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JOYCE, BERLITZ, AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

When James Joyce received, in late 1915, a form for inclusion in the following year's edition of *Who's Who*, he described himself not only as a writer but also as a "teacher of the Scuola Superiore di Commercio, Trieste", though he was then temporarily living in Zurich and teaching only occasional private English lessons because of World War I. *Who's Who* did not need to know how Joyce made his living. Richard Ellmann relates this anecdote in his biography of Joyce¹, and indeed the entry in the 1916 edition of *Who's Who*², a volume which is according to its publisher's website entirely reliant on information provided by biographees³, begins with this description. Clearly then, by 1915, Joyce viewed teaching as an important aspect of his identity. Indeed, according to Silvio Benco, in Trieste, Joyce had

[t]he fame of an English teacher . . . he never appeared as a writer, and perhaps he found pleasure in keeping everyone in ignorance. There was no need for everyone to hunt down in him the already lived, if not relived, existence of Stephen Dedalus. Better to be the conscientious and successful teacher who accepted exile.⁴

By that point he had been teaching, in schools and privately, for more than eleven years, and once he was allowed to return to Trieste in 1919, he would continue teaching at the Scuola Superiore di Commercio (also

¹ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 390.

² "Joyce, James," *Who's Who: An Annual Biographical Dictionary with which is Incorporated Men and Women of the Time*, 68th ed., (London: A & C Black, 1916), 1206.

³ About Who's Who, <http://www.acblack.com/whoswho/whoswho.asp?page=default.asp>, n.d. (accessed 14 April 2010).

⁴ Silvio Benco, "James Joyce in Trieste", *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts, (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), 50-52.

known as the Revoltella School) until 1920 when he moved to Paris. Joyce began his teaching career with Berlitz, teaching in Pola from October 1904 to 1905, in Trieste until August 1906 when he moved temporarily to Rome, and then again from March to July of 1907. While in Rome, he taught at the *École de Langues*, another private language school, for three months. During these years, he maintained a roster of private students, whether or not he was engaged by a school. Through these various experiences, he had developed his own energetic teaching style, which was both popular among students and effective.

As an instructor, Joyce drew primarily on his own experience as a student and on certain aspects of the Berlitz Method in developing his approach to language education. The grammar-translation methods which would have predominated during his student years seem to have had little importance to Joyce's own pedagogy. He did, however, have a few instructors who taught in other ways. Joyce briefly studied Irish with Patrick Pearse. But Pearse's insistence on insulting English, including the power of the word "thunder", led Joyce to quit.⁵ While it is unlikely that Pearse had a strong influence on Joyce's pedagogy, there is at least one parallel. A beginner in the Irish language could not have understood Pearse's commentary on the limitations of English were they delivered in that language; Pearse, in other words, used his students' primary language rather than the target language alone so that he could discuss matters he considered important. Joyce did the same with his Triestine students, though he generally chose topics that were more congenial to them than Pearse's subject matter was to him.

Joyce's Italian professor at University College, Father Charles Ghezzi, influenced him more. Ellmann describes Ghezzi's courses as frequently turning into lively debates between Joyce and Ghezzi about literature and philosophy which left the only other student, Eugene Sheehy, unengaged.⁶ According to C.P. Curran, "Eugene Sheehy has described Joyce in Father Ghezzi's Italian class – the pair constituted the entire class – and he complained to me that he made nothing of it because Joyce and Ghezzi spent the whole time discussing philosophy in Italian too esoteric or too fluent for him".⁷ This informal method proved effective, however, in providing Joyce with a firm of understanding Dante and D'Annunzio, and it was his ability to imitate the latter's style that allowed him to pass his final Italian examination at University College despite his minimal grasp of the material he was ex-

⁵ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷ C.P. Curran, *James Joyce Remembered*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 24.

pected to have studied.⁸ Such vivid conversations mark Joyce's own teaching. Renzo Crivelli argues that Joyce used numerous anecdotes and examples in his teaching, adapting their complexity to the students' abilities. With more advanced students, he often told tales that expressed aspects of Irish culture, particularly "the submissiveness and resignation of the rural Irish and of his fellow Dubliners".⁹ Paolo Cuzzi told Ellmann that most of his lessons with Joyce focused on conversation and included topics such as Thomistic morality, Freud, and Vico. With Boris Furlan, Joyce debated morality.¹⁰ According to John McCourt, such conversations took place not only in private lessons but also with Joyce's more advanced students at the Berlitz Trieste school.¹¹

These conversations did not devolve into Joycean monologues. Rather, Joyce allowed even his less erudite students opportunities to tell their own stories and to produce extended narratives in the target language. Joyce relates one such story in a letter to Lucia:

One of my pupils in Trieste was very heavy, stupid, bald, slow and fat. But one day he told me this little story a propos of the 'education' of a sister of his who must have been like him. This little girl was learning how to knit at school but could get nothing into her head. The teacher tried to show her how to do it. Like this, like this. Now do you see? Pass the needle under, then pull it through and so on. At last she asked if the girl had an older sister. The girl replied she had. Then, said the teacher, show her your work and tomorrow bring in everything done properly. Do you understand? Yes, Miss.

The next day the girl came to school but the work was worse than before. How is this? said the teacher, don't you have an older sister at home? Yes, Miss. And didn't I tell you to ask her to show you? Yes, Miss. And what did your sister say? She said that you and the knitting both should go to hell.¹²

That Joyce elicited such a story shows that he not only discussed philosophical or literary subjects but, rather, restricted those topics to lessons with students who shared these interests and had the ability to converse on them.

⁸ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 59.

⁹ Renzo S. Crivelli, *Una Rosa per Joyce/A Rose for Joyce*, trans. Erik Holmes Schneider and Gabrielle Barfoot, (Trieste: MGS Press, 2004), 26.

¹⁰ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 340-42.

¹¹ John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*, (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), 31.

¹² James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. III, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 378.

Such conversations, adapted to the interests and the abilities of his students, would also have been compatible with the Berlitz Method. Indeed, Crivelli, though he does not make the link with Ghezzi, notes a close relationship between Joyce's conversations with private students and the Berlitz Method.¹³ In this regard, it is significant that Joyce connected Father Ghezzi with Berlitz by using Ghezzi as the basis for the character of Stephen Dedalus's Italian teacher in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* but naming the character after Almidano Artifoni, the director of the Berlitz school,¹⁴ especially since both Ghezzi's conversational engagement and the highly structured Berlitz Method can be seen as influencing Joyce's later teaching.

The Berlitz schools in the early twentieth century had as their primary customers individuals interested in using English in a vocational capacity. The focus for these students was on communicative ability rather than grammatical correctness, and the method was a particularly restricted version of the Direct Method, one requiring that only the target language be used in the classroom. Joyce's sardonic take on this appears in a February 1906 letter to Grant Richards: "I am employed to teach the young men of this city the English language as quickly as possible with no delays for elegance".¹⁵ The lack of elegance also reflects the focus on business, rather than literary, English. Nonetheless, the 1914 Italian Royal Commission for the Reorganization of Higher Education noted this focus while advising individuals who wished to learn modern languages to take a Berlitz course, as the results of teaching in the public schools had thus far been poor and this seemed unlikely to change for modern languages.¹⁶

As a Berlitz teacher, Joyce would have been expected to follow a regular set of lessons using the *Berlitz First Book*¹⁷ for beginning students and the *Berlitz Second Book*¹⁸ for more advanced pupils. The language in these books was systematically selected to meet communicative needs and to gradually increase in difficulty so that instructors could use realia to explain the vo-

¹³ Renzo S. Crivelli, *op.cit.*, 48.

¹⁴ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 60.

¹⁵ James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. II, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 131.

¹⁶ Howard R. Marraro, "The Study of Modern Foreign Languages in the Italy of the Past and Present", *The Modern Language Journal* 34.7 (Nov. 1950): 511-12.

¹⁷ M.D. Berlitz, *The Berlitz Method for Teaching Modern Languages: English Part, First Book*, (New York: Berlitz, 1902).

¹⁸ M.D. Berlitz, *Second Book for Teaching Modern Languages: English Part for Adults*, 25th rev. European ed., (Berlin: Siegfried Cronbach, 1903.)

cabulary of the first lessons and then use that vocabulary to explain more abstract terms. Elements of syntax and grammar were introduced in a fashion that allowed for gradually increased complexity. The *First Book* contains fourteen “Preparatory Lessons” in which new vocabulary (mostly concrete terms) and increasingly complicated elements of syntax are introduced in a graded way; these are followed by “Elementary Reading-Pieces”, brief passages on specific subjects, each of which explores a new set of vocabulary or new verb tense without increasing the complexity of the sentence structures. The *Second Book* consists of passages excerpted from the work of well-known English writers; Dickens is particularly well-represented.

In his private lessons and his later teaching positions, Joyce continued to use at least some aspects of the Berlitz Method. Renzo Crivelli has observed the similarity between this method and both the general structure of the lessons he gave his private students, as evidenced by the notebook of one of Joyce’s students, Dr. Sturli, and the plan Joyce developed while teaching at the Revoltella School. The notebook contains sixteen pages, though three more were at some point removed and its first few pages are dedicated to lists of words and phrases: pronouns, demonstrative adjectives, prepositions, sentences that use “box” in combination with other nouns to illustrate the uses of the pronouns, interrogatives, and phrases that include the term “safety”. Pages four and five focus on terms related to the body: external first, internal second. The pages thereafter demonstrate the graded development of conversational subjects, starting with simple phrases and moving on to vocabulary for the discussion of clothing, food, and weather. If Crivelli is correct that the notebook was created in the course of improvised conversations,¹⁹ this surmise suggests the extent to which Joyce had absorbed the Berlitz Method and its structure. Such internalisation makes it all the more likely that the method and texts of Berlitz influenced Joyce’s literary work as well as the lessons he gave outside the Berlitz schools.

Crivelli reproduces a facsimile of Joyce’s Revoltella School course outline on a plate between pages 112 and 113 of *Rose*; the text and its English translation appear on pages 162-3. The bulk of the listed subjects suggests communicative goals or conversational subjects and some of these directly correspond with the topics of the *First Book* lessons: “articles of dress” and “parts of the body” are covered in the third Preparatory Lesson, numbers in the sixth, and the senses in the thirteenth. Months are covered in an

¹⁹ Renzo S. Crivelli, *op.cit.*, 28-38.

Elementary Reading-Piece entitled “The Year,” which also introduces the simple past and future tenses.²⁰ Another discusses “The Animals”.²¹ The progression in Joyce’s plan towards more complicated dialogues and dictation exercises also parallels the Berlitz Method. As this outline was intended for the school administration, the presence of grammatical terms should not be taken as evidence that Joyce at Revoltella used grammar-based methods; even “constructing simple sentences” may have involved teaching common collocations.

In addition to providing Joyce with a useful sense of how to structure his lessons, the Berlitz Method also taught him the importance of realia. The introduction to the *First Book*, “The Berlitz Method of Teaching Languages” advocates the use of “object lessons” whenever possible.²² Joyce’s preference for using images to explain vocabulary is suggested by his complaint about the night school in Rome where he worked in 1906: “The Ecole in fact, is bowsy. It has no books or illustrations.”²³ The absence of pictures would be particularly troublesome for a teacher trying to introduce new vocabulary to beginning students without using translation.

Joyce’s applications of the methods he derived from his experience as a student and as a Berlitz teacher, though not always faithful to any particular system, received mostly positive responses from his students. According to Silvio Benco, Joyce was called by his Triestine contemporaries “a marvel at teaching English” (50).²⁴ In March 1915, when the Revoltella School’s delay in reconfirming Joyce’s appointment had left him without pay for several months and had forced him to seek out loans once again, his students organised an official protest which led to the issuing of a formal letter instructing him to resume teaching.²⁵ Joyce’s popularity as a teacher, however, has not protected him from negative judgments about his teaching. Objecting to Joyce’s inclusion in *Writers and Their Other Work: 20th Century British*

²⁰ M.D. Berlitz, *The Berlitz Method for Teaching Modern Languages: English Part, First Book*, (New York: Berlitz, 1902), 55-57.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

²² *Ibid.*, 3.

²³ James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. III, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 197.

²⁴ Silvio Benco, “James Joyce in Trieste”, *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts, (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), 50; quoted in John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*, (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), 32.

²⁵ Renzo S. Crivelli, *op.cit.*, 184.

Writers and English, Patrick Early, a retired British Council Director who had worked as an English Language methodologist and instructor writes:

Joyce had no special vocation as a teacher. He taught EFL in a Berlitz school, first in Pula in Italy, and later in Trieste, as a means of paying the bills and keeping the bailiffs from the door ... Furthermore, Joyce was the unreliable kind of teacher who drives directors of study round the bend, too fond of the local white wine, regularly late for class, and with a tendency to try to seduce his students.²⁶

This is a more extreme statement than most Joyce specialists would make and has the weakness of privileging the managerial perspective while exaggerating some of Joyce's flaws. The extent to which his few seduction attempts were serious rather than primarily fantasies is questionable given his utter dedication to Nora, and they involved only a few of his private students insofar as we know. Indeed, certain playful flirtations with the young ladies he taught served the purpose of motivating their studies; one of his young students, who gave her name only as Miss G. recalled, "My friend fell in love with him; she started to write and speak in English".²⁷ While Patrick Early's statement may be particularly harsh, he is not the only one who has questioned Joyce's dedication to and capability as a teacher. Herbert Gorman makes brief reference to Joyce's work at Berlitz, focusing primarily on how Joyce's teaching deprived him of time to work on *Ulysses*,²⁸ which reflects his belief that teaching was not, or should not have been, a priority for Joyce. Ellmann's biography leaves the impression that Joyce taught only to earn (or have an excuse to borrow) money. Peter Costello has written that Joyce's "teaching work ... was not, in any case, an occupation with much future in it. It was thought of as merely a temporary resort".²⁹

Such negative perceptions of Joyce's teaching arise in part because Joyce's own complaints about teaching have been overemphasised. Some of these issues relate specifically to Joyce's time as a Berlitz teacher, and it is possible that the rote repetitiveness of the school's required method con-

²⁶ Patrick Early, "Writers and their Other Work—20th century British Writers and English Teaching Abroad (Review)," *ELT Journal* 61 (October 2007), 389.

²⁷ Renzo S. Crivelli, *op.cit.*, 72.

²⁸ Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce: A Definitive Biography*, (London: John Lane, 1941), 235, 243.

²⁹ Peter Costello, *James Joyce*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 44.

tributed to Joyce's frustration. Ellmann, for instance, cites Joyce's statement that "Some day, I shall clout my pupils about the head, I fear and stalk out" before noting that "Joyce was by nature a disgruntled employee."³⁰ It would be difficult, however, to find teachers who have never felt frustrated by their students. Arguably, a teacher who cares about the success of their lesson and the students' learning outcomes may be more vulnerable to such frustration, as an unconcerned teacher would not be troubled by students' failures to comprehend or retain knowledge. McCourt also cites this passage as well as Joyce's complaint about having to work through the "torrid heat" of a Triestine summer but gives insufficient weight to Joyce's statement in the same letter that, during lessons, he had to "keep continually alert and interested".³¹ This indicates Joyce's own determination to engage with students; otherwise he would have noted a need to appear alert and interested, not actually the necessity to be so. McCourt does suggest that, like Francini Bruni, Joyce may have considered the students, particularly those from the Triestine upper classes, to be the only positive aspect of the Berlitz school;³² this preference indicates that many of Joyce's complaints may have had more to do with disdain for the administration than for the process of education. Indeed, Letizia Schmitz, one of Joyce's private students, notes a different temperament in Joyce's teaching than such letters would suggest: "He was extremely patient and tolerant, and if you made a mistake he would often laugh."³³ The conditions under which Joyce worked, rather than teaching itself, may have been the source of many of his complaints.

Another reason for negative perceptions of Joyce's teaching is the way some of his students have described his methods. Student narratives often portray Joyce's private lessons more as rambling conversations in English and Italian than as formal lessons. In an otherwise very positive account of Joyce's teaching, Letizia Schmitz said that "[i]nstead of giving lessons, Joyce preferred conversation."³⁴ This statement shows a misunderstanding of method. As mentioned previously, by engaging in vivid conversations,

³⁰ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 198-99; James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. II, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 87.

³¹ John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*, (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), 31; James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. II, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 98.

³² John McCourt, *op.cit.*, 2000), 31.

³³ Renzo S. Crivelli, *op.cit.* 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

Joyce was using an approach that had worked for his own learning and that fit the requirements of the Berlitz Method.

That Joyce sometimes spoke Italian when teaching outside of Berlitz means that he did not use every aspect of the Berlitz Method, not that he was a negligent teacher. The use of Italian not only would have helped to prevent mental exhaustion among his students but also would have avoided what A.P.R. Howatt has pointed to as the major critique of the Direct Method by its opponents: that, in its monolingual varieties, it limits conversation to absurdly trivial subjects.³⁵ Joyce would not have had to be aware of any debate about the method to realise how dull such triviality could become. A few repetitions of “this is a pencil” would have made the issue clear enough. Moreover, when the conversation turned to Joyce’s homeland or to other English-speaking countries, speaking in the student’s native language would have allowed for the development of the cultural knowledge necessary not only to maintain interest in a language but also to become a truly competent communicator.

When the use of Italian did not serve a pedagogical purpose, Joyce generally restricted conversation to the target language. Anna Bonacci, daughter of a steamship broker who hired Joyce to teach her English, reported in an interview: “[h]e told me I must make an effort only to speak English with him.”³⁶ In at least once incident, Joyce did not use Italian in the classroom when it would have been of benefit to him. In a November 1906 letter to Stanislaus, he relates this incident at the *École des Langues*:

Last night one of my classes numbered nearly a dozen pupils. One of them was a lovely boor: elderly, red swollen face, sidelong glance. He made fun openly of my writing on the board, perhaps thinking I ‘had no Italian’, and of me as a ‘professore’. Some of the pupils laughed. A rather fat girl came to my rescue by explaining everything to him over again in Italian. He wanted to know why I didn’t explain in Italian. She told him it was the ‘metodo’. Then he said something which made the class laugh. I was frightfully polite to him and, though I was tired, did my best to make him understand. When he was going away he told me he quite understood that I was prevented by the metodo from doing as he wished but that what he wanted etc etc.³⁷

³⁵ A.P.R. Howatt, *A History of English Language Teaching*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 202.

³⁶ John McCourt, *op.cit.*, 200.

³⁷ James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. II, ed. Richard Ellmann, (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), 196-97.

While Joyce's refusal to speak Italian could be put down to mere stubbornness in the face of a rude student, it should not be overlooked that he did not deliver the sort of sharp remark that would have silenced the student's mockery and would have been especially effective if delivered in Italian. This choice suggests a strong adherence to the use of the target language in situations in which use of the students' primary language would not improve their learning.

While Joyce's students overall seem to have judged his teaching positively, a few negative perceptions among them may be due not only to past learning experiences with grammar-translation leading to different ideas about how a class should be conducted but also with unrealistic expectations. Mario Nordio, for instance, stated that he quit his lessons with Joyce due to a lack of progress.³⁸ Joyce, then, failed not in teaching but in explaining his methods to his students and in managing expectations. Indeed, as regards the latter, Joyce did perhaps attempt to improve this in later years. During his final period of time working at the Revoltella School, he told a student who asked how long it took to master a language, "I have been studying Italian for fifteen years and am at last beginning to know it." Ellmann uses this statement as an example of Joyce's poor teaching³⁹ but, while it may be overly pessimistic, it can also be seen as an attempt to make the student understand how much effort it takes to achieve real fluency in a language.

It is important, however, not to give undue weight to these negative perceptions. It is highly problematic to assume as Ellmann does that Joyce's continued popularity among private students after he left Berlitz was because "his unpunctuality and eccentric methods were countenanced by indulgent pupils."⁴⁰ Individual students might continue taking lessons from an ineffective instructor whom they personally like, but they are unlikely to recommend that teacher to their associates, and Joyce's private students typically came to him through recommendations. Paolo Cuzzi learned of his teaching through Ettore Schmitz.⁴¹ Indeed, even while at Berlitz, his popularity was due in part to word-of-mouth. Count Francesco Sordina, a student there, recommended Joyce as a teacher to many of his friends

³⁸ Mario Nordio, "My First English Teacher", *James Joyce Quarterly* 9.3 (Spring 1972), 24.

³⁹ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 198-99, 472-73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 339-40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 340.

among the city's nobility.⁴² Josip Wilfan not only took private lessons from Joyce after having studied with him at Berlitz but also referred Boris Furlan to him.⁴³ Through Oscar Schwarz, a student in Trieste, he met Ottocaro Weiss who became his student in Zurich.⁴⁴ While tardiness is unproductive, the "eccentric methods" were part of the reason for Joyce's popularity. To the extent that he was able to practice such methods within the strict Berlitz framework, they were the reason why he, and not other teachers, attracted new students to the school. The educational value of laughter and interest should not be underestimated.

Another cause of negative perceptions of Joyce's teaching has been the evidence of his last stint as a teacher at the Revoltella School following World War I. At this point, Joyce indeed seems to have had enough of teaching. Ellmann records one student's report that Joyce would often stare blankly or smile silently at the students for well over a minute during class,⁴⁵ and Crivelli expands on this description.⁴⁶ Joyce, however, had reasons other than a dislike of classroom teaching to be distracted: he was unhappy with postwar Trieste and the administration of the school which failed to pay him until he had already been teaching for two months; his eye trouble was becoming more pronounced, and he wanted most of all to dedicate more time to writing *Ulysses*. Silvio Benco describes visiting him during this period:

He was temporarily lodged at his brother's; everyone was uncomfortable, and it seemed as if there was not a single apartment in Trieste for James Joyce. Strange times indeed! He was annoyed at this, for it seemed to him that he could live happily only in Trieste.⁴⁷

All of these difficulties contributed to a frame of mind not congenial to teaching, but it should not be taken to negate his prior work. That he soon left teaching and headed for Paris suggests that he himself believed his teaching days needed to come to an end and that there was no more

⁴² Ibid. 198-99.

⁴³ John McCourt, *op.cit.*, 208-209.

⁴⁴ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 393.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 472.

⁴⁶ Renzo S. Crivelli, *Una Rosa per Joyce/A Rose for Joyce*, trans. Erik Holmes Schneider and Gabrielle Barfoot, (Trieste: MGS Press, 2004), 198.

⁴⁷ Silvio Benco, "James Joyce in Trieste", *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts, (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), 58.

for him to learn from teaching. It should also be noted that one of the incidents used by Ellmann of Joyce's disinterest in teaching, his awarding the majority of his students with the minimum passing grade⁴⁸ can be seen as a protest against the school administration rather than a lack of concern for his students.

For most of his teaching career, Joyce used engaging conversations and similar techniques to hold students' interest and improve their cultural competence while, at least in those cases where the documentary record provides an indication of the course of the lessons, also planning the language to be used according to the ability and progression of his students. Overall, his teaching style could be described as a Direct Method not as restrictive as that practised by the Berlitz schools. His students' progress, and thus the actual success of these methods from a goal-oriented standpoint, cannot be directly assessed, but it is evident that he maintained his students' interest and, given how many anecdotes were told years later by those same students, that his lessons were memorable ones.

⁴⁸ Richard Ellmann, *op.cit.*, 473.

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