication competence and the combination of a lack of communication anxiety. Therefore, in order to mention the existence of students' linguistic self-confidence, it was hoped that the participants' communication anxiety would be negatively correlated with their perceptions of communication competence. The results in Table 4 confirmed the existence of the construct of linguistic self-

confidence, as a significant moderate negative correlation was found between communication anxiety and perceived communication competence ($r=-.388$, $p<.001$). It can be stated that when students experience less anxiety and have more communication competence, they tend to have higher levels of linguistic self-confidence. A significant moderate negative correlation was also found between communication anxiety and willingness to communicate ($r=-.300$, $p<.05$), and a significant weak negative correlation was found between communication anxiety and self-efficacy ($r=-.281$, $p<.05$). It means that students' willingness to communicate and their perceived self-efficacy increase as they feel less anxious. The results also indicated that there was a significant moderate positive correlation between willingness to communicate and perceived communication competence ($r=.698$, $p<.001$); between willingness to communicate and self-efficacy ($r=.475$, $p<.001$) and between self-efficacy and perceived communication competence ($r=.634$, $p<.001$). Hence, it is possible to state that students become more willing to communicate as they have higher communication competence and higher perceived self-efficacy. In addition, students having higher communication competence tend to have higher self-efficacy perceptions.

Table 4. Correlations between the Variables

		WTC	CA	PCC	SE	LING. SELF-CON
WTC	Pearson Correlation		-.300**	.698**	.475**	.595**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	-	.006	.000	.000	.000
	N		84	84	84	84
CA	Pearson Correlation			-.388**	-.281**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)		-	.000	.010	-
	N			84	84	
PCC	Pearson Correlation				.634**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)			-	.000	-
	N				84	
SE	Pearson Correlation					.546**
	Sig. (2-tailed)				-	.000
	N					84
LING. SELF-CON	Pearson Correlation					
	Sig. (2-tailed)					-
	N					

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4 also shows that there was a significant moderate positive correlation between students' linguistic self-confidence and their WTC ($r=-.595$, $p<.001$); and between their linguistic self-confidence and their self-efficacy perceptions ($r=-.546$, $p<.001$). It may be stated that the students having higher linguistic self-confidence and self-efficacy perceptions tend to be more willing to communicate in English.

Discussion

This study investigated the level of English preparation class students' willingness to communicate in English, their self-efficacy perceptions and their linguistic self-confidence and the possible correlations among these variables. Both quantitative and qualitative data revealed that students were somewhat willing to communicate, and they were more willing to communicate with their friends and acquaintances, but less willing to communicate with strangers. This may be due to the fact that EFL learners in Turkey mostly have a chance to communicate in the L2 in classroom environment, and thus they mostly interact with their friends or acquaintances. However, they do not have many opportunities to communicate with strangers outside the classroom. For instance, students participating in this research live in Yozgat where the possibility of interacting with inhabitants or tourists in English is too low. Yozgat is a small city which does not attract many tourists and provide university students with a multicultural environment where they can practice their English. In addition, we can say that the rate of using English outside the classroom in other cities of Turkey is also too low. Therefore, the level of students' WTC with strangers might have been found lower as they probably lack experience in communicating with strangers. This finding confirms MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) heuristic model of WTC in which affiliation motives are claimed to affect a person's desire and self-confidence to communicate with a specific person. In other words, as MacIntyre et al. (1998) also underline, previous research in social psychology (Lippa, 1994) shows that affiliation frequently occurs with people who are often encountered, physically nearby, attractive and similar to us in different ways. The results of this study are consistent with the findings of previous work (Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2005; Taşdemir, 2018) as the students were somewhat willing to communicate and more willing to communicate

with their acquaintances and friends rather than strangers. It is apparent that personal characteristics of the interlocutor an individual communicates with are associated with his/her WTC in a second language.

As for students' linguistic self-confidence, students seem to have perceived themselves somewhat confident in English language. As linguistic self-confidence is explained by communication anxiety and communication competence, these variables were expected to correlate negatively, and thus students would have less anxiety while having higher communicative competence to claim that students have linguistic self-confidence to some degree. As expected, both quantitative and qualitative findings of the current study showed that students did not experience much communication anxiety, and similar to their willingness to communicate, they felt less anxious while speaking with their friends or acquaintances than speaking with strangers. This is again compatible with MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) heuristic model as they claim that intergroup tension, previous bad experiences, presence of crowded people listening, and fear of assimilation may increase anxiety. According to this model, perceived competence represents the feeling that a person has the capacity to use the language effectively at a specific time. This competence is expected to increase if a person is in a situation encountered before. The findings also confirmed the construct of linguistic self-confidence as a significant moderate negative correlation was found between communication anxiety and perceived communication competence. This finding is in line with Clément's (1980) model which proposes that self-confidence is composed of perceived competence and anxiety of language use, and anxiety of second language use is subsumed by the notion of self-confidence that also involves the person's self-evaluation of her/his proficiency in the second language. The negative correlation found between perceived competence and communication anxiety in present study is also congruent with Clément and Kruidenier's (1985) study, as in their study, the relationship between these variables were supported. We may infer that the more second language learners have self-perceived communication competence, the less they experience communication anxiety and this, in turn, leads to having more self-confidence in second language communication. On the other hand, this finding is incongruent with Bektaş-Çetinkaya's (2005) study which found that perceived competence did not negatively correlate with communication anxiety. She attributed this situation to the lack of

students' communication experience inside or outside the classroom. Students' lower speaking anxiety and higher perceived communication competence in current study may be explained that ELT and ELL students usually have many opportunities to communicate inside the classroom as their departments require constant language production and their frequent interaction with their peers and native and non-native instructors increases their linguistic self- confidence in L2 communication.

The current study also yielded a significant moderate positive correlation between students' linguistic self-confidence and their WTC. This is in parallel with Clément and Kruidenier's (1985) study as they state that when there is pleasant and frequent contact, a person's self-confidence in using the L2 develops and in such settings, the most influential determinant of motivation for learning and using the L2 is self-confidence. The positive correlation between students' linguistic self-confidence and their WTC and the negative correlation between communication anxiety and WTC in this study also support MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) heuristic model as they proposed that state anxiety differs in intensity and changes over time, and if state anxiety increases, it will lower a person's self-confidence, and thus his/her WTC. They regard state self-confidence as one of the most immediate predictors of WTC. Similar results showing direct relationship between WTC and linguistic self-confidence were also found in some other studies (MacIntyre et al., 2002; Yashima, 2002; Bektaş-Çetinkaya, 2007; Fushino, 2010; Fallah, 2014; Öz et al., 2015; Khajavy et al., 2016). It seems plausible that an individual's higher linguistic self- confidence increases the possibility of his/her willingness to communicate. The students in this study also appear to have perceived themselves somewhat confident in English and their self- confidence affected their WTC in English positively. As stated earlier, their self-confidence in English may stem from their frequent communication opportunities inside the classroom due to the nature of their departments, then it is no surprise that they perceived themselves somewhat willing to communicate and their WTC correlated with their linguistic self-confidence positively.

The present study also revealed that students had a medium level of perceived self-efficacy in English. They perceived themselves most efficient in reading and least efficient in writing. In this sense, the findings of current study are consistent with

Taşdemir's (2018) research which also found that Turkish high school students perceived themselves most efficient in reading while they perceived themselves less efficient in writing and speaking. It is natural that EFL students feel less efficient in writing and speaking as these are productive skills that students deliver performance more publicly compared to receptive skills: reading and listening. Another reason may be related to the assessment system in English exams in Turkey as productive skills are not assessed in most English exams such as YDS and YÖKDİL which are conducted as national language proficiency exams and taken to get academic promotion or extra payment by academicians or state employees. In this sense, students' lower self-efficacy perceptions in speaking and writing may be due to their lack of extrinsic motivation to perform these skills. MacIntyre et al. (2001) explain that writing and speaking are more public skills in which individuals display their L2 competence for audience, so this may lead to embarrassment in case of ineffective performance. Then, it is not odd that students in the present study also perceived themselves less efficient in these skills as they might be afraid of making mistake and having embarrassing experience.

The current study also found a significant weak negative correlation between communication anxiety and self-efficacy. This finding supports Bandura's (1993) study which investigated the relationships between efficacy beliefs and anxiety. Bandura explained that people having high efficacy do not see the difficult tasks as threats, rather they regard them as challenges to be dealt with. This efficacious approach helps them to be interested in activities, to set challenging targets and to maintain commitment to these targets. Their efficacious outlook creates personal accomplishments, decreases stress and depression (Bandura, 1993). The findings of this study that yielded a negative correlation between self-efficacy and anxiety are congruent with Mills et al.'s (2006) study as they found that learners having low self-efficacy in reading may suffer from anxiety and it may also affect their sense of self-efficacy negatively. Then, it is possible to state that L2 learners having lower communication anxiety tend to have higher self-efficacy beliefs, and this, in turn, accounts for their successful performance in L2 communication.

The present study further found a significant moderate positive correlation between students' linguistic self-confidence and their self-efficacy perceptions, and

between self-efficacy and perceived communication competence. In Dörnyei's (1994) motivation construct, self-confidence encompasses self-efficacy, language anxiety, causal attributions and perception of L2 competence. Dörnyei explains that self-confidence is one's belief in his/her capability to produce results, achieve goals or showing competent performance on tasks, and it is a prominent dimension of self-concept. Thus, it is possible to indicate that linguistic self-confidence directly correlates with self-efficacy. The more students have linguistic self-confidence, the more they perceive themselves efficacious in L2. In turn, they experience less anxiety and feel more competent in L2. They may also get more motivated and their willingness to communicate increases. In the current study, a significant moderate positive correlation was also found between willingness to communicate and self-efficacy perceptions. Similarly, Taşdemir's (2018) study also found a significant moderate correlation between students' perceived self-efficacy and WTC in English. It shows that students may become more willing to communicate in English as they have higher self-efficacy beliefs. As can be seen in previous studies (Bandura, 1993, 1997; Mills et al., 2006; Mills, 2014), this study also reveals the importance of one's self-efficacy beliefs for his/her performance in the L2. Not surprisingly, students' self-efficacy beliefs in this study positively correlated with their WTC in English. It may be interpreted that ELT and ELL students have more mastery experiences as they attend the university with high language test scores, they have more vicarious experience as they are exposed to frequent communication situations in their classes, and thus, they become less anxious about communicating in L2. As a result, this may account for their higher self-efficacy perceptions and direct contribution of these perceptions to their WTC in English.

Conclusion

This study revealed the direct relationship among WTC, linguistic self-confidence and self-efficacy perceptions, which supports MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) heuristic model of WTC as linguistic self-confidence positively correlated with WTC and higher linguistic self-confidence contributed to WTC in English. In addition, our study confirms Clément's (1980) model which proposes that self-confidence is composed of

perceived competence and anxiety of language use as communication anxiety and perceived communication competence correlated negatively in this study. As we found that self-efficacy positively correlated with linguistic self-confidence and WTC, but negatively correlated with communication anxiety, the current study also contributes to Bandura's (1977) self-efficacy model in which people having higher self-efficacy are characterized as being interested in activities, setting challenging targets, maintaining commitment to these targets, increasing and continuing their efforts and recovering their sense of self-efficacy in case of failure.

The findings of this study may provide several implications for language teachers and policy makers as follows:

- As linguistic self-confidence is explained by combination of communication anxiety and perceived communication competence, language teachers should establish a classroom environment where students do not experience much communication anxiety and take steps specifically to relieve students' communication anxiety in L2.
- Students should be encouraged to take part in communicative activities much more and they should be supported by positive feedback. Thus, their linguistic self-confidence can be fostered and in turn, their WTC increases.
- Turkish ELT and ELL students in this study had a medium level of WTC and it seems that they were less willing to communicate with strangers despite having higher communicative competence compared to the students from other departments in Turkish universities. Therefore, policy makers and teachers should work together to increase Turkish students' communication environments and provide them with communication opportunities especially with native speakers or foreigners.
- As seen in this study, self-efficacy may directly contribute to students' WTC. Therefore, students should be given the chance to experience success in language, to have vicarious experience by observing their peers' successful language use in the class, they should be positively encouraged in order to provide them with social persuasion and their stress levels and anxiety-

provoking situations should be diminished. As a result, they may have more willingness to communicate in a relaxed, friendly and supportive environment.

- It can also be suggested that students should be extrinsically motivated to use productive skills much more and national language proficiency exams and other English exams at schools should be adapted to assess productive skills in addition to reading, vocabulary and grammar. Thus, EFL learners' self-efficacy perceptions regarding these skills may be positively affected.

Although this study provides useful implications, it has certain limitations, too. Our study investigated the relationship between WTC, self-efficacy perceptions and linguistic self-confidence, but did not examine other variables, which may influence each other in language learning process and L2 communication such as personality, motivation and attitudes. Further studies may be carried out by including such variables and try to find out possible relationships among them. Another limitation is that this study was only carried out with 84 ELT and ELL preparation students at Yozgat Bozok University in Turkey. Further studies may be conducted with a larger population from different universities in Turkey in order to get more representative results and to have more comprehensible understanding about the factors influencing Turkish EFL students' L2 learning process.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

**English Language Teachers' Perceptions of World Englishes and English as a
Lingua Franca**

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Abstract

English language has already become a world language while the world is changing and globalizing. It has been universally accepted in the academic field that English is now used as a lingua franca (ELF) in intercultural communication, and the lingua franca role of English has started to affect teacher education. Although there have been many of studies about ELF and World Englishes (WE), the perceptions of English language teachers require more investigation to describe the position of English in English Language Teaching (ELT) context. Therefore, this exploratory study aimed to investigate the perceptions of English language instructors who work at different state and foundation universities and English language teachers who work at different institutions at primary, secondary, high school and university level during 2019- 2020 spring semester in Turkey. For this purpose, their perceptions of ELF and ELF-related issues concerning cultural aspects, Standard English and World Englishes, as well as the native and non-native dichotomy were explored through a questionnaire. The results were interpreted to present several implications for language learners, teachers/instructors, material developers and curriculum designers.

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Introduction

English language has already become a lingua franca in a globalized world. It has been universally accepted in the academic field that English is now used as a lingua franca which means the common language among speakers from different first language backgrounds. (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001; Walker, 2010). This environment differs from traditional English as a foreign language classrooms because of the fact that ELF refers to the English language spoken by interlocutors who do not share a first language (Tsou & Chen, 2014). In practice, the English being used in the ELF environment is not the same as the version of English (i.e., Standard English) taught to non-native speakers around the world in EFL classrooms (Jenkins,

2011). In this vein, ELF can be understood as a global form of English as a mother language with a lot of variations (Seidlhofer, 2000). Since there are many learners in the world with different mother tongues, the established concepts of English Language Teaching (ELT) are changing to meet needs of learners and keep up with the time (Ceyhan-Bingöl & Özkan, 2019). Hence, the significant issues to be explored are the place, effects and implications of ELF in the field of ELT.

ELF is a concept which deals with topics in cultural studies (Seidlhofer, 2001; Bayyurt, 2006; Baker, 2011). According to McKay (2002), international cultures should be integrated into language classes to meet various needs of language learners. Canagarajah (2005) points out that culture is a common element, so it does not belong to a particular territory in a global world. In relation to that, Baker (2011) proposes the relationship between languages and cultures in the context of ELF can be seen as situated and emergent. Additionally, Baker (2009) claims cultural norms, practices and frames of ELF may be viewed as adaptive and context dependent. Therefore, ELF needs to include awareness of dynamic hybrid cultures by going beyond the traditional negotiated target language.

Another crucial issue in language teaching is Standard English or World Englishes. WE which is an umbrella term referring to all local varieties that arise from the diversity of use in specific local areas owing to linguistic and cultural differences (Jenkins, 2009). WE scholars' view that new varieties of 'Englishes' are emerging throughout the world with words, expressions, accents, sociolinguistic rules, and even grammatical rules (Berns et al., 2007; Jenkins, 2007; Kachru, 1992; Mesthrie, 2006; Modiano, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1999). Therefore, scholars claim that it wouldn't be appropriate to apply the native speaker English norms to ELT by being restricted to one single variety of the language (Wang, 2012).

The number of non-native speakers has become more than native speakers of English (Graddol, 1997), which has brought about a debate on the native and non-native speakers. Canagarajah (2005) asserts that 80% of English language teachers around the world are non-native speakers. Consequently, the field of ELT has changed the research area from native speaker to both native English speaking teachers (NESTs) and non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2001).

The number of studies investigating ELF and WE has increased. In a study conducted by İnceçay and Akyel (2014), the perceptions of Turkish EFL teachers about ELF and the role of ELF on language teacher education were explored. Findings of the study revealed a great majority of the participating teachers are resistant to use ELF in their classrooms. In his study, Soruç (2015) investigated the beliefs of non-native English speakers on ELF and found out that the majority of the participants tended to use native-speaker norms. In another study conducted by Deniz, Özkan and Bayyurt (2016), pre-service English teachers' views of ELF related issues were explored and it was found that the majority of the pre-service English teachers refused to integrate ELF into their teaching because of difficulty in making space for the diversification of English in language classrooms. Ceyhan-Bingöl and Özkan (2019) also scrutinized EFL instructors' perceptions of ELF and ELF-related issues and their actual classroom practices. It was concluded that EFL instructors are familiar with ELF and ELF-related issues, and they deal with these issues in their classes. Furthermore, Aydın and Karakaş (2021) explored EFL teachers' beliefs and perceptions about ELF. The findings revealed that most teachers are not aware of ELF as a notion. It was proposed in the study that what lies behind their non-awareness of ELF may be their previous educational experiences, the lack of curricular support from the Ministry of National Education and teachers' lack of contact with diverse speakers. Moreover, Topkaraoğlu and Dilman (2017) investigated what Turkish EFL teachers understand about ELF and how ELF-aware they are. They found out that ELF awareness of EFL teachers, ELF in syllabus design and reflections of teachers about language policy development were the main factors affecting how Turkish EFL teachers understand ELF in the context of ELT. In the study carried out by Yücedağ and Karakaş (2019), the perceptions of high school language division students towards ELF and it was discovered that language division students desired their teachers to attach much importance to both pronunciation and grammar.

When EFL learners in Turkey are taken into consideration, it can be seen that the real problem is not the different pronunciations and the different usages of the words but the different varieties of English that they are not aware of (Topkaraoğlu and Dilman, 2017). L2 learners are generally willing to speak like a native speaker but they neglect phonological, morphological, syntactic, pragmatic and sociocultural

aspects of other Englishes (Jenkins, 1998). Also, if they are not familiar with the concepts of ELF and WEs, they may have difficulty in expanding their knowledge on the target language (Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2013). In this sense, it is assumed that this study may give an insight to foreign language teachers in exploring how teachers and instructors perceive ELF and ELF-related issues regarding cultural aspects in English language teaching, Standard English and World Englishes, the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers and offer implications for developing and integrating the concept of ELF in English language teaching.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Before stating and commenting on the studies concerning the perceptions of EFL or WE, it is necessary to define what is meant by the terms 'English as a Lingua Franca' and 'World Englishes' as there are many interpretations of these terms in the literature. Jenkins (2009) refers to English being used by non-native speakers of English from the expanding circle by using ELF. Seidlhofer (2009), however, claims ELF communication is not based on only Expanding Circle countries, but it covers all three circles. Mauranen (2018) also mentions that ELF is not a communication language based on a specific community, but it is used to communicate people from various parts of the world. To correspond to various uses of English, ELF needs to be considered in language teaching and learning approaches. ELF differs from EFL because ELF embraces non-native speakers and their various uses of English instead of native-norm based English (Ceyhan-Bingöl and Özkan, 2019).

WEs refer to the English spoken by native speakers by birth as much as by those who learn it in a classroom setting with severely limited use of English in everyday life (Saengboon, 2015). In this respect, WEs focus not only on linguistic features of those varieties of English but also on such issues as identity (Kumaravadivelu, 2012), mutual intelligibility (Nelson, 2011), and pedagogical options (Nelson & Kern, 2012).

To understand the pedagogical and social implications of WE, it is necessary to explore what teachers perceive about the ownership of English and there are some valuable studies which focus on perceptions of ELF or WE as well as attitudes towards ELF or WE. For example, with reference to language education, He (2015)

explored and compared Chinese university students' and teachers' perceptions of China English and WE in the context of English. 984 university students and their teachers at four universities in China participated in the study. He found that the student participants were comparatively positive to China English whereas the teacher participants thought standardized English was preferable. The findings indicate that the features of China English should be incorporated into the native- speaker-based teaching model.

In relation to students' perceptions of WE, Saengboon (2015) tried to find out the perceptions of Thai university students towards WE. One hundred and ninety-eight students from three universities in Bangkok were administered a questionnaire inquiring about definitions of WEs, the Kachruvian concentric circles, the concepts of standard and ownership of English, Thai English and the role of native vs. non-native English speaking teachers. Findings revealed that the majority of the respondents were ambivalent about WE, despite the fact that they prioritized British and American English. Although Thai English was perceived as undesirable, they indicated they did not mind whether Thais may speak English with the Thai accent.

Within the context of WE in ELT, Sadeghpour and Sharifian (2017) investigated perceptions of English language teachers in Australia regarding the existence and legitimacy of WE. To collect data, 27 teachers of English language were interviewed. Qualitative analysis of the interview responses showed that while the majority of teachers acknowledge the existence of some new varieties, not many recognise the legitimacy of the Expanding Circle Englishes. The results indicate that teachers' perceptions of WE are affected more by their formal education than by exposure to WE.

For the same purpose, in a study carried out by Zhang and Du (2018) university students' and teachers' perceptions of and attitudes towards ELF in the Chinese context were explored. 168 non-English major students and 30 college English teachers from a top university in Mainland China participated in the study. Two questionnaires were distributed to student and teacher participants and a semi-structured interview was implemented afterwards. It was found that neither the students nor the teachers has sufficient knowledge about ELF in spite of their

awareness of the lingua franca function of English. Both the students and the teachers seemed to be attached to “Standard English” under the influence of “native speaker norm” in English teaching contents and methods. However, the students hold positive attitudes towards ELF and expressed their willingness to learn about it in class. Within the similar context, Yücedağ and Karakaş (2019) tried to find out the perceptions of high school language division students towards ELF via descriptive survey method and the gathered data showed that most students believed in the importance of teachers’ teaching standard English pronunciation to students and language teachers should teach good grammar to their students.

In a similar vein, Eslami, Moody and Pashmforoosh (2019) designed six different activities to find out pre-service teachers’ perceptions of WE. After pre-service teachers completed them, the effectiveness of these activities was examined based on written reflections and pre- and post- intervention assessments. The data indicated that all activities were beneficial for raising participant’s awareness, tolerance, and respect of WE. Results also show the importance of using experiential approaches for the promotion of culturally and linguistically responsive teaching.

There have also been various attempts in Turkish context with regard to perceptions of ELF or WE. Inceçay and Akyel (2014) explored the perceptions of Turkish EFL teachers about ELF, Turkish EFL teachers and teacher educators about the role of ELF on language teacher education. To collect data, questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were utilized. A hundred Turkish EFL teachers working at two universities in Istanbul responded to the questionnaire. Ten randomly selected EFL teachers and 10 teacher educators working in language teacher education departments of two universities were interviewed to elicit their views about the role of ELF in language teacher education. The findings revealed that a great majority of the participating teachers are resistant to use ELF in their classrooms.

For the same purpose, Aydın and Karakaş (2021) explored EFL teachers’ beliefs and perceptions about ELF through an open-ended survey questionnaire and the findings revealed that most teachers are not aware of ELF as a notion.

Likewise, in a study conducted by Topkaraoğlu and Dilman (2017), what Turkish EFL teachers understand about ELF and how ELF-aware they are were investigated by means of a cross-sectional survey. They found out that ELF

awareness of EFL teachers, ELF in syllabus design and reflections of teachers about language policy development were the main factors affecting how Turkish EFL teachers understand ELF in the context of ELT.

In tandem with the same topic, Deniz, Özkan and Bayyurt (2016) explored pre-service language teachers' perceptions on ELF related issues through a questionnaire and interviews. The findings revealed that although a large number of participants accepted the realities of ELF, they stated that their perspectives and teaching practices were largely shaped by inner circle native norms of English.

In the same vein, Ceyhan-Bingöl and Özkan (2019) investigated the perceptions of EFL instructors working in a school of foreign languages in a foundation university in Turkey. Their perceptions of ELF and ELF-related issues concerning cultural aspects, Standard English and World Englishes, as well as the native and non-native dichotomy were gathered. The study also aimed to shed light on the actual classroom practices of the EFL instructors. The data were collected through a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. The findings revealed that a good number of the participants were familiar with ELF and ELF-related issues. Moreover, it was found out that the classroom practices of the participants were in line with their perceptions.

Taking all these into consideration, teachers who are eager to inspire their future students and develop their students' acceptance of ELF and WEs should engage themselves first with these terms. Since knowledge of ELF and WEs in ELT can be seen as an important part to promote the diversity in English education, in light of the results of the research studies mentioned above, it can be understood that it is essential to explore what teachers perceive of ELF and WE to fully comprehend the pedagogical and social implications of them. Hence, the study aims to find out how English language teachers perceive ELF and ELF-related issues regarding cultural aspects in English language teaching, Standard English and World Englishes, the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers.

Methodology

Research design

This exploratory study contains quantitative data collected through a questionnaire previously developed by Ceyhan-Bingöl and Özkan (2019). This study was conducted in order to find out answers to the following research question:

- 1) What are ELF perceptions of English language teachers and EFL instructors on the issues concerning:
 - a) Cultural aspects in English language teaching
 - b) Standard English and World Englishes
 - c) The dichotomy of native and non-native speakers?
- 2) Do ELF perceptions of English language teachers and EFL instructors vary significantly depending on;
 - a) Gender,
 - b) Academic qualification,
 - c) Teaching experience,
 - d) Working environment?

Setting and participants

The population of the present study consists of 110 teacher participants including English language teachers who work at different institutions at primary, secondary and high school level and EFL instructors who work at state and foundation universities in Turkey during 2019-2020 spring semester. Sampling design of the target population was decided as convenient sampling because participants were chosen regarding their willingness to be part of this study and it involves the selection of the most accessible subjects (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003).

Data collection tool: questionnaire

To answer the research questions of this research, a questionnaire adapted from Ceyhan-Bingöl and Özkan (2019) was implemented to the teacher participants who accessed it via Google forms as a link. The Cronbach's Alpha score of the final version of the questionnaire was found as 0.83 after necessary editing of the

questionnaire was done. While analysing the quantitative data obtained through the questionnaire, frequencies were utilized in order to present the responses of the participants in an informative way. The questionnaire has an introduction presenting information about the aim of the study shortly and clearly. The questionnaire consists of 1-5 Likert scale statements on five main parts: a) background information of the participants, b) ELF part including two items they can simply tick the one that applies to them c) cultural aspects in ELT consisting of 16 statements, d) Standard English and World Englishes including 19 statements, and e) the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers of English comprising 12 statements.

Data collection procedure

The data were collected by means of a questionnaire which was transferred into electronic format by using Google forms and was administered electronically as an open link. This link was shared with the participants to gather data.

Data analysis

For the purposes of the study, the data gathered were analyzed by means of quantitative data analysis procedures. The questionnaire data were analyzed descriptively using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 22 in order to get the frequencies. These frequencies were utilized so that the study could present the responses of the participants in an appropriate way. The analysis was based on the categorization in the questionnaire.

Findings

ELF

Descriptive statistics were administered to investigate English language teachers' perceptions of WE and ELF. Based on the findings of the study, a great number of teachers (81 out of 110) reported that they are familiar with the ELF concept while 29 out of 110 teachers indicated they are not familiar with the ELF concept.

Cultural aspects in language teaching

Most of the participants (%91.8) believed integrating culture is important in language classes. A great number of the teachers (%93.6) indicated their students will be more

tolerant if they know about other cultures apart from their local culture, Moreover, the majority of the participants (%91.8) agreed to the idea that culture should be integrated into ELT and 94 teachers (%85.4) pointed out all students should acquire intercultural competence. Additionally, the majority of the teachers (%90.9) stated language and culture should be taught together and 97 out of 110 (%88.1) reported participants providing cultural information encourages students to learn English. Also, 102 participants (%92.7) preferred to share with their students what they know about English speaking countries and/or their cultures, 80 teachers (%72.7) encouraged their students to imagine what it would be like to live in English speaking countries and 86 teachers (%78.1) preferred to share with their students about their own cultural experience in English speaking countries. Furthermore, many of them (%82.7) stated they use various visual and/or audio materials to introduce their students to other cultures and most of the teachers (%74.5) indicated they feel that they would spend more time for intercultural aspects in their class.

Table 1. The Teachers' Perceptions about Dealing with Culture in Classes

	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Unable to Discuss		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Integrating culture is important in language classes.	0	0	0	0	9	8.2	27	24.5	74	67.3
If students know about other cultures apart from their local culture, they will be more tolerant.	1	0.9	1	0.9	5	4.5	26	23.6	77	70
All students should acquire intercultural competence.	0	0	3	2.7	13	11.8	34	30.9	60	54.5
Culture should be integrated in English language teaching.	2	1.8	0	0	7	6.4	33	30	68	61.8
Intercultural competence cannot be acquired in ELT context.	53	48.2	37	33.6	13	11.8	5	4.5	2	1.8
Integrating culture is important only if students need to be familiar with it.	22	20	35	31.8	22	20	22	20	9	8.1
Language instructors should deal with culture only if there exist international students in the class.	57	51.8	28	25.5	10	9.1	9	8.2	6	5.5
Language and culture should be taught together.	0	0	3	2.7	7	6.4	28	25.5	72	65.5
Providing cultural information encourages students to learn English.	0	0	3	2.7	10	9.1	30	27.3	67	60.9
I share with my students what I know	0	0	1	0.9	7	6.4	26	23.6	76	69.1

about English speaking countries and/or their cultures.											
I ask my students what it would be like to live in English speaking countries.	5	4.5	5	4.5	20	18.2	24	21.8	56	50.9	
I share with my students about my own cultural experience in English speaking countries.	5	4.5	7	6.4	12	10.9	29	26.4	57	51.8	
I ask my students to compare one aspect of their local culture with that aspect in English speaking countries.	3	2.7	8	7.3	17	15.5	42	38.2	40	36.4	
I use various visual and/or audio materials to introduce my students to other cultures.	1	0.9	6	5.5	12	10.9	43	39.1	48	43.6	
The English programme I have been teaching deals with intercultural awareness.	3	2.7	16	14.5	32	29.1	33	30	26	23.6	
I feel that I would spend more time for intercultural aspects in my class.	2	1.8	2	1.8	24	21.8	53	48.2	29	26.4	

To find out whether there is a difference between the male and female English language teachers in terms of their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes, Mann-Whitney U test was performed. Table 2 indicates Mann-Whitney U test results.

Table 2. Mann-Whitney U Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions about Dealing with Culture in Classes According to the Gender Variable

Gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	U Statistic	p
Male	29	49.52	1436.00	1001.000	.239
Female	81	57.64	4669.00		

With the male English language teachers having a mean rank of 49.52 and the female English language teachers having a mean rank of 57.64, the Mann-Whitney U test of difference shows that there is no significant difference between the male and female English language teachers in their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes ($p=.239 > 0.05$).

Kruskal-Wallis test was used to investigate whether there is a academic qualification-based significant difference. The obtained findings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results According to the Academic Qualification Variable

Academic Qualifications	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
Bachelor's degree	62	55.74	4	3.634	.458
Master's degree	14	57.18			
Master's degree in progress	11	54.68			
Phd	2	94.75			
Phd in progress	21	50.36			

The teachers with different academic qualifications have a mean rank of 55.74, 57.18, 54.68, 94.75 and 50.36 respectively, The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teacher groups having different academic qualifications in terms of their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes ($\chi^2= 3.634, p=.458 > 0.05$).

The findings gained from the comparison of English language teachers' perceptions about dealing with culture in classes on the basis of the teaching experience variable are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions about Dealing with Culture in Classes According to the Teaching Experience Variable

Teaching Experience	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
1-5 years	39	56.73	4	3.840	.428
6-10 years	35	53.19			
11-15 years	19	51.26			
16-20 years	12	70.08			
20+ years	5	43.20			

English language teachers with different years of teaching experience have a mean rank of 56.73, 53.19, 51.26, 70.08 and 43.20 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teacher groups having different teaching experience years in terms their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes ($\chi^2= 3.840, p=.428 > 0.05$).

Table 5 indicates working environment-based comparison of English language teachers' perceptions about dealing with culture in classes. English language teachers' current working environment (State school, Private school, Foreign language institute, Private tuition, State university and Foundation university) have a mean rank of 57.98, 49.42, 21.50, 60.67, 52.20 and 56.55 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of

difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teachers who work in different environments in terms their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes ($\chi^2 = 2.277, p = .810 > 0.05$).

Table 5. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions about Dealing with Culture in Classes According to the Working Environment Variable

Working Environment	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
State school	62	57.98	5	2.277	.810
Private school	12	49.42			
Foreign language institute	1	21.50			
Private tuition	3	60.67			
State university	22	52.20			
Foundation university	10	56.55			

Standard English and world Englishes

36 participants (%32.7) strongly agreed that Standard English is British and/or American English while 34 teachers (%30.9) agreed with the same statement. Also, 62 teachers (%56.3) indicated Standard English is more prestigious in communication and most of the participants (%63.6) pointed out they preferred to use Standard English. In addition to that, 61 teachers (%55.4) stated non-native English learners should be encouraged to learn Standard English and more than half of them (%54.5) believe that English does not belong to the UK and/or USA. However, nearly half of the (%48.1) expressed people around the world should learn Standard English and many of them (%69) believed Standard English is accepted internationally. 40 teachers (%36.3) are not bothered when they make pronunciation errors while speaking English and 46 teachers (%41.8) reported they are not comfortable with their own accents and try to imitate native speakers' accent (See Table 6).

As shown in Table 6, a great number of teachers (%72.7) are familiar with World Englishes (WE) and many of them (%59) prefer to use their own way of using English. Moreover, more than half of the participants (%68.1) stated they are satisfied with their own accent while speaking English and 73 of them (%66.3) believe different uses of English based on different geographical regions should be introduced to English language learners. Additionally, the majority (%80) think communication

strategies are more important than Standard English norms and many (%70) indicated World Englishes should be dealt in English language learning programs. Furthermore, % 81.8 of the participants believe the idea that different varieties of English can be used as long as they follow the principles of comprehensibility and intelligibility.

Table 6. The Teachers' Perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes

	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Unable to Discuss		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard English is British and/or American (Inner Circle countries') English.	9	8.2	7	6.4	24	21.8	36	32.7	34	30.9
Native speakers of English have a right to decide how English should be.	26	23.6	14	12.7	24	21.8	37	33.6	9	8.2
Standard English is more prestigious in communication.	8	7.3	8	7.3	32	29.1	40	36.4	22	20
I prefer to use Standard English.	4	3.6	8	7.3	28	25.5	37	33.6	33	30
Non-native English learners should be encouraged to learn Standard English.	11	10	10	9.1	28	25.5	37	33.6	24	21.8
English belongs to the UK and/or USA.	42	38.2	18	16.4	20	18.2	17	15.5	13	11.8
People around the world should learn Standard English.	14	12.7	12	10.9	31	28.2	38	34.5	15	13.6
Standard English is accepted internationally.	4	3.6	12	10.9	18	16.4	44	40	32	29.1
It bothers me when my students make pronunciation errors while speaking English.	21	19.1	19	17.3	37	33.6	24	21.8	9	8.2
I am not comfortable with my own accent and try to imitate native speakers' accent.	21	19.1	25	22.7	36	32.7	24	21.8	4	3.6
I know and can define what World Englishes mean.	1	0.9	4	3.6	25	22.7	40	36.4	40	36.4
I prefer to use my own way of using English.	4	3.6	13	11.8	28	25.5	42	38.2	23	20.9
Non-native speakers of English have a right to decide how English should be.	22	20	22	20	37	33.6	18	16.4	11	10
Communication is to be able to understand and show respect towards cultural, gender, socio-political and personal differences.	0	0	2	1.8	12	10.9	25	22.7	71	64.5
I am satisfied with my own accent while speaking English.	1	0.9	7	6.4	27	24.5	45	40.9	30	27.3
Different uses of English based on different geographical regions should be	4	3.6	8	7.3	25	22.7	39	35.5	34	30.9

introduced to English language learners.											
Communication strategies are more important than Standard English norms.	0	0	5	4.5	17	15.5	48	43.6	40	36.4	
World Englishes should be dealt in English language learning programs.	2	1.8	7	6.4	24	21.8	43	39.1	34	30.9	
People can use different varieties of English as long as they follow the principles of comprehensibility and intelligibility.	0	0	4	3.6	16	14.5	44	40	46	41.8	

To find out whether there is a difference between the male and female English language teachers in terms of their perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes, Mann-Whitney U test was performed. Table 7 indicates Mann-Whitney U test results.

Table 7. Mann-Whitney U Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes According to the Gender Variable

Gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	U Statistic	p
Male	29	46.84	1358.50	923.500	.088
Female	81	58.60	4746.50		

With the male English language teachers having a mean rank of 46.84 and the female English language teachers having a mean rank of 58.60, the Mann-Whitney U test of difference shows that there is no significant difference between the male and female English language teachers in their perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes ($p=.088 > 0.05$).

Kruskal-Wallis test was used to investigate whether there is a academic qualification-based significant difference. The obtained findings are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results According to the Academic Qualification Variable

Academic Qualifications	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
Bachelor's degree	62	62.29	4	11.007	.026
Master's degree	14	52.18			
Master's degree in progress	11	53.00			
Phd	2	76.50			
Phd in progress	21	36.98			

The teachers with different academic qualifications have a mean rank of 62.29, 52.18, 53.00, 76.50 and 36.98 respectively, The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is a significant difference between teacher groups having different academic qualifications in terms of their perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes ($\chi^2= 11.007, p=.026<0.05$).

The findings gained from the comparison of English language teachers' perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes on the basis of the teaching experience variable are given in Table 9.

Table 9. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes According to the Teaching Experience Variable

Teaching Experience	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
1-5 years	39	54.59	4	2.536	.638
6-10 years	35	54.23			
11-15 years	19	55.03			
16-20 years	12	53.71			
20+ years	5	77.60			

English language teachers with different years of teaching experience have a mean rank of 54.59, 54.23, 55.03, 53.71 and 77.60 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teacher groups having different teaching experience years in terms their perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes ($\chi^2= 2.536, p=.638 > 0.05$).

Table 10 indicates working environment-based comparison of English language teachers' perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes. English language teachers' current working environment (State school, Private school, Foreign language institute, Private tuition, State university and Foundation university) have a mean rank of 61.98, 60.38, 61.50, 53.33, 46.32 and 29.70 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is a significant difference between teachers who work in different environments in terms their perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes ($\chi^2= 11.286, p=.046 < 0.05$).

Table 10. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions of Standard English and World Englishes According to the Working Environment Variable

Working Environment	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
State school	62	61.98	5	11.286	.046
Private school	12	60.38			
Foreign language institute	1	61.50			
Private tuition	3	53.33			
State university	22	46.32			
Foundation university	10	29.70			

The dichotomy of native and non-native speakers

53 out of 110 participants (%48.1) agreed with the statement that non-NESTs are good role models for their language learners while 48 teachers(%43.6) indicated they are unable to discuss the same statement. Also, most of the teachers (%73.6) believed language learners would like to hear their instructors speaking with a native-like accent. 57 participants (%51.8) reported non-NESTs are regarded as competent as NESTs in teaching English while 38 of them (%34.5) stated they are unable to discuss that statement. However, a good number of the participants (%67.2) pointed out non-NESTs are able to understand language learners' learning difficulties better than NESTs (See table 11).

As shown in Table 11, a great number of the participants (%63.6) considered NESTs are better at pronunciation teaching than non-NESTs. However, most of the participants (%64.5) agreed non-NESTs can diagnose language learners' mistakes and errors stemming from their L1 more easily than NESTs. Moreover, plenty of the participants (%74.5) underlined NESTs have better knowledge of authentic and real-life use of English than non-NESTs. Table 11 also shows half of the participants indicated NESTs are more confident in class than non-NESTs and the majority of the teachers (%69) consider there should not be any discrimination between NESTs and non-NESTs as far as employment opportunity is concerned.

Table 11. The Teachers' Perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs

	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Unable to Discuss		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-NESTs are good role models for their language learners.	5	4.5	4	3.6	48	43.6	35	31.8	18	16.4
Language learners would like to hear their instructors speaking with a native-like accent.	1	0.9	6	5.5	22	20	49	44.5	32	29.1
Non-NESTs are able to cope with cultural issues more efficiently than NESTs.	3	2.7	8	7.3	43	39.1	37	33.6	19	17.3
Non-NESTs are regarded as competent as NESTs in teaching English.	8	7.3	7	6.4	38	34.5	39	35.5	18	16.4
Non-NESTs are able to understand language learners' learning difficulties better than NESTs.	0	0	6	5.5	30	27.3	31	28.2	43	39.1
Institutions should hire NESTs only from Inner Circle countries: The USA, Britain, Australia and Canada.	19	17.3	19	17.3	39	35.5	18	16.4	15	13.6
NESTs are better at pronunciation teaching than non-NESTs.	2	1.8	7	6.4	31	28.2	32	29.1	38	34.5
NESTs are good role models for language learners.	5	4.5	8	7.3	34	30.9	39	35.5	24	21.8
Non-NESTs can diagnose language learners' mistakes and errors stemming from their L1 more easily than NESTs.	1	0.9	7	6.4	31	28.2	30	27.3	41	37.3
NESTs have better knowledge of authentic and real-life use of English than non-NESTs.	2	1.8	5	4.5	21	19.1	43	39.1	39	35.5
NESTs are more confident in class than non-NESTs.	5	4.5	14	12.7	36	32.7	26	23.6	29	26.4
There should not be any discrimination between NESTs and non-NESTs as far as employment opportunity is concerned.	3	2.7	6	5.5	25	22.7	31	28.2	45	40.9

To find out whether there is a difference between the male and female English language teachers in terms of their perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs, Mann-Whitney U test was performed. Table 12 indicates Mann-Whitney U test results.

Table 12. Mann-Whitney U Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs According to the Gender Variable

Gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	U Statistic	p
Male	29	52.83	1532.00	1097.00	.598
Female	81	56.46	4573.00		

With the male English language teachers having a mean rank of 52.83 and the female English language teachers having a mean rank of 56.46, the Mann-Whitney U test of difference shows that there is no significant difference between the male and female English language teachers in their perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs ($p=.598 > 0.05$).

Kruskal-Wallis test was used to investigate whether there is a academic qualification-based significant difference. The obtained findings are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results According to the Academic Qualification Variable

Academic Qualifications	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
Bachelor's degree	62	58.36	4	4.077	.396
Master's degree	14	43.14			
Master's degree in progress	11	57.27			
Phd	2	80.00			
Phd in progress	21	52.02			

The teachers with different academic qualifications have a mean rank of 58.36, 43.14, 57.27, 80.00 and 52.02 respectively, The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teacher groups having different academic qualifications in terms of their perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs ($\chi^2 = 4.077, p=.396 > 0.05$).

The findings gained from the comparison of English language teachers' perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs on the basis of the teaching experience variable are given in Table 14.

Table 14. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions NESTs and NNESTs According to the Teaching Experience Variable

Teaching Experience	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
1-5 years	39	53.10	4	.438	.979
6-10 years	35	56.10			
11-15 years	19	56.39			
16-20 years	12	58.25			
20+ years	5	60.00			

English language teachers with different years of teaching experience have a mean rank of 53.10, 56.10, 56.39, 58.25 and 60.00 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teacher groups having different teaching experience years in terms their perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs ($\chi^2 = .438$, $p = .979 > 0.05$).

Table 15 indicates working environment-based comparison of English language teachers' perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs. English language teachers' current working environment (State school, Private school, Foreign language institute, Private tuition, State university and Foundation university) have a mean rank of 54.69, 53.96, 77.00, 83.00, 55.77 and 51.35 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is not a significant difference between teachers who work in different environments in terms their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes ($\chi^2 = 2.932$, $p = .710 > 0.05$).

Table 15. Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for English Language Teachers' Perceptions NESTs and NNESTs According to the Working Environment Variable

Working Environment	N	Mean Rank	df	Chi-Square	p
State school	62	54.69	5	2.932	.710
Private school	12	53.96			
Foreign language institute	1	77.00			
Private tuition	3	83.00			
State university	22	55.77			
Foundation university	10	51.35			

Discussion

The findings based on perceptions of English language teachers towards ELF demonstrated that they are acquainted with ELF unlike the study conducted by İnceçay

and Akyel (2014) who indicated EFL instructors don't have much knowledge of the ELF concept in their study and Aydın and Karakaş (2021) who found out most EFL teachers are not aware of ELF. This result is also in line with the study of Topkaraoğlu and Dilman (2027). It was discovered EFL teachers are aware of ELF as a notion but the transition from EFL teacher to ELF practitioner is not easy and requires time and encouragement.

The findings based on perceptions about cultural aspects in language teaching showed that culture plays a fundamental role in language teaching. Bada (2000) underlines the importance of culture in language classes by stating it helps learners prevent communication problems. Bouchard (2019) also mentions that people with different cultures and backgrounds can communicate with each other. English language teachers also stood for sharing cultural knowledge and experience with their students. In line with their perceptions mentioning the importance of cultural awareness, Agnes (2016) explains that language learners should be familiar with and respect other cultures. Moreover, intercultural competence enables language learners to be able to understand their own culture and compare cultural differences in societies (Yılmaz & Özkan, 2015). The instructors' views on the integration of culture may demonstrate that they want to prepare their students who are from diverse cultural backgrounds for international communication. In a similar vein, McKay (2002) believes not only target but also local and international cultures should be integrated into language classes to meet different needs of language learners. The perceptions of the instructors may be related to ELF since ELF is intercultural regarding English is not based on only one single culture and it is shaped by different cultures and various speakers around the world.

The perceptions of teachers' about dealing with culture in classes were analyzed regarding the gender of the teachers, their working places, their teaching experience and their academic qualifications. With regard to Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal Wallis tests which were conducted to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between teachers' demographic information and their perceptions about cultural aspects in language teaching, it was found out that

there was no statistically significant difference between teachers' demographic information and their perceptions about dealing with culture in classes.

The instructors' preference to use Standard English and their ideas about the prestige of Standard English in communication are in parallel with the study of Mareva, Kaburise and Klu (2016) who consider Standard English is still the most widely used variety and has a significant role in ELT. At the same line, Üresin and Karakaş (2019) found in their study most Turkish EFL teachers behave under the effect of standard language by attaching strongly with the use of standard languages in formal contexts. Since they lack of awareness about the current sociolinguistic issues of English and Turkish, they don't place non-standard varieties and dialects in their teaching. In tandem with that, Yücedağ and Karakaş (2019) discovered most students put emphasis on the standard English pronunciation and they think language teachers should teach good grammar to them. However, the teachers in this study do not focus on pronunciation mistakes and errors of their students. It may be interpreted that English language teachers have already been influenced by ELF concept.

The findings of the study point out the EFL instructors are familiar with World Englishes, and they consider that English language learners should be introduced to different uses of English in various regions in the world. They also tend to integrate various uses of English into their teaching, which is parallel with Biricik-Deniz (2017) who indicates WE enhance diversity, creativity and flexibility.

When English Language Teachers' perceptions of standard English and World Englishes were analyzed regarding their gender, working places, teaching experience and academic qualifications, the Kruskal-Wallis test of difference shows that there is a significant difference between teacher groups having different academic qualifications and teachers who work in different environments. In the light of these findings, it can be said that having more academic qualification has a positive influence on teachers' perceptions of standard English and World Englishes since teachers who have doctorate degree has the highest mean in the Table 8.

The instructors' views on NESTs reveal that language learners would like to hear their instructors speaking with a native-like accent and NESTs are better at pronunciation teaching, which is also stated by Wahyudi (2012) that NESTs are good at teaching pronunciation. The participants also mention that NESTs have a better

knowledge of authentic and real-life use of English. The perceptions of the teachers may suggest NESTs are still regarded as a source of information about daily English use. In addition, Kramersch (2013) mentions many across schools across the world prefer NESTs due to their knowledge of authentic language. However, non-NESTs are found to be good role models for their students just as Bayyurt (2006) suggests that language learners may be more motivated to learn a language if they see a good role model of non-NESTs. Their agreement about non-NESTs can diagnose language learners' mistakes and errors stemming from their L1 more easily than NESTs and non-NESTs are able to understand language learners' learning difficulties better than NESTs may be because of the fact that they might guide their students by sharing what they have faced during their learning process when teachers are non-native speakers. Furthermore, a great number of the participants indicate that there should not be any discrimination between NESTs and NNESTs in employment positions and opportunities, which is in line with Cook (2007) who argues NESTs and NNESTs should be in the same positions.

The results of the analysis of English language teachers' perceptions regarding their gender, working places, teaching experience and academic qualifications pointed out that there is no statistically significant difference between teachers' demographic information and their perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs.

Conclusion

The aim of the study was to investigate views of English language teachers on ELF and ELF-related issues concerning cultural issues in ELT, Standard English and World Englishes, and the dichotomy of native and non-native speakers. When all findings are considered, it may be concluded that English language teachers are familiar with ELF and ELF-related issues, they deal with these issues in their classes and their responses on the questionnaire also show that they still particularly see native speaker norms as a reference point. What is noteworthy here is English language teachers are aware of how crucial culture is for language classes, and they deal with cultural issues in the classroom to raise intercultural awareness. Moreover, teachers highlighted the idea that intelligibility and comprehensibility are more

important than having a native-like accent. Additionally, it may be interpreted that both NESTs and NNESTs have their advantages in language teaching, but neither of them is regarded as superior to the other one.

This study implies that being aware of ELF and WE is significant for English language teachers to be well-equipped and innovative in their fields. This research also points out that being aware of ELF and WE may help English language teachers to meet different needs of language learners in a globalised world. Since ELF deals not only with the target culture but also with local and international cultures, English language teachers may choose various cultures based on their students' interests and introduce these cultures to their students to enhance their understanding of and promote their respect for different cultures. Moreover, English language teachers may benefit from audio and/or visual materials, including different uses of English to provide options for their students. Additionally, both NESTs and NNESTs can collaborate to improve their teaching practices and create a more authentic and encouraging environment for language learning.

Limitations and Recommendations

This study was conducted with 110 participants who are English language instructors who work at state and foundation universities and English language teachers who work at different institutions in Turkey. As the target population of the study is the inservice English language teachers in Turkey, the sample size of the study becomes limited. Therefore, the findings may not be generalizable to the other EFL settings since the teachers' knowledge, past experiences and working places might affect their perceptions of WE and ELF. That is to say, it is important to conduct further research in different contexts to understand how the teachers conceptualize ELF and ELF-awareness in their ELT practice. Sifakis and Bayyurt (2018) indicate "Being an ELF-aware teacher means finding ways to empower one's learners as competent non-native users of English, essentially prompting them to become ELF-aware users themselves" (p. 464). When teachers become ELF-aware themselves, they can teach English to learners to help them become competent and confident ELF-aware users of English. Hence, it is important to raise English language teachers' awareness towards becoming ELF-aware teacher to be able to teach English effectively in such diverse contexts.

Notes on the Contributor

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Evaluating English Textbook: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

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Abstract

This paper examines an English textbook used in Turkey within the context of sociolinguistic issues. Various studies on book evaluation can be found in the literature; however, there seems to be very limited research analysing the course books from a sociolinguistic perspective. By employing the qualitative research design, the 3rd grade English book *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019) published for public primary schools was analysed using the Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric (Atar & Erdem, 2020). Within the framework of the six criteria of the rubric, the results indicate that the textbook is hardly in conformity with the sociolinguistic matters. Though the textbook considers the linguistic ecology of learners and makes learning English accessible to the public, there are no examples of non-native and non-standard accents of English, non-native-non-native interaction, and successful bilinguals. This study contributes to a growing body of literature by evaluating a textbook concerning the sociolinguistic issues and it offers some insights into the improvement of the textbook.

Keywords

English textbooks, foreign language education, intercultural communicative competence, sociolinguistics in language teaching, textbook evaluation.

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Introduction

With the expansion of the British Empire, the English language has started to become a contact language across the globe, that is to say, not only colonized countries but also other different parts of the world speak English as a foreign and second language. This remarkable spread led to a term which is known as World Englishes and Kachru claimed that it firstly developed in the British-ruled regions as well as being affected by local languages and cultures (McKay, 2011, p. 124). The people constituted their ways of speaking that language and this also led to variations and accents. “These varieties of English have acquired stable characteristics in terms of pronunciation, grammar, lexis, discoursal, and stylistic strategies” (Kachru B., Kachru, Y., & Nelson, 2006, p. 526), inasmuch as the cultural, social, and historical backgrounds of the communities are dissimilar. The purpose of using English in these countries is to

communicate with other people whose native language is not English; thus, this is called English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) or English as Foreign Language. According to Alptekin (2002), speakers demand English for the instrumental reasons ranging from job opportunities and trade to better academic studies (p. 61). Following this, Kachru's model (1985) depicts that English is mostly used by the expanding circle including countries such as China, Turkey, Mexico, and Thailand (p. 356).

Turkey, taking place in the expanding circle, is one of the countries where English is available as a foreign language in the manner that it meets the purpose of instrumental functions, predominantly, in primary and secondary education (Dogancay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 37). To achieve these educational purposes and follow a route map, learners are greatly influenced by textbooks, since they can be easily found; in addition to that, there is an inextricable bond between how much the textbook imparts cultural understanding and how learners extend a familiarity with the target culture given in the book (Ahmad & Shah, 2014, p. 87). In fact, "literature on ELT coursebook evaluation reveals varying methods and criteria for coursebook evaluation" (Dulger, 2016, p. 2); yet, there appear to be inadequate research on book evaluation with reference to the sociolinguistic issues. Previous works have only focused on the compatibility of the high school English textbooks with the sociolinguistic matters. There has been no study examining the primary school English textbook used in Turkey which is *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019). In this manner, the motive behind this study is to analyse an English textbook of grade three students with the help of a rubric prepared by Atar and Erdem (2020) and seek answers to the question "From sociolinguistic perspective, to what extent third-graders' English textbook (Tiras, 2019) meets the criteria of the Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric?"

Literature review

Formerly, the process of language learning was mainly formed by its grammatical knowledge and translation of it into the mother tongue; within the time, the communicative needs of the learners were discerned by the teachers and researchers. It was not until the late 1960s that the theory of communicative competence (CC) was named and its importance, since then, has been identified and explicated. Not only

grammatical and linguistic rules of the language should be included in language learning-teaching, but also “broader features of discourse, sociolinguistic rules of appropriacy, and communication strategies themselves should be included” (Savignon, 2018, p. 5). Canale and Swain (1980) advanced the model of communicative competence that divided the skills into four categories: grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic, and discourse competence. Berns (2013), a sociolinguist, affirmed that CC should be the primary focus when learning a language with regards to the comprehension of sociocultural contexts of language by learners.

Constraining the autonomy of both teachers and learners, CC got criticism for being a utopian theory and not close to the reality. In his article questioning the validity of the theory of CC, Alptekin (2002) concluded that an authentic use of language would be more reasonable when it is localized within a specific speech community (p. 61). Additionally, “communicative competence certainly requires more than knowledge of surface features of sentence-level grammar and educated native-speaker grammatical competence is not necessary for communication” (Savignon, 1985, p. 131). Based on the critiques of communicative competence, the concept of intercultural communicative competence (ICC) emerged. It has since been adopted by English teachers as ICC promotes cultural and social differences of the speakers. Being an intercultural speaker does not only mean that the speakers should acquire communicative skills. They must gain linguistic and cultural knowledge, critical awareness, curiosity, and skills of interaction and interpreting (Sercu, 2002, p. 63). Cetinavci (2012) suggests, “English language courses need to promote awareness of the cultural values underlying languages to encourage students to become cultural observers and analysts, discover the territory and draw the map themselves” (p. 3449).

While learning a language, learners should be provided with materials which develop intercultural awareness enabling them to see the world from the perspective of others (Peterson & Coltrane, 2003, as cited in Er, 2017, p. 202). Brown (2000) alleges that language is interlaced with culture and one cannot acquire or learn a language completely in case of cultural ignorance (p.171). Ergo, selecting a coursebook is quite essential and it is required to encompass not only linguistic elements of that language but also cultural factors so that the learners could develop their sociolinguistic competences as well as intercultural communicative ones.

Additionally, textbooks provide a sense of independence and reliance in the teaching-learning process (Richards, 2014, p. 20). Hence, they are required to present activities and materials in accordance with the notion of ICC.

To show how coursebooks are designed and prepared in relation to ICC from a sociolinguistic perspective, a few but concise studies were carried out. A key problem with much of the literature regarding the evaluation of English textbooks is that they do not examine the sociolinguistic aspects in the books. As for the Turkish context, this particular subject is a neglected area and there is very limited research on English textbook evaluation considering the sociolinguistic issues (Atar & Amir, 2020; Atar & Erdem, 2020; Meral & Genc, 2020). English textbooks used in Turkish primary schools have not been analysed in terms of the sociolinguistic concerns. Some of these limited studies will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

In the study conducted by Meral and Genc (2020), an English book delivered by the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) for eleventh-graders was scrutinized by applying the Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric published by Atar and Erdem (2020). There were some criteria to be taken into account while examining the book such as non-native and non-standard accents of English and examples for successful bilinguals. The findings concluded that the textbook provided only American and British accents, presented local names like Zeynep. To this end, there was just one case in terms of non-native-non-native interaction (p. 174).

The next relevant and far-reaching inquiry in Turkey by Atar and Erdem (2020) explored a coursebook used at the Turkish public high schools. They introduced the checklist they developed for the analysis of textbooks from a sociolinguistic perspective. It was found that the book had non-native and non-standard accent instances but not a non-standard dialect, several examples for successful bilinguals, and also included intercultural themes (p. 408). Another valuable point to be mentioned is the demonstration of different cultures, that is to say, the results showed that the book mostly covered Turkish and English cultures and there were few topics that could reflect multicultural contexts. A ground-breaking research conducted by Atar and Amir (2020) used the same evaluation rubric but in a different country. Two English coursebooks used in Sweden for the ninth grade students were analysed keeping in mind the sociolinguistic aspects. One of the books

was found to have non-standard accents like Indian English and it presented several examples for the use of English by both poor and rich people. Non-native-non-native interaction was at a satisfying level including some Asian, African, and Middle Eastern names (p. 402).

When the abovementioned reviews are taken into consideration, English course books used in Turkey do not familiarize the high school students with the different accents and variations of the English language. The books partly deal with the sociolinguistic matters. In the literature, evaluation of primary English textbooks is lacking. With this in mind, this current paper aimed to analyse an English textbook used in Turkish primary schools from a sociolinguistic perspective by using the Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric (Atar & Erdem, 2020) of which six items are expounded and exemplified in the subsequent part.

Methodology

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate an English coursebook using the rubric developed by Atar and Erdem (2020). It is based on a qualitative document analysis of the book given by the Turkish MoNE in state primary education. In view of the fact that the assessment requires a careful interpretation of the textbook so as to obtain meaningful ramifications, an Interpretive Approach was adopted. “*Just Fun English*” (Tiras, 2019) seemed to be apropos for this aim so that it could be analysed if third-graders in public primary school study a book well-designed and prepared in regard to the sociolinguistic issues. Below, the rubric is presented in Table 1 and the six items are explained briefly:

Table 1. The Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric (Atar & Erdem, 2020)

The Criteria	Assessment		
	Yes	Partly	No
Does the course book ...			
1. provide non-native (e.g. Indian English) and non-standard (e.g. The Birmingham accent or Geordie) accents/varieties of English?			
2. provide native-non-native and non-native-non-native instances of interaction?			
3. include examples of successful bilinguals?			
4. promote intercultural communicative competence?			

5. consider the linguistic ecology of learners and their L1 (or other languages as well)?

6. alter the case of English learning among only the elites of the country?

1. Provide non-native (e.g. Indian English) and non-standard (e.g. The Birmingham accent or Geordie) accents/varieties of English: The first item refers to the different Englishes rather than knowing one single British or American accent. English is a global language. The speakers are generally non-native and the learners, thus, should be aware of these accents and variations from all over the world.

2. Provide native-non-native and non-native-non-native instances of interaction: People learn English for communicative purposes and therefore it is not a requirement to be native-like proficient; instead, the learners ought to know that they can carry their accents due to their first languages. This is acceptable.

3. Include examples of successful bilinguals: The third item suggests that learners should be exposed to successful bilinguals as it makes the learning process more fruitful and close to the reality (Atar & Erdem, 2020, p. 402).

4. Promote intercultural communicative competence: With the aforesaid definitions about ICC, this fourth item puts the idea that the learners should meet different cultures not only British and American culture but also Asian, African, or South American cultures. This cultural awareness would provide an effective interaction in the second language.

5. Consider the linguistic ecology of learners and their L1 (or other languages as well): It refers to the importance of the effect of native language. This highly influences language learning. In Turkey, the spoken language is Turkish; hence, giving a place to the first language in the textbooks may help students create a link between Turkish and English.

6. Alter the case of English learning among only the elites of the country: In some parts of the world, going to the school is a privilege. Sometimes economic realities do not accord the right to education for all children. To prevent this inequality, the course books must be delivered free of charge. All students across the country should be able to utilize them. Once the students are provided with the books, they have the opportunity to study English.

This study was carried out in Turkey and the target group of the book are Turkish students. The newly designed English language curriculum adopted the principles of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) emphasizing the importance of supporting learners in becoming efficient language users. Three descriptors of the CEFR are; learner autonomy, self-assessment, and appreciation for cultural differences (CoE, 2001) are embedded into the curriculum. All of four language skills are addressed. However, listening and speaking skills are intensely integrated into the syllabus of the second and third grades. *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019) features ten units including a variety of games, songs, and colourful activities to be practised two hours a week. Every unit focuses on improving students' language proficiency as well as introducing local and universal values. The books donated for free by the Ministry of Education are mostly written by the Turkish authors and published in Turkey. The analysed book was also prepared by a Turkish writer. If the teachers deem the books inappropriate for their students, they are at liberty recommending and purchasing new books.

Findings and discussion

The analysis of *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019) was achieved and culminated pertaining to the six items of the checklist and discussed in the following part:

Table 2. The summary of the examination of Just Fun English (Tiras, 2019)

The Criteria	Assessment		
	Yes	Partly	No
Does the course book ...			
1. provide non-native (e.g. Indian English) and non-standard (e.g. The Birmingham accent or Geordie) accents/varieties of English?			X
2. provide native-non-native and non-native-non-native instances of interaction?			X
3. include examples of successful bilinguals?			X
4. promote intercultural communicative competence?		X	
5. consider the linguistic ecology of learners and their L1 (or other languages as well)?	X		
6. alter the case of English learning among only the elites of the country?	X		

The first item suggests the use of non-native and non-standard accents of English. The book hardly meets this expectation. It introduces some Turkish names as well as foreign names (Figure 1 and 2); however, when all of the listening tracks were played, it was observed that there was no different accent or variety of English. The book presents only British English to the students and Turkish characters use standard British accent. The students are not exposed to the different accents and varieties; although most of the interactions in English happen among non-native speakers in the expanding circle. Similarly, the studies done by Genc and Meral (2020) and Atar and Erdem (2020) who utilized the same rubric revealed that English textbooks used in public schools do not familiarize the students with non-standard accents of English. These inadequacies in the books actively show that coursebooks should endeavour to introduce different accents and non-native speakers. This is in order to prepare the students for the real communication context and demonstrate that English is not only spoken by British and Americans. Non-native speakers are capable of communicating well in English. In the outer world, the learners would meet these non-native people; thus, they need to know but also understand how they speak English.



Figure 1. Turkish names presented in unit 1

Regarding the second item in the checklist, it was found no example for native-non-native and non-native-non-native interaction in the book. In unit 5 which is Toys and Games, there is a dialogue between Mary and John, and they speak standard British English (Figure 2). So, they are natives and they talk to each other. Although there are also Turkish characters in the book; however, they speak to another Turkish boy or girl. As a result, when the whole book was examined, there was no non-native-non-native interaction. Turkish characters communicate with Turkish ones and British ones interact with the British. As mentioned above, the characters speak standard British English and the students only hear this kind of listening audios. In order to prevent this restriction and monotonousness, non-native-non-native interactions should be demonstrated and “including examples of non-native interactions will create an awareness that one important value of English is that it allows individuals to communicate across a variety of geographical and cultural boundaries and not merely with speakers from Inner Circle countries” (McKay, 2011, p. 137). To recommend, Turkey hosts nearly three million Syrians and the book can reflect some Arabic names and accents so that the authenticity would be provided. The book can also reflect other nations and accents such as Indian, Asian, and African English.



Figure 2. Foreign names introduced in the book and native-native interaction

As for the matter of including successful bilinguals in the next criterion, the book is very restricted in terms of depicting different accents, cultural elements, and nations; as a consequence, no instance of successful bilinguals was encountered. It could be better if the books present some examples of successful bilinguals since the students might be more enthusiastic about learning when they see a good model from their own countries like Dr. Mehmet Oz. If there is not an instance of successful bilinguals in the book, then, teachers could be the best examples. In Turkey, the majority of English teachers are Turks and they could be representatives of successful bilinguals, too. Non-native English teachers embody the possibility of being a successful non-native speaker which may motivate the learners in the process of learning a foreign language (Thomas, 1999, p. 6).

In consideration of improving students' ICC, the book partly gives attention to it. Unit 9 is the only part of the book which includes other cities such as New York, Cairo, Sydney, and Rio de Janeiro. The theme of this particular unit is weather. It illustrates the weather conditions in these cities. Turkish cities are also introduced in this unit so it can be said that local and foreign cities are integrated successfully as seen in Figure 3 and 4. Even though young learners study this textbook, it is crucial for them to know different countries and cities shown on the map. This increases their cultural awareness. When a foreign language is taught with its culture, learners build a holistic view about how and when to use the language appropriately (Byram & Fleming, 1998). In addition to that, listening to the dialogues among the citizens of these cities might be the best way to demonstrate divergent cultures and accents. On the theory of ICC, *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019) mainly encompasses Turkish culture and more attention should be given equally to the other cultures, too.



Figure 3. World Map in unit 9

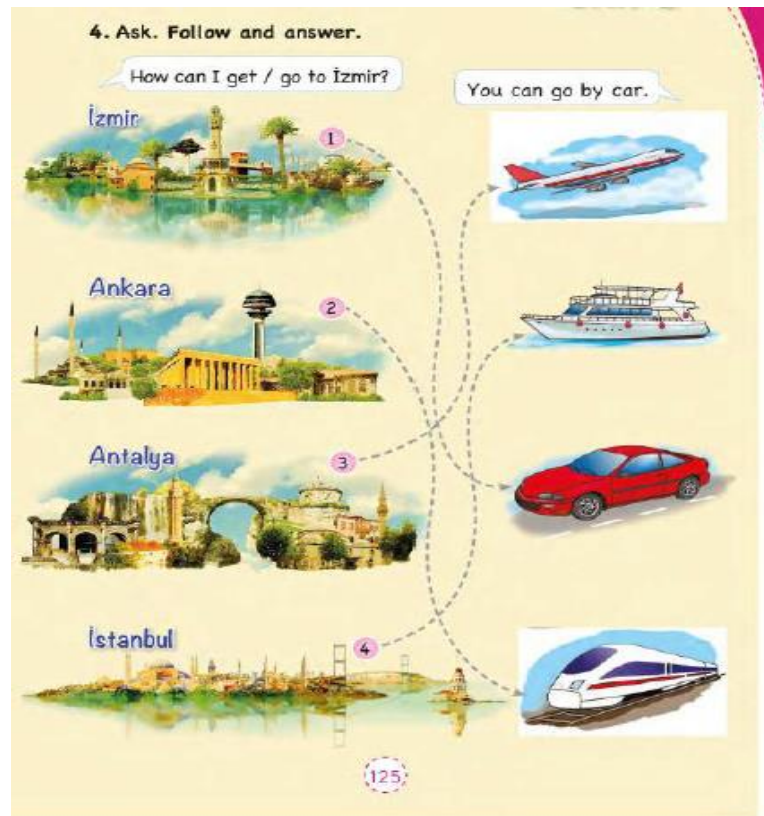


Figure 4. Turkish cities

During the analysis, it was seen that students' L1 is highly considered in the book. Most of the cities, famous people, and places are Turkish. As aforesaid in the fourth item, the ninth unit covers Turkish cities and places (Figure 4). Furthermore,

unit 2, My Family, gives the family concept analogous to Turkish culture. For example, grandparents generally live with their children and this unit shows the family pictures included grandparents (Figure 5). As Alptekin (2002) recognised, “The more the language is localized for the learners, the more they can engage with it as discourse” (p. 61). Also, Turkish students do not use English outside the classroom and the activities in this book are largely art-crafts; therefore, it could be more effective if the students are given a speaking assignment.



Figure 5. Family concept similar to Turkish culture

Taking into account the situation of English learning solely being among the elite communities of Turkey, the MoNE does not expect financial payment from the students. All the third grade students in state schools can access this book freely. This is a good step so as to keep the balance between poor and rich. Not only that, but financially stable parents can afford to buy better and more equipped English books for their children. An average parent might not be able to afford and this again may lead to imbalance. On the web site of the MoNE, it is stated that, “the acquisition and learning of a foreign language will enable the students to read academic and literary texts in a foreign language, follow closely the technological advances in the world

and communicate with people from different cultures” (Bayyurt, 2006, p. 236). Though the content of the units and tasks for listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills seem to be pertinent to the aim of language learning as shared on that web site, the book is hopelessly incompetent in terms of the sociolinguistic matters.

Conclusion

For the present study, the aim was to analyse an English textbook from a sociolinguistic perspective in line with the specifics of the checklist developed by Atar and Erdem (2020). Even though there is a considerable amount of book evaluation researches in literature, only a few of them deal with the sociolinguistic issues; to wit, it is an under-researched area. Given that the context of the study was Turkey, *Just Fun English* (Tiras, 2019) was selected to determine if the English textbook used in the Turkish primary schools is in conformity with the criteria of the Sociolinguistic Textbook Evaluation Rubric. Upon examining *Just Fun English* from multiple sociolinguistic perspectives, the results highlighted that the book does not meet the requirements of the theory of ICC. It is inadequate deeming the sociolinguistic matters. Perhaps the paramount issues rising from this study are the lack of non-native accents and the paucity of non-native-non-native interaction which are decisive factors affecting learners’ international awareness (McKay, 2011, p. 135). All of the speakers in the recordings speak standard British English. Equally important is that no example of successful bilinguals was pinpointed. For this matter, Atar and Erdem observed instances of successful bilinguals in the high school English course book and emphasized that introducing successful bilinguals would make learning much more authentic (Matsumoto, 2011, as cited in Atar & Erdem, 2020, p. 408). As anticipated from the similar studies done in Turkey that are presented in the previous sections, the textbook thoroughly integrates linguistic ecology of the learners including many Turkish names, cities, and cultural elements. Finally, it is provided free by the Turkish government and this makes the book accessible for every student of the country.

In the light of these results, this particular English textbook needs to be improved in order to introduce different cultural elements, accents and variations of

English. Integrating ICC into the English language teaching process, especially into the course books, is very significant, inasmuch as it ensures that the students can discern the target culture (Eken, 2019, p. 596). Therefore, textbooks should be designed in accordance with ICC so that the learners can have an opportunity to increase their awareness about other cultures, people, and accents. On a final note, the most important limitation of this study lies in the selection of only one book that makes the findings less generalizable about English textbooks in Turkey. A comparative research which would look into two or more textbooks used in both public and private schools could reflect comprehensive ideas about the sociolinguistic context of English course books in Turkey so that the authors of future books can add the missing parts and arrange them accordingly.

Notes on the contributor

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LITERARY ARTICLES & ESSAYS

**On the Possibility of Multiculturalism: Birds Without Wings by Louis de
Bernières**

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Abstract

At the beginning of the twentieth century a great number of non-Muslim population were driven out of the newly defined borders of the Turkish Republic. In *Birds Without Wings*, Louis de Bernières questions the validity of the concepts like race, religion and language as the criteria for nation-building, and laments the loss of an Edenic life-style in an Anatolian town, when its Greek and Armenian inhabitants left. What made life there so good was the long-established multicultural relations, which the writer recreates for us. Hence, this article claims that at the heart of *Birds Without Wings* lies the concept of “multiculturalism” and points out to the way the dynamic relations connoted by the term are reflected through the novel’s formal and narrative aspects, such as chapter design, changing point of view, mixing genres and languages, and the symbolic use of names.

Keywords

Birds Without Wings, Louis de Bernières, multiculturalism, population exchange Kayakoy.

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Introduction

There are many reasons to celebrate the European Union project as a giant step towards realizing the dream of a peaceful global community freed of its prejudices. And yet, it is a pity that in recent past Denmark decided to reintroduce passport check at their borders to Germany and Sweden, the prime ministers of Germany and France confessed the failure of the multicultural experiment, and Great Britain cancelled its membership in the EU, which raises the question once more in human history, if the scheme of a world where people of all seeds and creeds live together without major disputes is doomed to remain a utopia (Alexander, 2012). However, if Heraclitus is mistaken and if it is indeed possible to bathe in the same river twice, there is no reason to be pessimistic, as in his 2004 novel, *Birds Without Wings*¹, the British writer Louis de Bernières reminds us of the existence, in the past, of such a harmonious multicultural society in Anatolia.

The story covers the last decade of the Ottoman empire when the enmity aroused by The Great War draws the borders between countries in bold, re-defining citizenship by religion and race. Consequently, a great number of non-Muslims are driven out of the new national borders. They have no power to resist or fly away from the wind that sweeps them away as they are like birds without wings. The book reads like an elegy to the loss of an idyllic life-style based on mutual understanding, tolerance and cooperation. Bernières came to Istanbul as a guest of the 2012 “Tanpınar Literature Festival” and I had a chance to interview him at the lobby of the Germir Palace hotel, in Taksim. During our talk, Bernierés made the point that he objected to the word “multiculturalism” as it is used in England these days to mean “people living with their own rules”, instead he would use it to mean “people living along each other and enjoying each other”. And it is the aim of this article to show that at the heart of *Birds Without Wings* lies this understanding of multiculturalism made alive to the reader through the narrative device of mixing different texts, disciplines, genres and languages.

Multicultural life in an Anatolian village

The setting of the novel is a coastal town looking over the Aegean Sea. Among its inhabitants are Plotheia, the Greek girl, who has to cover her face with a veil because she is too beautiful; her close friend Drosoula the Ugly; Ibrahim the Mad, who is in love with Plotheia; a pair of Greek and Turkish boys nicknamed Mehmetcik and Karatavuk; Karatavuk’s father Iskender the Potter, the local lord, Rustem Aga; his disloyal wife, Tamara; his mistress Leyla; the enlightened Imam and the equally understanding and tolerant Christian priest; the bitter Greek teacher, who is a fanatic nationalist, and the Armenian pharmacist. Bernières tells all their stories, but not in one single plot. Instead, in Gibb’s words, it is a rich mixture of “subplots that weave and complement each other in such a way that the town itself might be the central character.” Ibrahim loses his mind, when by accident, he causes Plotheia to fall from the mountaintop; Drosoula sails to the Greek lands with her husband; Mehmetcik and Karatavuk have to split up because of the war; Tamara dies in a brothel and Leyla leaves Rustem Aga for her native soil. What enwraps the stories of these “simple folks whose lives have more in common with 1500 rather than 1950” as Ron Charles

observes, is the tumultuous flow of events in the bigger world, represented along the biography of Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Turkish Republic. The Greek population in the empire could be grouped at the time into three categories: Those who believed in the nationalist Greek cause and were ready to die for it, those upper-class people who did not want to lose their wealth and stood closer to the Sultan, and the plain Greek peasants who wanted nothing but a quiet life. They were living in the villages of Western Anatolia. (Akgönül, 2007, p. 41)

The plot develops in an imaginary location based on the writer's impressions of a visit to Kayaköy, a ghost town near Fethiye. Just like the writer, one of the characters, the Smyrnian merchant Georgio P. Theodorou visits it many years after the deportation and refers to it as "that forsaken paradise" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 269). The name of the town itself also indicates the same feature. It is called Eskibahce, meaning "the ancient garden", alluding directly to the Garden of Eden. Juliette Hughes makes the following comment about the name: "Such a name presages a certain fate - edens are lovely but fragile, existing in their exquisite, balanced way only when not invaded by malevolence. Lions may lie down with lambs in a biblical Eden, but in Eskibahce Christians and Muslims are more like lions and tigers living in patchy but workable amity" (Hughes, 2004). Not surprisingly, this is such a distinct location that with its marvelous design made by "an ancient genius whose name has been lost," it looks like no other place "in all of Lydia, Caria or Lycia" (de Bernières, 2005, p.30). As it is in utopia writings, *Birds Without Wings* tells, in length, about the streets and the houses and presents a detailed picture of the habitation of both men and their animals. The following words describe the town as a most ideal abode in all respects:

"When the town was alive, the walls of the houses were rendered with mortar and painted jauntily in dark shades of pink. Its streets were so narrow as to be more like alleyways, but there was no oppressive sense of enclosure, since the buildings were stacked up one slope of a valley, so that every dwelling received light and air" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 29).

Apart from their physical make up, the lining of the houses also implies the equal sharing of nature's benefits by all the residents, a theme that lies at the heart of the novel which describes the horrors of war for land along many chapters. The fact that the "*dark and tranquil interiors [...] had the effect of diminishing one's sense of*

time” (de Bernières, 2005, p.30) also points to the town’s peculiar existence, with a time of its own, which, as it later becomes clear, owes a great deal to its mixing of various cultures: it is built upon some Roman and Byzantine ruins and presently is inhabited by Turks, Greeks and Armenians, who make their own contributions to the general outlook. The unworldly nature of the place finds expression in Iskender the Potter’s following words:

“I stayed up there for a while....marveling at the view of the town. To see such a place from above, particularly if it has a fine mosque and a church is to be reminded that there is something miraculous in the falling out of things” (de Bernières, 2005, p.15).

The village’s multicultural aspect, marked by the coexistence of a mosque and a church, becomes most pronounced in the passages where the townsfolk are depicted in their daily interchange. Iskender the Potter remembers how the light-hearted Christian traditions added joy to the more ascetic Muslim life. “Our religion makes us grave and thoughtful, dignified and melancholy, whereas theirs did not exact much discipline. Perhaps it was something to do with the wine” (de Bernières, 2005, p.1).

The benefits of such a mixed lifestyle is not limited to this, as the two communities provide for each other a mirror, in which to see themselves and form an image of their identity. Hence, Iskender says, “Without [the Christians] ... we are forgetting how to look at others and see ourselves” (de Bernières, 2005, p.5). Especially when the distant and isolated geographical location of the town is considered, the function of such mirroring becomes all the more important. Iskender confirms that in this town they lived in harmony with Christians and gives the example of the Imam’s visit to the house when the beautiful Plotheia was born. Abdulhamid Hodja takes a present to the baby and recites some verses from the Koran. Holding the baby in his arms, he kisses her palm, where, later the people observe a red mark. Upon this even the Christians believe that the Imam is a saint (de Bernières, 2005, p.13). This readiness to embrace the other is also observed in the relations of the Abdulhamid Hodja and Father Kristoforos, who always

“enjoyed the pleasantry of greeting each other jokingly as ‘Infidel efendi’, the one in Turkish and the other in Greek but ended their talk one or the other of them saying ‘well, after all we are both peoples of the book’” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 38).

Following the leaders, the people shape their lives on a similar openness: “There was a small group of people who had turned Turk because they had got fed up

with the exactions of Lent, and it wasn't uncommon for Turks to go to churches and light candles" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 265). Or "Christians lit their candles and placed them in the sandbox as you might expect, but then knelt down and prayed whilst making Muslim prostrations" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 266). People have this practice because they are not slaves to their beliefs, but instead, they put their religion to the service of their practical needs. Hence, Lydia the Barren goes both to the church to pray for a baby and to Ayse, the wife of Abduhamid Hodja, to "beg her for some tiny slips of paper upon which Abdulhamid daily wrote verses of the Koran for the sick to eat" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 65). Also, when Tamara, who is wounded and humiliated on charges of disloyalty comes to stay in their home, for fear that she might lose her husband to this new woman, Ayse asks Polixeni to light a candle for her in the church praying that she gets well soon and leaves the house (de Bernières, 2005, p.123). Similarly, when Karatavuk is at the front, his mother asks Polixeni to kiss the icon and ask [her] Panagia to watch over her son (de Bernières, 2005, p. 302).

Adrian Hastings says, "Once a particular ethnicity has hardened with its own characteristics and written literature, it may almost be impossible for it to fuse ethnically with a neighbor." (Hastings, 2007, p. 180) This certainly is not the case for the inhabitants of Eskibahce, where, besides the religious borders, the ethnic ones are not allowed to limit the daily exchange of the people either. The people are not blind to the racial divisions but they simply don't see them as a problem, and what is more, they entertain themselves by playing on terms or phrases that define ethnic origins: "We knew that our Christians were sometimes called 'Greeks', although we often called them 'dogs' or 'infidels', but in a manner that was a formality, or said with a smile, just as were their deprecatory terms for us" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 4).

In fact, people in small communities have no luxury to hold each other in low esteem because there, everyone's skill is needed. This is pointed in the passages telling how the town died after the minorities had been deported:

"There had been such clear division of labor between the former inhabitants that when the Christians left, the Muslims were reduced to temporary helplessness. There was no pharmacist now, no doctor, no banker, no blacksmith, no shoemaker...The race that had preoccupied itself solely with ruling, tilling and soldiering now found itself bulked and perplexed" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 608).

The existence of people in complementary support with each other becomes manifest in the pairing of friends like Karatavuk and Mehmetcik or Plotheia and Drasula. Especially these girls, one very beautiful and the other very ugly, are like mirror images. About them, Iskender says: “I often thought that too was a metaphor for something, but I never decided what that was” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 271), probably alluding to the idea that God created the world large enough for everyone to find a place in it in a web of interdependent relations.

However, a remote village presents too small a scale to represent a rich mixture. Hence, the cosmopolitan and multicultural life finds its best praise in the description of a street in Istanbul, where Rustem Aga goes to find a mistress for himself:

“A mixed party of Muslims and Christians took their first steps towards Ephesus, making pilgrimage together to the house of Virgin Mary. Two gypsy women with babies at their backs walked hand in hand with two capuchin monkeys. A portly Orthodox priest sweated behind a party of Bedouins draped with white cloaks, and after them a golden-vested Greek merchant rode side by side with a merchant from Italy discussing prices in French” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 172).

For the loss of these colorful streets, Bernières blames the radical nationalistic and religious endeavors:

“The triple contagions of nationalism, utopianism and religious absolutism [which] effervesce together into an acid that corrodes the moral metal of a race, and it shamelessly and even proudly performs deeds that it would deem vile if they were done by any other” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 286).

The Symirnian merchant expresses the same idea in his own style: “now it’s Turkey for the Turks, and let’s redeem Asia Minor from the cruel and barbarous infidel Greek. Well, what can I do, except doff my hat, make my salaams, and say, ‘Gentlemen, fuck you all!’” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 514).

Nationhood has been described in various ways, but blood, religion, and language have almost always been part of the criteria. We have seen how one common religion is not indispensable to create solidarity in a community. Thinking of all the atrocities done in the name of building a pure nation, Bernières then attempts to undermine the national identity markers one by one. It is meaningful that in the first chapter devoted to Mustafa Kemal, one of the most skillful nation builders, he questions the possibility of defining oneself in terms of ethnicity:

“Stirred up by Austria-Hungary and by Russia, the various peoples of the Balkans and the near East are abrogating their long coexistence and codependence. Their hotheads and ideologues are propounding doctrines of separateness and superiority. The slogans are ‘Serbia for the Serbs, Bulgaria for the Bulgarians, Greece for the Greeks, Turks and Jews out!’ but no one stops to ask what exactly a Serb or a Macedonian or a Bulgarian or a Greek actually is” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 16).

Indeed, it is not as easy as it looks to classify people under such ethnic groupings. Bruce Clark explains that only twenty years before the Lausanne Treaty, if asked about their nationality, the peasants in the Balkans would not understand the question. (Clark, 2007, p. 16). The following lines by the Ottoman sergeant, who is in charge of the deportation of the non-Muslims are quite revealing about the fictiveness of national identity. After explaining that he is actually of Serbian descent, he says: “From now on you are Greek, not Ottomans. And we are not Ottomans any more either, we are Turks... and tomorrow, who knows? We might be something else, and you might be negros, and rabbits will become cats” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 528).

Since millions of people lived on these lands so far, who can claim any pure genealogy? This is made clear in the character of Abdul Chrysostomos, who “is like a Jew crossed with a Greek, crossed with an Armenian, crossed with an Arab, crossed with a Bulgarian, crossed with a Negro and a mad dog too” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 143).

There are some more subtle examples of how Bernières problematizes identity: The Turkish boy Abdul and the Greek boy Nico grow up together. They take the nicknames Karatavuk and Mehmetcik after the two whistles Iskender the Potter makes for them: Abdul’s whistle sounds like Karatavuk [blackbird] and Nico’s like a Mehmetcik [fire nightingale]. For the modern reader the fact that Nico takes a Turkish name would be less important, if that weren’t the generic name for the Turkish soldier, which is indeed quite fitting to Nico, who volunteers to fight against the Christian armies though himself is one. This play with identity is taken further, when later Mehmetcik’s life is threatened by the gendarme forces behind him, but he saves his life by exchanging shirts with Karatavuk (de Bernières, 2005, p. 586). These shirts, one red like a fire nightingale and one black like a blackbird had by then become their trademarks, just like the whistles. When he hears that Mehmetcik broke his whistle, Karatavuk gives him his own as well (de Bernières, 2005, p. 587). Yet the

play of fluid personalities does not stop here. The fact that Karatavuk continues to change into somebody else points to the ever-rolling feature of identity. Toward the end of the novel, Karatavuk educates himself well and becomes the letter-writer of the town. He moves to the house of the school teacher and studies on his desk, uses his writing tools and his oil lamp, and, like him, keeps “a singing finch in the same wire cage outside the front door,” sometimes even wondering “if he [is] growing into the same irritable and cantankerous character” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 588). Another character with an unstable personality is Rustem Aga’s mistress Leyla, who pretends to be a Circassian girl, hiding her Greek origin and her Greek name. The scene where Rustem Aga is bargaining with the woman who is providing girls to wealthy men is like a warning about what we daily accept as identity signs:

“(Ionna soon to be renamed Leyla, but still naked, had by now rejoined the two girls who were observing these proceedings, and the Arabess put her hand to Leyla’s ear and whispered, ‘Guess what? You are a virgin again!’ Ionna bit her lower lip and wagged her head. ‘Again!’ she exclaimed. ‘Our dear Kardelen works so many miracles with chicken blood!’)” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 186).

And referring to her new age, as told to the Aga “You’ve got young again!” whispers the same girl (de Bernières, 2005, p. 187). In fact, the book abounds in such warnings against being misled by appearances: When teaching Drosoula and Plotheia about beauty, Leyla says:

“If I tore the skin of my face to the thickness of a piece of paper, I would be the ugliest and most horrible thing in the world, and everyone who used to think they wanted to know me would put their hands over their eyes and run away” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 218).

Turkish soldiers learn the untrustable nature of appearances when they see the Indian soldiers fighting alongside the British and think they must be Muslim, which turns out to be wrong (de Bernières, 2005, p. 372). Nor can clothes be trusted as signs showing identity. As the Smyrnian merchant points out, the Greek population in Izmir expects that the fez will disappear when the Greek army comes, and they are shocked when they see the Greek soldiers with a fez on their head (de Bernières, 2005, p. 513). The coming of the Muslim immigrants from the Island of Crete as part of the exchange program complicates the issue of identity more. Ayse comments:

“And these Cretan Muslims are rather like the Christians we lost, so that we wonder why it was necessary to exchange them, because these Cretans dance and sing as our Christians used to... A few of the Cretans speak only Greek. At least all of our Christians knew how to speak Turk” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 560).

In a similar way, Drosoula remembers how the natives did not welcome them in their new country, because they were still identified with the place they came from: “The thoughtless ones call you a filthy Turk, and spit at you, and tell you to go to the devil, and ‘Piss off back to Turkey’” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 567-8). Her experience shared by all the immigrants on both sides stands as another proof that, contrary to the expectations of the authorities, religious attributes are not effective enough to homogenize the nation state.

Formal aspects that reflect multiculturalism

Bernières’ preference for a multicultural life style is also reflected in the formal aspects of his novel such as its language and its structure. Language is one of the founding principles of a nation. Yet, Bernières points to a striking complementarity of the two languages used by the townspeople: among them the difference of languages is not a defining and a dividing factor, but something that brings the two people together as all the residents in the town speak Turkish, but when it comes to writing, the very few who can write use the Greek letters. Therefore, when the Muslim boy Karatavuk sends a letter to her mother, she cannot read it, but has to ask the Greek teacher, who is indeed a hardcore Greek nationalist. As we read on, we find out that, though interesting, this is not a unique case in Anatolia, where there are other towns whose folk write in Greek and speak in Turkish, “albeit it is larded with odd offcuts of Persian, Arabic and Greek” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 81). As Karatavuk’s commander, lieutenant Orhan explains: “I have heard that it is quite common on the west coast, and in particular in the south-west [...] The people are sometimes called Karamanlids” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 340). Bernières seems so much overjoyed with this mixture of languages that he cannot help sprinkle throughout the novel some Turkish expressions, not always taking the trouble to explain them, just as in: “The fine lips moved again, even though the eyes were dull with nausea of approaching death: ‘Cehenneme git, Kerata” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 101). When the two men take Tamara to Ayse hanım, they say : “We have brought you the zina işleyen kadın” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 112). Similarly, no paraphrase or translation is provided when Rustem Aga is speaking to the Italian officer in French (de Bernières, 2005, p. 445).

Or sometimes, Bernières gives a direct translation of a Turkish proverb or an idiom, rather than providing its counterpart in English: “Shrouds don’t have pockets” said the priest sententiously [...] And you know what they say: the ink of the learned is equal in merit to the blood of the martyrs” (de Bernières, 2005, p. 64).

When confronted with such unknown words and expressions, the reader is likely to experience shock and frustration, which might parallel the feeling of someone who has to live in a foreign culture. Such an experience may serve to teach the readers the virtues of patience and tolerance toward what is called “the other”, thus educating them in the way of a multicultural life.

Every character lives the trauma of the war and immigration in their own ways, and it would not be just to tell their unique experiences by a single authoritative narrator. Accordingly, de Bernières gives voice to several of his characters. The novel is composed of ninety-five short chapters followed by an epilogue. There is also an omniscient narrator who intervenes from time to time to make general comments but the reader often hears the voice of the characters, who take turns in separate chapters to tell their personal stories. Some of these stories like Rustem Aga’s or Karatavuk and Mehmetcik’s are more dominant but never to the degree of threatening the polyphonic structure of the book, which itself seems to aspire to turn into a multicultural community.

How de Bernières mixes Turkish and English to this end has already been mentioned. Another factor that serves the same purpose is his employment of various genres: Eskibahce is described by the Symirnian merchant just like a town from a utopia, where not only the physical look of the town, but also the traditions of its inhabitants are presented in minute detail. Rustem Aga’s journey to Istanbul is obviously a parody of *The Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer. Like Chaucer’s pilgrims, the group set off in the month of April, and they also hold a story contest, again with a prize at the end. Not surprisingly, the winner happens to be the one who tells the bawdiest tale about women’s perfidy. The prose already made fun to read by its dispersal of humorous elements among the most poignant scenes is further sweetened by the interjection of songs and lyrics. The writer also makes use of the epistolary novel technique, as we are told about Karatavuk’s adventures at the front through the letters he sends to his mother. Citing the story of a camel that became a cigarette

addict as an example, Rebecca Wigod reports that Bernières' readings of old travel narratives found their way into his work. (de Bernières, 2005b)

Apart from these, the book has the air of an epic, as it tells the dramas of the little individuals whose fates are determined by forces beyond their power. Talking about the accident that killed Pilothea, Iskender says:

"I say this not because her death was an accident, but because there would have been no accident if it were not for the great world. It was the great world that went to war with us and attempted to divide us up, and then it was the Greeks who invaded us after the war with the great world, when we were weak and they thought it would be easy to beat us. We won that war, and Greeks lost it, but it was because of that the pashas of the great world decided to take away the Muslims from the Greek land, and deliver them to us, and to take away the Christians from this land and deliver them to the Greeks, and it was because of this decision that Philothei ran to find Ibrahim and suffered the accident that killed her" (de Bernières, 2005, pp. 600-601).

The journey of Drousula and her husband to Cephalonia is likened to the journey of Odysseus:

"Gerasimos got the nickname 'Odysseus' from the other fishermen, and he was very proud of that. He was more of a sailor than all of them put together. He was greatly admired for sailing such a little fishing boat all the way from Turkey" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 571).

The plate Rustem Aga orders the tinsman of the town with animal figures carved on it is reminiscent of the shield Hephaistos makes for Achilles:

"it had come out even better than he had dreamed of it. Around the rim, in Arabic text that he could not read, there was a line from the Koran. In the center, set amid swirling acanthus leaves, were five beasts. One was an eagle with two heads growing out of one body, each head looking in opposite directions" (de Bernières, 2005, pp. 613-614).

The chapters devoted to Mustafa Kemal adopt the language of official history books with an objective and detached voice. These parts are told in simple present tense probably to imply the ever powerful flood of events in the bigger world. Finally, the vaguely drawn character of the Dog, a miserable looking man, who says he comes from Hell and prefers to live in an ancient grave, adds to the novel a tinge of the mystery and horror writing. (de Bernières, 2005, p. 38) But of course, the greatest influence is Tolstoy. Bernières himself tells Wigod that he was trying to emulate *War and Peace*, from which he seems to have borrowed the vast scope of his novel and the idea of the futility of all human endeavors against the chaotic unfolding of history. de

Bernières is reported to say: "I'm one of those writers who's always going to be trying to write *War and Peace*, failing, obviously, but trying" (de Bernières, 2005b).

In his interview with Simriti Daniel Bernières says:

"I was trying to write a book that was about as many things as I could think of. I think that great literature is full of polarities – love and hate, shame and honor, courage and cowardice – which is what literature and therefore life is also about" (de Bernières, 2010).

The carnivalesque juxtaposition of humor and seriousness or violence and compassion also appear as fitting narrative devices to praise the colorful life of Eskibahe. We laugh when Ibrahim imitates the bleating of the goat who has nothing to say (de Bernières, 2005, p. 2) and we feel sad when a day comes and all the Christians are driven out of their homeland (de Bernières, 2005, p. 527). If we are shocked when the otherwise caring townsfolk begin throwing stones and kicking the disloyal wife, Tamara, (de Bernières, 2005, pp. 102-103) we are also touched by the gesture of Ali the Snowbringer offering his donkey, the only source of his income, to Polixeni's great grandfather, when they are leaving the town for good (de Bernières, 2005, p. 205). The two enemy sides' exchange of food at the front during the bloodshed of the war is also part of the same capacious world built upon dialectical relations (de Bernières, 2005, p. 364).

When Liza Cooperman asks if his "intention, through *Birds Without Wings*, [was] to reflect on what is happening in the world today, namely the conflict that continues to result from nationalism" de Bernières replies: "Yes, when I started to write the book Yugoslavia was collapsing and committing fratricide. That was very much on my mind." At such a time when the willingness to live together eroded among the people of different races and religions he remembers an earlier period of disintegration that took place again in the Balkans between 1912 and 1913 and gave an end to "Ottoman empire's greatest achievement, the millet system that guaranteed religious liberty for all" (de Bernières, 2005, p. 288). Yıldız explains: Unlike today, the word "millet" rather had religious connotations and meant a religious community. In the 19th century the word "nation" was translated as "ummet". It seems that these two Turkish words replaced each other. (51) The millet system initiated by Mehmet II (1451-1481) (Yıldız 50) was based on the internal sovereignty of millets and the state avoided interfering into the running of everyday life (57). Still, the system of tolerance survived in some parts of the country until the Lausanne Treaty, signed in

1923 following Turkey's War of Independence. The treaty required the removal of almost all Turkish Christians to Greece and all Greek Muslims to Turkey. Accordingly, about two million people from both sides were subjected to forced migration (İğsız, 2008, p. 454). *Birds Without Wings* focuses on one of those Anatolian towns whose Christian population, regardless of their race or language, fell victims to this mass mobilization. de Bernières reveals to Robert Birnbaum that the novel was inspired by some human bones that he saw while he was travelling around southwest Turkey. In Kayakoy, he comes across an ossuary and finds out that when the Greeks had to leave, they took the bones with them. That means, he first conceived in his mind the scene of deportation, which in the novel, comes at the end. In the meantime, he had to describe the previous life in the town, based on harmonious cultural plurality.

Conclusion

In his first chapter, where the title asks, "Is Multiculturalism Appropriate for the Twenty-first Century?" Tariq Modood gives an affirmative answer, he says: "it is the most timely and necessary and we need more not less" of multiculturalism, which he describes as "the form of integration that best meets the normative implications of equal citizenship" (Modood, 2007, pp. 9-14). Among the few examples where this system worked really well in the past, he cites the Ottoman Empire too. It shows that de Bernières's book which draws upon the same experience might carry some messages for our own world today, when the humanity is about to give up one of its most fascinating dreams. In his article on Bernières's more famous previous novel *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, Shephard points at the co-existence of two different concepts of history: the catastrophic (Benjaminian) vision of history, in which disasters follow one after another and the angelic vision which develops a more optimistic view. (Shephard, 2002, p. 51) Although there does not seem to be much space for optimism in this story of a lost Eden, (*Birds Without Wings*) there is no reason why the book itself should not turn into a beacon showing what humanity must look for in its *Great Odyssey*.

Notes on the contributor

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Endnotes

¹The first addition of the book came out in 2004 and was printed by Secker and Warburg, but all the references to the book in this article are to Louis de Bernières. *Birds Without Wings*. London: Vintage, 2005

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The Grotesque: A Subversive Narrative Technique of Angela Carter

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Abstract

Angela Carter's subversive narrative techniques help her establish an authentic narrative atmosphere in which she is able to demythologise and dephilosophise traditional codes. Among these techniques, the grotesque is considered to be the most groundbreaking one through which Carter rejects the classical body concept. By the grotesque, Carter is able to represent her sense of parodic and ironic depiction of the female body whose perverse and subversive qualities demolish "an ideal woman-image." Therefore, it is possible to see the grotesque characteristics in Carter's *The Passion of New Eve*. This study hereby explores the 'grotesque' as one of the major literary ways of the Carterian expression and explains how the ideal woman image is demolished when it passes through the filter of Carter's politics of the grotesque in her *The Passion of New Eve*.

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This study has been extracted from the authors' dissertation entitled: "Body Politics in Angela Carter's Works", and it includes the literary and theoretical analyses scrutinised within the scope of the author's doctoral study.

Introduction

Angela Carter's subversive narrative techniques are literally used to deconstruct normative sexual roles and the traditional codes of gender which are set by patriarchy. In this respect, the grotesque, one of the seminal narrative techniques, is used to form the Carterian (related to Angela Carter or her doctrines) sense of body politics. The grotesque body rejects classical norms and gender identities. Benefiting from that, in her *The Passion of New Eve*, Carter reflects her subversive panorama in which the standardisation of the body in general and that of the female body in particular is destroyed. Carter's purpose, in her *The Passion of New Eve* is to ridicule the established gender politics and identities by demolishing accepted thoughts and values which are related to the ideal woman-image.

Keywords

Angela Carter, a subversive narrative technique, the grotesque, body, *The Passion of New Eve*.

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Carter's *The Passion of New Eve* (1977) is considered to be her most overtly feminist novel. In her "Notes from the Front Line" (1998), Carter, by her own admission, states that "I wrote one anti-mythic novel in 1977, *The Passion of New Eve* -- I conceived it as a feminist tract about the social creation of femininity [...]" (1998, p. 27). *The Passion of New Eve* is also considered to be a work "to be read in the light of late twentieth-century theories of performative gender, transgender and queer theory" (Tonkin, 2012, p. 170), since it is possible to see gender transformation, which is foregrounded through the transvestism of Tristessa, and the gender metamorphosis of (Eve)lyn into New Eve.

Carter, in her *The Passion of New Eve*, represents the male fantasy and its ideal woman; however, she critiques the representation of ideal female model image in her work. As Nicola Pitchford asserts, "The Passion of New Eve simultaneously critiques existing, worn-out representations of women and these feminist efforts to create a new political iconography" (2002, p. 132). Thusly, in *The Passion of New Eve*, Carter also challenges the creation of the new female model which carries feminist endeavor to design a new female type. Based on that, Carter offers such new strategies as grotesque body characteristics, through which constructed traditional gender relations and identities are ruined.

Introduced into literary critiques, especially with Mikhail Bakhtin and his *Rabelais and His World* (1965), grotesque has been used in multiple disciplines. The term has been used in literature and has still been in use for literary critiques. Today, thanks to such writers as Carter, this term has been in use to represent gender identities and body politics in feminist ideology. In this regard, Carter's *The Passion of New Eve* is a feminist work that challenges the deteriorated gender relations and identities through the representation of Carter's body politics. In other words, Carter, in her acclaimed work, ruins the depiction of traditional gender codes. This paper looks at the representations of the grotesque body characteristics through which Carter ridicules the classical body form. Therefore, this paper proposes that grotesque body has a cultural form which possesses unstable and unfinished characteristics that deconstruct normative gender relations. In accordance with this view, the image of an ideal woman is destroyed in *The Passion of New Eve*. Based on that, Carter's work

offers and provides a variety of alternatives to see how the Carterian panorama of the grotesque can be reflected.

The Carterian sense of the grotesque

The literary term, grotesque, is used as one of the subversive narrative techniques in Angela Carter's *The Passion of New Eve*. Carter parodies and criticises the patriarchal notions of femininity and the standardised female body in the patriarchal society within the help of grotesque bodies which carry the flaws and defects of male body in the guise of female body. As Heather L. Johnson puts it in her article entitled "Textualising the Double-gendered Body: Forms of the Grotesque in *The Passion of New Eve*" (2000), by using the grotesque, Carter ridicules the patriarchal norms by employing the characters "who impose a myopic perspective on the constitution of gender identity, while challenging traditional perspectives on gender and its boundaries" (2000, p. 133). It is, in other words, through the use of the grotesque that Carter challenges the established gender identities. Thus, it can be stated that Carter makes use of the grotesque as her political weapon since Carter's parodic strategy constructs her gender politics. As Anna Kerchy puts it in her *Body Texts in The Novels of Angela Carter: Writing From a Corporeographic Point of View* (2008): "[t]his is a strategy Carter's heroines adopt as they enact their near-historically over-played versions of femininity that turn out to be subversions. Through their hyper-feminizing self-stylizations they become women" (2008, p. 59). Thus, Carter's parodic repetitions pave the way for her political use of the grotesque. Kerchy also states that Carter's female characters have 'subversive femininity' through which they are able to show their hyper-feminine qualities. Therefore, she explains the Carterian *gender trouble* performed by (Eve)lyn and Tristessa in her "Bodies That Do Not Fit: Sexual Metamorphoses, Re-Embodied Identities and Cultural Crisis in Contemporary Transgender Memoirs" (2009) as follows:

"At the peak of the gender trouble, Eve/lyn and Tristessa perform a freakish parody of a wedding ceremony. The originally male, masculine Evelyn, surgically transformed into hyper-feminine Eve, is cross-dressed as a bridegroom, and thus becomes "a boy disguised as a girl and now disguised as a boy again" (132), who under the masculine mask wears another, irremovable mask of femininity hiding his authentic maleness. The transvestite Tristessa - whose performance of femininity as a cross-dresser's disguise becomes her nature - is stripped of the accessories of his faked femininity, to be exposed as biologically male, and, adding one more twist to gender bender, he is dressed in the drag of a bride." (Kerchy, 2009, p. 15)

As it is seen in the quotation above, the grotesque characteristics are attributed to both (Eve)lyn the New Eve and Tristessa the transvestite by the representations of both characters in the guise of female bodies. Both characters have their subversive feminine masks under which they hide their masculinity. By doing this, Carter deconstructs traditional gender identities. According to Kerchy, ‘deconstruction’ is considered one of the basic conditions for the Carterian grotesque body politics. As she puts it, “[t]he grotesque body is considered to be a cultural construction, an operation through which genders, identities and their narratives are constituted and deconstructed” (Kerchy, 2008, p. 36). Therefore, grotesque body is a product of cultural production in which genders and identities are re-shaped and re-formed.

Kari Lokke states in her article titled “Bluebeard and The Bloody Chamber: The Grotesque of Self-Assertion” (1988) that Carter’s grotesque “is more akin to the original, emancipatory Renaissance grotesque called “grotesque realism” by Bakhtin” (1988, p. 8). In grotesque realism, as Bakhtin puts it in his *Rabelais and His World* (1965), there is a reflection of “folk culture of humor” (1984, p. 24). Therefore, Bakhtin further states that there is an ongoing and inseparable relationship between grotesque and laughter. As he contends, “[e]xaggeration, hyperbolism, excessiveness are generally considered fundamental attributes of the grotesque style” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 303). Thusly, the exaggeration is considered to be one of the main characteristic features of the grotesque that initiates itself with satire. Therefore, for Bakhtin, “the grotesque is always satire. Where there is no satirical orientation there is no grotesque” (1984, p. 306).

According to Bakhtin, the grotesque starts especially “when the exaggeration reaches fantastic dimensions” (1984, p. 315). It is because of the fact that the grotesque reflects the continual transformation and the ongoing metamorphosis especially on bodies. In this respect, Carter’s depiction of the characters by means of grotesque body is shaped under the Bakhtinian sense of grotesque topography through which the Carterian characters perform their freakish body politics. Hence, Bakhtinian grotesque realism, which reflects the medieval scope, can be seen in *The Passion of New Eve*. Kerchy states that *The Passion of New Eve* “offers a gendered rewriting of the medieval *carnavalesque grotesque* topography and anatomy” (2008, p. 108). Thereby, Carter makes abundant use of such grotesque characteristics for her

satiric and parodic intentions to demolish the traditional descriptions of the body. In this regard, Bakhtin's theory on the grotesque can be applied to Carter's depiction of the subversive and perverse characteristics of the female body. Bakhtin contends that the grotesque body is "a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created, and builds and creates another body" (1984, p. 317). This is a way of transgression of body for becoming. As Mary Russo also writes in her "Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory," the grotesque body "is the pen, protruding, extended, secreting body, the body of becoming, process, and change," and hence, it is "opposed to the classical body, which is monumental, static, closed, and sleek" (1988, p. 219).

Similarly, Carter's characters are changeable, unrestricted, dynamic and always ongoing, which shows the same characteristics as the Bakhtinian grotesque body unlike the classical body. Therefore, the Carterian grotesque body politics possess the same characteristics in common with the Bakhtinian carnivalesque-grotesque body principles because the Carterian heroines:

"mock and reject the classical body. They refuse to be transcendently monumental, disciplined, static, self-contained, symmetrical, and homogeneous. Instead they embrace all aspects of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque grotesque body, through gaining excessively ambiguous, changing, unfinished, irregular, heterogeneous, and over-all material embodiments [...]" (Kerchy, 2008, p. 34)

Thusly, Carter's subversive and defiant grotesque bodies challenge the traditional notions of the body by becoming and being in continual process.

The grotesque in *The Passion of New Eve*

In Carter's *The Passion of New Eve*, the grotesque characteristics are performed especially by Tristessa and (Eve)lyn. Through the subversion of gender norms in Carter's work, it is seen that (Eve)lyn is transformed into New Eve, and it is also revealed that Tristessa (the transvestite) is, in fact, a transgender who has the male genital organ; but is female in form. As Carter tells Cagney Watts in an interview:

"Tristessa is a male projection of femininity, that's why she's doomed, her life is completely based on false premises. This character only had the notion of his idea of a woman before he set out to become one' (165). The shadow or 'projection' is therefore man-made- an artificial construct based on male ideas, or Forms" (qtd. in Yeandle, 2017, pp. 37-38).

Thus, Tristessa the transvestite sets out for a journey in his/her identity construction to become a fantastic woman. In doing this, Tristessa portrays the projection of male desire over the feminine body of his/her own. As Johnson contends, Tristessa “reproduces the relation of a male artist to an objectified female subject. He fetishizes parts of his body in a way accurately characteristic of the male transvestite” (1997, p. 172). Therefore, s/he becomes an object of desire for (Eve)lyn as an iconic Hollywood star. (Eve)lyn calls Tristessa “the perfect man’s woman” (Carter, 1982, p. 125), and asks himself ironically: “how could a real woman ever have been so much a woman as you?” (Carter, 1982, p. 125). Then, (Eve)lyn describes Tristessa as follows:

“[b]ut how beautiful she has been and was, Tristessa de St. Ange, billed as ‘The most beautiful woman in the world’, who executed her symbolic autobiography in arabesque of kitsch and hyperbole yet transcended the rhetoric of vulgarity by exemplifying it with a heroic lack of compromise [...] Tristessa. Enigma. Illusion. Woman? Ah!” (Carter, 1982, pp. 1-2).

Thusly, it is stated that “Tristessa’s performative femininity is constituted as a disillusioning illusion, a disturbingly omnipresent void, an all-embracing nothing, a vessel of emptiness” (Kerchy, 2008, p. 115). Tristessa’s grotesque body is shaped in a way that s/he is not biologically a woman, but a man; however, s/he is socio-culturally the most popular feminine icon as a transgender. According to Kerchy:

“[i]n Carter, the peak of the carnivalesque grotesque is constituted by the narratives’ closures. The ineradicably masculine, essentially feminized male-to-female transgender subject’s final fecundation by a harper-feminine transvestite male stages the peculiar carnivalesque logic of inside-out, turn-about and continual shifting, producing micro- and macrocosmic crisis.” (2008, p. 35)

It is under this panoramic grotesque atmosphere that Carter’s work is shaped in which Tristessa’s grotesque body characteristics occur. In other words, as it is pointed out, shifting and moving characteristics of masculinity and femininity are constituted in continual order through Tristessa’s performative-grotesque body.

On the other hand, when (Eve)lyn is transformed into ‘New Eve’ by the Mother in Beulah, s/he already knows that behind his/her female outlook and his/her female body; s/he has a male persona. However, the dilemma in (Eve)lyn is that having a female body and feminine characteristics do not necessarily mean that

(Eve)lyn is biologically a woman. That being so, this transformation is considered to be ‘The Passion of (Eve)lyn’. (Eve)lyn says:

“I know nothing. I am a tabula erasa, a blank sheet of paper, an unhatched egg. I have not yet become a woman, although I possess a woman’s shape. Not a woman, no; both more and less than a real woman. Now I am a being as mythic and monstrous [...] Eve remains willfully in the state of innocence that precedes the fall. I had only one thought- I’m in the most ludicrous mess in the world!” (Carter, 1982, p. 79)

(Eve)lyn describes his/her new status though s/he cannot easily accept it. S/he realises his/her new becoming. S/he is in-between. Therefore, (Eve)lyn’s transformation is related to the transgression of the body from one form to the other. It is somehow related to the ‘death and birth.’ In other words, it is the death of Evelyn; but the birth of New Eve. In this respect, it can be said that the images of mystical and magical death and birth are the characteristics of grotesque body. As Bakhtin puts it, “[t]he combination of death and birth is characteristic of the grotesque concept of the body and bodily life” (1984, p. 248). It is seen that the grotesque atmosphere of the birth of New Eve is related to the transformation. In this transformation, “[o]ne body offers its death, the other its birth, but they are merged in a two-bodied image” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 322).

All in all, (Eve)lyn’s magical transformation is expressed in such a way that the grotesque atmosphere arises by breaking the established codes of gender identities which carry the carnivalesque-grotesque features since they are formed under shifting momentum to develop complexities.

Conclusion

As a result, the characteristic features of the Carterian grotesque in (Eve)lyn and in Tristessa undermine the power and the authority of the established system of the patriarch and its normative and traditional gender codes. Moreover, throughout the narration, it is also possible to see the adaptation of physical aspects of (Eve)lyn’s and Tristessa’s bodies with the outside world they struggle to live in. Both (Eve)lyn and Tristessa are not born, but become women. Kerchy writes that “sex change operation is used as a part of a utopian feminist project to deconstruct patriarchal, phallogocentric myths, hierarchies and privileges, the binary essentialism of gender-representation” (2009, p. 14). The grotesque overthrows established gender codes and

sexuality and the grotesque bodies of both (Eve)lyn and Tristessa challenge the patriarchal notions of about gender and sexual characteristics. Therefore, Carter uses the grotesque characterisations by parodying, subverting and deconstructing the traditional roles defined for the female bodies.

To conclude, the grotesque is benefited in forming the Carterian sense of grotesque body characteristics whose subversive features demolish traditional and classical codes of patriarchy. Therefore, this paper has argued that Carter's grotesque characteristics in *The Passion of New Eve* are expressed in a way that she reflects and represents her sense of parodic and ironic depiction of the female body by demolishing "an ideal woman-image." In this respect, by the grotesque, Carter demolishes the notions of the ideal woman image by ridiculing the classical body form proposing that grotesque body has a cultural construction with changing, incomplete and transgressional characteristics that deconstruct normative gender relations in her *The Passion of New Eve*.

Notes on the contributor

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LITERARY ARTICLES & ESSAYS

Identity and Belonging in Leïla Slimani's *Lullaby*

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Abstract

Goncourt Prize (2016) awarded *Lullaby*, a novel based on a real event, by Slimani tells a tragic story that ends with the killing of two children. Although the work seems like a thriller novel at a first glance, it exhibits a reflection of belonging and identity crisis in France. This crisis, for sure, is a result of France's long history of colonialism. Two protagonists of the novel, Myriam, the mother, and Louise, the nanny, are the ones who are unsatisfied with their identities and in need of belonging. This article aims to investigate the traces of colonialism's effect upon Slimani's characters, especially Myriam and Louise.

Keywords

Belonging; Identity;
Lullaby; Race;
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Introduction

Leïla Slimani's 2016 novel *Lullaby* is known for sensational core. Goncourt Prize (2016) awarded novel of Slimani tells a tragic story that ends with the murder of two children. Massé family is at the center of the novel and the novel brings different subjects up for discussions such as racism, post-colonialism, and power relations in the society. The politics of the post-colonial era of France is at the heart of the novel as Massé family is an example of the conclusion of European efforts in the role of an exploiter/colonizer. That is why Madison Davis defines *Lullaby* as not only horror but also political fiction (2018, p.11).

The mother of the children, Myriam, is an Afro-French and she is a graduate of law school, however, she cannot perform her profession because of her burden of looking after her new-born baby boy and toddler girl. As she is not happy with her condition, Myriam decides to find a nanny, and together with Paul, her husband, they interview many possible nannies. Just one of the candidates makes them feel that they find the right person, who is Louise, a very experienced and lovely middle-aged white

woman. In the first half of the novel, Massé family and Louise's relationship gradually starts to get closer. Nevertheless, it is seen that this intimacy ends up with despair and disappointment for both sides. In the end, Louise brutally kills Massé children and commits suicide.

The grotesque image of Louise is important to grasp the novel's nature. Louise's absurd appearance can be seen as a hint to of "half acquiescent, half oppositional, always untrustworthy" (Bhabha, 1994, p.33) nature. She tries to seem as decent as possible. To achieve that, she wears a uniform, treats children perfectly, and makes the flat as tidy as possible. The ridiculous dress makes her a comical figure for the people around her. Moreover, she is not interested in the safety of her daughter who has been lost for years. On the contrary, Louise seems very happy about being busy with Massé children. Although she is concerned with the children and their wellbeing, as the story unfolds it is seen that Louise wants to be not only a babysitter but also an inseparable member of the family. In the beginning, Louise succeeds to show herself as a part of the house. She takes care of everything including cooking for Paul and Myriam: "In a few weeks, Louise's presence has become indispensable" (2018, p. 23). The desire to become a part of a family and the family's resistance against this are outputs of class conflict. Myriam and Paul are representatives of the upper-middle class and Louise does not belong to this class. Myriam gives way to "an implacable enmity between native and invader" (Parry, 1987, p. 32) by hiring a babysitter. As a caregiver, Louise is neither a mother nor an authority in the household. This power clash can be classified as an identity crisis. Although Louise's identity secures her place in the society from the point of race, her position is problematic as she belongs to blue collars.

The entrance of Louise into the lives of the Massé family begins with Myriam's will to be back to work. This situation and family type are analyzed by Joan C. Tronto in *The "Nanny" Question in Feminism*. Although this article does not aim to address the issue with the feminist approach, it is still useful to discover the background of this class conflict:

"The two-career household is different even from dual-earner households in that both professionals in such a household hold down professional jobs where the time demands are excessive or unpredictable. The two-career households, and others similarly situated, are more likely to use a paid full-time domestic caretaker who either lives in the household or does not." (Tronto, 2002, p. 35)

As is mentioned above, the two-career household has some specific differences from dual-earner households such as the work's demand of time and effort from the workers. More on that, it is possible to assume that the promotable status of a two-career household does not let the workers have private time and sphere. In this sense, the Massé family can be defined as one of those two-career households. If kindergarten is not a choice, these families are obliged to find a caretaker who, inevitably, belongs to a lower class, for their children. According to Kate Nelischer, Slimani's narrative demonstrates the Russian nesting dolls. As women get wealthier, they pass the responsibility of taking care of the child to a poorer woman (2018, para. 6). The class difference occurs since the prestige of being a nanny are not satisfying. On the other side, the mother and father of the children have jobs that push them for their future career. Myriam feels that finding a nanny is an urgency because from the eyes of her, being a stay-at-home mother is a disgraceful thing: "More than anything she feared strangers. The ones who innocently asked what she did for a living and who looked away when she said she was a stay-at-home mother" (2018, p.8).

Although Myriam has a dilemma over letting someone else take care of her children and going back to work again, she sees this as a challenge against the world and herself. Hence, according to her, hiring a babysitter becomes a bridge too far. Myriam's weakness against Louise emerges from here because Louise seems queerly perfect which amazes Myriam. Louise has a mistake-free history of childcare although she fails in taking care of her own child. As if that were not enough, Louise does the housework and takes the children out to play. That is more than Myriam could expect which becomes her vulnerable point.

The perfect image of Louise enables her to enter the family circle but that does not seem satisfying for her. The density of Louise's disappointment shows itself in the brutality of the killings of the children. It is not undeniable that Louise's brutality is a result of her identity and "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (Mercer, 1995, p. 43)

The disappointment and of course the brutality she carries within throughout her work in Massé house, are possible results of the national identity crisis.

Zabunoğlu states “National identity, along with other identities, is important according to the meaning it offers to the life of the individual” (2018, p. 552). However, because of the class she belongs to, Louise cannot benefit from her national identity, which is white, and born to French parents. France, as known, is a multicultural state and it identifies itself as a nation-state to date. This unique style of identification is defined as follows:

“Unlike the United States, France has not distinguished between nationality (membership in a social community) and citizenship (a status entitling the holder to the rights and duties conferred by the state). But like the United States, the France of the revolution stressed the holding of appropriate political values- republicanism-as the essential criterion of membership in the national community.” (Safran, 1991, p. 222)

Nevertheless, with the power of globalization and technology, it is impossible to reject the idea of a “global village”. The development of technological opportunities has made people understand each other better than past. This situation has also led disappearance of minor cultures. The effort of communication gives way to the creation of global cultures instead of separate cultures for each state. Most probably, as a result of this process, humankind will have only one culture, meaning extinction of nation-states as Khan suggests: “In view of unfolding global realities, the concept of territorial sovereignty seems awkward and anachronistic; it is frequently incompatible with new aspirations of the peoples of the world” (2007, p. 201). As a result of the ideas stated above, it is possible to assume that contemporary states are in a needless effort of keeping the nation-state principle. France is just one of these examples. In *Lullaby*, Slimani foregrounds the incompatibility of the situation over Louise. From the lenses of the thought which categorizes citizenship according to race, descendants, and culture fails. Although French nationalism suggests a definition over common ideal, it is a known fact that this thought is not in effect. The disharmony in *Lullaby* confirms this reality. The disharmony emerges from the unusual confrontation between middle-class Afro-French employers and poor white babysitters. Even though this is not directly mentioned in the novel, it requires a simple but interlinear reading that Louise thinks that she is the one who deserves to be in the place of Myriam.

Louise’s family life is also important in terms of understanding the motivation behind the massacre of children. Her husband, Jacques does not love her, and Louise hates and ignores her daughter without a rational reason. It is for sure that

disappointment follows anger for her. In exchange for failure of her dreams, Louise sacrifices Massê children. The slaughter scene at the end of the novel is no doubt that associated with deep-seated racial problems.

According to Frantz Fanon, the west differentiates itself from the rest of the world so that it guarantees a totally different appearance it had in the past. Pulling out of a barbaric history is not, of course, an easy task. However, it is possible to claim that despite its role in the past, Europe has achieved to continue its progress.

“The West saw itself as a spiritual adventure. It is in the name of the spirit, in the name of the spirit of Europe, that Europe has made her encroachments, that she has justified her crimes and legitimized the slavery in which she holds four-fifths of humanity. Yes, the European spirit has strange roots.” (1991, p. 373)

Myriam is a descendant of the African nation, and she seems so accustomed to the new approach of the West that she comes to a point where she denies her roots. In that, the process of selection of a nanny is no exception. Paul and Myriam have some criteria for the potential nanny:

“No illegal immigrants, agreed? For a cleaning lady or a decorator, it doesn’t bother me. Those people have work, after all. But to look after the little ones, it’s too dangerous. I don’t want someone who’d be afraid to call the police or go to the hospital if there was a problem. Apart from that... not too old, no veils and no smokers. The important thing is that she’s energetic and available. That she works so we can work.” (2018, p. 4)

From the quote above, it is clear that an Afro-French, Myriam, becomes a supporter of the racist tendencies, which were against her and her family in the past. As she overcame the difficulties of bearing the racial distinction, she thinks that she could be one of “them”. This situation is also a confirmation of alienation. Fanon explains this as “alienation is the result of a fear of the Negro, a fear aggravated by determining circumstances” (1986, p. 209). Although immigrants and minorities see their future in a common place, that is, in the country where they live, the main distinction between these groups lies in where their past is. Even minorities have prejudices against immigrants, and they exhibit it as if it were a standard thing to do. Minorities’ reaction to immigrants reveals the anxiety of being identified with these “second-class” people because minorities accept themselves as the justified citizens of the country.

Moreover, minorities do not show mercy as follows: “[...] If she has children, it'd be better if they're back in her homeland.’ Myriam thanked her for the advice” (2018, p.4). According to Myriam’s friend, the nanny should be apart from her children if she has children so that she will be focused on the children of the employer. A superior-subordinate relationship is also important to Myriam and Paul as it can be seen from here:

“They want the nannies to see that they are good people; serious, orderly people who try to give their children the best of everything. The nannies must understand that Myriam and Paul are the ones in charge here.” (2018, p. 5)

In the quote above Myriam and Paul exhibit the role Europe plays. It is seen that this is an effort of making the possible nannies know that they have no equal rights with them in their territory. Slimani makes the European attitude towards immigrants resonate in the minds of Myriam and Paul.

Phobogenesis is a term used by Franz Fanon to explain the European fear and hatred emerging from the encounter with a black person. According to Fanon this is a common thing for the Europeans, and they do not recognize it consciously. It, certainly, causes a hypocritical approach towards black people. In his own words Fanon says: “The European knows and he does not know. On the level of reflection, a Negro is a Negro; but in the unconscious there is the firmly fixed image of the nigger-savage” (1986, p. 199). From the quote, it can be assumed that the main problem, in that case, is that the Europeans are not aware of their perception of blacks which dates back to the imperial age. In connection with this, it is clear that Myriam is one of the members of the group defined by Fanon as being afraid of blacks:

“Myriam had been perfectly clear. She does not want to hire a North African to look after the children. ‘It'd be good,’ people told her. ‘Try to convince Paul. She could speak Arabic to them since you don't want to.’ But Myriam steadfastly refuses this idea. She fears that a tacit complicity and familiarity would grow between her and the nanny. That the woman would start speaking to her in Arabic. Telling Myriam her life story and, soon, asking her all sorts of favours in the name of their shared language and religion. She has always been wary of what she calls immigrant solidarity.” (2018, p. 16)

Immigrant solidarity, in other words, the minority’s only way of survival seems like a disgusting thing for Myriam. She does not feel any belonging to her race. Moreover, she spends an effort to avoid being together under the same roof with those people. From the quotation above it is not wrong to say that she puts a barrier between her true identity and her created, idealized middle-class French woman profile. It is indisputable to put forward the idea that like in the United States, being white, a

member of the biggest religious group, and having the strongest race heritage in the country make the one away from being labeled as *persona non grata* in France. Here it is meant that each state has its privileged citizens, and France is not an exception. That is why Myriam's struggle against her past and race is not in vain. She tries to structure and preserve her identity following the unwritten law of France. Having an African nanny in the house is possibly a threat to this order. As it was mentioned before, the new-comers, immigrants are signifiers of a possible threat that the existence of immigrants might be used as an excuse to attack to minorities.

From the beginning till the end, the novel follows a linear pattern which consists of Louise's desire for possession. All her efforts of making herself one of the indispensable parts of the family indicate only one target: to satisfy her desire to possess. She presents a content profile in her temporal satisfaction moments as in the quotation below:

"She feels a serene contentment when – with Adam asleep and Mila at school – she can sit down and contemplate her task. The silent apartment is completely under her power, like an enemy begging for forgiveness." (2018, p. 24)

Louise's perception of the apartment above as an "enemy" is a crucial symbol to understand her attitude towards the family. The important point here is that Louise sees the apartment as a signifier of Massés. Intrinsically, according to Louise Massés are her enemy. Slimani's "stress on power is in conjunction with other forms of power which seek domination" (Özer-Taniyan, 2020, p. 94). Louise tries to dominate the family with explicit and implicit ways. Again, the subject of possession steps in here. As she sees the family as an enemy to her, she does not see any objection to intruding on their lives and occupying the spheres they own.

Belonging on the other hand, for Myriam, is an arbitrary thing. While she desires to be one of the highest-class members of society, she is also aware that the private sphere and life are priceless. This can be applied to her relationship with Louise. The existence of Louise at home, in the eyes of Myriam, is a kind of intruder. Although Myriam is conscious of their dependence on Louise, she is distressed by her transgression. This dependence, indispensability in other words, causes her to think that she is not free as below:

"We will, all of us, only be happy, she thinks, when we don't need one another any more. When we can live a life of our own, a life that belongs to us, that has nothing to do with anyone else. When we are free." (2018, p. 33)

Massés are so dependent on Louise that they know how much comfort she gives them, and this situation becomes a dead end. Paul informs Myriam about his thoughts about Louise:

"He knows how much they need Louise, but he can't stand her any more. With her doll's body, her irritating habits, she really gets on his nerves. 'She's so perfect, so delicate, that sometimes it sickens me,' he admitted to Myriam one day. He is horrified by her little-girl figure, that way she has of dissecting every little thing the children do or say. He despises her dubious theories on education and her grandmotherly methods." (2018, p. 105)

Unbearable comfort offered them by Louise is an important factor in keeping her in the family. Louise's perfection is a kind of guard of her against all possible threats of being suspended from the family. Louise tries to keep this excellency until the moments of crisis such as Massés' plan of having a holiday without her: "How gloomy she looked, Louise, when Myriam told her that they were going to the mountains for a week to stay with Paul's parents!" (2018, p. 110). This is one of the first of the clashes Massés and Louise have. Although Louise does not say anything about her feelings after hearing the news about the plan, it can be inferred that she understands that her position in the family is not permanent, but temporary. This temporariness disturbs her as she realizes that she is not a member of the family. As a result of this awareness gives a way to a dramatic turnabout and the fiction reaches the peak as follows:

"Myriam is about to open the fridge when she sees it. There, in the middle of the little table where the children and their nanny eat. A chicken carcass sits on a plate. A glistening carcass, without the smallest scrap of flesh hanging from its bones, not the faintest trace of meat. It looks as if it's been gnawed clean by a vulture or a stubborn, meticulous insect. Some kind of repulsive animal, anyway." (2018, p. 145)

The leftover can be seen as an abject figure as it signifies death. Moreover, if the scene is taken into account from a different perception, it is a denouncement of the novel's end. In the light of this context, a gradual change in the attitudes of Louise towards the children is reflected upon the carcass of the chicken left on the table. This symbol on the table is so important that it is a kind of border that has already been transgressed by Louise. Louise's aim to be an indispensable part of the family is so strong that "she has only one desire: to create a world with them, to find her place and

live there, to dig herself a niche, a burrow, a warm hiding place” (2018, p. 170). However, as time passes Louise thinks that a third child might be a solution to all her problems. Yet, the children “are an obstacle to the baby’s arrival. It’s the children’s fault if their parents are never alone together” (2018, p. 183).

As a result of her reasoning, Louise finds the guilty ones and kills them in the bathroom. As it was said, she kills the children as a message to Massés to whom she has never said anything about her anxiety before.

In a brief conclusion, *Lullaby* stands as an unusual novel that is based on a real event with its harsh criticism of France’s long history of colonialism and grotesque style. It has been exhibited that *Lullaby*’s harshness comes from Louise’s grotesque characterization. Louise’s excellency at her service in the household and silence despite her distress, is broken when the time comes to understand her temporariness. She finds herself in a deadlock and to get revenge she uses the children as her victims. Her colonized position is presented as an excuse for her violent act. The novel consists of two polar sides which are silence and violence. These two should be taken as the symbols presented by Slimani as the summary of the colonial history of France. In connection with this, it is possible to assume that Myriam and Louise are representations of colonizer and colonized. Hence, in the times of post-colonialism a reversed recolonization process is exhibited. Although Louise symbolizes the colonizer of the past, she no longer has the power of domination. That is why she sees herself superior to Massés by calling them “enemy” (2018, p. 24). This might be seen as an effort of regaining the dominance. This clash is an exemplar of slave-master relationship. Hence, it justifies that after the abolition of official colonialism there has been no cultural change.

Notes on the Contributor

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Endnotes

¹ *The Lullaby* displays its intertextuality here. The theme of governess, which belongs to the Victorian tradition, is also evident in this novel. In the novels of Victorian period, the female character who comes to the house as a caregiver could not avoid being a part of the house. However, since the main theme of this article is not intertextuality, the subject is mentioned in this footnote.

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