Discourses of knowledge: cultural disjunctions and their implications for the language industries[1]

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Abstract

Today, English Academic Discourse (EAD) is the hegemonic vehicle of knowledge in the modern world, and researchers from all language backgrounds are under a great deal of pressure to publish in it. However, there exist other academic discourses in Europe that are based upon quite different epistemological paradigms and which are being increasingly eclipsed with the expansion of English in academic and research settings. This paper examines some of the cultural disjunctions that manifest themselves when the Anglo-Saxon academic model comes into contact with different knowledge traditions, and looks at the various language industries that have sprung up to help bridge the gap. The paper ends with a brief discussion of the ideological implications of the expansion of English as a lingua franca for the communication of knowledge.

Keywords: English Academic Discourse (EAD), romance languages, cultural disjunctions, language industries, epistemological paradigms.

Resumen

Discursos del conocimiento: disyuntivas culturales y sus implicaciones para las industrias de la lengua

A fecha presente el discurso académico en inglés constituye el vehículo hegemónico de conocimiento en el mundo moderno y los investigadores procedentes de distintas lenguas están sometidos a una gran presión por el hecho de tener que publicar en inglés. Sin embargo, existen otros discursos académicos en Europa basados en contextos de investigación y paradigmas epistemológicos bien diferentes. En el presente artículo se estudian algunas de las disyuntivas

culturales que se manifiestan cuando el modelo académico anglo-sajón entra en contacto con otras tradiciones del conocimiento diferentes, y se examinan las distintas industrias de la lengua que han florecido para acercar ambas posturas. Este trabajo concluye con una breve discusión sobre las implicaciones ideológicas de la expansión del inglés como lengua franca para la comunicación del conocimiento.

Palabras clave: discurso académico en inglés, lenguas romances, disyuntivas culturales, industrias de la lengua, paradigmas epistemológicos.

Introduction

In one of the few Portuguese academic style manuals that exist on the market, there is a cautionary tale about French doctors whose articles were systematically rejected for publication in the prestigious medical journal *The Lancet*. Serrano (2004) tells how a French medical journal commissioned the writing specialist, J.A. Farfor, to diagnose why medical articles produced in France did not get published internationally. The conclusion reached was that their written style was wrong. For instead of being fully explicit and using short sentences with one idea per period, the French style was elliptical, imprecise and full of redundancies. Hence, these professionals were being systematically excluded from the global community of practice (Wenger, 1998) due to their inadequate mastery of the discourse required.

Serrano offers this tale to his Portuguese readers presumably to warn them against making the same errors. His point appears to be that, as France strongly influenced Portuguese culture until the middle of the 20th century, the Portuguese are liable to make the same mistakes. Despite being slightly derisive about the sparseness of English factual prose (he even offers an ironic rendition into English of a few lines from Camões' epic poem, commenting "The whole of the *Lusiads* could be effectively dispatched in a dozen pages"), he nevertheless recognises that Portuguese scientists need to learn simplicity, clarity, precision and brevity if they wish to see their work published on the international stage.

This story illustrates just one of the many cultural disjunctions that exist as the result of the growing hegemony of English Academic Discourse (EAD) as the vehicle of knowledge in the modern world. Serrano's irony also implicitly raises the question of whether a global *lingua franca* in this domain is in fact a desirable development. Farfor (1976a & 1976b) clearly believed

that it was, though others have suggested that the supposed universalism and neutrality of EAD might actually mask "a drift towards Anglo-Saxon norms" (House, 2006: 354) – that is, a form of cultural imperialism that may ultimately result in the suppression of other ways of construing knowledge.

In this paper, then, I shall examine some of the cultural disjunctions that manifest themselves when the Anglo-Saxon academic model comes into contact with different knowledge traditions, and look at the various language industries that have sprung up to help bridge the gap. Let us begin with the key term, "discourses of knowledge".

Discourses of knowledge

Ever since Michel Foucault (1969) first articulated the notion of "discourse" as a form of social practice that effectively constructs the object it purports to describe, the term has been inextricably bound up with notions of community, ideology and power. That is to say, a discourse is understood to encode the worldview of the social or professional group that engendered it; hence, the syntax and lexis of the simplest sentence can be shown to contain implicit value judgements that relate it synchronically and diachronically to other texts in the system. When institutionalised, this complex web of interconnections forms a coherent "discursive formation" with its own ideology, history and agenda, which effectively determines what is accepted as "truth" within its sphere of jurisdiction.

Today, EAD represents a particularly imposing example of a "discursive formation". It has its roots in a prose that was forged back in the 17th century to be the vehicle for the "new science" of Bacon, Newton and Boyle, gradually spreading to the Social Sciences and Humanities until it eventually became what Halliday and Martin (1993: 84) call "the discourse of modernity", used whenever factuality is asserted and authority claimed. Today, its basic precepts are encoded in writing manuals and style guides, transmitted via the numerous English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses held in universities throughout the world, and enforced by the gatekeepers that condition access to the most prestigious journals and conferences.

The prescriptive tradition is remarkable consistent about what those basic precepts are. A survey of the academic style manuals on the market conducted between 2004 and 2007 (Bennett, 2009) revealed that all academic disciplines and genres share similar values: a taste for clarity, economy and

precision, manifested, amongst other things, through a preference for plain concrete diction and simple straightforward syntax; restraint in making claims; the use of rational argument supported by evidence (and the concomitant avoidance of "dubious persuasive techniques" such as "emotive language" – Fairbairn & Winch, 1996: 180) and the incorporation of accepted theory through referencing and citation. There is even a broad consensus amongst the style manuals as regards the length and structuring of paragraphs and sentences, with a similar organisation of information (general statement of theme followed by development) at all ranks. This suggests that the disciplinary differences identified by authors such as Hyland (2000) and Becher and Trowler (2001) are merely surface refinements to a pan-academic discourse which may be so ubiquitous in the English-speaking world that professional linguists scarcely perceive it to be a discourse at all. Indeed, as Hayden White (1997: 22) has pointed out, proficiency in it is today felt to constitute basic literacy.

These characteristics mark EAD out as the descendant of the Plain Style of Classical Rhetoric, espoused by English Protestants after the Reformation (Croll, 1969/1929; Conley, 1990). Unlike the text-based knowledge of the Medieval Scholastics and Renaissance Humanists, this discourse was (and still is) very much oriented towards the world outside the linguistic sign. This positivist stance is manifested grammatically by features such as the nominalisation (Halliday & Martin, 1993) and the use of impersonal verb structures like the passive (Ding, 1998), which shift the focus away from the observer to the object of study. A continuing tendency towards empiricism can also be observed in the constant injunctions that all claims be based upon concrete evidence, even in subjects such as literary studies and history (Pirie, 1985; Storey, 2004; Fabb & Durant, 2005). Finally, the discourse is predicated upon a philosophy of linguistic realism, defined by Michael Dummett (1978: 146) as "the belief that statements (…) possess an objective truth-value independent of our means of knowing it".[2] Indeed, it is this conviction that language, when clear and unadorned, offers a transparent view onto the outside world that has led to English factual discourse being termed "windowpane prose", and which makes it such an attractive tool for the pursuit of science.

Despite its hegemony on the world stage, EAD is not, however, the only discourse of knowledge in use today. In much of Continental Europe, where positivism, empiricism and linguistic realism are viewed as philosophically *passé* (Foucault, 1966; Rorty, 1991), the precepts that are so taken for granted

by Anglophone scholars simply do not apply. Hence it is frequent to find academic writing that is based upon very different principles. The "elliptical, imprecise, redundant" style of Serrano's (2004) French doctors is just one example. A recent corpus study of a large body of Portuguese academic texts[3] (Bennett, 2010a & 2011) confirmed the existence of a Humanities writing style that is characterised by copiousness, indirectness, figurative language and a preference for a high-flown erudite or poetic diction. Moreover, there is reason to believe that such a style is not restricted to Portugal. Ongoing research into Romance scholarly writing (Bennett, 2012) suggests that the Spanish, French and Italians write in a very similar way, as indeed could be expected given their linguistic and cultural affinities.

The English-speaking world, however, does not acknowledge these differences. With the exception of the approach called Contrastive Rhetoric (Connor, 1996) that has developed within the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry to help foreign students overcome problems caused by mother tongue interference, the institutional attitude towards knowledge production and dissemination seems to be that there is no other valid way of encoding the fruits of academic research. This means that texts that do not comply with the basic norms of EAD are liable to be turned away and denied a voice on the international stage, as studies of non-native-English-speaking researchers' publishing experiences have shown (Lillis & Curry, 2006a & 2010; Salager-Meyer, 2008; Uzuner, 2008).

Cultural disjunctions

Let us look in more detail at some of the cultural disjunctions that reveal themselves when attempts are made to transmit knowledge across language barriers. Farfor (1976a: 634) sheds more light on the case of the French doctors described in the introduction. Medical writing in France, he claims, is regarded as a form of *belles lettres*, and the desire for stylistic elegance often overrides the drive for clarity. For example, authors believe that they should not repeat the same word in two consecutive sentences and thus search about for synonyms, a practice that undermines the precision of the text, given the need for rigorous and consistent use of terminology in scientific writing. Maisonneuve (2009: 87), former editor of *La Presse Médicale*, claims that "thirty years later the situation has not changed", and that it continues to be common practice for French medical writers "to use the style of Victor

Hugo or Marcel Proust". In the area of health education, Arwidson and Lavielle (1998: 173) identify a similar lack of clarity:

> One of the principles is that the action described often completely disappears within a text that expounds the convictions, arguments and ethical choices of the author. Thus, by the end, the reader rarely knows much about the precise procedure employed or the results obtained. We do not know who has done what, when, how and the impact that this achieved. (Translated from the French by me)

Clearly, then, this is not a matter of linguistic accuracy. Discourses encode ideologies, as we have seen, and these French authors are clearly operating according to a whole different philosophy of knowledge. For example, the English insistence that the main referential information be presented directly and unadorned in first position at all ranks reflects its positivist orientation and (ostensible) rejection of rhetorical "manipulation". This is one of the most significant differences with regards to the Romance languages, which tend to prefer a more indirect approach.[4] Hence, the process of cultural adaptation may sometimes require the systematic reordering of information not only at the level of the sentence, but also of the paragraph or even entire text.

For example, in the following Portuguese abstract from the field of Archaeology,[5] the subject of the paper only appears some 50 words into the opening sentence. This means that the entire sentence needs to be inverted to bring it into line with English expectations.

> Original
>
> *Partindo de um levantamento arqueológico e antropológico sobre os barcos e a navegação desde a pré-história até aos meados do séc. XX, nas tradições associadas à construção naval existentes no litoral do NW de Portugal, no tipo de turismo existente nesta região (associado a actividades costeiras e marinhas) e no público-alvo, as autoras apresentam um projecto de desenvolvimento do produto O Museu do Barco e da Construção Naval.*
>
> Literal translation
>
> Starting off from an archaeological and anthropological survey into boats and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century, the traditions associated with shipbuilding along the coast of Northwest Portugal, the type of tourism existing in the region (associated to coastal and marine activities) and the target public, the authors present a development project for the product The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum.

Final translation

This paper presents a project for a cultural product entitled *The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum*, drawing upon archaeological and anthropological studies into boats and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century, the traditions associated to shipbuilding in northwest Portugal, the type of tourism that exists in the region (associated to coastal and maritime activities) and research into target markets.

Textual organisation is by no means the only feature that distinguishes EAD from many of its European counterparts. The corpus of Portuguese academic texts from which the above extract was taken also revealed a prevalence of long and syntactically complex sentences, which have to be radically pruned and split up into shorter units before they become acceptable in English; a tendency to embed claims in larger units that foreground the interpersonal dimension, rather than present them directly; the abundant use of abstractions and poetic vocabulary, and much redundancy. Although these features are particularly common in the Humanities and Social Sciences, they can nevertheless be found in subjects that might be expected to have a more clearly-defined "scientific" status, such as Medicine, Economics and Engineering.

Indeed, some of the most significant, and insurmountable, cultural disjunctions encountered during the transmission of knowledge concern disciplinary identity. In the Anglophone world, the scientific paradigm is so overwhelmingly dominant that even theologians, philosophers, historians and literary critics "have to worry about whether they are being 'scientific', whether they are entitled to think of their conclusions, no matter how carefully argued, as worthy of the term 'true'" (Rorty, 1991: 35). However, in parts of Continental Europe, the Humanities paradigm occupies a much more central role, influencing all aspects of knowledge production. This may involve not only a rejection of Anglo-Saxon "windowpane prose", but also, in some cases, a merry disregard for disciplinary norms and boundaries. Hence, it is not uncommon to find supposedly "scientific" texts that engage in poetic effusions or include literary quotations (sometimes unreferenced) from canonical writers.[6]

The following Portuguese psychology text about anorexia[7] is a case in point. Assuming from the outset a phenomenological stance in the tradition of Husserl, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, the author rejects the impersonality of the scientific paradigm but instead uses a passionate poetic style to get his

point across. The text is divided into 26 short numbered paragraphs, some no more than a sentence long, each of which presents the voice of a different subjectivity, and is illustrated in places with excerpts of poetry by famous writers from the Portuguese canon.

Original

16.

Pelo amor me ofereço em holocausto pela vida do outro. Devoto-me, não já ao seu corpo, mas ao seu desejo, à sua subjectividade, ao seu espírito.

(lines of poetry from Camões)

17.

Já não vejo, e sobretudo não me vejo, pelos meus olhos, mas pelos olhos do outro. E à sua visão me moldo como objecto. Se o outro me quer alegre, eu rio, mas choro se ele me quiser triste. Sou activo ou passivo, inteligente ou embotado, consoante os seus desejos.

Se o outro me quer sem corpo, o meu corpo deixa de existir para mim. Deixo os prazeres e a comida, e ele vai desaparecendo. Mas sempre sobra corpo, e por isso me acho gordo. Podia bem ser esse o desejo do escrupuloso pai amado pela filha anoréctica.

Translation

16.

In love, I offer myself to be burnt up by the life of the other. I devote myself, no longer to her body, but to her desire, her subjectivity, her spirit.

(lines of poetry by Camões)

17.

I no longer see. In particular, I no longer see myself through my own eyes, but through the eyes of the other. If the other wants me happy, I laugh, but I cry if he wants me sad. I am active or passive, intelligent or feeble, in accordance with his wishes.

If the other wants me to be incorporeal, my body stops existing for me. I give up pleasures and food, and my body withdraws. But there is still too much body, and so, I think I am fat. This could well be the desire of the anorectic daughter towards her beloved but scrupulous father.

Despite the relatively simple texture of the prose, this work is deliberately pursuing a very different aim to that inherent to EAD, and as such has been persistently rejected for publication in English. As this author has discovered

with other works he has written, unconventional or uncategorisable texts will only ever be considered by UK or US publishers when there is incontrovertible evidence of their commercial and academic success in a number of other countries; otherwise, they are rejected out of hand.

The language industries

In the last decades of the 20th century, it seemed as if the Anglo-Saxon world was teetering on the brink of major epistemological paradigm shift, due largely to the influence of the poststructuralist currents emanating from the continent. The scientific paradigm was under attack from all sides and a number of alternative academic discourses had sprung up in an attempt to redress some of the perceived ideological, ethical and epistemological imbalances of EAD.[8]

Today, however, those challenges seem largely to have subsided. In the UK, priority for funding is now inevitably given to the so-called STEM courses (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), thereby reinforcing its commitment to the scientific paradigm; and a similar bias can now be seen in other countries and at central European level, where the Humanities and Social Sciences are being progressively squeezed and downgraded to make way for subjects more directly linked to technology, industry and business. As a result, EAD has once more consolidated its position as the hegemonic discourse of knowledge, generating increased demand for those industries whose mission is to overcome the cultural disjunctions that impede access to the world academic forum.

One of the language industries that has grown exponentially in recent years is the teaching business, particularly English for Academic Purposes (EAP), which is now present in universities around the world. Unlike conventional foreign language classes, these courses are less concerned with straightforward linguistic issues than with supplying learners with the rhetorical skills necessary to achieve success in the academic world. Hence, they focus on issues such as the structure and organisation of academic texts, argumentation techniques, how to present and hedge claims, and the preparation and delivery of oral presentations. In many non-Anglophone countries, discipline-specific EAP classes are now integrated into undergraduate and/or postgraduate courses as a compulsory part of the curriculum, while in UK and US universities, foreign students are often

obliged to attend an EAP course before embarking on their chosen programme of study.

The growth in this demand has also resulted in the development of lucrative subsidiary activities, such as EAP teacher-training, the creation and implementation of internationally-recognised examinations (IELTS, TOEFL, etc.) and the production of academic style manuals and guides, all of which employ thousands of people worldwide. Academic publishing also addresses the question of cultural disjunctions with the provision of revision, editing and proof-reading services; indeed, a whole range of "literacy brokers" (such as journal editors, reviewers, academic peers, etc.) systematically intervene in texts of foreign authorship before their final published form is achieved, as research into the academic writing of multilingual scholars (Curry & Lillis, 2004; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2006b & 2010) has confirmed.

The translation industry has also benefitted hugely from the hegemony of English in the academic sphere. Academics with little or no command of English can only access the most prestigious international journals by having their work professionally translated, and foreign research units and journals are now increasingly publishing in English in order to reach a wider public. Meanwhile, there is also a flourishing market for translation in the opposite direction, as English academic books and papers are rendered into other languages for use in non-Anglophone institutions.

Finally, the need for technical precision in intercultural transfer situations has led to the development of multilingual terminological databases and computer tools, designed to establish "official" equivalents of technical terms in different languages and specialist areas, and present them in a user-friendly format. Given the sheer scale of this undertaking, it is already a multi-million-euro industry employing vast numbers of researchers, technicians, linguists and area specialists. In future, as knowledge becomes increasingly more specialised and user communities diversify, it looks set to expand (as many of the papers in this volume show).

The existence of an international *lingua franca* for academic and research purposes has no doubt facilitated the global transmission of information and brought great practical benefits to mankind. However, it has not been an unqualified good, and there are now a growing number of detractors complaining about the effect that it has had upon other languages and upon epistemological diversity in general. This will be the subject of my next and final section.

The consequences

One of the most interesting characteristics of discursive formations is that they are not, intrinsically, language-specific. That is to say, they can usually be exported from one culture to another through a process of "calquing", by means of which a mirror image of the discourse is imprinted upon the recipient language, leading to the creation and eventual internalisation of new mental categories. This often occurs as a spontaneous by-product of translation activity (Cronin, 1998; House, 2006). But calques may also be deliberately provoked, usually in the belief that the target culture will be enriched by new discourse habits.

This was effectively what Farfor (1976b) was trying to do in his *Cours élémentaire de rédaction médicale*. Believing that it was time to "deanglo-saxonise" medical writing and "make it known and available to other language groups" (Farfor, 1976b: 225), he argued in Chapter 1 of the *Cours* that it was as "universal" as Medicine itself:

> (…) whatever the language, the article should be concise, structured and presented in accordance with the norms of medical writing, which are universally applicable. (Farfor, 1976a: 634; translated from the French by me)

Twenty-two years later, Arwidson and Lavielle (1998: 173) were continuing the crusade, declaring the need to extend such practices to the domain of Health Education. Like Farfor, they took a critical stance towards traditional writing practices in France, and advocated the implementation of the IMRAD model of textual organisation.

In Portugal, there is evidence that a similar process is under way. Despite the relatively late appearance of Portuguese-language style manuals based on the English model (such as Serrano, 2004, mentioned above), the corpus study (Bennett, 2010a & 2011) reveals that a discourse calqued on EAD is now prevalent in the hard sciences and may even be threatening to take over the more traditional discourse of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

This brings us to my final point, namely the long-term consequences of this process on the host culture. Critical discourse analysts have long realised that discourses are totalitarian in mission and imperialistic in reach, constantly aiming to explain and control as much territory as possible (Kress, 1985). Moreover, as they encode ideologies, the calquing process ultimately represents the colonisation of one culture by another – in this case, the

"imposition of new 'mental structures' through English" (Phillipson, 1992: 166).

However, this kind of imperialism requires collusion on the part of the host culture to succeed. When the invading discourse is already hegemonic, the traditional discourses used by that culture in the given domain may begin to be rejected by potential users as old-fashioned and inadequate. This is the mechanism at work in Portugal, as was demonstrated by some of the responses given in a survey of 192 Portuguese Humanities and Social Science researchers conducted in 2002 and 2008 (Bennett, 2010b & 2011). In France, on the other hand, the fact that the process began much earlier (in the medical domain at least) and has still not yet been fully achieved (Maisonneuve, 2009) is perhaps a measure of that country's cultural self-confidence and its traditional antagonism towards Anglo-Saxon impositions.[9]

A number of authors have now begun to manifest concern at the broader implications of this process. Cronin (2003: 72-75) points out that calquing not only impoverishes the individual languages by turning them into "mirror images of the dominant languages" but that it also reduces linguistic and epistemological diversity in the world system as a whole. Swales (1997: 374) makes the same point, memorably likening EAD to a Tyrannosaurus Rex "gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds". The Portuguese sociologist, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2001: 266) goes even further, coining the term "epistemicide" to describe the way in which "Western science" seems set on systematically eradicating other knowledges in its bid for total control of the field.

As far as the language industries are concerned, while these are clearly participating in the colonisation process by furthering the spread of EAD, the calquing effect that results may ultimately serve to make some of them redundant. That is to say, once "mirror images" of the dominant discourse have been installed in the languages of its epistemological rivals, the cultural disjunctions will become less pronounced, reducing the demand for professional aid to bridge the gap.

In Portugal, many young researchers in the hard sciences, brought up in a bilingual technical culture where there is little to choose between a textbook written in Portuguese and another written in English, are already able to do away with language classes and translation services, and produce internationally-acceptable texts relatively effortlessly. In a country like

France, on the other hand, which has a much more confident intellectual culture of its own, the takeover will probably be resisted for longer.

Indeed, it is to be hoped that the cultural disjunctions will remain in place for a long time yet, not only to ensure the continued employment of the thousands of professionals involved in the language industries, but also in the broader interests of epistemological diversity.

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NOTES

[1] This paper was first presented as a plenary lecture at the conference *Le multiculturalisme et le role des langues spécialisées* (organised by the Groupe de Linguistique Appliquée des Télécommunications de Bretagne), held in Lisbon in May 2010.

[2] This contrasts with the idealist/constructivist views that are more common in Continental Philosophy, according to which all knowledge of reality is mediated, or even constructed by, language.

[3] The corpus consisted of 408 academic texts (1,333,890 words) of different genres and disciplines, which were analysed for the presence of particular discourse features not usually found in EAD.

[4] There are historical reasons for this disjunction. The positivistic orientation of the knowledge paradigm that prevailed after the Scientific Revolution meant that, in English factual writing, the referential dimension of language (*logos*) gradually acquired precedence over the interpersonal/emotive (*pathos*) and ethical (*ethos*) dimensions, which had had equal value in Classical Rhetoric. In countries where the Scholastic and Humanistic traditions were perpetuated for longer (often due to educational policies put in place in Catholic countries following the Counter Reformation), this did not occur. Consequently, the academic discourse produced in those countries still shows the influence of Classical Rhetoric (Conley, 1990; Timmermans, 2002).

[5] From the abstract of "Ancient shipping, traditional boats and sustainable tourism in Northwest Portugal: the development of a product entitled The Boat and Naval Construction Museum" by A. Bettencourt (2006). Reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

[6] In France, for example, there is little pressure to publish in English. On the contrary, activities such as student supervision count for more in academic appointments (Françoise Salager-Meyer, personal communication).

[7] From J. L. Pio Abreu. "A Fenomenologia de Sexualidade: do Desejo ao Amor"**,** Chapter 7 of *O Tempo Aprisionado: Ensaios não-Espiritualistas sobre o Espírito Humano*. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2000: 139-149. This extract was first analysed in Bennett (2007).

[8] These included the various discourses of qualitative research that developed within the Social Sciences (see Woods, 2006, for an overview); the French-inspired *écriture* of feminists and other subaltern groups; and the dense opaque prose of Critical Theory.

[9] Farfor (1976b: 224-225) gives an example of a spirited defence of the traditional French approach to medical writing. Referring to an article by Vargues published in *Nouvelle Presse Médicale* (1975, 4: 1131), he writes, rather dismissively: "After criticising Anglo-Saxon papers for their simple language and detailed precision, he [Vargues] (…) recommended that French research should be reported in the form of "scholarly dissertations, with thesis, antithesis, and synthesis" (…) He concluded by appealing to French authors to defend their language by rejecting Anglo-American methods (*les norms*) of writing".