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LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

Agboola, A. Hammed

BA (Hons), MA; PGDE, PGPDMC

Tai Solarin College of Education, School of Language, P.M.B. 2128,
Omu-Ijebu, Ogun State, Nigeria

E-mail: agboolahammed885@yahoo.com



Abstract

Whether christened native, local, national or international, the incontrovertible role of language in any human endeavour cannot be over-emphasized. This paper would therefore attempt to explain the nitty-gritty of the teaching and learning process of a native language which in this case is Yoruba language being the area of specialization of this author. This language is widely spoken and promoted by a unique race in the South-Western part of Nigeria as well as parts of middle-belt and other countries in the West Africa sub-region up to Brazil, Cuba etc. It is against this backdrop that this paper would elucidate the actual and potentials inherent in the teaching and learning process of the language. For proper mastering of the language, the processes considered crucial for our concern would cover the following aspects- the historical background of the Yoruba as a race, the genesis of the language as a teaching subject in schools, concepts of teaching as a profession and qualities of a good teacher, issues of its curriculum development, evaluation and innovation as well as the pedagogic principles using teaching aids on some selected areas of concerns such as – grammar, literature, composition, phonology, praise names (Oriki), Ifa, genealogy, customs and beliefs etc. Finally, it is recommended that government should be consistent on National Policy on Education as it affects native languages, training of competent teachers as well as adequate remunerations for teachers etc.

Key words: *native language, teaching and learning, linguistic skills, curriculum development evaluation and innovation*

YORUBA HISTORICAL ORIGIN

The Yoruba constitute one of the major ethnic groups in modern Nigeria and they effectively occupy the whole of Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Osun, Ekiti, Lagos States and a substantial part of Kwara and Kogi States. A considerable number of Yoruba people also according to Atanda (1980,1) inhabit the south-eastern part of the Republic of Benin (former Dahomey). All these areas referred to, formed what was known as the Yoruba country before the European partition of Africa. The Yoruba country lies roughly between latitudes 6⁰ and 9⁰ North and longitudes 2⁰ 30¹ and 6⁰ 30¹ East with an estimated area of about 181,300 square Kilometers. Pockets of the Yoruba are found in other parts of Nigeria, in some West African countries and even in the West Indies and South America (National mirror 28/5/2013 pg10), but the area defined above is regarded as the traditional homeland of the Yoruba people. In the homeland alone, the Yoruba people number by the last population census in 2006 was well over 33.3 million.

Scholars of Yoruba history have found it difficult to state how and when the Yoruba occupied these areas. Indeed, they regarded the question as intriguing which cannot be answered with precision especially as the ancestors of the people left no written records of their activities. Historians over the

years have based the historical origin issue of this race under existing theories which had been based on oral tradition. Yoruba oral traditions of origin collected and popularized, present apparently information about the origin of the people. Of all the gamut of historical episodes one that is most popular and equally central to all the bodies of tradition is the one which claims that the Yoruba had been inhabiting their homeland since the time of creation. According to this tradition, in the beginning when the world was only a mass of water, God sent Oduduwa from heaven to create the earth of the human race. Oduduwa descended with his lieutenants and landed at Ile-Ife, where he accomplished his Task, thus by this traditions, Ile-Ife was the cradle not only of the Yoruba but also of all mankind.

Regardless of whatever doubts that surround the various versions of the historical origins of the Yoruba, one fact remains obvious that all available oral traditions of the Yoruba-speaking peoples seem unanimous on the mythological Oduduwa as the progenitor of the Yoruba people thereby nullifying all other versions of historical origins.

THE GENESIS OF THE LANGUAGE

The emergence of the language just like that of the race has a number of historical evidence credited to it. One of such is the one which claims that Yoruba that is used to connote both the race and the speaking – peoples of the languages is a tonal language. The tones according to Pierre (1973-56) play a role which is given more importance by the fact that the roots of words are monosyllabic and that many homophonic series are distinguished only by tone. Linguistic evidence had shown that the term ‘Yoruba’ or Yooba’ as the case may be (following the elision of ‘r’, ‘u’) which is assimilated to ‘o’) is according to Awoniyi (1978-17) is of doubtful origin in that all indication from available sources seem to suggest that it was probably not a ‘Yoruba’ word. It has been asserted that the word ‘Yoruba’ has no meaning in the language of the Yoruba peoples. Some renowned scholars have traced the genesis of the term to Ulkami/Ulkum/Alkamy which according to Awoniyi (1978, 17) quoting the writings of Dapper and John Barbot to be contraction of the nominal ‘Oluku mi’ which in the language literally meant ‘my confidant’. In actual usage, it was a reference to ‘my fellow tribesman’ or “a close friend”; a term which is still used in the language as metonymy i. e when the name of an addressee is avoided or unknown. It may well be that this term was frequently used by some of Yoruba people when addressing one another. The early explorers, perhaps using some Yoruba people as informants, and frequently hearing the term ‘Oluku mi’, supposedly misconstrued the word to mean the name of the Yoruba peoples as well as their language. Given this tradition, it is obvious that the origin of Yoruba as a language just like that of the race is not only of doubtful origin but is still shrouded in obscurity.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF YORUBA LANGUAGE

Against the backdrop of history of doubtful origin of Yoruba as a language, renowned historians of Yoruba history and linguist have established the fact that Yoruba-speaking peoples had been in existence before the advent of Oduduwa to Ile-Ife. This is attested to in remarks of Atanda (1980; 3-4) thus:

It follows from this linguistic evidence that the Yoruba-speaking peoples had been inhabiting West Africa before the advent of Oduduwa. ... Since it has been suggested that the people who lived in the Yoruba country before the time of Oduduwa were Yoruba-speaking, it follows that it was not Oduduwa’s group that introduced the Yoruba language...

Given this, it seems the evolution process kicked off with the activities of some Christian missionaries using some liberated slaves from America now resident in Freetown in Sierra-Leone as tools. The significant role played by Fourah Bey Institution a residential school for the liberated Africans could not be underrated in the evolution process. It was considered a unique Yoruba centre for language studies where the literary seeds of the Yoruba language would be sown.

Prominent among these Christian Missionaries to mention a few were:- Bowdich, Kilham, Raban, Ajayi Crowther etc – all of whom had some worthy contributions credited to this process. Bowdich, the English Diplomat who according to Awoniyi (1978;25) collected the first Yoruba vocabulary to appear in print (numerals 1-10) in Ashanti (Ghana) and published in 1819. This collection marked a significant beginning in the literary study of the Yoruba Language.

Hannah Kilham (1828) followed suite by being the first known scholar of the Yoruba language to propose the orthography on which she wrote her book. In the book, according to Awoniyi (1978;28) she enunciated the principles of orthography she adopted in writing the specimen of African languages, including Yoruba.

Rev. John Raban – was an English man who had arrived Freetown in 1825 with specific instruction by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to collect information relative to tongues in the colony. He made a pioneering efforts at evolving a system of orthography for Yoruba language.

Ajayi Crowther - was a liberated African slave from America captured in 1821 in his hometown Osogun, near Iseyin in Yoruba land'. He succeeded in translating English bible to Yoruba thereby able to give the language a surviving value and a high status it had hitherto enjoyed in the pioneering efforts of the missionaries.

YORUBA AS A TEACHING SUBJECT

Its choice to attain the status of a subject to be taught in schools seems to be a consequence of the pioneering efforts of the evolutionary activities of the earlier missionaries whose efforts had sown the seed of further development of the study. Abiri (1982;) in his study traced the history to the insistence of Christian Missionaries and converts to go beyond limiting their knowledge as learners to read the Bible as being promoted by the Colonial government who was actively opposed to the teaching of the local language. However, Yoruba continued to be taught at the lower levels of primary school where it was also used as a medium of instruction.

The visitation of the American Phelps-stokes Commission to Africa between 1922 & 1925 rekindled the interest in the study of African languages and Yoruba benefited tremendously as it began to be studied as a subject in the secondary school and much later it became available at the Cambridge school certificate and London University's Matriculation Examinations-the predecessor of the modern West African School certificate (WASCE) the National Examination Council Certificate (NECO) and London University's General Certificate of Education. These examinations helped to maintain some interest in Yoruba language studies which later received greater impetus in the late 1960's when the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos (both in Nigeria) approved Yoruba language as a major subject for their degree examinations in 1966. To complete the picture, Yoruba can now be taken as a subject at the Advanced level in the General Certificate of Education examinations conducted by the West African Examinations Council even the Local polytechnics in affiliation with Cambridge University London. (This Writer is a product of such a programme). As at today, Yoruba language is intensively studied in Universities like Obafemi Awolowo Ile-Ife, University of Ilorin, University of Ado Ekiti, Olabisi

Onabanjo University, Lagos State University etc and about 48 Universities in United State of America including Harvard University (Tribune 16th May 2013, page 15).

CONCEPT OF TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

Teaching according to Majasan (1995,10) is a method of acquiring knowledge and its usefulness in bringing up the young generation to take part in the life of the society and contribute meaningfully to its development. Some people have seen the profession as one of the oldest profession despaired as a refuge for mediocre and never-to-do-well people that are industrious but unimaginative and uncreative with average drive for power, average ambition and escapism, hence Majasan quoting Bernad Shaw's maxim submitted that "He who can does, he who cannot teaches". It is believed that probably this position accounts for the reason why the profession is gradually becoming the profession of women.

In treating the concept to details, our attention shall be paid to some fundamentals revolving around these considered crucial areas of its organization, the key players involved as authorities and crucial needs to make them efficient and productive. In the language of Majasan (1995) who is a teacher? What is his job? Why is he not treated as a professional like others e.g. lawyer, doctor, etc? Why is he always down trodden? Is he relevant in nation building? And why is he never appreciated?

It is assumed that if these areas are thoroughly examined though as embarrassing as the questions sound, we would have succeeded in doing justice to the global overview of this profession called teaching. It is so because these questions are considered crucial because their answers must affect the recruitment, retention and motivation of teachers and teaching should the concerned education authorities wants to realize their ambition to improve standards and make people feel better, healthier and happier.

In the area of organization, teaching profession has been seen to go beyond classroom affairs, and has been supportive to the promotion of culture and human progress. It is a profession that allows for all – comers because as Majasan (1995,11) put it, it is widely undertaken by a variety of "Teachers" – parents, priests, master craftsmen, herbalists, group leaders, coaches, instructors and lecturers of every shade, from time immemorial. The teacher has always been someone who instructs others or provides activities, materials and guidance that facilitate learning in either formal or informal situations. In modern formal situations, especially with young ones, he builds up, instructs, trains and guides for healthy growth and stable adult life. In essence, the teacher's job revolves around general character-training.

One of the challenges facing the job is the problem of professionalization even while acknowledging the fact that teaching has fostered the emergence of other professions like law, medicine, accounting etc. The bone of contention is that it is an all comer profession that lacks acceptable standard, required discipline and adequate guidance that can make it graduate convincingly into the professional realm. This position is reinforced by Majasan (1995;11) in this remark thus:

.... A process of formal training, a body of specialized knowledge, procedure for certifying and validating membership of the profession and a set of standards of performance...

Given this position by this school of thought, it is not surprising why the job has been grudgingly referred to as a profession. To the School of thought it was believed that with the exceptions of the University Professors, the job is seen as a mere craft in which any untrained person can engage when he is only a little better than the average pupil himself.

Another problem facing the profession is that of large number embracing the profession as a result of increasing large number of people requiring education all over the world even in the remotest village. This numerical strength is absent in the other profession. The consequence of this has greatly affected their economic status in terms of wages which puts them at the lowest rung of the wages ladder as well as their social status. For instance in Nigeria not until recently when their economic power was improved upon by Government, teachers were made “personae non grata”.

The problem of discriminating qualifications is another peculiar issue. This problem has informed their separation into 4 categories in most counties which cannot be equated to one another to give them a common front. The categories are: The pre-school and nursery, the Primary, the secondary and the tertiary. All these categories exhibit different standard hence the disparity in remuneration, which adds to the problem of professionalization and the consequent despair status of being down-trodden and unappreciated since the authorities concerned find it difficult to upgrade them en masse financially.

In spite of all these challenges, frantic efforts are today being made towards alleviating their problems. One of measures being embarked upon in developing it is the strong desire for self-recognition as a group of professional with the sole aim of enhancing their status, prestige and standardize their performance, A case in point is the recently established Teachers Registration council (TPC) of Nigeria which is saddled with the registration of qualified teachers in Nigeria.

Quite apart from this professional Body overseeing the affairs of the teachers, various teachers associations are coming on board and are winning approval and recognition for their members. Their major concern apart from the welfare of members is the desire to seek the best method of teaching their children and also standing as an arbiter of professional morals. In Nigeria we have the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) founded on 8/7/1931 which is national in scope while there are others International or World –wide in scope. It should be stressed that teachers in spite of their unappreciated status within the society, they still earn undying respect of their former pupil as their mentors wherever they meet them.

QUALITIES OF A GOOD TEACHER

While some people believe that teachers are born some dwell on the fact that the status is achievable through effective training and probably this accounts for the establishment of teacher training institutions. Some renowned scholars of Education while working on the theory of required personality traits postulate these outlined qualities of a good teacher in the classroom. Majasan (1995, 18) for instance listed the following:- initiative, patience, sympathy, respect, flexibility, firmness, honesty, foresight, intellectual, curiosity, keenness, surrogate status, being a disciplinarian, curriculum organizer, achievement assessor, bureaucrat.

This is further corroborated by Omotoso (1968, 12-13) when he classified the qualities across four areas viz:- qualities of his character, qualities of his disposition, his physical quality and his qualities professionally.

Under each of these sub titles are subsumed some traits of professional attributes as deeply explained.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The word “curriculum” according to Benedict (1995, 2) emanates from Latin words “currere” meaning “to run” and “cursus” meaning ‘a course’ or ‘a track’. Given this genealogy, he sees curriculum as a

course of learning activities set out for the learner to perform to make him achieve some specified goals – by the educational system. In education, it is expedient to see it as a course that teachers, students and other collaborators run to reach educational goals.

In the same vein, other well-meaning scholar like Majasan (1995,26) sees a curriculum as a collection of courses of study prepared for the pupil of a school to be covered before they are certified as being qualified enough either to enter another institution of learning or join the national workforce at their level as educated citizens. It is normally drawn up by experienced practicing educationists for young teachers to follow but it is now being passed to teachers on-the-job with the assistance of older colleagues because of the present radical approach to school education as propounded by the protagonists of the education-without-school theory.

In drawing up a functional curriculum in the field of education, certain fundamental and principles are crucial and identifiable. These are five in numbers which Majasan (1995,30) named thus – knowledge of the subject. Philosophical consideration, sociological consideration, Psychological consideration and methodology.

In the case of knowledge consideration, mastery of the subject-matter is very crucial and this explains why the teacher must have the factual knowledge and experience of the subject- matter in order to be able to teach the pupils effectively and avoid giving pupils wrong impression in the classroom situation.

Philosophical Consideration - This is the second principle of curriculum development. In designing a curriculum the term or value stated by the school should be taken into consideration. A statement of educational philosophy must address the choice of the School social philosophy, and this can actually operate as a screen for selection and eliminating educational objectives. For instance if the philosophy of a school focuses on ‘good life’ and a ‘good society’, one section of the School philosophy being developed will outline the values that are required for a satisfying and effective life. In the case of Yoruba education, its philosophy generally is embraced in the concept of “Omoluabi” (a well behaved person). As Awoniyi (1978,2) corroborated by Oyeneye (1985,23) put it, that the end product of Yoruba education is to make an individual an Omoluabi. To be an Omoluabi is to be of good character in all its ramifications. Good character, in the Yoruba sense, includes respect for old age, loyalty to one’s parents and local traditions, honesty in all public and private dealings, devotion to duty, readiness to assist the needy and the infirm, sympathy, sociability, courage, an itching desire for work, and many other desirable qualities. In essence, the main idea of Yoruba education has always been to foster good character in the individual and to make him a useful member of the community and consequently be compliant to the norms of the society.

Psychological consideration - Makes it possible for teacher to understand his pupil fully so as to know when to motivate them for serious work and the type of motivation required for different age groups for particular subject. Allied to this is the factor of maturation which is equally crucial. This is because it plays an important part in the subject-matter for learning at the various stages of development of the child so that what is to be learnt will match his perception, intelligence, temperament and physical growth with consequent freedom from developmental worries and matters that could interfere with the development of the pupils personality.

Sociological Consideration - Deals with the provision of a good socio-cultural environmental conditions devoid of any inhibition for effective teaching and learning process to take place. It also examines the relationship with the home-back-ground, the peer group, neighbourhood, the industrialized society and the larger society and how these affect teaching and learning in the school situation.

Methodology - This considers all the teaching methods available for application to the teaching of a particular subject – matters effectively in the classroom. Parts of these methods according to Olowoye (1996-45-50) are – demonstration, storytelling, lecture, seminar methods etc. These could be applied either singly or in combination depending on the subject being taught and the objective being sought. These five elements as described above are crucial in the development of a curriculum of any school.

Given the foregoing, a Yoruba curriculum could be designed based on the said principles. It is pertinent to examine the National Policy on Education for the purpose of guiding our thought in this section of the paper. The National Policy on Education (2004) unambiguously states the importance of indigenous language thus:

Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion, and preserving cultures. Thus every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment. Furthermore, in the interest of the national unity, it is expedient that every child shall be required to learn one the 3 Nigerian Languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

It is against this background that the issue of curriculum development of Yoruba language across all level of Education in Nigeria i.e pre-primary, Primary and secondary would be outlined as a guide for teaching and learning purpose. It is also pertinent to state the aims and objectives of teaching Yoruba language as one of prominent African languages in Nigerian Schools as presented by Awoniyi (1982;40-42) to include the following:-

1. To develop in teachers and pupils an appreciation of Yoruba language-as one of African languages.
2. To develop in teachers and pupils an appreciation of Yoruba literatures.
3. To help teachers and pupils know and understand Yoruba culture.
4. To help teachers and pupils acquire competence in all aspects of Yoruba language.
5. To make teachers and pupils aware of the importance of Yoruba language as tools for teaching and learning –The University of Ife now Obafemi Awolowo University experiment is a case in point. It was championed by late professor Babatunde Fafunwa (1989).
6. To teach teachers the skills and principles appropriate for teaching Yoruba language.
7. To help Nigerian governments at all level realize one of the important aims of basic education.

The following is an outline of potential comprehensive curriculum guidelines organized in order of importance as extracted from the operative syllabuses of the respective levels of education.

Pre-Primary school level - The aim of this level is to effect a smooth transition from the home to the School, preparing the child for primary education. The content of the curriculum include:-

Rudiment of numbers, letters, colours, shapes forms etc

Primary level – Here the child is enrolled at the age of 6 and stays in the School for the next 6 years. During this time the child is expected to acquire permanent literacy in both Yoruba and English among other objective. This level of education like the Pre-primary is manned by the State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) established in 1976. But as stated in the National policy on Education (NPE), Yoruba Language is supposed to be used as medium of instruction in the first two and three

years after which a switch is made to English as a –medium while Yoruba continues to be taught as a subject. The curriculum at this primary level e.g Primary I include:-

Content

- **Isorongbesi laarin akekoo** - Conversation/dialoguing among the pupil – with the aim of allowing the individual pupils to air his view point.
- **Onka 1-10** - counting numerals from 1-10 with the sole aim of making the pupils to be able to identify the figures accordingly.
- **Kika alifabeeti** – Reading the Yoruba alphabet – with the aim of making the students to be able to read and identifying them.

It should be noted however that at the end of the third year of primary education, the switch over to the use of English as a medium of instruction to the sixth year has been found to be untidy since most teachers used mixed languages eg. Yoruba/English in their teaching or revert to the use of Yoruba language even in the upper classes of primary School: This observation is also noted against the Pre-primary level. This probably led an observer according to Awoniyi (1982,44) to remark that:

“Language use in schools in all parts of Nigeria is extremely unstable in the sense that most children are taught unsystematically in both their mother tongue or a Nigerian Language of wider communication, and in English. Nigerian children typically complete their primary schooling without having attained a functional command of any language for vocational or further instructional purposes”.

Secondary level:- This is a 6 year programme broken into two-tier system of three year duration each. The Junior Secondary School will be both pre-vocation and academic while the Senior Secondary School has its curriculum as comprehensive enough as to be able to broaden pupil knowledge and outlook. Like in the primary sector, continuous assessment is conducted and given some weights in the evaluation of pupils performance and the award of certificates especially at the JSS level. The final SS leaving certificate is based on a national examinations presently conducted by West African Examination Council (WAEC) and National Examination Council (NECO). It should be noted that no secondary School in Nigeria uses any Nigerian language as a medium of instruction rather students are encouraged to study the languages (Yoruba inclusive) as subjects up to the School certificate or Higher School Certificate level.

The content of the curriculum guidelines have these items as identifiable under each sub-headings in the SS1 curriculum.

Ede – Aroko ninu ede Yoruba – Language-essay writing in Yoruba Language

Orisi Aroko – alariyanjiyan, aroko onileta, alapejuwe abbl. – Types of essays:- argumentative essay, letter writing, descriptive essay, etc.

Asa – Eya litireso alohun ede Yoruba – custom –Types of Yoruba oral poetry

Ede:- Iro faweli ede Yoruba - Language - Yoruba vowel sounds

Oriki - Praise names

Abuda fun sisapejuwe - features to describe the Yoruba vowel – sound
 iro faweli ede Yoruba.

Tertiary level :- Tertiary education for the purpose of this paper would be limited to Colleges of Education and Universities in Nigeria in which Yoruba Language among other courses are studied. Polytechnics would be excluded though some of them in some years past were running NCE Certificate courses which included Yoruba as a course. Example of this is the Polytechnic Ibadan. For now, such a programme has been scrapped nation-wide. The subject (Yoruba) is offered in the School of Language at NCE and in the Department of Nigerian languages and or linguistics, or the Department of Education in the University.

The content of the curriculum as designed by the respective bodies manning each of these tertiary education are as outlined briefly here.

NCE Programme	Degree Programme
200 level, Second Semester	100 level Second Semester
<p>YOR 221 – Grama Yoruba II (Yoruba Grama II)</p> <p>YOR 222 - Agbeyewo Ise-ona litireso ati Imo isowolede (Apprasal of literary theories and literary appreciation)</p> <p>YOR 223 – Itan Aroso Apileko Yoruba (Yoruba written Prose)</p> <p>YOR 224 – Isewadii ni Yoruba (Research method in Yoruba)</p> <p>YOR 225 – Eka ede Yoruba (Yoruba Dialectology)</p>	<p>YOR 121- Introduction to Development of Yoruba Drama</p> <p>YOR 122 – Introduction to Yoruba written prose</p> <p>YOR 123 – Introduction to Yoruba History and culture</p> <p>YOR 124 – Yoruba Grammar I</p>

Curriculum Evaluation

The effective evaluation of any working curriculum can be meaningfully made if only it is considered against the background of the functionality of a curriculum aims and objectives. It is expedient to stress that no language curriculum can contain everything that ought to be learnt and that a language is considered useful only when it is closely related to the practical needs, interest and habits of the pupils. All these observations lend credence to the fact that curriculum of a given subject would ever remain inadequate hence the need to evaluate it in order to make for the shortfall.

Towards rectifying the inadequacies five major procedures have been suggested by Bendict (1995, 10-11) quoting Tyler’s viz: performance analysis, task analysis, critical incident analysis, target population description analysis and analysis of the entire situation.

Curriculum innovation

This is an enrichment strategy for inadequate curriculum. In planning a curriculum, one must envisage the need for change at anytime since no curriculum is perfect for all time. The curriculum has to be flexible to accommodate desired innovations in all sections of the content be it grammar, Literature etc including the changes of units and statuses in case of tertiary level even the extension of content of the course to make them to be more productive and receptive. It is therefore considered expedient for constructors of curriculum and the implementors (i.e the teachers and students, the educationists) be prepared to anticipate and accommodate changes.

Pedagogic Principles

According to the Chambers English Dictionary, it refers to the science and principle of teaching. With this definition, it means, it embraces all that go with effective teaching and learning process which include all available methodologies and the use of support materials usually called the teaching aids. Some well-meaning scholars have identified a number of methods which according to Olowoye (1996, 45-60) include:- story method, textbook method, demonstration method, seminar, tutorial, project, play methods etc. Of the range of methods which the teacher can adopt, we must consider the learner and analyses students learning style, the instructional content and the environmental variables before determining the teaching method to use. The following teaching methods can be adopted singly or in combination to teach Yoruba language subjects:- Textbook teaching method, demonstration method, chalk and chalk method, story method, discussion method, contest method, development method, the object method, group method, peer teaching method, question and answer method among others may be considered for adoption at pre-primary to secondary levels of education while these may suite the tertiary level of education in teaching Yoruba language – seminar method, activity/laboratory method, lecture method, field trip method, texecture method tutorial method, lecture discussion method, audio-tutorial method, project method, group method etc. It must be stressed that continuity in the application of any teaching method (s) and the general atmosphere of the school are very important factors for success.

On the use of support materials variously called as teaching aid, instructional material or teaching manual is crucial to effective teaching and learning process. As earlier said, it has the advantage of liberating the teacher from the task of simply passing information to students based on theoretical approach.

Teaching aids according to Ofoegbu (1992, iii) is a means adopted by a teacher in achieving effective communication with his students as well as accounting of efforts and time during teaching and learning process. The application of teaching aids becomes expedient as a result of the observed difference in physical, mental and psychological disposition among a group of students interms of comprehension rate and of reaction thereby making the task of effective communication cumbersome. But with the application of teaching aids, the task becomes easier. It has been said that the only way to effect faster and more realistic instruction is to reduce to abstraction through the use of teaching aids.

Teaching aids include the familiar chalkboard, graphic materials, models, specimens, print materials, electronic gadget etc some of these instructional aids appeal to the sense of vision, and are referred to as visual aids. Examples of visual aids are still and silent motion pictures, charts and graphs, but if a teaching aid appeals to the sense of hearing only, it is called an audio aid e.g tape recorder, radio set and photography. There are some aids which enable the class to see and hear objects or hear comments about the objects simultaneously. These are called audiovisual (A. V) aids eg. Television. The application of teaching aids has some advantages credited to it. For instance, among others, it reduces the task of the teacher and helping to facilitate learning. It creates pleasant and stimulating atmosphere for learning.

TEACHING OF YORUBA LANGUAGE AT ALL LEVELS

Having gone through the curricular specimen (though in parts due to space constraint) this section shall attempt to give a classroom teaching situation of the subject (Yoruba) in paraphrase. In doing this, it should also be remembered the National Policy on Education as earlier mentioned in relation to the use of indigenous language. It is against this back drop that the pre-primary – to primary school level would be treated.

Pre-Primary

Teaching at this level though is supposed to be in Yoruba language proper but teachers adopt the use of mixed language of Yoruba and English which contravene the National Policy on Education. Let us consider a topic “awo” (colour).

The expectation at this level is for a teacher to adopt any of the earlier mentioned teaching methods considered relevant for the purpose of achieving his/her set objectives. To this end, the teacher may adopt the use of object method assisted with the use of teaching aids. At this level, reliance on verbal instruction would be tantamount to no teaching at all. What is desirable at this level is that ideas and object are better conceptualized when concrete materials are employed to illustrate. The substance here is that in teaching “colour yellow”. The pupils should be shown concrete representations of the ripe stage of these fruits in the forms of specimens, models and pictures e.g an orange. By so doing the teachers aims and objectives would have been achieved.

Primary School

Our topic here is “Ikini” (Greetings). It involves the use of combined methods of demonstration and question and answer methods. Adoption of these methods must be reinforced with the use of teaching aids inform of charts carrying the picture of people doing the greetings for different occasions e.g chieftaincy ceremony, childbirth, death, daily greetings etc. In this way, questions could be asked by the teacher while the students would provide answers to demonstrated greetings and consequently provides development of knowledge intended for the students.

Secondary School

The use of Yoruba as a language of instruction is not permitted at this level rather Yoruba is encouraged to be studied as a subject. In that regard, we may want to consider teaching and learning Yoruba Drama (Ere onise) as our topic of illustration.

Here, the use of about four teaching methods may apply e.g demonstration, question and answer, textbook teaching method and story methods. Drama is an aspect of Yoruba literatures with the other two being prose and poetry. It is a form of art in which the artist writes a play in prose or verse, adapted to be acted upon a stage, in which the story is related by means of dialogue and action, and is represented with accompanying gesture, costume, and scenery as in real life (Majasa 1995,185).

The teaching and learning of a dramatic work could follow the pattern outlined below having given the relevant portion to the student and previously for reading as homework.

The actual teaching and learning in class could then be as follows:-

- The teacher sets the stage by explaining the main development and introducing the characters in the scenes to be read in the lesson e.g “Rere run” (situations turn upside-down) by Okediji where Lawuwo is the main character.

- The teacher reads the first section along with appropriate voice changes to stimulate different characters and moods while the students follow in their own books.
- Significant developments in the plot are noted, while difficult expressions are explained and significant ones noted.
- Character study is encouraged by calling attention to what is revealed about each character.
- The teacher selects good readers to read the parts of the characters in the next scene or section of a scene, they read and act while the teacher and the other students follow in their books.
- Significant developments in the plot, difficult and significant expressions as well as character study are brought into focus.
- Other readers are appointed to read the next scene and this is repeated until the portion meant for the lesson is read.
- The students ask questions on any aspects of what has been read while he (the teacher) listens to their responses for necessary corrections. He further asks questions to review the lesson.
- The students may be given assignment relating to language use, culture etc as contained in the text.

By following the foregoing steps the aim of the lesson would have been achieved.

TERTIARY LEVEL

The tertiary level of education according to National Policy on Education (2004) section 58 page 30 for the purpose of this paper refers to the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) usually run by Colleges of Education and the Bachelor Degree Programmes conducted by Universities under the supervision of the National Commission for Colleges of Education (NCCE) and National University Commission (NUC) respectively. These respective two bodies ensure the quality control of the standard interms of operative curriculum at the various levels. Let me say that the NCE programmes run for three years and is tailored towards providing middle level manpower while the Barchalor Programmes stand for the ultimate and run for varied number of years but usually between 3 – 6 years depending on the content of the programme and the entry qualifications. For instance Yoruba language related programmes are run for 4 years. Let me also add that these level of education has its specialized counterparts designed for vocational studies aside the pure academic programmes of the former. For instance, we have Federal and State Universities of Technology across the country e.g _____ Ladoke Akintola University of Technology (LAUTECH) Ogbomoso owned by the Governments of Oyo and Osun, Federal University of of Technology Akure (FUTA) as well as Federal College of Education (Technical) Lagos. They both run Preliminary Programmes for the purpose of boosting the areas of economic needs of the state.

The Padagogic principles adopted at this level exhibits some degree of material correspondence in terms of adopted teaching methods. In most cases, teachers or lecturer at this level may adopt any of these teaching methods either singly or in combination. For instance, we would expect the adoption of activity/laboratory teaching method as well as demonstration method for the effective teaching and

learning in Yoruba phonology class at both levels of education. As earlier stated, the abridged Curriculum would be used to justify the teaching and learning process.

National Certificate in Education Level

Here, we intend to pick a course from the 200 level LI NCE Yoruba programme coded YOR 222 and titled “Agbeyewo Ise ona Litireso ati Imo-Isowolede” which literally means Appraisal of some literary works and their stylistic features or literary appreciation. By its design in the curriculum, it is a 2 unit compulsory course. The anticipated teaching methods suitable for the teaching and learning here would be a combination of lecture discussion method, Tutorial method, Question and answer method, Development method and Seminar method.

To that extent, the teaching and learning process may follow the pattern outlined below:-

- Lecturer gives the historical development of the use of literary devices.
- He teaches substantial numbers of these literary devices as they are numerous and inexhaustible e.g wordplay, (Iforosere) (Adape) euphemism, allusion (Iyan orofeere) antithesis (odi) etc
- He generates relevant passages for the student to read, analyse and report back on papers.
- He requests students to generate individual passages embracing some literary devices for presentation at seminar for criticisms.
- Teacher gives tutorial question as a means of gauging their level of understanding the concept.
- He prefers solutions to the observed areas of inadequacies.

Bachelor Degree level

The course of study here is YOR 123, a 100 level course titled “Introduction to Yoruba History and culture. “By its design, it is a 3 unit compulsory course. By the nature of this course, the relevant teaching methods expected of the course handler would be lecture discussion and tutorial teaching methods. The lecturer teaching may follow this outlined process.

- Lecturer teaches the origin of Yoruba history taking cognizance of the ethnic groups and issue of dialects.
- He teaches the Yoruba social processes such as-marriage, naming, child bearing and rearing, burials, taboos, traditional game etc.
- The lecturer teaches all of them to details with note taking if possible. Let us take the issue of “funerals” (Eto Isinku), as an example, the following points would deserve some attention in the teaching and learning process:-
- The announcement of death as it relates to individual and status in the society in terms of age and allied considerations.
- The preservation method as compared with its modern day preservation method. The placing of the big gridding stone (Olota) e.g on the chest of the deceased.
- The use of a chicken as “adie irana” as exemplified in this adage “Adie irana ki i seran ajegbe” heralding the carriage and arrival of deceased from his village to his home town.

- Modes of mourning:
 - (a) Full and ostentatious expression of grief expected, e.g by crying, groaning, rolling on the floor and abstaining from food and drink for some time depending on the closeness of the deceased; take for instance an husband to a wife.
 - (b) Relatives, friends and acquaintances gather round to console the bereaved.
 - (c) Long period of entertaining people with food, drinks and music when an important person or an elderly dies as these group of people continue to visit the bereaved.
- Variations in funeral rites according to the age, social status and circumstances surrounding the death e. g a swimmer, an elderly person etc.
- Modern day funeral rites occasioned by the influence of foreign religion and cultures.

CONCLUSION

With all said and done, this paper has observed some lapses in the teaching and learning process of indigenous language represented by Yoruba language in this case in Nigeria.

The paper would therefore make some suggestions which if taken to would address the lapses adequately. There is need for a well demonstrated sincere encouragement on the part of Government. This is possible through religious implementation of the National Policy on Education stipulating the use of an indigenous language for education instruction at least up to Senior Secondary School three. A good reference in point is the Ife experiment of (1989) spearheaded by late Professor Fafunwa in which the students scored 100% in their final year examinations. Allied to this is the need to discard with the use of a considered derogatory word 'Local' to describe the indigenous language. It is proper to call it "indigenous" rather than "local language". It is equally possible for the parents to encourage their wards to study it in schools as an area of calling just as it is done in places like china, India etc where they excel in the field of technology today through the study and use of their indigenous language in all areas of disciplines.

The issue of adequate funding is also crucial and central to the problem of effective teaching and learning. Here the need to the sincere adoption of the UNESCO (United Nation Educational and Scientific Organization) recommendation of 26% of the State annual budget to be expended on education is not negotiable as it would afford adequacy of all fundamental equipment for proper education. (Nigerian Education Directory, 5th Edition page 36-38).

Availability of textbooks is very important. This is traceable to the door steps of scholars in this area with the challenge of generating textbooks for use covering areas of sciences and Arts. It has been observed and said that instructions carried out in indigenous language sticks into the heads of pupils as fast as possible.

Production of teachers en masse is also very important. This is achievable through effective training and retraining programmes to make them meet the dynamic situation of the curriculum. Adequate remuneration of these teachers should not be toyed with as it forms a formidable motivation for the teachers. We are all witnesses to the financial motivation being given to teachers in Sango/Kataf today. Let it be noted that production of teachers en masse without provision for their employment is futile. To that extent, both Federal and State Governments should make it a

matter of necessity to ensure their employment and not leaving it to the hands of private people and schools where their welfare would suffer till eternity.

If all these aforementioned suggestions/strategies are put in place, it is hoped that teaching and learning of native language in education would not only be easier, accessible but accomplishable and productive

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TRIBES AS CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS: THE CASE OF IRAQ

Ahmed N. A. Hassin

Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation

Deakin University, Australia



Abstract

The socio-political discourse about civil society inclines to use Western models in conceptualising civil society both in Western and non-Western societies. Iraq is one of those countries where civil society is mostly discussed the formally organised type. This paper critiques the disengagement of literature and empirical studies with exploring social structures like tribe within the civil society arena. It contends that civil society organisations should be understood based on their functions rather than forms. This paper argues that studying civil society should be comprehensive by studying other non-Western theories like 14th century Ibn Khaldun's Muslim/Arab theories in its indigenous Arab and Muslim societies. On the premise of two factors: the Khaldunian asabiya or solidarity concept and the function of tribes in peace-building, policy formulation and democratisation, this paper uncovers how tribes in Iraq can be regarded civil society organisations.

Key words: *Civil society, Iraq, tribes, Ibn Khaldun, Asabiya, indigenous organisations, functions*

1. INTRODUCTION

After the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, civil society has become among the buzz words in the post-war rhetoric. However, the connotations of civil society were merely drawn from Western conceptions referring to formally organised types of institutions, like NGOs, unions and media. This paper argues that Muslim/Arab theories should also be tested in their original indigenous societies before generalisation of Western models. The Western conceptualisation overlooks the informal type of civil society organisations and excludes family and kinship ties from its equation. Indigenous social structures, i.e. tribes are key active player in the daily life of the Iraqi political, economic, social and cultural scenes. This study argues that the spirit of social solidarity drawn from Ibn Khaldun's "asabiya" concepts as well as functions of civil society organisations are the bases for examining tribes in Iraq. Tribes have played significant roles in conflict management, peace-building, reconciliation, policy-formulation, advocacy, active citizenship and democratisation since 2003. The article concludes that, based on their sense of solidarity that is the impetus to functions, tribes are among the active civil society organisations in Iraq.

The socio-political discourse about civil society inclines to use Western models in conceptualising civil society both in Western and non-Western societies. Iraq is one of those countries where scholars, donor governments and UN and international agencies have mostly discussed the formally organised manifestations. Studies conducted since the 2003 US-led invasion focus on traditional Western forms of civil society organisations such as: faith-based organisations, unions, women organisations and media (Dawisha, 2004, Hansen, 2008, Isakhan, 2009, Stanski, 2005), overlooking other indigenous existing forms.

since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1920's, civil society in Iraq takes two forms: One form is based on modern Western political and ideological theories; the other one is based upon the traditional religious and tribal solidarity that exist in the social structures (NCCI, 2011). However, time and again, occidental socio-political models have been applied in Iraq since World War I when the British colonising power's orientalist view "was the means by which a normative vision of Europe was used as a standard by which to judge the non-European world" (Dodge, 2003). This paper argues that studying civil society should be comprehensive by studying other non-Western theories like the 14th century Ibn Khaldun's Muslim/Arab theories. The Western concept might not be enough to understand a culture-specific context, such as Middle Eastern Arab societies which may follow traditional and modern tendencies (Mansouri, 1999). As contemporary Arab and Muslim scholars have applied Western theories in their societies, to be fair to knowledge, Ibn Khaldun's theories should, at least, be tested in his indigenous Arab and Muslim societies. Indeed, both Arab/Muslim and Western concepts of civil society should be studied and situated in their appropriate socio-political, economic and cultural contexts. Therefore, civil society in Iraq is not to be perceived as a merely bourgeois achievement of the post-industrialisation European society as its roots go beyond this to the first social groups in the Arab civilisations (Almdeni, 1997).

On the premise of two factors: the Khaldunian *asabiya* or solidarity concept and the function of civil society organisations, this paper will try to assess if tribes in Iraq can be regarded civil society organisations or not.

2. CONCEPTUALISING CIVIL SOCIETY:

The main entrance to discussing this paper topic is conceptualisation of civil society from different perspectives. Civil society needs to be looked at from a wider comprehensive angle. Rather than distinguishing it by spheres or sectors, as per the Western traditional notions, "civil society is best conceptualised in spatial terms as an arena" where different political, private, economic and social activities occur by self-organised groups (Hendriks, 2002). These groups can be families, associations, movements, and any types of institutions that exist outside the state apparatus which in certain communicative patterns work to balance the state power. This definition of civil society is broader than non-government institutions, the western concept, and more applicable to various socio-political contexts. It includes both formal institutions (unions, NGO, media) as well as non-formal groups (tribe and subunits, family, guild and community groups).

In most Western literature, the rhetoric tends to institutionalising civil society according to certain Western models and standards that emphasise the form rather than the function of civil society organisations. Keane (2009) argues that the contemporary meaning of civil society "both describes and anticipates a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected nongovernmental institutions that tend to be nonviolent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that 'frame,'" But, this contemporary discourse, according to Pouligny (2005), seems both to have forgotten the various historical concepts of civil society and to "have become rigid in its use outside of the original Western context". She argues that this has created some consequences for our current practices: narrowing the range of organisational modalities, and conveying "the idea of a clear distinction between what is political and what is not"(Pouligny, 2005).

It is salient that the meaning of civil society has been conceptualised by contemporary literature according to occidental theories. The contemporary model is drawn from the writings of scholars like Hegel, Weber, Habermas and Putnam. Yet, this continuum does not seem to have a consistency or

consensus on the form or position of civil society. While Hegel, for example, places civil society between the state and family, Weber finds civil society a “plurastically” organised and a “sociocultural context that can foster robust public citizenship” (Kim, 2002). Thereupon, the contemporary rhetoric considers social life in modern societies consisting of three sectors: the state (legal instrument), the symbolic instruments which shape and recognise civil society (Jeffrey, 2007), and the economy (Arko-cobbah, 2006). Within this framework, civil society has been described of being the third sector or the non-profit sector. Scholars (Earle, 2005, Morris, 2000, Salam, 2002) have referred to the key characteristics of “the structural-operational definition” of the third sector of being:

1. Organised: institutionalised to some degree in terms of form or system of operation;
2. Private: non-governmental;
3. Non-profit: not returning any profits generated to their directors;
4. Self-governing: equipped with their own internal governance apparatus; and
5. Voluntary: involving some degree of voluntary participation in the operation or management of the organisation's affairs.

An extended version of the contemporary Western model is based on Habermas' public sphere theory. Habermas' contemporary debate describes civil society as a network of voluntary religious, social and economic movements and organisations which institutionalise problem-solving arguments on issues of public interest inside the framework of public spectrum (Seethi, 2007). According to this concept, civil society is narrowly represented by non-government organisations, women organisations, trade unions and associations, community groups and advocacy groups.

The Western concepts of civil society are critiqued in at least four ways. First, the inequalities in public voices are overlooking the oppressed and marginalised people of being important elements of the civil society (Arko-cobbah, 2006, Buttigieg, 2005). Second, this conception of civil society is viewed as being a neo-liberal model which ignores the “informal organizations” of being the classical concept of civil society (Khsheim, 2006). The neoliberal concept of civil society views it as a realm of organisations fulfilling a social welfare role in place of a weak or incapable state (Jeffrey, 2007). Third, the fine lines of the blurry boundaries amongst the spheres problematise the exclusivity of civil society from the family and economy (Hendriks, 2002). It assumes civil society to be a separate sphere that is independent from the state, economy and family. In practice, the boundaries between the spheres are not clear; although in theory, the institutional forms of this arena are distinct from those of the state, family and market (Mustafa, 2005). Forth, it superimposes a universalistic approach to understanding civil society while conclusions drawn from this approach may not be universal (Morris, 2000). Therefore, local socio-political, economic and cultural contexts should be studied prior to applying a certain model of civil society.

The historical heritage of social traditions and norms cannot be ignored or changed overnight. In our case, the blood, tribal, religious and communal ties are powerful relationships that tie people together in Iraq. Alnaqeeb (1985) has noted four main categories of the Iraqi individual's affiliation and affinity that can be referred to: tribe, religion or sect, profession and place (village, community or town). It is, therefore, significant to note that “Tribal values remain deeply ingrained in Iraqi society and have had a profound influence on Iraqi social mores and political culture... These values include the high premium put on ingroup solidarity (‘asabiyya), which finds expression in loyalty to the family, clan, and tribe, coupled with a powerful desire to preserve the autonomy of the tribe vis-à-vis other tribes, non-tribal groups, and the authorities” (Eisenstadt, 2008).

3. APPLYING IBN KHALDUN'S CLASSIC THEORY IN A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

... most students of Ibn Khaldun have not been interested in building upon his ideas, combining them with concepts derived from modern sociology and applying theoretical frameworks derived from his thought to historical and empirical realities (Alatas, 2006).

Ibn Khaldun is the pioneer Arab scholar who wrote about politics, basis of sociology and the independence of the society from state (Almaadhidi et al., 1977, Sbeihi, 2008) and the first clear use of the term *al-mujtamaa al-madani*, i.e. civil society. Although his views of the relation between society and state were written in the fourteenth century, his theories were modern enough to be valid even in the twenty first century as he did not follow the classical logic of understanding politics and society (Alwardi, 2009a). His famous idea of the push and pull between the dynasty and state explains how a state exists only if it is held together and ruled by individuals and the group which they constitute (Alwardi, 2009a, Arnason and Stauth, 2004). Ibn Khaldun also discussed the concept of social complexity and the necessity of social solidarity *asabiya* in Muslim societies (Arnason and Stauth, 2004, Kamali, 2001).

Asabiya in its broad meaning introduced by Ibn Khaldun is described as “an energy that includes several different significant psycho-political and social qualities, such as solidarity, cohesion, trust, self-esteem, belonging, power, legitimacy, nobility, courage and fortitude, freedom and praiseworthy qualities” (Kayapinar, 2008). Ibn Khaldun turns *asabiya* into a technical and de-contextualised term and “presents it as the basic political parameter, which is thought to be applicable to all cases of collective political action in various forms and scales” (Kayapinar, 2008). As Kamali (2001) has highlighted, Ibn Khaldun's concept of social solidarity of the Muslim community was institutionalised in civil society practices.

Although *asabiya* has its origins in biological ties, it should be understood as a socio-psychological consequence of affiliation which provides a sense of functional, rather than genetic, belonging. One key aspect of how *asabiya* is created in any socio-political context is the close contact of social groups during difficult conditions. In the aftermath of those conditions, *asabiya* can then cause those groups to act collectively for a common goal (Kayapinar, 2008). The highest level of solidarity a group has the more powerful and effective it will be to achieve its goals Kayapinar notes. Only a society with strong group solidarity could establish the feeling of *ghalaba* domination or superiority over one with a weak *asabiya* (Alatas, 2006, Salman, 2001, Tétreault, 2000) and become a power. A clear sign of the validity of applying Ibn Khaldun's theory in contemporary contexts is civil society relationship and interactions with the state. Tétreault (2000) refers to Salame's notion how Ibn Khaldun sees the strength of state coming from the capabilities of the state on one hand and, more importantly, the recognition of those capabilities by civil society, on the other.

Western theories of civil society have, no doubt, proved to be viable in Western and non-Western contexts to a certain extent. However, Ibn Khaldun's theory is arguably more comprehensive and more realistic in non-Western contexts. Western theories have excluded the family from civil society and treated it as a separate sphere which resulted in ignoring social structures and functions existing in Western and non-Western societies. Moreover, in Western theories, civil society emerged in calls against the religion rule of the state. It has also excluded economy from the civil society equation and is considered another power in the political arena (state, market and civil society). Unlike the Western concept, the two powerful groups of civil society are: scholars “ulama” and merchants (economy). According to Ibn Khaldun's views, the autonomous religious scholars and leaders and other scholars were forming a powerful body in civil society and their influence was moral because their legitimacy was grounded in civil society not in formal state institutions “and therefore beyond the coercive power

of the state” (Moussalli, 1995). Groups of scholars of religion and other discipline as well as judges, which are referred to as “ulama”, were leading the civil society in various forms: educating people, philanthropic work, lobbying the state for a common good and confronting the state when the ruler does not conform to the Islamic teachings to ensure the freedoms and rights of the people (Almdeni, 1997, Isakhan, 2007, Mansouri, 1999, Salam, 2002, Salman, 2001, Sbeihi, 2008).

4. APPROACH TO TRIBES AS CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

In order to respond to the question of this paper whether tribes are civil society organisations or not, the approach to examine the hypothesis will apply two factors: *asabiya* concept of Ibn Khaldun as a theoretical approach; and explore civil society organisations based on functions in Iraq since the 2003 war.

4.1 *Asabiya*

Tribalism and tribe has been debated by Arab and Western theorists and practitioners whether considering the tribe as a civil society organisation or not. Some Western and Arab scholars think that tribalism is still a risk threatening structural reforms and the development of a credible rule of law system (Piggott, 2005, Rubin, 2006). Samad (2005) sees social and political structures that are built upon tribal relations cannot be deemed among civil society organisations. Tribes are also described to be primitive societies which conserve their traditions and do not develop (Alnajjar, 2010). Authority in such societies, according to Alnajjar, is dedicated to the interest of a certain social structure. He suggests that the strong family and tribal relationships in the Arab countries pose a threat on developing civil society. On the other hand, tribes, as civil society organisations, have legitimate theoretical roots in the Muslim and Arab history, societies and cultures. Nowadays, many Arab, Western and other researchers see tribes in the Arab societies as active and original indigenous civil society organisation (Azkia and Firouzabadi, 2006, Wilson iii, 2006). Historically, Rishmawi and Morris (2007) point to the roots of civil society can be found in the form of informally organised tribal precepts of collective responsibility. Empirical works note the cultural and social characteristics, values, norms, and tribal traditions of Arab societies play a significant role in ensuring group solidarity and result in practical socio-political and economic functions (Azkia and Firouzabadi, 2006).

However, Alheis (2011) finds *asabiya* or solidarity a “cultural resistance to the notion of citizenship”. Just like many Arab scholars, Alheis discusses the tribe vis-à-vis civil society from a Western perspective. He claims that tribal loyalty and solidarity are conflicting with basic requirements of civic activism and civil society, which are: voluntarism and individualism. By this, he echoes the same Western structural notions of civil society originations rather than the function when he alleges that tribal collectivity is a considerable threat to civic national identity. In contrast, Dodge (2003) rejects the simplistic approach to studying complex tribal systems and finds that solidarity and collective nature of tribes as valid understanding of tribal member engagement internally and externally. He states that “internal life of the tribe exemplified respect and cooperation while external world was Hobbesian” (Dodge, 2003). Alexander (1997) notes that civil society should be understood as “a realm of solidarity, a ‘we-ness’ that simultaneously affirms the sanctity of the individual and these individuals’ obligations to the collectivity”. There is an argument that, in Islamic values, the roots of civil society can be found in the form of philanthropic informal un-organised tribal precepts of collective responsibility (Rishmawi and Morris, 2007). Unlike the Western liberal individualistic views (based on the Hegelian school), civil society in the Muslim/Arab culture is more about the commitment and the solidarity spirit of the individuals towards the common good for their communities.

Loyalty to the tribe is a very traditional practice by its members and they are very proud to show their identity and nationalism in the sense of tribalism (Al Oudat and Alshboul, 2010, Sbeihi, 2008). Alwardi (2009b) has provided a historical foundation for this sense of citizenry in contemporary life. He highlights that due to the state oppression during the Ottoman Empire rule of the Middle East, the individuals found the tribe as the safe haven from the state repression, unfair tax collection systems and refuge from external threats. They represented a non-state institutional governance system. Karajah (2007) concurs that this situation has continued during the twentieth century when tribes have been counter-balancing the state's coercive force and became the sole protector of individuals. Apart from their socio-economic roles of service provision, tribes provide the sense of belonging and active citizenship as Wilson (2006) remarkably notes that "Tribes provide the 'ties that bind' historically in Iraq". In another dimension of the state-civil society relation, Khalid Al Saadun, an Iraqi academic and representative of al-Muntafiq Tribal Confederation Bloc in the 2005 Parliamentary elections, has given a very clear picture of the Iraqi tribes as opposed to the state. He says:

From my long time studies of the tribal situation, there is always a relationship between the state and power. If the power of the central state declined for any reason, the tribe progresses to take the state's place due to the necessity. Truly, the tribes stepped forward since 1990 to fill the gaps created by the absence of the state. People had to turn to an alternative active power that; that is the tribal institution (Aljazeera, 2005).

4.2 Function

As well as its meaning, the role of civil society is a contested idea. It is interesting to note that civil society organisations change roles over time (Lister and Nyamugasira, 2003). In certain societies, tribalism can be an active and powerful player in political agendas, policy change and pressure on decision makers (Al Oudat and Alshboul, 2010). Generally speaking, civil society is sought as a necessary tool to balance state's power and "control over country's major political, economic and social decisions" to ensure that both civil society and state become partners, not opponents (Mansouri, 1999). However, in line with the argument of this paper, this section will focus on some of civil society roles related to discussing this subject matter as a second component of the approach followed by this study. These roles will be used as a method to examine whether tribes in Iraq function as expected by theory similar to formally organised civil society organisations or not. This will be done by extracting secondary data from refereed academic journal articles, Arabic media reports, statements by state officials and tribal leaders and official state websites.

5. ROLES OF CIVIL SOCIETY

5.1 Conflict management and Peace-building

According to theory, civil society has increasingly become a visible and influential force in discourses, initiatives and programmes that foster peace and security (Ekiyor, 2008, Maragia, 2002). In order to avoid any side-lining of constituents in post-conflict peace-building processes, civil society organisations with deep ties with local communities, in particular, can play a crucial role in peace-building through mobilising resources, advocacy and awareness-raising, public participation and monitoring (Wyeth, 2006). Civil society has an important supportive role in reducing violence, in peace-building and for paving the way for building a sustainable peace, specifically in countries emerging from armed conflicts and the collapse of totalitarian regimes (Paffenholz, 2006).

After the invasion of Iraq and the toppling of the regime in 2003, Al-Qaida, insurgency, militia, foreign supported militants and local military resistance started to emerge and proliferate. Just like their colonial predecessor, the occupying powers led by the US turned to the tribes for peace restoration. By 2004, the US realised the importance of the local structures and embarked on a new venture of building relationships with tribes for restoring and enhancing peace and stability (Wilson iii, 2006). The peak of violence in Iraq started in 2005 with bombing of the Al Askari Shrine in Samarra. Since then, all the militant factions escalated their operations that caused sectarian tensions and deepened the dysfunctionality of the state. Khalid Al Saadun notes “When there is power vacuum, there should be incumbent filler. If you look at the Iraqi real context, you will find the tribe plays big roles in security, arbitration and tribal laws, problem solving or even the highest level of social inter-dependence” (Aljazeera, 2005). The importance of tribes for the leading occupying state that is responsible for Iraq’s peace and security is shown by a meeting between President Bush and Abdul-Sattar Abu Risha, a key US tribal leader ally, in September 2007 (Tran and agencies, 2007). Interestingly, Eisenstadt (2008) admits that sustainable peace and stability could not have been achieved without the engagement of tribes. “If coalition forces eventually achieve some degree of success in stabilizing Iraq, it will be in large part because they succeeded in engaging the civilian population and leveraging Iraq's tribes and tribal networks” (Eisenstadt, 2008).

The Iraqi fragile government has also integrated tribes in its peace and stability project and considered them key components to achieve national reconciliation. The London-based Asharq Al-awsat (Middle East) Newspaper (2009) reported that, during his presence at the general congress of Shammar tribal confederation in Iraq, the Iraqi Prime Minister Noori Al Maliki said that national reconciliation is a national responsibility that tribes, parties and civil society organisations have adopted. According to Al Maliki, tribes functioned during facing sectarianism and violence and the attempts to shatter Iraq’s land and its social fabric (Asharq Al-awsat, 2009).

Local governments have also emphasised the experienced roles of tribes in social security and discipline in their governorates. In a meeting with tribal leaders and members in Madain (south of Baghdad), First deputy of Baghdad Governor stressed the value of tribal roles in peace and stability restoration (Baghdad, 2011). Governor of Al-Dewania, in southern Iraq, has stressed the significant role of the tribes in achieving discipline as an element of the social frame (Al-Dewania, 2012). Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Manthoor, Chief Sheikh of the Ifeg Tribe emphasises that tribes will always be the safety valve for the Iraqi people and enforcing the national unity (Al-Dewania, 2012). In another governorate, the Governor of Wassit visited the Amir (Chief) of Zubaid Tribal Confederation and emphasised that Iraqi tribes have a big role in contributing to building Iraq, defending it and ensuring the unity of its social fabric (Wasit, 2012). “We all have a big responsibility in thwarting all deviations and risks threatening Iraq’s national unity”, the Governor adds (Wasit, 2012).

To sum up the concept of defence in tribal values Sheikh Jumaa Al-Dawar, Sheikh of Bakara tribes in Iraq said: “Tribes are a social system founded on traditions and the principles of right, justice, respect, appreciation, defence of family and property... and on the top of these principles is the defending the home land”(Aljazeera, 2007).

Sheikh Ali Al-Hatem, Chief of the Confederation of Dulaim tribes in Iraq says: “Tribes should play a role in the next stage. As tribes have proved to be capable of peace restoration, they can play political and economic roles in Iraq” (Alarabiya, 2009). Noori Al Maliki has also called for a role by the Iraqi tribes in countering corruption similar to their role in resisting the militants and Al Qaeda in Iraq (Asharq Al-awsat, 2009). During his meeting with tribal leaders, he called upon tribes to play their roles in

accountability and cooperate with the government in the efforts of fighting corruption just like they cooperated in fighting terrorists (Alsumaria, 2008).

5.2 Policy-formulation and governance

Theoretically speaking, civil society complements the role played by the state in influencing public policy-formulation and implementation through various formal and informal channels, including lobbying (Arko-cobbah, 2006, Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010). Civil society involvement in policy-making helps reaching good governance, holding government for account, consultative processes and legitimate and acceptable decision (Castro, 2009, Peels and Develtere, 2009). In the view of traditional philosophers, civil society is considered a medium of interaction between the state and society or individuals that enhances citizen participation in public affairs and encourages greater sense of accountability as well as pluralism (Wiarda, 2009). Civil society organisations seek empowerment for themselves and society through effective citizenry “to enable them to check the excesses of state functionaries and hold them politically accountable” (Arko-cobbah, 2006). It is sought to be engaged in building voice and advocating for accountability and promotion and the protection of a system of rights and obligations (Lister and Nyamugasira, 2003, Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010).

Evidence has shown that tribes have been active advocates and lobbyists in policy-formulation since 2003. Tribes have called for activation of the “National Council of Tribes” to be a legally recognised advisory and accountability entity in parallel to the Parliament. This council is sought to be similar to House of Lords in other countries. It is expected to play roles in deepening the sense of reconciliation and non-sectarianism in addition to ensuring accountability. The tribes peacefully and civically lobbied the state for a greater active political role and legal recognition of tribal existence and roles in the governance system. Sheikh Abbas Bayat Mahmood Al-Ubaidi, Spokesman of the General Congress of the Iraqi Tribes highlighted that the major resolution of the General Congress of Tribes in Iraq was the call upon the three Supremes (Republic Presidency, Parliament and Prime Ministry) for the legislation of the National Council of Tribes (Alarabiya, 2009). He added “We will continue our congress and will carry on our pressure, dialogue, open all doors for dialogue and communications with all political elements as well as the three Supremes in order to pass the legislation of this council” (Alarabiya, 2009). “We want to play our roles of monitoring accountability, advice provision, reformation, being the common factor among all national directions and provide the advice to the state on all important decisions” he said (Alarabiya, 2009). Another tribal leader, Sheikh Abbood Waheed Al-Isawi emphasised the Constitution has clearly stipulated the duty of the state is to care for the tribes and this duty has become a national responsibility of the government (Alarabiya, 2009). “Just like the state is responsible for taking care of any congress of civil society organisations: unions, associations ...” it has the same national responsibility before this Congress (Alarabiya, 2009).

The successful result of that pressure was the bill that is discussed in the parliament. Hussein Al-Shaalan MP, Head of the Tribes Committee in the Iraqi Parliament said: “We are meeting today for listening and discussing a bill that regulates the Councils of Iraqi Tribal Confederations and Tribes that is proposed by the Tribal Committee in the Parliament” (Altai, 2011). The Iraqi Parliament has witnessed active discussions and lobbying activities about this bill. The tribes were following every possible civil lobbying ways that are used by their peer civil society organisations in Iraq or even the West. In collaboration with the civil society media centre at the Parliament, the Parliamentarian Tribes Committee held a seminar about the Bill of the Council of Iraqi Tribes (The Iraqi Council of Representatives, 2011). Those discussions involved the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Parliament), his first deputy, MP’s and tribal leaders. Moreover, the first deputy of the head Parliament, Qusay al-Suhail holds the “new law should go beyond the advisory dimension of the tribe and should

recognise a supportive role to the executive and legislature” (Altai, 2011). It is obvious that the tribal congress advocacy is a powerful campaign that is shifting governance paradigm in Iraq and pressing the state and legislature towards a legal recognition of the existence and role of tribes.

5.3 Democratisation

Another role civil society organisations are supposed to play is facilitating the transition and consolidation of democracy. Many scholars have discussed the importance of a vibrant civil society to initiate democratisation processes and sustain democracy in post-conflict environments (Carrión, 2001, Sánchez-Salgado, 2007, Hendriks, 2002). The creation and maintenance of successfully politicised and vibrant civil society organisations represents a central role for the healthy functioning political society (Kingsbury, 2007) and promises “the rebuilding of both political activism and civic virtue” (Chandhoke, 2007).

Just like any institutions, tribes have their own governance structures. Interestingly, some orientalist, according to Alwardi (2009b), have described tribalism to be “too democratic”. He gave examples from an orientalist’s personal experiences with the tribes in the area. Likewise, Dodge (Dodge, 2003) has clearly stated that when the British occupied Iraq and started to understand the social, political and cultural structures, they found tribes “as a democratic system of equality: leaders were naturally selected on the basis of strength and character”. Later on, due to the noted socio-political and economic changes in the post-modern Iraq, the relationship between the tribal leader “sheikh” and tribesmen is interactive and constrained by the consent of popular opinion unlike the traditional relationship of imposing orders (Eisenstadt, 2008). Faisal Humedi Ajeel Alyawar, the spokesman of Shammar Confederation of Tribes explains “Some people think that we have no democracy; we do have democracy. The sheikh does not make an autocratic decision about anything. He should consult experienced and knowledgeable people” (Aljazeera, 2003). These origins of democratic values are reflected on the contemporary rhetoric and practice of tribes and their leaders in post-2003 Iraq. Dr Mohamed Al-Mashhadani, academic; Secretary General of Union of Arab Historian argues “Being part of this society, tribal members will certainly have a role in the process of democracy as individuals or groups through tribes. I do not think there will be any contradiction between the tribe as a standing social structure and mother nation and country which embraces these smaller entities” (Aljazeera, 2003).

It is interesting to find that democracy, multiplicity, multi-party system and other similar terms are among the lexicon that is frequently used by tribal leaders in Iraq nowadays. For example, Faisal Alyawar of Shammar accentuates “Certainly, we are with the multiplicity of parties which leads to democracy” (Aljazeera, 2003). He rejects any claims that tribes force their members to certain political allegiances or favouring a certain party during election processes. He states that democracy is a cycle that starts with the choice of the right person; the choice comes from individuals; those individuals could be members of tribes or any other social structures (Aljazeera, 2003). Similarly, Sheikh Ali Dhari Al-Fayadh, Spokesman of Head of Albu Amer Tribes expresses that members of one Iraqi family have different opinions and directions which is reflected on the tribal inter-relationships. “The tribes maintain their system, structure and form; meanwhile, they are the spectrum for individuals to choose their ideological and intellectual fields. This is pretty much similar to free selection of individual professional or scientific fields as you see the physician, engineer, officer ... etc.” (Aljazeera, 2003). Sheikh Abbas Bayat Mahmood Al-Ubaidi, Spokesman of the General Congress of the Iraqi Tribes, also highlights that “the Congress is independent from parties and political allegiances...; however, we encourage sons of the tribes as well as all the Iraqi people to participate. We advise all people that they should participate in elections massively” (Alarabiya, 2009).

The state has clearly recognised these important roles of tribes in democratisation. During his meeting with Anbar Governorate Tribal delegation, President Talabani has stressed his appreciation and pride of the “tribe roles and the cooperation of the tribes with their brothers all over Iraq to advance the political process and substantiation of the achievements” (Alfayhaa, 2011). One other sign of democratic practices is demonstrations. Tribes have proved to follow the same practices that civil society organisations do. Many tribes have organised and participated in many demonstrations across the country (AlDulaimi, 2011). They were either calling for better performance of the government, departure of the occupying forces or even support and solidarity with the Arab Spring revolutions.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper argues the non-universality of a certain model of civil society across the nations and societies. Similar to other political concepts civil society has no standardised meaning; it rather depends on the specific context. In addition to Western theory about roles and functions of civil society, Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *asabiya* or social solidarity provide the theoretical platforms for scrutinising the roles civil society have played in Iraq since 2003. Ibn Khaldun’s theory fills the gaps found in the Western hegemony in the civil society rhetoric. A comprehensive view of the socio-political and economic scene, civil society is understood as any formal and informal institutions that exist outside the state apparatus. By including the informal type of civil society organisations, this study engages both Muslim/Arab and Western theories in exploring the functions of informally organised indigenous social structures: tribes. The basic notion of civil society role is to balance state power and protect citizens from coercive use of power by the state. Accordingly, the function of tribe in balancing state power, in comparison to other civil society organisations, cannot be overlooked. It is noted that the role tribes played since the collapse of the regime in 2003 included, but was not limited to, peace restoration and post-conflict ethno-sectarian reconciliation in addition to practicing tribal “laws” during the absence and weakness of the state (Carroll, 2011). Accordingly, based on their functions, tribes are civil society organisations that can play other roles that will need to be explored further in empirical studies. “Any and all efforts to reconstruct Iraqi socio-political life toward a more representative, free-market based democratic construct must take this tribal history and tribal landscape into account” (Wilson iii, 2006).

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**POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING
IN ROMANIAN AND GERMAN SCRAMBLING
- WITH A FOCUS ON INDEFINITE DIRECT OBJECTS-**

Alina M. Tigău

University of Bucharest, Romania

Abstract

*This paper focuses on some points of similarity between German DPs which scramble out of the VP to the left of adverbs such as 'neulich' which are said to mark the edge of the vP and differentially object marked indefinite direct objects in Romanian, which are also shown to target a position situated at the vP edge. Besides this point of similarity with respect to the position occupied, these DPs are also shown to pattern alike with respect to the interpretation they acquire. Thus, both scrambled DPs in German and their differentially object marked counterparts in Romanian are engendered with a 'specific' meaning, where specificity is to be understood in line with Enç (1991)'s notion of 'covert partitivity'. This specific reading is arrived at in Romanian by means of the contribution of *pe*-marking coupled with that of the Clitic Doubling phenomenon.*

Key words: *Scrambling, Differential object marking, specificity, covert partitivity, indefinites*

1. INTRODUCTION

A commonly held view in the literature on Scrambling and Clitic Doubling is that both constructions are sensitive to specificity (see Abraham 1994, 1995, Adger 1993, Diesing 1992, de Hoop 1992, Meinunger 1996, Runner 1993, Delfitto & Corver 1995 among others). For this reason, Sportiche (1992) proposes to unify the two, an approach which has become quite standard in the relevant literature ever since (see Mahajan 1991 and Anagnostopoulou 1994 among others.)

In this paper we would like to provide further arguments substantiating the claim that clitic doubling (CD) is the counterpart of Germanic scrambling (in line with Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997 for Greek and Lopez 2012 for Spanish). Thus, we will show that German indefinites which scramble to the left of adverbs such as *neulich* pattern with Romanian indefinites which are marked by means of *pe* and clitic doubled in that the position which these Romanian indefinites trigger is also shown to be outside the VP, at the edge of vP. Furthermore, just like their scrambled counterparts in German, Romanian differentially marked indefinites acquire a *strong/specific* interpretation in the sense of covert partitivity (Enç 1991).

In line with Tigău (2010) CD & Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) are considered as part of Differential Object Marking.

This paper consists of six sections: section two presents the situation of scrambling in German focusing on possible landing sites for the scrambled DPs and on the interpretation these DPs acquire, section three presents the Romanian data i.e., the make-up of the phenomenon known as Differential Object Marking

and the semantic contribution of each of its components. Section four provides discusses the similarities between German scrambling and Romanian Differential Object Marking. We present the conclusions of this paper in section five.

2. SCRAMBLING IN GERMAN: POSSIBLE LANDING SITES

2.1. *The canonical word order in the mittelfeld*

In German, any relative order¹ of NPs in the mittelfeld is possible, with (1) representing the unmarked serialization that is commonly argued to be the underlying base order:

(1) ... dass der Psychologe dem Linguisten den Wagen geliehen hat (S-IO-DO-V)

Dass Hans dem Schüler das Buch gegeben hat.

Thus, Lenerz (1977) argues that the indirect object precedes the direct object in the default or unmarked order. His view is supported by Webelhuth (1985:207) who argues in favour of the unmarked S-IO-DO-V order i.e., the word order the native speaker accepts as most natural in a context where none of the referents of the NPs involved are known to the hearer or where all these referents are equally well known.

Furthermore, Buring (2000) supports the idea that the DatO > AccO word order is the base-generated VP internal order of the two objects in the German TOC.² He also proves that the derived order AccO > DatO is the result of a syntactic movement operation (scrambling).

2.2. *The position occupied by scrambled DPs*

Diesing (1992) claims that scrambled DPs are located outside the VP (p. 145). The landmarks that Diesing uses as VP boundaries are adjuncts such as *immer* 'always', *gestern* 'yesterday' and *ja doch* 'indeed'. She assumes that these adjuncts stand at the left border of the VP: granting this assumption, it is clear that any object to the left of these adjuncts must have scrambled:

(2) a.... dass Otto immer Bücher über Wombats liest.

That Otto always books over wombats reads

'...that Otto always reads books about wombats' (Diesing 1992:107)

b. dass Otto Bücher über Wombats immer liest.

That Otto books over wombats always reads

¹ As pointed out by linguists such as Lenerz (1977), Müller (1998), Uszkoreit (1987), among others, the acceptability of a particular word order is determined by various factors, including animacy, specificity, definiteness and focus.

²Various other linguists argue for the DatO > AccO word order as being the base-generated one: Buring (1996), Choi (1999), Vikner (1991), Webelhuth (1989).

‘...that Otto always reads books about wombats’ (Diesing 1992:108)

Thus, in (a), the object is to the right of the adverb *immer* ‘always’. According to Diesing, the only possible reading for the object is the existential one: according to this reading, the adverb *always* binds a variable for times, with the result that Otto spends most of his time reading books about wombats.

In (b) the object is to the left of the adjunct. In this position, the only natural reading for the indefinite is a strong one, bound by the adverb. In this reading, it is generally the case that if Otto finds a book about wombats, he will read it.

Nevertheless, Diesing’s data have been criticised by de Hoop (1996) and Frey (2001), among others, who argue that an indefinite to the right of *immer* or similar adverbs like *ja doch* can have a strong reading:

(3) ... weil Otto ja doch Fußballübertragungen anschaut.

Because Otto PRT PRT soccer.broadcasts watches

‘Generally speaking, if there is a soccer game on TV, Otto watches it’ (Frey 2001:138)

Thus Frey argues that it is possible to have a generic reading for the object in () above and proposes that this ambiguity stems from the fact that the object DP to the right of *immer* may actually occupy two positions: one corresponding to the existential reading and the other to the specific (generic) reading.

In order to pinpoint the actual position of the direct object (DO), Frey undertakes a more detailed analysis of object positions in German using a broader range of adverbs than Diesing did. By so doing, he identifies a class of adverbs (manner, instrumental and locative) that are merged in a position lower than *immer*, *ja doch* or *gerade*. An indefinite that has been scrambled to the left of a low adverb can have a weak (existential) or a strong (generic) reading. However, if the object stays to the right of the low adverb, only the existential reading is possible:

(4) a. Heute hat Otto Kolleginnen zärtlich umarmt.

Today has Otto colleagues tenderly embraced

b. Heute hat Otto zärtlich Kolleginnen umarmt.

Today has Otto tenderly colleagues embraced

(Frey 2001: 141)

The same possibility regarding strong and weak readings obtains if the DO is scrambled over the indirect object (IO). If the DO is not scrambled over the IO, it can only have the existential reading:

(5) a. ...weil ein Kollege Pressemitteilungen einer Kollegin t vorliest

Because a colleague.M press.statements.ACC a.DAT colleague.F reads
'because a male colleague reads press statements to a female colleague.'

b. ...weil ein Kollege einer Kollegin Pressemitteilungen vorliest

Because a colleague.M a.DAT colleague.F press.statements.ACC reads
'because a male colleague reads press statements to a female colleague.'

(Frey 2001: 142)

Consider next the examples below which contain two adverbs and where *gründlich* 'thoroughly' is attached to VP while *neulich* 'recently' is attached to vP. In (b) *Akten* 'documents' may have both a generic reading and an existential reading while in (a), only the existential reading is possible. This example pinpoints the ambiguous position as being the one between the two adverbs. On the other hand, the position to the left of *neulich* is a position where only strong readings are possible whereas the position to the right of *gründlich* only hosts nominals for which only weak readings are possible:

(6) a. Der Kanzler hat neulich gründlich Akten studiert

The chancellor has recently thoroughly documents studied
'The chancellor has recently studied documents thoroughly.'

b. Der Kanzler hat neulich Akten gründlich studiert.

The chancellor has recently documents thoroughly studied

(Frey 2001:146)

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that strong quantifiers cannot be found to the right of *gründlich*: thus, strong quantifiers such as *diese Akten* or *jede Akte* may not occupy the (low) position to the right of *gründlich*.

(7) a. ?? Der Kanzler hat heute gründlich diese Akten studiert.

The chancellor has today thoroughly these documents studied.

b. * Der kanzler hat heute gründlich jede Akte studiert.

The chancellor has today thoroughly every document studied (Frey 2001: 146)

The discussion on German data above has led to the conclusion that the direct object DP may target three landing sites within the sentence. These positions seem to also correspond to certain interpretations. Thus, the position to the right of lower adverbs such as *gründlich* may only be occupied

by weak, non-presuppositional DPs, the middle position identified as ranging between low adverbs marking the VP border (*gründlich*) and higher adverbs marking the vP border (*neulich*) may have either a weak or a strong interpretation, while the position to the left of adverb such as *neulich* may only be occupied by strong/presuppositional direct objects. Frey's discussion can be summarized with the help of the following diagram:

DO ³ > <i>immer/gestern</i>	> DO ² > <i>manner/instr. Adj</i>	> IO > DO ¹ >V
+strong	+ strong	+weak
-weak	+weak	-strong

In the following section, we would like to support the claim that differentially object marked direct objects target a position which corresponds to the DO³ in the German sentence.

3. THE MAKE-UP OF DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING

The Differential Object Marking parameter is set positively in Romanian and has consequences on the interpretation of those direct object DPs to which it applies. Since DOM represents a mechanism by means of which those direct objects that are considered prominent³ are singled out, we tentatively included CD and CLLD as strategies of DOM in line with Tigău (2010). Thus, we viewed DOM as an umbrella term including three marking strategies for direct objects: PE marking, CD and CLLD. Each of these marking strategies will be shown to have a semantic import of its own: PE actualizes the *entity* and the *generalized quantifier* denotation on the DP it marks, while the clitic ensures *specificity*.

Furthermore, differentially object marked DPs are shown to move out of the VP into a position which might corresponds to the German DO³ position.

Let us see first what is the contribution of *pe*, which is a preposition marking prominent direct objects in Romanian, similar to the Spanish *a*.

3.1 *Pe* -marking

3.1.1 *Pe* as a type shifter

Gramatica Academiei, II, 1963:154 shows that since overt case-marking is obligatory with proper names and personal pronouns, the marker PE has been interpreted as a marker of personal gender and of identification. Furthermore, Niculescu (1965) observes that common nouns which denote person may be optionally marked with *pe*, which is a proof that *pe* is not a marker of personal gender, but a marker indicating individualization or particularization as only those person-denoting common nouns which refer to a person known beforehand can get *pe* marked. Moreover, the referents of these person denoting nouns are individualized for the speaker at the time of the communicative act.

³ Marked direct objects are prominent if they are marked for [+ animacy] and [+ definiteness]

Cornilescu (2000) argues that the previous accounts are problematic. A first reason in this respect is *pe* may take bare quantifiers such as “nimeni” (nobody), “cineva” (somebody), “oricine” (anybody) which do not refer to a particular person known beforehand.

Bare quantifiers differ as to the use of *pe* function of whether they refer to persons or not as *pe* is obligatory with those bare quantifiers denoting persons and impossible with the others. One can thus speak of the following dichotomy where the bare quantifiers are organized according to semantic gender.

- (8) [-neuter] [+neuter]
a. nimeni 'nobody' /nimic 'nothing'
b. cineva 'somebody' / ceva 'something'
c. oricine 'anyone' / orice 'anything'
c. cine 'who' /ce 'what'

d. Am văzut pe cineva ieșind.

‘I saw *pe* someone going out.’

“I saw somebody going out.”

Thus, the [-neuter] DPs are semantically [+Person] and are always *pe*-marked. On the other hand, [+neuter] DPs are semantically [-Person] and will never receive *pe*. Thus, *pe* seems to be a means of expressing semantic gender which distinguishes between non-neuter gender (personal gender) and neuter gender (non-personal gender).

One advantage of such an account is that it would explain the optionality of *pe* in certain cases. Thus, while grammatical gender is necessarily marked on the noun’s morphology i.e., it is an obligatory feature, semantic gender on the other hand is only sometimes marked formally by *pe*, ‘when it is particularly significant, because the intended referent is prominent’. Thus, *pe* is optional even for nouns denoting person.

Secondly, the presence of *pe* places constraints on the denotations of the DPs which it marks. Thus, the DPs which get overtly case-marked always have an object-level reading and as for their specific denotations, these DPs always select only argumental denotations i.e. <e> (i.e. object) or <<et>t> (i.e. generalized quantifier). On the other hand, these DPs never have a property reading i.e. <et>, nor do they ever get a ‘kind’ interpretation which is related to the property reading.

This claim is supported by extensive evidence:

Firstly, the case marker *pe* is obligatory with proper names which are of e-type since they are excluded from those contexts where a property reading is required. Notice that proper names cannot be combined with the reflexive passive; bare singulars are suitable in such a context as they can only express a property reading:

- (9) a. S- a băgat carne.

Refl. – have brought meat

‘They have brought meat.’

* b.*S- a adus *Ion* la judecată

Refl.-has brought *Ion* to trial.

(Cornilescu (2000))

b. Secondly, *pe* is never used in a context in which the predicate only allows for a property denotation for the constituent occupying the object position. In this case the verb and the direct object make up a derived complex predicate. It seems that only bare singulars and singular indefinites may be used with these verbs.

(10) a. *Ion* are *nevastă tânără*.

Ion has wife young .

b. *Ion* are *o nevastă tânără*.

Ion has a wife young.

c. **Ion* (o) are *pe o nevastă tânără*.

Ion has PE a wife young.

'*Ion* has a young wife.'

(11) a. *Ion* pretinde/ cere/ vrea/ dorește *nevastă tânără*.

Ion claims / requests/ wishes wife young.

b. *Ion* pretinde/ cere/ vrea dorește *o nevastă tânără*.

Ion claims / requests/ wishes a wife young.

c. **Ion* (o) pretinde/ cere/ vrea dorește *pe o nevastă tânără*..

Ion (her)-claims / requests/ wishes PE a wife young.

'*Ion* claims / requests / wishes a young wife

(Cornilescu (2000))

(12) Căutăm *profesor/ secretară/ informatician/ zidar*.

Look.we teacher/secretary/informatician/mason.

'Teacher/secretary/informatician/mason wanted.'

Thus, DPs entailing a **property** reading cannot be accompanied by *pe*, nor can those DPs entailing a **kind** reading, which is related to the property reading. DPs which receive *pe* have individual object readings (i.e., the <e> and <et> interpretations)

c. Thirdly, DPs headed by *pe* may not be used with verbs allowing the ‘**kind**’ reading: verbs like ‘a iubi’ (to love), ‘a urî’ (to hate), ‘a respecta’ (to respect), ‘a admira’ (to admire) (Cornilescu (2000)). As can be seen in example (13) below, definite DPs in the plural that are not accompanied by *pe* may occur in the object position of these verbs and can receive a ‘kind’ reading:

(13) Ion iubește fetele (generic)

Ion loves girls.the.

‘Ion loves girls’

Pe-DPs are not generally allowed with these verbs

(14) ? Ion le iubește pe fete.

Ion them.cl. loves *pe* girls

d. finally, kind denoting definite descriptions such as ‘fel’(kind) and ‘tip’ (type) disallow *pe*:

(15) a. Mihai nu agreează *tipul* ăsta de fete.

Mihai not like type.the this of girls

‘Mihai does not like this type of girls.’

b. *Mihai nu agreează *pe tipul* ăsta de fete.

Mihai not like type.the this of girls

‘Mihai does not like this type of girls.’

Thus, as a consequence of the tests discussed above, we may draw the conclusion that *pe* is a type shifter in that it shifts the denotation of a DP from a property reading, <et>, to that of a generalised quantifier (<<et>t>) or entity (<e>).

3.1.2 *Pe* as a trigger for specificity

Pe was shown to have some interpretive consequences for the DPs it marks. With indefinites, its contribution was shown to range with *specificity*. Thus, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) states that the accusative preposition disambiguates the indefinite DP towards a referential reading:

(16) a. In fiecare zi, Ion întâlnește *o fată* la cinema. (ambiguous).

‘Every day, Ion meets a girl at the cinema.’

b. În fiecare zi, Ion o întâlnește *pe o fată* la cinema. (non-ambiguous)

Every day, Ion her-meets PE a girl at the cinema.

'Every day Ion meets a girl at the cinema.'

(cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994))

Thus example (a) above is ambiguous in that the indefinite may refer to a specific girl or not, whereas (16b) is not ambiguous, referring to a specific girl that John meets every day.

Cornilescu (2000), points to the fact that indefinites are, upgraded and that their individualized reading amounts to **specificity** (in the sense of **epistemic specificity** along the lines of Farkas (1995))

Thus, the speaker may have a referent in mind as it is the case of example (17) below where the speaker refers to some friends whom he knows.

(17) a. unde să vizitez *pe niste vechi si buni prieteni*, familia Ronetti Roman.

where (I) should visit PE some old and good friends, family-the Ronetti Roman.

'...where I should visit PE some good old friends, the Ronetti Roman family.'

b. Intreb cu respect *pe un domn* impiegat "pe ce linie este tras

(I) ask with respect PE a railway clerk "on what platform has pulled in
trenul de Iași.

the train to Iasi.

(Cornilescu (2000))

Beside being bound by the speaker, specific indefinites can also be bound by another DP from within the local context. In this case the referent is rigid with respect to that local DP binding the specific indefinite: in example (18) below the indefinite is bound by the DP *a woman*.

(18) a. O femeie numai în cămasă ține strâns de piept *pe un om* îmbrăcat

A woman only in nightie grabs tightly by the chest PE a man dressed
în uniformă.

in uniform.

(Cornilescu (2000))

These data may be enriched with a number of tests pointing to the fact that *pe* forces a specific reading on the indefinite it marks. As we will see, however, this reading is not always available. We will argue that this is due to the corroboration of *pe* with clitic doubling, a phenomenon which develops later in the history of Romanian language and which we will show to amount to the same specific interpretation. As pointed out by Heusinger & Onea (2008) p. 70 and by Tigău (2010), *pe*- marking undergoes a regress at the end of the XIX-th century, which is paralleled by an expanse of Clitic Doubling, a phenomenon with similar interpretive effects. The upsurge of the latter phenomenon inhibited the former.

a. The Subjunctive Mood

According to Rivero (1979) in the case of a nominal phrase which includes a relative clause, the mood of the relative clause depends on specificity. More specifically, the indicative triggers specificity while the use of the subjunctive does not. Indeed, in example (19) below, the use of the subjunctive engenders a non-specific reading on the unmarked indefinite *un profesor*.

- (19) Maria caută un profesor care s-o ajute la lecții.
Maria looks for a professor who SĂ (sibj.)-her.cl. help with lessons
'Maria is looking for a professor who should help her with her lessons'

However, if we mark the indefinite by means of *pe*, we notice a change of meaning in that the *pe*-marked indefinite is interpreted as specific in the sense of covert specificity: the teacher is interpreted as pertaining to a previously mentioned set e.g., he might be one of the teachers from the English department (the marked indefinite quantifies over a set of known professors).

- (20) ?Maria caută *pe* un profesor care s-o ajute la lecții.
Maria looks for *pe* a professor who SĂ (sibj.)-her.cl. help with lessons
'Maria is looking for a professor who should help her with her lessons'

Furthermore, *pe* is expected with the indicative mood, its interpretation being specific. Interestingly, (21b) is also accepted by speakers of Romanian and the indefinite is interpreted as specific. This is in line with the ambiguous reading signaled by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and extended upon above.

- (21) a. Maria caută *pe* un profesor care a ajutat-o la lecții.
Maria looks for (*pe*) a professor who has helped her.cl. help with lessons
'Maria is looking for a professor who helped her with her lessons'
- b. ?Maria caută un profesor care a ajutat-o la lecții.
Maria looks for a professor who has helped her.cl. help with lessons
'Maria is looking for a professor who helped her with her lessons'

Thus, *pe* was shown to force a specific reading on the DP it marks in a context where lack of specificity is the rule (on account of the subjunctive).

b. *Oarecare* (any)

Oarecare triggers the non-specific interpretation on the indefinite it marks. This is why, in example (22) below we may combine the unmarked indefinite and the predicate in the subjunctive:

(22) a. Caut un profesor oarecare care să mă ajute la teme.

Look. I a teacher any who să (subj.) me help at homework

‘I am looking for a (any) teacher who might help me with my homework.’

We would not expect *oarecare* with *pe*-marked indefinites if *pe* is a marker of specificity. Interestingly, however, this seems to be possible as shown in example (23) below where the indefinite *a teacher* is *pe*-marked and interpreted as specific in the sense that the teacher in question belongs to a previously mentioned set e.g., ‘from among those in the English department’

(23) Caut pe un profesor oarecare care să mă ajute la teme.

Look. I *pe* a teacher any who să (subj.) me help at homework

‘I am looking for a (any) teacher who might help me with my homework.’

Roughly the same effect obtains if the indicative mood is used: there is a set of teachers from the English department and I am looking for one of those teachers:

(24) Caut pe un profesor oarecare care m-a ajutat la teme.

Look. I *pe* a teacher any who me-has helped at homework

‘I am looking for a (any) teacher who helped me with my homework.’

Thus, we have shown again that *pe* forces a specific reading on the DP it marks in a context where lack of specificity is the rule (on account *oarecare*).

c. *Câte* (~some) test

Câte is a distributive which actualizes a narrow scope reading on the indefinite it marks. Thus, in example (25) below there is a one to one correspondence between *every student* and *a teacher*:

(25) Fiecare student cunoaște câte un profesor de engleză.

Every student knows some indef. art. teacher of English.

“Every student knows some English teacher”

When *pe* is used to mark the indefinite, it engenders a specific reading in that the teachers which are paired to the students belong to a set of teachers (which has been previously mentioned):

(26) Fiecare student cunoaște *pe* câte un profesor de engleză.

Every student knows *pe* some indef. art. teacher of English.

“Every student knows some English teacher”

However, *pe* does not always engender a specific reading in the context of *câte*. In example (27) below the indefinite *pe un politician* is non-specific:

(27) Când aud *pe* câte un politician că se laudă cu ce va face dacă va fi ales.

When hear.I *pe* some politician that refl. brags with what will do if will be elected
î închid televizorul.
turn.I off TV.the

‘Whenever I hear some politician bragging about his future deeds in case he gets elected I turn off the TV.’

Furthermore, *pe* may take bare quantifiers such as “nimeni” (nobody), “cineva”(somebody), “oricine” (anybody) which do not refer to a particular person known beforehand

(28) Este un băiat liniștit. Nu supără *pe* nimeni.

Is.he a boy quiet. Not upsets.he *pe* nobody

‘He is a quiet boy. He never upsets anybody’

(29) Dacă supără *pe* cineva, să-mi zici.

If upsets.he *pe* somebody, să-cl.1st.p.DAT tell.you

‘Should he upset anyone, tell me.’

The data presented above pointed to the fact that the case marker *pe* type-shifts the denotation of the DP it marks into that of <e> entity or <<et>t> generalized quantifier. We also showed that *pe* marked indefinites are usually interpreted as specific in the sense that they are covertly partitive and the *pe* forces this reading even in contexts where specificity is not expected. Nevertheless, the specific reading of *pe* marked DPs does not always surface.

As stated above, this is due to the overlap between *pe*-marking and Clitic Doubling (CD), where the latter is a phenomenon which amounts to the same interpretive effect as *pe*-marking. Our hypothesis, presented first in Tigău (2010), being that *pe*- marking is a declining mechanism which is progressively being replaced by Clitic Doubling, a phenomenon which developed later in the history of the Romanian language and which impinges the same interpretive effects on the indefinite it marks. In the next section we will have a look at the semantic contribution of Clitic Doubling on the indefinite DPs it marks.

3.2. *The semantic contribution of the clitic pronoun*

In this section we would like to have a look at the semantic contribution of the clitic pronoun resuming/anticipating an indefinite DP. For the sake of clarity, we will first consider those cases where the clitic anticipates the indefinite, which are subsumed under the umbrella term of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). Having demonstrated that clitic left dislocated indefinites acquire a specific reading (i.e., they are covertly partitive), we will analyze the case of Clitic Doubled DPs (which are also marked by *pe*) in order to show that these, too, amount to the same interpretation.

3.2.1 *Clitic Left Dislocated DPs*

Clitic Left Dislocated indefinites in Romanian are always interpreted as specific in the sense of Enç (1991) i.e., they function as covert partitives. Thus, example (30a) below could be felicitously continued by (30b) which implies that the boy in question belongs to a group of other people with whom I get acquainted.

(30) a. *Pe băiatul acesta îl cunosc: am fost colegi de școală.*
PE boy.the this him.cl know.I: have.we been colleagues of school.
'I know this boy: we were colleagues in the same school.'

b. *Pe ceilalți, însă, nu i-am văzut niciodată.*
PE others, however, not them.cl have.I seen never.
'I have never seen the others though.'

Notice also, that the CLLD-ed DP 'pe ceilalți' is also anaphoric and should be understood as part of a bigger set (comprised of the people I do not know and of the boy whom I recognized).

CLLD-ed constituents in Romanian may also function as supersets for their antecedents. Consider the following example where the left dislocated DP 'mobila' includes the antecedent 'scaune (chairs)':

(31) Context: Who will repair the chairs?

Mobila nu o vom mai repara, este prea veche.
Furniture not it.cl will.we more repair is too old.
'As for the furniture, we will no longer repair it because it is too old.'

Thus, CLLD triggers a specific reading on those indefinites it marks.

3.2.2 Clitic Doubling

Clitic Doubling involves a clitic which resumes a *pe*-marked DP. In this section we would like to argue that the semantic import of *pe* marking + CD revolves around the notion of specificity: *pe*-marked and clitic doubled direct objects are specific in the sense of Enç (1991) i.e., they function as covert partitives, or they are *epistemically specific* in the sense of Farkas (1995).

The examples in (32) illustrate the '*covert partitivity*' interpretation on marked direct objects:

(32) a. La serbarea din vara asta *fiecare profesor i-* a lădat *pe mulți elevi*.

At festivity from summer this every teacher them.cl has praised PE many pupils.

'At this summer's festivity every teacher praised many pupils.'

b. La serbarea din vara asta *fiecare profesor a* lădat *mulți elevi*.

At festivity from summer this every teacher has praised many pupils.

Example (32a) is a suitable continuation for the context in (33) below, whereas (32b) is not:

(33) When the school year ends every summer our school principal gives prizes to the most diligent pupils who obtained the best marks. This year fifty pupils received such prizes.

Thus, (32a) states that the pupils that were congratulated by their teachers necessarily belong to the range of fifty pupils mentioned in the context (33) as opposed to (32b). The same holds for (34) below: in the case of variant (34a) we may speak of an existent range of acquaintances (which vary function of the minister in question) out of which each minister helped a subset quantified as 'many'. The presence of a range is no longer felt in (34b).

(34) a. *Fiecare candidat la alegeri i-* a favorizat *pe mulți cunoscuți atunci*

Every candidate at elections them.cl. has favoured PE many acquaintances

când a ajuns ministru.

when has become minister.

'Every candidate in the elections favoured many acquaintances when they became ministers.'

b. *Fiecare candidat la alegeri a* favorizat *mulți cunoscuți atunci*

Every candidate at elections has favoured many acquaintances

când a ajuns ministru.

when has become minister.

'Every candidate in the elections favoured many acquaintances when they became ministers.'

Notice also that the indefinite 'pe mulți cunoscuți' in (34 a) above may be specific even if it has narrow scope with respect to the universal QP 'ficare candidat'.

Moreover, marked indefinites remain specific in the absence of another operator. Consider example (35) below where the direct object is epistemically specific: the subject 'Mihai' knows who the children he has helped are.

(35) Mihai *i-* a ajutat la teme *pe câțiva copii* care nu înțeleseseră
Mihai them.cl has helped at homework PE some children who not had understood
lecția în clasă.
lesson.the in class.

'Mihai helped some children who had not understood the lesson in class with their homework'.

Thus, PE marked + CD-ed indefinite direct objects become specific unlike their unmarked counterparts. Notice also that marked DPs retain their specific interpretation irrespective of the position in the sentence. Thus, in example (34a) above, the indefinite 'pe mulți cunoscuți' is specific even if it occupied a VP internal position.

4. DRAWING THE GERMAN DATA AND THE ROMANIAN DATA TOGETHER

In the previous sections we have shown that differentially marked indefinite DPs acquire a similar, specific, meaning tot hat acquired by German indefinites scrambled to the left of vP adverb such as *neulich*.

In this section we would like to strengthen the similarity between scrambled German indefinites and their differentially marked counterparts in Romanian by showing that the latter also scramble out of the VP. Furthermore, the position to which these DPs scramble is shown to be the correspondent of DO³ position in the German sentence.

The fact that both CD and CLLD in Romanian involve the displacement of the DP out of the VP is supported by evidence coming from the domain of binding. More specifically, clitic doubled and *pe*-marked direct object indefinites may bind into the subject DP giving rise to the phenomenon of *inverse binding*.

Thus, Sentences where the direct object DP is overtly case-marked by means of *pe* differ syntactically from those structures where, apart from *pe*-marking, Clitic Doubling is present. The two types of sentences differ with respect to the phenomenon of binding in that the latter gives rise to 'inverse binding,' i.e. the object DP may bind into the subject DP.

Let us consider the following examples:

- (36) Pe un profesor bun_i orice elev de-al lui_i îl admiră.
 PE a teacher good any pupil of-ART.GEN his CL.3SG.M.ACC
 admire.3SG
 ‘Any pupil will admire a good teacher.’

In example (36) above, the clitic doubled and *pe*-marked indefinite *pe un profesor* correctly binds the subject DP which it appears to c-command. The same relation of coreference between the two DPs is maintained even when the word order changes from OSV (which is the case of example (36)) to SOV (which can be found in example (37) below). Thus, a clitic doubled and *pe*-marked object DP may bind into the subject DP irrespective of word order:

- (37) Orice elev de-al lui_i îl admiră pe un profesor bun_i.
 any pupil of-ART.GEN his CL.3SG.M.ACC admire.3SG PE a teacher good
 ‘Any pupil admires a good teacher.’

On the other hand, the unmarked counterpart may only bind into the subject if it is in a c-commanding position with respect to this DP. Thus, of the two sentences presented under (38), only variant (38b) is correct because the indefinite DP *câțiva elevi* (‘some pupils’) duly c-commands the subject DP. Variant (38a) is not grammatical if co-indexation between the two DPs is maintained because the pronoun *lor* (‘their’) does not have an appropriate antecedent.

- (38) a. **Profesorul lor_i doar câțiva elevi_i din această clasă nu va*
 teacher their_i only some pupils_i from this class not AUX.3SG
putea lăuda la sfârșitul anului, atât sunt de buni la învățătură
 can praise at end.DEF year.GEN.DEF this be.3PL of good.PLat
 studying
 cu toții.
 with all.DEF

‘Any teacher will have difficulties at the end of the school year when it comes to praising the pupils in this class. Few of them will not receive any praise, this is how diligent they all are.’

- b. *Doar câțiva elevi_i din această clasă, profesorul lor_i nu va*
 only some pupils_i from this class teacher.DEF their_i not AUX.3SG

la putea lăuda la sfârșitul anului, atât sunt de buni
 învățătură
 can praise at end.DEF year.GEN.DEF this be.3PL of
 good at studying
 cu toții.
 with all

‘The teacher of this class will have difficulties at the end of the school year when it comes to praising the pupils. Few of them won’t receive any praise; this is how diligent they all are.’

Thus, with clitic doubled DPs, the binding relationship between the subject and the object holds even if the object has moved past the subject, a fact which should have led to the reversal of c-command relations. On the other hand, binding between the two constituents no longer holds when the order between them is reversed and when no clitic is present, which points to the syntactic difference between the two structures.

These results count as evidence that at some point in the derivation the clitic doubled direct object c-commands the subject. Thus, at some point, the doubled direct object leaves the vP and moves into a c-commanding position with respect to the subject (which at this point is to be found in-situ, i.e. SpecvP) which is situated above SpecvP and below TP.

Furthermore, in Two Object Constructions where the direct object is clitic doubled, this DP may bind the IO. Thus, example (39) below, where the pronoun *lui* ‘his’ is bound by the direct object DP *pe copil* (‘PE child’), is grammatical > at some point during the derivation the doubled direct object leaves the vP and moves into a c-commanding position with respect to the indirect object (which at this point is to be found in-situ).

(39) Judecătorul i l-a încredințat mamei
 judge.DEF CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-have.3SG entrusted mother.DAT.DEF

lui_i pe copil_i.

his PE child

‘The judge entrusted the child to his mother.’

Consider also example (40) below where the pronoun *său* (‘his’) may be bound by the clitic doubled direct object *pe Mihai* even if it appears to the left of this DP:

(40) I l-am prezentat colegului său_i
 CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-have.1SG presented colleague.DAT.DEF his
 pe Mihai_i.

PE Mihai

'I have introduced Mihai to his colleague.'

The fact that the *pe*-marked + CD DP c-commands both the Subject and the IO shows that this DP occupies a position at the vP edge. The fact that these DPs occupy a position situated at the edge of the vP phase accounts for their specific interpretation. Thus, in line with Lopez (2009, 2012) this interpretation arises as a consequence of assigning a [+anaphoric] feature to the SpecvP which is the edge of the vP phase⁴.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have shown that German indefinites which scramble to the left of adverbs such as *neulich* seem to pattern with Romanian indefinites which are marked by means of *pe* and clitic doubling in that they seem to occupy a position at the edge of vP and acquire a *strong/specific* interpretation.

The case marker *pe* was shown to type shift the denotation of the DP it marks restricting this denotation to that of generalized quantifier <<et>t> or of entity <e>. Furthermore, *pe* usually forces a specific reading on the DPs it marks. This reading is strengthened by the contribution of Clitic Doubling, a phenomenon which amounts to the same interpretive effects as *pe*-marking, which developed later in the history of the Romanian language and which tends to take over *pe*-marking.

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⁴ The framework adopted by Lopez (2009) requires that the edges of *phases* be interface points where obligatory interpretation rules apply. Hence the feature [+a] is assigned to SpecvP, triggering the anaphoric interpretation common to CD and CLLD.

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TWO-OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *LA* IN ROMANIAN⁵

Alina M. Tigău

University of Bucharest, Romania

Abstract

*The present article focuses on Romanian two-object constructions (TOCs) where the Goal argument is headed by the marker la. Romanian has four TOCs: two two-object constructions in which the indirect object bears morphological Dative case and which differ in what clitic doubling of this indirect object is concerned; and two other two-object constructions in which the indirect object is introduced by *la* ('at, to') and which differ along the same lines as the previous two constructions, i.e. clitic doubling of the indirect object. La is interpreted as a case marker, different from its phonological counterpart la which is a directional preposition. Building on data coming from binding and weak cross over, we reach the conclusion that the basic order of the two constituents in TOCs is *la DP* > *Acc DP*. TOCs are analyzed as Applicative constructions in line with Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), Anagnostopoulou (2002, 2003) and Diaconescu/Rivero (2006).*

Key words: *two-object constructions, applicatives*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is devoted to the study of two-object constructions (TOCs) where the goal argument is headed by *la* (TOC) in Romanian. These are structures where the verb allows for two arguments which parallel their more recurrent counterparts where the goal arguments bears dative case. The DP headed by *la* may be clitic doubled.

The clitic doubled structures have been argued in the literature to differ from their undoubled counterparts in that the former pattern like the Double Object Constructions in English, while the latter are similar to the Prepositional Object Constructions (Rivero and Diaconescu 2006). In this paper we will argue that both TOCs have the same structure in which the order of the two objects is Dative>Accusative.

In line with Marantz (1984, 1993) and Pylkkänen (2002) we argue for the existence of an Applicative Phrase (AppIP) in TOCs, hosting the indirect object headed by *la*. Marantz (1984) argues that the argument structure of the verb can only have one internal argument proposing that the external argument is introduced into this structure by means of a Voice Projection. Similarly, we will argue that the AppIP will introduce the internal object into the argument structure of the VP. In this we depart from Rivero and Diaconescu (2006), by positing an AppIP for all TOCs (and not only for the clitic doubled ones).

Furhermore, considering the determiner-like features of the clitic pronoun doubling the indirect object, we argue that the clitic may not be inserted into the head of AppIP which has verbal properties. Instead, the clitic occupies the head of a BigDP also hosting the indirect object in its specifier. The BigDP occupies the SpecAppIP.

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The paper is structured as follows: in section 2 we take a closer look at all the variants of TOCs; section 3 is devoted to the study of the properties and structure of TOCs with a special focus on the order of the two object DPs and on the differences between the clitic doubled TOCs and their undoubled counterparts. Section 4 is devoted to the study of *la* with respect to its status. In section 5 we propose a configuration holding for all TOCs along the lines of Marantz (1984, 1993), Pytkäinen (2002), and Rivero and Diaconescu (2006). Section 10 contains the conclusions of the paper.

2. TWO-OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN ROMANIAN

TOCs are constructions where the verb has two object DPs: a Theme argument which is always assigned accusative case, and a Goal/Benefactive argument which may either bear morphological dative or be introduced by the morpheme *la* (*to*). The dative object may optionally be doubled by a clitic pronoun. The meaning of TOCs generally involves the idea of transfer (physical transfer, transfer of possession). In Romanian there are four possible TOCs. However, we will only focus on two of them i.e., the so-called *la* TOCs where the Goal argument is headed by *la*. Before embarking on the analysis proper let us have a look at all the possible TOCs.

a) The dative object is morphologically case marked but not clitic doubled:

(1) Am dat copiilor bomboane
 Have1SG given childrenDAT bonbonsDEF
 “I have given candies to the children.”

b) The dative object is both morphologically case marked and clitic doubled:

(2) Le-am dat copiilor bomboane
 Cl.3p.SGHave1SG given childrenDAT bonbonsDEF
 “I have given candies to the children.”

c) The dative object is introduced by *la* but not clitic doubled:

(3) a. Am dat apă la cai.
 Have1SG given water to horses
 “I have given water to the horses.”

b. Am expediat pachetele la clienți.
 Have1SG sent Packages.DEF.ART to clients.

“I have sent the packages to the clients.”

d) The dative object is introduced by *la* and clitic doubled:

(4) a. Le- am dat apă la cai.
CL3PL have1SG given water to horses.

“I have given water to the horses.”

b. Le- am expediat pachetele la clienți.
CL3PL have1SG sent Packages.DEF.ART to clients.

“I have sent the packages to the clients.”

The TOCs whose indirect object is headed by *la* are generally employed when the indirect object may not bear morphological case as it is headed by an invariable determiner: in example (6a) below, the cardinal *doi* (*two*) may not bear morphological dative and is consequently introduced by *la*; the same goes for example (6b) where the indirect object is headed by *jumătate* (*half*):

(6) a. Profesorul a înapoiat lucrările la doi studenți
Teacher.the has given thesesDEF to two students

“The teacher gave back their theses to two students.”

Indirect objects with *la* are usually [-Personal] and even [-Animate]. Nevertheless, [+Personal] indirect objects headed by *la* are attested in the Northern part of Romania: examples like (6 a, b) are apparently grammatical in this dialect:

(7) a. Mihaela (îi) trimite o scrisoare la Maria.
Mihaela CL3SG sends a letter to Maria.

“Mihaela is sending a letter to Mary.”

b. Mihaela (îi) trimite la Maria o scrisoare.
Mihaela CL3SG sends to Mary a letter.

“Mihaela is sending a letter to Mary.”

(Rivero and Diaconescu (2006), p. 11, 14)

Indeed, *la* may also introduce indirect object DPs which do not show resistance to morphological case marking. Consider also:

- (7) Le- am trimis pachete la săraci.
CL3PL.DA Have1SG sent packages to poor.
T

“I sent packages to the poor.”

Furthermore, Rivero & Diaconescu (2006 p.47-48) point that this construction is frequently employed in child talk.

- (8) Dă- i la mama.
Give2SG CL3SG to mummy

“Give it to mummy.”

(Rom Childes Corpora: Avram (2004) in Rivero & Diaconescu (2006) p.47)

Children prefer using the preposition *la* with dative DPs because by doing so they would no longer need to change the form of the DP in such a way as to correspond to the appropriate dative variant: notice that for masculine dative DPs they would have to form the form in *lui* e.g., *copilului* (*to the child*), *lui Matei* (*to Matei*), whereas for the feminine dative, the form in *ei* should be obtained e.g., *fetei* (*to the girl*), *Mariei* (*to Mary*). From this point of view, this is on a par with another phenomenon in the language where the feminine dative is extensively (but incorrectly) realised like the masculine dative with proper names i.e., in substandard Romanian, the form *lui Maria* (*to Maria*), paralleling forms like *lui Mihai* (*toDAT Mihai*) is often employed instead of the correct form *Mariei* (*MariaDAT*).

Furthermore, the form in *la* is also convenient because the directional preposition *la* enables one to realise the theta role Goal on the indirect object. In this respect, the indirect object DP patterns with locative DPs headed by the same preposition, which point to the goal of one's destination. Compare:

- (9) a. I- am trimis la Maria o carte.
CL3SG.DA have1SG sent to Mary a book.
T

“I sent Mary a book.”

- b. (*I-) am trimis la Viena o carte.

CL3SG.DA have1SG sent to Vienn a book.
T a

“I sent Vienna a book.”

Notice, however, that the locative in variant (b) may not be clitic doubled - it is not animate, nor is it an argument but an adjunct.

Another interesting observation is that the preposition *la* in example (10a) below may have a twofold interpretation: one in which *la Maria* is equivalent to the morphologically marked dative DP *Mariei*, and another one in which the preposition *la* is merely locative (example (b) actualizes this latter meaning). The two interpretations of *la* are only possible in the variant where the DP headed by *la* is not clitic doubled. The clitic actualizes the reading where the DP Goal is an indirect object (example (10) below).

(10) a. Am trimis la Maria o carte.
Have1S sent to Mary a book.
G

“I sent Mary a book.”

b. Am trimis la Maria acasă o carte.
Have1S sent to Mary home a book.
G

“I sent to Mary’s house a book.”

(11) a. I- am trimis la Maria o carte.
CL3SG.DA have1SG sent to Mary a book.
T

“I sent Mary a book.”

b. *I- Am trimis la Maria acasă o carte.
CL3SG.DA Have1S sent to Mary home a book.
T G

“I sent to Mary’s house a book.”

We take this difference in interpretation to point to a difference in structure i.e., the doubled DP occupies an argumental position, whereas the undoubled, locative DP will be an adjunct.

3. THE ORDER OF THE TWO OBJECT DPs IN TOCs

3.1 Binding

In this section, we would like to analyze TOCs where the indirect object is headed by *la* with respect to the order of the two object DPs. The mechanism of binding and c-command will enable us to identify the exact word order.

Thus, in example (12) below, the possessive pronoun in the accusative DPs *casele lor* (*their houses*) may be bound by the dative DP in (12) below. On the other hand, the accusative object may not bind the possessive pronoun in variant (12b).

- (12) a. Statul a retrocedat la proprietarii casele lori.
StateDEF has returned to owners housesDEF their.
“The state gave back the owners their houses.”

- b. *Statul a retrocedat casele lori la proprietarii
StateDEF has returned housesDEF their to owners
“The state gave back the owners their houses.”

The fact that only the possessive pronoun may be bound when pertaining to the accusative object shows that the dative DP c-commands the accusative object. The same holds when the indirect object is clitic doubled, which points to the similarity of the two constructions with respect to the order of the two constituents:

- (13) a. Statul le- a retrocedat la proprietarii casele lori.
StateDEF them.cl.has returned to owners housesDEF their
“The state gave back the owners their houses.”

- b. *Statul le- a retrocedat casele lori la proprietarii
StateDEF them.cl has returned housesDEF their to owners
“The state gave back the owners their houses.”

Thus, the possessive pronoun *lor* may be bound by the indirect object *proprietarii* in example (13a). Nevertheless, when the pronoun pertains to the indirect DP it may not be bound by the accusative DP as variant (13b) shows.

3.2 Weak Cross Over

Weak cross over effects arise as a consequence of moving by means of wh-movement a lower constituent over a possessive pronoun coindexed with it. In this section, we would like to verify the word order which gives rise to weak cross over effects in *la* TOC and whether there is a difference between the clitic doubled TOC and its undoubled counterpart.

As we will see below WCO effects arise only when the direct object is wh-moved, irrespective of whether the indirect object is clitic doubled or not:

(14) a. Statul a retrocedat la proprietarii de drept locuințele confiscate.
 StateDEF has returned to owners of right dwellings confiscated
 “The state gave back the confiscated dwellings to their rightful owners.”

b. ?Cuii (i) a retrocedat statul locuința lui?
 WhoDA CL3SG.DA has returned stateDEF dwelling his
 T T
 “To whom did the state give back his dwelling?”

c. *Cei (le) a retrocedat statul la proprietarii lori de drept?
 WhoDA CL3PL.DAT has returned stateDEF to ownersDEF their of right?
 T
 “What did the state give back to their rightful owners?”

Thus, from the point of view of WCO, *la* TOCs seem to fare similarly to morphologically marked TOCs, which points to their having a similar structure where the dative indirect object c-commands the accusative object.

We have devoted this section to the study of the properties and structure of *la* TOCs and we have argued that the order of the two object DPs in TOCs is Dative>Accusative and that this holds for both the clitic doubled TOC and its undoubled counterpart.

4. THE STATUS OF *LA*

In this section we would like to argue that Romanian has two different types of *la*: a preposition which points to direction (as in example (15a) below) and a case marker (probably derived from the directional preposition on account of the similarity in terms of theta role of the DPs headed by *la*) (variant (b)).

(15) a. Am trimis o scrisoare la Paris.

Have1S sent a letter to Paris.
 G

“I sent a letter to Paris.”

b. (I-) am trimis o scrisoare la Maria.
 CL3SG.DAT Have1SG sent a letter to Maria

“I sent a letter to Mary.”

We believe that *la* is not a preposition in two-object constructions mainly because the indirect object which it introduces may be clitic-doubled. In example (15a) above, *la locative la Paris* may not be clitic doubled. Nevertheless, one may argue that the lack of clitic-doubling with such DPs is not possible because they are not animate and that clitic doubling is restricted to animate DPs.

Notice however, that the directional *la* may also combine with a [+animate] DP as in example (16a) below: *la Maria* is to be understood as a locative *to Mary's residence in Paris*. In this case, however, the DP may not be clitic doubled as it is in example (16b) below.

(16) a. (*I-) am trimis cartea la Maria la Paris
 (CL3SG.DAT Have1SG sent bookDEF to Maria to Paris
)

“I sent the book to Mary's residence in Paris.”

b. I- am trimis cartea la Maria la Paris.
 CL3SG.DAT Have1SG sent bookDEF to Maria to Paris

“I sent the book to Mary in Paris.”

From this point of view, *la* behaves like the accusative case marker *pe* which has also sprung from a preposition showing location *pe (on)*. When used with direct objects, however, *pe* is no longer a preposition but a case marker introducing object DPs which are high on the animacy and definiteness scale (Aissen (2003), Tigău (2010) among many others). It is also worth mentioning that *pe* marked direct objects may also be clitic doubled just like *la* marked indirect objects:

(17) Nu am ascultat- o pe Maria și acum îmi
 No have1SG listened CL3SG.AC PE Mary and now CL1SG.DAT
 t C

pare rău
feel1SG sorry

“I did not listen to Mary and I feel sorry now.”

In example (17) above, the direct object *Maria* is marked by the case marker *pe* and clitic doubled by means of the clitic pronoun *-o*.

Another interesting thing which might strengthen our hypothesis that *la* parallels the behaviour of *pe* in two-object constructions comes for Spanish where both the direct object and the indirect object are introduced by the same case marker i.e., *a*. Furthermore, both objects may be clitic doubled:

In the examples (18a) and (18b) below the indirect object is introduced by *a* and clitic doubled:

(18) a. Gabi le envío una carta a Maria.
Gabi CL3SG.DAT sent a letter to Mary.

“Gabi sent a letter to Mary.”

b. Pablo le mando un diccionario a Gabi.
Pablo CL3SG.DA sent a dictionary to Gabi.
T

“Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary.” (Cuervo (2003 p.35))

Direct objects are introduced by the same morpheme and they may also be clitic doubled:

(19) a. Le invitò a la cantante.
CL3SG.ACC invited1SG A DEF.ART. FEM singer

“I invited the singer.”

(Cuervo (2003 p. 36))

Arguments that *la* phrases are DPs

Strozer (1976, p. 76-93) argues that *a* phrases in Spanish are DPs because they may have an anaphoric relation with a clitic pronoun, a fact which is impossible for ordinary prepositional phrases. Romanian *la* phrases seem to pattern with their Spanish counterparts in that they may be doubled by a clitic pronoun. Notice the difference between them and *pentru* phrases corresponding to benefactive constructions. Indeed, the benefactive construction may be realised either with the aid of morphologically case-marked indirect object (80a) or with a *pentru* phrase corresponding to the dative object (20b):

- (20)a. (Le-) am cumpărat bomboane copiilor.
 CL3PL.DAT have1SG bought bonbons childrenDAT

“I bought bonbons for the children.”

- b. (*Le-) am cumpărat bomboane pentru copii.
 CL3PL.DAT have1SG bought bonbons for children.

“I bought bonbons for the children.”

- c. (Le-) am cumpărat bomboane la copii.
 CL3PL.DAT have1SG bought bonbons to children.

“I bought bonbons for the children.”

Notice, however that the DP headed by *pentru* may not be clitic doubled, unlike the morphologically marked indirect object *copiilor* in variant (20a) and the *la* phrase in variant (20c).

A similar phenomenon may appear with those TOCs where the indirect object is a *source*: this object may also be realized as a PP headed by the preposition *de la* (*from*) – in this case it is not clitic doubled (21b):

- (21) a. Hoții i- au furat Mariei toți banii.
 ThievesDE CL3SG.DA have stolen MaryDA all money.
 F T T

“The thieves have stolen Mary all her money.”

- b. Hoții (*i-) au furat toți banii. de la Maria.
 ThievesDE CL3SG.DA have stolen all money from Mary.
 F T

“The thieves have stolen all Mary’s money.”

Another aspect in which Romanian patterns with Spanish is the restriction concerning the animacy of pronominal indirect objects headed by *la/a*. Strozer (1976) (in Cuervo 2003) points out that pronominal indirect objects that are marked for gender (*a ella* (*her*), *a el* (*him*)) can only refer to animate referents in contrast to *a* PPs:

- (22) a. Le pase la franela a la mesa/

CL3SG Pass1SG.PAST DEF.ART flannel over DEF.ART table

*a ella.
 over it

“I passed the flannel cloth over the table/it.”

The same applies to Romanian: *la ea, la el* may only refer to animate referents as opposed to the *la PP* (*la Paris*) in example (23) below:

(23) L- am trimis la Paris/ *la el.
 CL3SG.AC have1SG sent to Paris to him
 C

“I sent it to Paris/*to him.”

Another test showing that *la* is not a preposition when introducing the indirect object in two-object construction has to do with coordination: a preposition may take as complement two coordinated DPs. As pointed out by Cuervo (2003), discussing Jaeggli (1982), the use of only one *a* in coordinated datives is subject to strong restrictions in Spanish: the single theme is distributed among both recipients. Consequently, example (24a) below is well formed, while (24b) is not as one cannot understand it as a case in which there is only one kiss for both girls. Example (24b) becomes grammatical if *a* is iterated before the second dative argument as in (24c) below:

(24) a. *Pablo les comprò un regalo a [Valeria y Emilio].
 Pablo CL3PL.DAT bought a present to Valeria and Emilio.

“Pablo bought a gift to Valeria and Emilio.”

b. *Pablo les diò un beso a Valeria y la hija.
 Pablo CL3PL.DAT gave a kiss to Valeria and DEF.ART Girl.

“Pablo gave a kiss to Valeria and the girl.”

c. *Pablo les diò un beso a Valeria y a la hija.
 Pablo CL3PL.DAT gave a kiss to Valeria and to DEF.ART Girl.

“Pablo gave a kiss to Valeria and to the girl.”

(Cuervo (2003))

Romanian data seem to pattern with Spanish in this respect. Although it is very difficult to pass grammaticality judgements for the *la* constructions, we feel that coordinating the two recipients under *la* in example (a) gives one the impression that *Maria și Ioana* form a sort of couple e.g., they are sisters and one usually refers to them in this order (along the lines of Cuervo (2003), p.42). Example (25b) is as strange in Romanian as it is in Spanish on account of the fact that the theme may not be distributed over the two recipients. The example improves when each of the two dative objects is headed by *la* as in variant (c):

(25) a. Le- dat o carte la Maria și Ioana.
 CL3PL.DAT gave1SG a book to Maria and Ioana.

“I gave a book to Mary and Ioana.”

b. ?Le- dat un pupic la Maria și Ioana.
 CL3PL.DAT gave1SG a kiss to Maria and Ioana.

“I gave a kiss to Mary and Ioana.”

c. Le- dat un pupic la Maria și la Ioana.
 CL3PL.DAT gave1SG a kiss to Maria and to Ioana.

“I gave a kiss to Mary and to Ioana.”

The examples above clearly distinguish between those cases where *la* behaves like a directional preposition and those cases where it introduces an indirect object. We could then conclude that the *la* introducing indirect objects is not a preposition but a case marker in two-object constructions. Notice that the case of *la*, which behaves as a directional preposition and as a case marker is not singular. Anagnostopoulou (2002, 2003) argues that this is also the case for the Greek *se*.

5. THE STRUCTURE OF TOCs

In the previous sections we reached the conclusion that the order of the two objects is Dat > Acc in both TOCs irrespective of whether the indirect object was clitic doubled or not.

Furthermore, the fact that the object headed by *la* may always be clitic doubled proves that it is an argument of the verb (as opposed, for instance, to *pentru* phrases which are never clitic doubled). If the indirect object is an argument of the verb, then one would have to introduce it into the argument structure of the verb by means of a functional projection. This goes along the lines of Marantz (1984) who argues that a verb can only have one internal argument and who posits that the subject (the external argument) is always introduced by means of a VoiceP as it is not a true argument of the verb. As pointed out by Pylkkänen (2002), this idea has become standard in the Minimalist Program where the external argument

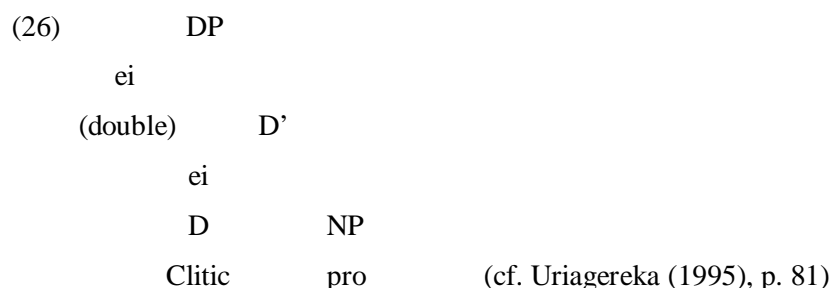
is introduced by a small *v*.

By analogy with the external argument, the indirect object (whether clitic doubled or not) needs to be added to the verb by a functional projection. Pylkkänen (2002), building on Marantz (1993) according to whom applicative affixes are those elements 'which take a predicate of events as their argument and introduce an individual which is thematically related to the event described by the verb' (Pylkkänen (2002) p.18) argues that the functional projection in question is an applicative head situated above VP and combining with the VP by means of event identification. Pylkkänen (2002) distinguishes between High Applicatives and Low Applicatives. The latter are interesting for Romanian in that they are associated with the idea of a transfer of possession relation between the direct object and the indirect (=applied) argument. (Pylkkänen (2002)).

In what two-object constructions in Romanian are concerned we have three important reasons to posit along with Rivero & Diaconescu (2006) that the indirect object is introduced by an applicative projection. These reasons are: (1) the indirect object is an argument of the verb (it may be clitic doubled), (2) the verb already has one internal argument i.e., the accusative object therefore the dative DP may not function as the internal argument of the VB, (3) two-object constructions in Romanian are associated with the idea of transfer of possession.

Notice that unlike Rivero and Diaconescu (2006), we claim that the indirect object is always introduced by an Applicative projection irrespective of whether it is clitic doubled or not. This is so because we always need a functional projection to introduce this argument into the argument structure of the VP (considering that the internal argument is the accusative DP).

Moreover, in line with Săvescu (2009 p. 11) we think that the clitic does not occupy the head of the ApplP when present due to the fact that such a head should be rather verbal in its features, whereas the clitic has determiner-like properties (consider the agreement in phi features with the DP it doubles). Instead, we claim that the clitic occupies the head of a BigDP hosting the indirect object in its specifier just like in the configuration (26) below:

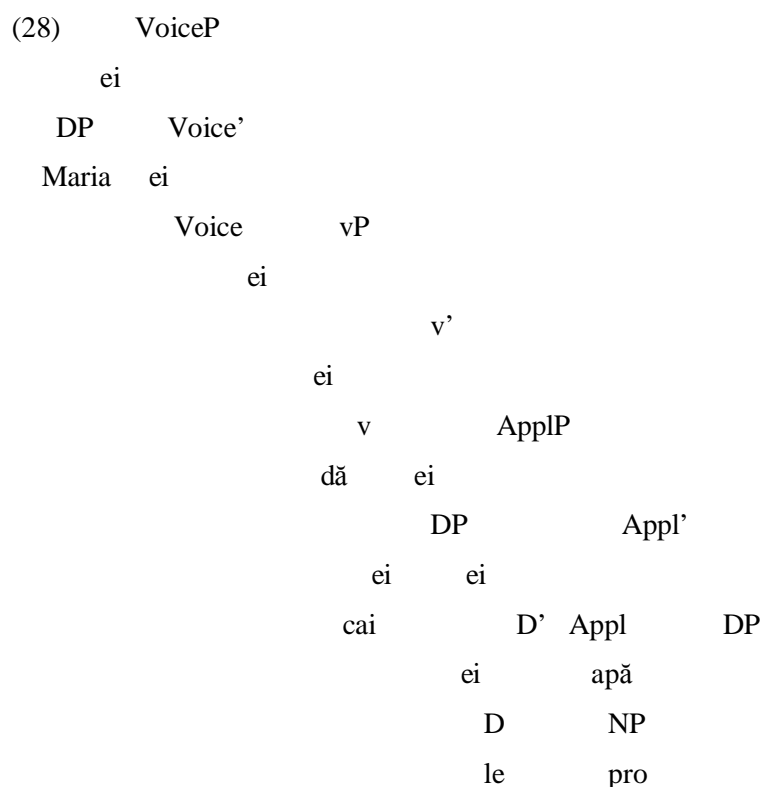


The entire BigDP is hosted in the Spec position of the Applicative phrase. The fact that the indirect object is a specifier is also justified by the fact that it is optional:

- | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|------|---------|--------|--------------|-------------------|
| (27) a. | Organizatorii | au | acordat | premii | substanțiale | (la câștigători). |
| | OrganizersDEF | have | given | prizes | substantial | la winners. |

“The organizers gave substantial prizes to the winners.”

Finally this analysis has the advantage of capturing the fact that the clitic and the DP double represent the same ϕ argument at merge. Furthermore, it accounts for the selectional properties of the clitic, which is ϕ complete and which requires that its complement be ϕ complete as well. Having considered all this, we propose the following structure for two-object constructions where the indirect object is clitic doubled, along the lines of Marantz (1993), Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), Rivero & Diaconescu (2006):



This configuration best accounts for all the properties of TOCs extended upon in the previous sections: 1. the argumental status of the indirect object, 2. the Dat>Acc order of the two objects 3. the agreement between the clitic and the DP double, 4. the specifier status of the indirect object springing from its optionality (note also that this analysis has the advantage of treating the indirect object in the same way with respect to its status in all the four TOCs). It is also convenient because it treats the case marker *la* in the same way in both doubled and undoubled TOCs.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This paper was devoted to the study of two-object constructions in Romanian where the *la* heads the indirect object DP. In these constructions the indirect object introduced by *la* may be either, clitic doubled or not. *La* TOCs are marginal, unlike their counterparts where the indirect object bears dative case, being employed mainly in the Western part of the country and in child speech. However, these constructions are obligatory when it comes to introducing indirect objects headed by invariable material e.g., *A dat bomboane la jumătate din colegi* (*He gave bonbons to half of his colleagues*) etc.

By analyzing the two-object constructions where the indirect object is introduced by *la*, we discovered that the order of the two constituents in TOCs is *la* DP >Acc DP. This result was confirmed by data coming from binding and weak cross over. Furthermore, there is no difference of structure between the clitic doubled TOC and its undoubled counterpart.

Furthermore, the constructions in *la* are very interesting if we consider the status of *la*. The fact that the object introduced by *la* may be clitic doubled, as opposed to other objects headed by prepositions (consider the *pentru* phrase in Benefactives) made us question the status of *la* as a mere (directional) preposition. Indeed, tests showed that *la* patterns together with Spanish *a* in that it is a case marker.

Having established all these properties, we embarked upon designing a configuration for the two-object constructions. The main idea was that there is one configuration at stake, holding for both TOCs.

Considering all the results obtained in the previous sections we concluded that an Applicative construction along the lines of Pyllkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), Anagnostopoulou (2002, 2003) and Rivero & Diaconescu (2006) best explains the facts in two-object constructions: if the clitic-doubled object is an argument of the verb (and it is an argument because it is clitic doubled), then it would have to be introduced into the argument structure of the verb by means of a functional projection. This goes in line with Marantz (1984) who argues that a verb can only have one internal argument and who posits that the subject (the external argument) is always introduced by means of a VoiceP as it is not a true argument of the verb. By analogy with the external argument, the indirect object needs to be added to the verb by a functional projection.

There are three important reasons to argue along with Rivero & Diaconescu (2006) that the clitic doubled indirect object is introduced by an applicative projection: (1) the clitic doubled indirect object is an argument of the verb as we have already pointed out, (2) the verb already has one internal argument i.e., the accusative object, consequently the DP headed by *la* may not function as the internal argument of the VB, (3) two-object constructions in Romanian are associated with the idea of transfer of possession.

Unlike Rivero & Diaconescu (2006) we claimed that the indirect object is always introduced by an Applicative projection irrespective of whether it is clitic doubled or not. This is so because we always need a functional projection to introduce this argument into the argument structure of the VP (considering that the internal argument is the accusative DP).

Moreover, along the lines of Săvescu (2009 p. 11) we think that the clitic does not occupy the head of the AppIP when present due to the fact that such a head should be rather verbal in its features, whereas the clitic has determiner-like properties (consider the agreement in phi features with the DP it doubles). Instead, we claimed that the clitic occupies the head of a BigDP hosting the indirect object in its specifier just like in the configuration

Finally this analysis has the advantage of capturing the fact that the clitic and the DP double represent

the same ϕ argument at merge.

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**THE COGNITIVE BASIS OF INTERPERSONAL MODALITY REALIZATION
IN ENGLISH HORSCOPE DISCOURSE**

Aygul R. Mukhtarullina

32, Zaki Validi Str., Bashkir State University, 450076, Ufa, the Russian Federation

mukhomor_ltd@mail.ru

Abstract

The provided investigation suggests the general overview of traditional and cognitive-pragmatic trends in interpreting modal meanings. The English esoteric (horoscopes and dream-telling) discourse allows to differentiate between subjective-personal and subjective-interpersonal modalities, the latter being subdivided into deontic, epistemic and axiological ones, expressed by specific language means.

Key words: *cognitive-pragmatic trend, subjective-interpersonal modality, deontic, epistemic and axiological, horoscope, dream-telling.*

The study of the linguistic status of any category requires the definition which system of other categories it belongs to and which of them it interacts with.

The problem of modality is one of the most complicated ones in contemporary linguistics. Opinions differ as to the nature of modality and its linguistic status, the types of modal meaning, language means expressing modality. The category of modality reflects different aspects of human activity, relationships of events, facts, phenomena of life. Correspondingly, any statement or utterance comprises information on the objective reality and conveys a certain attitude of the speaker towards the described, i.e. his evaluation, emotions, will. All the possible expressions of the speaker's attitude to the reported facts can be referred to the category of subjectivity. Subjectivity in the broad sense is the speaker's self-expression through the act of speech (Khimik 1990).

The priority in conducting researches on fundamental problems of modality belongs to the Russian academician V.V. Vinogradov, who, in his time, explicated the notional character of modality, singled out most typical language means expressing modality in Russian. He regarded modality as the main grammatical property of any sentence. "Each sentence contains modal meaning as an essential constructive part, it marks the attitude to reality" (Vinogradov 1975). V.V. Vinogradov treats the category of modality rather broadly and includes: 1) different types of sentences according to their purport of statement; 2) the emotional attitude of the speaker to reality, etc. Some other linguists adhere to the viewpoint that modality is a grammatical category of sentence. T.P. Lomtev gives the following definition of modality: "Modality is a property of attitudes, which differ in their source, in expressing reality or unreality, in the mode of their existence, as well as in the manifestation of their truthfulness" (Lomtev 1969, 217).

Later on, escaping from the rigidness of grammar schemes, Ferdinand Bruno suggested differentiating between three classes of modality: modality of thinking, modality of feeling and modality of will. He states that each of them may be subdivided into two categories: real modality and possible modality. He

refers any expression of feelings (hope, amazement, expectation, anxiety, apprehension, surprise, indifference, anger, etc.) to modality (Brunot 1953).

Charle Bally supported Bruno's position and singled out three general types of modality – intellectual judgment, affective assessment and wish (Bally 1955). E. Benvenist also subdivided modality into three types: possibility, impossibility and necessity (Benvenist 1974).

Among the representatives of the logical school in grammar there is not unanimity regarding the logical status of modality. In his time Aristotle introduced the term “modality” in logic and focused on the problem of truthfulness and falsity of a statement. Some linguists, though, disagree on the correlation of the truthfulness and falsity meanings with linguistic phenomena (Kolshansky 1975, 143). The criticism of the logical basis of grammar led to setting a clearer demarcation line between linguistic categories and those of logic. The connection of the logical modality with grammar was revealed also by Aristotle, who had assigned three types of the logical modality: 1) reality; 2) possibility; 3) necessity (Ph.E 1983, 381). On this basis Kant suggested three divisions of statement into: 1) assertoric (statement of reality); 2) apodictic (statements of necessity); 3) problematic (statement of possibility) (Ph.E 1983, 381).

In linguistic literature devoted to the modal semantics two types of modal meanings are singled out: subjective and objective. We meet the following in “Grammar-70”: “If the objective-modal meaning reflects the mode of attitude of the statement to reality, the subjective-modal meaning expresses the speaker's attitude towards some statement” (Russian Grammar 1970, 15). In “Russian Grammar-80” modal meanings are also subdivided into objective-modal and subjective-modal ones (Russian Grammar 1980, 214-215).

Most linguists define the objective modality as an obligatory property of any statement, inseparable from the sentence. The objective modality is expressed by mood forms and is organically connected with the category of tense (differentiated by temporal certainty/uncertainty) (Lyapon 1990, 303).

The linguistic interpretation of the subjective modality embraces the speaker's attitude to a statement; the means of expression are defined by the author's wish, intent, will. The subjective modality is regarded as something non-obligatory and even excessive.

Traditionally viewed, the subjective modality is expressed by a special lexical and grammatical class of words, word-combinations, sentences, which function as parentheses; special modal particles; interjections; special intonation means; word-order; special constructions – inversions, ellipsis, etc.

Language means of subjective modality modify the basic modal qualification expressed by the verbal mood, thus, they may overlap the objective modal characteristics and predominate in the modal hierarchy.

Nevertheless, some linguists consider it irrelevant to distinguish between objective and subjective modalities on the ground that “all the attitudes expressed by the category of modality are objective ones since they like other relations of the reality, and any human cognition, are generalized in speech practice” (Vassilyev 1993).

A. Peshkovsky emphasizes that the category of modality expresses only one attitude – that of the speaker to the relationship set between the content of the statement and reality (Peshkovsky 1935). Within such an approach modality closely interacts with the categories of pragmatics, i.e., the four aspects of communication: the speaker, the interlocutor, the content of a statement and reality.

The full pragmatic paradigm of investigation unites all the aspects of structural-semantic and pragmatic textual organization that is their reproduction and comprehension. A.G. Baranov proposes to determine

the types of texts according to parameters of their modalization. The top level of textual differentiation is the level of subjective interpersonal modality. It can express motive-and-intention textual components. Its superior content parameter is 'intentionality' which is expressed by the settings: 'prescription', 'description' and 'evaluation'. Textual pragmatic fields are exponents of these settings: deontic, axiological and epistemic (Baranov 1993). Thus, we should distinguish between deontic, axiological and epistemic text types.

1. Deontic (normative or prescriptive) texts control the action accomplishment from the viewpoint of rules and norms. Commonly, official and business texts are referred to them: agreements, legal laws, decrees, resolutions, orders, and instructions. The basic function of these texts is to influence the recipient's will and behavior.

2. Axiological (evaluative) texts are marked by their influence on the emotional state of the recipient. They are aimed at forming the evaluative scale in his cognitive system. There are two subtypes of the given text type: encouraging and reproachful which are singled out on the basis of axiological markers 'positive' and 'negative'.

3. Epistemic (descriptive) texts are texts that make it possible to apply the criterion of 'truth' to them, since they describe the state of affairs with different degrees of authenticity.

The given differentiation of texts is of relative character, as all the three functions are in complex interrelation in real texts. Epistemic texts have been exposed to further differentiation. Thus, there are four epistemic text types: texts of interpersonal communication, informative, scientific and fiction texts.

We consider esoteric texts or discourse to be the texts of interpersonal communication because they have the following settings: extension; "here-and-now" chronological field; topological field: subjective direction; interpersonality. Interpersonal textual activity is many-sided and heterogeneous. Its principal distinguishing feature is a direct space-temporal contact of the subjects of communication, their communicative strategies and dialogical form of the text. Accordingly, there are three basic relations that are expressed in texts: A (author) – R (recipient), A – T (text), T – R. Thus, we may distinguish the following modalities: subjective-interpersonal modality, subjective-personal modality and referential modality. They have their own pragmatic fields of expression.

Pragmatic field of referential modality is determined by relations T – R, that is the relation between the textual cognitive component and exterior world which is established by the subjects in a way they form it through their textual activity intentions. There are the following index mechanisms of textual reference that are verbalized in semantic-pragmatic fields of texts: chronological, topological and personal. In the pragmatic field of esoteric discourse the author and the recipient are in close temporal-spatial and psychological contact. They usually know each other and speak about things that are familiar to them. Texts of interpersonal communication are extensive by their nature. The shift of 'roles' played by the participants of the communicative act is a peculiarity of the epistemic texts of this kind. Verbal representation of the author and the recipient is both implicit and explicit. In direct verbal presentation the author is referred to as 'I' and the recipient is referred to as 'YOU'. For example, the recipient's personality is explicitly expressed in the esoteric discourse of dreams interpretations: e.g. "*You may feel that circumstances are closing in on you and feel a need to escape*" (Jane Teresa Anderson "JaneTeresa" @dream.net.au). The subject is most commonly designated by names, descriptions and pronouns.

The interpersonal subjective modality is set by relations A – R, between the subjects of textual activity. These relations are revealed through the attitude of the textual reality to the outer reality. The given modality is preconditioned by the author's intentions and reflects his psychological purposes to describe,

alter and evaluate the reality. Thus this modality is subdivided into deontic, epistemic and axiological. The listed modalities are realized in texts within the pragmatic fields of the same name.

The mechanism of the modal information realization is represented as the cognitive modeling. The objective facts, obtained from the outer reality, actions, objects, perception, as well as individual memories, form *scenes*. In the process of categorizing these actions, objects, perception, and so forth, the conceptual structures (=scenes) get arranged in the *scheme*. Specific lexical and grammatical content that the given language has to designate and describe categories and attitudes which have been revealed in schemes, are called the *frame*. Through the interpretation of the text the recipient construes his idea of the world, his own model of the reality. The ensemble of schemes created by the interpreter and predetermined by his knowledge of frames in the text, forms the model of the text.

Structuring the modal information through frames seems to us perspective, since: 1) they are used for representation of various sorts of knowledge, 2) they often consist of minor structures which can be named as “subframes”, 3) they can be united into larger units – “packages of the memory organization”, 4) they often represent a set of slots, providing certain fillers – obligatory or optional, 5) they are intended for recognition and interpretation of the new information (Bell 1991, 250).

Discourse modality unites two interacting language frames of referential and subjective modality. The frame of subjective modality forms a superstructure level over the basic level of the frame of referent modality. It includes subframes of subjective-personal (author - text) and subjective-interpersonal (author – recipient) modalities which are activated by different language means: 1) of emotive response and psychic reaction, sensory, mental, evaluative, compositional modalities, and 2) epistemic, axiological and deontic modalities, respectively.

The subjective–personal (the author’s) modality is treated as a means modifying the cognitive component of the text and characterizes the author of text activity. Primarily, the center of modalization of such relations is the author.

The subjective–interpersonal modality is predetermined by the author’s intentions in dialogue and reflects his psychological purpose to describe the world (epistemic modality), to change the world (deontic modality) and to give it his evaluation (axiological modality).

The frame of subjective–interpersonal modality activates the following scenes. *The scene of emotive modality* is represented by language units of various levels, lexical expressive means here occupy the central position. Some emotions are revealed within individual scenes – in the sense that emotional acts are simple and have properties explicable at a given moment of time. Such lexicalizations are referred to the direct nomination of emotions (though, cases of the indirect nomination are also numerous).

The lexical units widely used in esoteric discourse are mostly attributive groups: 1. “Suppression could make you irritable, but be sure that you do not allow yourself to become obsessive or physically aggressive” (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 39); 2. “This transit may bring a compulsion to be with a special person in order to express your love and affection” (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 18); 3. “You are likely to be disappointed by other loved ones, as well” (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 32).

The scene of sensory modality represents the knowledge one comprehends as corporal and mental experience. “Perception does not exist beyond such mental operations as: identification, taxonomy, interpretation, implications and so on. The cognitive cycle develops from perception to cognition” (Arutyunova 1988, 111).

To understand this type of modality here is an example "...confused, startled, touched, she couldn't help the warmth being loved by two men at once". We should try to feel the same 'warmth' physically. Then these feelings undergo mental operations and are stored in our memory as information of the "off-line" type. Even after a long period of time some certain event can make us recall the message that further will cause the real 'avalanche' and make one feel as for the first time: 1. "You are feeling secure in your knowledge of yourself and the direction your life is going, but will be eager to learn more" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 57); 2. "You can enhance relationships now because you feel the full force of your emotions" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 39); 3. "In group activities you will want to lead and the others will sense your need for that and won't seem to mind" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 48).

The scene of mental modality represents the following step in the hierarchy from concrete to abstract. The language units realizing the mental modality are diverse and are subdivided into the following categories: 1) modality of supposition, 2) modality of doubt, uncertainty, 3) modality of confidence, 4) modality of knowledge, 5) modality of ignorance: 1. "You will begin to understand how the past has affected the present, and learn how to control parts of yourself that used to control you" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 6); 2. "You can see the overall picture and are able to understand much that you need to know about yourself" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 20); 3. "If you have been rooted primarily in the material world, you probably could believe nothing is real unless you could experience it through one of the five senses" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 56); 4. "If you are conscious of the psychological changes, you may recognize a need to be free from some material possessions, especially if they get in the way of your inner, psychological growth" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 62).

The scene of evaluative modality is, probably, the most subjectivized and heterogeneous type of information, since here the personal experience of the author is on the fore: "In the first house it will influence you to be socially outgoing, with a pleasing manner and friendly appearance. It could enhance a striking physical beauty as well. You will generally have a happy outlook on life, and your natural ability to mix well with other people should contribute to both good business and exciting romantic opportunities. Artistic talent is also indicated during this time" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 3); "This is a positive transit, giving you confidence and benevolence" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 25); "That could cause a negative, even hostile, reaction from others" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 60).

The scene of modality of will and need appeals, first and foremost, to our assessment of will and reason - two fundamental notions of the human spiritual life: 1) "You want to rebel, and are likely to act rashly and impulsively" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 19); 2) "You won't be willing to back down or compromise on any issue, but that is exactly what you need to do-- especially if you can do so without giving up on essential points" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 52); 3) "You will not want to accept events at face value at this time, and it is a good time to study subjects like psychology, philosophy, mysticism, and the occult" (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 17).

The scene of compositional modality reflects the knowledge related to the structuring of the text, intra-text communications and relations. The scenes are arranged here by the principle of semantic network; separate parts of a scene can belong to different frames:

- 1) “However, the gypsies believed that good fortune awaited the person who dreamed of being naked – particularly if the dream was lit by the stars” (Lohff, David, 44);
- 2) “In particular, the cobra is a symbol of divine enlightenment and associated with the god Shiva”(Lohff, David, 67).

As has been mentioned above, there are three subtypes of **subjective interpersonal modality**: deontic, epistemic and axiological. Each type has its own pragmatic field of realization. By means of *deontical modality* the author of the esoteric discourse of dream interpretations and horoscopes influences his interlocutor’s will and behavior through giving advice, requests. Therefore, the basic means of this modality type actualization is the imperative mood:

- 1) “Ask him if there is something that is upsetting him and reassure him that you will support him whatever it is” (Jane Teresa Anderson “JaneTeresa” @dream.net.au);
- 2) “Free yourself of emotional burdens and open yourself to new potentials” (Lohff, David, 43);
- 3) “Avoid fixating on past experiences not relevant to the present lest it lead to neurotic tendencies” (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 50);
- 4) “Your accident dream is not necessarily a premonition of the future so do not jump to conclusions” (Jane Teresa Anderson “JaneTeresa” @dream.net.au);
- 5) “Watch your ego and make allowances for the ordinary people” (The Destiny and Decisions Forecast Report for Sean Connery 2012, 13).

The scene of epistemic modality is represented through narrative statements and rhetoric questions, as the author tries to give the description of his interlocutor’s life through his dreams interpretations and horoscopes. Rhetoric questions help him to intervene in his recipient’s consciousness and prompt him into speculations about the way of life he leads. In esoteric discourse the author expresses the degree of subjective confidence in the authenticity of his text with the help of different language means. In this respect epistemic subjective modality is closely connected with deontic modality:

- 1) “Digging up buried treasure or finding money symbolizes rediscovering a part of yourself” (Fontana, David, 67);
- 2) “There may be a wealth of past experiences that you can draw on – something from your childhood perhaps?” (Jane Teresa Anderson “JaneTeresa” @dream.net.au);
- 3) “To dream of being naked may indicate that you feel vulnerable and exposed. You may feel that you are unable to maintain your defenses against the outside world” (Fontana, David, 55);
- 4) “For example, if you dream of your mother dying could it represent the ‘death’ of the motherly side of your own nature?” (Jane Teresa Anderson “JaneTeresa” @dream.net.au);
- 5) “Perhaps you are being emotionally victimized and you feel vulnerable as you did as a child?” (Jane Teresa Anderson “JaneTeresa” @dream.net.au);
- 6) “Perhaps you have ‘climbed above your station’ and experiencing the ‘pride before a fall’” (Boss, Medard, 46).

As most of linguists claim, *the scene of axiological modality* is built in the deontical and epistemic modalities as a text module. Explicitly, it is expressed by exclamatory sentences, though, in most cases it has no direct syntactic manifestations:

- 1) "... (Sigmund Freud once said that his favorite dream was being naked in a crowd of strangers!)" (Jane Teresa Anderson "JaneTeresa" @dream.net.au);
- 2) "Your dreams and ambitions may be too grandiose and not in accord with what you can realistically expect to achieve" (Jane Teresa Anderson "JaneTeresa" @dream.net.au);
- 3) "It is healthy to accept that death comes to us all as this realization broadens our spiritual perspective and loosens the grip of material craving" (Jane Teresa Anderson "JaneTeresa" @dream.net.au).

Thus, having analyzed the language means expressing subjective modalities in the esoteric discourse of dream interpretations and horoscopes, we have drawn the following conclusions:

- 1) in esoteric discourse all the pragmatic relations are realized: A – R, A – R, T – R;
- 2) different types of modality and its cognitive fields closely interact;
- 3) texts of dream interpretations and horoscopes belong mostly to the deontic type of epistemic texts of interpersonal communication. The main form of the author's appeal to his interlocutor is through giving advice. It corresponds to the purport of deontical texts: to change the speaker's mind, to impact his will, behavior and consciousness;
- 4) the scenes of referential modality, i.e. of subject, object, action, locality and temporality, are most frequently represented in the forms of the present and future tenses and by lexical units denoting abstract notions;
- 5) axiological modality interacts closely with deontic and epistemic modalities in the esoteric discourse of horoscopes and dream interpretations, predominating in texts books of dream interpretations.

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HOW DONATIVE PEOPLE USE METATHESIS IN SPEECH?

Azam Ajand, Ehteram Sadat Tavakoli

Payam Nour University of Tehran, Iran

Hossein Ghasempour Moghaddam

Educational Planning and research organization, Tehran, Iran

Abstract

Metathesis theory was first introduced by neo-grammarians like Osthoff and Brogman in 1878. That is one of the essential topics in phonemics theory related to speech. In this case, two elements displace with each other in syntagmatic of prior elements for constructing bigger units. The goal of this study is describing reasons of using phonemic process of metathesis in Persian spoken language. In this research we used descriptive method and collected necessary information through observation and record of words used by a group of 50 Persian native adults and children living in Tehran as samples of this study. Findings indicated that, Metathesis process happens because of wrong habits while reading or writing text, weakness in hearing, lack of sensibility in visual memory, stress while speaking, fast talking, inseparable phonemes and lack of information in recognition of phonemes.

Key words: *metathesis, phonemics, syntagmatic, speech*

INTRODUCTION

Human being is a social creature and wants evolution and stability and Speech is his way for communicating with other. Language phonemes are the smallest elements in phonemic structure that stand together in syntagmatic axis in order to construct the biggest elements or to create language syllables while speaking. Beside morphemes are the smallest construction of conjugational elements, stand together in syntagmatic axis in order to construct the biggest elements and to create words, and word is a unit of expression which has universal intuitive recognition by native speakers, in both spoken and written language (Crystal 2003, p. 500). But clearly enough phonological changes happen while speaking and have the tendency toward easier articulation but some phonological changes do not appear to fulfill a tendency toward easier articulation. Phones get inserted termed "insertion", become different from neighboring phones termed "dissimilation" are inverted, termed metathesis and change as a part of a set of parallel changes in so called "chain shifts" (Hudsen 2000, p. 415). Here we want to especially focus on metathesis. Sometimes in syntagmatic of prior elements for constructing bigger units two elements displace with each other which leads to metathesis process. Metathesis is a term used in linguistics to refer to an alteration in the normal sequence of elements in a sentence – usually of sounds, but sometimes of syllables, words or other units. According to Merriam Webster dictionary metathesis is the transposition of two phonemes in a word (as in the development of crud from curd or the pronunciation \ 'pər-tē\ for pretty) Metathesis is the phenomenon whereby two sounds that appear in a particular order in one form of a word occur in the reverse order in a related form of the word. While metathesis is not as common as other processes affecting sounds in language, such as assimilation or deletion, it does, nonetheless, occur as a regular phonological process in synchronic systems in a wide range of languages (Linguistic Dep. Ohio Uni.) Metatheses are well recognized in historical linguistics

(e.g. old English *brid* becomes *bird*) but they can also be seen in performance errors – in such tongue-slips as *aks* for *ask*, or in phenomenon of “spoonerisms” (e.g. the dear old queen becoming the queer old dean), (Crystal 2003 p 291). Metathesis, or the transposition of whole segments either synchronically or from one historical language stage to another, has usually been regarded as one of the less common phonological processes, even to such an extent that researchers have asked the question whether it exists at all as a synchronic (morpho) phonological process (Hock 1991). There are several reasons that cause metathesis process.

PHONOLOGICAL AWARENESS SKILL STRATEGY

Phonological awareness is the meta cognitive ability for using phonemic system that needs informed thought. (Danayetus 2005 p.72) or Phonological awareness is the ability to recognize that words are made up of a variety of sound units, This awareness is equal to the ability and proficiency of individual in informed manipulation of syllabic units, syllabic interior and phonemic. Phonological awareness is knowledge of phoneme structure, phonemic and words syllabic it is the perception of knowing which word has made several syllable? Or what is the first phoneme? This awareness leads to comprehend the relationship between the words used in speech and words in written language (Kazemi, Suleimani 2006 p.934). The Persian language has six vowel phonemes and twenty-three consonant phonemes. It features contrastive stress and syllable-final consonant clusters. in Persian Syllable is system of related phonetic which is established by one vowel and one up to three consonants. Persian syllable structure consists of an optional syllable onset, consisting of one consonant; an obligatory syllable nucleus, consisting of a vowel optionally preceded by and/or followed by a semivowel; and an optional syllable coda, consisting of one or two consonants (mahootian 1997, p 305). The following restrictions apply:

- Onset
 - Consonant (C): Can be any consonant. (Onset is composed only of one consonant; consonant clusters are only found in loanwords, sometimes an epenthetic /æ/ is inserted between consonants.)
- Nucleus
 - Semivowel (S)
 - Vowel (V)
 - Semivowel (S)
- Coda
 - First consonant (C): Can be any consonant.
 - Second consonant (C): Can also be any consonant (mostly /d/, /k/, /s/, /t/, & /z/).

There are three kinds of syllables in Persian:

CV: /ta/

CVC: /tab/

CVCC: /goft/

Though two vowels cannot be in one syllable, syllable in a phonetic system bigger than syllable can be distinctive by counting vowels. (Samare, 2007 p. 45) Vowels are phonetics of language which is divided in two groups in Persian language. High vowels include /a/, /i/, /u/ and short vowels include /a/, /e/, and /o/.

There are three kinds of phonological awareness:

1. **Syllabic awareness:** the first and easiest way that word can be scanned is syllable. Ability of kid in recognition of word syllables evaluate through scan, compound or elision.
2. **Phonemic awareness:** knowledge of phonemes that make words. This skill is evaluated by scan, compound, elision and variation of specific phoneme of word.
3. **Awareness of interior syllabic units:** interior syllabic units are smaller units of syllable and bigger than phoneme. (Kazemi and Soleimani, 2006 p.936) These units include initial syllable (units before vowel) and closed syllable (vowel and consonants after that). In syllabic structure of Persian language initial syllable is always one consonant or consonantal but closed syllable can include one vowel and one up to two consonants. This skill can be evaluated by recognizing rhyme of the words, production of rhyme and recognition of initial words.

DENOTATIVE UNITS OF WORD

Each one of the meaning-distinguishing sounds in a language is described as phoneme, an essential property of a phoneme is that it functions contrastively (Yule, 2006, p. 44). Phonemes are the smallest inseparable unit of speech which stand together to construct other units. Phoneme is intellectual aspect of sound and letter is written aspect of phoneme. In Accordance to this definition phonemes of Persian language are divided in to two groups:

1. Consonant: consonants can appear in the beginning of the word. There are 23 consonant in Persian language.
2. Vowel: vowels cannot appear in the beginning of the word, it means that they can be in the middle or at the end of the word. There are 6 vowels in Persian language.

SIMULTANEOUS PHONEMIC RELOCATION

In Persian, phonemic relocation in kid's language is errors of talking and slangy talking. (Haghshenas 1384 p.156 and Samare 2004 p.115) Generally phonemic relocation in all languages is more related to errors of talking and common phonemics feature. (Spencer 1996 p.48)

/mashgh//maghsh/-/yakhchal//khaychal/-/felani//fenali/-/balegh//baghel/

Sometimes kids pronounce these words like the examples because it is easier but this process has direct relation to literacy of parents. It means that as far as the language knowledge of people progress, the phonemic process doesn't happen. In Persian, phonemic process happens in spoken language of adults and mostly these people don't have important role in society.

*/Tabriz//tarbiz/-/sorkh//sokhr/-/kebrit//kerbit/-/satl//salt/-/ghofl//gholf/-/aks//ask/-/noskhe//nokhse/-
/felaks//felask/-/taksi//taski/-/nalbeki//nableki/-/saghf//safgh/-/susk//suks/-/befrushim//berfushim/-
/befrestam//berfestam/-/morgh//moghr/-/shagham//shaghlam/*

People of Northern part of Iran have these kinds of words and they think this pronunciation is right. But nowadays old people pronounce these words and the youth pronounce the correct form of words.

*/banish//benshin/-/bebashkhid//bebakhshid/-/dina//donya/-/gharb//ghabr/-/rasgh//raghs/-/vask//vaks/-
/maks//mask/-/miram//Maryam/-/dira//darya/*

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goal of this study specifies phonemic process of metathesis in kids and students speech. The research questions are as follow:

1. To what extent phonemic process of metathesis in kids and students speech is stress based?
2. To what extent fast talking has influence on phonemic process of metathesis in kids and students speech?
3. To what extent literacy has influence on accurate talking of kids and students?

RESEARCH METHOD

Descriptive and observation method is used as the methodology of research and also a collection of words are recorded too. Participants of this study are 25 students and 25 kids that are selected accidentally. This research is done in November 2012. In this research and a standard recorder is used for collecting information.

DATA ANALYSIS

Question 1: To what extent phonemic process of metathesis in kids and students speech is stress based?

Affection of stress on phonemic process of metathesis in peoples speech	
students	kids
60	50

Table 1.Stress affection

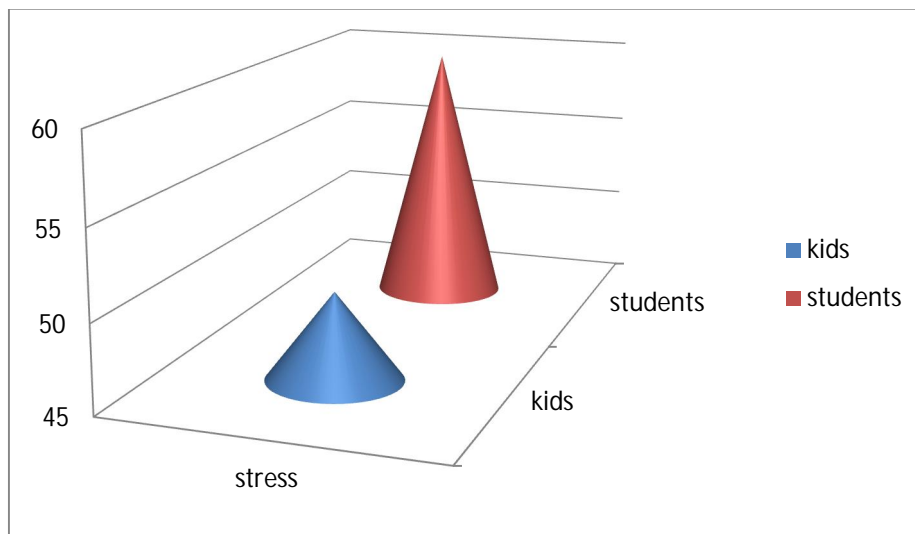


Fig1. Stress chart

Affection of fast talking on phonemic process of metathesis in peoples speech	
students	kids
55	66

Table 2.fast talking affection

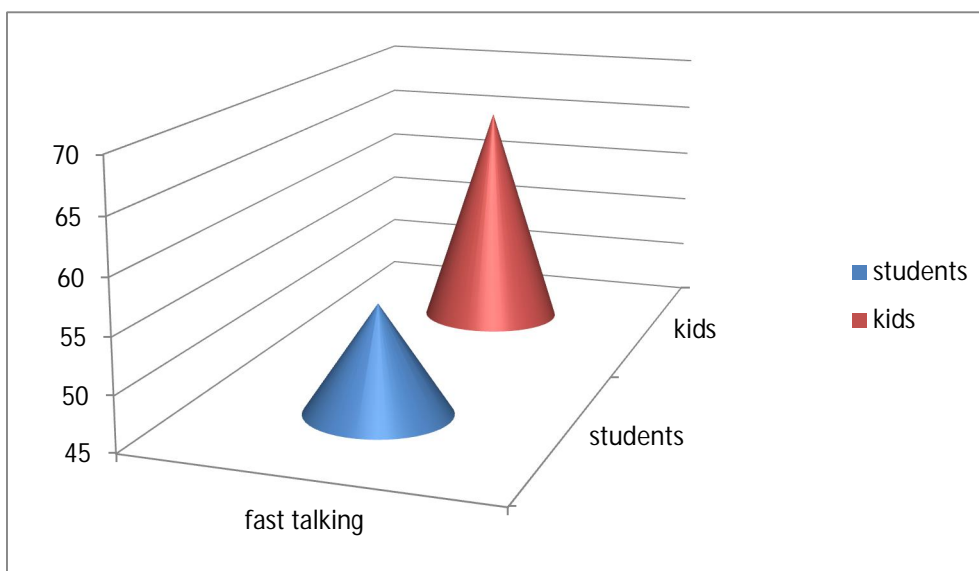


Fig 2. Fast talking affection chart

As shown in table 1. A percentage of 50 kids and a percentage of 60 students have stress when they want to talk, so phonemic process of metathesis occurs in their speech. For prevention of this happen, students and kids shouldn't have stress when they are talking.

Question 2: To what extent fast talking has influence on phonemic process of metathesis in kids and students speech?

Fast talking happens in 66percent of kids and 55percent of students while they want to speak fast, phonemic process of metathesis occurs in their speech as shown in table 2.

Question 3: To what extent literacy has influence on accurate talking of kids and students?

Affection of literacy on accurate speaking of people	
students	kids
70	70

Table 3.Literacy affection

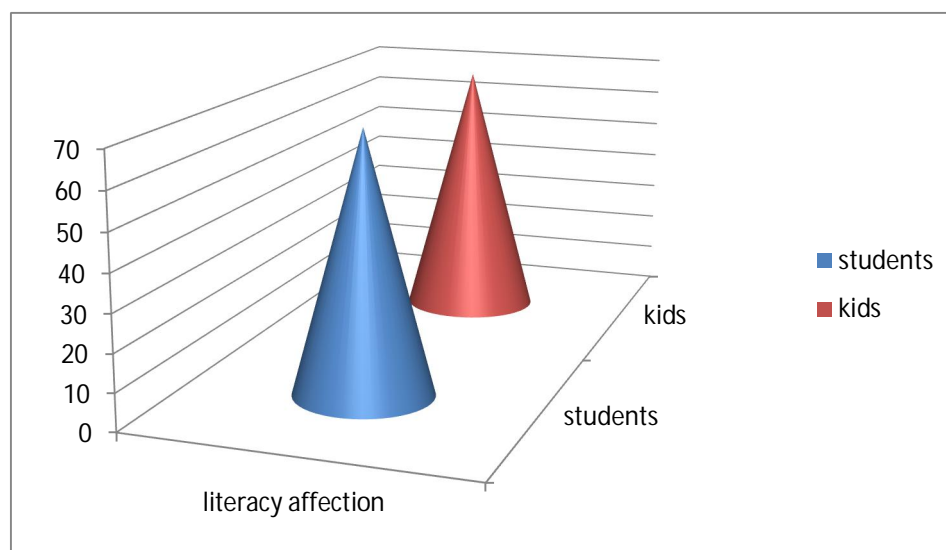


Fig 3. Literacy affection chart

70percent of kids and students cannot pronounce words correctly as shown in table 3.Because they don't know how to read and write.

DISCUSSIONANDCONCLUSION

Phonemic process of metathesis has important role in speech. And is related to simplicity of apprehension and production of speech. The goal of this research specifies phonemic process of

metathesis in Persian language. Definition of phonemic process of metathesis was described at first and in the main part of the research; some examples were enhanced to the research. Reasons that cause phonemic process of metathesis in speech are categorized as follow:

1. Wrong habits while reading or writing text that happens unconsciously.
2. weakness in hearing
3. lack of sensibility in visual memory
4. stress while speaking
5. fast talking
6. Inseparable phonemes and lack of information in recognition of phonemes.
7. This process happens in people's speech that cannot read or write text.

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**GERMAN ISLAND DIALECTS IN THE KIROV REGION – THEIR FUNCTIONING
IN THE CONDITIONS OF LANGUAGE INTERACTION**

Olga Baykova

Vyatka State University of Humanities (Kirov) 610002 Russia Kirov, Krasnoarmeiskaya, 26

Abstract

Topicality of the research on German island dialects in the Kirov region is determined by the general linguistic, historical-linguistic and sociolinguistic value of insular dialectology connected with peculiarities of development and functioning of dialects in alien dialect and language surroundings, i. e. in the situation when separate ethnolinguistic groups exist in isolation from the main ethnic community

Key words: *German dialects, language interaction, bilingualism, interference*

Modern Russian linguistics studies mainly languages which are actively operating. An interest in dialects especially of small ethnic groups is determined by concern to lose distinctive character of cultures of the groups, which is known to be reflected in the language. Such research is also necessary to understand the way different languages develop and interact especially in case of their direct contact. Comparative linguistics offers many theories which describe the key stages when separate languages influence and change each other. Some of these theories can be proved by actual facts; others are hypothetical ones since it's not always historically possible to restore all the levels of mutual influence. But these processes are permanent and basically identical, which can be seen even these days in the languages of small ethnic groups. The models of such interaction are best seen in the example of dialects existing alongside with a common national language. Dialect is one of the forms the national language exists in. In this view Germany is a rather unique country due a great variety of dialects on a comparatively small territory, and a standard was formed not so long ago in historical terms.

It was the history of German people that migration flows appeared in Germany in the 18th century and started moving to the Russian Empire. The coming refugees densely settled on the territory of the Empire forming island settlements each having its dominant dialect. These dialects were then the only language for people to communicate with each other. The languages assimilated slowly and keeping native language on the territory of another language area could barely influence the life of its speakers. As a rule, the native dialect was the only means of communication in everyday life. The further historical events connected with the Great Patriotic War were a tragedy even for the Germans who were habitual residents of the USSR. When the war began, they were deported to move to Siberia and Central Asia which was the reason why they started to bind together nationality-based. And surely, another language situation arose and dialects which were autonomous before mixed up together. Besides, it was officially forbidden to speak these dialects and next generations didn't have an opportunity to be educated in their native language. But irrespective of prohibition to speak German on the national level, it was still the means of communication in everyday life.

One of the islands the Soviet Germans were forced to move to was the Kirov region where ethnic groups and their language were mixing together. Transformations have been taking place from the beginning

of the war till present days. Let us define their character and probably will help the scholars to find the ways to save the disappearing dialects and cultures of small ethnic groups.

The study of the Russian Germans in the Kirov region is made by research into the 4 main aspects of functioning of the German dialects in terms of linguistic island. These aspects are historical-demographical, cultural, sociolinguistic and linguistic proper. Historical-demographical aspect is connected with obtaining and generalizing different data, including statistics ones, in regard to when the Germans come to the Vyatka land, how they settled geographically, also in regard to their population, age structure and social status. Cultural aspect helps us to follow the connection between speech facts of the island dialect speakers and their culture, ethnic awareness and attitude to the neighboring ethnic groups. Sociolinguistic aspect us lets estimates the linguistic competence, define functioning fields of the German island dialects and esteem their pragmatic value. And finally, the linguistic aspect proper defines the level of informant's mastering the language. The topicality of this aim is chiefly determined by the fact that linguistic and social-political constituents of the languages and their dialect interaction beyond their main area are becoming now a real social problem. It concerns not only research into the German dialects in Russia but also in other multinational, i.e. multilingual societies. Therefore it's topical to use a complex approach to study interference in terms of language contacts in multinational societies. The topicality is also determined by absence of the single theory for functioning and development of the island dialects in terms of the constantly growing influence of the alien language surroundings. It's also topical that we can witness different forms of bilingualism among the Russian Germans living in the Kirov region. These forms require examination and systematization. And finally, the present research is topical because it involves not only segmental structure into analysis which is typical of dialectology but also applies to prosodic phenomena in order to get the complete picture of how the island dialects actually function and to make the concept of prosodic interference in terms of bilingualism and multilinguism within the territory of the linguistic island.

The present research is aimed at finding peculiarities of the unique language form which is the mixed German dialects, systematizing the linguistic mechanism of languages interaction which arise, making notional system for creation of a single theory of their development under conditions of alien languages and dialects surroundings, analyzing the main trends of their functioning under conditions of bilingualism and multilinguism, forming technique of examining the prosodic characteristics and creating the concept of prosodic interference for the German dialects under review. The empiric base of the present research was formed on the materials of dialectological and ethnographic expeditions to 6 settlements of the Verchnekamskiy district in the Kirov region taken in the years of 1999-2011. The data of these expeditions formed the bank which includes records of 26 informants speaking at the total duration of 50 hours and questionnaires with sociolinguistic and historical-demographical information about each informant. Due to analysis of the received theoretical and test data the following conclusions were made.

According statistics, 1408 Russian Germans live at present in the Kirov region. They do not belong to the autochthonous ethnic groups. Till the 20th century representatives of this ethnic groups didn't comprise the unified ethnic group, unlike the Russian Germans living in the dense settlements in Ukraine, the Volga region, Transcaucasia, Saint Petersburg Governorate, Siberia and Central Asia. They were not peasants but qualified professionals and intellectuals. Their quite dense settlements appeared in the Vyatka region only in the middle of the 20th century.

It should be noted that issues of the language contacts are studied on the basis of linguistic materials of informants who saved and still speak their native dialects (idiolects) in everyday life. These people kept original ethnic characteristics with deportation, i.e. their forced migration influencing the process of

remaining the traditional traits and appearing of new ones in their culture. Original peculiarities of their way of life are still remaining in a way in their habits, traditions, day-to-day life but recently they are best seen in spheres of spiritual culture and national self-awareness.

In sociolinguistic terms, the following forms of bilingualism of the Russian Germans in the Kirov region can be distinguished in the given language situation. An active German-Russian bilingualism is typical of senior age group. This form of bilingualism is large-scale, since all the Russian Germans of this group equally speak both German and Russian. Bilingualism is one-sided for examined settlements because Russian people don't speak German there. Natural character of bilingualism of the German people is determined by their constant contacts with the Russian language in terms of their joint activity. Subordination of bilingualism, i.e. production of combined utterances is connected with the fact that the Russian Germans can speak alternately either their native dialect or Russian depending on a certain situation. Code switchings occur so often that they should be regarded as a typical trait which is characteristic of the Russian Germans living in the region. The specific forms of bilingualism characteristic of medium and junior age groups are passive-active German-Russian bilingualism and active Russian monolingualism.

Distribution of operation spheres for the Russian and German languages spoken by ethnic Germans living in the Kirov region and choice of a native language are determined by various social-demographical factors as follows: 1) age: senior generation keeps its native idiolects and speaks them in everyday life, these people went to the German national schools in their dense settlements; 2) family situation: ethnically "pure" families keep their dialects, mixed families traditionally prefer the Russian language; 3) informant's gender which is significant only for senior generation. Female informants speak their native German language much better. In this case women speak the dialect as a language of their ancestors, language of their culture, traditions and family communication. As for male informants, the research shows that only few men speak their native dialects. The reason of the low linguistic competence among men is their weaker communicative activity.

The proper linguistic aspect of the present research deals with the following 2 processes: interdialect and interlingual interaction in speech of the Russian Germans living in the Kirov region. This interaction examination made it possible to define all the levels of specific character of the language realization for the Russian ethnic Germans.

Sound-phonemic (segmental) level is basic for the research. It should be noted that the main consonantism difference between idiolects under review is based firstly on spirantization of intervocalic occlusives $b > v$ (w), $g > j$, $g > x$, ζ ; secondly, on different ways of realization of consonantal clusters including sch; and thirdly on realization of the second consonant shift. In terms of vocalism opposition of the dialects is more successive firstly on the basis of presence/absence of the vowels widening for $i > e$, $u > o$; secondly on the basis of presence/absence of epenthesis between smooth r,l and velar sonant ch, reduction of unstressed vowels in pre-stressed syllables. Along with these basic diachronic processes, the data for the following types of variation were collected: interchange of nasalized and non-nasalized vowels, umlaut, refraction and reduction of unstressed vowels.

Within the research, common and distinctive features of the dialects under review were defined. These features prove that language systems are quite stable towards different language alterations in spite of long-term mutual contacts and surrounding language. The results of research let us state the mixed character of the dialects under review at the segmental level.

The present research was the first to include complex experimental phonetic analysis of suprasegmental structure of the German speech of the bilingual Germans in the Kirov region. Its algorithm is the

following: 1) segmentation of intonation phrases with computer program PRAAT (6700 units); 2) analysis of complete intonation phrases (500 units), incomplete intonation phrases (250 units); 3) intonation transcription of nuclear outlines of complete and incomplete intonation phrases.

The study of the prosody of the island dialects is based on hypothesis according to which it's possible to differentiate between High and Low German island dialects by realization of intonation characteristics as it's seen in some dialects of Germany. The present research discarded this hypothesis. It was established that the average frequency range of the pitch particularly shows only difference between male and female voices, with statistically significant difference of mean range between High and Low German dialects under review being unascertained. The same informants realize all the intonation outlines in their speech. This fact proves the hypothesis on the mixed character of the dialects, not only at segmental level but at suprasegmental one as well, which makes it possible to form a concept of prosodic interference for the German island dialects under review.

Therefore, it would be efficient to interpret this form of the language as an archisystem which appears with at least 2 systems, for example 2 regional dialects. By comparing them, it's possible to build a relation system, or diasystem including common and differentiating units. Being different from the proper German dialect systems, this system is constantly changing but operates as one of the communication means for the Russian Germans living in the Kirov region.

According to results of the present research, the German dialects under review fell under great influence of the Russian language during long-term development in the alien language surrounding. This development has brought about considerable changes at all the levels of the dialects structure.

The post-experimental code switchings in the speech of the Russian Germans living in the Kirov region, it was stated that these switchings depend on the speech situation and topic of communication. The code switching is made both within syntactical structure and phrasal boundaries. In terms of quantitative structure, the code within the sentence switches at maximum and minimum levels. In terms of motivation, the code usually switches subconsciously and is determined by the topic of conversation.

Analysis of empiric material made it possible to systematize interlingual and interdialect borrowings at phonetic level (complete reduction of the final vowel), e.g. brigadə «бригада», maʃinkə «машинка», etc., at morphologic level (use of the borrowed nouns with an article in accordance with gender of the borrowed noun (dr prədsəta:təl, tə'bā:nja); forming plural and singular of the nouns (tə'partɪə – tə'partɪən «die Partei – die Parteien»); noun declension (von dəm savot – «von dem Betrieb»), and at the syntactical level (word order in a German sentence corresponds to that of a Russian sentence) viə'hā:m ghəirət ən sozəmskom (мы поженились в Созимском), iç ha:bə' g(ə)arbəit ən bətri:b krənofʃək(ə)kom (я работала на заводе крановщиком).

Certain changes take place in speech of the ethnic Germans living in the region as a result of interaction between the German and Russian languages. These changes are basically found at morphologic and syntactic levels and are deviations from language standard, a kind of transferring the rules of one language to another one. Such changes can be seen in the following examples of interference, at morphologic and syntactic levels: non-standard naming the dates, e.g. ən əntō:zənuihō:drtsvəiontfi:rtsəçstə' ja:r; expansion of the grammatical meaning of prepositions ɛr ha:t glēānt ouf ən meha:nək' (он учился на механика); violation of the word order in a sentence: iç ben gbō:ra' n ja:r nuintsəhondrfinfontsvantsəç (я родилась в 1925 году), etc.

As for phonetic interference, alien language surrounding didn't have significant impact on phonetic systems of the dialects under review. When studying an interfering influence of the native German language on alien Russian, it was experimentally specified that Russian speech of the bilingual Germans

is not homogeneous, and varies from ‘having practically no accent’ to ‘unnatural’ for the monolingual Russians. This phenomenon is viewed in terms of intermediate system, i.e. interlanguage which doesn’t coincide either with native German or non-native Russian, and performs an adaptive function in bilingual mind.

The established language peculiarities in speech of the Germans all over the “lingistic island” of the Kirov region, and systematization of these peculiarities prove specific functioning of this ethnolinguistic group, separated from the main ethnic area and surrounded by alien language. The Russian Germans in the region under review have formed a new language community with unique subculture having no analogues at their historical motherland. This community has developed differently, which was determined by specific social and language conditions. Unique nature of the ethnic German minority group under review is characterized first of all by mixture of the dialects surrounded by alien language and diversity of their forms.

Thus, the language of the Russian Germans living in the Kirov region is the result of creating a new specific regional variant of the German language which differs from other German island dialects and native dialects of Germany, due to recurrent mixture and intense influence of the Russian language.

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KAZAKH INTONATIONAL UNITS

Zeinep M. Bazarbayeva

A.Baitursynov Linguistics Institute, Kazakhstan, Almaty, 29 Kurmangazy

Abstract

Like any independent level in the general language system, the intonation has its specific informative units. Due to the experimental phonetic analysis of Kazakh texts of various genres and styles, according to the stability of the relevant acoustic features, one could identify eight intonemes – invariants of the Kazakh language with several variants conveying all the variety of the Kazakh intonation. The identified intonemes being two-sided units have both form and content. They are realized in the syntagm – a universal, semantically intonational and syntactic unit, which is the minimum volume of a speech segment where the intonational and syntactic values show themselves and a complex character of relations between the intonation, the semantics and the syntax is conveyed. Being the least functional significant unit of intonation, the Kazakh intonemes are components of rather long texts and may be extracted therefrom.

Like any independent level in the general language system, the intonation has its specific informative units. And it is proved that the number thereof is limited and may be described in any language. In the linguistic literature, they are referred in a different way: *superfix phoneme, intonational structure, intoneme, prosodeme, intonational morpheme* etc. Such variety of the names of the intonational units is due to the special nature of the language intonational level where the form and content are closely intertwined. The non-sign-oriented units - phonemes are one-sided ones, which have only plane of expression since they themselves express no meanings being elements of meaningful structures and used for the distinction of allologs.

Intonational units – we shall call them *intonemes* – sign-oriented two-sided units – may be described both in the form and the content as they have not only a plane of expression but a plane of content as well. Being the necessary component of the sentence structure, they perform certain semantic functions in the sentence and even may be act as independent structures, which can express meanings. For example, completeness or incompleteness of an utterance, a question, or an exclamation may be only expressed by the intonation without lexico-grammatic means, besides that, an intonational meaning shows itself not only in binomial utterances but in monomial ones too. As early as N.S. Trubetskoy noted in his time the fundamental difference of intonational units, which are independent signs and express meanings from phonemes, which are not signs as they denotes nothing (Trubetskoy, 1960, P.P. 248-249). Therefore, an intoneme in the linguistic literature is often placed near a word or a morpheme but not a phoneme.

However, it would be wrong to consider that the phoneme has no points of contact with the intoneme. Both units (one is segmental and the other is superfix) are described with one and the same prosodic properties (tone, intensity, and time), and it's another matter that they do mismatch in length: unlike phoneme, the intoneme, as a minimum, is realized in the syntagm, thus, it should be noted that the verge between the segmental and superfix phonetics is flexible. The prosody is differential phoneme features expanded in length. In dividing the speech flow into the discrete unites: phonemes, syllables, accentual

units (phonetic words, rhythmic groups), speech measures (syntagms), phrases, and larger-than-sentence units, they are laid on by the superfix and prosodic ones. As a result, small segments are grouped into larger ones. Integrating the segments, the prosodic means signalize their bounds at the same time, i.e. they perform a parenthesis function. S.D. Katznelson (1971) designated them as syndemes (from the Greek *syndeo-* binding), the main function of which is to integrate segments, and to pull them together into various phonetic units. The syndemes and the segmental units complementing each other, and in their interaction, they provide the continuity of the speech flow and its hierarchic dividedness.

In addition, both phonemes and intonemes abstract from the specific physical & acoustical quantities. To identify their functional value, not the absolute acoustical data are significant but their relative characteristics, significant typical ratios, which enable to differentiate allologs and utterances.

Description of the phonetic & phonological system of any language will be not full without definition of significant superfix units larger than the phoneme, which differ between each other in the bundle of distinctive prosodic features. And contrapositions of the differential intoneme properties are described as gradual ones, that occurs less frequently than the others in the segmental phonology.

In the linguistic literature, the intoneme is understood as a total of intonational distinctive features peculiar to the intonational unit concerned in its contrast to the other intonational units. The intoneme is a unit distinguishable in the speech usage, which conveys the type of relations between the sound units – syntagms and is an associated set of meanings of individual prosodic values. Thus, the intonational system of any language may be determined in the discrete units – intonemes. The number and the structure of the units are limited and they vary from language to language. A set of intonational units is kept in mind of the speaker and is a model in the generation and the perception of intonation of specific utterances. Like the phonemes, the intonemes have their own variants. The choice of one or another variant depends on the speaker, who is governed by the common language standard. Each intonational unit exists in its variants is represented in the speech through them. Unlike the phoneme performing the allolog differentiation function, the intoneme differentiates utterances.

Now it remains to be seen, in which language unit: the word, the word-combination, or the sentence the intonational units can function. The most widely used opinion is, in terms of the speech flow articulation, that *the syntagm* is minimal intonational & sense unit.

There is a lot of interpretations of the notion “syntagm” that is explained by the multidimensionality of the phenomenon and the different approach of linguists. Therefore, it is also characterized as both a semantic & intonational unit, and a syntactic unit and a stylistic one. The notion “syntagm” is available almost in all languages as a universal semantic & intonational and syntactic unit characterized by the phonetic and sense integrity covering syntactic structures of various sizes as follows: from one word or word-combination to a whole sentence. Intonational and syntactic relations are the basis for the syntagmatic articulation, and which may vary subject to the context, the situation, and to the different understanding of the text by the reader. The syntagm is just a universal unit, where prosodic contradistinctions of intonational units are realized.

In linguistics, there are several methods of emphasizing intonational units, and usually they are identified on the basis of different initial aspects.

Thus, the existing intonational classifications are distinguished on the basis of different criteria: in some cases, linguists pay attention to such meanings and functions as expressed by the intonation, in other cases – to the forms of intonational structures. A set of intonational units varies from language to language like the relations between them.

The method “*from function to form*” includes a preliminary empiric idea about possible intonational meanings. In that case, one should determine in advance a list of functions to be confirmed with findings of the linguistic analysis. And the preliminary intonational unit classification may be changed and adjusted during the study and then phonetic means of expression thereof should be searched.

The method “*from form to function*” involves identification of intonational features of different types of utterances depending on the particular context and situation. A set of intonational models so obtained makes up a phonological opposition system, and then their functions are to be determined. Both methods having their own advantages and disadvantages complement each other and, providing their proper combination, they can give a full idea of the intonational system of a particular language.

According to the presented intonational unit classifications, one can note that some of them are built on the basis of the contrast of intonational characteristics in the pretonic, accented and post-tonic parts of intonational structures. But the other classifications are based on the contrast of intonation contours entirely and globally without regard to the place of localization of the word stress. So, does the method of identifying intonational characteristics depend on the language specifics and what description is appropriate for Turkic, in particular, for Kazakh: *structured or global*?

If you pay attention to the fact that in Kazakh the word stress has no significant functional & sense meaning unlike in Russian, and the vowel harmony is means strengthening a word, it is evident that the structured method of emphasizing intonational units based on a flexible word stress in different places, is not appropriate for Kazakh.

The global method of emphasizing intonational units is suited to the Kazakh language where an intonational structure is considered entirely in a certain segment without division into the pretonic and post-tonic zone. In identifying Kazakh intonational units, the experimental methods will consider not a word stress but a phrase and rhythmic & syntagmatic one.

As a result of the lingual & acoustic analysis of different types of utterances, differential intoneme features were identified. For that purpose, in our study we took into account not absolute values of frequency of the fundamental pitch, intensity and duration the same being intonation primary parameters but correlative changes of the primary parameters such as: higher-lower, quicker-slower, wider-narrower and so on, where linguistically relevant properties of intonation were interpreted as ranges, intervals, and levels subject to their semantic and functional aspects. To put it differently, changes of those acoustic parameters were analyzed, which had semantics and affected the content of an utterance. Let's consider the key sense-distinctive parameters of intonation as per all of the three prosodic characteristics of speech: melodics, intensity and duration.

Melody

In the differentiation of various types of utterances, the following acoustic parameters turned out to be relevant:

- intonation contour form;
- level of the beginning of intonation contour;
- level of the end of intonation contour;
- maximum value of the fundamental pitch tone;
- intonation contour range;
- Syntagm tone level;

Tone intervals at the juncture of syntagms.

The form of the intonation contour may be very different depending on the communicative type of an utterance. Thus, the melody of completeness of a question with an interrogative pronoun, of order, exclamation, and introduction and address in the postposition is characterized by the decrease in frequency of the fundamental pitch of the end of syntagms. The intonation contours of incompleteness of a general question with a particle, of an echo-question and enumeration, and introduction and address in the preposition is characterized by the increase in the intonation contour.

In addition to the change in frequency of the fundamental pitch to describe the melody, it is also of importance, at which place of a phrase the melodic maximum is, i.e. the highest value of the fundamental pitch tone. In case of the melody of incompleteness and some kinds of interrogative melody, the maximal value of the fundamental pitch tone falls at the end of an utterance. In case of the melody of completeness, order, exclamation and some kinds of a question, melodic peaks are localized in the middle of, or closer to the beginning of an utterance.

Various communicative types of utterances are differentiated by the frequency bandwidth (intonation contour width) too. The intonation contours of introduction, incompleteness and completeness are characterized by the narrowed tone range. Wide frequency ranges are peculiar to exclamation and order. Interrogative utterances are characterized by the mean frequency ranges. The intonation contour of the most of models begins from the second level (incompleteness, completeness, and interrogative utterances). Orders and exclamations begin from the fourth level or, as a rule, come up to the fourth level realized in the upper tone levels. Introductory units are usually realized in the voice lower range.

The tone intervals at the juncture of introductory units with the basic composition of a sentence form due to the tone interval difference. Junctures of the analyzed segments are mainly characterized by the negative frequency intervals. An intonation interval drop is observed in categorical orders and some types of exclamations. An intonation contour breakdown in such phrases is accompanied by the steep downturn inside a vowel of the sense centre.

Duration

In the differentiation of communicative types by the tempo of pronunciation, only a tendency can be ascertained. The syntagms with interrogative and incomplete intonation have the least average duration of sounds that indicates a faster tempo of their pronunciation. The slowing down of the tempo of pronunciation is noted in imperative and exclamatory utterances. In the multi-syntagm phrases, tonally conditioned differences of the tempo convey differences in the degree of importance of one syntagms as compared with another syntagms.

An increase in duration is one of the most important means to achieve the prosodic emphasis of a word reflecting its semantic significance and creation of the intonation centre. There was a tendency of slow tempo at the end of the intonation unit – syntagm. In our opinion, the slowing down is due to the fact that just at the end of the intonation unit, the most important by sense (rheme) and the most emphasized prosodic word is available. Here it is instructive to recall about the word order in a Kazakh utterance where the predicate being an intonation centre is localized at the end of a phrase. The slowing down of the tempo at the end of the syntagm is means to create the syntagm integrity, and is an indicator of the speech flow articulation into sense segments.

Intensity

There is a general tendency to reduce the pronouncing energy to the final of the sounding of an utterance, and just in some types of a question and an order, a reverse regularity is stated. In the differentiation of

communicative types of utterances, the following tendency is noted by the general level of a forceful component: the lowest level of intensity in the completed syntagms, of introduction in the interposition and the postposition, and a higher level of intensity in orders, questions and exclamations.

In case of the intonation of completeness, order and exclamation, the maximum of intensity is overwhelmingly at the beginning of an utterance, and in case of the intonation of incompleteness of some types of a question and introduction depending on its location, the maximum of intensity is localized in any place.

Thus, different communicative types of utterances are characterized by a whole set of prosodic means in various combinations, in which case it was ascertained that intonation components are closely related to the semantics, to put it otherwise, by using prosodic means, one can convey sense subtleties of utterances. So, acoustic parameters such as tone range, tone level, tempo, duration, and intensity amplitude can express a greater or lesser semantic meaning of syntagms or phrases. The greatest semantic significance of utterances is conveyed by the maximum values of intonation indicators, and the least meaning is expressed by their minimum values.

Due to the experimental phonetic analysis of Kazakh texts of various genres and styles, according to the stability of the relevant acoustic features, one could identify eight intonemes – invariants of the Kazakh language with several variants conveying all the variety of the Kazakh intonation. They are as follows:

1. **The intoneme of incompleteness** is characterized by the rising intonation contour, and the average tone range beginning from the second tone level. Variants of incompleteness are characterized by both convex and concave intonation contours, which end at the third tone level and rarely at the fourth intonation level. In case of the intoneme of incompleteness, the end of the syntagm is pronounced under the syntagmatic emphasis that is expressed in the elongation of the last syllable where a melodic peak is localized.
2. **The intoneme of completeness** is characterized by the convex & falling intonation contour coming up to the first intonation level and by the average tone range. Variants of completeness may begin from the second or third tone level. If the intonation contour begins from the third tone level, then sometimes it first slightly rises and then slows down. In case of the intonation of completeness, the end of the syntagm is pronounced in a slow tempo, and the frequency index for the fundamental pitch and the intensity index reach the minimum value.
3. **The general question intoneme** is characterized by the rising intonation contour with average tone ranges realized between the second and fourth tone levels. Its variants may have convex & rising and concave & rising intonation contours. As regards the tempo and the intensity, there is a tendency of slow pronunciation and a decrease in the intensity by the final of the sounding.
4. **The special question intoneme** is characterized by the convex & falling intonation contour and the substantial tone ranges. The model begins on the third intonation level rising to the fourth one, and then falling to the first level. The variants only differ in the level of the beginning of the intonation contour. The interrogative word is logical centre where the maximum value of the fundamental pitch frequency, and of the intensity and duration is localized.
5. **The categorical order intoneme** is characterized by the convex & falling contour beginning from the fourth tone level and ending at the first tone level. The melodic intervals of the beginning and the end of a phrase are significant. The tone range of the model is also extended. The variants differ between each other in the level of the beginning of the intonation contour. The categorical order intoneme is

pronounced by strengthening a logical emphasis, which is conveyed by elongating a syllable and increasing the value of intensity.

6. **The polite order intoneme** is characterized by the convex & rising intonation contour beginning from the second tone level coming up to the fourth tone level and slightly falling down. The tone range of the said kinds of orders is insignificant. The variants may be the rising ones from the beginning to the end, and the rising & falling ones. In case of the polite request intoneme, the strengthening of a logical emphasis can be achieved due to the maximum values of the fundamental pitch frequency and the duration.

7. **The exclamation intoneme** is characterized by the rising & falling intonation contour. The tone range of the models is average. Owing to the variety of emotions expressed by the intonation, the variants may be very different. Their intonation contours may begin both from the second and third melodic level coming up to the fourth one and may end at the third, second and first melodic levels. Emotionally coloured words are pronounced at the highest tone with the maximum intensity and duration. The timbre characteristics play a prominent part in the expression of the exclamation intoneme.

8. **The insertion intoneme** is characterized by the convex & falling intonation contour and the narrowed tone ranges. The variants of the models may be the rising & falling and equal ones realized in the upper voice range. The intonation contour breakdown at the junctures of syntagms is formed due to the negative tone intervals. As a rule, insertions are pronounced in a rapid tempo and with a low intensity.

The identified intonemes being two-sided units have both form and content. They are realized in the syntagm – a universal, semantically intonational and syntactic unit, which is the minimum volume of a speech segment where the intonational and syntactic values show themselves and a complex character of relations between the intonation, the semantics and the syntax is conveyed. Being the least functional significant unit of intonation, the Kazakh intonemes are components of rather long texts and may be extracted therefrom. By duration, the intonemes form undulated repetitive patterns compared by A. Baitursynov with the patterns on the national Kazakh carpet.

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**THE EGO STATES ANALYSIS IN AN EXPERIMENTALIST NOVEL:
TYPHOON, BY JOSEPH CONRAD**

Capatina Mihaela

Marin Coman Private High School, Domneasca str., no. 231, Galati, Romania

mihaelavirtosu@yahoo.com

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to introduce the transactional analysis in the universe of the experimentalist novel proving that psychology and literature can mingle in a surprising way. It describes and applies the ego states, comprised in the transactional analysis, in the novel Typhoon, by Joseph Conrad. This interdisciplinary approach offers a new perspective of revealing the characters' true nature and the relationships between them. Each main character of the novel was submitted to in-depth analysis in order to emphasize his predominant ego state.

Key words: *transactional analysis, ego states, experimentalist novel, literature, typhoon, sailors*

1. INTRODUCTION

The transactional analysis (TA) was introduced by the professor doctor in psychology Eric Berne with a small group of psychologists and therapists, as a complete theory of the individual personality in the 1950s in the USA.

Starting from the main behaviours which can be observable at people (reactions, words, expressions), Eric Berne created a theory complementary to the traditional meanings of psychology. (Popescu, 2001).

The TA approach consists in the analysis of the behaviours, attitudes, expressions and psychical and emotional reactions by means of the 'analytical charts' (such as the ego states, the life position, the games, the symbiosis etc.). These concepts allow the quick and easy adoption of conclusions referred to the choice of behavior in different situations and the analysis of the results obtained. (Popescu, 2001).

The psycho sociology encyclopedia describes TA as a social report, in which the ego can be a 'child – ego', an 'adult-ego' or a 'parent-ego' (Chelcea&Ilut, 2003). Each of these three ego states represents a complex system of feelings, attitudes, ideas, involving a specific language (N. Sillamy, 1995/1996).

In interpersonal relations, people activate spontaneously one of these ego states.

According to this encyclopedia, the ego provides continuity in the individual's evolution, the ego's change being also possible in time (Chelcea, 2003).

It is assumed that TA can help people communicate clearly and effectively at the three levels of the Parent (values) the Adult (rationality) and the Child (emotions, creativity) (Steiner, 2003; Bossenmayer, 2011).

The transactional analysis is a personality and social action theory, based on the analysis of all the possible transactions between two or more people, based on the ego states specifically defined.

Everything that happens between people can be divided in a series of simple transactions, offering all the advantages a science can achieve when it has a well defined system of basic units (Berne, 2006).

2. PSYCHOLOGY'S HALLMARK ON LITERATURE

Literature is called to illustrate or verify the statements of psychology and even to talk about our lives more and better than psychology, as a human science (Groeben, 1978).

The influence of the Freudian psychoanalysis on the literary construction of the novel is relevant when talking about the applicability of the interpretation patterns specific to psychology. Despite some critical statements made by Freud, the strong influence of psychoanalysis on literature is something undeniable, as it can be illustrated by some writers' confessions (Groeben, 1978) Thus, Thomas Mann talked about the direct influence of Freudian psychoanalysis on the novella *Tod in Venedig* (Anon,1925).

When describing fantasy, fiction, Hesse (1926) felt 'profoundly confirmed'. On the one hand, many contemporary writers to Freud haven't provided at least historical- biographical proofs for his knowledge. On the other hand, a 'penetrating influence of Freud' is stated that 'its dimensions are free from any evaluation' (Trilling, 1951).

3. A FRAMEWORK OF THE EXPERIMENTALIST NOVEL

The first 20 or 25 years of the twentieth century were an epoch of great literary achievement, an epoch in which was written some of the best work of Wells, Galsworthy, Joyce, Conrad, Yeats, Eliot, Lawrence and Forster.

Another characteristic feature of the age is that it was more open to foreign influences, both literary and philosophical that previous years ever were, and that English literature acquired a more cosmopolitan character owing to the contribution of foreign-born writers: Eliot and Henry James were Americans, Conrad was a Pole, Yeats, Shaw and Joyce were Irish, Hilaire Belloc was half- French.

The characteristics of the experimental novel which dominated this period are: Technique. The writers were mainly interested in how a story should be presented. Even if experiments with 'viewpoint' chiefly preoccupied Henry James, he triggered the extensive 20th century search for new novelistic techniques. The second feature is represented by the purpose of the novel. The novelists considered in English literature up to this point sought to create memorable characters. The third one is connected to no external plot as the arena of the novelist's concern has shifted from outside to the inner life. A fourth characteristic is the absence of the here. In all traditional novels the here and the villain were obvious and absolutely necessary. Heroism has largely departed from the experimental novel. The fifth feature is represented by complexity. Change and alteration produced within a personality a continuous fluidity which destroys the old rigidity of character and reveals disturbing contradictions and complexities. The last feature is irrationality. In the exploration of the inner life, the experimental novel has found that man does not act from reason, but rather is motivated by deep unconscious sources of primordial origin. All these characteristics are perfectly applicable to Joseph Conrad's stories as well (Graver, 1969).

Following to a certain extent the spirit of French naturalism, Conrad seems to have no other object but to transmit impressions of reality using a special language. Closely observing men and life, especially men under adverse conditions, he watches with a keen, observant eye process of mental and moral decay and attempts at regeneration (Carabine, 1992).

4. THE EGO STATES ANALYSIS IN THE EXPERIMENTALIST NOVEL TYPHOON

According to the transactional analysis, people can change so often their behaviour and have sometimes the least predictable attitudes. From confidence and joy, people and the characters of *Typhoon* as well, have the 'flexibility' to pass in only a few seconds, to despair and agony, ending by complaining about the hostility of the storm and the ship itself.

The evolution of their behaviour can be so fluctuating that, they ask themselves: 'This is really me?'

All these behaviour attitudes, generated and 'developed' by the stimuli resulted from the surrounding environment can be 'decomposed' and carefully studied by means of the **transactional analysis**.

4.1. *The ego states' analysis and the behaviour's choice*

Sometimes, the characters change their behaviour in and with such rapidity that an uninformed observer or reader might wonder if there is the same person. For example, one of the few dynamic reactions of MacQuirr in front of his sailor: 'Damme! I'll fire him out of the ship if he don't look out.' (Conrad, 26)

Not even Jukes who knows him so well doesn't expect such a reaction from him: 'Goodness me! Somebody has put a new inside to my old man. Here's temper if you like'. (Conrad, 26)

Another instance presents Jukes, the young chief mate who passes from agitation to seriousness and calmness: 'Came on like this', shouted Jukes, 'five minutes ago...all of a sudden'. ...'Very grave, stretching his neck, he started to tie deliberately the strings of his sou'-wester under his chin'... (Conrad, 33). His strong personality leads him to a new 'storm' of feelings, this time going from despair to a total lack of confidence. He changes his reactions so quickly that the reader is almost intimidated by the 'waves' of attitudes and emotions and the real ones as well: 'All at once, in a revolt of misery and despair, he formed the crazy resolution to get out of that'....'Jukes came out of it horrified, as though he had escaped some unparalleled outrage directed at his feelings. It weakened his faith in himself'. (37)

Another pair of different reactions is also provided by Jukes, the 'human typhoon' of the Nan – Shan ship. The contrast is even more obvious because he passes from shyness to disgust: 'Rolling like old boots', he said sheepishly....'Why, the Chinamen, sir, explained Jukes, very sick of this conversation'. (29)

The ego state concept tries to give an explanation to this extraordinary capacity the characters possess to change the behaviour attitudes with such easiness, becoming totally distinct personalities from a moment to another.

The ego states represent systems of thinking, emotions and behaviours connected to the different stages of an individual or even a group development.

4.2 *The 'parent' ego state (p)*

The 'parent' ego state refers to the thinking, emotions and behaviours a person has learned from sources that are external to their own personality.

In what concerns *Typhoon*, this ego state is specific to MacQuirr because he is the 'parent' of the sailors: 'What's that about saints swearing? I wish you wouldn't talk so wild. What sort of saint would that be that would swear?' (25) MacQuirr's quality of good and wise 'parent' is underlined by the following words of his: 'It's only to let you see, Mr. Jukes, that you don't find everything in books' (31)

Being the captain of Nan –Shan, MacQuirr has the whole responsibility of the ship and his people whom he should keep alive and also give an example of what a true leader means: 'It relieved him as though

that man had, by simply coming on deck, taken most of the gale's weight upon his shoulders. Such is the prestige, the privilege and the burden of command'. (35)

Having such an ego state, MacQuirr has the ability to encourage his people and always give them the best advice, using the right words, at the right time, such as his advice to Jukes in a difficult moment: 'Facing it – always facing it – that's the way to get through. You are a young sailor. Face it. That's enough for any man. Keep a cool head.' (68)

Due to its social and cultural character, the P origin is given by the ways in which the sailors have registered their systems of thinking, including the emotion and behaviour ones observed to important people known in the childhood and adolescence period, systems which represent true models to be followed (Popescu, 2001).

Thus, when a person has the 'Parent' ego state, it reproduces attitudes and behaviours 'borrowed' from the parental 'figures' which marked it in the past: mother, father, teacher, employer, etc. MacQuirr was not influenced by his father or mother, but by the sailors and captains he had the chance to meet during his youth. He 'borrowed' the qualities of all the men of sea without being aware of this fact.

The Parent ego state may have two main forms of manifestation, respectively:

- **The normative parent (NP)**, who usually expresses himself by means of restrictive behaviour attitudes, imposing certain norms of behaviour and / or in general, certain obligations.
- **The attentive parent (AP)**, who usually reacts as a protector, adviser, being concerned with things to go very well, especially after the indications given by him.

The normative parent refers to the value judgments and social norms. Similar to the other ego states, the NP may manifest himself either *positively* (he imposes limits, rights and /or obligations and has in view their application) or *negatively* (he devalues, restraints, trivializes and even 'reduces to silence').

The general behaviour of the normative parent is dominating and protector, at the same time, having the tendency to express 'value judgments'. We can identify the NP quickly after a series of specific physical attitudes such as: crossed arms, hollow cheeks, frowning eyebrows, the head 'on the back', the stretched forefinger, to look down on the others.

The voice of the NP denotes a relative self – control and usually, it can be authoritative, angry, critical, intimidating, direct, disgusted, dynamic, 'nervous' etc.

The words that are mostly used are: good, discipline, normal, important, always, responsible, values, good, bad, must etc. The verbal expressions that are mostly employed by a normative parent are the proverbs, the tendentious sentences and phases, the slogans, the aphorisms and the moralizing quotations.

The normative parent's positive interior monologues are: 'I like things to be in a perfect order, well done, people to behave as they should' and his negative interior monologues are: 'I am considered a prosecutor and I think that's true!', 'I am said to be too severe and exigent', 'Sometimes I have the impression that I am the only honest and correct man and I wonder what should I be like this?'

The main advantages of a NP consist in the fact that a person that has such an ego state, usually transmits valuable elements of his own socio- professional structure and, as a consequence, it supports the individual's integration. The normative parent's answers have a great advantage that they are not only thought but also 'prepared', being mostly admitted. The NP's answers protect from dangers. As a

disadvantage, the normative parent is too rigid and pessimistic; he can also inhibit the other's way of expression, censuring his creativity. This type of parent is not specific to any character in *Typhoon*.

The **attentive parent** (AP) offers solutions to the problems the other people confront with and a series of concrete ways to assume the responsibilities.

Having a positive ego state, MacQuirr embodies the attentive parent as he gives advice, protects, and supports the other sailors: 'but every ship Captain MacQuirr commanded was the floating abode of harmony and peace' (12). If he were in a negative ego state, he would be irresponsible, an intriguer with visible tendencies to prevent any progress from being accomplished. Generally, the attentive parent is helpful, stimulating and permanently searching for something new: 'The Captain was going out again on the bridge directly. Couldn't allow the Chinamen fighting anyhow'...(53).

A real attentive parent is always encouraging his subordinates and has his arms opened and a smile which denotes a lot of self-governing. His gestures are warm as if he were a perfect 'host'. A good example in this direction is given by the dialogues with Jukes: 'Captain MacQuirr removed his arm from Jukes' shoulders, and thereby ceased to exist for his mate...' (41).

The voice of the attentive parent is warm, mindful and reassuring, protective and in some cases even 'sweet'. The words Captain MacQuirr usually employs as an attentive parent are: 'well', 'good idea', 'help', 'trust', 'very good', 'protection', 'no fighting'.

At the same time, the verbal expressions make use of proverbs, sentences and 'warm', 'encouraging' and 'ensuring' phrases such as:

'The experience of the last six hours had enlarged his conception of what heavy weather could be like. 'It will be terrific', he pronounced mentally.

Another examples would be: 'Do what's fair'...(71) or 'Had to do what's fair by them,' mumbled MacQuirr stolidly. 'You don't find everything in books.' (63)

When MacQuirr, as an attentive parent, has a positive ego state, he usually formulates the following interior monologues: 'I wouldn't like to lose her' (69), 'It is important to do this' (68). Although it is not the case of MacQuirr, an attentive parent, who is in a negative ego state, will create himself overestimated interior monologues such as: 'People treat me as if I were their saviour', 'I know they need me', 'It is not their mistake and as a result, I will do everything I can for them'.

The main advantage offered by the attentive parent consists in giving and even encouraging the permission to do something, to believe in what you do: 'Keep on hammering...builders...good men...And chance it...engines...Rout... good man.' (41)

The disadvantage of the attentive parent is generated by the fact that he may hinder the development of the individuals' personality he comes in contact with. Too much protection may generate inaction, especially if it is imposed. By assuming the role of 'saviour', the attentive parent risks not to help, but on the contrary, to 'cover' the personality of his interlocutors.

4.3 The 'adult' ego state (a)

The 'adult' ego state is not connected to the age of a person, but to the way of thinking. This ego state is characteristic to the boatswain, a fifty year old sailor and 'still an active man'. It is oriented towards the objective reality and includes all the ways of dealing with the information, the facts and ideas.

Having a logical origin, the boatswain, as an adult, is based on facts, ideas, evidences and even probable 'things', his way of expressing and actions being the result of some well structured arguments:

'Immediately he crouched and began to explore Jukes' person upwards, with prudent, apologetic touches' (41). Other instances present the boatswain in a direct contact with Jukes: 'Why don't you step outside, then, and be done with it at once?' (45) or 'He did not think it was decent of them to be nagging at him like this'. (45)

In order to state facts correctly, to precise the target objectives, to adopt the best decisions and evaluate the results, A receives, registers and uses information both from his surrounding and also from his own interior feelings: 'He managed to convey the idea that the Chinamen had broken adrift together with their boxes and that he had come up on purpose to report this.' (48)

If the boatswain, in his 'adult' ego state has insufficient or imprecise information from his surrounding, he will not be able to analyse the exterior reality correctly.

Having a positive 'adult' ego state, the boatswain solves problems, foreseeing and stimulating the actions made by the respective person: 'Nevertheless, he had made up his mind to show them he could get a light, if he were to die for it'. (45) The inefficient or exclusivist functioning of the 'adult' ego state which represents the boatswain, can be considered as many specific aspects of a negative A.

Sometimes, this type of 'adult' makes decisions without having enough information or loses himself in insignificant details, searching for too many information.

From the general behaviour's point of view, the boatswain presents himself as being objective: he listens, reformulates, searches for objective information and keeps a certain 'distance' for a better understanding of the reality or the situations created: 'He thought all this quickly, clearly, competently, like a seaman...' (46).

His physical attitudes are characterized by a 'straight' and relaxed carriage, the boatswain being open and very careful to all the information resulted from the surrounding. He has an objective, affirmative, calm and trusting voice, as he is 'an easy going and talkative' person.

The 'adult' ego state determines verbal expressions that are very clear, concise, 'technical', informative and logical, having a precise and substantial content, but still, specific to a sailor: 'In a lump... seen them myself...Awful sight, sir... thought... tell you'. (42)

His most frequent words are: what, when, where, thought, who, alternative, possibility, relative, yes, no, I think that, facts, results, objectives, means, exact, hypotheses, etc.

When he has a positive ego state, the 'adult' formulates a series of interior monologues such as: 'I do trust me', 'When I start doing something, I never give up until I finish it', 'Practically, there is no mystery in the given situation'. If he is in a negative ego state and without being in contact with the other ego states, the Adult considers himself being completely deprived of the human richness of the personality and as a consequence, he becomes exclusivist and 'mathematic' in his interior feelings.

Proving to be a good transformation agent, the boatswain has the ability to manage and integrate the potential of the other ego states. He succeeds in having a good relation with the Captain and even with Jukes, who doesn't like him very much.

In exchange, the boatswain can be 'cold', without having profound feelings and systems of value in the situations in which he is not able to integrate the P's (MacQuirr) and the Child's (Jukes) needs.

His interior development will be slow and as a result, A will need a lot of time to manage to 'guide' the other sailors' behaviour.

4.4 The 'child' ego state (c)

The 'child' ego state refers to our senses and includes the multitude of needs, feelings and emotions which naturally appear to a person.

'Typhoon' has its own 'child' embodied by Jukes, 'the young chief' with a boyish interest who adds more tension and action to the novel, giving the impression that he has the same vitality and force just like the real typhoon.

This ego state contains in most cases, the registration of the C's experiences and the ways (feelings and behaviour) in which he reacted: 'He was dismissed with his orders – to do what? He was exasperated into letting go his hold carelessly, and on the instant was blown away'. (49) Another example presents Jukes, 'the child' in a difficult moment when he remembers different moments of his life: '...in a momentary hallucination of swift visions, he beheld all sorts of memories altogether unconnected with his present situation'. (43)

The 'child' ego state is the first of the three ones which manifests at the level of every one of us. It proves, under the form of internal or / and external sensations, all the needs and wishes expressed by a person, presenting them as behaviour systems (reflected in thoughts and feelings).

On the other hand, the 'child' behaviour explains the fact that people often tend to act according to our wishes and desires; in other cases, they tend to protect themselves from things (facts), which in certain circumstances, have made people suffer.

The permanent 'reconditioning' of the 'child' under the adult's observation represents one of the fundamental requirements regarding the human personality development. We mention the fact that when a person is in the 'child' ego state, he / she may have very actual feelings and also some that are part of the past.

Having a social and cultural origin, the 'child' ego state belongs to the feelings register and can have the three main following forms of manifestation:

1. The adapted child (AC)
2. The rebel adapted child (RAC)
3. The creative child (CC)
4. The spontaneous child (SC)

Jukes represents the rebel adapted child because he is described using an 'explosion' of verbs and adjectives; he is the 'typhoon' of feelings and contradictory reactions of the novel.

The rebel adapted child is based on conditioned reflexes and feelings, reacting against the parental figures (in Jukes' case it is about MacQuirr) and institutions and generally against the norms imposed by his own person: 'Leave me alone – damn you. I am all right,' screeched Jukes (60).

His adapted side is underlined by the gentle and polite side that Jukes sometimes reveals to MacQuirr: 'he would sometimes venture to say, with the greatness gentleness, 'Allow me sir'. (11)

His rebel side dominates his entire universe, no matter what other ego states he comes in contact with: 'Dash me if I can stand it: I'll throw up the billet. Don't it make you sick, Mr. Rout?... He struggled with his feelings for a while and then remarked, 'Queer flag for a man to sail under, sir' (15)

A rebel adapted child is first of all a nonconformist person. He takes other people into consideration, but rebels himself and loves to interrupt those who speak to him, raising the voice and smiling maliciously or ironically.

The following examples will best illustrate this 'rebel' ego state: 'It would certainly be a dam' distressful sight', he said meekly (16) or 'Jukes turned back to do so, muttering ironically: 'Afraid to catch cold, I suppose' (27).

Other two instances present Jukes as the perfect type of rebel young chief: 'Oh, go to Jericho!' said Jukes frankly' (28) or 'That boss'n is a confounded fool', howled Jukes shakily. The absurdity of the demand made upon him revolted Jukes. He was as unwilling to go as if the moment he had left the deck the ship were sure to sink' (48).

Jukes as the 'rebel adapted child' is the type of the rude individual, who breaks the unwritten norms and laws of politeness and has a quick way of speaking that is often incoherent: 'Came on like this', shouted Jukes, 'five minutes ago... all of a sudden.' (33) or 'Wanchee look see, all same look see can do,' said Jukes... 'Catchee number one piecie place to sleep in. Eh? ...No catchee rain down there – savee?' pointed out Jukes. 'suppose all' ee same fine weather, one piecie coolie- man come topside' (18).

Another instance of typical lack of manners is the moment when, 'he would proclaim loudly that the old girl was as good as she was pretty (speaking about the boat Nan –Shan)' (14).

He has his own vocabulary that doesn't seem to be understood by everybody: 'Even up here I feel exactly as if I had my head tied up in a woollen blanket'. 'What was that for? Captain MacQuirr looked up. 'It's a manner of speaking sir, said jukes stolidly' (25).

Jukes' voice is 'profound', strong, violent, dynamic and revengeful, a true exponent of some words that denote the complete disagree of their user: no, right, dare, lack of trust, etc.

The verbal expressions a rebel adapted child appeals to are mostly negative as he tries to 'destroy' everything: 'Then he sighed, and with sudden resignation: 'It would certainly be a dam' distressful sight,' he said meekly. (16)

Other instances would be: 'I don't want to' or 'You don't have the right'.

The **rebel adapted child** represents a socialization of the **spontaneous child** and the submitted adapted child, as an immediate reaction to the power abuses. When speaking about the relations with other persons, the rebel adapted child proves to be a good protector, but he reacts so that he ensures his own security.

His interior monologues are specific to the negative ego state: 'Every appearance of a typhoon coming on.' (27); 'It is always the same'; 'It is a power abuse'; 'I will show them that I can defend myself'.

The greatest disadvantage specific to a RAC consists in his predisposition to generate tensions and agitation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This article tries to accumulate some concepts and ideas that revolve around two domains: literature and psychology.

Literature comes with the experimentalist novel honourably represented by *Typhoon*, while psychology introduces the transactional analysis as a modern application in people's relations. Thus, two different personalities respectively Joseph Conrad and Eric Berne (the initiator of this analysis) meet indirectly by means of their work.

The theoretical ground of the paper focuses on literature and the novel *Typhoon*, seen from an ordinary point of view, giving the possibility to the practical part to improve this literary image using the transactional analysis, which can be applied to the simple sailors of Nan- Shan.

It is surprising and at the same time, obvious that this analysis, with its various ego states finds its place in a novel about a typhoon in which the main purpose is to survive the storm.

The characters seem to be real 'managers' of the dramatic moments they have to overcome, as a result, the main features of each ego state fits perfectly MacQuirr (the parent), Jukes (the child) and the boatswain (the adult).

The typology of the sailors integrates itself with the chart of the transactional analysis, according to which people have a certain ego state that dominates their reactions and feelings, influencing their personality.

All the detailed aspects of the transactional analysis find their correspondents in the novel along the struggle against the typhoon: the role of the individual in the relations with the social environment (the boat), the mechanisms of self manipulation or the control of the ego states.

In conclusion, the paper experiments the possibility to combine two different worlds and make them coexist together as a whole without forcing the limits and the boundaries of each domain. It stands for the opportunity to play a role as each individual does during his existence in order to achieve a goal.

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**LOANWORD INTEGRATION: THEORETICAL ASPECTS IN LITHUANIAN
AND FOREIGN LINGUISTICS**

Darius Rudzinskas

Department of Lithuanian Philology, Vilnius University

Universiteto str. 5, 01513, Vilnius, Lithuania

Abstract

Aspects of theoretical loanword analysis, based on various linguistic researches are presented in the publication. The main focus is loanword integration with additional attention to morphologic aspects. The theoretical review presents methodological principles for loanword analysis as well as introduces and defines the terms, loanword integration and types. Theoretical subject matter is created based on the research of ancient Lithuanian eastern variation manuscript slavisms morphologic integration.

Key words: *linguistics, loanword integration, borrowing, slavisms, lithuanian language.*

Although loanwords research is a popular topic in linguistics, theoretical loanword principles still lack systematic analysis and description. This review focuses on loanword integration research and methodologies used in Western Europe. A study called *The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing* by E. Haugen (1950) is considered to be the foundation and benchmark for modern approach to this topic. In this research Haugen classified loanwords to two main categories – semantisms and hybrids. The borrowing process was classified to importing (real borrowing) and substitution (translation – semantisms generation). He also introduced new terms to this field. Not every term has been defined precisely, or have exact matches in Lithuanian linguistics, nor have traditions in usage. Therefore it is useful to define and discuss the definitions for loanword analysis and align them with the terminology used in Lithuanian linguistics.

Previous research of Eastern variant of ancient Lithuanian manuscripts⁶ (XVII c.) by the author has shown that Lithuanian linguistics lack theoretical morphologic loanword integration methodologies (Rudzinskas 2011, 2011a). Theoretical and terminological approaches to this topic are noticed in one publication on integration of Baltisms to Slavic languages by J. Laučiūtė (Laučiūtė 2007). Though the research is atomistic and the material is classified only in a formal way based on the Lithuanian ending presence or modification in Slavic languages. The publication lacks attention on the Slavic Baltism

⁶ Slavisms in ancient Lithuanian manuscripts lack research data. One of the well known and not lacking scientific actuality is a study by P. Skardžius called *Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Altlitauischen* (Skardžius 1931). Other important works are publications by V. Urbutis (Urbutis 1991, 1993) and other minor publications with lower importance (bibliography in detail is presented by V. Kardelis (Kardelis 2003, pp. 159-168). Another study that has lost its actuality is *Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen* by A. Brückner (Brückner 1877). Contemporary overseas linguistic works for morphosyntactic integration of Slavisms is limited to a single article by B Wiemer (Wiemer 2009). Theoretically a monography by L. Vaicekauskiene called “*Naujieji lietuvių kalbos svetimžodžiai. Kalbos politika ir vartosena*” (Vaicekauskienė 2007) is very important. Here the author presents the borrowing process as well as analyses the integration process by formation and grammatical aspects.

chronology, disregarding the fact and presenting ancient Slavic Baltisms along with the contemporary words of Lithuanian language (even including proper names), that are recorded in Baltic dialects at the borders. This leads to an assumption that such phenomenon can be caused by biligual population of the certain region.

Goals of the publication

- Define the principles of loanword analysis based on various scientific linguistic publications.
- Present and define terms used in loanword analysis.
- Define the term of loanword integration.

Terms used in loanword analysis and proposed definitions

- Source language – a language, which element is being borrowed.
- Target language – language that imports an element.
- Criteria of conformity – comparison of loanwords to the source or target language with definition of changes in morphema.
- Loanword integration – adaptation of borrowed elements to the target language system.
- Loanword – a morphema that has been imported to target language from any other language.
- Loanblend – a lexema, consisting of different language morphemas (affixes or roots of the word) (TŽŽ 1985).

The problem of loanword integration term

In modern linguistics up to this day there is no fundamental way of using the term of loanword integration. Various studies (Rudzinskas 2011, 2011a, Voitkevič 2010, Winter-Froemel 2008, Kardelis 2003 et al.) use such terms as loanword adaptation (Алексеева 2008, Айдукович 2000, Laučiūtė 2007, Vendelin & Peperkamp 2006, Čepienė 1995 et al.), assimilation (Климентьева 2012, et al.) or as even registration synonyms for it while researches presented in English language tend to utilize the term of nativization (Hall & Hamann 2003).

This review offers consistent usage of the term loanword *integration* as the most universal and term with the broadest field of meaning. (As a comparison: integration is considered as aggregation of separate elements to a unified entity while adaptation tends to have a narrower field covering only the topicality of element adjustment for an existing system (TŽŽ 1985)). Registration is an unusual term in linguistics with lack of tradition for usage. Nativization is a term mostly used in English language meaning to be of local origin and is not considered to be an internationally recognized word, therefore its usage is limited to studies presented in English language only.

Loanword integration process

Although word borrowing process is a popular topic in language evolution studies, loanword integration still lacks definition in linguistic research field. The dictionary of international words only describes language integration instead of loanwords. Therefore this phenomenon and its term lacks definition in linguistic studies. A definition based on Winter Froemel (2008) works is presented as follows:

*Loanword integration*⁷ (synonymic to adaptation, assimilation and nativization) can be described as mutations of a borrowed morpheme accordingly to the source language, needed to adapt the morpheme to the system of the target language (Winter-Froemel 2008, p. 159). These mutations can take place during the time of borrowing as well as later on, after the morpheme is well functioning in the target language. This process is illustrated by fig. 1.

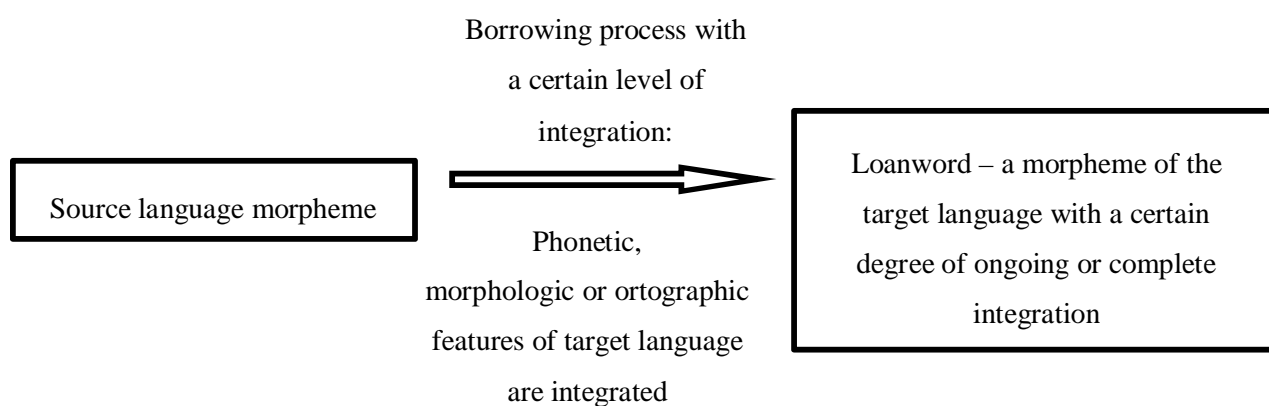


Fig. 1. Loanword integration process.

Loanword integration is classified by its types – by the levels of language it can be phonetic, phonologic, morphologic or orthographic. Semantic integration can be noted relatively when the meaning of a morpheme alternates due to the specifics of the target language. If alterations of the meaning compared to the source language are not present at any point of borrowing process, according to Winter-Froemel (2008) such integration is considered to be zero level integration.

Types of loanword integration

Loanword integration is common in phonetic or morphologic level. Phonetic, phonologic and morphologic integration is widely discussed. Such discussions show benefits for diachronic linguistics – definition of language evolution processes due to their ability of registration of borrowed morphemes during the time of borrowing in the source language. Comparison analysis of loanword mutation in source language as well as the target language enables the possibility to present various language evolution processes chronologically.

Phonetic loanword integration – is the mutation the sounds of borrowed morphemes by adapting them to the phonetic system of the target language. Studies of the mutation and evolution of phonetic properties of morphemes and their comparison to corresponding phoneme evolution in the target language enables the creation of chronological loanword borrowing sequence or reconstruction of certain sound mutations in both, source and target languages.

⁷ It is worth mentioning that this loanword integration research does not evaluate the relation between borrowed morphemes and norms of the language. Most of the examples given in this study are not usable in standard Lithuanian language. The fact that English speaking linguistics do not have tradition for loanword terms and foreign words (Winter-Froemel 2009, p. 160) is also worth mentioning.

For example, it is known, that the processes of neutralization of opposition between hard and soft consonants and defonologization of Polish phonemes *sz*, *cz*, *rz*, etc. took place in the XVII century (Klemensiewicz 1955, p. 51). Ancient Eastern Lithuanian manuscript slavisms' soft type endings -iu, -i, -io (e.g. *kanclierius* 'chancellor' (< pol. *kanclerz*), *mesiašius* 'messiah' (< pol. *mesjasz*), *partačius* 'destroyer' (< pol. *Partacz*)) show that these Slavic words were integrated into Lithuanian language before the solidification of these phonemes. Due to the fact that given examples come from the Lithuanian Eastern manuscript variant (dated also approx. XVII a.), revelation of these tendencies can not provide essential chronological facts of borrowing. Nevertheless discovered tendencies enable broader look upon the Slavisms in Lithuanian language, thus providing essential information for other source chronological research, such as dialect or newer text research (Rudzinskas 2011, p. 49).

Morphologic loanword integration – is the adaptation of borrowed lexemes to target language system of morphologic categories, specifically gender, quantity, grammatical case, conjugation type, etc. Loanword integration research of such type can assist in definition of historical facts of both the source as well as the target language.

For instance, it is known that approximately around XIV century the category of Lithuanian language gender has been reformed from having three genders to binary – the neuter gender of the noun has extinct. Definition of this fact has been accomplished by studying the integration specifics of morphological integration of neuter gender Slavisms: while the category of Lithuanian gender category had three members, the integration was direct, therefore keeping the same gender. Currently such Slavisms, that have been borrowed with a three-gender system still in function tend to have male gender due to specific phonologic processes that have caused the extinction of the neuter gender in Lithuanian language (for example lith. *bliūdas* (m.) 'bowl' (< brus. *блюдa*, rus. *блюдо* (neutr.)), *miestas* (m.) 'city' (< brus. *мэца*, lenk. *miasto*, rus. *мэсто* (neutr.)) and etc. While neuter gender Slavic nouns that were introduced to Lithuanian language after the three-gender system was extinct were consistently integrated to female gender of Lithuanian language due to the phonetic similarities of the endings of words (for example lith. *pekla* (f.) 'hell' (< brus. *пéкла*, lenk. *piekło*, rus. *пéкло* (neutr.)), lith. *futra* (f.) 'fur coat' (< lenk. *futro* (neutr.)) and etc.

Comparative studies of morphologic integration of such Slavisms combined with comparison with specific phonologic processes of Lithuanian language (historical shortening of specific word endings) has lead to a possibility to prove the existence and extinction of neuter gender in Lithuanian gender and provide chronological information about the shortening of Lithuanian endings known as the principle of Leskien. Moreover, it enabled the approximate definition of the time of integration of various slavisms (Girdenis 2001, p. 386, Rudzinskas 2011a, pp. 207-208).

Other types of integration

Winter-Froemel presents orthographic and semantic loanword integration in his studies (Winter-Froemel 2008, p. 169).

Orthographic integration – is the mutations of writing of borrowed morpheme by adjusting it to the writing system of the target language. In specific cases the writing of the word can have influence on phonetic integration. This case is possible when the same grapheme is pronounced differently in different languages (Vendelin, Peperkamp 2006, pp. 996-1007). This fact is worth taking into account when studying written material.

Semantic integration – is the mutations of a borrowed morpheme in the process of borrowing. Such case is not considered to be common, therefore no deeper studies exist, therefore the latter two types of integration are still kept on the periphery in the field of integration research.

Taking into account that any mutations of a borrowed morpheme in target language, including the writing, is an integration of a loanword, leads to an assumption that such phenomenon as absolutely non-integrated loanwords almost do not exist. Take Lithuanian word *fojė* (< fr. *foyer*) as an example: although phonetically and morphologically the integration of the loanword is considered to be zero value, segmentation to graphemes shows the mutation of orthographic alteration of the ending: French *-er* has been replaced with Lithuanian *-ė*. There is no phonetic integration because both graphemes are pronounced in the same way, nevertheless this loanword is considered to be orthographically integrated. Examples of zero level integration could be such international words as lith. *tango* < spa. *tango* – here no mutations exist between the source and the target languages.

Two criteria of conformity

There are two main loanword integration research criteria based on loanword compliance as well as source and target language that Winter-Froemel described in his research. First criterion is the research of the relation between a borrowed morpheme and source language, that is how far is the mutation of a loanword form its source. The second criterion is the relation between the borrowed morpheme and the target language. This criterion defines the level of integration of a loanword to the system of the target language. It leads to a comparative research of source and target languages with focus on historical evolution and relations of the language (Winter-Froemel 2008, pp. 163-164).

CONCLUSIONS

Comparison of loanword integration research material from Lithuanian and foreign authors such conclusions have been reached:

- Some of the terms used in linguistic description of loanword adaptation to target language system lack precision and traditions for usage. Term 'integration' is considered to be the best solution due to its meaning and universal usage. This publication provides the definition of this term.
- Mutations of a borrowed morpheme can occur in loanword integration during the borrowing process as well as during the functioning of a borrowed morpheme in the target language.
- Given the assumption that loanword integration can be orthographic and semantic leads to another assumption that zero level loanwords exist in very low numbers.
- Diachronic and comparative language fact research provides data about phonetic, phonologic and morphologic loanword integration analysis.

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ESP: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TEACHING MATERIALS

Elzbieta Jendrych

Kozminski University, Warsaw, Poland

Abstract

The effectiveness of any teaching process depends, among others, on the quality and didactic relevance of teaching materials. Surprisingly, not much work has been done so far to identify the most frequent elements of English used for business communication. Today, this evidence is needed more than ever before because the world of business is dominated by English and students' language competence translates into their employability and better career opportunities. The highest-frequency language elements (business terminology, multi-word expressions, collocations, etc.) need to be identified in corpus studies and prioritized in course-books. The aim of the paper is to (1) analyze the specialized vocabulary content in business English course-books, (2) present the results of a corpus study into highest frequency business terms and (3) to stress the need for further studies into the language of authentic business texts.

Key words: *ESP, frequency studies, teaching materials, business terms*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays English has become the lingua franca in business communication all around the world. If two businessmen from different countries meet to do business together, in the vast majority of cases they communicate in English. They translate business documents into English. They negotiate in English. Business schools worldwide teach English as a foreign language. Students living in different continents take courses of business English. It is a fact that English has become the dominant medium of communication in business and this fact has certain repercussions teaching business English.

In the teaching practice of today, ESP teachers try to be more selective when designing their syllabus and they carefully evaluate teaching materials and course-books of business English they are going to use. Generally speaking, more and more teachers need materials that can help business English learners achieve good language competence in a shorter period of time. Adult learners often need courses which can help them to acquire business English more intensively; they are willing to take the courses that are most effective. The effectiveness of business English courses depends on many factors, with teaching materials being the factor that can be improved in a relatively short period of time. In order to produce more effective teaching materials we should first identify which language elements are used with the highest frequency in authentic business texts.

The only way to identify these high frequency elements is to examine a corpus of texts that are authentic and represent the language that specialists in business, management and economics use for professional purposes. „Areas that we see as crucial to the development of the relationship between language teaching and corpus linguistics relate to actual corpora: 1) there is a need for a wider availability of corpora and corpus tools, especially online, and 2) there is a need for diversity in the type of corpora that are available” (O’Keeffy, McCarthy & Carter 2007, p. 247).

Course-book writers seem not to use corpus evidence. Most often corpus linguists carry out research studies from a purely theoretical linguistic point of view. Their intention is to examine and evidence a given language rather than to share this information with those who produce materials for language teaching. On the other hand, course-book writers do not seek to incorporate the existing results of corpus studies when developing materials. To maximize the effectiveness of business English courses, course-book authors and teachers need to make use of new corpus evidence revealing the highest-frequency language elements which students should learn first.

In this paper it will be argued that business English course-book should offer better terminology input and be, therefore, more effective for adult learners than course-books that are not based on the information received by means of corpus studies. Nowadays we can see that many dictionaries offer information on word frequencies to learners. This way learners know which words are most crucial. If course-book writers have access to a list of key business words, they could use it when designing teaching materials.

Therefore, it is crucial to carry out corpus studies which would result in producing frequency lists showing the language elements that are most common in authentic business texts. With such frequency lists course-book writers can produce much more effective teaching materials. These new generation teaching materials will help learners concentrate on the core language elements and learn the input material they will need most frequently in real-life communication.

Firstly, the paper will discuss the role of specialized terminology in ESP courses. Then it will analyze the terminology content in several business English course-books for adult learners. It will also review the literature on the relationship of corpus studies and materials development. Then, it will talk in more detail about the importance of corpus studies for teaching purposes and finally, it will present a corpus study into the most frequent business terms.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF VOCABULARY IN ESP COURSES

Business English teachers often evaluate course-books from different points of view. Some want the books to include content attractive for learners, some look at the unit titles to see which areas of business a given book covers, still others are interested in how much business language the book contains. Ideally, a good course-book for business English learners should have all these parameters at a high level. In practice, many teachers have to prepare their own materials to be able to supplement the course-book and to better cater for learners' needs.

Seven randomly chosen course-books of business English for adult learners were studied in terms of business vocabulary used in them. These course-books were intended for upper-intermediate students. They were published in the years 2006 -2012 by various publishers. Two aspects were examined in the study: how many new business terms each course-book contained and how many times a given business term was repeated in the book. The first aspect showed what the number of terms in each book was (range of terminology) and the second – gave information on the repetition rate of each business term and could allow for evaluation of the learner's chances to memorize the term.

It was found that the range of business specific vocabulary in the sample texts varied but generally was not fully satisfactory. Some very important business terms were not included in the course-books at all, others appeared only once or twice so that learners did not have a chance to memorize them. If the range of business vocabulary and the exposure to many repetitions of a given term proved not to be sufficient in the studied sample, it might suggest that course-books writers do not pay enough attention to the

range and repetition rate of business vocabulary in the texts they produce. Both vocabulary range and repetition rate are crucial factors in evaluating the effectiveness of ESP course-books.

The following quotation confirms the importance of vocabulary in learning a foreign language: “Words are very important in language learning. When asked what advice he could give to someone wishing to become a successful language learner, one well-known applied linguist identified learning words as being one of the main strategies – ‘Try and deliberately build up a large vocabulary’, he said. Grammar is of course important, and so is pronunciation. But you have to use words when you speak, and the more words you know, the more likely you are to be able to say what you want in a foreign language” (Johnson 2008, p. 28). The linguist quoted above was Paul Meara who appeared in the BBC programme *Lingo! How to Learn a Language* (Johnson 2008, p. 42). S. Thornbury also confirms the central role of vocabulary by quoting a famous saying of David Wilkins: „without grammar little can be conveyed but without vocabulary *nothing* can be conveyed” (Thornbury 2002, p. 13).

These quotations refer to the language for general purposes. However, they also refer to ESP and, in this case, to the language of business. E. Frendo in his book *How to Teach Business English* says that „one of the key influences on business English teaching in recent years has been our deepening understanding of the role of lexis” (Frendo 2007, p. 8). In recent years the understanding of the role of lexis has also been deepening in the practice of teaching other varieties of ESP, e.g. English for Finance or English for Human Resources.

E. Frendo is of the opinion that businessmen need the language to earn money. He says: „they need English to *do* business, not just to *talk* about business” (Frendo 2007, p. 8). For them, doing business in the increasingly global environment of today is practically impossible without a good command of English.

According to corpus linguists, “the 95% level (9000-10000 word-vocabulary perhaps) is probably achievable in tertiary level education with extensive reading programmes and intensive vocabulary teaching materials. (...). Research also suggests that vocabulary gains may be quite impressive (up to 2500 new words per year) if the learner is in a native-speaker environment, for example, on a study abroad programme, as reported by Milton and Meara (1995), or adapts a more specialized focus, for example, academic vocabulary (Coxhead 2000), where up to a 10% leap in comprehension can be gained simply by learning small, carefully chosen academic word lists consisting of fewer than 1,000 common core words” (O’Keeffy, McCarthy, & Carter 2007, p. 50). We need to remember, however, that “vocabulary learning is not just about learning more words; it is also concerned with knowing more about the words you already know (e.g. how they relate to other words with a similar meaning)” (McGrath 2002, p. 101).

S. Thornbury is of the opinion that such core word lists help students to memorize core vocabulary items; students know that the words contained in the list are most important and need to be remembered. “Some researchers estimate that up to thirty words an hour can be learned this way” (Thornbury 2002, p. 33). Not all authors are equally optimistic. Looking at the problem of specialist vocabulary acquisition we should not expect that we can introduce new language and have students use it instantly in communicative activities (Harmer 2003); (Burgess & Head 2005). It takes more time and practice to be able to master the key terms and vocabulary items and use them well in professional communication.

People involved in various kinds of business activities need to specialize in the area-related terminology and vocabulary and should know the most frequently used words and phrases. “The best option is to encourage learners to specialize – specialization of any kind can produce dramatic results, whether it be reading cookery books or gardening books, or pushing the vocabulary of music, business or politics”

(O'Keefy, McCarthy & Carter 2007, p. 55). S. Donna stresses the importance of teaching materials in effective ESP courses: students should focus on the most vital language input materials (Donna 2000). Time and energy of ESP students should be used to learn specialized language elements first – they will need them most in professional communication.

To sum up, the lack of specialist terminology and lexis will certainly disqualify the speaker, who may otherwise be very competent in communication skills and functional language. In real-life business situations even very good communication skills and business skills cannot compensate for terminology deficiencies. A businessman who cannot use proper business terminology is usually perceived as not professional enough. I. McGrath says that “having a good vocabulary means knowing a lot of words. Many language learners have problems expressing themselves not because their grammar is weak but because they have a limited vocabulary” (McGrath 2002, p. 98). This statement is particularly significant when planning the selection of business vocabulary and when designing teaching materials for an ESP course.

3. CORPUS STUDIES FOR TEACHING NEEDS

J. M. Sinclair gives a short definition of a corpus as a collection of naturally occurring language texts, chosen to characterise a state or variety of language (Sinclair 1991). According to another definition given in *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* “a corpus is a collection of materials that has been made for a particular purpose, such as a set of textbooks which are being analyzed and compared or a sample of sentences or utterances which are being analyzed for their linguistic features” (Richards & Schmidt 1996, p. 88).

Why should corpus studies be used when developing teaching materials aimed at increasing students' lexical competence? Corpus studies, according to many linguists (Thornbury 2002, McCarthy 2008), give precise information on the most frequently used single words as well as multi-word items such as compounds, collocations and phrases. If these vocabulary items are carefully selected from the corpus, included in a language course and treated as priority items, it can considerably speed up the ESP acquisition process and contribute to increased effectiveness of language courses.

“It was a renewal of interest in the role of vocabulary in language learning and teaching which provided computer corpus-based research with the first opportunity to influence language teaching methodology. From the late 1980s there was a revival of interest among applied linguists in the place of vocabulary in foreign language learning (...). Sinclair and Renouf (1988) went so far as to advocate corpus-based lexical syllabuses for language learning. They suggested that ‘the question of lexical selection has passed many course writers by’ (1988, p. 50) and that, for learners of English at least, the main pedagogical emphasis should be on the most frequent words (supplemented by words of particular use in specific domains)” (Kennedy 1998, pp. 288-289).

Speaking at the plenary session of the BESIG Conference in Bonn M. McCarthy, co-author of *Cambridge International Corpus* (1 billion words), *CANBEC (Cambridge and Nottingham Spoken Business Corpus)* and *Cambridge Corpus of Business English*, who has worked on corpora for over 30 years, said that frequency lists of key words and collocations (‘chunks’) are particularly important when developing teaching materials for students (McCarthy 2008). He stressed the importance of corpus studies for practical teaching purposes. His views are shared by other corpus linguists, e.g. O'Keefy and Carter (O'Keefy, McCarthy & Carter 2007).

When analyzing the most frequent business terms with the aim to prioritize them in a course of business English, it seems to be a good idea to present a definition of key terms. According to *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, key terms are “the special lexical items which occur in a particular discipline or subject matter” (Richards & Schmidt 2002, p. 545). The definition of a technical word/technical term in *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* says that it is “1 a word whose occurrence is limited to a particular field of domain and which has a specialized meaning. (...) 2 a common word that has a specialized meaning in a particular field, such as *significance* in statistics” (Richards & Schmidt 2002, p. 544). A term can also be defined as an area-specific lexical item the meaning of which can be very clearly defined and which can be used in specialized texts in professional communication. When analyzing business texts, it is evident that this quality makes terms the core elements of the language for specific purposes which learners should know.

It is clear that students who want to acquire core business terminology need a list of the most frequent terms which is based not on experience and intuition of course-book authors but on quantitative corpus study evidence. The corpus from which the core business terminology is excerpted should include authentic and up-to-date texts used by business professionals. It should be well balanced and cover all the basic areas of business. Without corpus studies the selection of core terms in any ESP course depends on the experience of the author and/or teacher. It, however, does not guarantee that students will learn the terms and other lexical items they are likely to need most in real-life professional business situations.

4. A CORPUS STUDY AIMED AT IDENTIFYING CORE BUSINESS TERMINOLOGY

4.1. Materials and method

One of the aims of the paper is to present a corpus study aimed at producing a list of core business terminology items excerpted from specialist texts. The corpus included business texts of more than 210 thousand words: business documents, interviews with business people, academic textbooks in business administration, management, economics and marketing, business correspondence, business contracts, business plans, case studies, quality business journals, magazines and business forms. All these texts were authentic and monolingual. They referred to all areas of business e.g. economics, management, human resources, promotion and advertising, public relations, production, distribution, transport and logistics, international and domestic trade, sectors of economy, business law, finance and accounting, banking and insurance.

The corpus was examined with the aim to identify the most frequently used business terms. The methodology of identifying highest-frequency business terms included the following stages: (a) choosing business English texts for the corpus study, (b) establishing the number of words in the corpus, (c) identifying all business lexemes in the corpus and lemmatizing them, (d) deciding which of the lexemes can be classified as specialized business terms, the so called types, (e) producing a frequency list of these types based on the number of their occurrences in the corpus, the so called tokens, (f) deciding on the number of tokens that qualifies each highest-frequency type for inclusion, and finally (g) alphabethizing the types.

First, all business vocabulary items were excerpted from the corpus texts. Then, they were analyzed in order to identify those which matched the definition of a term. The lexical items that failed to meet the criteria of a term were excluded. The remaining ones were organized:

- alphabetically,
- in a frequency list starting with the highest-frequency items,

- semantically.

Some core terms did not appear in the corpus texts with a reasonably high frequency that qualified them for inclusion (minimum 5 tokens), others were missing. Hence, following the methodology proposed by S. Grucza (2007), it was necessary to supplement the list according to the principle of pragmatic usefulness. The decision on which items to supplement was consulted with four university teachers – specialists in management, finance, economics and marketing. This way several basic terms were added to the final list.

4.2. Results

The final list includes the most frequently used specialized terms every learner of business English at B2 level of language competence (according to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages – CEFR*) should memorize and be able to use. This list can be further supplemented by many other specialist terms during the course.

The frequency list of core business terms for B2 level contained more than 1,100 items. This list can be used for lower levels of language competence as well. By cutting down the least-frequent items on the list we can easily adapt it to the level B1 or A2 requirements. The list can also be used when choosing core business terminology at C1 or C2 level. Here two options are possible: we can either use the same corpus texts or lower the criteria for inclusion from 5 to 4 or, which seems to be a better option, increase the research corpus by adding more business texts. This way a universal frequency list of business terms for all levels of language competence can be created.

The top twenty terms in the highest frequency list included the following types: company, business, customer, work (v), product, staff, market, money, work (n), manager, job, employee, sale, service, project, team, price, pay, management and quality. The word ‘company’ had more than 2,600 tokens in the corpus texts.

The terms from the list were divided into the following areas of business: economics, management, human resources, finance, banking, business law, production, marketing and advertising, logistics and transport, retailing and wholesaling, and international trade. Some of the terms belonged to more than one area or could not be classified into any of the above categories. Therefore an additional category of ‘general business terms’ was created. It seems that a semantic classification of all business terms included in the list is more appropriate for teaching purposes than an all-inclusive list arranged only in alphabetical order. Both course-book writers and teachers can easily use such semantically arranged lists when developing teaching materials. It can also be used by autonomous adult learners to measure progress in business terminology acquisition.

It is important to remember that business terms can be used as single words (e.g. *account, invoice, customer, demand*), as multi-word expressions (e.g. *bill of exchange, break-even point, Chief Executive Officer, Managing Director, Human Resources Department*) or as acronyms (e.g. *B/E, CEO, IMF, MD, R&D*) and abbreviations (e.g. *demo, rep, repo, dept*). The corpus-based evidence clearly shows that the list of the highest-frequency business terms included all the above mentioned forms of terms.

5. PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE LIST OF HIGH FREQUENCY BUSINESS TERMS

What needs to be highlighted is that corpus linguists usually do not examine ESP corpora specifically for teaching purposes. Consequently, course-book writers do not have empirical evidence showing

highest-priority language elements. In fact, what we lack most is corpora for professional purposes that are small but representative for a specific area. “The other deficit that we see is in terms of small, specialized corpus resource. For example, a small corpus of sales encounters, meetings, business presentations and office interactions is far more useful for someone who is developing materials for a business language course, as opposed to a multimillion-word corpus of general language” (O’Keeffy, McCarthy & Carter 2007, p. 247).

It is generally agreed that the effectiveness of a teaching process depends, among others, on the quality of teaching materials. If publishers wish to produce teaching materials that help students acquire high-frequency language elements most effectively, they need small, specialized corpus-based resources. Without them authors of teaching materials do not know what to include in their course-books; as a result they select materials in a purely intuitive way. This is not the method of choice; some words and phrases in such course-books are redundant (relatively rarely used in real-life professional communication) whereas others, frequently crucial ones, are missing.

Intuitive vocabulary selection can be avoided provided that course-books and other teaching materials are based on corpus studies that can identify all high-frequency language elements in authentic Business English texts: specialized terms, business lexis items, multi-word expressions, collocations, figurative language items (metaphors), acronyms and abbreviations. Core specialist terms are considered to be the most important component in all courses for professional purposes but under no circumstances can other characteristic elements of language for specific purposes be disregarded. Without them the linguistic competence of a learner would never be really high – close to that of a native speaker.

Therefore, it is strongly postulated that all teaching materials, and course-books in particular, should be based on extensive corpus studies aimed at identifying all high-frequency business English elements. These elements should not be confined to specialized terms, such as e.g. *profit, manager, income, break-even point, PR* or *distribute*. They should also include other characteristic language elements such as high-frequency:

- business lexis items, e.g. *department, forecast, goal, instrument, opportunity, rival, task, team*;
- business collocations, e.g. *easy credit terms, focus group, generate profits, labour market, make money, reasonable price, shop steward, shortlisted applicants*;
- multi-word expressions and phrases, e.g. *apply for a job, keep up with competitors, meet the quality standards, at your earliest convenience, payment is due on*;
- figurative language elements (metaphoric expressions), e.g. *bottleneck, business angel, deadline, economic recovery, flat organization, fringe banks, money laundering*;
- acronyms, e.g. *AIDA, CEFTA, CEO, CIF, HR, IMF, PR, OPEC, PLC, R&D, SWOT, USD*;
- abbreviations, e.g. *ad, co-op, demo, e-bank, est., FOREX, FI-FO, info, INCOTERMS, int’l, rep, repo*.

All the above listed highest-frequency language elements should be identified in corpus studies of authentic and well balanced business texts. Then, a frequency list should be prepared for each category. If this language evidence becomes available for course-book authors, they will be able to select the content materials and write texts which can truly reflect the language of authentic business communication. This way it will be possible to develop new generation teaching materials, based on corpus-based frequency lists of all relevant language elements. These new generation teaching materials

will not include any irrelevant input; they will focus learners' attention on language essentials and streamline their energy on what is likely to be used most often in real-life business situations.

The idea of increasing the effectiveness of the learning process thanks to corpus-based frequency lists and better selection of teaching materials content is based on the following assumptions:

- highest-frequency language elements should be taught/learned first as they appear in authentic business texts most frequently and are the highest utility terms,
- highest-frequency items can only be identified by means of corpus studies,
- such studies should be aimed at producing frequency lists of professional terminology and vocabulary items, compounds, multi-word phrases, collocations, metaphors, abbreviations and acronyms specifically for teaching purposes,
- high frequency lists of business specific terms need to be revised periodically and newly entered terms should be considered - language changes over time and new terms are created every year.

Investigations into word frequencies “tell us how often different words are used, allowing us to identify particularly common and uncommon words. This information can be especially useful in designing teaching materials for language students” (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 2004, p. 23). Designing more effective teaching materials requires that they reflect the language that specialists really use in professional communication. Hence, teaching materials need to be based on extensive corpus studies into word frequencies.

Complex and extensive corpus-based research studies are a prerequisite for writing new generation course-books and supplementary teaching materials. The research work, however, needs to be done to increase our knowledge of how English is used for business communication. More research will also be able to identify the language that is actually used in specific business situations, e.g. in negotiations, business meetings, sales talk, etc.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

There is a need for corpus studies into the most frequent business lexis items, compounds, collocations and the most popular acronyms and abbreviations. Such an extensive evidence of the basic, most frequent elements in the language of business is expected to increase the effectiveness of course-books and lead to better quality language courses. Without corpus studies carried out for ESP teaching purposes, the language content of teaching materials is often incidental or even irrelevant from the pragmatic point of view. As a result students do not learn the things they will need most in business communication and they complain that courses are not effective and do not meet their expectations.

Effective use of language is difficult to learn. It is a complex goal covering many elements: good language knowledge, use of specific job-related terminology and lexis, social skills, communication skills, use of proper structures, style and tone when speaking or writing. It does not, however, suggest that the role of core professional vocabulary is becoming less important. On the contrary, more and more students and teachers understand the crucial role of core professional terminology and vocabulary in second language acquisition. This view is supported by many linguists who recognise and emphasize the crucial role of lexis and terminology in the development of linguistic competence (Komorowska 2005, McCarthy 2008).

Summing up, corpus linguists can significantly improve the quality of teaching materials by providing course-book authors with solid and accurate evidence of what to teach. Since English is the lingua franca in today's globalised world, business people want to maximize the effectiveness of language courses. Good language competence can contribute to better professional development and can give better employment opportunities worldwide.

The suggested new generation teaching materials are expected to satisfy students' needs better and faster than traditional materials not based on the results of corpus studies. To prove that, however, new research comparing the effectiveness of the traditional materials with that of new corpus-based teaching materials is needed.

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PRODUCT PLACEMENT AS A TYPE OF ADVERTISING

Flyuza Fatkullina

Bashkir State University

32, Zaki Validi Street, Ufa, Russian Federation, 450076

fluzarus@rambler.ru

Abstract

The article is devoted to one of the types of indirect-action advertising - embedded advertising or Product Placement. Attention is paid to the rise of this type of advertising, history of its development in the USA and Russia; types and kinds of Product Placement, as well as its functions are described. Product Placement is defined as organic integration of promotional information in movies, series, TV programs, books, videos exerting influence on consumers' consciousness not understood by them.

Key words: *advertising, communication, targeted audience, Product Placement, information, recipient, efficiency of advertising product*

In different types of research there is a great variety of interpretations of the term “advertising” and definitions of this term. Since advertising is a multifold and comprehensive phenomenon, “the existence of a multitude of definitions of the given subject should confuse neither a newcomer, nor experienced professionals in the sphere of advertising – that’s the destiny of any complex, comprehensive, to some extent, even universal phenomena of reality” (Uchenova 1999, p. 1).

Today many researchers single out two main concepts of advertising: culturological (or lingvoculturological) and marketing (or concise-pragmatic). In our opinion, the most constructive is that approach which would enable to unite both concepts and reflect economical and marketing nature of advertising as well as its culturological peculiarities. Advertising is on the border of different professional spheres and attracts attention of researchers in different sciences and representatives of different occupations: linguists, political analysts, historians, economists, etc. Differentiation of activity areas in advertising testifies certain level of its development.

Let us enumerate the following essential characteristics of advertising:

- 1) advertising is a paid-in form of communication;
- 2) advertising is a specific form of mass communication as, in fact, it is addressed to uncertain people;
- 3) advertising message identifies its sponsor, i.e. it always identifies its financial source;
- 4) advertising information is spread with the help of different means of mass communication;
- 5) advertising is aimed at attracting attention to the promoted goods and arising consumer’s desire to buy this product.

There are different classifications of advertising. Classification according to the targeted audience is the most widely spread. It’s common knowledge that there is a great variety of targeted audience. The two

main are consumers and entrepreneurs. According to this one can single out the following types of advertising:

1. Consumer advertising;
2. Business advertising (business advertising is distinctly divided into four types: for industry, trade, experts and agriculture).

Classification according to the covered territory implies differentiation between 4 types of advertising (in this case the geographical characteristic is taken into account):

1. Foreign advertising;
2. Nationwide advertising;
3. Regional advertising;
4. Local advertising.

Classification according to the means of achieving advertising aims includes the main media means of passing information – newspapers, magazines, radio, television, mail and outdoorsy means incorporating newspaper, magazine advertising, etc.

Classification according to functions and goals divides advertising into product and non-product advertising, commercial and non-commercial advertising, direct (mail-order) and indirect advertising (Bove, Arence 1995, p.12-18).

There are other classifications of advertising. For example, there is a direct-action and an indirect-action advertising. Direct-action advertising aims at getting an immediate consumer response. Indirect-action advertising is based on intention to stimulate the demand for a longer period of time (Wales, Bernet 2001, p.38).

In accordance with the advertising objectives, assigned by the entrepreneur, there can be: advertising, built up to promote new products of the enterprise; sustaining advertising, intended to neutralize the pressure exerted by the rival companies and to provide the sales activity resulting from the rival companies' actions. (Utkin, Kochetkov 1999, p.272).

Today the efficiency of direct advertising is going down year after year, it is largely due to, firstly, growing distrust of consumers to advertisements, as the information they provide is not always correct (though advertising experts point out that efficiency of advertising not always depends on advertising credibility and that the number of people doing shopping after having seen the advertisement is quite big); secondly, intrusive and pushy character of advertisement discontents and irritates people; thirdly, a potential buyer is confronted with a huge amount of advertisement, which becomes indistinguishable and unable to function efficiently. Under the circumstances an excellent alternative to direct advertising is Product Placement. Let us define the notion "Product Placement". To do this, we need to examine the interrelation of the two notions "indirect advertising" and "Product Placement". Is Product Placement a form of indirect advertising?

Under the article 3 of the law "On advertising" "improper advertising - is the one that does not meet the standards of the Russian legal system".

The main forms of improper advertising were previously expressed by the federal law of 18/07/1995 №108-Fl "On the advertising": fraudulent, inadequate, unethical, false and indirect. These forms of advertising were expressed by the law as being forbidden for production and demonstration.

Indirect advertising – is the form of indirect-action advertising that acts subconsciously, is not stated as advertising and is forbidden by law.

Under the article 5 of the law “On advertising” it is not allowed to use indirect advertising in radio-, television-, video-, audio- and cinema- or in other kinds of production and to distribute it by some other ways, i.e. it is forbidden to use advertising which has unconscious effect on a consumer’s mind, including the use of special taped inserts (dual sound recording) and other means.

However in Russia, under the Federal law “On advertising” (item 9 of article 2), Product Placement is not regarded as a kind of advertising:” The present Federal law does not hold true for ... information about the product itself and the means of its differentiation, information about the manufacturer or the distributor of the product, which is well-embedded into works of science, literature or art and are not considered to be advertising information”. Nevertheless, it is obvious that such like information is actually the indirect advertising and the effect it has upon a person is by far much stronger, than the effect exerted by the traditional advertising. Therefore, we consider Product Placement to be regarded as a form of advertising and hereafter the notions “indirect advertising” and “Product Placement” will be used as synonyms.

Product Placement can be defined as a successful integration of advertising information into films, serials, TV programs, books, video clips and computer games. The main difference between indirect and traditional advertising is the way of supplying the information. Direct advertising should be distinct among other advertisement, should be bright and flashy, calling attention by all available means. Product Placement being a form of indirect advertising, should be insinuated into a man’s subconscious, keeping balance between not being considered as an advertisement and at the same time being rememberable and encourage people to buy the product.

Product Placement appeared in the USA in the XX century, its primary application field was film industry. “Product Placement owes its birth to financial difficulties which motion-picture studios had to face trying to make films for the first time. Launching the production of yet another dramatic film, the film-makers were trying to overcome the difficulties connected with the tiny budget meant for motion picture production.

One of such ways was to establish communication links with manufacturers of various goods: furniture, clothing, food, electronics, automobiles, etc. The producers asked the manufacturers to give various goods as requisite for the filming and sometimes they got them. Initially these proposals were responded reluctantly "(Berezkina 2009, p. 24).

So “Product Placement” in its original pristine form didn’t have any commercial nature. But by the 1930s free requisite began to turn into requisite for which film companies had already begun to receive a lot of money or a barter reward (Op.cit., p. 25-26)

Generally, it is believed that the very first experience of Product Placement was a serial animated film about a sailor Popeye (Popeye The Sailor), created in the United States under the public health campaign in 1929. This animated series was intended to popularize canned spinach. The spinach endowed the main character with a superhuman strength and helped to go out of any difficult situations with dignity, and most importantly it was this product due to which Popeye was able to defeat his opponent and win his girlfriend’s heart. Thus, we can say that the spinach was positioned as an indispensable product for strong and healthy men. The cartoon led to a significant increase in the use of canned spinach throughout the United States. Although this action to promote spinach cannot be unambiguously attributed to the technology of Product Placement - in fact in this case they were moving not a single specific brand but

spinach as a type of product, on the other hand firm «Spinach Can» was the only producer of canned spinach in the country at that time.

In 1962 the first James Bond movie was released - "James Bond 007 - Dr. Know," in which some technologies of Product Placement were also used. Since then, the "James Bond" is the most famous symbol of a successful Product Placement; we know that every film about Agent 007 pays for itself through advertising at the stage of production. In the films of the Bond series a great many products and brands were promoted: laptops Sony Vaio, a phone Sony Ericsson K800i James Bond Silver Special, a smartphone Ericsson R380, electronics Philips, watches Omega, snowmobiles SkiDoo, vermouth Martini, Vodka Finlandia, cars Aston Martin DBS, 2007 Ford Mondeo, BMW, etc.

The film, after which the unique features of Product Placement were evaluated in full, is the "ET" Spielberg contributed to the transformation of this technology in the direction of self-advertising. After releasing the film "Alien" in 1982, the sales of chocolate sweets by Reese's Pieces of Hershey's promoted by the film increased by 65% (according to other sources 70%). The advertisement of the sweets was woven into the plot of the film very well, and a pretty representative of extraterrestrial intelligence eating Reese's Pieces with a great appetite was liked by American children very much. It should be noted that the success of this promotion was not expected. So firm Mars, the manufacturer of M & M's, refused to participate in the film, considering that the character of his "repulsive" appearance will cause damage to the image of this successful brand. By the way, Hershey's also didn't risk placing its leading brand «Kisses» in the film.

The history of development of product placement in the Soviet Union began, as well as in the United States, a long time ago, but for the Soviet Union product placement was more ideological than commercial. Soviet cinema promoted not brands but ideological state values. But the same technologies were used ", – said the O. P. Berezkina (Berezkina 2009, p. 31).

"In 1925 by the State order Sergei Eisenstein worked on the film "Battleship Potemkin" promoting the ideological values of the USSR and the CPSU.... The film of 1925 "A tailor from Torzhok" promoted the idea of acquiring government loans, as well as "The Girl with the box". The PCF sponsored the shooting of these movies in order to popularize the idea of the population purchases of government bonds" (Op.cit.).

In 1975 the film "The gift for a lonely woman" was shot by Riga Film Studio and promoted an unprecedented amount of goods at that time: "Riga Black Balsam", "Riga beer", an insect repellent "Dichlofos", tights, axes of Riga production, cars "Volga".

Released in 1982 the film of L. Gaidai "Sports Lottery-82" was a clever propaganda of the state lottery. Only during the rolling period of the film more than 5 million citizens of the USSR bought lottery tickets. From the movie people could learn how to fill in a lottery ticket properly when and where it should be dropped in order to take part in the next draw. The words of the main hero Kostya: "The fact is that I buy a hope for just 60 cents!" sound almost like a slogan. In addition to the lottery a rather popular drink "Baikal" was advertised in the film. Also Kostya says: "I wanted to take a Pepsi, but Baikal, in my opinion, is much better!"

Only since 1990 the Russian Product Placement has taken the form of commercial projects. In 1998 the cinemas show the comedy by A. Rogozhkin "The peculiarities of national fishing" that advertises vodka "Urozhai", cigarettes "Peter I", pelmeni "Raviollo", cell phone company «North-West GSM».

Product Placement is currently wide-spread and provides for placement of advertising in films, soap operas, TV shows, music videos, computer games, belles-letters, comic books.

The technology Product Placement is actively used in soap operas. For instance, vitamins “Pikovit”, pasta “Makfa”, a shampoo «Shauma», dolls «Bratz», “No-Spa”, kid’s cosmetics “Princess” are promoted in “Dad’s daughters”, shower gel “Far” is promoted in “Barvikha”

Regarding cinema experts single out three fundamental types of Product Placement:

- 1) visual – the product or the company logo is clearly and convexly demonstrated. For instance, in “Day Watch” the beer label is shown in close-up or the race along the walls of the hotel “Cosmos” on the advertised car
- 2) verbal – oral (the heroes make reference to the company or the product) or non-oral (the sound that the consumer associates with this or that product);
- 3) dynamic(kinesthetic) the product being part and parcel of the plot. For example, the hero drives a concrete car model or uses a concrete mobile network (James Bond) (Tolkachev 2008, P. 210)

Television opens up new opportunities to Product Placement, these technologies are actively used in various TV shows and programmes. The reality show “DOM 2” takes one of the first places among telecasts on earnings of funds for Product Placement. During the existence of this project its participants managed to advertize a great variety of goods.

Book Product Placement is one of the youngest Product Placement trends both in the world and in Russia

One of the first authors to place advertisements in his works was S.King. The great popularity of the author and the vast circulation make his books appealing for Product Placement

An example of successful Product Placement can be called novels by D.Kenner “Givenchy Code”, “Manolo matrix”, “Prada paradox”. V.Slepakov calls the latter the “the hymn of advertisement”. Though he writes “the emphasized advertising is perceived as minus of the novel”, he notes that “there is a good attitude to the trade mark in the mind. Prada is beauty, Prada is quality, Prada is prestige, if you wear Prada you are home free“(Slepakov 2009). The great number of brands mentioned on the pages of the books seem quite natural because these works are written in the very fashionable genre glamorous prose, the reader doesn’t expect anything else from glamorous prose.

The history of Russian literary Product Placement begins in 2003 when P.A. Kiselev establishes the communication agency “Fabula”. At that time noone has rendered professional Product Placement services related to books. According to P.A. Kiseleva “Fabula is a specialized agency. We are on the joint of two branches: book and promotional” [Kiseleva 2008: 92].

“The agency of marketing communication “Fabula” is in a way the monopolist of Russian literary Product placement, that concluded exclusive contracts with the Russian leading publishing houses, worked out regulations for PP placement contributing to unique brand integrity into pieces of works Apart from limiting the number of the promoted brands in one book up to four, the agency insists on at most one brand being promoted in the story plot” (Berezkina 2009, p.118)

In 2003 the novel by D.Dontsova “Fillet of the Golden Cockerel” comes out promoting frozen ready-to-cook foods. This is the first experience of the Russian literary Product Placement.

“The peculiarity of literary product placement standing out among other types of product placement is a wide scope of audience. Advertisers placing PP in books of rated authors with very huge circulation (up to 1,5 mln.), can also multiply their “paid” audience by at least two because as a rule one book is read by two or more members of the family” (Berezkina 2009, p.133).

On the other hand, it should be noted that there are not many top authors who can ensure such numbers of copies in Russia: D. Dontsova, T. Ustinova, T. Polyakova, A. Marinina, S. Lukyanenko and others.

The CEO of “Fabula” marketing communications agency P.A. Kiseleva notes that book product placement is the only PP communication channel that has diversified differentiation of placement types. She defines the following product placement types:

- 1) Product mention is the use of third parties’ information when composing a literary passage.
- 2) Product-based plot is composing a literary passage on the basis of third parties’ information.
- 3) Depiction of a product on the cover is the use of a product picture when designing the cover of a literary work.
- 4) Depiction of a logo on the cover is the use of a product logo when designing the cover of a literary work.
- 5) Use of a product in the title is the use of a product name / service name in the name of a literary work.
- 6) Series is a series of story lines about a product / service which are spread over several works of one author and have their own unique emotional overtones.
- 7) Character (possible only when using the Plot option) is introduction of an additional character who is strongly associated with a product (further used for integrated campaigns).
- 8) Annotation (possible only when using the Plot option) is introduction of a product in the descriptive part of the book. Placement is on the second cover.
- 9) Illustration is placement of the subject depiction within the plot in the pages of a work (Kiseleva 2008, p. 94-101).

There are other types of literary product placement. For example, custom creation of literature aimed at advertising of certain brands, products or services. It is childhood reading more often than not. It should be noted that children are not always the target audience in this case. For example, the services of OAO “Bashinformsvyaz” (JSC) are promoted in an advertisement book titled “Fantasy World of Our Services” which includes the following short stories: “A Fairytale of 50% for Connection of the Second Phone” “Into the High-Speed Internet” “A Fairytale of Service Packages”, “A Tale of IPTV”, “Intellectual Services”, “A Tale of Cable Television”, “Caller Identification and Calling Line Identification Restriction”. It is told in them in a form accessible for children about how OAO “Bashinformsvyaz” (JSC) can make life easier. It is apparent, of course, that children will not buy service packages or the caller ID service, but this technique enables a very effective communication with adult audience through children.

As it was stated above, it is supposed that product placement is a subtle method to introduce advertising information, characterized by its soft influence on the recipient. It must not be apparent to the recipient that it is an ad, otherwise efficiency of the advertising communication will be at risk. But embedded advertising in Russia does not differ much from the direct one. Aggressive and too pushy, it can irritate even more. There are very few examples of successful use of product placement techniques in Russia.

To summarize, it should be noted that product placement has its pros and cons like any other type of advertising. The following can be put down as drawbacks of product placement. For example, this type of advertising cannot replace informative advertising which is the type of advertising used to introduce new products and services in the market. It is also noted that “product placement is seldom used by corporations as an independent marketing strategy. PP campaigns have mostly become elements of

advertising and PR campaigns lately” [Beryozkina 2009: 14]. Embedded advertising has more advantages than drawbacks. Firstly, the main advantage of product placement is unique contact with the target audience. Secondly, price rates for product placement are significantly lower than for a traditional advertising campaign. Thirdly, embedded advertising integrated into any work (either a movie or a series) is always represented isolated from other advertising messages, which naturally improves its perception and memorization, while traditional advertisements are always in blocks in television.

The main advantage of book product placement is aimed influence on the target audience. It should also be underlined that reading a book is an especially intimate process when a person is alone with the book, which naturally enables better perception of the ad integrated in the text of the work. Perhaps, the only drawback of this type of embedded advertising is absence of the visual component; the product promoted in a book cannot be shown like in a movie, series, television show; the only tool of influence on the target audience is the word.

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**DIALOGISM AND HETEROGLOSSIA EMBODIED ALONGSIDE THE CIRCUIT OF
DEMOCRATIZATION: THE 2011 TAIPEI LGBT PRIDE PARADE AS A CRITIQUE**

Hsiao-Yung Wang

Department of Mass Communication, Providence University, Taichung, Taiwan (R.O.C)

Email: hywang2@pu.edu.tw

Abstract

This present study originated from the reflections on the paradoxical nature or circuit of democratization by referring to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, heteroglossia and Laclau & Mouffe's antagonism. Taking the 2011 LGBT pride parade as a critical case for discourse analysis, it aims to explore: 1) how do social actors carry out the (internal) consensus and (external) resignification through specific political programs in such a dialogue; and 2) what is the difference between the temporarily closed system of meaning and the final sutured meaning offered from the mainstream system. Based on the researching findings, it concluded that the circuit of democratization which dialogism embodies is to transform the pre-given social norms to the not-yet-to-be-given, thereby constructing a contingent hegemony under heteroglot historical context. Furthermore, the exclusive or alternative discourse which social actors offered might be a necessary political program to earn equal power in the ideological struggle alongside the circuit of democratization.

Key words: *antagonism; articulation; democratization; dialogism; heteroglossia; LGBT; Mikhail Bakhtin*

1. INTRODUCTION

Taipei was dark and rainy on October 30, 2010. The wind in the air was slightly chilly. For some people, they have already gotten used to such poor weather. Perhaps because of such weather, people on the street seemed to be colder than usual, except those people in showy dressing on Ketagalan Boulevard.

This day was the beginning of the eighth Taipei Gay Pride Parade. This activity attracted more than thirty thousand people. Those people expressed their appeals, like "to support the policy of gay" and "gay may also show policy force", to the public and the media by the ways of dress, nude and slogan. This mobilization was claimed to be the largest Gay Pride Parade ever. These social agents who participated in this movement tried to highlight the different, alternative and diverse (gender) practice of democratization through the gender practice with the mainstream of social culture. The basic implication of democratization here was "the language process which deconstructs the ideology of status quo, and then make resignification⁸ possible.

⁸ The resignification here which is proposed by Bakhtin in dialogism (1975/2002, 1979/2004; Vološinov 1929/1986, see also Wang 2009, 2011, 2012). It is the language process that how the other's utterances are appropriated to express rhetor's voice consciousness in daily language. For Bakhtin, every dialogue is able to be expressed through necessary resignification, or the words are just "dead language" or "alien language" which exists in the dictionary.

I went to this place on this day. Due to the need of teaching and research, I did not join the parade, but observed and recorded this life event. I told my research assistants that while enjoying the colorful dresses and publicly naked bodies, do not forget to pay attention to the well-designed banners in this march.

These appeals involved the desire for “gender courses and friendly campus” from many college groups, “feel comfortable to be male or female” from the cross gender group, “security of adult sex” and “freedom to read” from the gay bookstore JingJing, and “appreciation of diversity” from sexual equality groups, etc. In addition, I also saw many social underprivileged groups, which are not directly associated with gay movements, join this parade together. They were the COSWAS (Collective of Sex Workers and Supporters), who appealed to “make sex work innocent”; and the organizations, who called gays to care stray animals with the slogan “support different sexes, and oppose speciesism.” Furthermore, the groups, who appealed to “donate the invoice, and care about the people with brain dead,” went through the people in the parade and called for mercy from the public. All heteroglot appeals made the street in Taipei lively.

However, a middle-aged woman came toward me when I took my assistants to transfer from one spot to another one for a more complete shoot and record. She saw the line on another side of the street with frown and disgust. When she passed me, I heard she say, “what is wrong with these people, such a mess.” She did not stop for the parade, but leave as soon as possible. But I was stunned for a few seconds because of her words full of disgust. I was wondering if I should catch up with the woman and argue about this. But then I thought everyone have the right to express opinions in a democratic society. Thus, it might not be appropriate for me to keep her from expressing her own opinions. After realizing this, I have gradually started to think that if the woman’s attitude and enmity was not came from herself, but about whole social culture, then what did it mean for so much social movements done by these actors to practice democratization. If the characteristic of democratization is diverse, different and with dialogue, but not closed, unitary and with monologue, then how should democratization be practiced?

Democratization is the most paradoxical political practice in the culture of contemporary society. From the social actors, the meaningful heteroglot democratization made these social actors voice through language because they thought they were weak and oppressed. This basically unlikely happens in the authoritarian and totalitarian political institution. However, the social movements came from the context of democratization have contradictorily signified that the socio-cultural system is full of rigidity and monotony, but not “real” democracy. The fundamental spirit of “real” democracy respect difference and encourage dialogue. The appearance of social movements gained legitimacy by resorting to an alternative ideology or hegemony, which can practice democratization. The paradox that we saw here is that the practice of democratization seems to be struggling between the “society,” which seemed to be open but still closed, as well as the social⁹, which was from closeness to the other openness (through the practice of words from the social actors). A circuit or paradox embodied from the practice of democratization needs to be elaborated theoretically and empirically.

Furthermore, when social movements tries to deconstruct the final sutured meaning system of mainstream social culture by language to construct alternative ideology, they have to offer another powerful, necessary and exclusive utterance or hegemony (for example, the aforementioned gay movement in 2010 expressed the discontent through the demand for redefining the relationship of

⁹ “Society” and “the social” are the terms used by the poststructuralists, Laclau & Mouffe (1985). The former is a final sutured and rigid state; the latter means the open and changeable social imagination, and also the theoretical background from which social movements can mobilize.

partners and protecting the rights of alternative family. They also tried to bring up the necessity discourse for the alternative family and the relationship. Besides, the Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011, which was in the name of “anti-discrimination”, opposed the incorrect claims and inferences of gay education in elementary school and junior high school from the Ministry of Education by criticizing the civil organizations, like True Love League. Therefore, they could redefine the human rights and citizenship.)¹⁰ as a political program. This can integrate the diverse and confused voices inside, which we can also clearly delimit the main position and the strategically position between “the enemy” and “I.” If they want to have equal power in the ideological struggle for this alternative discourse, its language characteristics needs to supply with a closed meaning system (maybe temporarily pre-given), which is hegemonization in Laclau & Mouffe (1985)’s sense. Thus, how do social actors carry out the consensus (internal) and redefinition (external) through specific political programs in such a dialogic democratization? Also, what is the difference between the closed meaning system (temporarily pre-given) offered from democratization and the final sutured meaning of status quo? Those are the main discourse, concerned with the practice of democratization. A theoretical framework drawing from Bakhtin’s dialogism, heteroglossia and Laclau & Mouffe’s antagonism might be an adequate approach to reflect upon the paradoxical nature or circuit of democratization primarily.

2. FROM DIALOGISM TO ANTAGONISM: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is primarily drawing on the theory of dialogism¹¹ from the Russian language philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). In fact, dialogism contains the discussion of meaning interaction and ideological struggling, in which the extension from the dialogue in daily life to the dialogue as resignification is suggested in Bakhtin’s theory (; Gardiner 1992, 2011; Wang 2009, 2011, 2012). Bakhtinian commentators have even advocated that the carnival in European medieval described by Bakhtin is trying to appeal to replace official ideology with unofficial truth, in which it shows the reflection and synonymy of daily dialogization and heteroglossia (Clark & Holquist 1984; Dentith 1995; Jung 2003; Kristeva 1980; Pamorska 1984). These discussions clearly pointed out the process for social actors to construct ideology by having dialogue with others (including the existed it mainstream ideology) and the waiting for the right time to make them be resignified (namely, democratization) was originally the political program guided by the dialogism. In short, every dialogue in daily life might try

¹⁰ In April of 2011, there was a petition of “opposition to include gay education in the gender equality education in elementary and junior high school” spread among the parents of elementary and junior high school students, which is initiated by the civil group, True Love League. Those supportive parents and the group advocated that gay discourse will confuse students’ gender identification and relationship with peers, and influence their physical and mental development. Subsequently, the legislators questioned the officials of the Ministry of Education. The society also reflected many different discussions and debate. At last, the Ministry of Education urgently announced in May that “the way we teach gender” in the gay education manual, written for elementary school teachers, and “gender can be easily taught”, written for junior high school teachers, stopped to be discoursed and printed. In addition, some public meetings would be held to collect people’s views to review whether the gay discourse should be taught in elementary and junior high schools. This event directly influenced the gay movements in Taiwan, particularly the ninth Taipei Gay Pride Parade in October 10th, 2011, which confronted with the idea of True Love League. Since this event closely relates to the topic that is discussed in this study, the political programs will be specifically illustrated later.

¹¹ In fact, the term, dialogism, is not proposed by Bakhtin, but is named by Bakhtinian researcher Holquist (2002, p.15). However, Bakhtin (1975/2002, pp. 282-283) certainly advocated that the dialogicality of language is his main concern. Therefore, dialogism has been widely accepted as Bakhtin’s thinking by the Bakhtin circle.

to respond to the time of past (for echoing to the existed socio-culture), present (for having dialogue with other utterances) and future (for calling for a better future).

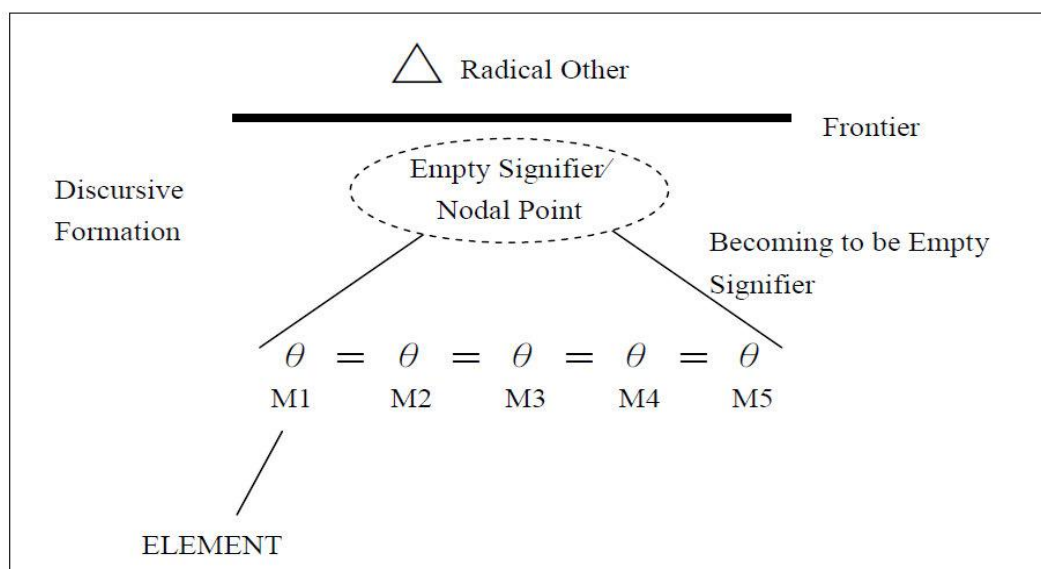
However, heteroglossia in daily dialogue is not completely equivalent to the ideological struggling from resignification. The latter, based on the former, challenges the pre-given official truth in a constant flux of daily dialogue, and thereby connected to the opposition discourse to reconstruct alternative ideology or hegemony. When the previous researchers are trying to reveal the imagination of democratic society (rather than the totalitarian government ruled by Stalin and his monistic dogmatism) in Bakhtin's dialogism, most of them do not outline the theoretical turn which dialogism implicated. This brought the problem that we cannot plan any political program for dialogism to think about "how resignification to be possible" in contemporary social culture and democratization. Laclau & Mouffe (1985)'s theory of antagonism supplies with the related resources to theorize democratization furthermore.

Starting from an assumption, namely the objective world is structured in relational sequences which do not necessarily have a finalistic sense, Laclau & Mouffe (1985) borrowed from Foucault's concept of discursive formation and stated it "manages to signify itself only by transforming the limits into frontiers, by constituting a chain of equivalence which constructs what is beyond the limits as that which it is not (pp. 143-144). They also mention as follows:

Antagonism, as a witness of the impossibility of a final suture, is the "experience" of the limit of the social. Strictly speaking, antagonisms are not *internal* but *external* to society; or rather, they constitute the limits of society, the latter's impossibility of fully constituting itself (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 125).

Based on the conception of "antagonism," Laclau & Mouffe (1985) tried to describe the process of articulation. They said only the presence of a vast area of floating elements and the possibility of their articulation to opposite camps -- which implies a constant resignification of the latter - is what constitutes the terrain permitting us to define an articulation as hegemonization. Without equivalence and without frontiers, it is impossible to speak strictly of hegemony. Articulation could be drawn as table 1 as follows:

Table 1: Laclau & Mouffe's articulation



According to table 1, articulation could be categorized to the three sequential steps. First, Laclau & Mouffe call the differential positions articulated within a discursive formation “moments”. By contrast, any difference that is not discursively articulated is “element”. As soon as element entered into the first layer of chain of equivalence, it transformed to be moments within the field of discursivity. Since the character of overdetermination which implies the lack of an final sutured system and a proliferation of contingent meaning, there are different moments co-exists within the discursive formation. Some of them echo with each other; some are hostile to each other (M1, M2, M3, etc.). However, under the shadow of the threat from Radical Other (Δ), each moment will feel the urgency to construct the type of coherence among differential discursive positions (θ). The process of weakening the discrepancies and constructing a greatest common denominator would be mobilized for the political ideological struggle. The second step of articulation could thus be named as “becoming to be empty signifier” (Laclau 1996). After the moments being articulated to produce an empty signifier/nodal point, Laclau & Mouffe say that the “limit” could be transformed to “frontier.” The testimony “frontier” also means that an antagonism would be exposed, and meanwhile, the radical and contingent Other outside the frontier could be signified in the end.

Incorporating Laclau & Mouffe’s antagonism with Bakhtin’s dialogism and heteroglossia, there are some presuppositions in this study: 1) different from traditional social science which concerns democratization from the field of policy-making, this study claimed that discourse analysis could disclose a social actors’ point of view to reproblematicize this issue and outline the circuit or inherent paradox; and 2) different from that the traditional human science has seen democratization as an established phenomenon, this study claims that it is a starting point of theoretical reflection and empirical study. Heteroglot Discourses of the 2011 Taipei LGBT Pride Parade is a critical case for further discourse analysis. How do social actors carry out the (internal) consensus and (external) resignification through specific political programs in such a dialogue? What is the difference between the temporarily closed system of meaning and the final sutured meaning offered from the mainstream system? These questions are going to be answered furthermore.

3. THE CIRCUIT OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE 2011 TAIPEI LGBT PRIDE PARADE

Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011 is continuously held for nine years in Taipei. However, different from the previous parades, the parade in 2011 was particularly meaningful because True Love League and some social groups openly opposed that the Ministry of Education promotes gender equality education and gay education. The following saying shows what happened with the social movements in that year:

In recent years, some events of anti-gay and gay-terror have showed that besides inequality in the level of law and system, the discrimination against sexual orientation and gender temperament still exist in the socio-culture. Different from the apparent and bully ways, the people with discrimination have learned to pretend to be respectful, but actually oppress gays insidiously. In the cases around us, the people who have discrimination to gays usually use unwarranted reasons to violate gays’ human rights. Moreover, some groups with hate disguised as parents and teachers to make unreal information, in which they incited the public to fear of gays and to achieve the purpose of oppressing gays’ living space (Taiwan LGBT Pride 2011).

From the saying above, gay (friendly) groups could feel the discrimination from the social culture, and they stood up to complain that sexual discrimination has compressed their living space. The text also

apparently targeted them.¹² Hence, the Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011 did not take their action without any reason, but tried to closely connect and have dialogue with the external environment.

Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011 took “LGBT Fight Back! Discrimination Get Out!” as its slogan, which derived several specific demands. These demands included “gender equality education,” “human rights for the people with HIV/AIDS” and “citizenship for the couples of homosexuality”. The promotion of “gender equality education” is to defend “sexual orientation” and “multi-gender,” which are discussed in gender equality course in elementary and junior high school, and also to appeal to protect the freedom of establishing gay organizations in school. This is the most important statement of Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011. The appeal to protect “human rights for the people with HIV/AIDS” is to complain the moral stigma of AIDS, and to advocate the abolition of the laws of punishing infected people (for example, foreign infected people are not permitted to enter Taiwan, and those who are in Taiwan are needed to be deported immediately). The demand of legislation for “citizenship for the couples of homosexuality” not only appealed to the government for the legalization of non-heterosexual couples’ adoption and assisted reproductive for unmarried couples, but also advocated that human beings should have the right of “gender self-determination” and be able to apply for a sex change on ID. These heteroglot demands are formed as specific dialogues, which attempt to challenge the mainstream definition and condemnation of gay in Taiwan over the past few decades (for example, the news reporting or pictures that equated gay with AIDS).

First, as previous saying, 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade did not just connect to specific context, but also respond to the time of past, present and future. For example, for the appeal to promote “gender equality education”, gay groups directly criticized the controversial events caused by civil groups, like True Love League, as well as claimed that the rigidity of education in Taiwan for long resulted in many “incorrect” sexual discussion, which presupposed that all people are heterosexual. Thus, the gay groups appealed that besides the necessity to currently promote gender equality education, it should be included as part of compulsory education. It can make both gay and non-gay children have enough ways to develop their sexual knowledge and become well-developed citizens. This system of meaning embodied the dialogue of daily life from Bakhtin under the resignification in the past, present and future.¹³

Next, form the promotional materials of Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011, the internal demands from the movements included “gay’s sexual rights,” “rights to work,” “rights for cohabitation,” “rights for Christian gay” and “connection rights with the heterosexuality.”¹⁴ However, these demands did not

¹² In fact, the three gay parades in Taiwan (including Taipei, Kaohsiung and Taichung) in 2011 targeted the True Love League to some extent. Almost every guest, who presented a speech, in the parade mentioned the controversy of gender equality education, and directly criticized the discourse of the True Love League. In addition, the appeal to open gender courses was not raised for the first time (many alike slogans in the parade in 2010), but there were much more similar slogans than ever in 2011.

¹³ From the observation in this study, there is such a dialogue in every demand. For example, the demand of voice of “rights for HIV/AIDS infected people” also showed the dialogue to criticize the discrimination laws in the past, to appeal to promote AIDS education immediately, and to hope to have equal living space. Due to space limitation, however, the text in this study can only cite some cases and discuss them.

¹⁴ Take “gay’s sexual rights” as an example, the relevant slogans in the parade were, “every day make, every day love,” “live old and fuck old,” “not just true love, but also make love” and “make love for 60th birthday, love me?” The examples of “rights for Christian gay” in the parade included “I read bible, and also ejaculate,” “God love gay, and gay love all,” “we are Christians and we supports that gay have equal rights.” I also see a float in the name of “www.GodSavetheGays.fr” with a dressed queen crucified on a cross and standing on the roof in 2012

directly relate to the main idea of the movement in 2011, so they are just the elements, which are mentioned by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), but not in the discursive formation of articulation. “Gender equality education,” “human rights for the people with HIV/AIDS” and “citizenship for the couples of homosexuality” are the moment of discursive formation.

From element to moment, those statements started their internal interaction and consensus formation. For example, the voice of “citizenship for the couples of homosexuality” not only actively tried to retrieve the deprived citizenship by advocating the enactment of legislation and policies (also included property, tax, insurance and gender identification into the system of laws and social welfare), but also called for equal living space to protect “rights for the people with HIV/AIDS” (infected people and gays). The originally different concepts, “rights for the people with HIV/AIDS” and “rights for gay partners” became related with each other here.

Furthermore, the discursive formation of 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade also presented the special dialogic forms in both subordinate and strategically antagonistic relationship to socio-culture. For example, the appeal of “citizenship of gay” tried to redefine reproductive rights, parental rights, marriage rights and partners’ rights by temporarily compromising on the traditional category of (heterosexual) family. Through the appeal to expand the relationship of partner and relative, gay groups attempted to reform the meaning system of family to project the rights and legitimacy of gay family. Here we can clearly see that 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade tried to challenge the conditions of existed status quo in discursive formation to form another ideological environment or hegemony (for example, the family of homosexuality). The appeal of “citizenship of gay” also became the moment and voice with specific voice consciousness. Its meaning conflict with established norm, ideology and gendered socio-culture and can be seen as a resignification or hegemonization. And this resignification or hegemonization attempts to turn the traditional pre-given category of family into the not-yet-to-be-given, and points out that the traditional definition of family is a historical contingency, but not a necessity.¹⁵

Finally, the reason why the process from subordination to resignification of the traditional category of family is because 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade tried to make a biggest commonality among different moments, which is the empty signifier raised by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). We can see the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade have dialogue among different moments. It also integrated and attributed all the moments to build a chain of equivalence with the relatively abstract appeal, “anti-discrimination.” For example, the main flyers in the movement used “Let us resee discrimination” to interpret the core slogan, “LGBT Fight Back! Discrimination Get Out!” The empty signifier, “anti-discrimination” was further filled with the following four specific meanings: 1) to deny the presence of children and adolescents gay is discrimination; 2) to protest the discrimination against gender temperament; 3) to protect the rights of infected people and gays, and to eliminate discrimination of HIV/AIDS; 4) to eliminate discrimination against gay’s citizenship. The previous two points are relevant to the gender equality education, and the

Paris Pride Parade. Nevertheless, these demands are too special to connect with other demands in the chain of equivalence. Therefore, they are excluded from the discursive formation.

¹⁵ The leaflets, which are provided in the parade by Taiwan LGBT Family Rights Advocacy, also showed the resignification or hegemonization. Taiwan LGBT Family Rights Advocacy pointed out that if the gay partners want to have a child, they usually have to find a surrogate mother secretly or to have an agreement of marriage. This will not only cost much, but also will waste time. Taiwan LGBT Family Rights Advocacy thinks that we should doubt and criticize that only the special people are encouraged to have children, because it is not reasonable and does not fit the trend demand with era evolution. The Discourse of Taiwan LGBT Family Rights Advocacy clearly presented the dialogue from the pre-given to the historical contingency.

third and fourth points sequentially responded to the moments of human rights for HIV/AIDS infected people and gay's citizenship.

We can say that as an empty signifier, the original meaning of "anti-discrimination" is really vague. It waited to be connected and filled. Because of the vagueness and lack of the final sutured meaning, it could integrate heteroglot discourses to propose a temporarily pre-given system of meaning or hegemony. Through the articulation of the empty signifier, on the one hand, the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade saw the pre-given, traditional and mainstream heterosexual social system as fundamental target to construct the antagonist relations and frontier; on the other hand, it reformed another ideological environment in the discursive formation during hegemonization. Thereby, all the pre-given or misrecognized Truth could be transformed to the not-yet-to-be-given with historical contingency.

Overall, the discursive formation of Taipei Gay Pride Parade in 2011 specifically showed the insight into socio-culture, integration of internal diverse voice consciousness and proceeding of strategically ideological struggle to reconstruct an alternative ideology or contingent hegemony. The discursive formation in the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade could be classified and elaborated as two phases.

First, by trying to take "gender equality education", "human rights for HIV/AIDS infected people" and "citizenship for gay partners" as their main demands in diverse voices and elements, gay groups attempts to dialogize with gendered discourse of the pre-give and mainstream socio-culture. Here, Taipei Gay Pride Parade reflected the "time-space characteristics" of resignification upon the environment. The resignifying language still waited to proceed the special dialogic form to challenge the pre-given meaning, and to turn it into not-yet-to-be-given or historical contingency. In addition, the three moments gradually made in unity and shaped consensus through the internal dialogue, and also took the first step for the construction of antagonism in the next phase.

Second, through trying to find the connection among different moments to articulate anti-discrimination as empty signifier, gay groups gradually constructed a temporarily closed system, and reformed the gendered ideology of contemporary socio-culture. Since this temporarily closed system of meaning is based on the discursive formation of historical contingency, it could be replaced while the enemy change (for example, the demand, "gay policy", in the 2010 Taipei Gay Pride Parade is different from demand against the True Love League in 2011). Thus, the articulation of empty signifier or an alternative gender ideology is the hegemonization within the specific discursive formation. It is not the final sutured or transcendental system of meaning, but the circuit of democratization. In addition, the articulation and hegemonization also responded to Bakhtin's statement that the appropriation of different voice consciousness might embody the spirit of heteroglossia, and an alternative ideology would be refracted in a constant flux of daily dialogue furthermore.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This paper is a discourse analysis of the 2011 Taipei LGBT pride by referring to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, heteroglossia and Laclau & Mouffe's antagonism. It was found that Bakhtin's discussion about daily dialogue involves two implication: meaning interaction vs. ideological struggle. Here, Bakhtin's dialogism clearly presented the resignification process from heteroglossia, which is the democratization concerned in this study. However, since Bakhtin did not precisely theoretically illustrate "how resignification to be possible," the political program in democratization were further planned to analyze the discursive formation in the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade by drawing from Laclau & Mouffe's antagonism. Based on the research findings, the conclusions and discussions have threefold.

First of all, in terms of democratization, a relatively pre-given and temporarily closed system of meaning is necessary. We are able to distinguish between two different antagonistic groups from the different political space. Through the discourse analysis of the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade, this study indicates that articulation of hegemonization is to construct the necessity in contingency. An alternative and necessary ideology mentioned here is different from the transcendental and final sutured meaning in the existed status quo. It signifies that a powerful antagonistic discourse or ideological environment is constructed in the diverse and heteroglot discursive formation. Laclau and Mouffe's theory in this study continued Bakhtin's aspiration for heteroglossia to construct unofficial truth, and also specifically declared how democratization was refracted in the language process of resignification.

Second, as Laclau & Mouffe (1985, p. 121) said, the process to construct necessity in contingency would internally and externally form a "temporarily wholeness with tension relationship." During this process, element will transform into moment and some internal differences will be obliterated strategically for the articulation of empty signifier. Through the discourse analysis of the 2011 Taipei Gay Pride Parade, this study pointed out that the moments and empty signifier are indeed formed upon for the mobilization of ideological struggle. This means that chain of equivalence is impossible to construct a final sutured space, but to build a temporarily closed system of meaning. This system was called overdetermined field of discursivity in Laclau & Mouffe's terms; in Bakhtin's dialogism, it signified the hidden ingrained instability and inherent subversion of dialogue in daily life.

Third, Laclau & Mouffe (1985, p. 113) indicated that because of openness of the social, articulation will fix the meaning by establishing moments, and it will finally become endless play of signification. It means in a final sutured society (whether it is completely liberated or authoritarian), articulation is not able to happen. The action, identity, language practice, subject position mobilized by articulation might just the hegemonization in the discursive formation. Under the premise that articulation cannot be fully achieved, democratization is an eddless resignification, discursive formation and dialogue within heteroglossia. Laclau & Mouffe not only responded to Bakhtin's dialogism on openness of the social, but also brought us the enlightenment that for the democratization in the dialogue is a continuous and repeatedly dialectical political program and circuit, which could reform the ideological environment under the atmosphere of heteroglossia.

As mentioned above, this study argues that democratization means a social imagination struggling from pre-given to not-yet-to-pre-give. The possibility of democratization relies on the pre-give social imagination and discursive formation of contingency to construct an alternative or closed necessity discourse. This temporarily closed system delimited the frontier of the enemy by suspending the different voice consciousness of different voices in the dialogue context. On the one hand, it presented the ingrained instability and inherent subversion of meaning in daily life; on the other hand, it also showed that the political program in specific dialogue could be planned in the dialectical relationship of socio-culture to reform ideological environment. The articulation which proceeds from dialogue to antagonism or from the pre-given to the not-yet-to-be-given exposes the paradoxical nature or circuit of democratization. It could proceed from not-yet-to-be-given to another temporarily closed system reciprocally for the mobilization of social movement in the next stage.

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SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF MARITIME TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Ioana Raluca Vişan

Constanța Maritime University, Romania, Constanța, 104, Mircea cel Bătrân St.

Abstract

Maritime texts do not have a syntax of their own, their syntactic characteristics stemming from the general language. What distinguishes the syntactic features of maritime discourse from those of general language can be put down to the degree of occurrence. Since maritime texts provide a wide variety of syntactic features that can pose serious problems to translators, it is the purpose of the present paper to analyze them thoroughly. Mention should be made that the present approach relies on maritime English texts as opposed to their Romanian variants.

Key words: *syntactic complexity, lexical density, maritime written discourse, translation strategies*

1. INTRODUCTION

The investigation of specialized languages has often raised the question of whether or not these are equipped with unique syntactic patterns that do not occur in general language. However, specialized languages do not contain any rules not found in general language, the specificity of their morphosyntactic phenomena being a quantitative and not a qualitative one (Cozma 2006; Gotti 2008; Grego 2010). The purpose of this paper is to investigate the main syntactic features revealed by maritime texts in translation. The idea is pointed out that in translating English and Romanian maritime texts, the translator is very much influenced by the language that has the status of source language. This is a peculiarity that may come as no surprise in the case of genre which aims at achieving the same communicative function, irrespective of the language of the texts illustrating it.

The present approach will consider seamanship texts on the one hand and different maritime legal texts on the other hand. Seamanship texts are recognized as one of the leading texts for cadet and serving seafarers of all ranks and cover the information related to onboard and outboard activities (i.e. mooring, anchoring, berthing, trimming, lashing, ropework, etc.) as well as to the description of several devices used to perform these types of activities. Seamanship texts can be included in the category of nautical and highly technical register. As regards the maritime legal texts, they belong to the legislation set out by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) whose primary purpose is to develop and maintain a comprehensive regulatory framework for shipping at both national and international levels. In this paper our focus will be on the translation of several texts belonging to *the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS)* as well as on different texts extracted from *the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea (COLREGS)*. SOLAS is the IMO's most well known legal instrument being regarded as the most important of all international treaties concerning the safety of merchant ships. COLREGS on the other hand, are regarded as the "rules of the road" or navigation rules to be followed by [ships](#) and other vessels at sea in order to prevent collisions between two or more vessels.

The selection of the syntactic devices specific to maritime language is largely motivated by the purpose of facilitating communication: they have to be particularly precise, economical and objective. The linguistic features of specialized texts, hence of maritime texts, are related to their theme, structure and

the ability of the language to express concepts. The most frequent syntactic devices used to overcome communication barriers will be presented in the sections below.

2. LENGTH AND COMPLEXITY OF SENTENCES

One of the factors that complicate the understanding of maritime written texts is sentence length. Maritime written texts are encoded by far longer sentences than maritime spoken texts (see for instance the Standard Marine Communication Phrases). We can thus state that paratactic or coordinated structures have a high probability of being selected to realize registers in the maritime oral medium, while various types of hypotactic or subordinated structures tend to be more characteristic of registers realized in the maritime written medium. Following Leckie Tarry (1995, p. 90), we consider that maritime written discourse is characterized by *hierarchized* and *syntactized* structures, whereby stress is laid on certain information over other information by means of a system of agreement within the clause and between the clauses, and a system of clausal marking for superordinate or subordinate relationships. Depending on the register to which they belong, maritime written texts display certain syntactic features which must be carefully considered in translation. For instance, if we deal with texts belonging to seamanship, as opposed to texts pertaining to the maritime legal register, the translator will notice striking differences in terms of the sentence length and structure of these texts (Visan & Croitoru 2010, p. 77).

The considerable sentence length of legal texts is due to the high number of items required to minimise ambiguity and misunderstandings (Cozma 2006, 2009; Gotti 2008; Trosborg 2011). In the maritime English texts under analysis, the sentences present different lengths, ranging from 5-6 words to 20. The length of the average sentence can be established at about 70 words. The sentences revealed by the Romanian variants, which generally reproduce the structure of their originals, are characterized by similar lengths. Thus, in the example: *[A]ll the helmorders that will follow after the vessel has departed and is underway are given to the helmsman [...] → [T]oate comenzile la timona, care urmează după ce nava pleacă și este în marș se vor da timonierului [...]*, the Romanian translation respects the limits of the original English sentence whose structure is rendered as closely as possible. The length and complexity characterizing sentences in maritime English and maritime Romanian discourse, is on the one hand given by the number of constituent clauses and on the other hand, by the structural complexity that these clauses present. Sentence complexity is also attributed to the variety and nature of linking devices both at the sentence and clause level. Irrespective of whether the sentences under investigation are simple, compound or complex, the multitude of constituents that generally characterizes them, represents the text producer's desire to convey all the meanings of these constituents. Subordinate clauses of various types are present in the texts we have considered for investigation. In what follows, we will discuss the types of clauses revealed by the maritime English texts in comparison to their Romanian counterparts, highlighting the various translation problems that might appear at this level.

3. FREQUENT USE OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Syntactic complexity in maritime texts is achieved through the frequent use of adverbial and relative Clauses. In maritime written discourse Adverbial Clauses are used to express a great variety of semantic relationships including time, manner, reason/cause, result, concession and condition, etc. We consider that these semantic relationships can be misleading in translation that is why careful analysis is required. Conditional and Temporal Clauses are among the most frequent Adverbial Clauses making up our corpus. The most common and most versatile of the subordinators used to introduce Conditional Clauses

in maritime written texts are *if* and *unless*: [U]nless expressly provided otherwise [...] → [D]acă nu se prevede în mod expres altfel [...]; [I]f the ship is lying at a single anchor, more cable may be veered [...] → [D]acă nava stă la o singură ancoră, se poate fila mai mult lanț la apă [...]. Mention should be made that the negative subordinator *unless* and the compound conditional conjunctions *provided that* or *on condition that* are much more frequently used in maritime legal texts than in seamanship texts. The frequency of conditional clauses in maritime legal texts is so high that a complex sentence can comprise more than one clause of this type. Thus, when formulating the target text the translator must cautiously weigh each and every word in regard to all possible interpretations and misinterpretations, s/he must also be aware of the translation losses and gains and the way such losses are made up for. Maritime translators must be bound by the principle of fidelity to the source text and look for adequate translation strategies. Sarcevic (1997) and Nord (1997) share the idea that it is legal considerations, not communicative function that must prevail in the choice of the translation strategy for a legal text. In this manner Vermeer's claim that the *skopos* theory can apply to all types of texts has been criticized, mainly because he disregards the fact that legal texts are subject to legal rules governing their usage in the mechanism of law (Sarcevic 1997, pp. 18-19). We consider that maritime translators should strive to produce a text that expresses the intended meaning and achieves the intended legal effects in practice. They must also possess the special skills brought forward by Frențiu (2009, p. 138): “[c]omplete mastery of source language and target language, good knowledge of the legal systems involved, knowledge of the relevant sub-areas of law, awareness of any other disciplines and subject matters, and training in the art of translation”.

The maritime legal translator should respect the limits of the complex sentence in the ST which s/he should render as closely as possible into the TT in order to achieve the greatest possible interlingual concordance and avoid any ambiguity which in turn could lead to a legal uncertainty:

ST₁: “*Unless the Conference decides otherwise*, the amendment shall be deemed to have been accepted and shall enter into force in accordance with the procedures specified in subparagraphs vi and vii respectively of this article, *provided that references in these paragraphs to the expanded Maritime Safety Committee shall be taken to mean references to the conference*”. (SOLAS, Article VIII, C)

TT₁: “*Dacă conferința nu hotărăște altfel*, se va considera că amendamentul a fost acceptat și va intra în vigoare conform procedurii stabilite în alineatele (vi) și (vii) din paragraful (b) al prezentului articol, *cu condiția ca referințele din aceste alineate la Comitetul Securității Maritime lărgit să fie considerate drept referințe la conferință*”. (Our translation)

Another aspect to be pointed out is related to the positioning of the the first conditional clause in relation to its main clause (see ST₁ above). Even though the normal position of the adverbial clause introduced with *unless* is after its matrix, this happens quite rarely in the maritime legal texts we have considered for analysis. In maritime texts, the adverbial finite clauses of time are introduced with one of the following subordinators: *after*, *as*, *before*, *when*, *whenever*, *while*, *whilst*, *once*, *until*, *since*, *as long as*, etc. The adverbial clause of time relates to the time of the situation denoted in the main clause. The time indicated in the matrix clause below is subsequent to the time denoted in the temporal clause (see ST₂). In this case the subordinator *when* is not translated into Romanian with the temporal subordinator *când* but with the compound conjunction *după ce*:

ST₂: “*When a river birth has been allocated by the VTS station, or port authority*, it will sometimes be necessary to dredge anchor in order to make a sharp turn towards the embankment” (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009, p. 2-41)

TT2: “După ce s-a desemnat o dană de fluviu de către autoritatea portuară, sau de către stația VTS, uneori este necesar să se dragheze ancora pentru a face o întoarcere rapidă către cheu”. (our translation)

Temporal clauses introduced with *when* may involve relationships of condition both in seamanship texts and maritime legal texts. Thus, the meaning of the subordinator *when* which primarily expresses time is neutralized in the context below to convey a more abstract notion of contingency:

ST3: “When the vessel approaches her designated berth, at minimum steerageway, the approach to the quay is made at the smallest possible angle” (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009, p. 1-23)

TT3: “Când / Dacă / În cazul în care nava se apropie de dana desemnată, cu viteza minimă de guvernare, accesul către cheu se face într-un unghi cât mai ascuțit.” (Our translation)

Therefore, by paraphrasing *when* with *if* the result will be an adverbial clause of condition. The subordinator *when* can be also paraphrased by such prepositional phrases as *in cases when* or *in circumstances where*. In fact, most of the temporal clauses in maritime English texts are paralleled by conditional clauses in maritime Romanian texts (i.e. *When in accordance with the present convention special rules are drawn up by agreement between all or some of the Contracting Governments [...] → Dacă, în conformitate cu prezenta Convenție, sunt stabilite reguli speciale prin acord între toate guvernele contractante sau numai între unele din ele [...]*). The adverbial clauses of time are not the only ones to imply relationships of condition in maritime texts but also the clauses of place introduced with the subordinator *where* whose Romanian counterpart is *dacă*.

Another aspect we have noticed about most of the clauses forming our corpus, concerns their position. Even if both in English and Romanian the position of adverbial clause is normally after their matrix, this is not always the case with most of our examples. The initial position of adverbial clauses is mainly due to the text producer's efforts towards an accurate presentation of the arguments. As a rule, in the Romanian translations the position occupied by the English adverbial clauses is generally preserved. However, it may also happen that sometimes where in maritime English the temporal clause comes in initial position, in the Romanian translation it follows immediately after the matrix clause. This can be attributed to reasons for clarity and logical presentation of the events:

ST4: “When moving ahead, a vessel is said to be going or making headway; when moving astern a vessel is said to be going astern or making sternway or making a stern board. A vessel gathers way when she begins to move through the water and she has steerage way when the speed is sufficient for steering.” (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009: 1-10).

TT4: “Se spune că o navă are inerție înainte, atunci când aceasta se deplasează înainte; când ea se deplasează înapoi, se spune că nava are inerție înapoi. O navă capătă viteză când se deplasează prin apă și se spune că ea guvernează atunci când are suficientă viteză de guvernare.” (Our translation)

The ST4 above consists of four adverbial clauses of time, the first two clauses are non-finite while the last two are finite. The elliptical adverbial clause of time *when moving ahead* is not only moved after its main clause in the translated text, but also rendered by means of the adverbial modifier of time *atunci când*. This aspect may signal lack of economy of the sentence. However, it is also an attempt to prevent the lack of functionality of stylistic expression. The second elliptical adverbial clause of time *when moving astern* preserves its initial position in the translated text being rendered into Romanian by the time subordinator *când*. As we have mentioned earlier, temporal clauses express a general notion of a contingency relationship between the situations described in the subordinate and matrix clauses. This feature is also applicable to adverbial clauses in the ST3 where the contingency relationship can be conveyed into Romanian by means of a conditional clause introduced with the subordinator *dacă*. The

fact should to be pointed out that in seamanship texts some adverbial clauses of time can comprise a repetitive correlative pair, as shown in ST5 below:

ST5: “A vessel is under way *when she is neither anchored, nor secured to a buoy, nor made fast to the shore, nor aground*. When actually moving through the water, a vessel has way on her; if she is moving too fast she is said to have too much way on” (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009, p. 1-10).

TT5: “O navă este în marș *când nu este ancorată, nici legată la geamandură sau asigurată la cheu, ori eșuată*. Când se deplasează prin apă, nava are viteză; dacă se deplasează prea repede, se spune că nava are viteză excesivă.” (Our translation)

Juxtaposition is also very productive in maritime discourse, being used especially when a number of adverbial clauses of the same type are part of an enumeration. Both the matrix of these clauses and the conjunction introducing them, are expressed only once and apply for each of the subordinate clauses. This feature denotes a preference for compactness in the maritime discourse:

ST6: “More shackles must be put in the water *when*: the water is very deep (more than 25 fathoms); barges are passing close to the vessel; the anchor chain has a low tensile strength; the anchor chain is leading ahead; the vessel is in ballasted condition.” (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009, pp. 2-13)

TT6: “Mai multe chei de lanț trebuie să fie lăsate la apă *atunci când/ în cazul în care*: adâncimea apei este foarte mare (mai mult de 25 de fatomi); navele trec pe lângă navă proprie; lanțul de ancoră are o tensiune scăzută la rupere; lanțul întinde înainte; nava este în ballast.” (Our translation)

Even though the Romanian equivalent for the subordinator *when* is *când* which is preserved in the target text above, the maritime translators may opt either for the adverbial modifier of time *atunci când* or the conjunction phrase *în cazul în care*. The example above is interesting not only because it illustrates characteristics of coordination, but also because it reveals some features of the subordinating devices employed in the texts making up our corpus. Moreover, it is at the level of subordination that the differences between the linking devices used in the maritime English texts as opposed to maritime Romanian texts, are more evident. The subordinate clauses which may indeed be regarded as the most prevalent in maritime discourse are adverbial clauses on the one hand, and relative clauses on the other.

4. NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

According to Leckie Tarry (1995) non-finite verbal structures represent the common ground between the concepts of syntactic complexity and lexical density. One of the most relevant features attributed to maritime written texts is what O’Donell (1974, p.108 apud. Leckie Tarry 1995 p. 96) calls “syntactic density” which he associates with “compactness in verbal organization” (id. *ibid.*). This claim is consistent with Hallyday’s assertion of “lexical density” in written discourse. It is the category of verbal structures, participles and gerunds which have the most contribution to lexical density, thus helping in obtaining a high degree of compression of meaning to the point where syntactic and morphological markers become absorbed in the lexicon, providing conciseness, exactness and objectivity to maritime translation.

Thus, maritime texts reveal a marked preference for *-ing* clauses, *-ed* clauses and verbless clauses. Adverbial participial clauses and verbless clauses may be designated simply adverbial supplementive clauses. Quirk et al. (1991, p. 1123) defines supplementive clauses as optional sentential circumstance adverbial participle and verbless clauses introduced without a subordinator which are characterised by a considerable indeterminacy as to their semantic role. According to Quirk et al. (1991, p. 1124) and

Biber et al. (1999, p. 201), the meaning relation implied by supplementary clauses is affected by their position in the sentence, i.e. they are considered to indicate background information in initial position, parenthetical in medial position and supplementary in final position. Supplementary clauses occurring in initial and medial position are specific to both seamanship and maritime legal texts (i.e. *[W]orking on these lines, as well as on the stern rope and stern spring which are also run out in the same time, the ship is hove into her berth and made fast [...] → [M]anipulând aceste parâme, precum și parâma și springul pupa care se dau pe cheu în același timp, nava va fi adusă și acostată la dană [...]*).

Supplementary clauses with a subject are referred to as absolute clauses, since they are not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically, while in the case of subjectless supplementary clauses the implied subject, which according to the normal attachment rule is assumed to be identical with the subject of the superordinate clause, provides a link with the matrix clause, as the example below indicates. In the case of *ing*-clauses an additional factor affecting the meaning of supplementary clauses is the semantics of the verb, i.e. verbs used dynamically tend to suggest a temporal link, and stative verbs a causal link (i.e. *Leaving the port, the ship must have the victualling bill, the port clearance and the bill of health [...] → Plecând / La plecarea / Când se pleacă din port nava trebuie să dețină lista de provizii, permisul de plecare și patenta de sănătate [...]*).

The present participle is often employed in maritime texts in order to avoid relative clauses. Present participle is also pervasive in reduced temporal clauses. The conciseness it brings to the text is so highly appreciated that it is frequently used also when the subject of the secondary clause is different from that of the main clause. Even though the translation option *când se încarcă și se descarcă orice tip de marfă* is acceptable, there are cases when the *-ing* forms *loading* and *discharging* are translated into the Romanian with the noun phrases *încărcare* and *descărcare*: e.g. *When loading and discharging any type of cargo [...] → La încărcarea și descărcarea oricarui tip de marfă [...]*. Present participle is also used in maritime texts to simplify secondary concessive clauses, as they do not require the explicit mention of the subject when the latter is the same as that of the matrix clause: (i.e. *[A]lthough being in an upright position, a ship will always experience disturbances from the sea [...] → [D]eși se află pe chilă dreaptă, nava se va afla mereu sub acțiunea perturbațiilor mării [...]*).

For reasons of expressive conciseness a possibility commonly adopted in maritime texts is the substitution of a relative clause with an adjective generally obtained by means of affixation (Gotti 2008, p. 69). This feature is also valid for the ST7 below:

ST7: “Refrigerated cargo vessels are ships that carry *perishable* cargoes, such as meat or fruit. These ships are equipped with *refrigerating* plants”. (Van Kluijven 2003, p. 64)

TT7: “Navele frigorifice sunt navele care transportă mărfuri *perisabile*, cum ar fi carnea sau fructele. Aceste nave sunt dotate cu instalații *frigorifice*.” (Our translation)

Even though the extended forms of the examples in italics above would be: *cargoes which perish → mărfuri care se perisează; plants which refrigerate → instalații care răcesc*, the suffixes *able* and *-ing* which are attached to the verbs *perish* and *refrigerate* in order to form the adjectives *perishable* and *refrigerating* respectively, have precise semantic values, a feature that enables the decoder to interpret their communicative function adequately.

Another frequently used non-finite form is the infinitive. In maritime English texts the infinitive is used to indicate the purpose of an action (i.e. the infinitive of purpose) and it is generally translated into Romanian by means of the conjunctions *pentru a*, *ca să*: *[T]o maintain an even transverse balance, the cargo must be distributed in such a way that [...] → [P]entru a se menține un balans transversal, marfa trebuie distribuită astfel încât [...]*; *[T]o ensure a safe voyage of a laden vessel, loadlines are*

painted[...] → [C] *a să se asigure un voiaj sigur navei încărcate, se vopsesc liniile de încărcare [...]*. Mention must be made that the adverbial clauses of purpose are more often infinitival than finite (Quirk et al. 1991: 1107). In seamanship texts they most often take front position, but also medial or final position.

5. PRE- AND POST MODIFICATION

In maritime English, relative clauses are often reduced to pre- or postmodifications, (the insertion of one or more elements in front of or after the head word) for reasons of conciseness. While contributing to the economy of expression in texts, combinations of pre- and post-modifications increase the complexity of nominal groups which affects readability. For example, the nominal group *the flexible coupling copes with a considerable degree of misalignment* containing a qualifier rendered by a prepositional group (after the head) should read: *the flexible coupling copes that have a considerable degree of misalignment*, which means that the prepositional group can be replaced by a that-marked clause.

Furthermore, the strategy can be applied to some maritime texts by means of which a defining relative clause can be reduced for simplification to an elliptical passive form (a past participle) by omitting its subject and auxiliary. This type of construction is known as a reduced relative clause or passive relative clause (Swales 1971). This strategy can be applied to both English and Romanian maritime texts, but as the Romanian text below illustrates, it is sometimes difficult to preserve the same contracted form in translation especially if it occurs more than once in the English source text:

ST8: “Cargo *carried* in bulk can be divided into liquid and dry bulk cargo. Liquid bulk cargo is carried in tankers *designed* to transport crude oil. The oil is carried in tanks *connected* by a system of pipes to a central manifold.” (Blakey 1987, p. 86).

TT8: “Marfa *transportată* în vrac poate fi împărțită în marfă lichidă vrac și marfă solidă vrac. Marfa lichidă în vrac este transportată de către tancuri petroliere *destinate* transportului de țiței. Țițeiul este transportat în tancuri (care sunt) *conectate* la rezervorul central printr-un sistem de pompe.” (our translation)

In addition, even if the strategy of clause simplification can be considered a distinguishing feature of maritime discourse due to the fact that it calls for transparency and conciseness, there are instances where in maritime Romanian simplifying the clause does not work. The example below is also illustrative in this respect:

ST9: “Any vessel other than a vessel *not under command* or a vessel *restricted in her ability to manoeuvre* shall, if the circumstances of the case admit, avoid impeding the safe passage of a vessel constrained by her draught, exhibiting the signals in Rule 28.” (COLREG, Rule 18. 1d)

TT9: “Orice navă, alta decât o navă *care nu este stăpână pe manevră sau a cărei capacitate de manevră este redusă*, trebuie, dacă circumstanțele permit, să nu împiedice trecerea în siguranță a unei nave stânenite de pescajul său, care arată semnalele prevăzute la regula 28.” (Our translation)

There are situations when the Romanian relative clause renders the meaning of an English non-finite participial clause as in: “...*the safe passage of a vessel constrained by her draught, exhibiting the signals in Rule 28*” / “*trecerea în siguranță a unei nave cu probleme din cauza pescajului, care arată semnalele menționate la regula 28*” from the texts above. The phenomenon of relative clause reduction shows a frequent transition from post-modification to pre-modification.

6. NOMINALIZATON

Nominal compounds, also called complex nominals, compound nominal phrases, noun strings or complex lexical items have a considerably higher occurrence in maritime English. They are used for compressing semantic and syntactic information into a highly compact form. The idea has been shared that nominal compounds are frequently used in the realization of scientific registers for reasons of impersonality, to avoid finite verbs and participles and to set the writing as being specialized and technical.

Nominalization also calls for a high degree of formality in maritime texts, which is a strategy used to obtain certain stylistic effects and syntactic compression. Hallyday (1985) considers that spoken language is essentially verbal in nature, while written language is essentially nominal. He claims that spoken and written discourse are two different modes of representing experience, two alternative ways of language creations. Thus, in written discourse “the text is created as an object and perceived by the reader as an object it exists” (Hallyday 1985, p. 49) while in spoken discourse “the text is created, and is perceived by the listener, as a process” (id. *ibid.*). For example, most maritime texts display a frequent use of long noun groups such as: e.g. *slow speed diesel engine* → *motor diesel cu turație mică; specialized heavy lift vessel* → *navă specializată de transport al mărfurilor agabaritice; emergency position indicating radio beacons* → *radiobaliză de indicare a poziției în caz de sinistru*, etc. Maritime texts make frequent use of nominalization because verb-derived nouns seem to reflect the parallel process whereby results are inferred from experiments and objects from their construction process. These abstract nouns can carry the Latin ending *-ion* (i.e. *containerization, embarkation, ignition, immersion, palletization*, etc.) or they can take the form of gerunds and infinitives. In maritime discourse, nouns ending in *-ing* (i.e. *mooring, lashing, winding, anchoring, towing, dragging, yawing, rolling, pitching, trimming* etc.) or nouns retaining the infinitive form (i.e. *berth, buoy, ship, anchor, dock, lock, warp, trim*, etc.) are related to the internal and external shipboard activities, to the ship's motions or vessel's appliances. According to Ulrych (1992, p. 135) the distinction between a form in *-ing* and the infinitive is that the former has more of an iterative meaning, while the latter tends to foreground the singulative aspect of the action or event. Another important category of verb-derived nouns specific to seamanship texts and maritime legal texts are the nouns ending in *-age* (i.e. *anchorage, buoyage, cordage, leakage, stowage, salvage, storage*, etc.).

A model of the complex noun phrase in technical English is provided by Croitoru (1996, p. 83). In her schemata nominal and adjectival premodifiers indicate permanent characteristics while *-ing* and *-ed* premodifiers signal temporary characteristics (i.e. *man-made fibre cordage stopper* → *boț de parâmă; two-legged swinging mooring* → *ancorare giratorie cu două ancore*). While Romanian relies on left-to-right pattern, in English the right-to-left construction can be easily adopted in order to make the sentences shorter and the noun phrase denser.

Nominal adjectivation, as Gotti (2008, p. 73) puts it, is one distinctive aspect of the right-hand-pattern and “involves the use of a noun to specify another with an adjectival function”. The noun phrase *a partly submerged vessel* contains a premodifying past participle, which in turn, it is premodified by an adverb. This noun phrase is expressed in maritime Romanian by means of a defining relative clause: *o navă care este parțial în imersiune*. *Adjectivation* generally takes on complex syntactic values because it often stems not only from the evolution of noun phrases but also of phrases containing adjectives and present and past participles: (i.e. *an all around flashing yellow light* → *lumină galbenă cu sclipiri vizibile pe întreg orizontul*). Sometimes nominal compounds can lead to a loss of conceptual clarity due to their being too dense. For this reason, a strategy for a better understanding of denser compounds in maritime texts is decoding them by means of a relative clause. Thus, the nominal compound *cargo oil pumps*

control board which translates into Romanian as *pupitru de comandă a pompelor de încărcare* can be paraphrased by the relative clause *a board which controls cargo in oil pumps*.

It has to be pointed out that nominalization in maritime texts is the link with textual construction. By favouring the reintroduction of concepts in thematic position, nominalization also allows for an easier flow of information from new to given, therefore facilitating text development. By thematizing information through nominalization, a maritime text also allows for greater cohesion. The pervasiveness of nominalization leads to loss of verbal value, and as a result the verb is weakened and often functions as copula, a link between increasingly noun phrases. The verb *to be* is often used as linkage between nominal or adjectival phrases, which in turn derive from syntactic transformation of verbs with a strong semantic content. The following sentences illustrate that non-copulative verbs are replaced by adjectival forms which are then joined to their corresponding noun phrases by a copulative verb: *This cargo is a ten-ton load* → *The load weighs ten tons*; *The bulk carrier is a multi-deck vessel* → *The bulk carrier has a many decks*. To conclude, the use of nominalization is very productive with both maritime English and Romanian texts.

7. PASSIVIZATION

Because they are so widely used in technical and scientific English, passive constructions have had a strong influence on similar registers in other languages through translation (Baker 1992; Croitoru 1996). The use of passive is extremely common in the written genres of maritime English and thus, can pose various problems in translation depending on the availability of similar structures or structures with similar functions in maritime Romanian.

Our claim that there is a widespread use of passive constructions in maritime written discourse which actually constitutes one of the main syntactic features of this type of discourse, comes as a counter argument to the assertion that “there is a decline in the use of passive voice both in British English and American English” (Leech et al. 2009, p.148), this decline being “exclusively encountered in formal written English” (id. *ibid.*). Passive structures are used in maritime English texts to give the impression of objectivity and to distance the writer from the statements made in the text. The tendency to translate English passive constructions literally into a specific target language that normally uses it with less frequency has often brought criticism (Baker, 1992, p.103).

Therefore, the maritime translator should opt for the strategy of voice change. This strategy consists in changing the verbs' syntactic form to acquire a different sequence of elements. In this manner, the active voice may be replaced by the passive one and vice versa: (i.e. [*E*] *xistența danelor specializate limitează numărul navelor care pot opera simultan într-un port de descărcare [...]* → [*T*] *the number of ships which can be simultaneously operated in a port of discharge is restricted to the existence of specialized berthing places [...]*). As this example indicates, the subject of the active clause preserves the impersonality associated with passive constructions. In describing several maritime activities (i.e. anchoring, mooring, berthing, etc.) and devices (i.e. an anchor, a windlass, a type of rope, etc.), the text producer generally uses the passive and clauses are often nominalised. Thus, such constructions: [*T*] *the mooring buoys for securing a number of ships head-and-stern are usually laid along the line of the tidal stream [...]* → [*G*] *eamadurile de acostare folosite pentru asigurarea multor nave la prova și pupa se așează de obicei în aliniament cu direcția curentului de maree [...]* are very frequent in maritime English texts.

Another very important argument which should be put forward is that maritime Romanian uses the passive much less frequently than maritime English and thus, the reflexive structures are relied on much more heavily to fulfil similar functions. Leckie Tarry (1995, p. 90) claims that the concept of *hierachization* or *dominance* within the clause can be associated with the use of passive constructions which she labels as “a reclassification of meanings” that are “sequential” or that follow “natural logic”. Thus, the concept of reclassification of meanings can be referred to as a process of transformation that involves an actor presented as the causer of the process, a verbal process and an affected entity. However, in maritime written genres which are characterized by a high level of formality, there is a transformation of linguistic structures so that the relationship between the cause and effect is sometimes lost: [...] *the shell plating is sandblasted and then painted with a primer and an anti-fouling paint* [...] → [...] *se sablează și apoi se vopsește bordajul exterior cu grund și cu vopsea anti-vegetativă* [...]. The agent is normally omitted in passive clauses, because it is often the same for all the operations described as well as for reasons of clarity. This idea can be illustrated in the first two sentences of the ST and TT below, where the agent is understood to be *the ship builders*:

ST10: “Nowadays ships *are built* in sections composed of welded plates and frames. In the old days rivets *were used* to put the parts together. The ship *is divided* into watertight compartments *by decks and longitudinal and transverse bulkheads*.” (van Kluijven 2005, p. 99)

TT10: “Astăzi, navele *sunt construite* din secțiuni compuse din table de bordaj și coaste. Pe vremuri *se utilizau* îmbinări prin nituire pentru asamblarea elementelor. Nava *este împărțită* în compartimente etanșe *de către punți și pereți etanși longitudinali și transversali*.” (Our translation).

As it can be noticed in the target text above, there is symmetry between the ST and the TT as far as the first sentence is concerned: it consists of the passive *are built* which is translated by the passive *sunt construite*. The passive construction in the second sentence is translated into Romanian by a reflexive-passive construction. The third sentence of the ST and TT above also consists of a passive construction, but mention should be made that the agent is expressed by the prepositional phrase *by decks and longitudinal and transverse bulkheads* which may also be interpreted as having an instrumental function: *cu ajutorul/prin*. Another reason for using the passive in maritime texts is that in passive sentences, the subject takes initial position and “it is into the subject that scientists put much information” (Croitoru, 1996, p. 137), an idea also shared by Swales (1975). The fact is obvious that it is closely connected with the impersonal and objective nature of maritime discourse:

ST11: “The cargo *must be distributed* in such a way that the vessel will not make a list to port or starboard. The vessel *must not be trimmed* in such a way that she will be down by the head or down by the wind. Ballast water *is used* to improve the vessel’s trim in this case.” (van Kluijven 2005, p. 241)

TT11: “Marfa *trebuie (să fie)/ va fi împărțită/ se va împărți* în așa fel încât nava să nu se canarisească la babord sau tribord. Nava *nu trebuie sa aibe o astfel de asieta* încât aceasta să fie (asieta navei trebuie concepută în așa fel încât să nu fie) aprobată sau apupată. În acest caz *se folosește* apa de balast pentru a corecta asieta navei.” (Our translation)

The target text above favours the use of the modal *must* unlike the modal/future passive/reflexive alternation in Romanian. The fact must also be pointed out that in the passive sentences of the text above there is no mention of people performing the action, because such references to people are unnecessary, given the impersonal and objective character of this type of language. According to Croitoru (1996, p. 141) the passive is also used instead of the imperative form in instructions which allows the translator to avoid specifying the verb altogether. This idea is also shared by Kussmaul (1997, p. 76) who suggests that in German leaflets the passive voice is used as an illocutionary force indicator for instructions,

which is rendered into English with an imperative form. As the target text below illustrates, Romanian also favours the passive in such cases:

ST12: “After command approval *has been given* to break the cable the following procedure *is to be carried out*:

- *ensure* windlass or capstan is out of gear and cable is secured.
- *engage* windlass gear and veer until sufficient cable is ranged on the deck”. (Admiralty Manual of Seamanship 2009, p. 2-68)

TT12: “După ce *s-a dat* aprobarea să se desfacă cheia de împreunare a lanțului, *se vor realiza* următoarele proceduri:

- *se asigură* că vinciul sau cabestanul sunt decuplate, și lanțul este asigurat
- *se cupleză* barbotinul lanțului și se virează până când există suficientă lungime de lanț pe punte”. (our translation)

Translators should not render a passive form by a passive one and an active form by an active one since, as Croitoru (1996, p. 143) suggests, “it is always the function of a category not the form it takes that is of utmost importance translation”.

CONCLUSIONS

An important problem for the maritime translator is represented by the difference between the syntactic systems of English and Romanian. Mention should be made that although it may not be possible for the maritime translator to use the same syntax in the target text due to the norms of that language, s/he should strive to reproduce the same effect by his/her selection of the appropriate target language syntax. Maritime written texts make use of complex syntactic structures by which we mean subordinated or hypotactic structures, or in Leckie Tarry’s terms “hierarchized meanings”. However, there may be a great variation according to the length, recursiveness, and embedding of clauses in maritime legal texts as opposed to seamanship texts. The high frequency of occurrences of adverbial clauses and relative clauses is considered to be one of the characteristic features contributing to the syntactic complexity of written maritime discourse, and in particular of seamanship and maritime legal texts. Nominalization and passive constructions are also among the most prominent syntactic features of maritime texts.

When translating an IMO treaty, an IMO convention or an IMO regulation, translators must be very careful in their decision making process because these text types have the status of negotiated texts, and thus, leave little to no *Handlungsspielraum* (Sarcevic 1997). The process of translating a maritime text, involves striking the right tone in order to comply with one of the basic principles of translation which is adequacy. We consider that a clear and explicit analysis of the source text is of great use because it contributes to the semantic, syntactic, cultural and pragmatic clarifications of the text. In this manner, the target text may acquire new discourse related features which are of utmost importance when the translator must decide what solution to choose. Thus, it is our belief that textual analysis may help the maritime translator to “rethink” the text and rewrite it according to the original.

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INNOVATIVE METHODS OF TEACHING VARIABILITY OF FOREIGN SPEECH

Irina Kuzminova

Pyatigorsk State University, 9 Kalinin Ave., Pyatigorsk, Stavropol region, 357532 Russia

Abstract

The article discusses the notion of syntactic synonymy based on A. Ellis doctrine about the semantic forms of mentality as a mean of teaching variability of English speech for vocational training of students. Illustrative material have been proposed regarding the examples of methodological exercises and tasks.

Key words: *methodology, syntax, teaching complex of exercises, cognitive-communicative theory, syntactic synonymous structures, language competence, comparison.*

1. INTRODUCTION.

In the context of increasing demands for foreign language competence phenomenon of syntactic synonymy has become an area of specific attention and interest. Theoretically, a view of language learning as participation in communicative practices can be linked to a number of Russian scholars; Zolotova, Coprov, Lekant to name – a few of the ones who form the cognitive and communicative perspective on learning (Shatylov, 1977). The results of investigation of this linguistic problem are not solved from the methodological point of view in foreign language teaching. The process of changing a linguistic code by a bilingual personality actually means a transition from one semiotic system to another one that is performed by the person who is learning a new language. This phenomenon arrests the attention of scholars from various fields of knowledge, including psychologists, psycholinguists, sociolinguists, neurolinguists since such transition is usually caused by some extra-linguistic factors. It is naturally in the focus of linguistic research as well because of the influence this bilingual performance produces on the language behaviour both in one's acquired and native language. Bilingual processes are equally important for the contrastive language studies and methodology of foreign language teaching.

To make language teachers familiar with the possibility of widening the limits of real communication by means of syntactic synonymy, to develop practical skills of setting up and using the learning environment as well as to introduce didactic theoretical foundations for language variability and expressivity supported collaborative learning, and use of collaborative tools are few tasks of the article.

Our complex of training represents methodologically appropriate set of exercises of different type and their fulfillment. The complex is devised to show how syntactic synonymy can be incorporated into modern language curricula in order to promote a more flexible and successful set-up of adequate cross-cultural vocational communication according to N.V. Baryshnikov principle of cognitive orientation of training activity (Baryshnikov, 2003).

Cognitive-communicative methodic principle of variability is basic characteristic trait of aims and conditions of syntactic synonymy training.

The aim is to acquire an efficient approach to syntactic synonymy for teaching purposes, to develop strategies and build a reasonable set of criteria for exercises. To make possible vocational communication the teaching complex focused on syntactic synonymy is developed. We challenge

students to explore multiple language perspectives of this device. The overall aim of the project is to establish cognitive and communication technologies and their applications as an integral part of all modern language curricula allowing for more flexible and accessible educational provision (Banks, 1995). Qualitative and quantitative data are presented to indicate successful implementation of the complex for facilitating learning via syntactic synonymy. By didactic complex we mean automation, updating and activation of syntactic synonymy. Previous researches tend to emphasize common metacognitive, cognitive, social and affective learning strategies (Shatylov, Baryshnikov, etc.).

Instead, in developing our complex, we feel the need to train students in ways of understanding diverse subject positions as opposed to reconfirming stereotypes. Seeking a tool to enable students to understand the diverse syntactic synonymy positions, we turn to cognitive-communicative theory, since it is aimed at investigating the specific context in which communication occurs. Cognitive and communication approaches and their language applications as an integral part of all modern language curricula, providing teachers and learners with authentic materials and cultural information and helping to promote intercultural awareness and mutual understanding. The new strategies are to be embedded in a principled and harmonious approach to language teaching, taking the learning styles and interests of students in a vocational context as their point of departure. The ranking, choose, correlation, comparison are committed to establishing and providing a suitable platform and network for all involved in activities promoting or implementing such principles.

The use of English language in higher education as a subject of the educative process and as an instrument of intercultural communication ask the teacher of the discipline to apply different teaching and learning methods for the implication of the student in favor of the discipline they teach. Just like the process of teaching a foreign language is a socialization process, of a-culturalization, the teaching English language through the comparative study of syntactic synonymy is formed as part of the process of learning this language.

According to N.V. Baryshnikov (Baryshnikov, 2003) the teaching of foreign language in the Russian environment has to be founded on the theory of communication and of applied linguistics. For this, the analytics curriculums have to be simplified from the point of view of the scientific contents; the concentration of the language learning on formation objectives and competences of different types, as well as the development of the communication competences, especially through thoroughness, through the thorough acquiring of contents, of principles and of skills. The accessibility and the individualization of learning come to complete the oral and written discourse of the language consumers from the target-group.

The teaching and the learning of English **language as foreign language** in the cultural Russian space requires the elaboration and the solving of the didactic problems of the English language as foreign language discipline, of the elaboration of materials for the thorough application of the active participation methods, a better management of the learning process as well as of the novelty character.

2. DIRECTION №1. THE INTERLANGUAGE CHARACTERISTIC OF INNOVATIVE TEACHING METHODS OF VARIABILITY OF FOREIGN SPEECH AND THE WAYS OF ITS RESEARCH.

While working out the theory of innovative teaching methods N.V. Baryshnikov was interested in three questions.

1. The substantiation of the cognitive criteria distinguishing the inter-level connections of native and

foreign language.

2. The search of system-generating factors underlying the conditions of second-language learning.
3. The development of aim priorities by the organization of a forming pedagogical experiment [2].

According to each formulated position under N.V.Baryshnikov and his followers' guidance an extensive experimental material has been accumulated, and this fact has allowed us to organize the first serial of our complex and start the accumulation of an actual material from the above mentioned position.

These exercises are aimed at understanding conceptual categories. Language exercises include the following methodical contents:

2.1.. Analyse the following sentences as to synonymic nuance of meaning.

1. Perhaps Tom is tired.

Tom may be tired.

2. I'm sure she isn't studying hard.

She can't be studying hard.

3. It isn't necessary for Joe to come here.

Joe doesn't have to come here.

4. You aren't allowed to use the car.

You musn't use the car.

5. Let's meet again tomorrow night.

We can meet again tomorrow night. .

The paradigm of question types is especially numerous. They range from questions that require information to quasi-interrogatives, such as advice, imperative or confirmative in the form of a question.

Questions that require information in Russian are more straightforward and less variable than in English. Cf. Russian *He скажете (не знаете), который час?* and English *Could you tell me the time, please? Would you know the time? Do you happen to know what time it is (what's the time)?*

Such questions in English often imply the so called communicative proxemics which means adherence to the rule of personal space in the process of communication. The English communicative culture affords the speakers to avoid question forms when asking for information in order not to put pressure on the interlocutors and give them freedom of choice if they want to leave this inquiry unanswered. So, instead of the question about where one could find a bank or where the nearest bus-stop is situated the speaker may say *I'm looking for a bus-stop or I wonder if there's a bank nearby*. Such dialogue strategy enables the addressee to stay out of the conversation in case she or he is unwilling to get involved in communication.

Advice and instruction also manifest a wider range of etiquette forms in English in addition to a greater degree of tolerance in their linguistic expression. Apart from the assertive advice type that has a similar mode of expression in both languages (cf. *Тебе необходимо сменить обстановку* and *You need a change*) the English speaker would more often choose to express advice in the form of a question (*Do/don't you think a change would do you good?*).

2.2. Speak on the syntactic structure in other synonymic variants.

For example:

Let's go to a Japanese restaurant for a change.

Why don't we go to a Japanese restaurant for a change?

How about going to a Japanese restaurant for a change?

What about going to a Japanese restaurant for a change?

Shall we go to a Japanese restaurant for a change?

We could go to a Japanese restaurant for a change.

We can go to a Japanese restaurant for a change.

1. Let's go to the market today.

2. Let's go out for a meal later. Etc.

We can/could .../Shall we ...? = Let's .../How about...?/

Why don't we ...?/What about ..?

2.3. Compare the following sentences. Comment on the differences in their meaning and structure. Define the semantic structure created by use of synonymic constructions in the sentence.

1. I'm sure that they forgot about our wedding. - They must have forgotten about our wedding.
2. It's possible that John is not a rich businessman. - John may not be a rich businessman.
3. Perhaps the plane arrived late, and that's why they are not here. - The plane might have arrived late, and that's why they are not here.
4. I don't believe you failed the exams. - You can't have failed the exams.

3. DIRECTION №2. THE DISPLAY OF PARTICULAR EXERCISES OF TEACHING VARIABILITY OF SPEECH IN SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING FROM PYATIGORSK METHODOLOGICAL SCHOOL POINT OF VIEW.

Consistent comparative study of languages enables one to tackle certain problems in the methodology of foreign language teaching, such as error prognostication, prevention of language interference and achievement of ultimate authenticity in retaining the individual language personality of the speaker in the native or foreign language (Tenny, 2010). In order to resolve these problems successfully it is necessary to instantiate the most typical manifestations of language interference that occur practically on all levels of the linguistic structure.

Phonetic interference is the most deep-rooted type of interference practically immune to rectification. Pronunciation and intonation patterns will betray a non-native speaker even though his or her knowledge of grammar and vocabulary may be excellent. The Russian students learning English contrary device

final voiced consonants, shorten the long vowels, mispronounce the sounds non-existent in Russian (w, th, ng, ir, er), diphthongs and so on (Tenny, 2010).

At the **lexical level** Russian learners are liable to confuse valency in combining words. There is considerable dissimilarity in the semantic structure between words of different languages suggested by dictionaries as equivalent in meaning. This leads to such errors of Russian learners of English as confusion of *learn and teach* since both may be translated as *учить* while the exact meaning of the first verb is *изучать*, and the second means *обучать*. Semantic pitfalls of this sort waylay a bilingual speaker all the time (Shatylov, 1977).

Stylistic mistakes are among the most frequent and difficult ones to overcome. They manifest themselves in the wrong contextual use of words and their connotations, ritual and etiquette formulas, inappropriate use of literary and colloquial vocabulary and phraseology, etc. The specific combination of typical linguistic forms, selected by the speakers from the totality of all potential forms provided by the grammatical system of any language may be defined as the grammar of speech which determines the national stylistics of any given language. This specific choice of linguistic forms is meant to serve some special communicative purpose. Comparing sets of such forms used by Russian speakers makes it possible to observe a number of differences. This contrastive analysis allows to reveal the salient features of the national stylistics of communication that in its turn moulds one's linguistic personality.

The most apt sphere for this sort of contrastive stylistic analysis is the syntactic synonymy since it contains a great variety of communicative types of forms (Radford, 2009).

For these reasons, the following directions of studying synonymic structures of speech variability have been developed in Pyatigorsk methodological school, based on N.V. Baryshnikov's interpretation of the principle of adequate learning and on S. F. Shatylov's understanding of the problem of correlation between the external and internal speech patterns of synonymic constructions.

The second serial of the complex contains the conditional communicative exercises based on parallel principle of logical learning function and form. There is also a need for developing a certain level of competence among learners so that they can be able to assess whether the information given in the exercise is "reliable" and "relevant". This requires looking into syntactic synonymy specific aspects, into what mental processes are at work when we select or restate information. For example:

3.1. Join the syntactic synonymous constructions and use of the synonymous constructions as elements of the communicative situations.

- | A | B |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 You should/ought ... | a) You aren't allowed ... |
| 2 You must ... | b) It wasn't necessary for us to ... |
| 3 Shall we ...? | c) Why don't we ...? |
| 4 You needn't ... | d) He managed to |
| 5 We needn't have ... | e) It wasn't necessary for us to ... |
| 6 We didn't need to ... | f) You had better |
| 7 You musn't | g) I'm sure she's |
| 8 He was able to | h) Do you mind if I |
| 9 She must be | i) You are obliged to |

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 10 He can't be ... | j) It isn't necessary for you to ... |
| 11 Could I | k) I'm sure he isn't ... |
| 12 He may be | l) Perhaps he's ... |

Semantic nuances of the syntactic synonyms are not represented clearly. Their meanings are revived reference to comment and conditional communicative exercises.

3.2. Replace given modal verbs by synonymous constructions in the following text, keeping the meaning of the sentence.

She must be a nice person. She may not have a lot of money. Her children may have left home. She might buy her clothes in charity shops. She may be waiting for someone.

Conditional-communicative exercises can function according to visual data: pictures, photographs, clips, and slides, e.t.c.

In order to understand and use the second serial of our complex correctly it is necessary to finish it with the appropriate conditional-communicative exercises.

4. DIRECTION №3. THE FORMATION OF SYNTACTIC SYNONYMIC COMBINATIONS OF SPEECH VARIABILITY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF MODERN PEDAGOGICAL TECHNOLOGIES.

The modern doctrine of speech variability is characterised by the variety and diversity of **modern pedagogical technologies**. One authors focus on finding-out the functional role of synonymic combinations; other scientists – on studying its cognitive structure; others – on disclosing of interrelation and mutual relations of communicative exercises with other didactic approaches, etc. It has been proved in detail that innovative methods of teaching foreign language as an integral formation carries out a crucial and profound role of an organizer and an integrator of numerous and versatile pedagogical technologies (Ellis,2001). N.V. Baryshnikov pointed to the same function of the subject principle specified. In particular, he wrote that «the problem of the subject is a general issue for humanitarian research» (Baryshnikov, 2003). E. Ellis tried to solve the problem of unity of teaching methods by a complex approach to variability (Ellis, 2001).

The greatest attention of the researchers has been reverted (and still has not weakened) on the analysis of the cognitive structural organization of speech variability. For example, J.A. Banks considered as a main principle of construction of innovative method the criterion of interrelation and logical combination of constituent parts in a whole. In this case the constituents were understood by the author as a subordinate dependence of the constituent parts of the whole, not as equivalent formations. In short, integral individuality in J.A. Banks's interpretation was filled with different methodological properties, representing a hierarchical composition of teaching and learning (Bank,1995), S.F. Shatylov's didactic complex , N.V. Baryshnikov's subject-activity methodological system (Baryshnikov,2003), Kolesnikova's exercises as learning tools (Kolesnikova,2001) and in foreign pedagogy – Lowenfeld (Lowenfeld,2008) and R. Radford's (Radford,2009) factorial model of variability are based upon the hierarchical principle.

Hence, despite the variety of approaches to innovative methods of teaching variability, all of them have something in common, based on their functional role in the modern pedagogy, on construction principles, etc. Their creation is based upon a diversity of teaching techniques in which it is fully or

partially concretized and shown. Being an abstract formation, the general model of innovative didactic complex possesses all the properties of a regulated and organizing system: relative autonomy, universality, dynamism, flexibility and functional variance of the system as a whole, etc.

In a real life the application of didactic complex is aimed for a group of students, possessing individual specific qualities: openness and independence of individuals' views and beliefs; ability to promote, work out and realize the main ideas; ability to express utterances of polytypic synonymic structures; scale of intelligence, its globality and responsibility; experience and rationality of its use, etc.

The general model of variability has a hierarchical structure which «vertically» submits to subordination syntactic laws, and «horizontally» – to coordination laws. Let us give an example.

Speak on the use of syntactic synonymic combinations in the formal register and in reporting.

Someone started a fire in the Courtney National Park early yesterday morning. They had used a match and some petrol to start the fire. The fire had burnt a lot of trees before someone called the fire brigade. The police have arrested a man. They are still questioning him.

The curricular emphasis on communicative exercises and tasks of the third serial of our complex based learning and communication content necessitate the use of certain tools to meet learning goals. Communicative tasks are based on exercises of open type and are also convenient from practical point of view. Teacher can offer students the following communicative exercises:

4.1. Discuss the ways and means by which a problem is expressed in the communicative context. These exercises demonstrate the way in which our curriculum make possible student competences in communication.

4.2. Speak on the people in the photographs with the help of syntactic synonymous structures.

A: I'm sure the old woman is a nice person.

B: Yes, I agree. She must be a nice person because ...

Learning periphrasis bears reference to a special effect. It forms a competence to transform expressive and emotional speech into comprehensive level. Periphrasis shows cognitive emotions and feelings. Our students detail language material and promote the expression of complex syntactic phrases by simple clauses with the help of this device. The communicative situation becomes a precondition for the development of attitudes.

Paraphrase the collocutor's utterances about facts, using synonymic syntactic combinations.

You and your partner have just met for the first time and are about to board a plane, but have just heard that it's going to be delivered for a few hours. You are tired of reading your book and want to have a conversation with someone. Speak to your partner and try to keep the conversation going as long as possible by talking about different topics.

5. DIRECTION №4. METHODOLOGY OF SPEECH VARIABILITY AND PROPERTIES OF THE SUBJECT OF ACTIVITY.

We study methodology of speech variability in two main directions: teaching element and methodological system. The first way of giving a characteristic of variability reflects an additive research strategy (enumeration of separate variables, their summation or, at the best, correlation in pairs); the second way – a non-additive research strategy (the most complicated interaction, interference

or interpenetration of constituents of a whole). Although both approaches to knowledge of speech variability are equally necessary, however, they differ in a theoretical sense. In case of the teaching element expression of variability the different level synonymic properties exist and function per se, autonomously and independently from each other; in case of the methodological system expression – different level properties form the hierarchical structure constructed under the laws of subordination and coordination. The analysis of textbooks on developmental methodology only has shown that practically in each book the characteristic of second-language learning is based on the element or additive principle. During several years we have carried out a series of experimental researches focused on the idea of variability consideration of syntactic synonymy. At each stage of the age development the distinct diagnosis of the same age is registered according to separate and integrated criteria and it has become the rational for the idea of methodology of development. The subject of our research is intra- and inter-level connections of properties of the language exercises related pedagogical characteristics. Intra-level connections of properties characterize the essence of the given technique; inter-level connections – the conditions of existence of the language structure of mentality at this or that stage of ontogenesis. Only owing to the multiple-aspect analysis of interrelations of each stage and disclosing of peculiarities of teaching can be an original doctrine about methodology of development.

Communicative exercises of the fourth serial of our complex include problem tasks, «pyramid discussion», contests, and disputes according to the student's language abilities. Here are a few illustrations of this thesis.

5.1. Pyramid Discussion.

Problem task: What would you do if you were stranded on a desert island?

If you could have something, what would you choose to survive? Choose 5, then agree on only 3 with another group, then agree on only 2 with another group.

pens,	paper,	mobile phone,	2 litres of fresh water,	2 hamburgers,
wood,	10 000 Swiss Francs,	a book,		
photos of family,	umbrella,	knife,	matches,	
blankets,	fishing rod,	laptop,	torch	

6. CONCLUSIONS

From the obtained results we must conclude that periphrasis viewed from the aspect of language competences is the most essential determining variation of syntactic synonyms. Applying the idea of communicative exercises about the potential of the third part of our linguodidactic complex in pedagogical process and focus on creativity and constructivism in action, teacher promotes student's independence, creativity and language potential. Reposing on researchers by J.A. K Banks, A. Ellis and our data it can be concluded that a syntactic synonymy is connected with such learning activities as problem tasks, “information inequation”, “pyramid discussion”, etc.

An attempt of the development of innovative methods is undertaken. Its today's components are integrated in N.V. Baryshnikov's interpretation of applied linguistics and theory of communication. All components of the structure of speech variability are interconnected and form a united system coordinated by semantic forms of mentality (Ellis, 2001).

Concerning foreign language teaching at a university we should be aware that we can only speak of the vocational level of competence. The suggested concept of innovative methods cannot be recognized as unique and complete. On the contrary, owing to plurality of teaching approaches, an increasing number of system variants of methodological development and a real possibility of other models creation (using other principles) has wide prospects for further development of the stated problem.

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**LINKING ENGLISH TESTS TO THE COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK
OF REFERENCE: LEARNING, TEACHING AND ASSESSMENT**

Jana Bérešová

Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Trnava University in Trnava,
Priemysel'ná 4, 918 43 Trnava, Slovakia

Abstract

The submitted paper outlines the process of linking the English school-leaving examination tests to the Common European Framework of Reference focusing on the stages recommended by the Manual. Results from research referring to the comparison of teachers' judgments of test-takers' performances and test-takers' testing scores reveal a gap between teaching and testing. Research focused on standardization of judgments of the teachers attending training sessions referring to adequate understanding of the CEFR levels and relating the test items to B1 and B2 was carried out for five years (2008-2013). Using multiple linear regression analysis, the relative importance of different components in a total score is explained at the end of the paper.

Key words: *relating tests to the CEFR, validity, Manual, teachers' judgments of test-takers' performances, test-takers' testing scores, language in use, multiple linear regression analysis*

INTRODUCTION

The document, which was skeptically welcomed by many applied linguists, language teachers and policy-makers in European member states, has proved its relevance and since its origin, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment (CEFR) has influenced not only language education in Europe, but its impact might be seen beyond the European borders. The original aim of the project, which dates back to 1991, was to recognize qualifications and to compare communication concerning objectives and achievement standards of learners in different national contexts. This idea reflected in the document, which provides six levels of proficiency with transparent, useful and relevant descriptors as a calibrating instrument. Stable, accepted standards of measurement and format evoked the idea of the standardization and comparison of results mainly in the area of assessment and certification. In response to a growing need of any documents or materials which might assist in linking local language examinations to the common reference levels of language proficiency, the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe developed a Manual and a set of accompanying tools.

In the late 1990s, the internal, invalid and unreliable old-fashioned system of language assessment in Slovakia could not meet the requirements of communicative approaches to language teaching and testing. The second draft of the CEFR (1996) became a challenge for language professionals to prepare objective, reliable and valid tests to meet the achievement standards of learners in different national contexts. The reform of the school-leaving examination in English started in 1997, and the new way of assessing language competence was officially recognized by the Slovak Ministry of Education in 2005. The reform was based on the CEFR perspective which extends the previous narrowly linguistic range by focusing on competences either general or communicative. As it is stated in the CEFR (2001) several

components such as linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic comprise communicative language competence. The CEFR became a basis for the elaboration of new English syllabi, describing what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively at B1 or B2 levels.

1. THE MANUAL

The preliminary pilot version of the Manual (Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment), presented by the Language Policy Division in 2003, promoted a new insight into the English test design, which resulted in the idea to link the Slovak tests in English to the CEFR. This new approach evoked a series of training sessions for English secondary-school teachers highlighting the most important aspects of the linking process. As it is stated in the *Manual* (2009), its primary aim is to help develop, apply and report transparent, practical procedures in order to situate the examinations or tests in relation to the CEFR.

The decision made by the item-writers developing the English school-leaving examination was to follow the approach developed in the Manual focusing on describing the examination coverage, administration and analysis procedures, relating results reported from the examination to the CEFR common reference levels and providing supporting evidence that reports the procedures followed to do so.

As relating tests to the CEFR is a complex endeavor, including theoretical and practical evidence, the overall procedure is the validation of the claim. The whole process presupposes standard setting, which involves decision making based on high-quality data and rigorous work. As it is stated in the *Manual* (2009), it requires fair, valid, efficient and defensible decisions facilitated by the use of systematic processes and explicit criteria.

The central concept within relating tests to the CEFR is validity, therefore the whole process should be seen as a process of building an argument. This is recommended in the Manual, which presents five inter-related sets of procedures if the test providers want to link their tests to the CEFR.

The item writers in Slovakia decided to link English tests in 2008, for this reason they addressed English teachers who completed a series of workshops mentioned above and 35 of them decided to volunteer in the procedures proposed by the research team.

1.1 Familiarization

As we mentioned before, designing a linking scheme requires five inter-related sets of procedures: familiarization, specification, standardization training/benchmarking, standard setting and validation. As validation cannot be conceived as the last stage and an ultimate verdict of the linking process, it would rather be seen as a continuous process of quality monitoring from the first stage to the last one. Familiarization with the CEFR is a logical prerequisite for effective linking. However, this stage is necessary at the start of both the specification and the standardization procedures.

The training sessions, held in 2008, followed introductory activities such as sorting the text for the different levels based on the salient characteristics cells and self-assessment of participants' abilities in two foreign languages and both recommended activities of qualitative analysis of the CEFR scales: sorting the individual descriptors from a CEFR scale and reconstructing CEFR Table 2 (*Manual* 2009, p. 18) followed by preparation for rating. This was the last phase of familiarization, during which the participants had to reconstruct the CEFR-based rating grid (*CEFR* 2001, pp. 28-29). The published CEFR illustrative sample performances focusing on the most relevant performances for B1 and B2 levels

were used and a three-step procedure allowed the participants to assign a performance to a level, discuss their decision with co-partners in a group and confirm his/her initial assignment individually.

The familiarization phase was accompanied by a lot of discussion and the participants who claimed to be familiar with the CEFR were astonished by their uncertainty or misinterpretations. We could recognize that some of them have not adopted an action-oriented approach related to a very general view of language use and learning and predominantly assessed illustrative sample performances from a linguistic perspective, not including sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences.

The idea of the seminar was not to present the CEFR, but to provide participants with sufficient awareness of the CEFR levels and scales to be able to analyze and assess the test tasks and performances in relation to the CEFR levels.

1.2 Specification

Whereas the Ministry of Education officially recognized only the tests externally designed, centrally administered and marked, it was necessary to exclude written production, and oral production and interaction out of the linking process. Completing the Forms A02-A18 (*Manual 2009*, pp. 126-141) revealed important issues that prevented our tests from being linked to the CEFR. Theory of testing applied in the item writers' decision making and their effort to design a good language test does not imply policy makers' approval. What is more, the best made suggestions are usually not widely approved by stakeholders or the government. Whereas the test items are linked to level B1, the cut-off score on the test is 33%, meaning that anything above that score is a passing grade. Obviously, this does not prove that those learners who passed, achieved a B1 level. Another issue, which might seem problematic, is that the open-item tasks are marked by the teachers. Even though they are trained in marking procedures and are obliged to follow the official answer key, reliability, validity and objectivity of the open-ended tasks might be at stake. As a consequence, open-ended items have been reduced from the English test from 24 in 2008 to 17 in 2012. On the other hand, this reduction increases the number of close-ended tasks, which might be more reliable, but validity of the construct is lowered.

These findings have resulted in various procedures; in 2011 the answer key was displayed officially on the Internet and in 2013 the teachers were obliged to mark the answers using the answer key, but in cases where other possible answers could have been taken into account, the correction procedure was done centrally, marked by computer.

These seemingly negative issues have a positive impact or washback. As Bachman and Palmer (1996, p. 29) stated that "another quality of tests is their impact on society and educational systems" and Hughes (1989, p. 1) defines washback as "the effect of testing on teaching and learning", it is necessary to add that marking the open-ended tasks at schools has a beneficial effect on teaching. The teachers discuss the probable correct answers and learn from the problematic issues.

1.3 Standardization and Benchmarking

As we explained previously, we did not focus on the writing and speaking performances of the learners, which are part of the school-leaving examination. The writing tasks are introduced externally but marked internally by trained teachers, using the official marking schemes. Oral testing is completely internal, monitored by appointed language professionals.

In our research, we aimed at relating seminar participants' interpretation of the CEFR levels to exemplar test items and tasks so that they can relate English test items to the CEFR levels. Therefore we chose test tasks used to evaluate receptive skills (listening and reading comprehension) and other aspects of language use such as grammar and vocabulary. In spite of the tendencies not to treat grammar and

vocabulary as an isolated component of knowledge and to assess them in the larger context of language in communication, most teachers of English prefer teaching grammar and vocabulary to teaching communicative language skills. In our context, two perspectives of language suggested by Purpura (2004) are embraced; a form- and use-based perspective of language used in testing grammar and vocabulary in the external school-leaving examination (the language in use section) and the communication-based perspective used in testing speaking and writing, as the marking criteria for both include grammar and vocabulary descriptors separately.

As it is stated in the *Highlights* (2011, p. 54), “It is essential to start with the skill of reading.” Alderson (2005) shows that the choice of text has a marked effect as other factors affecting the difficulty of reading test texts such as background knowledge, vocabulary and grammar difficulty, text length, item difficulty and so on. All these issues were discussed and the trained teachers were provided the Dutch CEFR grid (*The CEF-ESTIM Grid*, 2010) and illustrative texts and their corresponding tasks and items. This training was completed by individual assessment and discussion on CEFR level B1 which the items have been calibrated to. The same procedure was followed while working on listening items and texts and underlying language abilities. As far as listening is concerned, a communicative test is one that better simulates the characteristics of target-language use in the real world, and as such it is just an attempt to test a richer, more realistic listening construct. Communicative testing is related to the idea that the texts should be reasonably authentic, which is transferred into the Slovak school-leaving examination listening tests as follows: since spontaneity enables to produce realistic spoken language, the authentic tests are borrowed from this kind of communication, but on the other hand, item writers control what is said in order to make test items. Buck (2011, p. 192) concludes his chapter on providing suitable texts emphasizing “If we wish to ensure the validity of our test, the nature of the texts must be determined by our construct definition.” He claims that spoken texts should require the same knowledge skills and abilities realistic spoken language.

The benchmarking of the local scored tests for listening, reading and linguistic competence was held in the afternoon, after the standardization training. Ratings of the local samples were analyzed statistically in order to calculate both intra-rater and inter-rater reliability. Five trained teachers who were inconsistent in their behavior were identified and excluded from the activity our research was based on.

2. RESEARCH – TEACHERS' JUDGEMENTS VERSUS TESTING SCORES

The data presented in this chapter was taken from the same group of trained teachers, the first time in 2008 and the second time in 2012. The same procedures were applied: the teachers were shown the test and were expected to judge their students' performances in listening comprehension, language in use and reading comprehension at level B1. The individual judgments were collected and compared with the official statistical data based on scores achieved by the secondary-school students who applied for English test B1.

In both cases – English test B1 2008 and English Test B1 2012, the test specification covered the purpose of the test, a description of the domain and task types, the mental operations needed, a definition of the test construct, a plan for evaluating test usefulness and an inventory of available resources as suggested by Bachman and Palmer (1996, p. 87). Since 2001 the stages of test construction and evaluation have been compatible with those which are outlined in Alderson et al. (1996).

As far as testing techniques are concerned, Weir (1993) expressed several reservations about employing a multiple-choice format in the testing of comprehension either spoken or written. However, many international language tests still use such a format with the items consisting of one correct answer and

three distractors as they allow to control the range of possible answers to comprehension questions. Listening and language in use sections of the Slovak school-leaving examination test consist of one multiple-choice task in spite of many questions to the value of this technique. Since the main idea of the reform was to make the tests as objective as possible, the main argument for the use of the multiple choice procedure is its suitability for marking by machine. The second most popular technique is the use of dichotomous items. Since this technique is problematic for its 50-percent chance of getting the answer right by guessing, in listening this possibility is reduced by including a third category 'not stated' and in reading the students have to prove their answers matching them to the proper paragraph. Open-ended tasks such as gap-filling consisting of one- or two-word answers used to be used in both the listening and reading sections. However, frequent and contentious discussions related to spelling mistakes made the item writers replace this task in the listening section by a matching technique. In the reading section, the third task is gap-filling. As it is stated in Alderson (2005), the completeness of the answer key influences the objectivity of scoring. The problem related to responses with answers or wordings which were not anticipated in the answer key in 2013 were reduced by the second marking in the testing center, as the first one was done at schools, which has already been mentioned before. Other testing techniques are discussed below.

2.1 Listening Comprehension

The listening section regularly consists of 20 items distributed in three different tasks. In both English tests 2008 and 2012, the testing techniques were the same: multiple-choice, true-false-not given and matching. In 2008, the trained teachers were given test B1 and were expected to judge their students' performances. Figure 1 displays the comparison of item difficulty and student ability judged by teachers.

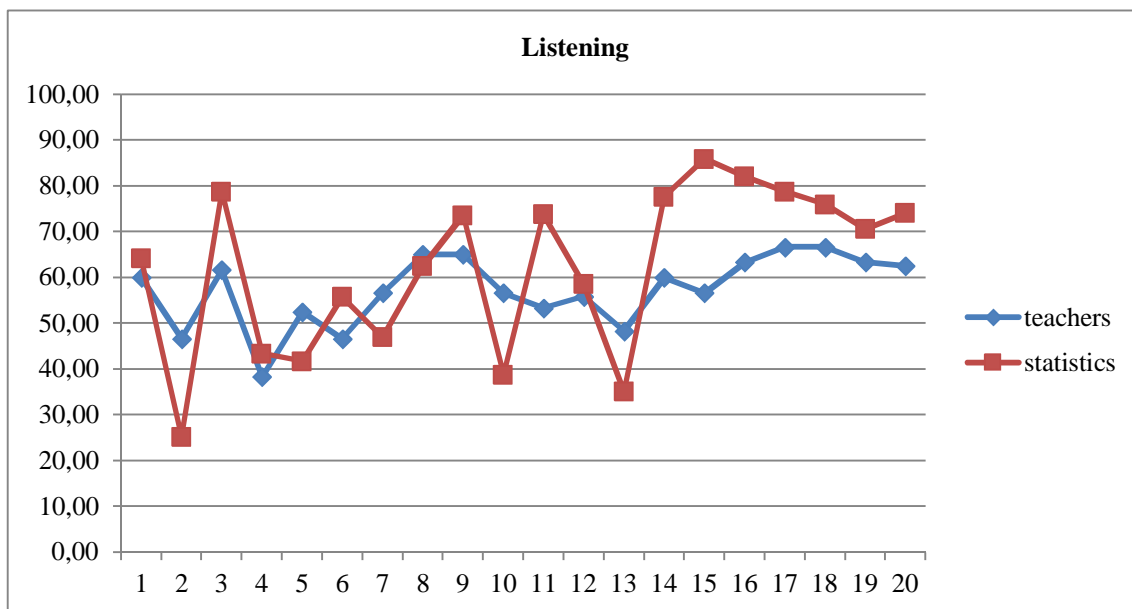


Figure 1 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Listening 2008

Teachers' judgments are more consistent since they perceived the texts as a whole and did not focus on single items. Regardless of the fact that their estimates are lower than testing scores, the first (01-07) and third tasks (14-20) have graphically similar parallel illustrations.

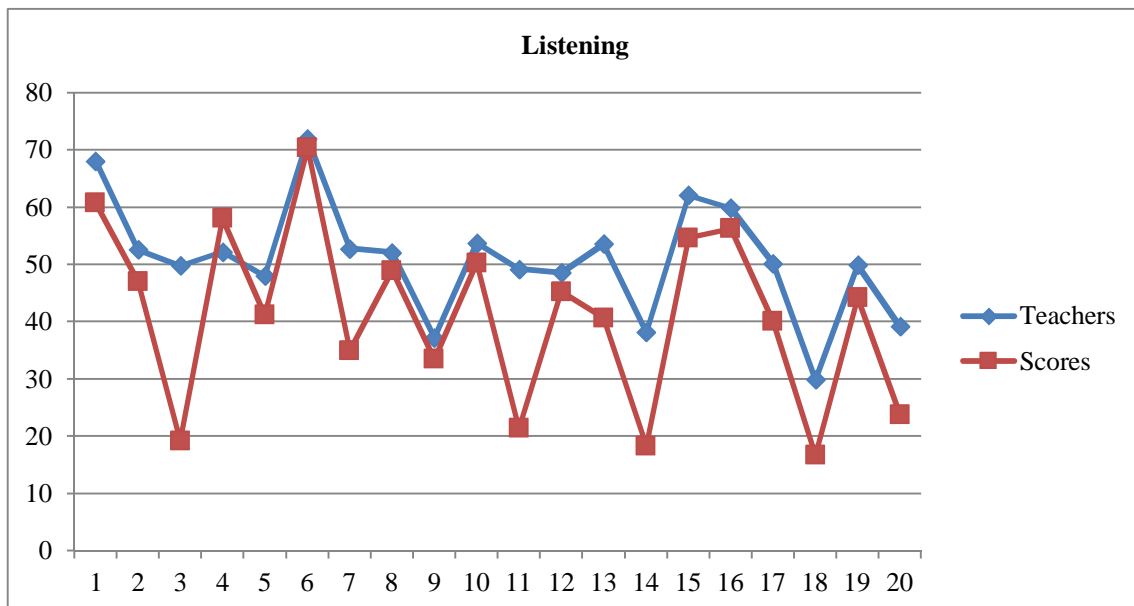


Figure 2 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Listening 2012

Comparing the judgments of teachers with testing scores, it is necessary to admit that teachers influenced by their previous experience in the research in 2008 and their everyday experience in classes became more careful in their estimations. Their judgments in 2012 better corresponded with test scores than in 2008. As the same procedure was followed in training sessions, we could recognize their better awareness of the descriptors for B1 scales in 2012.

2.2 Language in Use

In both tests B1, the number of items is 20. Although, the tasks are more reflective of an instructional than of a real-life target language use domain, they are all contextualized, which seems to increase the perception of authenticity. These tasks do not engage any specialized topical knowledge and are likely to engage the students' language knowledge. The first task belongs to the selected-response tasks, which provide input in the form of an item, and students are expected to select the response. The criterion of correctness was right/wrong, which was marked by machine. The items were pre-tested, so that their psychometric characteristics were determined prior to operational testing. Whereas English test 2008 contained multiple-choice items representing grammar, English test 2012 used that technique for testing vocabulary. The reason for this distribution of grammar and vocabulary was based on the governing authority's decision. Former vocabulary testing included a word-formation format, which was generally considered too difficult for B1 learners; consequently, it was replaced by a multiple choice format.

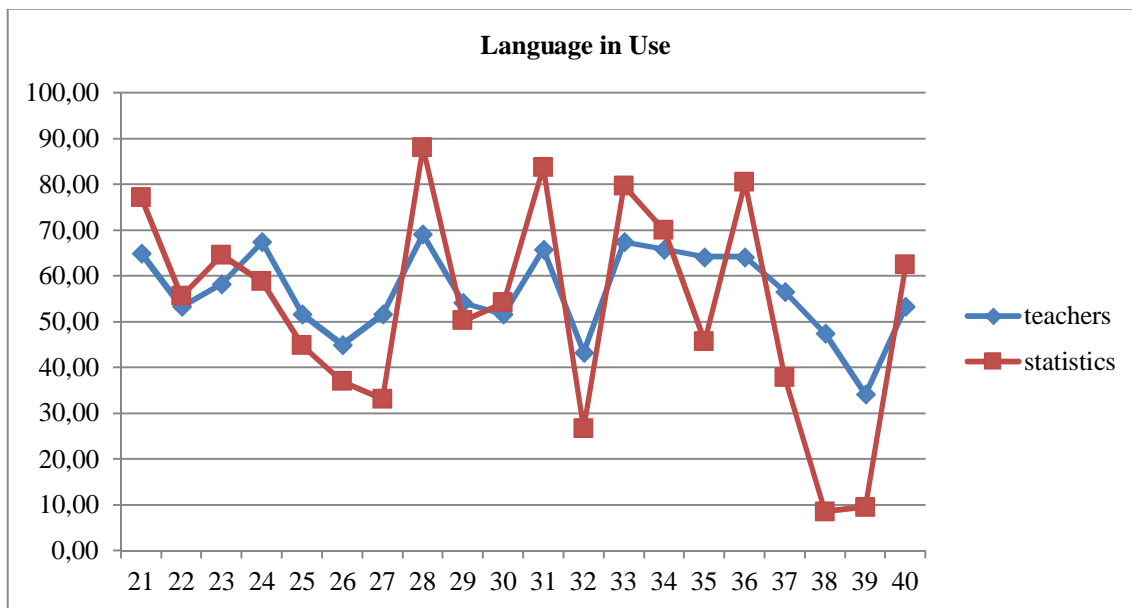


Figure 3 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Language in Use 2008

Table 3 illustrates that expected scores were more consistent than testing scores. Owing to the fact that in the Slovak syllabus, English grammar was largely focused on, the teachers expected higher performances, drawing on their own experience as classroom teachers. In view of being aware of the test specifications, the teachers overestimated the students' performances due to a number of lessons devoted to practicing multiple-choice and word-formation testing techniques. The students were not able to apply their knowledge in the word-formation format, since many of them admitted in their questionnaires that they had been forced to learn the words with the prefixes and suffixes by heart in isolation. That is to say, the words were presented without a context and the students had to add the proper prefix or suffix according to the parts of speech claimed by the teacher.

English test 2012 was intended to test grammatical competence using the gap-filling task (Purpura, 2005) or the task often called a cloze test (Weir 1993; Read 2001). Purpura (2005) distinguishes three gap-filling tasks and considers the cloze as a third type of gap-filling task. His approach to this task is based on every n-th mechanically deleted words and replaced by a gap. In our case ten gaps were selected to test more areas of grammatical knowledge with an appropriate response for the context at both the sentential and discourse levels. The C-test is considered good as a measure of so called 'lower-level' knowledge of grammatical elements, while at the same time it also drew on 'higher-level' textual competence (Read 2001).

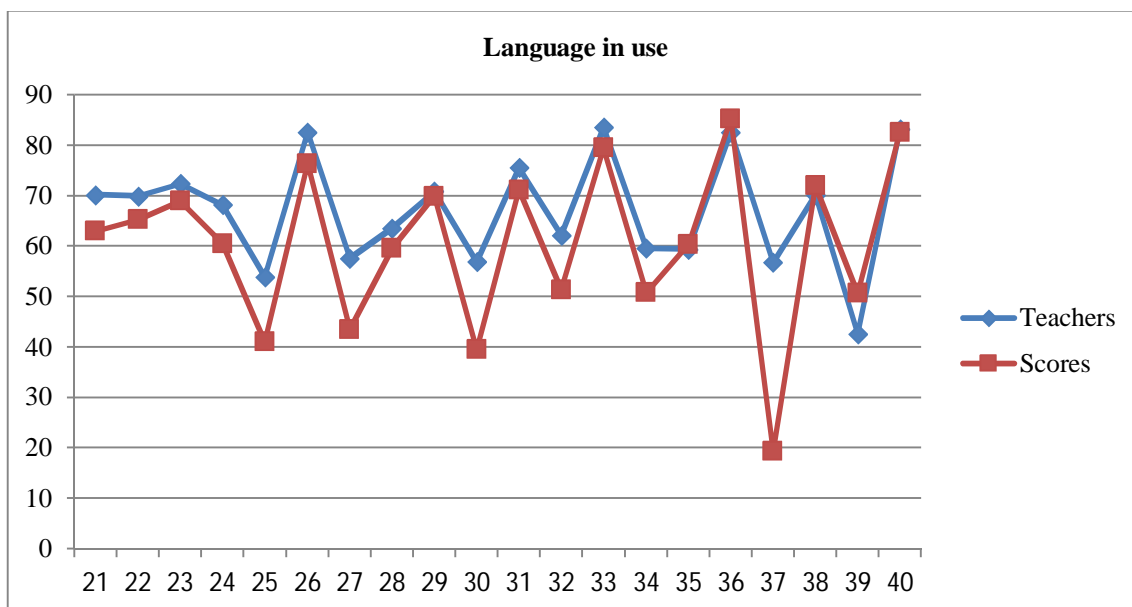


Figure 4 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Language in Use 2012

The teachers' estimates are higher than testing scores on the grounds that teachers rely on their course books. Although the main focus of attention was shifted towards communicative language skills, primarily in secondary grammar schools, most teachers have their own favorite grammar presentation and practice activities and use them focusing on a particular piece of grammar.

2.3 Reading Comprehension

In constructing the reading section of the test, we included texts and activities that mirrored those which students had been exposed to or were likely to meet in their future target situations. Weir (1993) emphasized that the purpose for reading the test text should match the purpose for reading those texts in real life.

Every test is intended to measure one or more constructs. "Some theories of reading state that there are many constructs involved in reading (skimming, scanning, etc. and that the constructs are different from one another" (Alderson et al. 1996, p. 17). In our case, the reading test measured reading ability of the school-leavers, focusing on reading for a gist, specific information and detailed reading.

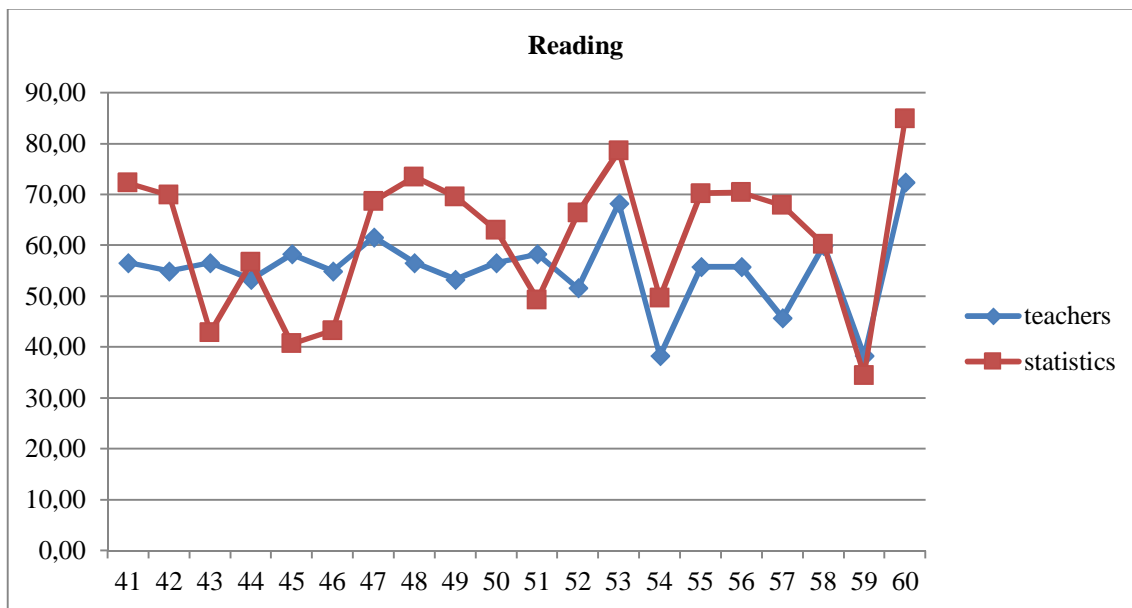


Figure 5 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Reading 2008

Teachers' judgments are again more linear, apart from the last task (54-60). The students made a lot of mistakes in this open-ended task, in particular, being not able to recognize the proper parts of speech as many of them rewrote the same word if they could find it in the reading passage.

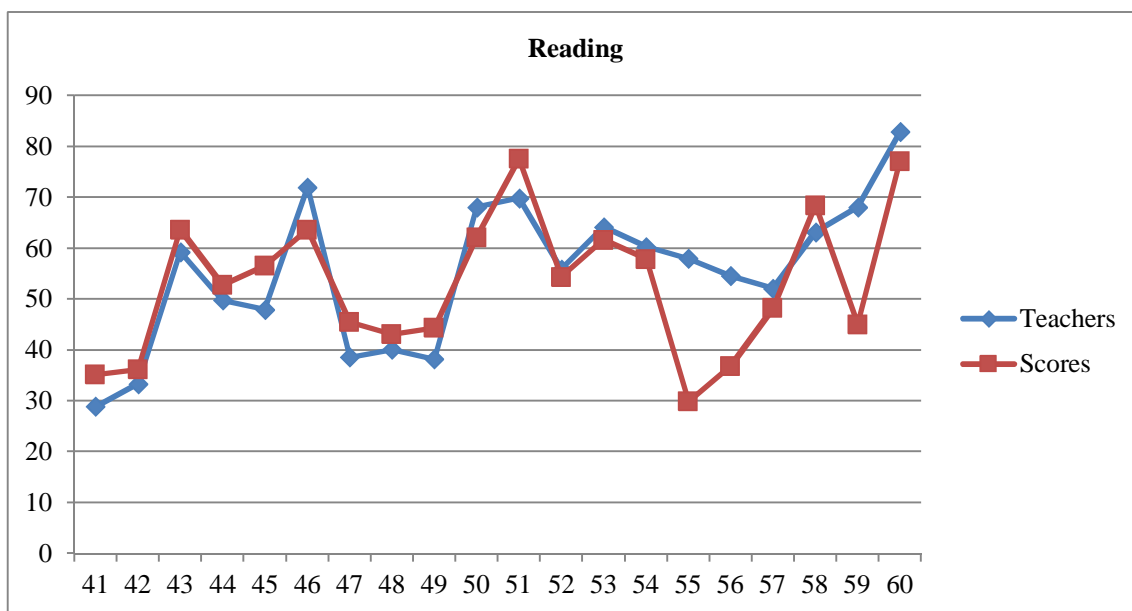


Figure 6 Teachers' judgments versus test score in Reading 2012

We are inclined to believe that the teachers and their students are quite well familiar with the testing techniques applied in reading and therefore teachers' expectations were higher than real scoring. To put it briefly, as teaching and testing are inter-related, everything the teachers experienced through external school-leaving examination reflected in their teaching.

3. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

With reference to the findings in our research, we can conclude that teachers judging their students expected lower scores than the students achieved in 2008 yet, in 2012 they overestimated their students' achievements in all the sections of English test B1. It might be summarized that the teachers were better prepared for the judgment procedure, better familiar with the CEFR and their expectations were linked to the B1 level they were convinced that their learners had reached. Since the teachers are experienced and have been involved in the school-leaving examination reform for more than 8 years, many of them shifted in their teaching towards communicative approaches; as a result they expected higher scores from their students.

Similarly, task choice could have an influence on test outcome. As we mentioned before, language in use tasks were replaced by the multiple-choice testing lexical competence and the cloze assessing grammatical competence. In 2012, the teachers were aware of these changes and could take the effect of task into their consideration while making their decisions on students' performances. Furthermore, the majority of them have attended the seminars concerning test design, item writing and have contributed their tasks and items to the item banks.

As a person involved in all the above described activities, I would change the layout of present-day English tests in Slovakia to try other ways of testing language competence of Slovak secondary-school leavers. A communication-based perspective of language that views grammar and vocabulary as a set of linguistic norms, preferences and expectations that a learner invokes to convey messages, which are meaningfully appropriate, acceptable and natural depending on the situation is a challenge in assessing grammatical and lexical ability. However, in our research the coefficient of correlation between language in use scores and their total scores was 0.904, which is generally described as strong. It can underlie an assumption that grammar and vocabulary should be included in language assessment regarding new directions in communicative language testing. This was discovered when we decided to study the relationship between one dependent variable (total score) and several independent variables (listening scores, language in use scores and reading scores) using multiple linear models in a regression analysis.

In our research, we used three scores (listening, language in use and reading scores) as predictors and regressed the total scores on these. We compared the regression weights for the three predictors, as well as the amount of variance in the total score that is predicted by each. On the basis of this regression, we achieved a sufficiently high degree of prediction and determined the relative importance of language in use to the total score. We did not find out such a high correlation of either listening test or reading test to the total score. Furthermore, analyzing the correlation between listening and reading comprehension the low values did not prove the assumption based on Buck's statements as "Many of the important characteristics of listening comprehension are actually characteristics of all forms of language comprehension, and while listening ability is unique in some respects, it also shares many characteristics with reading" (Buck 2011, p. 31). These two sections of the test, which are interesting from the convergent validity due to internationally calibrated tests, were weakly correlated. In other words, the listening test scores did not allow us to predict the reading test scores. We need to admit that performance

on the two sections of the test was influenced either by different aspects of language ability or by the method of testing. To prove this means collecting supportive evidence which needs a carefully designed study.

To sum up, this research has revealed other issues. For instance, the teachers in Slovakia rely on their course books more than on the national curriculum. Without being provided any evidence about linking the course books to the CEFR, they believe that they are fully compatible with the CEFR. As we mentioned before, the group of judges consisted of teachers selected as the most experienced in communicative teaching and testing. Moreover, many of them were item writers and were trained how to construct a good test and design good items.

CONCLUSION

Linking English tests to the CEFR is an activity worth doing. Although we have not concluded the whole process, we have learned how five inter-related stages of linking are important and that claims of links to the CEFR need to be validated.

The first workshops in 2008 and the correlation between the teachers' judgments and their scores (0.71) led to the second series of sessions in 2012. The second series of training sessions revealed many positive shifts towards better understanding of single descriptors calibrated for B1 level. Whereas the first activity of familiarization was ignored as the trained teachers thought nothing could surprise them, their incorrect answers made them be much more actively engaged in the planned activities. Comparing the 2008 judgments of illustration samples with those of 2012, we could conclude that teachers are more aware of an action-oriented approach presented by the CEFR, extending their teaching beyond the narrowly linguistic range by including pragmatic, sociolinguistic and intercultural competences.

The first procedures taken in the linking process presented some problems nobody addressed while reforming the school-leaving examination in English. Since conceptualization of language proficiency has shifted from an emphasis on linguistic form to one of communicative language ability and communicative language use, it is necessary to discuss the construction of reliable and valid assessments. The richness of measurement tools and new approaches can assure complexity, the fairness and the generalizability of conclusions teachers may reach about their students.

We compared item difficulty (defined as the proportion of test takers who answered the item correctly or the average score on the item) and judgments of teachers for a particular group of students and test items, to see how well matched they are. This comparison enabled us to see that some items which the teachers linked to the CEFR at B1 level were too difficult for some test-takers. As we have mentioned before, the students passed the tests due to the low cut-off score of 33%. This discrepancy was revealed due to the first attempt to link the English tests to the CEFR.

To conclude, regular in-service teaching training is necessary if the Slovak Republic is willing to link their school-leaving examination to the CEFR. It is necessary to have a firmer grounding in the concepts and procedures of the Manual if we are to make full use of its potential and, particularly, to be able to read and understand the message available in the CEFR.

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**COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING:
THE CHALLENGES OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN SLOVAKIA
AND A POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD**

Jana Bérešová

Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Trnava University in Trnava,
Priemysel'ná 4, P.O. BOX 9, 918 43 Trnava, Slovakia

Abstract

The submitted paper communicates theoretical and practical knowledge from the field of communicative language teaching and its application in Slovak primary schools. Results from research into the teaching of English as communication are discussed. An assumption that teachers of English do not follow the approach to English teaching, taught to them in teacher-training colleges and in-service courses, is presented and clarified. Applying the method of a questionnaire, the obtained data is interpreted and discussed. Finally, the paper suggests a way in which it might be resolved.

Key words: *communicative language teaching, Morrow's principles, primary school education, educational system Slovakia, learning styles, learner autonomy.*

INTRODUCTION

Undergoing change in its national curriculum and system of national educational measurements, Slovakia still faces the problem of a remaining deficiency in the ability to actually use English in normal communication in both the spoken and written modes. In the last decade, university pedagogues have recognised that the students' level of English is not sufficient enough to naturally use their target language in an academic environment. In spite of the fact that the national documents for language education (ISCED 1, ISCED 2 and ISCED 3) are related to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), actual English language teaching (ELT) is quite far from the action-based approach promoted in the CEFR. There are many reasons why current trends in English language teaching are not followed in English classes, such as a lack of teachers of English, the overload of teachers of English, the free market economy, etc.

The free market economy has provided numerous job opportunities in the private sector for graduates from teacher training colleges, mainly for those who majored in English. European Union legislation allows EU citizens to be employed in other member states, therefore the best ones left the country to take advantage of this. Those who remained in primary and secondary schools have become overloaded not only by the number of lessons per week but by other duties related to ELT. The position of English as a world language prioritized English as the target language No. 1 in the country, so students being given a list of target languages their schools offer mainly select English. This selection resulted in increased numbers of students in English classes. What is more, most of them apply for a school leaving-examination in English, which places further burdens on English teachers. Since 2008 it has been obligatory to sit for a written external examination in one of the studied target languages and the number of students who apply for an English examination is three times higher than the number of all the students applying for other target languages. Many study programs of non-linguistic oriented

universities or colleges involve English, considered necessary for future professional development, as an obligatory course. In addition, in some universities the students are obliged to pass an entrance examination, otherwise they cannot study the desirable study program.

The number of lessons per week and the number of students in classes discourage the English-major graduates from universities to be employed in primary and secondary schools. This gap is bridged by unqualified teachers (who graduated in other subjects and did not study English as a major), but attended language courses and took part in in-service training seminars concerning ELT.

Primary school consists of the first and second stages, in which education is provided by means of individual educational programs mutually interlinked:

- the first stage of primary school is composed of Grades 1–4.
- the second stage of primary school is composed of Grades 5–9.

Upon the successful completion of the respective educational program or its integrated part the student may achieve one of the following levels of basic schooling:

- primary education (ISCED 1)
- lower secondary education (ISCED 2)

As teaching English extended to the first stage of primary education (1st – 4th grades), the government recognized a lack of teachers and responded to the situation by introducing a project entitled *Education of primary school teachers in language teaching regarding Language teaching policy in primary and secondary schools*. The uniqueness of teaching young learners is based on the fact that these learners learn at their own speed; they change quickly and develop new skills and abilities in spurts. Their approach to language is holistic, which means that they understand meaningful messages but cannot analyze language yet. Reading and writing skills are limited even in their mother tongue, and they have a limited knowledge of the world. They enjoy fantasy, imagination, and movement. These characteristics of primary school learners of the first stage challenge English language teachers. As teachers play a key role in their learners' language acquisition, the decision of the government to requalify elementary school teachers seems to be logical. On the other hand, the teacher teaching English to first stage learners in primary school is obliged to be a highly skilled professional who can combine their knowledge, skills and sensitivities of a teacher of children with those of a teacher of language and balance the two.

1 COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT)

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is a theory of language teaching that begins with a communicative model of language and language use. The goal of language teaching is communicative competence. The origins of CLT are considered to be in the changes in the late 1960s. It was based on a closer study of the language itself focusing on the meaning which is carried in utterances that are influenced by the speakers and writers who created them. The British applied linguists emphasized the functional and communicative potential of language. As mastery of structures became an unreachable goal for language education, focus was put on communicative proficiency.

The applied linguists have not concluded whether communicative language teaching (CLT) is a method due to a reasonable degree of theoretical consistency at the levels of language and learning theory or an approach, as it resembles a certain philosophy which does not need to be proved and allows individual

interpretation and variations. Common to all versions of CLT is a theory of language teaching that starts from a communicative model of language and language use (Richards, Rogers, 1986).

The establishment of the European Common Market resulted in the need to teach adults the major languages and using alternative methods of language teaching has become a high priority. The Council of Europe, an organization for cultural and educational cooperation, considered education as one of the major areas of activity. D. A. Wilkins proposed a functional and/or communicative definition of language which served as a basis for developing communicative syllabi for language teaching. Richards and Rogers (1986, p. 65) state "Wilkins attempted to demonstrate the systems of meanings that lay behind the communicative uses of language". Wilkins' framework involves three sets of notional categories and their sub-categories, of which his categories of communicative function are especially important (Munby, 1997). In 1976, Wilkin's book *Notional Syllabuses* was published and significantly influenced the development of CLT.

Many other applied linguists such as H. Widdowson, C. Brumfit, K. Johnson, K. Morrow, W. Littlewood, T. Lynch, M. Canale, M. Swain, etc. had a significant impact on the communicative approach as it was referred to a communicative, notional-functional or functional approach to language teaching. H. G. Widdowson developed a rational approach to the teaching of language as communication based on a careful consideration of the nature of language and of the language user's activities (Widdowson, 1996). The goal of language teaching shifted to communicative competence and four language skills in their integration. The applied linguists defined various characteristic features of CLT, such as paying systematic attention to functional and structural aspects of language, working in pairs or groups employing available language resources in problem-solving tasks, involving learners in interaction based on the intention of one partner of communication and reaction of the co-partners. In contrast with a notional or functional syllabus, K. Morrow (1991) emphasized the typical feature of a communicative syllabus – communication involves the ability to use forms in appropriate ways. K. Morrow focused on learning a language in order to be able to communicate, without being concerned with the way in which the language is specified.

1.1 *Keith Morrow's Principles of Communicative Methodology*

Using these principles in lectures to support the understanding of communicative procedures in class, it seems logical to introduce them by providing applications in English class.

The first principle – **Knowing what you are doing** – means that at the end of every lesson the learner should be able to do something which he could not do at the beginning – and that it is communicatively useful. For instance, the students are explained how to compare the appearance features (using the comparative degree of adjectives) and at the end of the lesson they sit in a circle and write several sentences in which they compare themselves with the classmates and the other members of the group have to guess who he is comparing him or herself with. To support real life activities, homework can be creative – Write down five sentences comparing yourself with the members of your family.

The second principle – **The whole is more than the sum of the parts** – focuses on the whole process of communication which must be instantaneous. The communicative method operates with real language in real situations. Two procedures are included in this principle: a synthetic one which involves students in learning forms individually and then practicing how to combine them; an analytic procedure which introduces complete interactions of texts and focus for learning purposes on the way these are constructed.

The third principle – **The processes are as important as the forms** – introduces three characteristic features: information gap, choice and feedback. **Information gap** is the purpose of the communication.

In real life, people communicate to learn something that is unknown to them. In classroom terms, the students are given two different pictures or two similar pictures but one of them is missing some features which must be found by the partner of communication. Needless to say, this activity is meaningful – the students have to communicate to share the information. It is the teacher's role to set up situations where information gaps exist and motivate the students to bridge them in appropriate ways. The second characteristic of communication is the **choice** of a speaker or writer what they will say and how they will say it. The speaker or writer chooses what ideas they want to express and what linguistic forms are appropriate to express them. Seeing the pen on the floor, the message is conveyed whether we say to a student *Is this pen yours?* or *Whose pen is this?* or *Pick up the pen, please.* Whatever we say to other people in real life is designed to reach our aim (e.g. to complain to them, to persuade them, etc.) and the other people responding evaluate that aim. In classroom terms, this **feedback** must be taken into account. The communicative task is accomplished providing the partners of communication negotiate to meet the goals of their roles or reach a compromise.

The fourth principle – **To learn it, do it** – focuses on the way of learning. The process of learning is effective only when students are involved actively in the learning process. This learner-oriented instruction influences the teacher's roles (an advisor, monitor, and facilitator) because learning becomes to a large extent the student's responsibility. The student is expected to do things, make choices, bridge information gaps in an encouragingly oriented environment (relaxed atmosphere, a supporting teacher, sitting in circles or at U-arranged desks, etc.).

The fifth principle – **Mistakes are not always a mistake** – is sometimes criticized because it seems to suggest teachers accept students' mistakes. The idea behind mistake tolerance is based on the assumption that making mistakes in mother tongues seems to be natural and not corrected by anyone in real life situations. If the teacher corrects mistakes all the time, the students do not feel enough self-confident and can stop speaking. Students should be encouraged to produce their own sentences, and many times the language they use is beyond their actual knowledge. The teacher should support the student's ability to use the language. On the other hand, the mistakes which hamper communication must be corrected. The ending –s in the third person singular does not prevent us from getting our message across. But inappropriate usage of the present or the determiner (*The professor wrote his last book* instead of *The professor has written his latest book*) can cause a deep misunderstanding. Moreover, insisting on formal accuracy at the expense of use does not meet the communicate approach principles which do not provide an easy solution to the problem of mistakes. It requires the flexibility to treat different things as mistakes at different stages in the learning process (Scott, 1991). As Morrow (1991, p. 65) states, “Communicating involves using appropriate forms in appropriate ways, and the use of inappropriate or inaccurate forms militates against communication even when it does not totally prevent it”.

1.2 Communicative Competence

Theory of language as communication focusing on communicative competence (the term coined by Hymes to contrast a communicative view of language and Chomsky's theory of competence) is based on what a speaker needs to know to be communicatively competent acquiring both knowledge and ability for language use. Canale and Swain (1980) identified four dimensions of communicative competence:

- grammatical competence (linguistic competence - what is formally possible)
- sociolinguistic competence (an understanding of the social context, the knowledge and skills required to deal with the social dimension of language use)

- discourse competence (the interpretation of individual message elements – how they are organized, structured and arranged)
- strategic competence (being aware of the communicative process and being able to manage it by initiating, terminating, maintaining, repairing and redirecting).

Heyworth (2004) broadens this view by adding two more competences:

- intercultural competence (knowledge, awareness and understanding of the relations between home culture and target language culture)
- existential competence (the learner's personality features, motivations, attitudes, beliefs, etc.).

Theory of learning underlies that promoting learning should be done through activities that involve real communication, activities in which language is used for carrying out meaningful tasks and activities based on meaningful and authentic language use (Richards, Rodgers, 1986). Lynch (1997) focused on the importance of giving learners better opportunities for interaction and communication, designing communicative tasks in all four skills. Littlewood (1984) considers a skill-learning model of learning compatible with CLT as the acquisition of communicative competence in a language as an example of skill development. The CEFR (2001) calls a general view of language use and learning an action-oriented approach, which takes into account the cognitive, emotional and volitional resources and the full range of abilities specific to and applied by the individual as a social agent.

To conclude, this brief insight into communicative language teaching is far from the dimension this issue deserves having not mentioned current trends in CLT. Richards (2006) examined current methodologies: process-based and product-based CLT approaches. The former one includes two methodologies: content-based instruction and task-based instruction. They can be described as extensions of the CLT movement but which take different routes to achieve the goal of communicative language teaching – to develop learners' communicative competence. The latter one consists of text-based instruction and competency-based instruction, which focus more on the outcomes or products of learning as the starting point in course design than on classroom processes. Teaching strategies are then selected to help achieve these goals.

As far as our research is concerned, the insight might be sufficient, as the presented research was conducted in primary schools with the aim to achieve data which would verify the formulated hypotheses.

2 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The goal of the empirical research arose from the observations made in English classes in primary schools, mainly in the second stage of primary education (grades 5-9) in the years 2009-2010. The activities used in classes resembled traditional teaching – reading aloud, translating sentences or words from one language into another and vice versa, or monotonous work using textbooks or workbooks, during which the teacher was in the role of the conductor, standing in front of the desks. Being influenced by these observations, we set up the following research questions:

1. Do the teachers use traditional ways of teaching English more frequently than procedures typical for communicative language teaching?
2. Do the teachers use the English textbooks in a traditional way – reading page by page, doing exercise by exercise not responding to the needs of their learners?

These questions led us to formulate the following hypothesis: The teachers teaching English in the first stage of primary schools will use communicative language techniques more often than the teachers of English teaching in the second stage of primary schools (lower secondary schools).

To get proper data, we decided to use a questionnaire as the research method, as it belongs to the quantitative methods of pedagogical research and is used for mass data collecting. The questionnaires were sent to three groups of teachers who participated in the project mentioned in the introductory part to get a wide overview of the problem. The research sample consisted of 345 respondents from three accredited study programs:

1. Primary school teachers teaching in the first stage of education studying in the project for 8 semesters to be able to teach English – 150 respondents (Group A)
2. Primary school teachers teaching in the first stage of education studying in the project for 4 semesters as they learned English in other institutions – 150 respondents (Group B)
3. Primary school teachers teaching in the second stage of education, qualified for teaching English in lower-secondary school education, studying in the project for 2 semesters to be able to teach English to young learners (6-10 years old) – 45 respondents (Group C).

Research was held in the years 2009-2012. Several short-term goals concerning testing the respondents (participants of our project) contributed to the long-term goals.

2.1 Hypothesis 1 - Research Results and Their Interpretation

The structuralized questionnaire (piloted by 45 teachers of regular in-service teacher training seminars) was sent to 383 project participants from three different accredited programs and 90% of them were filled in and returned. We decided to work from only those questionnaires which were relevant to the research questions and hypothesis 1 – 42 questionnaires (Group A), 78 questionnaires (Group B) and 45 questionnaires (Group C). The number of relevant questionnaires was lowered due to the fact that only 165 respondents were involved in teaching English as an obligatory subject. The piloted questionnaire was redesigned as four items were not statistically proven. Every item was justified and focused on the specific goal. The questions were posed clearly, exactly and unambiguously in order that the answers could be analyzed quantitatively. The statements of each item were chosen to get information necessary for hypothesis verification.

The first hypothesis was verified by Groups B and C by observing their teaching and listening to their experience from observing their colleagues' teaching. Furthermore, respondents from Group A were engaged to get their viewpoint as they had been trained how to apply CLT in ELT and some of them had started to teach. Each question was likely to be answered using the offered preferences and we have analyzed the first and the second preference so far. The preferences of Group A respondents differed from those of Groups B and C respondents. Analyzing and discussing this issue with the respondents (participants of our project) we concluded that those newly trained teachers had not been influenced by any previous traditional teaching and relied only on the procedures they had been taught. Comparing the responses of Group B respondents and those of Group C respondents, we have found out that the traditional way of teaching was preferred by the respondents from Group C. These teachers of English, who were trained at colleges 5 years ago or more, were not aware of the techniques and activities of communicative teaching and due to the fact that they had not attended any in-service teacher training seminars before they started to attend the project lectures. In case they heard about CLT, their knowledge was theoretical and they did not apply the procedures in practice. Their responses resulted in the

conclusion that it is necessary to provide them enough space to share their experience, discuss it from its relevance viewpoint and assist them to search for the answers to their questions concerning their practice. Describing their teaching process, their preferences were related to traditional teaching, in particular, the teachers mostly stand in front of the class, their students sit in rows, teachers usually ask the questions and the learners mostly only answer, and the lesson is mostly based on working with the course book and workbook. The responses to the question concerning vocabulary teaching revealed that teachers being asked for an unknown word, immediately provide the answers. In fact, the teachers do not develop strategic competences of their students as they do not train their students to guess the meaning from the context or look the unknown words up in the dictionary. Reading the texts prevailed in the question regarding the skills development and the teachers did not pay attention to develop communicative language skills in an integrating way. In a communicative approach integration is a means of providing natural contexts for language use. The differences in the responses to the question regarding reading comprehension obviously resulted from the experience of the teachers teaching in different stages of primary school. In both groups B and C students' reading aloud prevailed over the teacher's reading aloud, which reveals the ideas of traditional teaching to reading comprehension. A crucial issue is that only 15 out of 165 respondents admitted that their students read silently seeking for the right answer from the text. Reading aloud and translating into the mother tongue was justified by the fact that the students themselves or their parents insist on using translation as it is necessary for understanding. Our argumentation that one of the teacher's roles is to persuade the parents about the procedures in teaching from the professional point of view was not fully accepted and was mostly received skeptically. In teaching grammar, explaining the rules in the mother tongue prevailed, which we can agree with, but none of Group C teachers had taught grammar inductively. During the discussion we found out that the teachers had considered this way of grammar explanation as time consuming. Group A respondents preferred not using transcription of pronunciation at all, which confirmed our presumption of their choice, as while educating them, we could recognize that the symbols of transcription were very problematic for them.

We decided to verify the results obtained from the questionnaire directly in the teaching process in five schools in the city of Trnava and three schools in Trnava region. Observing 8 respondents from Group C teaching their students, we might conclude that only one of them included the learners' needs in his teaching. He started the lesson with the introductory question about their problems in learning and about their preferences of what to do during the lesson. The teacher was very skillful in ICT and had prepared a pile of various activities which were used during the lesson aiming at practicing and consolidating the students' skills. .

To sum up lesson observations in the above-mentioned schools, teaching processes focus predominantly on using the course books and workbooks, and the learners were mostly passive receivers of the teacher's knowledge. The lessons were not attractive either from the observer's or learners' viewpoints. The monotonous work with the books resulted in negative reactions of the learners showing disinterest, making fun or disturbing the others. A completely different picture was depicted from the lesson of Group A teachers, who had just started to teach English and in the effort to make their lessons of English more attractive, they changed the rhythm and pace of the lesson and involved their students in the teaching process. These findings deserve a more complex analysis of the issue as this experiment was carried out on the sample of 55 students from five Trnava primary schools and 45 students from three regional primary schools.

2.2 Hypothesis 2 – Research Results and Interpretation

The third research question – to what extent teachers are prepared for a learner-oriented teaching – evoked the hypothesis: Teachers teaching in the second stage of primary school will be better aware of learning styles than the teachers teaching in the first stage of primary education due to the previous study at teacher training colleges. The second hypothesis was verified on the seminar papers whose topic was given to all the participants from three groups (Group A – 150, Group B – 150 and Group C – 45). The respondents were to find out their own learning styles using the test available at (<http://homeworktips.about.com/od/homeworkhelp/a/lstyleqz.htm>), the material presented in Appendix A, and were obliged to provide evidence identifying themselves – determining their own language competences and skills and identifying their type of intelligence via the test of multiple intelligences at (<http://psychology.about.com/library/quiz/bl-mi-quiz.htm>). From the table below it is possible to clearly evaluate the extent of teachers' readiness for learner-oriented teaching. The numbers in each column and the answers of those respondents who provided convincing evidence of their claims. The biggest problems appeared in Group C with determination of their learning style because the descriptors allow one to determine different styles for language knowledge and skills, which they could not recognize.

	VAK/VARK	Language learning style	Multiple intelligences
Group A (150)	58 (38.67%)	18 (12.00%)	35 (23.33%)
Group B (150)	65 (43.33%)	28 (18.67%)	42 (28%)
Group C (45)	30 (66.67%)	3 (6.66%)	9 (20%)

Table 1 Comparison of the ability to determine their own general learning style, their language learning style and preferable intelligences.

Group C respondents used their experience with learning styles proposed by Neil Fleming from their college studies, but they were aware of language learning styles to a limited extent despite the fact they were qualified for target language teaching. Group A and B teachers expressed their disappointment of knowing so little about learning styles from their previous university studies. 85 percent admitted that they had heard about this issue from the practical point of view for the first time.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Research has revealed that despite communicative language teaching is a part of all university lectures and seminars, in-service teacher training seminars, and a method applied in modern English course books, the teachers do not know how to use this method in a practical way. Most respondents (73%) claimed that they had been aware of this method from a theoretical point of view, but had never been given an opportunity to observe a real lesson based on using procedures and activities concerning this approach. Prevalence of translation activities in ELT has been a long-term problem of language teaching at all levels of education. On the basis of the findings it is possible to summarize these conclusions:

1. The colleges preparing students how to teach English should organize at least once in a semester a seminar for the teachers from primary schools to inform them with the latest trends in language teaching.

2. In-service teacher training centers should re-evaluate their present participation in life-long education and their role in the educational system.
3. The professional boards of English at schools should at least once a year present a good teaching practice focusing on discussing the possibilities of enriching their teaching through learner-oriented activities.
4. Teachers of English should observe the lessons of their colleagues and enrich their own practical experience.
5. Teacher training should include topics such as learner autonomy and autonomous learning making the teachers become aware of learning styles and language learning styles and having enough opportunities to find out their own learning styles, their strengths and weaknesses. This experience might encourage the teachers in their effort to recognize learning styles of their students and to prepare them for autonomous learning.

Issues related to the failure of communicative English language teaching involve a complex set of problems and cannot be related to a single cause like language teaching methodology.

All things considered, in spite of the introduction of CLT in Slovakia, the quality of ELT is still not satisfactory. We have outlined some problems but the complexity of this issue should involve other factors, such as the lack of readiness of teachers to implement it, the unavailability of sufficient facilities due to economic factors or the influence of the national educational system based still more on theoretical knowledge than practical applications. To expect improvement in the quality of English by adopting CLT, without adapting, and understanding the role of English in real life, the changing roles of teachers and students, the necessity of being exposed to the language outside the classroom as much as possible and changing the educational system radically is a mere utopia.

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Appendix A

LEARNING STYLES

1) CONCRETE LEARNING STYLE

Learners

- use active and direct means of taking in a processing information,
- are interested in information that has immediate value,
- are spontaneous and willing to take risks,
- like variety and a constant change of pace,
- dislike routine learning and written work,
- prefer verbal or visual experiences,
- like to be entertained and to be physically involved in learning.

2) ANALYTICAL LEARNING STYLE

Learners

- are independent,
- like to solve problems,
- enjoy tracking down ideas and developing principles on their own,
- prefer a logical systematic presentation of new learning material with opportunities for learners to follow up on their own,
- are serious, push themselves hard
- are vulnerable to failure.

3) COMMUNICATIVE LEARNING STYLE

Learners

- prefer a social approach to learning,
- need personal feedback and interaction,
- learn well from discussion and group activities,
- thrive in a democratically run class.

4) AUTHORITY-ORIENTED LEARNING STYLE

Learners

- are said to be responsible and dependable,
- like and need structure and sequential progression,
- relate well to a traditional classroom,
- prefer the teacher as an authority figure,
- like to have clear instructions and to know what they are doing,
- are not comfortable with consensus-building discussion.

(Santiago de Compostella, Learner Autonomy Course, 2000)

**AMBIGUITIES AS ONE OF THE FORMS OF A LANGUAGE GAME IN THE HEADLINES
OF LITHUANIAN PUBLICISTIC WRITING**

Jurga Račienė

Department of Lithuanian Philology, Vilnius University

Universiteto str. 5, LT-01513, Vilnius, Lithuania

Abstract

Ambiguities are a phenomenon that has not been studied in detail in Lithuanian linguistics yet, and therefore it deserves attention. Ambiguity is revealed by the fact that the same linguistic expression due to certain factors (polysemy, homonym, a shift of meaning or a play with phraseology, violation of the peculiarities of different syntactic construction and neutral word order) can be interpreted quite differently. The author of the article tries to look at the ambiguities as one of the forms of a language game. Seeking to establish whether the ambiguities can be treated as a language game, the conception of a language game is introduced, essential features of ambiguities are discussed, lexical and structural ambiguities and the reasons of their appearance in the headlines of publicistic writing are considered and common traits and differences between language games and ambiguities are reviewed.

Key words: *publicistic writing, headline, language game, lexical ambiguity, structural ambiguity.*

INTRODUCTION

The headline is a very important element of the text of the publicistic writing genre. In the early days of periodicals, however, when the only mass media was newspapers, people devoted plenty of time to reading the texts, and the headlines performed an information function only. Sometimes articles were even without headlines. After the radio, television and the Internet have become firmly established, headlines began to change because the possibility was raised to choose a more attractive channel of transmitting the news. With a competition in the press sphere increasing (including one on the Internet) the headlines started to carry an ever larger semantic and communicative weight. The headline does not only have to satisfy the criterion of “simplicity, exactness, specificity, clearness, originality but also that of correctness of the language” (Remeikis 1992) and to announce the most significant thing, which reveals the theme of the article or to highlight the essential thesis of the article but also to advertise the article, to persuade the reader to buy a commodity, in this case, information. The media knows very well that the reader pays for the immediate effect made. Hence, the creators of headlines, with the help of their maximum abilities and various means of expression such as connotative vocabulary (lexis?), numbers and abbreviations, pragmatic particles, tropes and stylistic devices create attractive, playful, shocking, intriguing or provoking headlines, which attract the reader and capture his/her attention.

However, sometimes it happens so that ambiguity appears in the headlines of publicistic writing. Ambiguities activate the reader’s attention and he/she unawares begins to encipher the ambiguous headline though he/she does not know exactly whether he needs that information, whether it is interesting and useful to him/her and thus, little by little he/she falls into a trap of publicistic writing. Sometimes the reader has to solve the puzzle rather than read the headline. As ambiguities in the headlines of publicistic writing impede understanding of the language and make the idea difficult to

perceive, ambiguities in headlines in publicistic writing are considered to be a problem. However, even being a problem they are valuable because they underline the complexity of the language.

Ambiguities have not been studied in detail by Lithuanian scholars. Axel Holvoet wrote about this theme in his articles *Attributive and predicative possession: some cases of ambiguity in Baltic and Slavonic* (Holvoet 2005a) and *Intranzityvinių sakinių tipai: egzistenciniai, lokatyviniai ir posesyviniai sakiniai* (Types of Intransitive Sentences: Existential, Locative and Possessive Sentences) (Holvoet 2005b), Rolandas Mikulskas wrote *Pastabos dėl sintaksinio dviprasmiškumo sąvokos ir kiti susiję dalykai* (Notes on the Conception of Syntactic Ambiguity and other Related Things) (Mikulskas 2006). Erika Rimkutė's (Rimkutė 2003) publication *Morfologinio daugiareikšmiškumo tipologija* (Typology of Morphological Ambiguity) can also relatively be attributed to the investigations into ambiguities because the author discusses such examples as metus rūkyti būna sunku (it is difficult after one gives up smoking), which determine the ambiguity because "there are good reasons to attribute two different meanings to this sentence" (Mikulskas 2006). Ambiguities in the headlines of publicistic writing have never been studied in Lithuanian linguistics, only some comments on why the headlines become ambiguous are worth mentioning in Adomas Šoblinskas' publication *Stilius prasideda nuo antraštės* (Style Begins with the Headline) (Šoblinskas 1965) and Regina Koženiauskienė's monograph *Retorinė ir stilistinė publicistinių tekstų analizė* (Rhetoric and Stylistic Analysis of Publicistic Texts) (2013, pp. 56-60), which discusses the ambiguity of headlines relating them to manipulation.

Foreign researchers discuss ambiguities somewhat more actively, however, there not many exhaustive investigations. The article *Syntactic ambiguity* (Conway 2002) deals with the ambiguities that are due to the violated SVO order, Jelena Beleckaja (Beleckaja 2007) studies examples of the following type пожарный всегда работает с огоньком (a fire-fighter always works with fire (zest)) and discusses models of recognising the ambiguous words and the importance of the theory of conceptual integration in the process of disambiguation. Ambiguities and their elimination are also dealt with in the article *A brief study of factors causing ambiguity and disambiguation* (Ren 2006), The effect of ambiguities on identifying the words is discussed in the article *Semantic ambiguity effects in word identification* (Borowsky & Masson 1996), in her book *The Language of Humour* Alison Ross discusses ambiguities as a certain form of laughter (Ross 2005). The following works also deserve mention: *Processing Deliberate Ambiguity in Newspaper Headlines: Double Grounding* (Brône & Coulson 2010) and *Ambiguity in Sentence Processing* (Altmann 1998), which are concerned with ambiguities in the headlines.

When looking for ambiguities in the headlines of Lithuanian journalism it was decided to choose such Internet portals as *alfa.lt, balsas.lt, delfi.lt, lrytas.lt, 15min.lt* for several reasons:

- visibility: many readers read the headlines only (leaving the article aside);
- influence: it is quite often that only on the basis of the headlines the opinion about the most important events is tendentially formed, and in the long run the text of the headline becomes more important than the text of the article, and "to what extent one can trust such a summary reduced to the minimum depends on the honesty of the author" (Koženiauskienė 2013, p. 59);
- headlines have not been studied in detail in Lithuanian linguistics.

The material under investigation was collected between May 2011 and June 2013. As many as 195 ambiguous headlines form the basis of the research. They are analysed as an independent unit of the text. The examples of the text are presented in the Lithuanian (original) language and are translated into the English language. It should be mentioned that the problem arises when translating the examples

because Lithuanian ambiguities when translated into the English language do not always retain their ambiguous structure.

Writing and reading the headlines can be termed as a language game (hereinafter referred to as LG) between the sender and the addressee. The sender tells addressee to read and even confuses the addressee; the latter reads and interprets. It is common to attribute a play on words, anecdotes, tropes, various phonetic accords, deliberate violations of the language norms, etc. to LG, however, it is not mentioned whether ambiguities can be regarded as one of the forms of LG. Therefore the **subject** of this article is ambiguities, and the **objective** of the article is to look at the ambiguities as one of the forms of LG. Thereby the **tasks** of the article it is sought to acquaint the readers with the conception of LG, to present the essential features of the ambiguities, to try to discover manifestations of ambiguities in the headlines of publicistic writing and go deeper into generalities and differences of ambiguities and LG. It is sought to achieve the objective set by employing the descriptive **method**.

CONCEPTION OF A LANGUAGE GAME (LG)

The term of a LG belongs, without doubt, to the authority of philosophy of language of the 20th century Ludwig Wittgenstein. According to him, “language is used habitually, in its many functions, for its many purposes – to inform, to order, to assess, to formulate scientific theories, to describe a room or to preach, to express feelings, to pray, to persuade, to ask, to swear, etc. All this is language-games, forms of our life” (Pavilionis, 2005, p. 49). Ludwig Wittgenstein recognises a nondescript and boundless variety of a LG from the point of view of the contents and strictness, as well as accuracy: “each of them has its own logic, its own , more or less, strict rules” (1995, p. 18), which must be observed if one wants to play a certain LG. Hence, Ludwig Wittgenstein’s conception of a LG is very broad – it encompasses the whole of the language and the actions into which the language is woven (1995, p. 122).

A different understanding of a LG is also possible. According to E. A. Zemskaja, a LG is the speaker’s play with the form of language seeking to perform the poetic function of language (1983 p. 172). One of the most often mentioned forms of a LG is a pun (play on words). Regina Koženiauskienė points out that “a pun is a device of a joke and wit when one plays on the polysemy of words, lexical homonyms, homographs, paronyms in the same utterance” (Koženiauskienė, 2013, p. 176). It should also be mentioned that “transition from the literal meaning to the implicit one and vice versa contains a play on words too” (Koženiauskienė, 2013, p. 176). Alongside a play on words, linguistic jokes, linguistic puzzles and anecdotes can be mentioned. These forms of a LG are created by means of certain devices. Hence, phonetic sounding, transformation of set phrases, a play with phraseological units, transfer of meaning, a deliberate violation of the norms of word formation, morphology, syntax and style, metaphors, metonymies, similes, periphrases, allusions, reminiscences, repetitions, a graphical separation of the text segments create a playful style.

It is worth mentioning that LG are popular in different spheres, both in everyday routine and professional activities, politics, the media, advertising, literature, the youth vocabulary, etc. They fulfill a lot of functions. T. P. Kuranova (2010, pp. 272–277) distinguishes the following ones: those of comicality, entertainment, a hedonistic one, a function of expression, semantic, aesthetic, creating new words, compressive, euphemistic, password, attracting, individualizing, a function of effect, relaxation, emotional, protective, discrediting, and “softening”. What function of a LG is being fulfilled best depends on the sphere of the use and a communication situation. In literature (poetry, in particular) attention is focused on the sonic structure, the sounding of the word, musicality therefore phonetic combinations of sounds, “which are determined by the variety of phonetic collocations – alliterations,

assonances, onomatopoeias – are of great importance there” (Žvironaitė-Udrienė 2005, p. 41). According to E. Kuranova, the aesthetic function in literature is being fulfilled by concentrating attention on the way something is said rather than on what is being said; moreover, the form becomes especially significant (2010, p. 273). In advertising language the semantic function is most often fulfilled when by means of graphics a new meaning is created, a function of creating new words, when we want to say something in a witty way and make others remember it, as well as a compressive function that saves time and space. It is also fulfilled by means of graphic games when two words are contained in one (Kuranova 2010, pp. 274-273). E. Kuranova states that the youth’s vocabulary contains lots of abbreviations, which actualize the function of passwords. By playing in this way the youth can hide itself and at the same time reveal its exceptionality and individuality. The media can also fulfill a lot of functions of a LG because, according to S. I. Smetanina (2002, p. 177), the “virus” of games has already “invaded” the analytic and information spheres. Thus, the mass media seeks to present the news in an unusual, non-cliché, witty and attractive way, and sometimes even in a deceptive way therefore the function of entertainment, expression, as well as semantic, attracting, protective and euphemistic functions of a language game are performed. It should be noted that two functions of a language game specified by Kuranova are dominating: the function of comicality and that of effect (2010, pp. 272-275). The essence of comicality is to raise a smile, to provoke laughter, to create a good mood or to put an individual in an ironic frame of mind. The function of effect is very important because it attracts the addressee’s attention, acts on its mind, will-power and feelings, makes the addressee believe what is being said and persuades him/her to act. Hence, the main aspect of the function of effect is to maintain contact with the addressee and to achieve persuasion, which is especially important in advertising and the media.

Consequently, there are two standpoints in treating the conception of a language game. Ludwig Wittgenstein did not relate a language game either to jokes, entertainment or manipulation. He treated a language game as the use of language in various walks of life fulfilling the communication, expressive and appellation functions of language. This is an all-embracing philosophical attitude. The other attitude is linguistic the essence of which is a play with language forms seeking to fulfil the poetic function of language. The present article, in which ambiguities are treated as one of the forms of a language game, is based on the linguistic attitude.

MAIN FEATURES OF AMBIGUITIES

The definition of linguistic¹⁶ ambiguity is usually based on the fact that the thing being spoken about is understood in an ambiguous way due to certain linguistic factors. According to Löbner, ambiguities are a certain phenomenon because the same linguistic expression can be interpreted in a completely different way (Löbner 2002, p. 39). Other researchers give a similar definition of ambiguity too (Mikulskas 2006, Ross 2005, Palmer 2001) some supplement this definition and state that ambiguities occur in the language only due to the peculiarities of a linguistic expression rather than the meaning given to it by a speaker. (Bach 2011); and there are also researchers who underline a systematic character and predictability of a structural ambiguity (Kruz-Fereira & Abraham 2012, p. 195).

¹⁶ An extra-linguistic ambiguity is also possible, which can be expressed by means of a body language; also, different works of art (pictures, sculptures, films, performances, etc.) can be interpreted in an ambiguous way.

Seeking for clarity it is important to mention here the fact that the conception of ambiguities is not homogeneous. It is quite often that absolutely unambiguous utterances are considered to be ambiguous on the basis of formally unjustified criteria, for example: *Worker suffers leg pain after crane drops 800-pound ball on his head* (balsas.lt, 2012-12-11), *Homicide victims rarely talk to police* (balsas.lt, 2012-12-11), *Federal Agents Raid Gun Shop, Find Weapons* (balsas.lt, 2012-12-11). These examples are simply a play on words but they do not contain any factors determining appearance of ambiguities.

According to what linguistic factors determine the occurrence of linguistic ambiguity, two types of ambiguities are distinguished: lexical and structural. A lexical ambiguity occurs both due to homonymy (*I promise I will give you a ring tomorrow*)

(http://atheism.about.com/library/glossary/general/bldef_ambiguity.htm, accessed May 2013), when the same form of the word has different lexical meanings and polysemy (*Some people are always late, like the late King George* (Ross 2005 p. 19)) when “the same form of the word encompasses several contents” (Koženiauskienė, 2005 p. 165). According to Ross, a phraseological unit is often a source of the ambiguity: “There is ambiguity, if the group of words can be interpreted both as an idiom and as individual words: *When down in the mouth, remember Jonah. He came out all right*” (2005, p. 18). This opinion does not differ much from that of Regina Koženiauskienė: “very often a play with phraseological units gives rise to the ambiguity creating the possibility to understand a fixed phrase as a free combination of words or, on the contrary, to understand a free combination of words as a phraseological unit” (2013, p. 56). According to Löbner (2002, p. 47) “the application of a shift of meaning is another source of ambiguity” (*James Joyse is difficult to understand* (Löbner 2002, p. 48)).

In case of structural ambiguity, double reading of the same linguistic expression is determined by the peculiarities of a syntactic construction (*Yoko Ono will talk about her husband John Lennon who was killed in an interview with Barbara Walters* (Ross 2005, p. 25)), *Our son was involved in a terrible road accident*, (Ross 2005, p. 21)), an attempt to shorten a linguistic expression, which is especially often found in headlines (*Juvenile Court to Try Shooting Defendant* (Ross 2005, p. 20)), or by an elliptic structure¹⁷ (*Perot knows a richer man than Trump*, (Bach 2011)), the ambiguity to be mentioned, which occurs due to an absence of conjunctions (*We all know [that] disco rules* (Ross 2005, p. 24)).

Perception of ambiguities is defined well by the so-called “enlightenment” effect¹⁸ whose essence is as follows: upon hearing or having read the ambiguity, the addressee does not always perceive the real meaning and he/she thinks the utterance to be incorrect, strange or suspiciously simple, however, having discerned the place of the play he understands the true meaning of the utterance and this is referred to as the “enlightenment” effect.

The feature of ambiguities to mention several things at the same time, the possibility that one of the meanings will be understood as another or that both meanings will be understood simultaneously, the unexpectedness and comicality, wittiness and the possibility of a puzzle, concealment of the truth, and sometimes even manipulations with the addressee’s consciousness is convenient in all communication situations. A double interpretation of a linguistic expression excites the curiosity of the addressee and makes him/her concentrate his/her attention on the subject being discussed.

¹⁷ This type of ambiguities are said to be “merely apparent and better described as semantic underdetermination” (Bach 2011).

¹⁸ The term is taken from *Encyclopaedia of Practical Psychology* http://www.psychologos.ru/articles/view/effekt_ozareniya accessed May 2013

AMBIGUITIES IN HEADLINES OF PUBLICISTING WRITING

Both lexical and structural ambiguities were found in the headlines of Lithuanian publicistic writing. The appearance of ambiguities in the headlines under discussion is determined by contextual synonyms, a shift of meaning and a play with phraseology.

Ambiguities caused by contextual synonyms are most often found in the sports news. The headline *Sušaudė Lenkijos rinktinė*¹⁹ (The Polish team was shot dead) (15min.lt, 2011-09-02) is ambiguous because it is not clear whether the team was shot dead, overcome, defeated, etc. Another example runs as follows: *Filipinų rinktinės treneris: Lietuvoje būsime išskersti* (The coach of the Philippine team: we'll be slaughtered in Lithuania) (alfa.lt, 2013-05-04) is also ambiguous: will they be slaughtered, killed or overcome? Most probably the sphere of sports determined that the selected contextual synonyms are words that have an especially strong emotional effect *sušaudė, išskersti*, (to kill, to slaughter) that provoke the addressee. It should also be mentioned that sometimes such stylistically neutral words as *sušaudė*²⁰ (shot dead), which have no connotative²¹ shades at all and can be used in all styles to convey only objective information without affecting the addressee, carry "the emotional charge" (Jakaitienė 1988, p. 54). The ambiguities caused by the contextual synonyms can be explained on the basis of the principle of substitution: having substituted the words *sušaudė, išskersti* (shot dead, to slaughter) for *nugalėjo, nugalėti* (defeated, to defeat) the ambiguity will disappear.

A shift of meaning is another source of lexical ambiguities. The word *vingiuotas* (winding) causes the ambiguity in the headline *Vingiuotas kelias į vaikų sanatoriją* (A winding road to a children's sanatorium) (delfi.lt, 2011-12-10). It is absolutely unclear why the road to the children's sanatorium is winding: if it is because it is not straight and has a lot of turns, bends, steep hills and descents or because cheating and frauds of the state machine prevents one from getting into the children's sanatorium. One of the five meanings of the adjective *vingiuotas* (winding) given in the Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (2005) is *suktas, netiesus* (sly, not straight). Hence, a euphemistic function is characteristic of this ambiguity, when a rather unpleasant thing is said hiding oneself behind words. The headline *V. V. Landsbergio žvaigždė sužibės planetariume* (V.V. Landsbergis' star will begin to shine in the planetarium) (alfa.lt, 2012-11-21) does not lack wittiness and attractiveness. The word *žvaigždė* (star) creating the ambiguity can mean both a celestial body and a celebrity in this context. Hence, it is not clear whether V. V. Landsbergis, as a celebrity, is going to have an evening of singing poetry. The headline *Europa skandina Lietuvos žvejus* (Europe drowning Lithuanian fishermen) (alfa.lt, 2012-08-22) is somewhat chilling: it is not clear whether Lithuanian fishermen get drowned because the vessels are in bad condition as they do not receive financing from the European Union, or because the regulations concerning fishermen adopted by the European Union do harm to fishermen and can ruin their business activity.

¹⁹ According to R. Koženiauskiene, it should be noted here that "wittiness is usually impossible to be translated or is difficult to translate into another language because a play is being created by means of certain grammatical forms, their accords, an unexpected combination of related or unrelated words, interjections, unheard of stylistic neologisms" (2013, p. 171) therefore when translated into a foreign language they can lose ambiguity.

²⁰ The Dictionary of Synonyms gives the following meaning of this word: "šūviais nukauti" (kill by shots) (Lyberis 2002, p. 478).

²¹ Connotation is a secondary meaning rendering different stylistic shades to a neutral word.

Another source of ambiguities is a play with phraseology. Alongside phraseological units it is common to mention well-known names in the headlines: *G. Drukteinis apie Seimo narių etiketą: A. Butkevičiui vertėtų pasikeisti akinius* (G.Drukteinis about the ethics of the Seimas members: A. Butkevičius should change glasses) (balsas.lt, 2012-11-26). The headline of this type draws the addressee's attention immediately to the name of the Prime Minister of Lithuania and that he should change his glasses. Mentioning the glasses means that the Prime Minister wears them; the meaning of the phraseological unit *per savo akinius žiūrėti* (to look through one's own glasses) (Frazeologijos žodynas 2001, p. 5) means to start assessing everything in a different way than others do, hence, the addressee, hiding himself behind the phraseological unit, conveys the idea that an official should change his attitude towards both the situation in Lithuania and to his subordinates. However, if we direct attention to the context of the beginning of the headline, we shall see that the author speaks about ethics of the Seimas members and the glasses of the Prime Minister of Lithuania most probably are old-fashioned, and if the Prime Minister wants to look his best he should change them. Playing with phraseology is often common when identifying problems of emigration. The following headline *Kuri duona geresnė – lietuviška ar britiška?* (Which bread is more delicious – Lithuanian or British?) (balsas.lt, 2013-03-08) first of all, leads one to the thought about where it is better to live: in Lithuania or in England because the phraseological unit *gerą duoną valgyti* (to eat good bread) (Frazeologijos žodynas 2001, p. 166) means to live well, the better bread is the higher the standard of living is. However, it might be so that no problems of emigration are raised and simply the taste of Lithuanian and British bread (food product) is compared.

As can be seen from the examples provided, lexical ambiguities help the truth to be disguised and give an excellent opportunity to speak about unpleasant things in a euphemistic way, manipulate the addressee's conscience and act emotionally, play with a shift of meaning and phraseological units, sometimes they also have a shade of roughness. All that has an effect on the addressee, helps contact with him/her to be established and encourages one to act. Ambiguities of lexical nature quite often raise a smile, provoke laughter or an ironical attitude to the subject being discussed, however, they do not always fulfil the function of comicality: sometimes the addressee either fails to perceive that this is an ambiguity (perhaps he lacks background knowledge) or "it might be because double meaning is laboured or corny" (Ross 2005, p. 8).

Appearance of structural ambiguities in the headlines of journalism most often is determined by syntactic constructions with the genitive, dative and instrumental case, as well as violations of the neutral word order (SVO).

Unclearness related to the use of the genitive case often arises. Jonas Šukys states that the genitive case of an object means a person, a thing or a phenomenon that is exposed to someone's influence or towards whom the action is directed (1998, p. 89).

However, the example *Karo akademija: pabėgusių kariūnų kaltinimai nepasitvirtino* (Military Academy: accusations of runaway cadets failed to be justified) (alfa.lt, 2011-12-14) shows the use of the genitive case as ambiguous; it is absolutely unclear whether the cadets accused somebody or they were accused by someone. Following transformation two versions of the word combination *kariūnų kaltinimai* (cadets' accusations) are possible: the cadets accused, the cadets were accused. In this case we have the subject in the nominative case and the object in the dative case. The nominative case of the subject shows the person, who performs a certain action therefore it can be thought that the cadets accused the authorities of poor conditions, low scholarships or a poor training base, however, a different interpretation is also possible: in case of the genitive case of the object it would mean that the cadets were accused but the accusations failed to be justified. The problem lies in that a transformation of the

word combination does not abolish the ambiguity and it remains unclear whether the genitive case means the thing that acts or the thing being acted upon; such double interpretation of the headline captures the addressee's attention and focuses it on the text.

Chains of attributes in the genitive case also form a source of ambiguities. Having read the headline *Krepšinio lankas neatlaikė įspūdingo dvyliktoko dėjimo* (Basketball hoop failed to withstand impressive, nine-form player's slam dunk) (alfa.lt, 2012-12-20) it becomes unclear what was impressive: a nine-form player or a slam dunk. In this case care must be taken not to understand the attribute in the genitive case wrongly, it is necessary to try to find another place for that attribute and sometimes, for the sake of clearness, to omit the unimportant genitive, to choose a subordinate clause or an extended participial attribute. The "disentanglement" of a chain of the genitive cases causes the effect of comicality, which makes the ambiguities be close to a language game.

A certain use of the instrumental case determines the perception of an ambiguous headline. According to J. Šukys, the instrumental case most often is used to denote an object, i.e., a thing or a person towards which the action is directed, most often for whose sake something is being done (1998, p. 147). However, the example *Humoristo J. Buziliausko skola moteriai tapo akmeniui po kaklu* (Humorist J. Buziliauskas's debt turned into a stone under the neck) (lrytas.lt, 2013-04-24) is rather confusing: it is unclear whether the instrumental case means the subject or the object, besides, it is not clear for which of the two mentioned persons the debt became a stone under the neck. Hence, double reading of this headline is possible [Humorist J. Buziliauskas' debt to the woman] became a stone under the neck and *Humorist J. Buziliauskas' debt* [became a stone under the neck for the woman] somewhat reminds one of a language game because the instrumental case that causes difficulties is namely the key word, which is to be attributed to the microcontext of the beginning or the end of the headline. Seeking for clarity perhaps it would be expedient to look for another word order in the sentence in this case.

J. Šukys underlines the abundance of meanings of the instrumental case: it often means the object, the means, can mean the place, time, manner and quantity, sometimes even the reason of the action (1998, p. 220). The example of structural ambiguity *Seksualios nepažįstamos merginos atakuoja „Facebook“ vyrus neužsegtomis kelnėmis* (Sexy girls attack "Facebook" men wearing undone trousers) (15min.lt, 2013-02-19) is noted for its unexpectedness and comicality. It is confusing whose trousers are undone: those of girls or men? In this case the instrumental case can mean the manner (wearing undone trousers) of performing the action (*attack*). It should also be mentioned that structural ambiguities most often are unintentional; however, this case can be attributed to the deliberate one.

Though the word order in the Lithuanian language is not as strict as in other languages, it is characterised by certain regularities: it depends on the purpose of the utterance, the context, on the stylistic shade sought to be rendered. Thus, the words in a sentence cannot be arranged anyhow, otherwise a linguistic expression will not be understood, it will be ungrammatical or even ambiguous. For example, having read the following headline *Pakistanas sveikina pirmą Everestą viršukalnę įveikusių tautietę* (Pakistan congratulates the first fellow-countrywoman to have conquered the Everest peak) (15min.lt, 2013-05-20) it becomes unclear whether *the first peak of the Everest was conquered*, or whether *the first fellow-countrywoman of Pakistan* conquered it. If the words were interchanged accordingly, the ambiguities would disappear, however, the addressee would have to concentrate his/her attention on the text because of that.

Structural ambiguities are characterised by the fact that they capture the addressee's attention and hold it on the text, they are noted for their unexpectedness and comicality despite the fact that most often they are unintentional; sometimes structural ambiguities of a deliberate type are also found.

AMBIGUITIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A LG

A LG and ambiguities have a lot of common features, however, first and foremost, comicality and the function of the effect are to be mentioned. Audronė Bitinienė states that the most significant functions of the headlines are those of information and effect: "they do not only inform the reader of the event of the situation but also act upon him/her in a certain way, encourage a social assessment" (2007, p. 62). Rūta Marcinkevičienė also notes that the function of the effect outshines all others and thereby it is sought "to attract the reader's attention by any means, to be as though a trade mark of the named text" (2008, p. 189). R. Koženiauskienė notes that having fulfilled this function the readers' will, thoughts, principles, convictions and behaviour are acted on (2001, p. 52). Ambiguities fulfil the function of the effect because being unable to understand the information presented in a correct way at once, the addressee starts to look for additional information, and hence, he reads the abstract or even the whole text. Comicality that is characteristic of a language game is found in ambiguities too, especially in those cases when politics is discussed. Comicality of the ambiguous headlines perhaps sooner forms an ironic attitude towards the thing being discussed than raises a smile or provokes laughter.

Of course, a play with phraseology and a shift of meaning that are characteristic of a language game, are characteristic of the ambiguities of lexical origin. Phraseological resources and a shift of meaning are one of the main means of creating a language game and ambiguities, which ensure wittiness and humour. According to R. Koženiauskienė, these features "show the reader's intellect, a sense of humour, irony, talent, originality and creativity, and at the same time the ability to perceive the world and convey it in a peculiar, individual way" (2013, p. 170).

Ignoring and violating the norms of the word formation, morphology, syntax and style relate a language game and structural ambiguities. It stands to reason that a deliberate disregard of the language norms is more characteristic of a language game in seeking to attract and influence the addressee as quickly as possible. Disregard of the language norms in the headlines most likely occurs due to haste and the wish to convey the "hot" news to the reader as soon as possible. However, the pronoun used in the wrong place, an unsuitable grammatical form or a syntactic construction, a disorderly arrangement of words create the ambiguity that resembles a puzzle.

Euphemistic and entertainment functions of a LG discussed by T. P. Kuranova (2010, pp. 272–277), apply to ambiguities too. When studying the headlines attempts of the creator of headlines to make some of the things more attractive, to say them in a softer way than the reality is or to tell only part of the truth, to name the things of the negative reality in an indirect way were noticed. Seeking to present everyday news in a new and unusual way the creator of the headlines must be witty, speak in an attractive way and not to be boring. Lexical ambiguities are an excellent medium to contain homonyms or polysemous words, contextual synonyms or phraseological units and to present the news in a witty way.

It goes without saying that there are differences between a language game and ambiguities, which are determined by the place where ambiguities are found in – headlines in journalism. Hence, due to the sphere of their use, the hedonistic function is not typical of the ambiguities when a language game is being created for one's own pleasure seeking to show off wittiness and to create a linguistic puzzle. The aesthetic function is not characteristic of the ambiguous headlines either because, according to Ž. Pečiulis, in presenting the news it is very important to answer to five W (Who? What? When? Where?

Why?) (2002, p. 33), thus, it is important what is being said rather than how and in what form it is being said. The function of creating neologisms is not fulfilled either though it enriches the language, a graphic game attracts attention immediately (for example, in the language of advertising, poetry), however, it is not characteristic of ambiguities, their segments are not distinguished in the text.

Having discussed the features of a language game and those of ambiguities, the conclusion can be drawn that ambiguities can be understood as a form of a language game because seeking to attract and influence the addressee similar means of effect are used. It should be mentioned that ambiguities of lexical origin correspond to the essence of a language game to a greater extent, however, unexpectedness of ambiguities and comicality that occur in them can also be referred to as the element of a LG.

CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed cases of linguistic ambiguities in the headlines of Lithuanian publicistic writing and having looked at them within the context of a LG, the following can be stated:

- Ambiguities in publicistic writing occur most often due to lexical or grammatical factors. Ambiguities of lexical origin are determined by the use of contextual synonyms, a shift of meaning and a play with phraseology. Appearance of structural ambiguities in the headlines under study was determined by syntactic constructions with the genitive, dative and instrumental case and the violated word order (SVO).
- Lexical ambiguities help the truth to be concealed and they create an excellent opportunity to speak about unpleasant things euphemistically, manipulate with the addressee's conscience and act on him/her emotionally, play with a shift of meaning and phraseological units, sometimes have a rough shade. Ambiguities of lexical origin quite often raise a smile, provoke laughter and an ironic attitude to the subject being discussed.
- Structural ambiguities attract the addressee's attention by their unexpectedness, sometimes even by their intricacy and hold his/her attention concentrated on the text, they contain elements of comicality too, despite the fact that most often they are unintentional, though structural ambiguities of deliberate type are also found.
- Having discussed common and different features between a LG and ambiguities it is seen that seeking to attract and influence the addressee, similar means of effect are used. It should be mentioned that ambiguities of lexical origin correspond to the essence of a language game more than do the structural one, however, unexpectedness of structural ambiguities and comicality that sometimes occurs can also be assessed as an element of a LG. Hence, ambiguities can be understood as a form of a LG.

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THE CULTURAL DIMENSION IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSLATION

Katarzyna Sadowska-Dobrowolska

Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Pl. M. Curie-Skłodowskiej 5, 20-031 Lublin, Poland

Abstract

*This article is dedicated to translation as intercultural communication including linguistic structure of a source-language text as well as its cultural elements. The aim of this paper is the exposition of the idea that semantic features (systemic and textual connotations) should be taken into consideration in translation. The translation result (target-language text) should be semantic equivalent, which appears possible only if the translator takes into consideration not only a hard core of the meaning of the word or its stylistic value but also its linguistics connotations which are responsible for semantic profile of its perception. The analysis of connotations is particularly useful when it is necessary to select the proper translation among words having similar meaning. The considerations are illustrated in the analysis of two cases: French and Italian translations of two aphorisms by Stanislaw Jerzy Lec and Polish and English translation of the title of the novel by Francois Mauriac *Le noeud de vipers*.*

Key words: *translation, linguistic connotation, semantic motivation, semantic effect,*

1. INTRODUCTION

Theoretical reflection on translation has centuries old tradition and substantial literature. Questions of fidelity and aesthetics of translation (*belles infideles*) limits of translatability, the role of a translator, strategies and techniques of translation, among others, have been analysed and described for centuries. In most cases, the focus of the research was the language (target) and its ability to render the substance and form of the source text with the grammatical, syntactic and lexical structures typical for it.

The more contemporary, twentieth-century theories of translation studies have introduced the issue of culture, its presence and role in translation. With the development of research the importance of cultural context of translation work was started to be stressed, which in turn led to a change in the approach to the translation itself, the manner of its execution and the role which the target text should (or: could) play among recipients. All this, in turn, contributed to the increased recognition of translation as an operation not only on the language and within its system capabilities, but also on culture.

This article is dedicated to the reflection on the cultural motivation (cultural entanglement) of translation. The issues and suggestions for translation included in this work combine cultural and linguistic aspects of translation, which connects the considerations presented here with the field of translation and lexical semantics. The most important issue of this article is the function which lexical connotations of particular lexical units may have in the process of translation and their impact on the choices and decisions of the translator.

2. CULTURAL ENTANGLEMENT OF TRANSLATION

Along with the development of studies in translation the area of interest for research has been extended – more and more often not only the language (i.e., its formal and semantic structure) of the translated text is being considered, but also the culture behind it.

The postulate of taking the culturally relevant elements into account in the translation led the theorists to the conviction of the necessity for the cultural confrontation of the source text and the target text as well as numerous suggestions about how to overcome the difficulties in translation which arise from that fact. The proposed strategies to cope with a variety of cultural discrepancies between the original, its recipient and the cultural context surrounding them and translation, the reader and the target culture clearly infer a bidirectional operation: either to reduce the differences between the texts and the recipients by acculturation, or to highlight the encountered differences by preserving the cultural specificity of the original. This option has taken a variety of forms in the works of individual researchers: Eugene Nida (1964) has drawn a distinction between formal correspondence and dynamic equivalency, Jean-René Ladmirale (1979) between *sourcier* and *cibliste*, Antoine Berman (1995), between *tradition éthique* and *ethnocentrique*, whereas Lawrence Venuti (1995) discussed the *domestication* or *foreignization*. All these proposals have the treatment of translation as a task which goes beyond the language in common (cf. Venuti, *Rethinking Translation*), individual choices of the translator and the perception of translation as a kind of "means of cultural transfer between languages", (Arrojo 1997).

The mentioned operation (i.e., domestication or foreignization of a text) focuses on cultural elements in the work and the possibility for their transfer to the target text (on the language, lifestyle and cultural levels). However, it seems that the issue of cultural motivation of translation is much broader and includes not only the realm of foreign or culturally different elements, which should be – depending on the chosen strategy – removed or exposed in translation. Taking into account the cultural context may be useful / important on the level of the microstructure of translation, i.e. on the choice level of the lexical items or groups of items.

3. CULTURAL ENTANGLEMENT OF TRANSLATION (MEANINGS)

Cultural involvement of translation also stems from the adoption of a cognitive theory of language (i.e. the formal material of a text), according to which a language is treated as an integral part of the structure of human cognition and is considered to be a kind of interpretation of reality, culturally conditioned and sometimes very personalized, but always based on the knowledge and experience of its users²². The assumptions of cognitive linguistics highlighted the role of context and extra-linguistic knowledge (dependant on culture) in constructing the meaning of linguistic units, which by definition go beyond a

²² This understanding of language is enrooted in the nineteenth-century views of Wilhelm von Humboldt (see Anusiewicz 1990), drawing attention to the relationship existing between a language and the system of knowledge shaped by its culture, and in the work of American Linguists, underlying cognitive linguistics and advocating the need to combine research on language semantics (ie - the meaning) with the study of the culture of speaking to the community (Sapir 1987, Whorf 1982). The leading representatives of the linguistics discussed above include Ronald Langacker (1990, 1995), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1988), whose works are regarded precursory presentation of the main objectives and research questions of the emerging research trend.

set of categorizing and differential features (necessary and sufficient), in the direction of the characteristics traditionally referred to as "connotational", "associative", and derived from the impact on the language of a number of cultural factors (such as value systems, beliefs, style and genre conventions) (Bartmiński, Tokarski 1993, 59). This understanding of the importance of the lexical unit becomes a structured set of features forming a hierarchical structure in which, in addition to the features which constitute the hard semantic core, are also systemic (conventionalized) and occasional connotations²³ (see Bartmiński, Tokarski 1993). These connotations are a set of linguistically relevant characteristics (including characteristics, properties, stereotypical associations and evaluations motivated by the culture) which a lexeme attributes to its referent and which complement the content of its definitional meaning (see Jordanska, Mielczuk 1988). For example, in Polish language the word *a cat* connotes, among others, the following features: [independence] and [agility]. Expressions fixed in the language: *koty chadzają własnymi drogami* {cats have their own ways} and *koty zawsze spadają na cztery łapy*²⁴, {cats always land on their four feet} attest to it.

Research on connotations, especially the textual connotations (occasional)²⁵, have established that the semantic features of a words form a coherent, logically ordered structure, in which *semantic features are not a cluster of connotations accidentally implemented in the text. Each of them is motivated by the characteristics of either a wider scope, or - eventually - the components of the lexical meaning of the word. But, at the same time, every semantic connotation may motivate more and more detailed and specialized connotations* (Tokarski 1995, 26). According to this principle, called the *principle of intrinsic motivation and predictability of semantic properties* (Tokarski 2004, 25), all these textual connotations, even the individual and highly personalized, derive (or at least - should derive) their semantic motivation in more conventional features and the features which are better-established in the overall model of the word with which they are combined.

The dependence of lexical connotations on the particular language and the culture behind it is their vital feature from the point of view of translation theory: the connotations of lexemes are not identical in different languages, and at the same time they are factors which significantly profile the way of understanding the word by the community. For this reason, the connotational characteristics, which reflect the cultural entanglement of words vividly and fully, play an important role in the process of translation and should be the object of in-depth analysis of a translator; they should also - where it is relevant to the text - condition his or her choice of lexical units. Finding adequate connotation requires constant confrontation of lexical units, testing their relations and determining the degree of semantic relevance, which makes the translation, in fact, a kind of cross-cultural communication channel. In practice, the analysis of connotations is particularly important wherever translator must make a choice between several lexical units of similar meaning and a concurrent scope of use. In that situation they (i.e. connotations) may be the determining factor.

²³ This model of the lexical item is the subject of the description in the *open definition*, the formula of which was developed in Lublin research center (see Bartmiński, Tokarski 1993).

²⁴ Numerous research works focusing both on the phenomenon of connotation (Bartmiński 1988; Tokarski 1989, 2008], as well as the specific problems associated with it, such as the role of connotation in the creation of poetic texts (Bartmiński 1988; Tokarski 1989, 2008) or its participation in the phenomenon of profiling meanings (Bartmiński & Tokarski 1998; Bartmiński *et al.* 2004) have been devoted to this issue.

²⁵ Occasional connotations in the literature are referred to as *textual connotations*. This term was introduced by Jadwiga Puzynina in her work dedicated to the style of Norwid (Puzynina, 1990)

4. PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION (EX AMPLE)

Numerous studies of translation theorists have been devoted to the issue of translating cultural elements and managing the translator's work globally, or regarding the text as a multifaceted whole. However, taking into account the culture and its impact on the language of the source text (in the longer term - the target text) may also be useful with regard to macro-choices of the translator. Analysis of the meaning of individual lexical units, with particular regard to their lexical connotations, in many cases, allows to extract units introducing semantic effect which is similar to the effect intended by the original text into the target text.

To illustrate the above, I would like to present an analysis of two cases:

4.1As the first example to illustrate the usefulness (and at the same time: the need to) take into account the cultural entanglement of a language in the process of cultural translation will serve two: French and Italian translations of two aphorisms by Stanislaw Jerzy Lec:

1. ***Nie każda palma pierwszeństwa rodzi kokosy.***

Les palmes qu'on remporte ne donnent pas toutes des fruits. (Fr.)

Non da ogni palma della vittoria nascono noci di cocco. (It.)

2. ***Karłom trzeba się nisko kłaniać.***

Les nains, il faut les saluer bien bas. (Fr.)

L'inchino che si fa ai nani deve essere molto basso. (It.)

The meaning of both aphorisms was built on the polysemy of lexical units and of the current play on words the, which are essential for both of them. The key to the understanding of the first aphorism (i.e. *Nie każda palma pierwszeństwa rodzi kokosy*) is the word 'coconut', operating in the Polish language in the sense of 'the fruit of the coconut palm' and - as pluralia tantum - in the sense of 'very high profits or high wages'. Moreover, the following play on a pair of words is also important for the interpretation of the whole: *palm* (of *priority*) – *coco-nut* (or *high profits*).

It is not difficult to find the equivalent of *palma zwycięstwa* (the palm of victory) in French or Italian, which can be explained by the origin the collocation – as it is derived from mythology, it has its equivalents in languages with a common cultural background²⁶. The expression in Italian is *palma dalla vittoria*, the French has an expression *remporter la palme* ('être vainqueur' – 'win/ ensure victory'). The problem, especially in French, is the second part of the aphorism, which refers to the coconuts. In French, the word *coco* (i.e. coconut) has different, clearly negative connotations, which is reflected by the fact that the word is used in everyday language as a pejorative term for a weird / funny / suspicious²⁷ person, as well as the common name for a Communist (also used with negative overtones).

²⁶ It is worth mentioning that, in this case, the common cultural background (context) justifies the dictionary equivalence, i.e. on the level of lexical units, different language systems.

²⁷ *Coco* – Individu, le plus souvent bizarre ou suspect.

An additional illustration of the negative image of a coconut in the French language and culture is also *collocation à la noix de coco - Sans valeur, très mauvais, sans importance* (poor, stupid, lousy, it blows, it sucks, p.719). These facts preclude the cultural and linguistic usage of this unit in the translation, despite the lexical equivalence for the Polish coconut. Replacing it with a hypernym *fruit* removed play of words on *palm - coconut* and *palm of victory - coconuts*, but - by referring to the pair of *tree - fruit* and the positive connotation of the French lexeme *fruit* (*fig. résultat avantageux (que produit qqch.), avantage, profit, récompense; Produit, effet bon ou mauvais de qqch., conséquence, effet, produit, résultat*) – the semantic effect of the aphorism was rendered. In this case, the reference to the lexical connotations, their analysis, comparison and inclusion in the translation would make it possible to preserve the "aphoristic" nature of Lec's thought and save its meaning.

The Italian translator coped differently with the ambiguity the *coconut* by introducing an extended name of a coconut (*noce di cocco*) to the Italian version of the aphorism. This way the literal meaning of coconuts was emphasized, highlighting the aphoristic play on words of a word pair *coconut palm - coconut*. Thus, the proposed approach is similar to the French language solution; however, there is a difference in this case, that discovering the relation between *a tree - the fruit* requires a greater interpretative effort. This choice is justified by the ambiguity of the word *cocco*, which in Italian - in addition to naming the coconut tree and its fruit - functions as a colloquial term for a *favourite, pet, sissy*. Therefore, the word *cocco* brings to mind positive connotations, but of a different nature than it is in Polish. Italian coconuts mean good / emotional richness and preciousness, Polish - connote material wealth.

In the second example (i.e. *Karłom trzeba się nisko kłaniać.*) the semantic centre of the aphorism is the lexeme *karzeł* {a dwarf} which is both a description of the person with abnormally short stature and immoral people (characterized by "low morale") in the Polish language. The metaphorical meaning is motivated here with a number of connotations of a 'dwarf', in turn, justified in the everyday spatial metaphor UP - DOWN. The indicated polysemy introduces a play on words, which affects the interpretation of the expression *kłaniać się nisko*{to bow low}, understood either literally, or in accordance with its collocational meaning, i.e. as showing too much respect to someone.

In case of translation of the aphorism discussed here (both French and Italian), the challenge does not appear to be the lexical asymmetry (i.e. no lexical equivalent), but the "cultural nonequivalence" of the formal equivalence, manifesting itself in the domain of connotation. Neither French *nain*, nor Italian *nano* do not connote 'malice' or 'cunningness' typical for the Polish word *karzeł*²⁸, and thus they are not a subject to semantic derivation, the result of which would be the metaphorical meaning ('immoral person') of these lexical units. As a result, both foreign-language versions of the aphorism lost the ambiguity, which in turn prevented the activation of further wordplay. An additional reinforcement of one-dimensional (one-way) interpretation of the aphorism is non-idiomatic (i.e.: literal) character of the French expression *saluer bien bas* and of the Italian structure *l'inchino design deve essere molto basso*. As a result the translation, successful at the level of lexical equivalence, reduces and literalizes Lec's aphorism, thus taking away its point (and the aphoristic value).

The way to "save in translation" could be to analyse in great depth culturally motivated lexical connotations of *karzeł* {dwarf} and to treat them as the most significant (required) semantic feature of

²⁸ What is more, both of these units are also used for small, fairy-tale creatures, called *krasnodudki* in Polish (cf. translations of the Grimm Brothers fairy tale about Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs), which gives them a completely different and positive connotations.

foreign equivalents, which would decide/determine the final form of the translation. Perhaps using other forms than *nain* and *nano* would retain the original semantic effect, despite violations of lexical (formal) equivalence.

4.2 Another topic of discussion to illustrate the usefulness of taking lexical connotation into account in the translation will be the comparison of Polish and English translation of the title of the novel by Francois Mauriac *Le noeud de vipères* - pol. *Kłębowski żmij* done by Zofia Jaremkó-Pytowska and *Vipers' Tangle* translated by Gerard Hopkins. Selecting a title as an object of reflection of research work is not accidental - it is in fact the first (and sometimes – the only) unit of meaning of the text (see *unité du sens* Vinay, Darbelnet 1977), which reaches the reader. As a part which is mandatorily related to the contents of the text, the title can have one of four functions each time: formal, informative, compositional or ideological (see Danek 1990). In case of literary works, the title acts as a piece of metatextual information, which introduces the reader to the subject of the work in a more or less explicit way²⁹. Due to these properties its translation is one of the key points of translation.

First, the title of the original is examined: its structure and the relation with the contents of the work. *Le noeud de vipères* is an expression taken from the text of the novel, so it is directly related to the plot of the work and functions as a preview of the content contained therein. Given the events described in the novel, the phrase *le noeud de vipères* can be read in two ways, yet each of interpretations is confirmed in the text and provides an important clue to decipher the meaning of the whole novel/work.

Firstly, the phrase was used by Louis, the main character, in relation to his own heart:

(1) *Je connais mon coeur, ce coeur, ce noeud de vipères: étouffé sous elles, saturé de leur venin, il continue de battre au-dessous de ce grouillement. Ce noeud de vipères qu'il est impossible de dénouer, qu'il faudrait trancher d'un coup de couteau, d'un coup de glaive: „Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix mais le glaive”. [p. 128].*

Znam moje serce, to kłębowski żmij. Przygniezione nimi, przesycone ich jadem bije nadal, choć się ponad nim roją. To kłębowski żmij, którego nie sposób rozdzielić; trzeba by je przeciąć nożem lub mieczem: „Nie pokój przyszedłem czynić, lecz puszczać miecz”. [p. 63]

I know my heart – it is a knot of vipers. They have almost squeezed the life out of it. They have beslavered it with their poison, but, underneath their squirming, it still beats. Impossible now to loosen the knot. I can fight free only by cutting it with a knife, by slashing it with a sword: „I am come to bring not peace but a sword”. [p.147]

In this metaphorical image the word *noeud* has a locational meaning and describes the heart of the main character as the place where the vipers have their nest. It can be concluded that in this particular case, the word *noeud* ['node', 'knot'] was used (functions) as a synonym for the word *nid* [hideout, 'hole', 'nest']. English translation faithfully reproduces the original meaning of the word using the word *knot*,

²⁹ Danuta Danek explains it this way: *When a title is used as the introductory statement to the work about that work, then it does not only indicate the individual object, but it describes it* (Danek 1990, p 85).

while the Polish version has been introduced an expression *kłębowisko*, which modifies (due to different profiling) the presented image of Louis's heart, emphasizing the dynamism and volatility feelings experienced by it.

Locational understanding of the lexeme *noeud* (i.e. a 'hideout', 'hole', 'nest') is confirmed in another part of the novel, in which Louis speaks about his heart again, using both lexemes interchangeably (i.e. *noeud* and *nid*):

(2) *Je sentais, je voyais, je touchais mon crime. Il ne tenait pas tout entier dans ce hideux **nid de vipères**: haine de mes enfants, désir de vengeance, amour de l'argent; mais dans mon refus de chercher au-delà de ces vipères emmêlées. Je m'en étais tenu à **ce noeud** immonde comme s'il eût été mon coeur même – comme si les battements de **ce coeur** s'étaient confondus avec ces reptiles grouillants.* [pp. 212-213].

*Czulem, widziałem mą zbrodnię, dotykałem jej. Nie tkwiła ona całkowicie w tym ohydny **kłębowisku żmij** – w nienawiści do dzieci, pragnieniu zemsty, ukochaniu pieniądza, lecz w uporze, z jakim wzbraniałem się poprzez te skłębione żmije przedrzeć. Uczepilem się tego obrzydliwego **kłębowiska**, jak gdyby było moim sercem, jak gdyby bicie tego serca zmieniło się w syk pełzających gadów.* [p. 102]

*I could feel, I could see, I could touch my guilt. It was not only that my heart had become **a nest of vipers**, that it had been filled with hatred for my children, with a lust for vengeance and a grasping love of money. What was worse than that was that I had refused to look beyond **the tangle of vile snakes**. I had treasured their **knotted** hideousness as though it had been the central reality of my being – as though the beating of the life blood in my veins had been the pulse of all those swarming reptiles.* [p.245-246]

This excerpt depicts the heart of the main character as a nest of negative feelings, defined by him as vipers, which motivates the calling it metaphorically *noeud* and *nid*. It is worth noting that the Polish translator unifies both lexemes and translates the way she had chosen in advance : a tangle, thus impoverishing the imagery of the target text (see Berman, 1999, p.58-59). The English translator goes even further, he significantly modifies the quoted section of text. Although the pair *nest - tangle* is present in his translation, these lexemes are not present in the earlier passage (there is only the word 'knot'). This way, the original integrity of imaging is disturbed, the motivation for the novel is also blurred. Moreover, the vipers, crucial to this composition, become *vile snakes* in the discussed passage, which enriches the vocabulary of the work (lexical layer), but it unjust ably disturbs its semantic network.

The second possible interpretation of the expression *le noeud de vipères* was also introduced by Louis, who used it to describe the members of his family plotting against him :

(3) *Dans un soir d'humilité, j'ai comparé mon coeur à **un noeud de vipères**. Non, non: **le noeud de vipères** est en dehors de moi; elles sont sorties de moi et elles s'enroulaient, cette nuit, elles formaient ce cercle hideux au bas du perron, et la terre porte encore leurs traces.* [pp. 158-159]

*Pewnego wieczoru, w nagłym przyplywie pokory, porównałem moje serce do **kłębowiska żmij**. O, nie! **Kłębowisko żmij** jest nie we mnie; wypelzły i tej nocy wiły się tu, tworząc ten ohydny krąg u stóp tarasu, a ziemia nosi jeszcze ich ślady. [p. 77]*

*Once, in the dark hours, in a moment of self-deprecation, I had compared my heart to **a knot of vipers**. How wrong I had been! **The knot of vipers** was outside myself! On that night of plotting they had wriggled free of me and twined themselves into a tangle, into a hideous circle at the foot of these steps. Their slime was still visible on the ground. [p. 182]*

or quarelling with each other:

*(4) Et moi, témoin de cette lutte que j'étais seul à savoir inutile et vaine, je me sentis comme un dieu, prêt à briser ces frères insectes dans ma main puissante, à écraser du talon, ces **vipères emmêlées**, et je riaais. [p. 172]*

*A ja – świadek tej walki, o której sam jeden tylko wiedziałem, jak bardzo jest bezcelowa i daremna, na widok której czułem się niczym jakiś bóg, gotów zgnieść te nędzne owady w swej potężnej dłoni, zmiażdżyć obcasem te **skłębione żmije** – ja śmiałem się. [p. 84]*

*Watching the unequal battle, with I alone knew to be vain and futile, I felt like a god preparing to crush these miserable insects with my powerful hand, to stamp these **twined snakes** into the ground. I laughed. [p. 198]*

In both examples, not Louis's feeling, but his children and other family members are referred to as vipers, and the word *noeud* relates to their behavior on the porch, therefore it acts as a kind of semantic buckle that connects the place with the action taking place there (*noeud* - porch, *vipères* - family members conspiring against Louis). Polish and English translation consistently use the words *kłębowisko* and *knot* in place of *noeud*. It is worth noting that while the Polish lexeme can be used as an adequate (equivalent) 'semantic buckle', the suggested English equivalent (semantically) cannot.

The above analysis of the original title of the Mauriac's novel shows that the key element for its content and, at the same time - difficult to translate from the semantic point of view – is the word *noeud*, on which dual understanding of the sense of the title and the discovery of the clue for interpretation concerning the content of the work depend. Therefore, the translation should preserve the semantic the indicated ambivalence, since only this way the title will retain its function of reflecting the ideas included in the original novel of Mauriac. The word *noeud*, which can be translated as: *węzeł*, *supel*, *pętla*, *skręty*, *zwoje*, *więzy*³⁰ into the Polish language, plays the role of a key in the source text. Since neither of these options reflects the contextual meaning of the French lexical unit *noeud*, Polish translator decided to choose another form - *kłębowisko*. This choice is justified by the presence of the word *grouillement* ['swarming, 'abounding, 'tangling'] present in the first of the excerpts listed above in the French-Polish dictionary, as it is listed as one of the possible translations of the word *kłębowisko* into French. In

³⁰ *Wielki słownik francusko-polski*, J. Dobrzyński *et al.* (red.), tom II M-Z, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1982, p. 156-157.

addition, the word *klębowisko* is often used together with the noun *żmija*, which is also an argument for the translator's choice.

Despite these arguments, it seems that the translator did not examine carefully enough the other of the listed excerpts, especially the one in which the phrase *hideux nid de vipères* (section 2) appears while she was choosing a lexical unit adequate to the French *noeud*. The word *nid* which occurs there in the expression *nid* ['nest', 'habitat', 'hideout'] can refer to both : the Louis's heart of and to his apartment, so the meaning of this lexeme combines the two possible interpretations of the original title. Meanwhile, the translator not only ignored (or did not notice) the clue, but also she translated the whole analyzed the expression (i.e. *hideux nid de vipères – obrzydliwa kryjówka żmij*) as *ohydne klębowisko żmij*, thus removing a synonymous way of expressing the idea included in the title of the novel from the Polish text. This change justifies the choice of a Polish title, but at the same time it removes the node of semantic features motivating semantic duality of the title in French from the target text.

The second consequence of the translator's decision is connected with the connotations of the word *klębowisko*, which make Polish version more dynamic from the original, reminiscent of the movement, wriggling and tangling. Given the functions of the title, which include not only "to describe the content of the work", but also to evoke a particular set of expectations towards the contents of the text in the potential recipient, therefore it should be acknowledged that the change is significant. The French title is static and refers to the metaphors used in the Mauriac's work. A conclusion could be drawn based on it that the novel is rather devoted to a reflection on human nature and individual's relationship with others, rather than rapid action. Thus the title suggests reflective nature of the text. Its Polish version stresses and the movement, dynamics and vitality, and consequently - contains presupposition of a lively, variable plot, hence the target recipient of the text could justifiably expect numerous intrigues, conspiracies and sudden twists of the plot from a novel rather than a reflection on human nature and intimate, diary-like confessions of the narrator. Another argument in favour of the fact that this translation poorly reflects the intention of the author of the novel is that the French language provides the means which are equivalent to the Polish word *klębowisko* (e.g. *le grouillement*). This fact allows to assume that the introduction to the title of the word *noeud* by Mauriac was a conscious decision and had a specific interpretative objective, and therefore - should be translated without unnecessary semantic modifications³¹.

The purpose of the above commentary is not to deem the choice of the Polish translator wrong, but to try to show that the decision she made has led to a discrepancy between the information implicitly included in the original title and the content of the work, which can be confusing to the possible reader and his/her expectations towards the novel, and as a consequence - affect the reception and final evaluation of the work. The nonequivalence of translation pointed out above has its source in the layer of lexical connotations of the word *klębowisko*, which - on one hand - do not reflect the metaphorical meanings of the original title, on the other hand - introduce additional content to its interpretation. Alternatives for the title would be *Gniazdo żmij* or *Siedlisko żmij*. Although the two lexemes (i.e. *gniazdo* and *siedlisko*) exist in Polish language in the sense similar to the French word *nid*, not *noeud*, but they connote with abstract word, gaining a metaphorical sense, such as: *siedlisko zła*, *gniazdo rodzinne*. Therefore, it could be used to express the double meaning of the lexeme *noeud* used by Mauriac in his version of the title. Such choice would be motivated by the lexical connotations of *gniazdo* and *siedlisko*,

³¹ I consider every semantic modification redundant whenever a lexical unit proposed in translation differs from the lexical equivalent of the source unit in all cases where the literal translation is justified.

which are much closer to connotations present in the expression *le noeud de vipères* than connotations of *kłębowisko*.

At the end of this section it is worth mentioning that the English version of the title seems to render the sense of the original title better - although the word *tangle* renders the duality of meaning of the original on the level of the dictionary meaning, not metaphorical use, but its presence in the title indicates deliberate ambiguity, so there is a chance to cause the semantic effect equivalent to the French title.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to reflect on the role which lexical connotations of the particular units and their impact on the choices and decisions of the translator may play. The development of cognitive research trend has started to change the way of understanding the language, which - once considered a closed system of signs - has become one of the tools of human cognition and, as such, is considered as a kind of interpretation of reality, culturally conditioned and based on the knowledge and experience of its users. This understanding of the language influenced the way the meaning of lexical units is considered, the definitions of which, in addition to sufficient and necessary features (Latin: *genus and differentia specifica proximum*) also include culturally relevant elements called connotations. One consequence of cultural entanglement of the language system and cultural motivations for the meaning of lexical units is, however, the fact that translation is regarded not only as a transfer between languages, but also between cultures. This in turn has forced the need to consider not only the language layer in the translation, but also the cultural context. For this reason the translator should not limit him- or herself listing and comparing the two language systems, but also he or she should carefully look at the confrontation "hidden" behind them and motivating these systems of cultures. This task is facilitated by a comparative analysis of the connotative characteristics which reflects the cultural entanglement of words to the fullest, as they may vary considerably in individual languages. The Analyses carried out in the article make it possible to note that the use of knowledge of lexical connotations and cultural relevance is a valuable tool in the work of a translator. Taking into account this aspect of the meaning of words allows select language equivalents more accurately, and thus - makes the translation more efficient and effective.

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**FRAMING ENGLISH LEARNING AT THE INTERSECTION OF SCHOOL
AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL PRACTICES**

Leona Bunting

University of Gothenburg, Department of Applied Information Technology,

Box 100, 405 30 Gothenburg, Sweden

Berner Lindström

University of Gothenburg, Department of Education, Communication and Learning,

Box 300, 405 30 Gothenburg, Sweden



Abstract

From an early age Swedish students typically use and learn English as a second language in out-of-school contexts, for example when watching TV and video clips and playing computer games online. This is an important premise for learning English in school. It is hence of interest to understand relations between learning in and out of school, especially considering the digitalization of Swedish schools and new media technologies becoming available for all students.

This study aims at describing students' accounts of learning English in out-of-school contexts and their reasoning of how this learning relates to learning English in school. The data consists of interviews with 47 eleven-year-olds. Goffman's concept of framing is used as an analytic tool. The results are presented in terms of two dimensions of reasoning; Accepted and Non-Accepted Language Learning Environments and Language Learning as Intention or Side-Effect. Results on what environments students regard as important for learning English are also reported.

Key words: *Second language learning, framing, out-of-school learning, ICT*

1 INTRODUCTION

From an early age Swedish students typically use and learn English as a second language in out-of-school contexts, for example when watching TV and video clips and playing computer games online. An interesting dimension to technology and learning is what the students engage in, and learn from, in their spare-time of their own free will without giving efficiency, or indeed learning, a single thought. In an average day, 75% of 15-24-year-olds watch TV (NORDICOM 2012). In the same age group, 74% use the Internet to listen to music (ibid.) Many young Swedes also play digital games. According to a report from the Swedish Media Council (2010), 80% of the 9–12-year-olds asked played digital games in their spare-time. In another report, about 5% of the girls and over 20% of the boys in the ages 10-18 play TV or computer games 3 hours per day or more (Statistics Sweden 2011). Some of these games involve communicating in English, a language not native to all.

A foreign language is commonly described as a language which is not spoken in the learner's immediate environment whereas a second language is (Bhaskaran Nayar 1997). The global spread of English is highly noticeable in the Nordic countries, and this is partly a result of policy decisions (Phillipson 2001) and the prevalence of international bodies and corporations. Some of the spread of English can also be

attributed to subcultures linked to music and computers, thus indicating a bottom-up process of profusion (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2001). The Nordic countries are by many seen as having developed from English as a Foreign Language (EFL) countries to countries where English is learnt as a second, or additional, language (L2) to the native or first language (L1) (e.g. Phillipson 1992; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2004; Cabau-Lampa 2005). The predominant view on learning English as a second language is that it is different from learning the first language (e.g. Lightbown & Spada 2006); the first language is learnt by immersion and without overt instruction, a time-consuming process rarely afforded by the learner of a second language. As a consequence, teaching materials for English look very different from those for Swedish, the former tending to focus more on form and instruction than the latter. However, when Swedish 15-year-olds self-reported on their activities involving English outside school, the numbers added up to a mean value of 18.4 hours per week (Sundqvist 2009). In a similar study with self-reporting 15-year-olds, the boys said to use English on average 3.3 hours per day outside school, and the girls 2.5 hours (Olsson 2011). While those numbers do not speak of full immersion, they certainly say something about how much English that Swedish students engage in on top of their two hours of English lessons in school.

One of the things the students in the abovementioned studies did in their spare-time was watching TV and films. In Sweden, very few programmes on TV or films are overdubbed; they have subtitles in Swedish instead. This practice exposes the viewers to quite a substantial amount of spoken English as programmes and films in English are very frequently shown, and this in turn has an impact on the spread of English (Gottlieb 2004). Sylvén and Sundqvist (2012) found in a study of Swedish 11-12-year-old students that their results on vocabulary tests correlated with the amount of time spent playing digital games at home. A study of Dutch and American *World of Warcraft* playing students highlights the linguistic complexity offered not only by the game itself but also other game-related environments (Thorne, Fischer & Lu 2012).

The learning of English can take place in various situations and settings. When distinguishing between formal and informal learning environments, the former is usually linked to school and the latter to outside school environments. However, as Bransford et al. (2005) point out, it is not merely a question of physical location but more of a distinction between e.g. explicitly didactic instructional practices and peer-to-peer interactions. Learning is pervasive and is therefore embedded in activities engaged in throughout the day. However, there are studies showing that students make a clear distinction between what school is and what it is not (Lantz-Andersson, Vigmo & Bowen 2012).

In the wake of the increasing digitalization of schools, many studies have focused on whether the effect of information and communication technology (ICT) usage can be measured in increased test results (Silvernail & Lane 2004; Gulek & Demirtas 2005; Dunleavy & Heinecke 2008; Warschauer 2008; Zucker 2009; Suhr et al. 2010; Pinkham et al. 2011). However, questions of where and how learning takes place also come into focus. Today digital games are increasingly being used in school environments with the intent of reproducing the enthusiasm students display in connection with spare-time game-play (c.f. Renaud & Wagoner 2011). Students evidently use digital games and say they feel that they are learning from them, but do they think it would be possible to learn that way in school, to incorporate that way of learning into the institutionally framed educational context?

In order to understand what the students in the present study say, a theoretical approach inspired by Goffman's (1974/1986) framing theory will be used. According to this theory, when participants in an activity share the same, or at least a very similar, interpretation of what is going on, they also share frameworks. A social framework stems from people's shared view on an event and it typically involves will, aim and control. However, as Goffman (ibid.) points out, individuals can only frame situations

within the limitations of existing social structures and organizations, thus making institutions important for framing.

School is a powerful institution and the frameworks that are part of schooling are strong. To understand the conditions for how young people in contemporary society learn English it is important to understand how they reason about using and learning English in and out of school, at the boundary of formal and informal learning.

2 AIM

The study aims at describing students' accounts of learning English in and out of school and how learning English in school relates to learning English out of school. A first question is what learning environment students view as important for learning English. A second question is how students frame the use of out-of-school learning resources in school settings.

3 METHOD

In order to examine the research questions, two classes with 11-year-old students were interviewed. The interviews were carried out within a larger research project of a 1:1 (one laptop per child) project³² (cf Petersen & Bunting 2012; Sofkova Hashemi & Johansson Bunting 2012). The participating students attended a Swedish comprehensive school in a relatively affluent urban area. 47 students, 19 girls and 28 boys, took part in the interviews. To make the students feel less apprehensive, they were interviewed in pairs (cf Formosinho & Araujo 2006). In order to reduce the risk of one student dominating the other, the students were asked individual and direct questions. Also, the students paired in the current study often disagreed on things and began to discuss and develop their answers, something which less often resulted in unity. The interviews were conducted in a room at the school. At the time of the interviews, the students were familiar with the researcher who had been in the two classes on several occasions (13 hours in total).

All interviews were conducted in Swedish. The questions were arranged in clusters around a specific topic in order to encourage reasoning. Although the interviews were considered in their entirety, the following questions were focused upon: *Where do you learn the most English? What do you think you learn the most English from? Are you given the opportunity to learn that way in school? What would you like to use the computers for in English in school?* The questions and answers considered relevant for this study were transcribed verbatim and the chosen excerpts were translated into English.

4 THEORETICAL TOOLS AND ANALYSIS

The concept of framing (Goffman 1974/1986) was used as an analytic tool. According to Goffman (ibid.), when people share the same, or at least a very similar, view of "What is it that's going on here?" (p. 8) they also share frameworks. Social groups share primary frames, frames that make activities meaningful without having to rely on previously existing frames. When an activity is transformed into an activity which resembles the original one but is understood by the participants to be different, that activity is keyed. For example, a radio play of a news programme is an upkeying of such a programme,

³² That project was funded by University West, Sweden.

but if the same play is understood as being the real thing, the play activity has been downkeyed. Each keying, or transformation, adds another lamination to the frame, thereby becoming increasingly distant from the original meaning. In addition to organizing meaning, frames also organize involvement, and that involvement can lead to engrossment, “the matter of being carried away into something” (ibid., p. 347). However, every now and then something happens which disturbs or even breaks the frame, and those frame breaks are often marked by outbursts of laughter or anger. Furthermore, framing encompasses both individual and societal issues as individuals can only frame situations within the limitations of existing social structures and organizations. This makes institutional settings important for framing.

The analysis of how students frame the use of out-of-school learning resources in school settings was based on the students’ reasoning in answering the interview questions. In an iterative procedure, the transcriptions were read several times in their entirety and recurring answers and descriptions were identified and subsequent patterns emerged.

The analysis of what learning environment students view as important for learning English was based on the specific questions *Where do you learn the most English?* and *What do you think you learn the most English from?* This analysis then provided a backdrop to the further analysis of student framing which was based on the follow-up question *Are you given the opportunity to learn that way in school?* and the question *What would you like to use the computers for in English in school?*

In the analysis of environments for learning English, both *what* environments the students recognize and the *relative importance* of these were focused upon. The latter issue was looked at in terms of frequency of appearance in the group of students. In this analysis, the students’ answers will be presented both as a total and split into girls and boys. This was considered fruitful as the answers to a large extent involved media usage, something which previously has been shown to differ for girls and boys (c.f. Swedish Media Council 2010; Statistics Sweden 2011; NORDICOM 2012).

5 RESULTS

The results will be presented in two sections. First the students’ accounts of what learning environments they view as important for learning English will be presented under *Environments for learning English*. Then the section *Student framing of the use of out-of-school learning resources in school settings* will follow where how the students frame the use out-of-school learning resources in school settings will be explored.

5.1 *Environments for learning English*

The students give varying answers to the questions *Where do you learn the most English?* and *What do you think you learn the most English from?* both regarding content and numbers. Some give one alternative and some list several things they learn from. The answers fall into the categories Teaching materials, TV/Film, Being abroad, Games, Relative, Music and Video clips. (Fig. 1.)

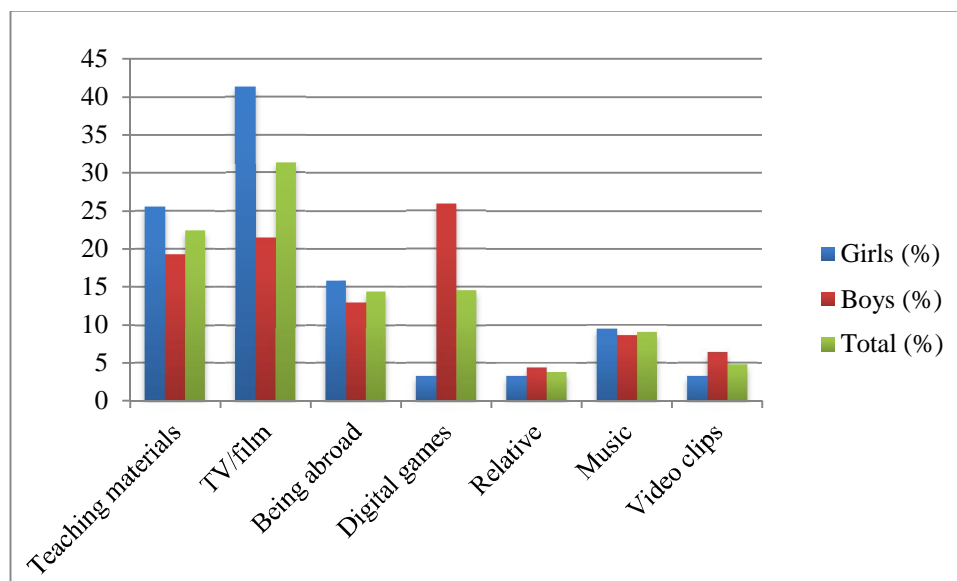


Fig. 1: Language learning environments.

The graph above represents three sample groups. The first sample is the percentage of the number of answers given by the girls, the second the percentage of the boys' answers and the third the percentage of the total number of answers given³³. The sample groups are skewed to account for the fact that there are 40% girls and 60% boys in the group.

The figure shows that *TV/film* is what the most students say they learn English from followed by *Teaching materials*. Relatively many mention *Being abroad* and playing *Digital Games* as what they learn the most from. However, as a whole, the majority of the students mention other things than *Teaching materials* as being important for their learning. This can be seen as a clear indication of English having become a second language (L2) and that learning English today to a large extent is done in informal environments.

The girls say that *TV/film* is what they learn the most English from, with *Teaching materials* coming in second. For the boys, *Teaching materials* is in third place, while *Digital games* is said to be the most important. That so many girls mention *TV/film* and boys *Digital games* indicate differences in consumer patterns.

Based on the results shown in this figure, the forthcoming account will focus on the categories *TV/film* and *Digital games*. The other two were excluded as *Teaching materials* already is school exclusive and *Being abroad* obviously would be tricky to arrange on a biweekly basis in a school context.

³³ The total number of answers given was 78. The girls gave 32 answers and the boys 46.

TV/film

Over 30% of the students' answers are about them learning the most English from TV and film. More girls than boys say that TV/film is an important resource for language learning. In fact, many girls mention only TV/film when asked what they learn the most English from (Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1

It's in front of the TV when you hear the pronunciation. Because then they speak English and then you can read the subtitles and understand the word that way. So that's pretty good. (Lovisa)

Lovisa (Excerpt 1) says that she learns most of her English from TV. She picks up on the multifaceted learning opportunities on offer and mentions both hearing the English language spoken and reading the Swedish subtitles for extra support. As TV programmes in Sweden rarely are overdubbed, listening to spoken English helps her with knowing how to pronounce words and seeing the Swedish written text in the subtitles become a supplement for understanding.

Digital games

15% of the students' answers involve learning most of their English from computer or video games. However, when looking at girls and boys separately, their answers differ greatly. Only just over 3% of the girls claim to learn the most from games, whereas 26% of the boys quoted games as their main language learning environment.

Many of the students play digital games outside school. An analysis of the answers to questions regarding whether they play games in their spare-time, 87% of the students answer that they play computer or video games. 74% of the girls say that they play games, but when asked if they play in teams or whether the games they play involve communicating with other players, only 11% say that they play such games. For communication purposes, the girls mention using social networking sites such as Facebook (and then primarily in Swedish) instead of gaming. Although few girls name games as their main learning source of English, they still acknowledge their potential for language learning and mention similar reasons for learning as for TV/film; hearing the pronunciation and reading text.

It is, however, mainly the boys who speak about games as learning environments. 96% of the boys play games and out of those 85% play games in which they communicate with other participants as part of the game. Frequently mentioned games are *World of Warcraft* and *Call of Duty*. The boys present different arguments as to why they think they learn English when playing games. One boy points to the need for using the language: "Because you only speak English there. Like all the time. And write in the chat and talk to people" (Emil). Another highlights the frequency of use: "[I]n English class we learn a lot, but we don't have that very often. For example if you play every other day you learn more" (Tobias). There is also the desire to play as a motivational factor for language learning:

Excerpt 2

You have to know English in order to play. And since that's what you want that's what you achieve. (Albert)

The boys who play computer and video games engage in a different type of games to the girls. As so many of the boys play communicative games³⁴, they also point to that particular usage as developing their language.

To summarize, the four most mentioned language developing environments are TV/film, Teaching materials, Being abroad and Digital games. The girls and boys all say that they learn from the three first categories in similar measures. The boys, however, stand out when it comes to games. They also talk about games in conjunction with learning English with great engagement.

5.2 Student framing of the use of out-of-school learning resources in school settings

In this section, two themes will be presented that describe important distinctions the students make in their reasoning about learning English in and out of school. These themes are termed *Accepted and non-accepted language learning environments* and *Language learning as intention or side-effect*. It is noteworthy that these were not the only themes that emerged, but they were, however, the most salient. In the first of these themes, the students reason about whether they think they are given the opportunity to do certain activities in school and also if there are things they would like to use the computers for in school that they currently do not. In the second, the students reason about why certain learning environments are accepted while others are not.

5.2.1 Accepted or non-accepted language learning environments

A pattern that emerged in the analysis is that students make a clear distinction between *accepted* and *non-accepted* learning environments in their reasoning about contexts for learning English. When replying to the questions *Are you given the opportunity to learn that way in school?*, a follow-up question to what they think they learn the most English from, and *What would you like to use the computers for in English in school?*, the students say that TV/film largely is allowed during lessons in school whereas games are not. It thus seems that TV/films are accepted environments in the formal school system as they fall within the Learning English in School frame. Digital games do however not fit into this particular frame and are thus not accepted. The excerpts below show some of their answers to the aforementioned questions and their reasoning around why or why not they get to do that in school.

The students show widespread agreement in what they say about the presence of TV/film in the teaching. Excerpt 3 exemplifies a typical answer.

Excerpt 3

Interviewer: Do you think you get to learn that way in school sometimes?

Diana: Yes.

Albin: Yes, we watch English films and stuff sometimes.

The students say that they do get to see TV programmes and films as part of their English lessons. A few of the students say that they are completely satisfied with the teaching, and when asked if there is something they would like to do in English class that they do not presently do, they simply answer 'no'. There are, however, many that have suggestions of what they would like to do but which they say is not accepted, as can be seen in Excerpt 4.

³⁴ 'Communicative games' here means games in which communicative activities affect other participants in the same environment.

Excerpt 4

Interviewer: Is there something you feel you'd like to do with the computers that you don't do?

Jesper: I don't even know what there is to do in English.

Tobias: Play Minecraft. No, only kidding.

J: At least it's English.

T: No but I can't think of anything.

J: No.

Tobias does at first have a concrete suggestion of what he thinks would be a good language learning activity in class, but then he corrects himself, saying that he was not being serious. Even when he gets support from Jesper who considers the possibility of using the game in class, he cannot bring himself to stand by his earlier suggestion of playing a computer game in school. Tobias is one of the students who says that he learns most of his English from playing digital games, but he still finds it difficult to consider using that particular language learning environment in school because he knows it is non-accepted. Similar sentiments are expressed in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5

Interviewer: If you got to choose, what would you like to do with the computers in English class?

Christoffer: Play. (laughs)

Hugo: No, but...

C: Watch South Park.

H: (laughs) Maybe, kind of what we do now.

C: No- but. We would have been on, sort of...

H: Well, preferably you'd like to do stuff that aren't school. (giggles)

I: For example what?

H: Play games.

C: Go to South Park.se.

I: Why wouldn't that be possible?

H: Because it's not school.

I: But couldn't it be school?

H: No... Well yes- it could.

C: South Park is English.

H: Yes they speak English.

C: And there's not, yes there's Swedish text. Isn't there?

H: No there isn't.

Christoffer has a clear idea of what he would like to do in English class, but Hugo is more hesitant. He says that he is happy with what they do now, but then giggles nervously and admits that he would like to play games. He does not think that it would be possible, however, as it is a non-accepted school activity. Another environment, *Southpark.se*, is then suggested by Christoffer. From what the boys say, this is also a non-accepted environment in school. In addition to showing how the two students reason about what are accepted and non-accepted language learning environments in school, this excerpt is also shows how the students discuss and reason with each other and draw conclusions they would not have reached on their own.

The students have clear ideas of what are accepted and non-accepted language learning environments. Some games are accepted, but they are a specific type of games as can be seen from what the students say in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6

Interviewer: Could that be something to do in school then, play?

Samuel: No. There are a few games we are allowed to play, like math games and stuff.

I: What do you think to them then?

S: Boring. Not so much fun.

I: Why are they boring?

S: There's like no life in them, it looks so boring when all that comes up are different sums.

I: If you got to play games like online games then? Call of Duty or something like that? Would that be something?

S: Yes that would be something.

I: Why do you think that you can't?

Amanda: Well, games...

S: It costs, costs money.

A: Well, I don't know, you're not allowed to play games in school I think, so...

I: But why is that so?

A: I don't know, it's a bit difficult...

S: Because I think it's meant for learning, not playing games.

Samuel says that he thinks the computer games that they get to play in school are boring. The commercial games he enjoys playing at home and which he says he learns English from are non-accepted learning environments in school as school is meant for learning. What Samuel says points to a complicated and sometimes contradictory relationship between out-of-school and school practices. What the students claim to learn from at home does not belong in school as school is for learning. The excerpt also illustrates how the interviewer pushes the students to dare to consider other learning environments for school than the ones already on offer.

Olivia says that she learns from games, films and YouTube (Excerpt 7). When asked if this is something she gets the opportunity to use in school, she says that it is not allowed.

Excerpt 7

Interviewer: Why do you think that you don't do this in school if it's a good way of learning?

Olivia: We aren't allowed to because it can disrupt like, we're not allowed to go to certain websites because some can't handle it. This is school, real schoolwork. We wouldn't learn as much then. It feels like people just do stuff, play and carry on, instead of doing proper schoolwork, like.

Olivia makes a distinction between real schoolwork and less serious learning environments which can have a disruptive influence on the work and which some of the students therefore cannot handle. Although she herself says to learn most of her English from the very environments that are non-accepted in school, she expresses a fear of not learning properly were they to be introduced in school.

5.2.2. Language learning as intention or side-effect

The students describe the difference between the environments in the previous theme in a way which can be interpreted in terms of intent to educate or entertain. In accepted learning environments learning is the primary *intention* whereas in the non-accepted environments the learning comes as a *side-effect*. What the students say can be understood as an articulation of the differences between formal and informal learning. In other words, they distinguish between different frameworks. When the students reason about their language learning, some seem to do so from within the Learning English in School frame, while others position themselves outside the institutionalized school frame.

Malin and Gustav have different preferences regarding language learning environments. Both, however, request more film in school, but a specific type of film (Excerpt 8).

Excerpt 8

Interviewer: You [Gustav] learn mostly from games? And you [Malin] learn mostly from film you think. Do you think that you get to learn that way in school?

M: No.

G: Like no.

[...]

M: [S]ometimes we watch a film in class, but we should have a little film that we watched, like [...]

G: Like a popular film and not some downgrade film.

The students concede that they already watch films in school, but the type of films they watch is not to their satisfaction. The films in school are not as entertaining as they would like them to be.

Victoria and Erik say they learn from playing *WoW* and watching YouTube clips, but express limitations in school regarding certain environments (Excerpt 9).

Excerpt 9

Interviewer: Would it be good to get to learn that way in school?

Erik: Yes.

Victoria: Yes.

I: Do you think that you do that?

E: No.

V: Yes. A little, but a little, no.

E: We're not allowed to be on Youtube.

According to what the students say, YouTube is off-limits in this particular school context. This is possibly because there is a fear that students will spend more time on its entertaining clips than its explicitly educational ones.

In addition to the traditional paper textbook and workbook, the students also have a CD with exercises and games which is part of the same teaching materials. The following exchange illustrate how two students comment on that material (Excerpt 10).

Excerpt 10

Interviewer: The computers then, what do you do with them?

Mattias: Play, Facebook... (laughs) No, just kidding.

I: I mean in school.

M: I know, I know.

Jonna: We use the Magic disc and...

M: That lame disc with the like flying fairy with a CD in her hair. (giggles)

Mattias first mentions things that he links with computers, but as they are not regarded to be primarily educational in a school context, he laughs the suggestions off. He takes a second chance at showing his dismay over the computer usage in school however, ridiculing both the looks of the CD and its content. The Magic CD is part of their school teaching materials and it has a clear educational intent. In Mattias's eyes it is therefore linked to being lame.

The students also talk about the potential risks of playing commercial computer games in class (Excerpt 11).

Excerpt 11

Interviewer: But in general with games and stuff- do you think it would work?

Jakob: No. Everybody would be sitting playing and nobody would care what the teacher said.

I: What do you think (E)?

Elin: Yes, I think so too.

J: Yes, 'It's breaktime!' 'No, we'll stay and play.'

Jakob vocalizes the possibility of student engrossment if introducing commercial games in school and how it could challenge school routines and order. Although the students say that they learn from games, they do not see it as possible to incorporate commercial games into the school context.

The students say that they sometimes get to play computer games in English class. However, they make a clear distinction between the computer games they are allowed to play in school and the ones they play at home (Excerpt 12).

Excerpt 12

Interviewer: Do you think you get the opportunity to learn that way in school?
Though games, for example.

Anton: Yes, or, but those games aren't as much fun.

I: Why is that?

A: Because it's like, it's just learning. And I prefer action games and there's not a lot of that in English class.

Matilda: The games are mostly to change the words and stuff. I mean, they are not proper game-games, it's mostly practising English.

Neither Anton nor Matilda are impressed by the games allowed in class. They do not consider them to be proper games, as learning so clearly is their intention. The students thus differentiate between the types of games played out of school and in school.

For some, TV and games offer similar language development opportunities. When the interviewer asked one student why she thought she learns more from TV and games than other things she replied:

Excerpt 13

Because you listen to it while it's fun to watch or play. You get something to think about. Like if it moves, then you hear it and it's sucked into the brain although you don't think about it. And meanwhile you have like fun watching TV or playing. (Lovisa)

Lovisa explains how she likes to learn English while she is busy doing things she enjoys, how learning then happens without particular effort. She is describing how she is learning the language as a side-effect.

Content, in the students' eyes, seems to take precedent over form. The analysis of the excerpts above indicate a dichotomy which can be described in terms of education and entertainment. Education is serious and its primary intention is developing the students' English. The students themselves, however, express that they learn from environments that engage them. They seek new and exciting experiences which challenge what is permissible. Therefore, trying to simply copy the same technology in school as used for entertainment in order to mimic what the students really enjoy learning from is not regarded kindly by the students ("downgrade films", "the lame CD with the flying fairy", "not proper game-games"). The students play commercial games and watch YouTube clips because they are interested in the content ("Let's take a break' 'No, we'll stay and play"). Developing their English is merely a side-effect.

6 DISCUSSION

In the present study, students reason about learning English outside school and put this in relation to the learning of English in school. The students name several language learning environments, but the ones focused on are TV/film and Digital games as these are environments that the students say they learn

from and which feasibly could be incorporated in school, and to some extent already are³⁵. The analysis resulted in two themes; *Accepted or non-accepted language learning environments* and *Language learning as intention or side-effect*. The students' describe the learning environments in terms of what is accepted and non-accepted in school. They say that they watch TV and films in school, although not necessarily the type of films they would prefer. They also at times get to play computer games in class, but only certain games. The type of games they play at home, commercial ones, are not allowed. It seems that what divides the programmes and games allowed in school from the ones that they watch and play at home is whether their intent is to educate or to entertain. Language learning is the intention of the programmes and games in school, whereas the language they learn when watching programmes and playing games outside school is a side-effect.

What the students say stem from their experiences of attending school. When they express their opinions on learning English, their answers reveal both what English learning looks like in their classroom but also more general views on what school as an educational institution is. From a Goffmanian (1974/1986) perspective, this can be understood in terms of frames. In this study, Learning English in School is the framed activity, the one the students more or less share the definition of. However, as the empirical data consists of interviews in which the students speak about Learning English, the interview activity is also framed. The interviews are no longer part of the Learning English in School frame, they have become once removed from the primary activity. Goffman calls such representations of an activity upkeyings. Hence, there are multiple laminations here; the frame referred to and the upkeyed frame of the interviews. This is important to keep in mind when interpreting what the students say. The interviews took place in school and the interviewer was a representative of the formal education system. The institutional influence was thus strong and quite likely reinforced the frame and made it more difficult for the students to reason outside the institutional frame.

The students' accounts of where they engage with English are similar to results reported elsewhere (Sundqvist 2009; Swedish Media Council 2010; Olsson 2011; Statistics Sweden 2011; Sylvén & Sundqvist 2012). The girls in this study say they learn the most from TV/film and the boys say they learn from playing video or computer games. This corresponds to results from reports of girls' and boys' media habits (Swedish Media Council 2010; Statistics Sweden 2011). These findings point to that gaming is an arena which provides particularly the boys with alternative opportunities for (informal) language learning, something which may change their premises for learning English. The gaming environment offers a linguistic complexity (Thorne, Fischer & Lu 2012) that the students describe in terms of both receptive and productive skills. As they use more English in their spare-time, where language learning is a side-effect, than during the intentional language lessons in school, one may wonder what the effects of this could be. What English is it that they actually learn in the different environments?

Although the students claim to learn from gaming out of school, they are not unequivocally positive regarding playing computer games in school. What games are played in school is decided by somebody else, depriving them of initiative. It also seems that content takes precedent over form. Just because the students like playing games, they do not like playing all games. When material whose intent primarily is educational is introduced in the guise of a game, the students are not fooled. A game should contain

³⁵ It is worth noting that the present study does not deal with how efficient it is to use for example digital games in teaching considering the resources available.

certain elements and be engaging; they expect more from a game than simple practice (Excerpts 6, 12). Considering the current trend of trying to reproduce the enthusiasm students display in out-of-school gaming in a school context (Renaud & Wagoner 2011), both by using "game design elements in non-game contexts" through gamification (Deterding et al. 2011, p. 10) and game-based learning where actual games are used for instructional purposes (e.g. Squire 2005), it is interesting that the students in this study so clearly scorn the games ratified by school. In view of what the students say, it is important not to confuse forms and content; just because students learn from content in a certain medium outside school, merely using that medium with another content and intention in school will not make the students learn as in out-of-school contexts.

Game playing outside school often involves engrossment. Engrossment is, according to Goffman (1961), a typical component of gaming which is especially noticeable when the experience is shared with someone. This absorbed state-of-mind is illustrated by the boy who says it would be impossible to use commercial computer games in school because they would not stop to have recess (Excerpt 11). Taking breaks at predetermined intervals is an important part of school as an institution. Breaks are parts of the rigid rim of the framed school activity Learning English and therefore the students find it particularly difficult to consider doing something which breaks that frame. Interesting here is that the students often seem to want to go outside the school frame, but breaking it is just not accepted (Excerpts 4,5,6,10). When they briefly do break frame, this is accompanied by hesitation, giggling and quick assurances that they are only joking, something which Goffman (1961; 1974/1986) calls flooding out and which are distinctive marks of frame breaking. An illustration of how strong this frame is can be seen in Excerpt 5 when the interviewer tries to pull one of the students out of the frame with leading questions but does not succeed. The frame is just too strong.

According to what the students say, watching TV programmes and films for learning English is largely unproblematic in school and they do it quite often. TV programmes and films can be pre-screened by the teacher and thus vetted as suitable for learning in school. The content of YouTube clips and online computer games are more difficult to predict as they are of a more synchronous character. This makes them more problematic, and they do therefore not fit into the existing school frame. Interesting to remember, however, is that TV once was a controversial, new medium which was not accepted in school. When computers were first introduced in schools they too represented a new medium and were looked upon with some suspicion. Buckingham (2000) says that responses to digital technology are ambivalent, much in the same vein as opinions earlier differed on the merits and dangers of television. From being a questioned medium, computers went on to be the answer to many an educationalist's hope for more efficient learning (Silvernail & Lane 2004; Gulek & Demirtas 2005; Dunleavy & Heinecke 2008; Warschauer 2008; Zucker 2009; Suhr et al. 2010; Pinkham et al. 2011). Even though the premises for using TV and computers in school are quite different, the historical example of the TV medium entering schools indicates that it is possible for new practices to become incorporated into the school frame. The Learning English frame exists because we construct it and thus it can be altered.

The students have learnt what language learning environments are accepted in school, something which can be seen in most of the excerpts by how they express such a firm understanding of what school is. They almost talk about what you can and cannot do in school in terms of a primary framework; that how things always have been done are that way because it is the only way they can be. Many students say they learn English from playing digital games, yet they cannot fathom learning by playing such games in school. This result highlights the relationship between learning English in and outside school and that the students are aware of what is accepted within the different frames and act accordingly.

The boundary between learning in school and out of school is clearly marked by the students. However, as Bransford et al. (2005) point out, the distinction between formal and informal learning environments is more than a question of location. In this study, the boundary that becomes visible is drawn up from location as well as dimensions of acceptability and intention. The students may make distinctions between the two sides of the boundary, between formal and informal learning environments, but they intersect and negotiate that very boundary on a daily basis. It is at that intersection of school and out-of-school practices that questions arise concerning what environments could be interesting for language learning in the future.

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ESTABLISHING THE ACADEMIC READING NEEDS OF BIOCHEMISTRY 1 STUDENTS

Laetitia Willemse

Language Centre, University of Namibia

University of Pretoria, South Africa

Abstract

This article reports on the initial phase of an action research project that aimed to develop an English for Specific Academic (ESAP) reading course taking the specific academic reading needs of first year university students into account. An in-depth needs analysis was done over a period of two years to establish the academic reading needs of students from the School of Medicine at the University of Namibia (UNAM) in their lowest scoring academic subject, which was identified as Biochemistry 1.

Key words: *English for Academic Purposes; English for Specific Purposes; English for General Academic Purposes; English for Specific Academic Purposes; Content Based Instruction; Adjunct courses*

1. INTRODUCTION

Namibia, a multilingual and multicultural country has thirteen recognized national languages which are used in the educational setting. English, the official language in Namibia is the medium of instruction at the University of Namibia (UNAM). UNAM established the Language Centre (LC) in 1992 'to upgrade University students' competence in English and provide regular English service courses to students in all Faculties' (Chamberlain 1994: 1). Consequently, the LC offers a variety of language courses at undergraduate and post graduate levels.

One of the courses, ULEA, an English for Academic Purposes course, is a compulsory core course for all UNAM students. The content of the course is the same for all students, irrespective of which faculty they are from.

2. BACKGROUND/ LITERATURE REVIEW

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is a branch of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). The latter courses are designed to meet the specific needs of students, are related in content (themes and topics) to particular disciplines, occupations and activities and based on the language appropriate to those activities (Strevens, 1998).

EAP refers to any English teaching that relates to a study purpose. The first stage, as in any other ESP course, is a needs analysis. It should be the starting point for developing syllabi, courses and materials and deciding on the kind of teaching and learning that should take place in an EAP classroom (Dudley-Evans & St John 2000; Hyland 2008; Hutchinson & Waters 2009; Jordan 2011; Robinson 1991). Needs analysis can focus on the language needs of students in several skills, or on only a specific skill (Shing & Sim 2011), as it is the case in the current study that focused on academic reading only.

EAP has two broad divisions, English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) and English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) (Jordan 2011). The former is subject-specific English that is needed for academic progress in a particular academic subject while the latter has a common core element that introduces the target group to general study skills, a general academic register, a formal academic style and proficiency in the language. Similar to Hadjiconstantinou & Nikiforou (2012: 2), the term ESAP will be used in this paper to refer to a course that includes 'an approach combining elements from ESP and the EAP approaches to language learning', in particular, academic reading.

Scrutinizing the content and development of the ULEA course at UNAM revealed that it does not meet all the criteria for ESP as listed above. In addition, it shows characteristics of EGAP and not ESAP in spite of the fact that UNAM students are from various faculties. Consequently they are doing different courses that make different academic demands on them. These demands vary 'according to the learning environment' (Jordan 2011: 5). ESAP courses are experienced as more meaningful and students are more motivated to attend classes that use authentic content and teach skills that can directly be applied to their content subjects (Hyland 2008; Hutchinson & Waters 2009; Jordan 2011).

2.1 *Academic reading.*

In academic settings, reading is assumed to be the dominant mode for learning new information about the chosen area of specialization of a student. It is a core requirement at all levels of academic study and takes up the largest part of a student's time, in particular those of medical students, (Taylor 1992; Wyatt 1997) the target group of this study. Academic reading course developers should understand the conventions of disciplines and the genres used in various academic areas (Horning 2007). This will create understanding to teach students reading strategies and pedagogies that would enable them to acquire academic literacy to become part of their chosen academic discourse communities (Butler 2006).

Due to the importance of reading in an academic setting and to the fact that the reading passages of an ESAP course determine the writing, speaking and listening activities, the study that is being reported in this article focused on the reading aspect of the ideal ESAP course for Biochemistry 1 students at UNAM's School of Medicine.

2.2 *Content Based Instruction (CBI)*

The need to integrate both content and language instruction is widely advocated for to assist ESL students to make a successful transition into academic classes (Basturkmen 2006; Dudley-Evans & St John 2000; Hyland 2008; Jordan 2011; Wessels 2011). One way of establishing such integration can be found in an instructional method referred to as Content Based Instruction (CBI).

CBI refers to the integration of content learning with language teaching aims (Brinton, Snow & Wesche 1989). In this instructional method academic subject matter and second language skills are taught concurrently in order to prepare students for university courses and make them true members of their academic discourse communities. CBI also motivates learners and produces advanced levels of language proficiency (Brinton, Snow & Wesche 1989; Genesee 1998).

2.3 *Adjunct courses*

One way of contextualizing EAP courses and teaching ESAP is through adjunct courses, also referred to as linked or team teacher or paired courses (Benesh 2001; Carstens 2009; Hyland 2008; Jordan 2011; Swales 1988). Such courses are ideal to implement CBI. The adjunct model aims at connecting a specially designed language course with a regular academic course that students need assistance in. Such courses are taught to students who are simultaneously enrolled in a regular content course as well as a language course, called the adjunct course (Evans Commander & Smith 1995; Dudley Evans & St John

2000; Wessels 2011). Both courses share a common content base, but differ in the focus of instruction. It requires close cooperation between the content and the language lecturer, and equal attention is given to mastery of both language and content (Benesh 2001; Hyland 2008; Jordan 2011; Swales 1988).

2.4 Problem statement

The problem statement is three folded. So far, no attempts have been made at the LC at UNAM to develop and implement EAP (EGAP or ESAP) courses that *firstly*, take the target and learning needs of students from various faculties into consideration, *secondly*, cater for specific fields of study and *thirdly* in collaboration with other faculties at UNAM.

Two problematic aspects of the courses currently offered by the LC at UNAM are that the content of all LC courses, ULEA in particular, has been based on the intuition of LC lecturers and that the content all LC courses, ULEA in particular, are the same for all students from all Faculties.

3. AIMS AND PURPOSES

This article aims to report only on the needs analysis that was done to establish the academic reading needs of a group of students from the School of Medicine at UNAM doing Biochemistry 1. These results were used to develop an adjunct ESAP reading course based on CBI instruction at the LC at UNAM. The course was delivered and evaluated, but this paper will only report on the process and results of the needs analysis.

4. METHOD

4.1. Participants

Through convenience sampling (Leedy 2005), 104 ULEA students from the School of Medicine voluntarily took part in the study, 41 from the 2012 class and 63 from the 2013 class. This group was selected because they are one of the few ULEA groups at the LC where all students are from the same faculty. The researcher, an academic reading expert, was also their ULEA lecturer. The ULEA course was taught only in the 1st semester at the School of Medicine, in 2012 and 2013, hence the decision to select a content subject that would also be taught in the 1st semester as the content of the adjunct reading course in 2013. This subject was determined to be Biochemistry 1. Two content lecturers also voluntarily participated as content experts. Both were males. The 2012 lecturer is a PhD holder and had taught this particular course for 2 years while it was the first time for the 2013 lecturer (who has two Masters Degrees in Science) to teach the course at UNAM at the time they were approached for their input.

4.2 Data Collection Procedure

Data for this needs analysis was collected by using triangulation of various sources (students, teachers, and textbooks) and several methods (questionnaires, interviews, content analysis) to validate the study findings.

The needs analysis consisted of multiple stages. Firstly, the 2012 ULEA students completed a questionnaire to establish their views on the reading content of the general ULEA course. Their reading profiles as well as general reading challenges when reading for all their courses, in general, were established. Official permission from the examination office was obtained and then, at the end of semester 1, 2012, the lowest scoring subject was determined. Once this subject, which was to become the content subject for the adjunct reading course was established, the 2012 ULEA students completed

a questionnaire to determine the reading problems they encountered when reading for the lowest scoring subject, Biochemistry 1. Students also indicated which section(s) in the entire course they had found the most difficult to understand. At the same time, contact was established with the 2012 Biochemistry 1 lecturer of the lowest scoring subject. He completed a questionnaire to give his opinion on the reading needs and abilities of students in his subject, as he had experienced it in the 2 years he had taught it at UNAM. He also indicated which section(s) of the course students struggled with the most to comprehend. The adjunct would only focus on the one section in Biochemistry 1 both students and lecturer perceived to be the most difficult. Furthermore, the textbook students had to read for this course was identified.

During semester 2 of 2012 the data that was collected was analyzed, and the researcher started with text analysis of the textbook students are required to read for the target course and.

At the start of semester 1, 2013, contact was established with the 2013 lecturer of the lowest scoring subject. His semester plan as well as permission to do class visits was obtained. He also agreed to assist with developing a typical content test after the new reading course were taught in order to compare the results of those students who would attend the course compared to those who would not. The researcher attended lessons prior to the section that was identified to be the most difficult and also while those lessons were taught. After the most problematic section in Biochemistry 1 (as indicated by 2012 students and lecturer), was taught, the 2013 ULEA students completed a questionnaire to determine their academic reading needs in Biochemistry, in particular, this section of the work.

That was the final stage of the needs analysis. The adjunct reading course was developed, taught and evaluated thereafter. All this fall beyond the scope of this article and will be reported on separately.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. 2012 student questionnaire 1

After having attended the general ULEA course for 5 months, students were asked to evaluate only the reading component of the course. 10% of the respondents rated it as excellent, 73% as good and 15% as being average. They were very satisfied (42%) and satisfied (49%) with the lecturer's presentation, but only 12% indicated that the topics read about and discussed in the course related to the content of their other courses. When asked to rate their own reading abilities, 27% of the respondents regarded themselves as excellent readers, 61% as good and 12% viewed their reading abilities to be of average standard. Their preferred way of learning during the academic reading component of the general ULEA course was to work individually (47%), followed by pair work (33%) and then in small groups (20%). When asked to make suggestions to improve the reading component of the general ULEA course, 44% suggested more exercises and activities in class.

Furthermore, 56% of the respondents regarded reading to be the most important language skill for academic success. Only 15% of the respondents acknowledged that they did not enjoy reading, but the majority (54%) only read between 1- 4 non-academic books during the 1st semester of because they did not have enough time (46%), didn't enjoy reading (15%) and because reading was difficult (2%). The table that follows indicates the reading problems they encountered when they read for their courses, in general. They could tick all the options that applied to them.

Table 1 Reading problems students encounter when reading for their courses, in general.

n=41	2012
There are many words that I do not know	20%
There are a lot of grammatical structures that I don't understand	17%
It is not easy keeping track of the main idea	24%
I have problems understanding graphs, diagrams and tables	17%

This questionnaire was completed before the semester 1 examinations were written and when asked which subjects they found the most difficult, (39%) stated Biochemistry, followed by Physiology (37%) and then Anatomy (17%).

5.2 Establishing the lowest scoring subject

The examination results revealed that the lowest scoring subject at the end of semester 1 in 2012 was Biochemistry 1 (65.24%), followed by Physiology (69.44%) and then Anatomy (69.89%). Their results in all UNAM core courses, such as ULEA, Contemporary Social Issues and General Computer Literacy were excluded from this comparison.

Although high above average averages for all three subjects, the results confirmed the students opinion from the questionnaires, i.e. that they find Biochemistry 1 the most difficult of the three. The students at the School of Medicine also have the highest entry requirement and are very serious with their studies. Not completing the 5 year program in at least 7 years result in expulsion. Therefore, doing well in their courses is of paramount importance, hence the high averages.

5.3. Questionnaire 2 to 2012 students from School of Medicine

Students indicated that they found the following sections in Biochemistry 1 the most difficult to understand: Stereochemistry (35%), Organic Chemistry (41%), Acids and Bases (4%), Reactions (8%), Enzymes (4%) Molecule Building (2%), Periodic table (2%). Stereochemistry is a subsection of organic chemistry; therefore the total for Stereochemistry was regarded to be 86%.

5.4. Questionnaire from content specialist 1

According to the lecturer of Biochemistry 1, UNAM students doing Biochemistry 1 at the School of Medicine need to improve on their reading, writing as well as listening skills. In general, he viewed the importance of reading for the success of students of Biochemistry 1 as quite important. The table that follows summarizes the texts that students are expected to read in Biochemistry 1:

Table 2 Texts Biochemistry 1 students read

Type of Text		Number
Journal articles		
Textbooks	✓	1
Study guides	✓	1

Case studies		
Reports		
Slide Presentations	✓	One per lesson

The following table that summarizes activities that students are required to do during and after his lessons, confirms the importance of being a strategic reader to comprehend Biochemistry 1 texts:

Table 3 Activities of Biochemistry 1 students during and after classes

	During	After
Note taking	✓	
Presentations		
Tests		✓
Debates		
Writing summaries		
Writing assignments		✓
Practicals		✓

The table that follows summarizes the reading skills that are currently taught in the general ULEA course he regarded to be important for Biochemistry 1 students to be able to apply and also those that they need more assistance in.

It was not possible to enquire why the last strategy was not selected as the lecturer had left UNAM employment soon after the questionnaire was completed.

The title of the textbook as well as the study guide was obtained. The lecturer indicated that he mainly used the lecture method, group work and discussions when lecturing.

When asked to list as many topics or themes in the Biochemistry 1 course that he thought students experience as particularly challenging, he indicated Resonance structures, Orbital hybridization, Stereochemistry, Organic reactions and reaction mechanisms. The section that both the lecturer and the students agree on to be the most difficult in Biochemistry 1 seemed to be Stereochemistry. As a result, the latter became the content for the adjunct reading course.

Table 4 Views of content expert regarding reading problems of Biochemistry 1 students

	What they should do	What they need more assistance with
Obtaining general information	✓	
Understanding ideas or theories		✓
Scanning	✓	✓
Skimming	✓	✓
Anaphoric resolution	✓	✓
Understanding tables and graphs	✓	
Distinguishing between fact and opinion		
Deduce the meaning of unknown words in context		

5.5 2013 Lesson observations

The Biochemistry 2 lecturer had no questionnaire to complete, but was always available for informal interviews. He confirmed that most students find the Stereochemistry section rather challenging. While attending the Biochemistry lessons, it was confirmed and observed that the lecture method dominated, that lessons were all power point presentations that progressed at a rapid pace and that there were no opportunities for revision. In other words, students had to revise every day's lesson before the next one on their own in order to comprehend the following lesson. Doing this required them to read the lesson notes (slides) as well as the relevant sections in their prescribed textbook as the lecturer often used additional sources to prepare his slides. Furthermore, new content specific vocabulary was introduced daily and knowledge of subject specific pre- and suffixes is vital to comprehend the content of the course. The researcher, not having much knowledge of Biochemistry found it a challenge to keep up with the lessons. During lessons prior to Stereochemistry, students did not ask many questions and even looked bored at times. However, during the Stereochemistry lessons noticeably more questions were asked, confirming that they, too, like the 2012 group, found the lessons on Stereochemistry challenging. This was confirmed during informal interviews in the ULEA class.

5.6 2013 Questionnaire to students

While the 2012 group was asked to evaluate the usefulness of the reading skills that were taught in the general ULEA course to comprehend the reading material for all their courses, in general, the 2013 group was asked to specifically comment on how useful they found them when reading for Stereochemistry in Biochemistry 1. The respondents regarded the reading strategies to be extremely valuable (15%), valuable (29%), of some value (44%) and of no value (6%).

When asked, 72% of the 2013 respondents correctly indicated that none of the topics that are covered in the reading section of the general ULEA course related to any of the topics covered in Biochemistry 1. By analyzing the textbook and their course syllabus this was confirmed by the researcher.

The table that follows summarizes their reading problems when they read for Stereochemistry in Biochemistry 1:

Table 5 Reading problems of students when reading for Stereochemistry in Biochemistry 1

n=62	2013
There are many words that I do not know	29%
There are a lot of grammatical structures that I don't understand	34%
It is not easy keeping track of the main idea.	31%
I have problems understanding graphs, diagrams and tables.	21%

5.6 Text analysis

The reading strategies they need to comprehend their Biochemistry 1 texts, as indicated by students and 2012 lecturer were confirmed. However, analyzing authentic texts seemed to be invaluable as it gave the most insight into the true academic reading skills a reading course for students doing Stereochemistry should include. The reason for this might be that neither students, nor the content experts understand the true demands that reading an academic text make on students. The list of reading strategies as presented in table 6 were included in the new reading course that was developed.

Reading strategies vital for Biochemistry 1 students to comprehend Stereochemistry, as determined by analyzing the prescribed textbook and slides they received as handouts before and after each lesson are summed up in the table that follows

Table 6 Reading strategies to include in a reading course for Stereochemistry, as determined by text analysis.

Text mapping; Activating background knowledge; Understanding graphics and diagrams; Selecting and synthesizing information from textbook, slides and lecture notes; Visualizing concepts; Anaphoric and cataphoric resolution; Inferring the meaning of subject specific vocabulary using pre- and suffixes.; Understanding symbols and abbreviations specific to Stereochemistry; Understanding semantic relations that show cause/effect; definition; spatial order; comparisons and sequencing.
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This needs analysis has confirmed the importance of being able to be a strategic reader in order to well in the Stereochemistry section in Biochemistry 1. It has further confirmed that students have little time

for leisure activities. In addition, although students are, in general, satisfied with the reading skills taught, and with the presentation of the current ULEA course, it does not address their specific academic reading needs to comprehend the course. It also does not have enough activities and exercises. Furthermore, the needs analysis revealed that the content of the current ULEA course is not authentic at all and only some of the reading skills currently taught are what Biochemistry 1 students at the UNAM School of Medicine require to cope with the reading demands of the Stereochemistry section.

6. CONCLUSION

This needs analysis has taken care of a serious gap in the way courses are developed at the LC at UNAM, namely that courses are developed based on the intuition of lecturers. From this needs analysis reported on, the course and syllabus for English for Stereochemistry were designed, materials were produced, the teaching and learning took place and finally, the new reading course was evaluated (Dudley-Evans & St John 2000). It is hoped that this would lay the foundation for the development of EAP courses at the LC at UNAM to prepare students more appropriately for their specific academic needs as determined by their various fields of study.

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**THE REALITY OF METAPHORS IN SERGEI YESENIN'S POETRY.
THE FOURTEENTH WAY OF LOOKING AT METAPHOR**

Liubov Nekrasova

Bauman Moscow State Technical University, 2-Baumanskaya, 5, Moscow, Russia

Abstract

There is a little reticence in the statement that IT create just a number of “digital” games fit to everybody. Actually we are faced to a complete type of new reality, unknown and attractive at the same time. This reality fascinates us with the effect of unreachable things we are sure to see but can never feel in fact. Is friendship on “Facebook” a true friendship or not? Is “MySpace” real world or not? If we say “yes” we have to conceal a part of truth. If we say “no” – just the same. We must ask ourselves is there any base or storage where our experience of understanding such reality has been accumulated. The answer is – metaphors. We use to take metaphors only as a figure of speech but in fact metaphors can be taken as a reflection of the reality which has been created in our mind.

Key words: *metaphor, poetry, language, reality, meaning, avatar, identity, existence, technologies, experience, creating, understanding.*

Taking the modern society as one based on knowledge we pay a lot of attention on technical innovations which give us access to knowledge. We admit the appearance of a new reality, “life 2.0”, as we call it, but we don't try to speak about this reality as a phenomenon. In fact we are involved in this reality and we need to describe it and to formulate some practice. The question is where to find the examples to use in such practice. Having already a long experience of being in touch with this new reality we never try either to summarize or to transfer this experience. This fact could be caused by a lot of different things. We venture to suggest that the most important among them is lack of tools. According to Richard Nordquist metaphors are built into our language. We have a lot of cases to create and to use metaphorical way of communication in our everyday life. “Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Metaphor”³⁶ which are already formulated by Nordquist should be completed with a new one, brought into life by a Russian poet Sergei Yesenin at the beginning of the XX century. It's a paradox – long before the digital technologies started to develop the well-known “life 2.0” Sergei Yesenin created in his poetry a complete model of reality based on metaphors. Using metaphor as a “carrier” of meanings the poet makes us to realize the existence of another reality we can try to see or ignore but can't avoid. This challenge has been accepted by the most of us nowadays. Looking for the way out us may turn back upon Yesenin's poetry as an example of the reality of metaphors.

Short and dramatic life of Sergei Yesenin (1895-1925) first of all makes us to remind a number of unhappy ended love-stories and scandals which very often come together with this name. But in fact being known as a romantic poet Sergei Yesenin gives us an example of creating a reality of metaphors we can take as a phenomenon.

³⁶ <http://grammar.about.com/bio/Richard-Nordquist-22176.htm>

There are examples of translation Yesenin's poetry from Russian into English and I being the author of this paper will suggest a few of my own. I think it is necessary to give quotes from the originals as well.

До свиданья, друг мой, до свиданья.
Милый мой, ты у меня в груди.
Предназначенное расставанье
Обещает встречу впереди.

До свиданья, друг мой, без руки, без слова,
Не грусти и не печаль бровей, —
В этой жизни умирать не ново,
Но и жить, конечно, не новей.³⁷

Farewell, my Friend, good bye, my Dear!
You will stay forever in my heart.
Our departing however
Promises the meeting very far.
Farewell, my Friend, good bye, my Dear!
Please don't say a word nor shake my hand.
There's nothing new in our being.
There's nothing new in our end.

The very last Yesenin's poem which has been composed just before his tragic and mysterious death gives us an example of taking reality in the two independent aspects – real life and “life as a metaphor”. Real life can be interrupted by physical death. Life as a metaphor is endless.

Я пришел на эту землю,
Чтоб скорей ее покинуть.³⁸

I came to this world
To leave it very soon.

Such confession declared by a nineteen year old guy frightened Anna Ahmatova (1889-1966), a famous Russian poetess, who talked to Sergei Yesenin in 1914. It was the day when the young poet showed Ahmatova one of his creations which was going to become very popular later on.

Край любимый! Сердцу снятся
Скирды солнца в водах лонных.
Я хотел бы затеряться

³⁷ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с. 264.

³⁸ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с. 56.

В зеленях твоих стозвонных.³⁹

My lovely land! My heart dreams of the Sun

Standing like a rick in the water.

I am eager to lose myself

In the sound of your green bells.

We can only guess how a young man could come to comprehension of the real life as a metaphor of the other one, standing like a rick of sunlight in the water. It's important – Yesenin does not speak about an absolute end, he speaks about the way from one reality to the other. In 1914 the country suffered after the World War, the huge social explosion of 1917 was very close. Yesenin could not avoid facing this reality of his Motherland. But he was able to feel the other reality where ages and even time itself meant nothing. This “inner” reality was very close to the “outer” one but it could not be touched or reached by moving. A true human being can not lose himself in the sound of “green bells”. But a person can create in his mind a metaphor of himself and place it into reality of metaphor. The aim of such “transfer” of meanings is the most important thing. At the first glance it looks like a sort of “escapism”, an attempt to ignore difficult reality for the sake of easy illusions. But in fact the situation is different. Our current life gives us an opportunity to “weight up” the function of language in our everyday practice. We used for ages to take language first of all as an instrument of verbal communication. Now looking around we can notice a lot of examples proving that verbal communication is the last. In fact, don't you see very small children and even our home pets communicating with us without a single word but with clear transferring of information? The symbols used in Internet communication instead of full sentences are the other reason for the previous supposition. Actually now we have to pay attention on the deepest mission of language. This mission is to create the model of reality. Sergei Yesenin in his early poems creates a model of “inner” reality of his native country, a home for his soul where the soul can feel itself protected from the accidental influence of passing events. One of these poems composed in 1914 I want to suggest as an example.

Гой ты, Русь, моя родная,
Хаты — в ризах образа...
Не видать конца и края —
Только синь сосет глаза.

Как захожий богомолец,
Я смотрю твои поля.
А у низеньких околиц
Звонно чахнут тополя.

Пахнет яблоком и медом
По церквам твой кроткий Спас.
И гудит за корогодом
На лугах веселый пляс.

³⁹ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с. 56.

Побегу по мятой стежке
На приволь зеленых лех,
Мне навстречу, как сережки,
Прозвенит девичий смех.

Если крикнет рать святая:
«Кинь ты Русь, живи в раю!»
Я скажу: «Не надо рая,
Дайте родину мою».⁴⁰

Oh, my lovely Russia!
My holy eternal home!
Looking at your windows
I feel like in front of icons.

I feel like a holy pilgrim
Crossing your endless fields
Under the skies of blue
This is sucking my eyes.

Smells of apples and honey
Mean the Assumption Day.
Sounds of dance in the fields
Mean the harvest home.

Running across the grass
I'll be forever free.
Calling the pretty girl
I will forever laugh.

And if the God will ask –
What is the Holy land?
I will reply – my home,

⁴⁰ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с.64.

Not any other place.

This poem looks very simple as far as language tools are concerned. Quite a few metaphors open for us a huge space of “inner” reality where the author remains himself saving his identity. The author does not need any place to hide away from reality or anything more than he already owns. The reality of metaphor for Yesenin is not something totally different from the actual one. Each element of “inner” reality can be recognized in true life, the poet shows us the way in and the way out. One can create the metaphor of himself in order to save his identity. It’s important that in this case you don’t become opposite to the real life or to escape from it anyway. On the contrary, being involved into real life you can build up your identity based on “inner” reality as on true meaning.

Richard Nordquist in his article “99 Metaphors of Love” says: “Like the experience of love itself, metaphors make connections. So it’s no surprise that love has been imagined, examined, and remembered through a wide variety of figurative comparisons”⁴¹. Among the 99 examples of figurative comparisons for love Nordquist quotes the one composed by D.H. Lawrence - “love is a journey”. Yesenin’s late poetry gives an interesting extension of this metaphor.

Никогда я не был на Босфоре,
Ты меня не спрашивай о нем.
Я в твоих глазах увидел море,
Полыхающее голубым огнем.

Не ходил в Багдад я с караваном,
Не возил я шелк туда и хну.
Наклонись своим красивым станом,
На коленях дай мне отдохнуть.

Или снова, сколько ни проси я,
Для тебя навеки дела нет,
Что в далеком имени — Россия —
Я известный, признанный поэт.

У меня в душе звенит тальянка,
При луне собачий слышу лай.
Разве ты не хочешь, персиянка,
Увидать далекий, синий край?

Я сюда приехал не от скуки —
Ты меня, незримая, звала.
И меня твои лебяжьи руки
Обвивали, словно два крыла.

Я давно ищу в судьбе покоя,
И хоть прошлой жизни не кляню,
Расскажи мне что-нибудь такое
Про твою веселую страну.

Заглуши в душе тоску тальянки,
Напой дыханьем свежих чар,

⁴¹<http://grammar.about.com/od/rhetoricstyle/a/lovetmetaphors.htm>

Чтобы я о дальней северянке
Не вздыхал, не думал, не скучал.

И хотя я не был на Босфоре —
Я тебе придумаю о нем.
Все равно — глаза твои, как море,
Голубым колышутся огнем.⁴²

Don't ask me about Bosphorus
For I never been there.
Looking into your eyes
I dive into the deepest sea.

Don't ask me about Baghdad
For I never been a merchant
Leading a rich caravan
Full of silk and henna.

Don't ask me about Russia
For I am a lonely poet
Kneeling in front of you here
For the sake of a little rest.

Ask me about the sounds
Filling my tired soul,
Ask me about the country
Covered in deepest blue!

I'll tell you – I always hear
Your voice like a swan is crying
In a hopeless try of hugging
Skies with a couple of wings.

⁴² Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с.226.

I want you to tell your story
And I will tell you my own
I'll never forget, but now
I'm ready to feel your breath.

I'm ready to feel forgiveness
For each of my heavy losses.
Give me a chance to go
And hope for coming back.

Ask me about Bosphorus
For me to come up with story
About a sea of fire
I'm seeing in lovely eyes.

This poem dated 1924 is one from the collection called by the author “Persian Motifs” and has been written on the base of impressions after the trip to the southern part of Soviet Russia. The poems are composed as a love-story of a Russian Poet and an Oriental Peri. This very poem is a very interesting example of putting together a number of metaphors of love been taken as a journey. First of all, the true author has never travelled to Persia. But he creates a sort of “avatar” who did it. Secondly he creates an illusion of journey for his “avatar” – a dream of Bosphorus as a magic place of happy love. We see the complete model of the “inner-inner” reality with all the attributes we are ready to recognize. One more important thing is the following. Going into the “metaphor of reality” we meet a lot of moving objects: the sea, the caravan, the swan in the skies; even life of the “avatar-poet” passes before our eyes like a movie. Only the poet himself seems to be immovable kneeling in front of his Love. Here like in the previous case we can see how being in touch with the “inner” reality one can find the true meaning of the “outer” reality. This meaning is the gist – Motherland in the first case and love in the second.

After a number of decades passed people will create metaphors of themselves with the help of IT. As an example we can speak here about a well-known game “Life 2.0”.⁴³ The author of the game tried to explore how “avatar alter egos” change lives of true men and women. People designed alter egos of the people they would like to be. In fact each “avatar” was a metaphor of a participant of the game. Suddenly the game came to an unexpected turn. All the avatar-metaphors started to live their own lives sometimes being out of the creator’s control. Speaking about their experience of the game the participants often told that they could hardly rule their own creations. Some of the people who took part in “Life 2.0” once decided to “kill” their avatars because they really did know how to identify themselves in two realities. Avatars could not agree or struggle for their lives. People who felt themselves lost between the two

⁴³ <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/sectionfront/life/compelling-documentary-life-20-explores-how-avatar-alter-egos-change-lives-311324/>

realities the true reality and the reality of metaphor prefer the simplest way out. They decided to stop representing themselves in the reality of metaphor. With the help of IT “metaphor” stopped its existence. But in fact it is not so easy. For example the “teen girl” – avatar of forty years old men did not disappear at once, by one push of a button. This “metaphor of death” looks naturally dramatic. We can see on the screen how many seconds are left until existence of the “avatar girl” will be over. Very important detail is - the “avatar girl” knows that the end of her “life” is in the corner. We watch her saying good bye to the other avatars – her friends. Finally we get know that the “metaphor” gives all her belongings to her friends before disappearing. And we find ourselves taking this situation as a real loss. We don't compassion the adult man who has no responsibility for his own creation. We feel sorry for the “metaphor” like for a human being. In fact avatar gives its designer a lesson how to carry on with dignity knowing that you have come into the world to leave it very soon.

Analyzing this case we can resume that technologies give us the way into the reality of metaphor but the right way out we have to find ourselves. In order to do it we have to turn to any experience of “carrying meanings” we admit in the everyday practice in order to focus on the deepest content of the subject.

Being face to face

It's impossible to see the true face.

This quote from Yesenin's poem “The letter to a woman” looks like a paradox. The next sentence explains:

Only from a distance

We can see what is really great.

Лицом к лицу

Лица не увидеть.

Большое видится на расстоянье.⁴⁴

First of all we are to remind the meaning of distance in time which shows us the true place of each subject in history. But human soul is a part of history as well. Looking through Yesenin's poetry we can find examples of metaphor as a way of existence of a human soul. An interesting example of this in particular we can find in the poem “Pugachev” written in 1921. As we know from history Emeljan Pugachev (1742-1775), the leader of a huge folk rebellion, declared himself to be Tsar Peter III⁴⁵ occasionally survived in the case of murder. True Emeljan Pugachev was put to death after the rebellion has been stifled. But in Yesenin's poem we see instead of the true historical figure an “avatar” waiting for his virtual death. In fact true Pugachev saying that he is Tsar Peter III also created an “avatar”. And he paid his own life for the end of the “game”. Reading Yesenin's poem we see Pugachev in forefeeling of the end and finally when it comes Pugachev does not mean the end of a human life. He says – “What if I fall down carrying your heavy soul?”\”Неужель под душой так же падаешь, как под ношей?”⁴⁶, the rhetorical question of one who cannot find the right way out of reality of metaphor.

⁴⁴ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 2, М., 1970, с.110.

⁴⁵ “Famous Russians in the 18th and 19th centuries. Biographies and Portraits”, St.Petersburg, 1996, p. 18-19.

⁴⁶ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 2, М., 1970, с. 188.

Where is it – my erstwhile force?
Trying to get up I can't even move a hand!
Or my youth – trough the night of May –
You're ringing voice I've lost in the fields!
That's the blue sky of night above Done,
That's the soft smell of fire above the forest,
And above the roof there is a piece of gold –
That's the heart of the moon rising.
The cock gives his unpleasant voice,
And the streets nostrils are full of dust.
And the ringing voice of youth in the fields
Is ready to be the last...
Oh, my God – what if my time is over?
What if I fall down carrying my heavy soul?
But it seemed to me yesterday – just a day before –
I am not alone, I am not alone...

Где ж ты? Где ж ты, бывшая мощь?
Хочешь встать – и рукою не можешь двинуться!
Юность, юность! Как майская ночь,
Отзвенела ты черемухой в степной провинции,
Вот всплывает, всплывает синь ночная над Доном,
Тянет мягкою гарью с сухих перелесиц.
Золотою известкой над низеньким домом
Брызжет широкий и теплый месяц.
Где-то хрипло и нехотя кукарекает петух,
В рваные ноздри пылью чихает околица,
И все дальше, все дальше, встревоживши сонный луг,
Бежит колокольчик, пока за горой не расколется.
Боже мой!
Неужели пришла пора?
Неужель под душой так же падаешь, как под ношей?

А казалось... казалось еще вчера...

Дорогие мои... дорогие... хор-рошие...⁴⁷

One more outcome of this poem is – the mightier is your “avatar” the more dangerous is to use it. Among the characters of the poem there is one who tries to free the main character from the metaphor and to encourage him to face the true life. It’s Hlopusha – a former criminal who came with the task to kill Pugachev but in fact wanted to share the destiny with him. Hlopusha is the only one who wants “to see the true face being face to face” and he does not need any “avatar” of one whom he admires. Hlopusha repeats like a mantra: “I am eager to see this man”. But all the people around Pugachev take him as a “strange”, “suspicious guest”. The “outer” meaning is very simple – they are afraid of anybody unknown for them; the “inner” meaning takes us to the case of the game “Life 2.0” we already talked about. People who took part in the game were very open in communication with avatars but were fatally helpless for seeing the true face of those. Now when more than two centuries passed since the events of true lives of those who took part in the folk war under Pugachev’s leadership happened we can try to see the metaphor of this reality standing very close to the true face.

And what if one makes an attempt to communicate with his own “avatar”? This situation is played by Yesenin in his most mystic poem “The Man in Black” (“Черный человек”⁴⁸). A full translation of this poem into English was made by Peter Tempest. The character of the poem – who is at the same time the “metaphor” or “avatar” of the author – meets his “avatar”, the Man in Black who reads his life like chapters of a book. Going into the deepest feelings and thoughts of the author the “avatar” makes him to tremble. Finally being unable to carry out such dialog the author smashed his avatar on his face. But in fact the end is just like in the game “Life 2.0” – the avatar is killed by its creator. There is one detail to my mind very important. At the beginning the author takes his meeting with the Man in Black like an illusion, a bad joke. In the end of the story the main character breaks the mirror in the attempt to smash “the ugly guest” on his face. After all the character becomes alone.

I’m on my own...

And facing a shattered mirror...⁴⁹

In the time of Yesenin’s life there was nothing like IT; but being a genius Yesenin was able to foresee the epoch of total loneliness coming up for humanity. Yesenin used image of a mirror instead of “avatar” well known nowadays. But the picture of a human being who tries to escape into the “metaphor” world and finally is damaged by this world is true.

So what makes us, modern people, to create “avatars”? May be it is fear of being ourselves? Not long before his death Yesenin created a poem which seems to be significant.

Ты такая ж простая, как все,
Как сто тысяч других в России.
Знаешь ты одинокий рассвет,
Знаешь холод осени синий.

⁴⁷Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 2, М., 1970, с. 188-189.

⁴⁸ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 2, М., 1970, с. 288.

⁴⁹ <http://sergey-esenin-in-english.hostingsiteforfree.com/poem2.5.html>

По-смешному я сердцем влип,
Я по-глупому мысли занял.
Твой иконный и строгий лик
По часовням висел в рязах.

Я на эти иконы плевал,
Чтил я грубость и крик в повесе,
А теперь вдруг растут слова
Самых нежных и кротких песен.

Не хочу я лететь в зенит,
Слишком многое телу надо.
Что ж так имя твое звенит,
Словно августовская прохлада?

Я не нищий, ни жалок, ни мал
И умею расслышать за пылом:
С детства нравиться я понимал
Кобелям да степным кобылам.

Потому и себя не сберег
Для тебя, для нее и для этой.
Невеселого счастья залог -
Сумасшедшее сердце поэта.

Потому и грущу, осев,
Словно в листья, в глаза косые...
Ты такая ж простая, как все,
Как сто тысяч других в России.⁵⁰

You are nothing special at all
Among thousands of the others.
You know the lone sunrise
And the cold blue color of autumn.

It's funny – I lost my heart,
Filled my thoughts with illusions
Looking for your icon face
I've seen in provincial churches.

⁵⁰ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с. 173.

It was like a joke for me,
Feeling myself as a hooligan,
I am ready to find tender words
I've never pronounced before.

I will not rush to outer space
For my body is heavy of passion
If I only hear your name
In the chill air of August.

Never being a beggar for love,
Never saving my heart for nothing,
I could share with all the nature
My liking of everyone.

For my tired and crazy heart
Nothing would be enough for trouble,
No matter to dream of you
Or to dream of any of others.

But I feel myself being sank
In the waves of leafs of your autumn.
You are nothing special at all
Among thousands of the others.

Here we can find even a couple of “avatars” created by the author to escape from the reality of his real love. An “avatar” of a woman who does not deserve any attention and an “avatar” of a man who ignored any woman he had ever met in his life. The “avatars” interact like in a game trying to avoid of leaving the space of metaphor. Seeing what is going on in the “game” we find out that in one moment the game will be over and the true man and woman will have to look at the faces of each other. We have nothing to be sure in the happy end. Even more – being familiar with the true story which the poem is based on we see how a true poet, a true man tried to make a true woman become a “metaphor” or an “avatar” of another one whom he loved and lost. I mean the story of Augusta Miklashevskaya, an actress, who according to the opinion of number of the contemporaries was very similar to Isadora Duncan. The true

love story ended with disappointment. May be it was the payment for an attempt of bringing metaphor into real life. In 1924 Yesenin published a poem which is nowadays known as a romantic song.

Отговорила роща золотая

Березовым, веселым языком,
И журавли, печально пролетая,
Уж не жалеют больше ни о ком.

Кого жалеть? Ведь каждый в мире странник —
Пройдет, зайдет и вновь оставит дом.
О всех ушедших грезит конопляник
С широким месяцем над голубым прудом.

Стою один среди равнины голой,
А журавлей относит ветер в даль,
Я полон дум о юности веселой,
Но ничего в прошедшем мне не жаль.

Не жаль мне лет, растроченных напрасно,
Не жаль души сиреневую цветь.
В саду горит костер рябины красной,
Но никого не может он согреть.

Не обгорят рябиновые кисти,
От желтизны не пропадет трава.
Как дерево роняет тихо листья,
Так я роняю грустные слова.

И если время, ветром разметая,
Сгребет их все в один ненужный ком...
Скажите так... что роща золотая
Отговорила милым языком.⁵¹

When autumn comes the trees are full of silence.

The yellow leafs don't whisper anymore.

A flock of birds is turning to the South

Without any sorrow like before.

Don't be afraid of any kind of being,

A passerby, a wanderer, a guest –

The skies above the water in the evening

Will dream of you and dream of all the rest.

⁵¹ Есенин С.А. «Собрание сочинений в трех томах», т. 1, М., 1970, с. 190.

The fields are naked and I am all alone,
A flock of birds is going very far...
I meet the early years of my own
I feel again the trembling in my heart.

Don't be afraid of spending time for living
Don't count how many days are gone –
The rowanberry burns without giving
A little piece of warmth to anyone.

No matter that the branch avoids fire
The yellow leafs will cover all the grass.
My words are sad; the flock of birds is higher.
When autumn comes it comes for all of us.

I stand among the trees with closed mouth.
I feel the Silence standing at my door.
A flock of birds is turning to the South
And yellow leafs don't whisper anymore.

This poem shows us how to find the way from the world of metaphor to the true life. Creating anything in our mind we still are to be responsible of what is going on in reality, especially as far our lives are concerned. The well-known sentence by St.Serafim "Save yourself and thousands around you will be saved" becomes especially actual in the time of very wide possibilities coming to us together with new technologies. First of all it's better to realize – technologies do change the world. Provoking us to try a lot in communication IT influence on the language and on the picture of life we create. An attempt to avoid this influence is doomed to failure. "Holy war" against technologies would be lost before it began. The only way out is to teach ourselves to live in the world of IT with its "metaphor of reality", created "avatars" and so on. Looking into the treasury of poetry we can take out not only the examples of building metaphor into language but the ones of building metaphor into reality. Of course it does not mean ignoring the very first enjoyment given to us by poetry. But in fact the "IT epoch" makes us to study every day and everywhere leaving us with a strong fear of lack of knowledge.

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**CORRELATING ETHNOCENTRISM, CULTURAL IDENTITY
AND NEGATIVE SIMPLE HETEROSTEREOTYPE**

Marína Trnková

Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Trnava University in Trnava,
Priemyselná 4, P.O. BOX 9, 918 43 Trnava, Slovakia

Abstract

The submitted paper communicates theoretical and practical knowledge from the field of intercultural communication paying attention to the attitude element (savoir être) of intercultural communicative competence. Results from research into the relationship between cultural identity and negative simple heterostereotype as well as ethnocentric perception of cultures and negative simple heterostereotype are discussed. An assumption that there exists a positive correlation between the above mentioned pairs is presented and clarified. Applying the method of a questionnaire, the obtained data is interpreted through the Pearson correlation coefficient. The correlation between the variables of the hypotheses is certified and the hypotheses verification is provided at the end of the paper.

Key words: *intercultural communicative competence, cultural identity, ethnocentrism, negative simple heterostereotype, Pearson correlation coefficient, existential competence, Model of Stereotypes*

INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction of the presented study, I aim to contextualize the examined relationship between cultural identity and negative simple heterostereotype as well as negative simple heterostereotype and ethnocentric perception of cultures in terms of current perspectives in the field of intercultural communication and teaching and learning English as a foreign language.

In the environment of teaching and learning foreign languages in Slovakia, the intercultural approach has found its substantiation in the national curriculum since 1989 (marked by the fall of the communist regime and the birth of a “new” democratic nation); i.e. throughout the last three decades there has been tremendous progress both in the sphere of intercultural theory and practice. As Bérešová (2011, p. 179) states, “*the view started to include knowing what language is appropriate for use in a given situation and how suitability differs from one culture to another.*” Naturally, the road from the monocultural approach to the intercultural approach took some time; nevertheless, currently, the attention is paid to the concept of an intercultural competent learner; methods and techniques for the development of intercultural communicative competence (henceforth ICC) are being developed and applied; researchers and teachers focus on the possibilities of its assessment and measurement; individual components of ICC and their mutual relationships are being studied to detail.

In order to clarify the position of cultural identity, ethnocentrism and negative simple heterostereotype within the scope of intercultural studies that are dealt with in this paper, let me present the best known and the most fundamental model of ICC, namely, the Model of Intercultural Communicative Competence constructed by the renowned author Michael Byram (1997).

1 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

According to Byram (1997) ICC can be understood in terms of the following *savoirs* or *factors of knowledge*: *saviors* (knowledge of one's own culture and target culture; or "declarative knowledge" as stated in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001; henceforth CEFR) meaning both empirical and academic knowledge), *savoir apprendre/faire* (skills to discover/interact; or "skills and know-how"/"ability to learn" as stated in CEFR (2001) and referring also to mobilization of *saviors* and *savoir être*), *savoir comprendre* (skills to interpret and relate), *savoir être* (attitudes; or "existential competence" as referred to in CEFR) and *savoir s'engager* (critical cultural awareness). (see Fig. 1)

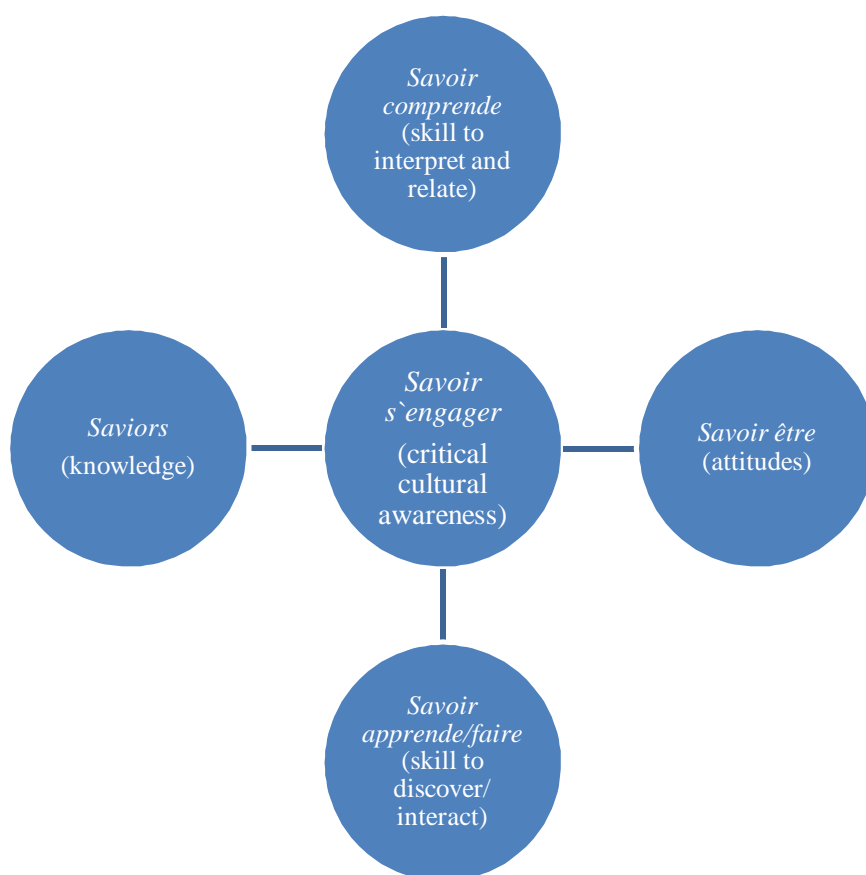


Figure 1: ICC: Factors of Knowledge (adapted from Byram, 1997)

Apparently, teaching and learning foreign language and culture is closely bound not only to the cognitive domain of learning, but to the affective and behavioral domains, too. Under this axiomatic assertion we may conclude that ICC can be understood as a set of knowledge (about one's own and target culture), skills (of applying the acquired), abilities (to respect, understand and appreciate the difference) and attitudes (to cultural identity, national and cultural stereotypes and prejudices) that enable an individual an effective participation in various cultural contexts. At this point it can be noted that the very term of

“competence” implies the term “performance” at the same time. Similarly, it can be stated that an interculturally competent student has necessary knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes that enable them not only to be tolerant, respectful and willing and able to appreciate the target culture, but they become successful participants of the intercultural dialogue.

Taking the preliminary theoretical background further to the attitude component of ICC and thus creating stepping stones directly to the notions of cultural identity, ethnocentrism and model of stereotypes and their mutual relationship and dependence, let me move to the existential competence and its characterization as provided in CEFR (2001).

2 EXISTENTIAL COMPETENCE

According to CEFR (2001, pp.11-12) existential competence “*may be considered as the sum of the individual characteristics, personality traits and attitudes which concern, for example, self-image and one’s view of others and willingness to engage with other people in social interaction. [...] As has frequently been noted, existential competences are culture-related and therefore sensitive areas for inter-cultural perceptions and relations [...].*” Further on, CEFR (2001) specifies *savoir-être* as follows:

- a. attitudes;
- b. motivations;
- c. values;
- d. beliefs;
- e. cognitive styles;
- f. personality factors.

When we think of existential competence and the above mentioned elements that constitute it in terms of the well-known “iceberg of culture”, it is obvious that values, beliefs and attitudes are as if “hidden underwater” and hard to be observed and recognized. They are also deeply rooted in our cultural mindsets, seldom questioned and hardly changed. Thus, “working” with *savoir être*, promoting intercultural understanding and aiming at effective participation in intercultural encounters is both demanding and challenging.

3 MODEL OF STEREOTYPES AND NEGATIVE SIMPLE HETEROSTEREOTYPE

Our images of other nations and cultures are often based on collective and generalized beliefs. Customary conventional characteristic features attributed to the members of other cultures are often projected into our direct contact with foreigners and may play an important role in accomplishing successful negotiation of meanings. Cultural and national stereotypes can be either positive or negative; some of them can be perceived as harmless generalizations or shortcuts in the process of knowledge acquisition; on the other hand, some may have a negative and offensive charge and may lead to discrimination. All in all, reality is rather simplified and reduced; the judgment is not objective and may be unfair. As a result, diversity within cultures is overlooked. Exemplary stereotypes are as follows: *Scotsmen are stingy. Black Americans are lazy. Englishmen are conservative.*

In fact, we do not have stereotypical images only about other nations and cultures, but about “ourselves”, too and we are aware of being characterized, categorized and judged by the “others”. Průcha (2004) considers autostereotypes and heterostereotypes, both simple and projected, in his Model of Stereotypes.

- ⊙ $S1 \rightarrow S1$: Simple autostereotype (According to us, we [our nation] are ...);
- ⊙ $S1 \rightarrow (S1 \leftarrow S2)$: Projected autostereotype (We think that they [members of the other nation] believe us to be ...);
- ⊙ $S1 \rightarrow (S2 \rightarrow S2)$: Projected heterostereotype (According to us, they [members of the other nation] believe themselves to be ...);
- ⊙ $S1 \rightarrow S2$: Simple heterostereotype (We believe them [members of the other nation] to be ...).

The above mentioned model was utilized in the pre-research for the initial data collection and further on applied in the questionnaire construction focusing primarily on positive and negative images attributed to target cultures (English-speaking countries) by Slovak grammar school students.

4 ETHNOCENTRISM

Defining one`s attitude toward other cultures, toward “otherness” and cultural difference is of course not only a matter of generally acclaimed stereotypical characteristics. It is closely connected to one`s intercultural sensitivity and the process of moving forward from an ethnocentric stage to a more ethnorelative stage. (For more on intercultural sensitivity, the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity and its individual stages cf. Bennett (1993)). For the purpose of the paper, I focus primarily on ethnocentrism and its possible correlation with negative simple heterostereotype.

In brief, ethnocentrism may be characterized as a tendency to judge different cultures, their traditions, customs, life style, attitudes, values and beliefs solely from the perspective of one`s own culture; applying one`s own cultural norms and schemes when judging others and believing in the superiority of one`s own culture. The impact of uniqueness of social, cultural, historical or ideological background is deliberately or even unconsciously overlooked. Thus, cultural difference remains misunderstood, deplored and seemingly incomprehensible.

At this point, let me state the first assumption that follows the aim of my paper, i.e. to examine the relationship between ethnocentric perception of cultures and negative simple heterostereotype. The process of the verification of the following hypothesis can be found in the *Methodology* section.

Assumption 1: *I assume that there exists a positive correlation between ethnocentric perception of cultures and the representation of negative simple heterostereotype.*

5 CULTURAL IDENTITY

With regard to the second assumption of the paper and with furtherance to a thorough examination of the triad negative simple heterostereotype, ethnocentrism and cultural identity, let me now address the issue of cultural identity and inspect its relation to stereotyping.

Basically, cultural identity is usually defined from the perspective of an individual's identification with social and moral norms and conventions shared by a certain cultural group. (cf. Geschiere– Meyer (1998); Průcha (2004); Hall (1994)). Concerning the well-known Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943) and the uppermost need of self-actualization, a connection to cultural identity can be undoubtedly found. It is the individual's realization of their place within a cultural group, within the "collective I" and its future. This leads me to assertions of Hall (1994). According to him it is possible to consider cultural identity from two perspectives. In the first case identity is looked at from the prism of history and the past, from the perspective of shared culture, the "collective I" that is shared by people with a shared history and origin. Thus, cultural identity reflects the shared historical experience and shared cultural codes that enable an individual a stable, unchangeable and continual view angle and meanings. In the second case, Hall (1994) accentuates transformation and development of cultural identity that is not connected to the past, but first of all to the present and future. This second viewpoint emphasizes the fact that cultural experience is gained in a process and thus cultural identity is formed in a process, i.e. cultural identity can't be perceived as something that we simply "have".

At this point, let me present the second assumption concerning the relationship between cultural identity and stereotyping. The process of the verification of the following hypothesis can be found in the *Methodology* section.

Assumption 2: *I assume that there exists a positive correlation between strong cultural identity and the representation of negative simple heterostereotype.*

6 METHODOLOGY

The following research tasks were formulated in order to fulfill the aim of the research which is the examination of the relationship between ethnocentric perception of cultures and negative simple heterostereotype on one hand, and on the other hand the relationship between cultural identity and negative simple heterostereotype.

Research tasks:

- a. To find out which stereotypical images the students of Slovak grammar schools are governed by in the contact with target cultures and their members;
- b. To find out the strength of cultural identity of Slovak grammar school students;
- c. To find out the approximate stage of intercultural sensitivity of the students of Slovak grammar schools (in terms of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism).

Research hypotheses:

- a. Hypothesis 1: I assume that there exists a positive correlation between strong cultural identity and the representation of negative simple heterostereotype.
- b. Hypothesis 2: I assume that there exists a positive correlation between ethnocentric perception of cultures and the representation of negative simple heterostereotype.

Research sample:

- a. Population: Slovak grammar school students;
- b. Subset of the population: Slovak grammar school students in the region of Trenčín (there are 8 regions in Slovakia altogether);

- c. Sampling strategy: non-probability convenience sampling;
- d. Sample size: 200 students.

Research methods:

- a. Questionnaire.

Statistical methods:

- a. Pearson correlation coefficient.

Organization of the research:

- a. Pre-research (utilizing the above mentioned Model of Stereotypes, the most common stereotypical images were collected; for a sample of these images see *Verification of Hypotheses and Outcomes of the Research* section);
- b. Pilot research (after constructing the questionnaire and accompanying scoring system, a pilot study was carried out in order to test the appropriateness of the questionnaire's tasks);
- c. Research (distribution of questionnaires, data collection, data interpretation, statistical processing of the data).

7 VERIFICATION OF HYPOTHESES AND OUTCOMES OF THE RESEARCH

Firstly, I'd like to present some of the data obtained in the pre-research stage in order to illustrate the most common and the most frequently attributed simple heterostereotypes to members of English-speaking countries, namely to the English and the Americans; see Table 1 and Table 2. The students were asked to state 3 characteristics; consequently, the most frequently occurring characteristics were counted and interpreted proportionally according to the overall number of characteristics. This means that in the set of the most frequently occurring characteristics two or more contradictory characteristics can be found.

1.	composed	30,24 %
2.	hospitable	21,6 %
3.	display gentleman-like behavior	17,28 %
4.	conservative	14,04 %
5.	cold-hearted	14,04 %
6.	communicative	12,96 %
7.	cultivated	11,88 %

Table 1 Simple Heterostereotype – the English

Note: Only stereotypes that were represented by more than 10% in the spectrum of collected stereotypes are displayed here.

1.	self-important	41,04 %
2.	rich	28,08 %
3.	obese	22,68 %
4.	proud	18,36 %
5.	innovative	17,28 %
6.	lazy	12,96 %
7.	stupid	12,96 %

Table 2 Simple Heterostereotype – the Americans

Note: Only stereotypes that were represented by more than 10% in the spectrum of collected stereotypes are displayed here.

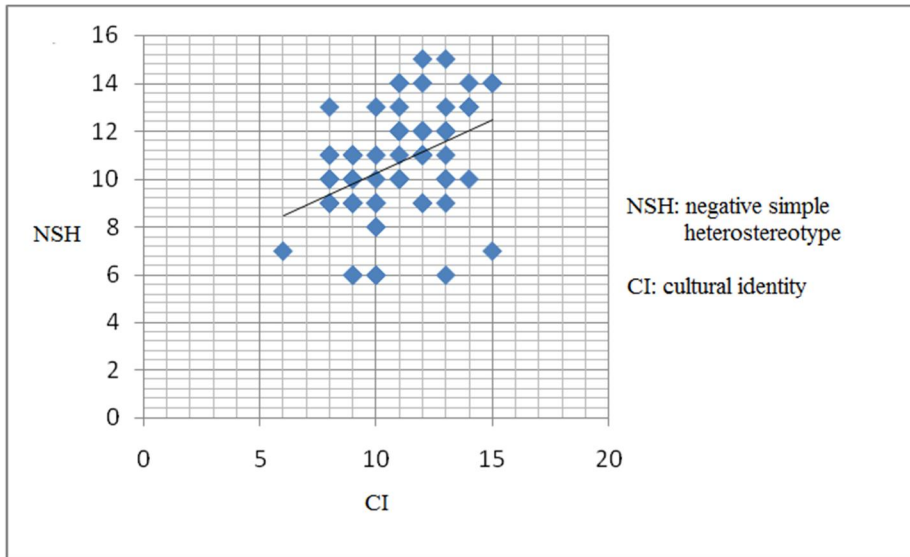
Selected positive and negative simple heterostereotypes were consequently utilized in the construction of individual questionnaire items aimed at the linear dependence between these stereotypes and cultural identity and ethnocentrism.

The questionnaire consisted of three interconnected parts, each of them being aimed at one of the variables from the hypotheses.

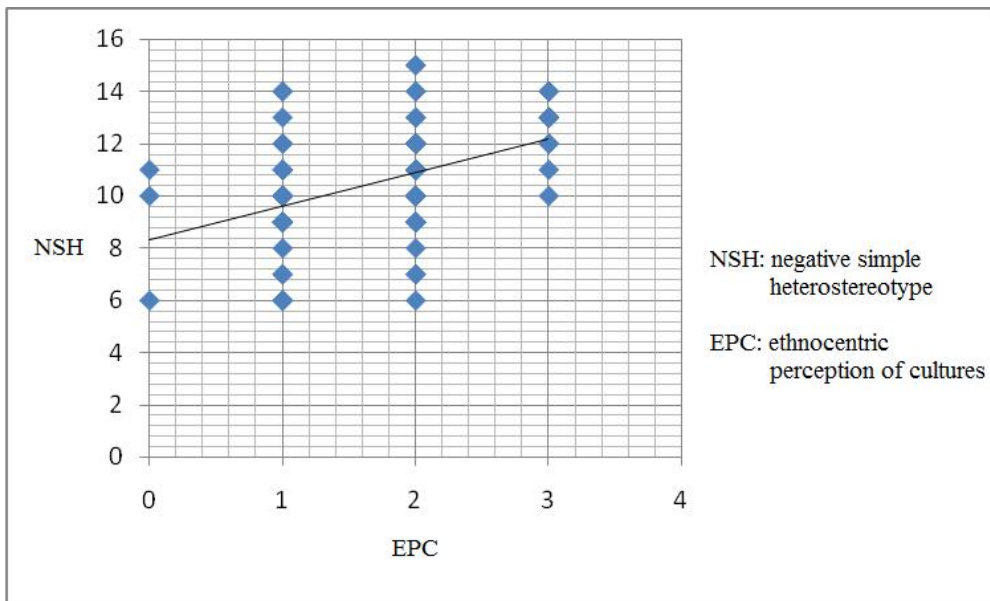
The obtained data were processed using the Pearson correlation coefficient “r”, which is the measure of the linear dependence of two variables. As to the interpretation of “r”, it is not always unequivocal. Different interpretation of correlation has to be considered especially in educational and psychological researches, where the tool is influenced by the variables of human factor. Another important aspect of interpretation to be noted, concerns so called outliers, i.e. extreme values that may increase or decrease the correlation significantly. Thus, a careful examination of graphs is needed.

7.1 Correlation Between Cultural Identity and Negative Simple Heterostereotype

At this point, let me present the outcomes of my research. Firstly, the correlation between cultural identity and negative simple heterostereotype will be inspected. As it can be observed in the graph below (Graph 1), the x axis carries the values of strong cultural identity and the y axis carries the values of negative simple heterostereotype. The straight line intersecting the spectrum of points illustrates positive linear dependence between the two variables and at the same time it serves as an indicator of extreme values. It can be seen that neither the values of strong cultural identity nor the negative simple heterostereotype occur close to their maximum. The heterostereotype maximum was 30. The participants reached the average value 10.47959. For cultural identity the maximum was 23. Average value reached by the participants was 10, 85714. Pearson`s correlation coefficient $r = 0,454381$. According to Held (2008) it is a medium dependence and taking into consideration the type of research, an educational research, the correlation between the variables of Hypothesis 1 can be considered statistically significant and thus, it can be stated that there exists a positive correlation between strong cultural identity and representation of negative simple heterostereotype. **Hypothesis 1 was verified.**



Graph 1 Correlation Between Cultural Identity and Negative Simple Heterostereotype



Graph 2 Correlation Between Ethnocentric Perception of Cultures and Negative Simple Heterostereotype

7.2 Correlation Between Ethnocentric Perception of Cultures and Negative Simple Heterostereotype

Similarly to Graph 1, Graph 2 represents a visual manifestation of the relationship between the examined variables. The line intersecting the spectrum of points illustrates positive linear dependence between the

two variables and at the same time it serves as an indicator of extreme values. Paying attention to extreme values first, it can be clearly seen that the values of ethnocentrism (x axis) and the values of negative simple heterostereotype (y axis) do not reach their possible maxima. The reachable maximum for negative simple heterostereotype is 30; the average value reached by the students is 10.47959. Maximum available for ethnocentrism is 4. The average value reached by the students is 3.321245. Pearson's correlation coefficient $r = 0.445732$. According to Held (2008) it is a medium dependence and taking into consideration the type of the research, an educational research, the correlation between the variables of Hypothesis 2 can be considered statistically significant and thus, it can be stated that there exists a positive correlation between ethnocentric perception of cultures and representation of negative simple heterostereotype. **Hypothesis 2 was verified.**

8 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

In the final section of my paper I focus on discussing the obtained data, the outcomes of the research as well as some general issues linked to high interdisciplinarity and complexity of ICC.

The significance of the reached maxima by Slovak grammar school students in both parts of the research deserves special attention, I believe. The results suggest that Slovak grammar school students do not display self-centered ethnocentric perception of target cultures and at the same time are not governed by negative generalizations about target cultures. These findings suggest that the attitude element of ICC, *savoir être* or existential competence, corresponds to fundamental requirements of an intercultural competent learner.

Secondly, I'd like to address contemporary tendencies toward measuring and assessing, i.e. quantifying ICC. Current theoretical foundations as well as empirical outcomes of my research convince me about the necessity of construction of a standardized indicator of ICC in Slovak environment that will provide an essential feedback for students and their teachers. Tools for assessment or self-assessment in the field of intercultural communication have been discussed widely. While constructing individual items and the system of scoring in my Questionnaire I took into account similarly oriented works by Humphrey (2007); Hofstede (1978); Hammer and Bennett (2003) or Arasaratnam (2009). All of the tools mentioned had to struggle with scientific categories of validity, reliability, objectivity and authenticity, which is one of the key questions in the process of quantifying the qualitative aspect of ICC. Due to its complex character deserving an original study and due to the purpose of the paper, let me move to some final concluding remarks.

CONCLUSION

The paper aimed at a closer examination of a correlation between negative simple heterostereotype and strong cultural identity and correlation between negative simple heterostereotype and ethnocentric perceptions of cultures proposed the following findings.

Firstly, the attitude element (*savoir être* or existential competence) was contextualized within other elements of intercultural communicative competence.

Secondly, individual variables of my assumptions were explored; namely, negative simple heterostereotype and its embedding within the Model of Stereotypes, cultural identity and fundamental perspectives of its perception and finally, the ethnocentric perception of cultures that was looked at in the broader context of intercultural sensitivity.

Consequently, hypotheses were stated, research tasks formulated and methodology outlined. Both numerical and graphic outcomes of the examined linear dependence between the variables were presented and it can be concluded that the initial assumptions were verified and positive linear dependence proved. Attention was paid not only to the definite computation of Pearson's correlation coefficient "r" and its statistical significance, but also to extreme values and their interpretation.

Finally, possible continuation in the effort of measurement and assessment of ICC was suggested.

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**BIBLICAL TEXT AND ARGUING IN LUKE'S COMMENTARY
OF ST. AMBROSIUS OF MILAN**

Melniciuc Puica Ilie

'Al. I. Cuza' University Iasi, Faculty of Orthodox Theology

Abstract

Studies on the biblical intertextuality have abundance of applications in the patristic writings. This study presents the biblical intertextuality in the Commentary on the Gospel of Luke written by St. Ambrose of Milan, with the focus on the use of the rod by the Apostles, when they go to preaching. The bishop used with care, in affirming the idea of authority, religious texts found in the Old Testament in the books of Exodus, 4 Kings, Psalms and Proverbs. The study also indicates that the Ambrosian intertextuality not only uses biblical texts in the argument, but also many ancient Greek and Latin authors, expressing openness of theology to culture.

Key words: *intertextuality, Ambrose, Luke, rod, Old Testament, quotation*

INTRODUCTION

Far from being the outcomes of an exclusive effort, the writings of St. Ambrose of Milan include topics of biblical and practical theology, such as *summa latinae ecclesiae*, which reveal to us the Orthodox fight in Northern Italy and Dalmatia against harmful distortions of the soul (Vornicescu 1958: 341; Nişcoveanu 1964: 619; Moisiu 1974: 422; Negrescu 1990: 533).

The paper which we shall hereafter refer to is called "Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam", being known as such since the times of the St. Augustine, the disciple of St. Ambrose of Milan. The paper dates back to 386 – 388, according to various patrologists (Coman 1975: 281; Zara 2006: 158).

Were we to evaluate the title of the paper as such, we would notice that it does not explain the whole Gospel of Luke in the manner of the father from Milan (the old Mediolanum); there are some fragments which he dealt with in extenso while omitting others (Ambroise SC45 1956: 10; Ambroise SC52 1958: 11). Among the latter, to which we add the limitations of this edition (Melniciuc 2010: 5-392), we mention the absence of a comment on the Saviour's sermon about the mote and the beam in the eye of the moralist judge (Luke 6: 34-43), on the Parable of the sower (Luke 8: 1-19), on the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11: 2-4), as well as on the Parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18: 1-14). Some other fragments are only briefly mentioned, without focusing on the literal or mystagogical meaning with which Luke's text is often interpreted. From this category, we mention the texts from Luke 14: 1-24; 17: 11-19; 19: 11-27; 20: 27-39, as well as the occasional mentioning of Luke's chants, Magnificat (Luke 1: 46-55) and Benedictus (Luke 1: 67-80).

The Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke in ten books was a bold attempt, bounded by the allegorical Homilies of scholar Origen (Origene SC87 1962: 7; Origen 1982: 69) (who lived between 185 and 255 and wrote 39 Homilies on Luke) and of St. Cyril of Alexandria (Chiril 1998: 3-219) (who lived between 370 and 444 and wrote 156 Homilies on Luke), aiming not only at making up for the exegetical scarcity related to the New Testament, but also at confirming the catechetical message for the neophytes of those times.

As far as the working method in the sense of those times is concerned, we may say that he adopts the literal exegetical method from which he derives the allegorical interpretation, often getting to the discovery of a mystagogical (anagogical) sense of the Gospel of Luke. In order to broaden the knowledge of the Christian universe, St. Ambrose does not hesitate to apply the comparative method, by approaching the Gospels synoptically, that is by a summative explanation of Matthew and Luke's texts. Especially in explaining the Saviour's anointing in Simon the Pharisee's house (Luke 7, 36-50) and His passions and resurrection, St. Ambrose compares the Gospel according to Luke with the Gospel according to John. Therefore, we may say, like the editor of Sources Chrétiennes that "the bishop of Milan offers us either less or more of [the Gospel of] Luke" (Tissot 1956: 10).

THE CONTENTS OF THE COMMENTARY

When the commentary on the Gospel according to Luke was written, St. Ambrose apparently had several sets of homilies addressed to catechumens and Christians in Milan, probably in the previous years, explaining the biblical text. These were the starting point from which the Ambrosian texts that are linked to the Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke were selected, so that few elements suggest the complete insertion of a homily (such as mentioning the bishop ordination anniversary) (Book VIII, 73 confirms: „It makes me happy that we should read the beginning of the Law on this anniversary day of my episcopal ordination. For it seems to me that each passing year the grace of priesthood recommences, just as the seasons of the year recommences.”) or allusions to historical events from politically and religiously turbulent times (“Now breathes a gentle zephyr; it tempers the burning heat that afflicted all Italy – the burning heat and violent passions stirred up whether by the perverseness of the Jews or, more recently, by the menace of the Arians. The storm has died out. Peace spreads its sail. Faith blows. Eagerly the mariners of Faith return to the ports they had left, and press sweet kisses on their native shores now free from strife. How happy they are to be free from peril and delivered from danger!”). The salutation formulae through which a Christian preacher captures the attention of the audience seldom appears in Luke's introduction, which fuels the idea of a writing done in the office, without vivacity.

The existence of some fragments attributed to St. Ambrose, but that do not belong to the father of the church, has made Protestant scholars use the name “Ambrosiaster” (i.e. “according to Ambrose”), but we do not believe that there is any doubt about the paternity or affiliation of the piece. Whether the bishop himself or his secretary has written the text, it is obvious that the basis is the exegetical notes used before a public speech, further developed through frequent references to analogies on theological words or ideas, especially from the Book of Psalms of King David.

The ten books are unevenly made, some elements of the third Gospel being dealt with exhaustively, others only transiently or elusively. Were we to mention unfinished ideas, we should not avoid the references from Book V, 10, VI, 83, VII, 25.60.194 and 195. The Prologue of the Commentary, comprised of eight subsections, evokes the necessity of knowing the gospel and the symbol that St. Irenaeus of Lyon used to embellish St. Luke's writing. The ten books are uneven in terms of size, the text being grouped into subsections numbered with Arabic numerals. The sections of St. Ambrose's commentary are perceived especially through reading the biblical text, as a *motto*, the constituents of a homily (the salutation formulae, the introduction, as well as the catalyzation of the audience) most of the times being absent.

Book I comprises in its 46 subsections the analysis of the prologue to the third Gospel, an introduction to the biblical history and the good tidings brought to Elizabeth about the birth of John, the Forerunner of God.

Book II comprises, in its 95 subsections, presentations of the events of the first three chapters of the Gospel of Luke, specifically those occurring between the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary and those following Jesus baptism.

Book III makes a detailed analysis of 77 names, listed in the genealogy of the Jesus Christ as contained in Luke 3: 23-38, comparing them with the 42 names in the genealogy according Matthew 1, 1-17. This book covers over 49 subsections.

Book IV deals with the public life events of the Saviour, as reported in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Gospel of Luke. The 79 translated subsections include teachings that are useful to Christians, connected to the temptation of the Saviour, the Nazareth sermon, the healing of the demoniac from the synagogue and the miraculous draught of fish.

Book V deals in its 117 subsections with biblical episodes narrated by St. Luke in chapters 5 to 7.

Book VI, in its 109 subsections, recounts the events of Jesus' life from chapters 7 - 9.

Book VII begins with the moment of the Transfiguration of Jesus, considered by many scholars the last sign given by the Savior in Galilee and the onset of the long journey to Jerusalem. It also includes comments on chapters 9-16, in 248 subsections.

Book VIII continues tracking the Saviour's journey to Jerusalem, through parables and miracles. In the 96 subsections, it addresses the main events narrated by St. Luke in chapters 16-19.

Book IX comprises little information. The 39 subsections deal with the entry of the Lord in Jerusalem, the parable of the wicked husbandmen, the dispute over the Roman fees, what becomes of the soul after death in the argument against the Sadducees, all thee being narrated in chapter 20 of the Gospel of Luke.

The last book deals with the passions of Christ and His resurrection from the points of view of all the holy evangelists, highlighting the specific time of the third Gospel of the Ascension to Heaven of the Risen One. The 184 subsections deal with chapters 20-24 of the third Gospel.

The above division corresponds to the structure in this translation, although there are no indications that the ten books were grouped in this manner by the author. Moreover, the claim of St. Augustine that his mentor wrote the Commentary of the Gospel according to Luke in nine *opuscules* made the patrologists encoding text collections compress two books in one in order to achieve the number that the Bishop of Hippo suggested. The Viennese reviewers joined the first two books in our translation into one; the Maori reviewers joined Books V and VI or VI and VII (although the latter is unexpectedly long), dividing the eighth book into two! The various divisions of the text as a whole are credible when noting that, except for Books II and III, Books VIII and IX do not have an ending, the commentary flowing naturally from Book IV to Book V, from Book V to Book VI, from Book VI to Book VII, from Book VII to Book VIII. The only text that is missing is in the seventh book, between subsections 21-22, being a commentary on Luke 9: 37-56. We also have a summary comment that, in only one verse in Book VIII, 32, explains the text of Luke 17: 11-19.

All in all, *The Commentary to the Gospel according to Luke* is the longest writing of those dedicated to the third Gospel in the patristic period, in which the divine inspiration, the ancient rhetorical patterns and the urge to teach the catechumens the path of the Kingdom harmoniously intertwine.

SOURCES USED IN EXPOSITION TO THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

1. THE HOLY BIBLE

Searching carefully the Ambrosian text, we immediately notice the large number of citations and paraphrases from the biblical text. For the Gospel of Luke, there are over 250 scriptural quotations and allusions, with as many references to The Book of Psalms in the Old Testament.

The love for his calling, that of a bishop, made St. Ambrose educate himself in the study and efficient use of the Holy Bible, in preaching the true faith. Even his disciple, St. Augustine, appreciated the bishop's effort to read and understand the Holy Scripture, after nearly twelve years of episcopate.

"For I could not request of him what I wished as I wished, in that I was debarred from hearing and speaking to him by crowds of busy people, whose infirmities he devoted himself to. With whom when he was not engaged (which was but a little time), he either was refreshing his body with necessary sustenance, or his mind with reading. But while reading, his eyes glanced over the pages, and his heart searched out the sense, but his voice and tongue were silent. Oft times, when we had come (for no one was forbidden to enter, nor was it his custom that the arrival of those who came should be announced to him), we saw him thus reading to himself, and never otherwise; and, having long sat in silence (for who dared interrupt one so intent?), we were fain to depart, inferring that in the little time he secured for the recruiting of his mind, free from the clamour of other men's business, he was unwilling to be taken off. And perchance he was fearful lest, if the author he studied should express anything vaguely, some doubtful and attentive hearer should ask him to expound it, or to discuss some of the more abstruse questions, as that, his time being thus occupied, he could not turn over as many volumes as he wished; although the preservation of his voice, which was very easily weakened, might be the truer reason for his reading to himself. But whatever was his motive in so doing, doubtless in such a man was a good one" (Augustine 1992: 334).

Since the Orthodox Bishop of Milan was not so interested in knowing the text as such, but in the use of the Holy Scripture in order to deepen the divine teachings of the Holy Church, we notice the ease in reproducing passages from the Book of Psalms, evidence of cultic continuous reading of this sapiently inspired text. Noteworthy is also the way in which he makes connections between texts from different books of the Holy Bible, returning, in his plea on a word in the Gospel of Luke, to the Old Testament and segments from the Pauline paraenesis in the New Testament.

The extension of the canon of Sacred Scripture had been settled in the Church through canons 59 and 60 of the Council of Laodicea, later being acknowledged in the western part of the Roman Empire in the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397), during the writing of *The Commentary of the Gospel according to Luke*. From the Books of the Old Testament, the author does not quote from II Samuel, Nehemiah, Esther, the prophets Joel, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah and Malachi and from the Books of the Maccabees. The New Testament Books are extensively quoted. As he was the bishop of Milan, Italy, it was natural that the most used text should be the Latin version. We do not think that Jerome's translation was used – the translation which later became the official translation of the Church, in Latin Vulgate, but we do know that for some segments from Luke, he rendered the scriptural meaning closer to the Greek original. The Latin reviewers of the Ambrosian writings suggest that, for the Old Testament, he used the Greek translation known as the Septuagint, the quotations being done from the memory, with a few errors and personal additions (Jerome PL23: 712).

Of special interest for this study is the fact that the beginnings of the 10 books invariably render a verse from the Gospel of Luke, but only the initial fragment, considering that the audience or the reader knows the continuation. Hence, we indirectly deduce that the exposition was originally a catechetical text that

was also a source, implying special training for the audience, or as they say in the Catholic Christian tradition, a “lectio divina” through the constant reading of The Holy Scripture.

In order to offer an instance of biblical intertextuality, we chose a fragment from Book VII (Luke 9: 27 – 16: 16) that includes texts from the Holy Bible, the common element being “the staff”:

59. The apostles are given orders not to carry a staff in their hand - this is a detail added by Matthew (*cf. Mt 10:10*). What is the significance of the staff? The staff stands for power, and it can also be used to beat people. The Lord is humble - for “*in humility His judgment has been raised high*” (*Is 53:8*) - and, being humble, the Lord has instructed His disciples to carry out their mission in a spirit of humility.

To humility, it has pleased the Lord to join patience. We have Peter's testimony to this patience: “*When He was reviled. He did not revile in return; when He was struck, He did not strike back*” (*1 P 2:23*). What He is saying is: “Be imitators of me; drop your desire for revenge. When arrogant people strike you, do not strike back with your fists, but reply to their blows with patience and greatness of heart.”

You should never imitate actions that you abhor in others. Your very gentleness towards insolent fellows will strike them much harder than any blows. Such was the blow that the Lord returned to the man who struck Him, when He said: “*If anyone hits you on the right cheek, offer him the other one as well*” (*Mt 5:39*). It is a kind of judgment on a person, a dagger thrust in the heart, when that person perceives that in return for the wrong he has done, he receives only kindness.

60. On the other hand, there were also certain apostles sent out with a rod, as Paul indicates when he says: “*What –would you have? Do you want me to come with rod in hand, or lovingly and in a spirit of mildness?*” (*1 Co 4:21*). Paul also gave this rod to Timothy: “*Reprove, entreat, rebuke*” (*2 Tm 4:2*). Perhaps, too, before the Lord's Passion, when the minds of the people were swaying this way and that, gentleness was the one thing necessary. But after the Passion, reprimands became necessary. Yes indeed, let the Lord soothe the heart, and let Paul administer correction. Let Him who can touch even the hardest hearts, use persuasion; and let Paul, who cannot always succeed in persuasion, make use of correction. Paul, well versed in the teaching of the Law, drew from it his rod. For he had read: “*Whoever spares the rod, loves not his child*” (*Pr 13:24*). He had also read that to eat the paschal meal the Jews were commanded to have a staff in their hand (*cf. Ex 12:11*). The Old Testament also quotes the Lord as saying: “*I will visit their iniquities with a rod*” (*Ps 88:33 LXX*).

In the New Testament, however, the Lord offers Himself so as to spare the world. “*If it is I,*” He says, “*whom you seek, let these others go*” (*Jn 18:8*). In another place you read that when the apostles wanted to ask Heaven to send down fire on the Samaritans who would not welcome the Lord Jesus to their city, He turned and reprimanded them: “*You do not know,*” He said, “*of what spirit you are. The Son of Man did not come to destroy souls, but to save them*” (*Lk 9:55*).

61. It follows, then, that the more perfect are sent out without a staff; and the weaker eat with staff in hand. Yet even Paul, though he may threaten to use the rod, visits sinners in a *spirit of mildness*. As well as that, just to show you how gentle a doctor he is, he consults the wishes of those whom he is going to reprimand. “*What would you have?*” he asks, “*That I me to you rod in hand, or lovingly and in a spirit of mildness?*” (*Co 4:21*). He mentions the rod only once, but twice he adds amendments of a kinder nature; for he joins mildness to love. True, he began by threatening; but he also used kindness, for in his second letter to the Corinthians he says: “*I call God to witness upon my soul that, to spare you, I did not come to Corinth*” (*2 Co 1:23*). Now see why he thought he must spare them: “*So as not to come to you again in sorrow*” (*2 Co 2:1*). He has thrown away the rod, and what he uses now is gentleness.

62. “*Salute no one on the way*” (*Lk 10:4*).

This could strike you as somewhat harsh and arrogant, and not at all keeping with the precepts of a Lord who is gentle and humble. He had told His disciples that they must even give up their place at table (*cf. Lk 14:7sq.*), and now He is telling them: “*Salute no one on the way*”. It is a custom everywhere, and a very pleasant custom, to exchange polite greetings. It is in this manner that those of lower station win favour with those of higher station; it is a practice held in honour even among the pagans. It is a custom observed by Gentiles and Christians alike. How, then, could our Lord tear from us this pleasant mark of courtesy?

63. But, my friend, you must think a moment. He does not simply say: “*Salute no one*”, but adds: “*on the way*”. Remember that Elisha, too, when dispatching his servant to lay his staff on the dead body of the little boy, told him to salute no one on the way (*cf. 2 K 4:29*). He told him to hurry up, to lose no time in carrying out his mission, but to hasten on towards resurrection. No chat with people he might meet on the road was to delay his carrying out of this important mission.

Here, too, it is not the pleasant custom of greeting people that the Lord forbids, but rather the failure to carry out at once the task imposed, and the placing of obstacles in the way. When divine commands are issued, human customs may have to be put to one side for the present. It is a lovely thing to greet people; but the accomplishment of divine works is lovelier still - especially if done promptly. A delay in carrying out a commission often gives offence. That is why even politeness is sometimes forbidden, for fear that civility - excellent though it be - should get in the way of duty. That is, if it is a duty that *must* be performed at once.” (Ambrose 2001: 208-210).

2. ANCIENT AUTHORS

St. Ambrose came from an old family of Roman senators, converted to Christianity in the time of the persecutions. His father, also named Ambrose, was named by Constantine the Great proconsular prefect of Gaul. After his father's early death, his mother left for Rome, where his two sons were given a rich literary and legal culture. In his writings, he used all skills: those of an aristocrat with an excellent education, those of a lawyer, governor, bishop, man of authority as well as an example of humility.

The works of Virgil, Cicero, Ovid and Pliny, of the Greek Plato, Aristotle, Homer or Diogenes Laertius that would be studied during oratory, grammar and science lesson, were part of the education of the Roman young men. He cites or alludes to the Virgil's *The Aeneid* (Vergiliu 2007: 145), *Georgics* and *Bucolics* (Vergiliu 1967: 47). Book II, IV, V and IX from the Commentary abounds in literary allusions and expressions in the rhythm of Virgil, adapting the message to St. Ambrose's Christian purpose. We mention here the main references, following the Dominican Gabriel Tissot's notes in volumes 45 and 52 of Sources Chr tiennes, a collection where the father of classical Latin literature is highly praised, indicating St. Ambrose's book and cited source.

In Book I, 44 of the Commentary, he cites *The Georgics* III, 136; in Book II, 66, he alludes to *The Bucolics* IV, 61. Virgil is more often quoted in Book IV, subsection 3 (from *The Aeneid* I, 536) and section 7 (*The Georgics* II, 362 and 379), in Book V, subsection 69 (from *The Georgics* II, 507), subsection 90 (from *The Aeneid* II, 274), and subsection 94 (from *The Aeneid* VI, 598).

In Book VII of the Commentary, we find references to Virgil's work: in subsection 49 (*The Aeneid* IX, 60), in subsection 73 (*The Aeneid* II, 274) while in subsections 127 and 128 there are references to *The Aeneid* XII, 413 and III, 112, to *The Georgics* II, 401. Thrilled with Virgil's style, St. Ambrose repeats the text of *The Aeneid* VI, 724, previously stated in Commentary V, 90 - in the seventh book, subsection 113. This book of St. Ambrose, in subsection 162, also comprises a collage of *The Georgics* II, and *The*

Georgics II, 51 and 59. In Book VIII, subsection 75, we find a quote from *The Aeneid* XI, 572, while Book combines, in subsections 31, 32 and 33, ideas and words from the ancient meter as used in *The Georgics* II, 7-8, II, 354 and 373. The last reference to *The Aeneid* (I, 112 and 123) is found in Book X, subsection 149.

From Cicero, exposing his juridical training, he cites, in his Commentary, Book II, 42 (*Orator. Brutus*, 27), in Book VI, 25 (from *Pro Cn. Plancio*, 28), and in Book VII, 15 (from *De Senectute* X, 31) (Cicero 1973: 149). The same juridical preoccupation is proven in the defence of Apostle Peter whom he does not hold guilty of the threefold denial that he uttered during the Saviour's judgment by the Jewish rulers (cf. Commentary X, 72 – 93).

The ancient poet Ovid is present in the Commentary through the allusion to *Metamorphosis* XI, Book VI, 88 (Publius Ovidiu 1959: 131).

Pliny the Elder is also present through a paraphrase from *Natural History* XI, 177, in Book VII, 48 (Pliniu 2001: 56).

Ideas from Aristotle's *Magna Moralia* II, 54 (Aristotle 1910: 322) can be found in Book VII, subsection 139, alongside with those from Plato's *Timaios* 89 (Platon 1989: 351).

Diogenes Laertios' work (Diogene Laetios 1963: 89) that reminds us of Plato's *Life* (III, 83) represents for St. Ambrose a pleasant recollection, rendered in Book V, subsection 76 of The Commentary. Homer's *Iliad* (I, 249 and III, 222) and *Odyssey* (VII, IX, XI and XII) complete the sources of St. Ambrose's allusions to the Greek literature in Books VII, 12 and IV, 2 of The Commentary (Homer 1998: 244; Homer 1997: 216).

CONCLUSIONS

After being elected bishop of Milan, as a self-educated person, St. Ambrose proves outstanding literary skills, combining sacred texts with the classical ones, texts from the New Testament with the Old Testament ones.

The text explaining the sending of the Apostles to preaching is an opportunity for Saint Ambrose to explore the Book of Psalms, Proverbs and II Kings of the Old Testament as well as the New Testament Gospel of Luke and the Epistles to the Corinthians.

We understand, therefore, why St. Ambrose uses The Holy Bible as source of divine pedagogy, changing the type of education by using a pragmatic method, based not so much on exterior stereotypes, but on the (living) experience of the message they convey. The information is taken from the Bible, the content of the teaching is life in Christ and the teaching method follows the hearing-heart-annunciation route through the word (cf. Rom 10:8-11). It is a journey through The Holy Scripture and with an open end in Christ.

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**VERBAL IMPACT: PSYCHOLINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS
OF THE PROBLEM**

Natalia Peshkova

Bashkir State University, 32, Zaki Validi Street, Ufa, Russian Federation, 450076

peshkovanp@rambler.ru

Abstract

The present paper discusses some aspects of the experimental investigating the verbal impact problem. Text-types and forms of texts used by participants of communication are known to be one of important instruments of verbal influence. Our experiments demonstrate the fact that any text-type can make influence on recipient mind, having manipulative effect, among them scientific and educational texts, popular science literature. On the other hand, the results of the psycholinguistic experiments based on the “internal text” method prove the idea of “an active recipient” resisting any verbal impact. The correlation between psycholinguistic comprehension mechanisms and the laws of communication functioning in the process of verbal influence is also discussed in the article.

Key words: *communication influence, verbal impact, laws of communication, text-types, comprehension mechanisms, “internal text” method, “counter text”.*

The main task of the present paper is to consider some results of our experimental investigating psycholinguistic comprehension mechanisms functioning in the verbal impact process and interpreted from the viewpoint of communication laws action.

We should note that our experimental research is based on the idea of the interactive model of comprehension developed by Professor A. Novikov and his followers within the paradigm called by its founder as “text psycholinguistics”. According to this theory information perception and text comprehension is a on-line process of generating internal text or “counter-text” in recipient’s mind as a response to the original text playing the role of a stimulus.

We suppose that text comprehension does not mean a mutual consent between a recipient and an author. To understand is not always to share the author’s opinion or world view, to support his ideas, to agree with him absolutely. In other words a recipient’s “internal text” as a process of content interpretation and as a result of text comprehension can have a form of partial or full disagreement, or the so-called “counter-text”.

The idea of an active recipient makes the basis for the “internal text” hypothesis. The text recipient is not just a screen for projection of the original text content. An addressee is an active constructor generating his/her individual internal “counter-text” (Novikov 2003). The recipient is never a passive participant of the communication. He produces associations and internal visual images, builds personal attitudes, formulates opinions and evaluates the information emotionally and logically.

As we have mentioned above our research is carried out on the basis of the approach known in the Russian linguistics as “the Novikov school” (Vasilyeva et al. 2004) to which the author of the present paper belongs, so it is worth saying a few words on Professor A. Novikov’s text and sense theory and

his ideas of perception and comprehension in general. According to his viewpoint, in perception and comprehension the verbal form of the text is being decoded and is acquiring its content and sense in the process of interaction with the recipient's consciousness, as a result the text sense is formed as an intellectual phenomenon (Novikov 1983, p. 31).

In the process of text perception and comprehension the anticipation of the possible situation based on recipient's previous experience and knowledge plays rather an essential role (Novikov 2003, p.187). A text recipient is directed by his/her individual scheme of knowledge about the world, personal practical experience (the so-called presupposition) and besides by psychological and physiological peculiarities, age, sex etc. affecting perception mechanisms which could be considered as comprehension strategies.

The addressee comprehension strategies can be both of general and individual nature and, alongside with the text-type perceived, these strategies are responsible to a great extent for a recipient inclination to be more or less influenced by verbal texts.

What a recipient does while perceiving information in the text-form is actually dialoguing. He/she carries on a dialogue with the author of the text, with the TEXT itself, at last – with himself/herself. In this process a recipient turns to his previous knowledge and experience, to the information just taken from the text, to the personal associations and associations typical to the social group he/she belongs, then to the memory, long-term and current. All these factors, accompanied by feelings, emotions, emotional evaluations, make the ground for “the tree” of the internal text the soul of which is made up by “the emotional and sense dominant” compared with the physiological dominant introduced in A. Ukhtomsky's works (Novikov 2003).

The advantage of the experimental method suggested by A. Novikov and developed by his followers is in the fact that the method procedure makes the complicated process of comprehension explicit enough by means of recipients registering themselves their personal reactions in a written form, thereby revealing to some extent the mechanisms and strategies of text understanding. A researcher gets a unique opportunity of studying through a set of verbal reactions some deep mental process of reconstructing an initial hypothetic situation generated in recipient's mind after reading the first sentence into the final situation related to the text sense.

We should remind in short the technique procedure of the “internal text” method. The participants of our experiments aimed at simulating comprehension process are usually given the task to read the source-text sentence by sentence without running ahead and to write (to register in a written form) “everything that crosses their minds” in connection with this certain sentence. In other words they should register in a written form all the associations, emotions, evaluations, visual images, ideas, conclusions, recollections etc. that are caused by the whole sentence, by some part of the sentence, or even by separate words from the sentence. Thus a sentence plays the role of a stimulus to which a recipient gives a response in the most various forms without any restrictions.

By present 19 reaction forms have been discovered and described. The founder of the internal text method revealed 15 reactions in his studying literature and scientific texts as an object of comprehension (Novikov 2003). The research of popular science texts comprehension conducted by I. Kirsanova in her dissertation work (2007) and in cooperation with us (Peshkova et al 2010) added 2 more forms to the original list of reactions. Recent studies of the Bible comprehension carried out by Ya. Davletova (2012) also made some contribution to the internal text method. Besides some new response forms are found to be demonstrated by readers of glamour journals in the experiments made by A. Moiseyeva (2012).

It is worth mentioning the fact that according to the original “internal text” method all the reactions obtained could be divided into two groups. The ground for the reactions division is made up by their

belonging either to the text content or to the text sense. The first group includes the so-called “content reactions” which are directly connected to the content of the source-text. The second group contains “relative reactions” associated mostly with the sense of the text. While the former present various interpretations of the text content, the latter demonstrate a recipient’s attitude to the information perceived and are expressed in different forms mentioned above, among them emotional evaluations, opinions etc.

These relative reactions reveal to some extent the process of sense generation in recipients’ consciousness. In A. Novikov’s opinion relative (sense) reactions “participate in creating the emotional axiological field of intentions, aims and tendencies” (Novikov 2003, p. 69)

On the other hand if we consider the reactions constituting recipients’ “internal texts” from the viewpoint of the verbal impact problem we should find another ground for their classification. And in this way we can observe that all these reactions can be differentiated according to the criterion of comprehension mechanisms such as correlation and correction.

The correlation mechanism works in case of coincidence occurring between the author’s aim and the recipient’s intentions. The situation can be characterized as favorable for the author to reach the goal planned in advance.

The correction mechanism starts running when the author’s communicative aim and the recipient’s willingness to cooperate do not coincide (Kiselyova 1978, p. 149). Then some corrections should be admitted by both participants in case of direct communication. In the situation of indirect communication the recipient either admits or denies correcting his attitude.

To put it another way in the first case we deal with the situation of “agreement”, in the second one we can face the problem of communicative “disagreement” (Peshkova 2011, p. 167).

Thus taking into account the peculiarities of the communication mentioned above we could look at the “internal text” as a container of two reaction types – agreement response and disagreement response. The first type includes the reactions of approval, support and positive evaluation of the author’s attitude. As for the second one, it is associated with disapproval, rejection and mostly negative evaluation of the information perceived.

In our experiments we can observe the presence of the so called “counter text” or “text of disagreement” within practically each recipient’s “internal text”. However we would characterize the “counter text” not only as the text of recipient’s disagreement with the author’s attitude or the information presented in the text but also as a kind of self-defense from the information evaluated by a recipient as uninteresting, undesirable, unacceptable and even hostile to the recipient’s consciousness.

It is appropriate mention here the opinion of A. Leontyev, a well-known Russian psycholinguist, concerning the verbal impact problem. He believed that despite the author’s tendency to conceal his plans for interfering and making changes in the recipient’s consciousness, the latter while perceiving the text tries getting some data really valuable, necessary and significant to his everyday life and activities (Leontyev 2005).

We could also share the opinion of another researcher dealing with the verbal impact problem with regard to recipient’s self-defense mechanisms. A. Kotov supposes that any verbal impact stimulates in a recipient’s mind starting activities similar to “an alarm signal” or “SOS call” (Kotov 2003).

As our experiments with the “internal text” method have proved such alarm mechanisms are put in action by any verbal text, irrespective of its type and aim, which may be of manipulating, affecting or

just informing character. The recipient's responses making up the "counter text" demonstrate on the one hand the mechanism of selecting useful data and rejecting useless information accompanying the process of text comprehension, but on the other – the "counter text" is the illustration of the self-defense mechanisms "switched on" as soon as the information in the form of the verbal text enters the recipient's consciousness.

We think that the metaphor referring to a "sentry" being in recipient's consciousness introduced by P. Parshin in order to describe the above mentioned processes is quite exact in this situation. According to P. Parshin recipient's consciousness is surrounded by a barrier defending an individual from some outer influence. A recipient himself is a "sentry" guarding this barrier and controlling any invasion (Parshin n.d.).

Thus the "counter text" is considered to be the result of the "sentry's activities in the recipient's consciousness. A set of reactions constituting the "counter text" registered by recipients themselves in a written form represents a kind of material evidence of this protection barrier acting. No doubt, different addressees can use different levels of ability to self-defense depending on their individual peculiarities and the psychological type they belong to.

We have already mentioned that any "counter text" includes both relative (sense) reactions and content ones (Peshkova 2010). It should be also noted that the former are more associated with recipient's resistance and disagreement compared with the latter.

It is common practice that disagreement and disapproval are expressed in reactions of "opinion" and "evaluation". By A. Novikov's definition an "opinion" renders a recipient's personal attitude concerning some data. As for "evaluation" it is typically connected either with emotional evaluating some information or with logical, rational estimating some ideas, situations etc. We should say there are many complicated reactions in recipients' "counter texts" combining "opinion" and "evaluation" or "generalization" and "evaluation" etc.

Some examples of similar reactions from our experimental data are given below both in the original Russian language and then in the form translated into the English language. First the source sentence from a popular scientific text used as an object of comprehension is given with quotation marks followed by a recipient's response written using Italics.

«За все годы кормления акул на Багамах несчастных случаев не зафиксировано, разве что незначительные инциденты с профессионалами-кормителями».

«С какой легкостью автор пишет – видно, тоже экстремал!»

"For the years of feeding sharks on the Bahamas no accidents have been registered, if only some rather insignificant ones happened to professional feeders".

"What flippant words the author uses in writing about it – he is sure to be inclined to extreme actions!" ("general conclusion" + "evaluation")

«Такой вид дайвинга, что называется «на грани», дарит яркие впечатления, позволяя любоваться этими хищниками».

«Да просто русские – отчаянные люди!»

"Such a diving, 'on the verge' so to say, gives you lively impressions making possible admiring these beasts".

"It's so simple to explain – the Russians are just foolhardy!" ("generalization" + "evaluation")

«На Багамах понаблюдать, как кормят акул, туристы могут близ островов Большой Багама».

«Может, автор акул перепутал с дельфинами, это – правдоподобнее».

“On the Bahamas tourists can watch sharks feeding close to the islands of the Big Bahamas”.

“The author may have taken sharks for dolphins, it looks like more credible.” (“ironical assumption” + “evaluation”)

However “pure” reaction types occur rather often in recipients’ “counter texts” generated in the process of scientific text and literature perception. Bellow there are some examples presented in the same way.

«Поэтому бензиновые моторы никуда не годятся».

«Ну, это спорно и весьма!»

“That is why petrol engines won’t do”.

“Well, it’s disputable, extremely disputable!” (“evaluation”)

«Зима в наших краях хоть и долгая, но завораживающе прекрасная».

«Ненавижу зиму! Зима не может быть прекрасной!»

“Though winter in this country is long but it’s bewitchingly beautiful”.

“I hate winter! Winter can’t be beautiful” (“opinion”)

Our post experimental analysis of the “counter text” reactions proves the fact that many of them correlate with the well-known communicative pragmatic laws or in other words, demonstrate actual implementation of these laws. One of the recent works by Professor I. Sternin is devoted to the communicative laws description and analysis (Sternin n.d.). Being limited by the format of the article we can consider only some of the most popular laws of communication working within recipients’ “counter texts”.

We could start with the law of distrust and initial rejection of new ideas. Typically recipients have some doubts concerning new and unusual ideas presented in the source text and their first response is to deny the data received, at least to subject it to criticism. They may change their opinion in the process of further reading but their initial reaction is rather negative than positive one. There may be various reasons for that: from actually shocking facts or events described by the author and the information just opposite to their world vision to quite evident manipulation on the part of the author etc. In any case in the “counter texts” we deal with the response of either direct disagreement or indirect, implicit disapproval and disagreement.

We should note that direct disagreement reactions occur more frequently compared with indirect ones. The experimental data obtained by us in cooperation with I. Kirsanova (2007, 2010) and N. Anokhina (2010) prove this statement.

Bellow we present the examples of the law mentioned above taken from I. Kirsanova (2007) and N. Anokhina (2010) research works. The original sentences with quotation marks are accompanied by responses of several recipients written using Italics. The examples are given first in the original Russian and then the English languages.

«Ситуация изменилась лишь в 80-е годы прошлого века, когда К. Торн, физик-теоретик из Калифорнийского института, предложил более практичный способ использования черных дыр в качестве машин времени».

«Я думаю, что это невозможно».

«Это невероятное изобретение».

«Черные дыры, разве их можно использовать как машины времени?! И вообще разве можно перемещаться во времени?! Считаю, что нет...»

«Это нереально».

«Этого не может быть!»

«Думаю, рано думать о черных дырах!»

«Американец?! Скорее всего, идеей было использовать их в военных целях».

«Неженатый ученый с трудным детством решил выделиться».

“The situation changed only in the 80-s of the past century when K. Thorn, physicist-theorist from the University of California suggested more efficient way of using black holes as a time machine”.

“I think it is impossible”.

“It is an incredible invention”.

“Black holes, could they be used as a time machine?! And could we travel in time?! I’m sure – we couldn’t...”

“It is unreal”

“It can’t really happen!”

“I think it is too early to think about black holes!”

“He is an American, isn’t he? Wasn’t that the idea to use it for military purpose?!”

“An unmarried scientist, with hard childhood, he decided to rise above everybody.” (implicit disagreement)

«В качестве контраргумента можно привести данные статистики – за все годы кормления акул на Багамах несчастных случаев не зафиксировано, разве что незначительные инциденты с профессионалами-кормителями».

«Не верю!»

«Ну, да!!! Не может быть!»

«Врут они все!»

«Это статистика для глупых туристов! Наверняка, было немало случаев, но о них умалчивают, как всегда!»

“We can give some statistics as a counter argument – for the years of feeding sharks on the Bahamas no accidents have been registered, if only some rather insignificant ones happened to professional feeders”.

“I can’t believe it!”

“Really!!! It’s just impossible!”

“It’s a lie, stuff and nonsense!”

“The statistics is for silly tourists! There must have been a lot of accidents, but they hold back the truth as usual!”

Here are some examples of indirect disagreement concerning the same source sentence:

«Это что же за инциденты?!»

«Есть 4 вида лжи: ложь, наглая ложь, прогноз погоды и статистика...»

«А может просто некому фиксировать?»

«А что – профессионалы-кормители не люди?»

“What kind of accidents are those?!”

“There are 4 forms of lie: the lie, blatant lie, weather forecast and statistics...”

“Perhaps they have no one to register accidents?”

“And what about professional feeders – don’t they belong to people?”

Indirect disagreement and sometimes implicit protest is often observed in the reaction that we discovered later (it is not found among the reactions described by the author of the “internal text” method), we termed it as the reaction of “sense adjustment” or “sense substitution”. This reaction occurs in the situation when the information perceived by recipients contradicts their world view so much that they try suggest something more suitable and understandable instead, being irritated or sometimes confused.

We should also note that this reaction is a kind of implementation of another communicative pragmatic law, namely the law of credit to simple words and simple ideas. On the contrary we can observe in recipients’ “counter texts” that most of our experiment participants are inclined to think that complicated and intricate information does not deserve their credit.

Let us consider some examples illustrating this statement from the above mentioned sources and in the same format.

«Одна из самых сомнительных практик в дайвинг-индустрии – кормление акул, споры вокруг этой забавы в последние годы не утихают».

“Зачем это? Хищник должен сам добывать себе корм!”

“Ненормальные они все! Да и дайверы эти ненормальные. На земле у них проблем нет?! Легко живет, их на дно океана тянет!”

“Деньги девать некуда?! Да лучше бы потратились на детские дома!”

“One of the most doubtful practice in diving-industry is feeding sharks, debate around this entertainment never cease”.

“Why? The beasts must get food themselves!”

“Mad they are, all of them! And these divers are just mad. Don’t they have any problems on the Earth?! Easy life leads them to the ocean floor!”

“They are rolling in money!?! They had better spend their money on orphan’s homes!”

We could discuss one more quite “working” law of communication frequently observed in the recipients’ responses to the source texts. That is the law of detailed discussion of small points. It is a well known fact that participants of verbal communication prefer discussing rather some trifles than

serious important problems, especially when these problems make them upset or put them to inconvenience.

In our experimental data we also observe the situation when the recipients can go away from the topical problem and concentrate their attention on some details having no connection to the problems introduced by the author. In most cases it means they have neither experience, nor knowledge associated with the problem, and consequently – no interest to perceive it, think about it, evaluate the information or express their opinion on the events described.

At the last stage of our research all the experimental data have been statistically processed with the purpose of getting percentage of disagreement response, or “counter texts”, in the field of all the reactions making up recipients’ “internal texts”. The result obtained was as follows. With scientific texts used in the experiment as an object of comprehension the “counter text” reactions amount to 25%, with literature and the Bible texts this reaction-type gives 20% and 23%, correspondingly. As for the popular scientific literature the disagreement responses run up to 40% in the whole reaction field.

Thus, the statistics presented above demonstrates the significant role of disagreement reactions in the process of comprehending and interpreting any text-type. It confirms the hypothesis of an “active recipient” showing resistance in the form of internal “counter text” to verbal impact of any kind – from positive influence made with the aim of informing and educating addressee audience to negative impact performed with the purpose of manipulating or spinning recipients’ consciousness.

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**ETHNIC IDENTICITY AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS: FIELD RESEARCH
OF GERMAN ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN GLASOV**

Natalia N. Orekhova, Olga N. Obukhova

Glasov State Pedagogical University 427621 Russia Glasov, Pervomaiskaya, 25

Abstract

It is common knowledge that ethnic identity is nowadays susceptible to such global processes as labour migration, immigration, ethnic mixing etc. This paper looks in more detail at identity in the local German community in Glasov (Russia, Udmurt Republic). The research was done on the basis of interview and questionnaire data, with 75 respondents, both in Russia and Germany, within the span of 7 years (2006 - 2012).

Key words: *ethnic Germans, identity, distinctive identity markers, common territory, _ethnic language, religion everyday family culture, folklore, crafts, behavior code, common historical experience.*

Ethnic Germans, descendants of maternity colonies in Russia and USSR who were conveyed to Glasov from the Volga - Urals Region - in 1949-1950, made up a large population section of 6801 (Кельм 2006: 43). Today the number is 176 (All - Russia Population Census - 2010), with over 1.000 repatriated to Germany in 1990s. Only 15 respondents in the senior age group (60-87) speak vernacular German, though sporadically. The situation of language shift reflects global tendencies (Crystal 1997, Иванов 2004: 143-146) with some local peculiarities.

A sociolinguistic study reveals that a bilingualistic model, expedient in multilingual communities, proved insufficient due to some factors. Among them we should list a long-lasting negative attitude to Germans in the post-war USSR, alongside with social discrimination, limited chances for mobility, higher education and professional career. For decades, many Germans, particularly males, concealed their identity, refused to learn the vernacular or Standard German. Today 4 respondents (aged 60-67 years) persist in denying their identity. On the other hand, females have been much more eager to acquire mother tongue, they preserve ethnic tradition, stimulated their children/grandchildren to master German. Among the sections of Glasov German Culture Centre (GCC) "Wiedergeburt" (Revival), the Women's Club/Senioren Club is a most creative one, operating on a regular basis in weekly sessions. Language drill is practiced as well as choir rehearsals, traditional holiday sessions, cuisine presentation, receiving ethnical Germans from Udmurtia and FRG. Memorial and mourning ceremonies on Deportation Day (August 28, 1941), Christmas and Easter celebrations gather many scores of German descendants from Glasov and outside. Being involved in the work of the GCC, we are inclined to consider ethnic language/vernacular to be as crucial in identity as the customs, traditions, folklore, lifestyle and ethnic mentality, the latter distinctions more persistent.

Field work started in 2007, includes regular "involvement observation", interviewing, recording, perceptive analysis and instrumental analysis (GoldWave, Praat). Within a small vernacular community both common linguistic traits and considerable variation is observed. A large-scale interference of Russian is common on all levels: phonetic, prosodic, lexical, morphological, syntactical. On the other

hand, the two basic German dialect distinctions (Low German and High German) are marked, as well as present day structural changes typical both of dialect variation and Standard German. Methodology and intermediate results of field research will be elaborated for poster presentation.

Ethnical Germans on the Territory of the Udmurt Republic, Russia



Beyond any doubt, identity is an interdisciplinary area of research, and its markers (subareas) have been elaborated in special literature (С.А. Арутюнов, Ю.В. Арутюнян, А.А. Сусоколов, Л.М. Дробижева, М.В. Крюков, Ю.В. Бромлей, В.А. Тишков, L. Varzini, M. Mead, F. Riggs). The distinctive identity markers are shown in the table:

Distinctive identity markers

common territory	language	religion	everyday family culture	family set-up	folklore	crafts	behavior code	common historical experience	psychological make up
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

The markers are changeable, from predominant to recessive, and they are correlative with a number of factors – political, social, interethnic, demographic, etc.

Today the German community in Glasov, according to the All-Russia Census – 2010, numbers 176 ethnic Germans, aged from 92 to 2 years.

The elder age group (92 - 60) were conveyed to Glasov in 1942 – 49 after they had been deported from South and Central Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Volga Region into Western Siberia and Kazakhstan. Aged from 16 to 55, they were considered “mobilized into labour columns” to work in the building industry, coal and turf mining (approximately 10,000 in Glasov and Glasov District). Though the new “labour army soldiers” (“trudarmeitsi”) lived with their families, they were obliged to arrive at the Special Military Commissar’s Office once a month for a check-up. It is common knowledge for Glasovites that thanks to their hard work quite a number new factories, plants and new blocks of flats have been built in Glasov.

As to the first parameter, common territory, it has always been of minor importance with ethnic German settlers in Russia / USSR. The Germans coming to Russia during the late 18-early 20th centuries, lived mostly in rural areas across the whole territory, Central Asia being the extreme eastern part. Today, traditional “German language islands” are considerably stable in West Siberia, the Altai Region, Kazakhstan, and since 2011 attempts have been made to re-vitalize German settlements in the Volga Region (Saratov).

Ethnic language is unanimously considered to be most crucial within ethnical identity structure, being the spiritual backbone and means of reflecting a peculiar picture of the outer (and inner) world. The German community in Glasov is linguistically extremely heterogeneous. The linguistic competence ranges from non-speaking / reading to full-fledged skills. In the eldest age group the respondents speak “dialectally mixed” vernacular, with the traits of Swabian, South German and Low German dialects (12 respondents). It should be stressed that the senior group members have mastered their mother tongue within the family, which is the easiest, most efficient and natural way to learn a language. Middle age

group (45 – 59 years) had different experience in learning German: from grandparents and elder relatives, at high school and university, through self-instruction (37 respondents). Only a few of them can speak Standard German, comprehend and have writing skills, the rest of the group understand the text, know the most common oral clichés and can produce simple sayings. It should be mentioned that Germans speaking mother tongue was strongly demotivated since childhood, because many Russians considered German “the language of fascist invaders”. Several informants told that German kids used to be punished for speaking their mother tongue in the kindergarten (early 1950s). “The German language and my “Deutschtum” became hateful to me”, “German was the tongue of grandparents, absolute useless in my life and career”, respond some more respondents in the elder age group. Just the other way round, 3 respondents in the elder age group who have never concealed their categorization, have mastered German in the family from the elder relatives. On the whole, we witness a vivid example of language shift, a voluntary change from German to Russian, the language of the majority. Nevertheless, German is taught in the special classes sponsored by Germany. Besides, some informants the younger age groups, strongly motivated to master German, have achieved very good results.

The blank form

Населенный пункт: Langen

1. Пол: муж 62 жен
 2. Возраст: 62
 3. Семейное положение: женат
 4. Сколько у вас детей младше 18 лет: 5
 5. Образование: среднее
 6. Профессия: шофер
 7. Кем Вы работаете в настоящее время: штатный шофер
 8. К какой национальности Вы себя относите: немец
 9. Что в Вашей семье является главным при определении национальности ребенка:

а) национальность отца
 б) национальность матери
 в) родной язык
 г) культура
 д) религия
 е) место проживания

ж) право на выезд в Германию
 з) желание ребенка
 и) другое
 к) затрудняюсь ответить

10. Какова национальность Ваших родителей, дедушек и бабушек:

Отец	родители отца		Мать	родители матери	
	дедушка	бабушка		дедушка	бабушка
<u>немец</u>	<u>немец</u>	<u>немец</u>	<u>немец</u>	<u>немец</u>	<u>немец</u>

11. Если Ваше происхождение является смешанным, почему Вы считаете себя немцем (немецкой)?

12. Какова национальность Вашего супруга?
русская

13. Какова национальность Ваших детей?
немец

14. Насколько важна для Вас Ваша национальная принадлежность? (по 10-балльной шкале, где 1 - самая низкая оценка, 10 - самая высокая)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
									<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

15. Прочтите внимательно и выберите те признаки, которые роднят Вас с народом российских немцев (не более трех):

а) обычаи, обряды, традиции;
 б) черты характера, психология;
 в) песни и танцы;
 г) язык;
 д) место проживания;
 е) историческая судьба, прошлое;
 ж) внешность;
 з) эпос, предания, сказки;

и) природа, географическое пространство, территория;
 к) литература;
 л) родственные связи в Германии;
 м) что-то другое (что именно);
 н) ничего не роднит

16. На какие сферы жизни влияет Ваша национальная принадлежность? (можно указать два варианта)

а) культурная
 б) профессиональная
 в) семейная
 г) религиозная
 д) политическая
 е) не влияет
 ж) затрудняюсь дать ответ

As to the local German vernacular as a whole, it demonstrates considerable changes, some due to intralingual tendencies (simplification). Others are motivated by the Russian language impact. The subject of changes will be discussed further.

German is regularly spoken at more or less official occasions, e.g. during the "Seniorenklub" sitting or traditional holiday sessions the German Choir rehearsals etc. It is worth mentioning that Glasov Branch of All – Russia German National Culture Autonomy became an attraction for those who love German language and culture – teachers, high school students, university students and workers. They come to celebrate holidays, sing in the choir or attend classes of German.

It is in the eldest age group with the respondents who can speak the vernacular German that some common traits can be observed:

Phonology

In the consonant system:

- consonant shift №2: [p] → [pf]; [t] → [ts]; [k] → [kx];
- voiced/voiceless consonant opposition is weakend: *fātər/ fādər* "Vater";
- assimilation in consonant clusters is regularly marked: *plādoitšə sī dī* „Plattdeutsche sind die“, *ferštēs das* „verstehst du das“, *undort* „und dort“, *vas ič midəmaxə* „was ich mit dem mache“, *nax zən vir* „danach sind wir“, *māma fortkfārən sət* „Mama fortgefahren sind“.

In the vowel system:

- diphthongization of long vowels is regular /ī/ → /əi/, /ī/ → [ae] → /ai/: *tsvaiuntsantsiç* „zweiundzwanzig“, *fartsīç* „verzeihe“, *frəitsəit* „Freizeit“, *mīnən* „meinen“, *tsvai* „zwei“, *draiunddraisiç* "dreiunddreißig“, *aimāls* "einmal(s)", *ar bait* „arbeitet“, *maine* "meine“;
- monophthongization is strongly marked /oi/ → /ū/: *bəfründət* "befreundet“;
- delabialization ö/, /ü/ → /ī/, /ē/: *draəunfirtsīç* „dreiundvierzig“, *fifunfirtsīç* „fünfundvierzig“, *frīər* „früher“, *fīnstə* „fünfte“, *fifunfirtsəç* „fünfundvierzig“, *frīər* „früher“, *šēn* „schön“;
- narrowing ā → /o/: *vorən* „waren“, *obən* „abends“, *joər* „Jahre“;
- assimilation: *ersteə brūdeə* „erster Bruder“, *deə* „der“, *nuə* „nur“, *vātən* „warten“, *imē* „immer“, *zē* „sehr“.

Morphology

- reduction of inflexion: *jakob is imjə krīg gəštorbm* „Jakob ist in dem Krieg gestorben“, *jā / dī zins* „ja, die <...> sind's“, *jəmān hā da in niç gəšelten* „jemand hat da ihn nicht gescholten“, *in dər šūle ar bait ər* „in der Schule arbeitet er“, *vəns interesant is* „wenn es interessant ist“, *ər hairat maine mutər* „er heiratet meine Mutter“, *dəv hais oto* „der heißt Otto“;
- unification of inflexions in the case system of the noun (Dative and Accusative forms): *injə krīg* „in dem Krieg“, *un dan tsōgen žī ən kaukaz* „und dann zogen sie in den Kaukasus“, *midē maxe* „mit dem mache“, *n nīderland* „in den Niederlanden“;
- reduction of the plural nominal inflexions: *ər vār tsvaiuntsantsiç tāk* „er war 22 Tage“, *tsvai garažə* „zwei Garagen“.

In **syntax**, within a large-scale Russian structural interference, the traditional pattern ADvPS has become less regular, nor is the “Rahmenkonstruktion” strictly observed: *iç bin gəborən zaporošžkə gəbīt xorkovskī rajon seļō vodjānoə Dorf vodjānoə* „ich bin geboren in dem Gebiet Saporoshje Gorkovskiji Rayon, in der Siedlung Vodlanoje, im Dorf Vodlanoje“.

On the **prosodic level**, the rhythmic structure is less tense, the final syntagm in the utterance lacks fall. The latter is accounted by the Russian and also Udmurt prosodic patterns, with incomplete fall and lengthening of the final stressed vowel.

In the **lexicon**, there is a considerable number of Russian translation loans denoting realia not to be found in German: *vojənkomat* „военкомат“, in *glazof* <...> *vyzov* „вызов в Глазов“, *trudarmə* „трудармия“, *komendatura* „комендатура“, etc. Russian particles, modal and parenthetical words have become conventional, e.g. *vōt, nū, dā, tam, nū ətō samoje, ī: Das war sehr schweres Jahr da 1937, ətō, da ist er gestorben dort in Kaukas schon. Hy, Feiertag. Hy, wie soll ich sagen noch? Hy, wie die Deutsche immer gefeiert haben, Weihnachten, ətā Ostern mam, Neujahr, ətō. Hy ətā, waren in der Kirche. Ukraina, das ist ein ganz ander Land jetzt, ətō. Bom, Deutschland. Hy, wohnen wir dort. Mein Mann ist, ətō, wie das jetzt ist. Er arbeit(et), studiert, nū, ətō samoe, Deutsches und u Russisches.*

Religion is regarded by ethnologists as a crucial consolidating factor. But for decades the Soviet authorities have persecuted religion whether Russian Orthodox, Lutheran or Mennonite denomination. Nevertheless, childhood memories of Christian Easter, Christmas or Advent have become part and parcel of the celebrations, festive decoration and the cousin. The traditional holiday sessions have a religious colouring. During Christmas and Easter celebrations, the choir sings the prayers (hymns) “Großer Gott”, “Christ ist aufgestanden”, the former is also performed on funeral occasions. The Glasov German community is unanimous in regarding Christmas and Easter the major religious occasions free from consumerism, fairly common nowadays, both in Russia and elsewhere. There also remains a common Protestant tradition to mark the coming Christmas with a special Advent Calendar, which is popular in the eldest age group.

The Easter celebration of the German community



Religion Everyday family culture (housekeeping, hygiene, food) has also preserved ethnic peculiarities. At the level of livelihood special dishes have become a sociocultural marker, e.g. Strudel, Schneeball Suppe, baked goose with Sauerkraut etc. In the families there is a tradition of following major religious holidays, Christmas and Easter with cooking particular dishes.

The family set up is also peculiar. 95% of the respondents are married, being single is extinct. The marriages are mixed (94%), with two children as a rule, divorce is extremely rare. Most respondents have graduated from universities or colleges, it is more typical of females (engineer, kindergarten teacher, high school teacher, doctor, economist). Categorization of children in mixed families is done on the consensus basis, e.g. with two children, one characterized as German the second as Russian. The data of the questionnaire among the Glasovites who emigrated to Germany in 1990s, are somewhat divergent from those obtained in Glasov. The respondents total 16, from Northern Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen, Saarbrücken) are mostly engaged in manual labour or service (driver, shop assistant, high school graduate, etc.). Only few have been qualified as economist, lawyer, or engineer. In these families children have also received university degree or are being trained for it. 22% characterized themselves as “Russian German” or “Russian”, which testifies to an insufficient adaptation in Germany, a sort of alienation from the German community. The respondents place a high value on being in touch with Russian German/Russian relatives. As different from the bulk of the respondents in Glasov, in the given subgroup, such identity markers as ethnical folklore (literature, music), lifestyle and family history are considered less relevant. On the whole, assimilation process is clearly marked (younger respondents can neither speak nor write Russian), though it does not involve all the spheres of the emigrants’ livelihood (a similar view has recently been expressed in the research by K. Meng, E. Protasova).

German folklore is well-known to the respondents in Glasov, i.e. fairy tales and their characters, legends, proverbs, nursery rhymes, etc. Quite a number of them sing in the choir, the rehearsals are held on a weekly basis. Naturally, the traditional German melodically structure has been changed into unison singing, “open voice” technique and greater emotional charge than the ethnical prototypes, which is also Russian impact.

The Choir of the ethnic Germans of Glasov



Crafts are not popular, but some respondents display high artistic skill as blacksmiths, or in carpentry. Some women before retirement used to be professional cooks, having introduced elements of German cuisine into the traditional Russian menu (fruit soup).

Behavior patterns code seems to be correlative with psychological makeup. Most typical are the eagerness to do the job perfectly, responsibility, sober and practical attitude to the problems and difficulties arising, a rational turn of mind alongside with compassion. Family history is well-known and cherished, among all the age groups, including the youngest. In some families written family history has been compiled. The respondents regularly visit the families with 80 – 90 year old members of the “labour front” (1942 - 1955), talk and to do the chores.

In the course of field research our hypothesis on common historical experience as a formidable ethno-consolidating factor, proved to be valid. The older generation cherish memories of hardships and injustice of the deportation, and the way they managed to overcome the hardships, which creates a consolidating emotional memory. In the younger age groups ethnicity is not concealed, moreover, kids and young people are proud of their German ancestors and eager to probe into the family history deeper.

By way of summing up, in the course of field research it was established that ethnicity is a category that changes with regard to time and situation. The ten parameters / markers of identity are dynamic, responding to objective factors (political system, ethnic policy of the state, territorial administration) and individual-oriented factors (empathic attitudes, memories, motivations, family history etc.) With regard to the ethnic Germans of Russia the factor of common historical experience is the most crucial ethno-consolidating factor.

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**PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW SLANG
IN PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION**

Anna M. Marinova, Penka A. Marinova, Iveta M. Popova, Pavlinka P. Dobrilova
Medical University Sofia, "Prof. Ivan Mitev, Ph.D" Branch, Vratsa

Abstract

The differences between the languages of communication of the new generation and their parents have never been as big as they are now. Because of that, there is not only frequent misunderstanding of the messages sent from communicator to recipient but to a serious clash on a psychological level. If a few decades ago the use of slang in our country was considered avant-garde, nowadays it is a matter of adequacy and inclusion into the new communication environment. From a psychological point of view the new slang can be considered nearly as a new language and its acquiring is crucial for the successful communication between parents and children, students and teachers, internet users and the general public. The basic assumption of this article is the idea that knowledge of the rules of this new slang and the correct interpretation of its words and expressions can give us better understanding of the child's needs and promote an effective two-way communication between children and parents.

Key words: children, parents, teachers, environment, slang, the web, social networks, listening, verbal and written communication.

- Hi, bro, wd?
- I'm OK, playing CS. Do we jam tonight? I want hard drums.
- I'm ready, bro. Twit the poster for the fest and I'll post info for the friends in the Face. Going to smoke a joint now. BRB
- NP, BB.

Many people in Bulgaria will find this dialogue absolutely incomprehensible, but any contemporary teenager will understand without any problem the meaning encrypted in the words. This dialogue is a quote from chat on the web between two youngsters and contains terms often used in the new slang of the young generation and the internet users. The differences between the language used by the new generation and that of their parents are bigger than ever before. It often causes not only misunderstanding of the message from communicator to recipient but also a serious clash on a psychological level. Until a few decades ago, the use of slang was a matter of difference and avant-, garde. Nowadays it is a matter of adequacy and inclusion into the new communication environment. From a psychological point of view the new slang can be considered nearly as a new language and its acquiring is crucial for the successful communication between parents and children, students and teachers, internet users and the general public.

What is the translation of the new slang

Here is the translation of the above dialogue so that Bulgarian parents who do not speak English can understand:

- Hi, brother, what are you doing?
- I'm OK, playing CS (the computer game Counter-Strike). Shall we play music live with our friends online tonight? I want hard drums.
- I'm ready, brother. Post to Twitter an announcement of the fest and I will post information for the friends in Facebook. Now I am going to smoke a marijuana cigarette. I'll be right back.
- No problem. Bye-bye.

The original chat has many borrowings from English, abbreviations and dialects. The mix is so drastic that to understand this brief dialogue you have to know many things from different spheres. Confusion also comes from the fact that purely English abbreviations are written in Cyrillic letters and vice versa. The informal way of writing of Cyrillic texts with the help of unorganized combinations of properly spelled borrowings, Latin letters, figures and other computer symbols (known in English as leet or l33t) activates different parts of the human brain and demands from the users a flexible mind, high concentration and good memory to catch up with the ever-changing terminology.

Recently in similar dialogues, both on the web and "live", abbreviations like "brb" and "bb" are written in their Cyrillic versions "брб" and „бб“, and the uninitiated reader or listener is left to guess what their meaning is. In fact these are abbreviations of the English expressions „be right back“ and „bye-bye“.

The existence of many such abbreviations in oral and chat communication necessitated the creation of whole glossaries of interpretations to help the "uninformed" listener or reader.

How did we get to the situation that children and parents, students and teachers, young and old do not understand each other in the same language? And how a complicated slang with such a variety of elements was born? There are a few factors which influence this process, directly or indirectly.

Factors that determine the problems in the dialogue between different generations

Communication between representatives of different generations is made difficult not only by the fact that a new type of slang is used but also by the huge differences between young and old in their worldviews and perception of the environment.

New words

The generation gap is so huge because of the dynamic environment and the rapid development of technologies. Children grow up in a world where mobile phones, portable computers, remote controls, electronics in cars, computer games and robots are natural elements of the environment. For them words like smartphone, tablet, e-mail, laptop and ipod are a part of their own language because they hear and learn them from their parents while growing up. These words were included only a year ago in the official spelling dictionary of the Bulgarian language prepared by the experts of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. For older generations the same words will always be borrowings "imported" from abroad. So it is not possible the perception of the different generations of these expressions to be the same.

Different attitude to the world

The drastic social and economic changes of the last two decades opened an even more drastic generation gap in the attitudes to the world. Modern teenagers are freer in their relations, more adaptive to changes and innovations and more liberal. They are not ashamed to talk about sex, discuss their bodies and the opposite sex, use obscenities and do many other things their parents (especially the parents of older children) considered to be taboos. Children have a different attitude towards money, material objects and work that no other generation in retrospect ever had. Modern children are often overindulged with

toys and other possessions and their wishes are fulfilled unquestioningly by their parents. This brought about enormous changes in their values as well as new obstacles to communication between different generations due to the misunderstanding of the true value of material and non-material.

Different family

Family environment is a factor that created another barrier between young and old. Today divorces are not a precedent but a daily occurrence. One in every two children is not only a child of divorced parents but a participant in a new family formation with a stepmother and stepfather, step-brothers, stepsisters, etc. In no other moment in history has marriage had such a low status. Nowadays people generally prefer not to marry but to live with their partners in cohabitation. On the other hand, many countries legalized same-sex marriage and this totally changed people's perceptions of love, partnership and even parenting. Meanwhile, for many people, affairs with other men and women became a matter of prestige or sport, or just a desire to be "like the others". This belittled and blurred the functions of the family as the institution and the place of bringing up, educating and making a child a person.

Quite understandably, these and other factors have had a negative impact on communication between generations. This in itself has made dialogue complicated even without the use of the new slang.

New communication in writing

Modern technologies definitely were the major factor to influence today's communication. Chat and audio and video conferences through Skype and other media made contacts easier from a technical point of view than ever before. Now everyone can talk to everyone else anywhere in the world, if they have an internet connection and the respective hard- and software. Social networks like Facebook and Twitter became a new (although virtual) habitat for all young and most of the not so young internet users. Direct communication in person and verbal dialogue were replaced by communication in writing by chats and posts in the social networks and SMS by mobile phones. This fact has two sides to be taken into consideration when analyzing communication not only between generations but between individuals.

On the one hand, written communication offers more anonymity and helps remove certain purely psychological barriers that occur in the direct contact between two persons. It permits us to talk more sincerely and bravely and to share problems and worries. When writing and reading an SMS, one can think over one's lines in advance and even edit what has been told. That gives one better security and stability during the talk. Also, the written form of communication does not show the emotions of the two communicators, even when emoticons are used to express the writer's feelings. This can be considered an advantage because sometimes emotions can be a serious problem in communication.

On the other hand, however, written communication has many disadvantages. The inability to surely capture the feelings of the other party can sometimes turn the dialogue into an indifferent exchange of words and increases the risk of misunderstanding the message. Such communication is not typical of mankind as a whole, has rarely happened so far and can become a whole new, unknown and unstudied type of interpersonal communication. Anonymity can give freedom in the chat but it does not in any way guarantee the authenticity of the messages received. Because of the possibility to keep someone's identity and features secret, the quantity of false information coming both ways is dramatically rising. So you cannot be certain that whatever comes to you on the web is true.

One of the most serious problems is due to the fact that new technologies allow fast and easy communication from home and gives occasion to young people to limit their "live" contacts. Most of the youngsters stay home for days on end in front of the computer, smartphone or tablet. Many have a lot of virtual friends but not a single friend in the real world. This deprives the communicators of the

pleasure of body language and socialization through touch and mimics. Such young people gradually lose all desire and ability of normal communication and live in unreal worlds of their own created on the basis of fanciful ideas and imaginations. This often leads to serious psychological problems like fears of meeting strangers, psychological conflicts due to divergence of idea and reality, changed perceptions of the surroundings, anxiety disorders during a longer stay in other places of the real world. This refers not only to young people but to older ones who adhere to this way of written communication within a virtual environment of family and friends.

Besides the problems on a psychological level resulting from predominant communication in writing in the chat or by SMS, there are also many problems on the physical level. Nowadays young people lead a sedentary life and do not play sports, do not go out in the open and spend most of their time in the magnetic radiation of various devices. The results are alarming – obesity, low immunity, high incidence of chronic diseases, etc.

Chatting with a parent

The fact that children prefer to communicate in writing on the web and via SMS had a strong impact on their communication with their parents. Conversations proceed in a written form and some situations are totally absurd: a parent and a child in adjacent rooms or sitting side by side write on Skype or send each other text messages on mobile phones.

The opportunity to send a text message to the parent is an interesting phenomenon from a psychological point of view. The positive aspect is that it gives the child the feeling of safety and the child can always get in touch with family and friends to consult them about an important issue, to ask for help about making a decision, to warn of being late, to make an appointment, etc. The negative aspect is that the child can develop an undue dependence on this kind of safety by the constant chat with the parent. Whenever this communication is impossible the child can easily panic, the level of anxiety rises, the child loses concentration and can fall into affect.

This situation with all positive and negative aspects is a fact that cannot be put aside or neglected and must be accepted. Bearing in mind the constant development of technologies, the tendency is that it is yet to develop and establish.

Such “text” communications cause the parents, even against their wishes, to directly face the new slang in its written form. Usually this is a real trial for the parents, especially older ones, who will have to make the effort of learning this strange “language”. From a psychological point of view, parents are advised not to resist such communication and try to change the child’s means of expression but to study it well and learn to “decode” the child’s strange messages. If the parent opposes them violently and prohibits them, this can lead to frustration, conflict and a feeling of being misunderstood. Today’s youngsters find it hard to understand why it is necessary to use a different language of communication when talking to a friend and to a parent or another adult, because slang is a natural element of their everyday life and their process of their growing up. If children are forbidden to use words and expressions from their communication with their friends and peers, they may find no alternative manner of expression of the things that excite them. Instead, they may refuse to communicate and may clam up. For this reason, it is better for the parents to learn and understand the chat and SMS of their children than to neglect the

Slang training

This can prove very hard for some adults, especially for more conservative-minded adults, because there is no training system for slang communication, no textbooks, software or special courses (the idea of

courses is a new one and can be applied by psychologists in the sphere of family consulting). Learning is, however, possible and can be achieved in several ways. The most suitable of them are:

- Active listening

Listen to your child! Listening, perceiving and remembering of the things your child says are the best thing parents can do to make themselves familiar with the words and expressions of the new slang. Listening is the best teacher and the easiest way of perception. Psychologists recommend parents to listen not only to their own children but also to other children of the same age. Listen to the children talking at the bus stop, in the candy shop or in the café. .. Their talks are similar to your children's talks with their friends. Even try to attend the moments when your child is communicating with his or her own environment. You will not only learn the new slang but will be able to compare your own children with their peers. This parallel is very useful and gives a lot of information to be used in your communication and bringing up of the child.

- Search the web

Have no doubts: on the web there is a lot of information about anything, so this is the place to look up data about the new slang. In fact this is the exact place that parents need to visit. Since children spend more than half of their time on the web, parents must make themselves well familiar with this virtual environment. It contains the most comprehensive dictionaries of slang words, strange abbreviations, Skype terminology, etc. Psychologists will advise you: if you come upon a strange word of unknown or ambiguous meaning, do not hesitate to look it up in Google, for example.

- Make friends in the social networks

The social networks are an excellent place for you to follow your child from without intruding. Become his friend in Facebook and Twitter and see what is posted on his "wall". Do the same with his friends, if he does not mind that. You will be able to see their talks and become familiar with the latest news. That is a good method to communicate with youngsters when you have no time or opportunity to do it in reality. Social networks publish all kinds of photos, announcements and messages whose authors maybe the children are not but which indirectly express their opinions, preferences and emotions. In this way you will be aware of the moods of your children, what is happening to them and what approach to use in your communication with them at the specific moment.

- Children and teen movies

Do not be ashamed to see at least one children or teen movie. Even in the movies for very young kids you will find words and expressions you do not know but which belong to the "kid slang". There you can meet your children's favorite characters. They not only teach kids new words and methods of communication but also demonstrate models of behavior which youngsters copy when trying to imitate their heroes. Movies for older children are an inexhaustible source of information of the developing psychology of the child during his or her most worrisome and dynamic period – the age of puberty. Most of these movies reflex what happens in reality. Problems are the same, as well as wishes, dreams, events and everything else. When watching a teen film, remember that you are watching an episode of your child's life. This can be stressing for the adult, especially when the episode is about sex and love. Adults should not ignore this part of their children's lives because of shame or desire to reject reality. They should meet and accept it and help the children solve the problems that accompany their growing up. Teen movies contain many dialogues in the modern "youth language" which can be very informative and instructive.

- Play a computer game

The next recommendation of psychologists to adults is to go back to their childhood. This can prove really pleasant and funny. Ask your children what computer games they are playing and play one with them. If you think that will be rather frustrating for the child, do it secretly. Play at least one of the child's favorite ones to understand the virtual world where he or she plays parts and performs tasks that are different from the ones performed in reality. Thus you will discover some new values in their lives. You will learn new words, mostly of English origin. You will face another variety of the new slang – the so called gaming slang. It consists mainly of gamers' words, expressions and abbreviations which are often used in ordinary conversations on subjects unrelated to computer games. For instance gg (good game), ns (nice shot), ftw (for the win)), etc. On the web you can find tutorial textbooks in gaming slang, specialized dictionaries and even video lessons. Gaming is an integral part of the child's life today and one of the most important factors of building behavior, outlook and ways of communication.

- Talk to other parents

It is always useful to talk to other parents – as the saying goes, two heads are better than one. You can discuss the new slang with another parent, comment on communication issues, compare your child's development with another child's. If you have missed something, the other parent may have “caught” it, and vice versa. Most important are your meetings with the parents of your child's friends because you can most effectively compare this information about your child and his environment to information coming from other channels. At least once or twice a month, it is good to organize meetings with other parents. These should be informal and spontaneous to avoid communication barriers.

- Consult a teacher

Teachers are the people who most often face any new slang used by the children. They are usually quite familiar with the words and know much more about it than parents because at school children are different from what they are at home. It may sound incredible, but sometimes parents cannot recognize their own children's behavior recorded by the school's surveillance camera during an ordinary school day. That is why consultations with a teacher are highly recommended when you need more information about your child and the ways of communication. All schools have a special day of consultation with form-masters and other teachers. You can usually count on teachers' understanding and cooperation.

- Ask the child for help

There are situations where it is best to directly ask for the help of the child as the original and most reliable source of information. If you can't find the meaning of a certain word, if you are not sure about the best way to communicate with a child of that age, or want to know more about the child's world, trust your child and ask directly. The child will appreciate the fact that you ask his help first and value highly his knowledge. This will strengthen the parent-to-child bond. In the future, whenever the child needs help or consultation, he can approach you in the same way and ask you directly.

- Attend an event together

You all have busy lifestyles, many professional duties and domestic commitments, etc. but please try to spend more time with your child, and not only at home but also in new places. Go to a show together, have an ice cream or a drink in a café. You will see and hear your child in a different environment where he or she will behave differently, so you will hear the new slang in authentic surroundings and learn many new things about the child's adaptation to different situations.

How are parents to write and speak?

Parents may worry that if they use slang, their authority over the child will suffer and they will look ridiculous in front of others. Adults are partly right about authority: although it is good for the child to accept his parents as friends, he must know that they are the elder and he is the younger, that parents make the important decisions, bear responsibilities, know better because of their greater knowledge and experience, and that parents' advice is important and should be respected. Therefore, a certain healthy distance is to be found, not to separate "the young" from "the old" but to determine the positions in their relations.

The use of slang in verbal communication can dangerously shorten that distance and the parent can lose his position of a responsible adult in relation to the child and his friends. Moreover, an adult who uses too many words of youth slang in his speech may look ridiculous in his child's eyes and all the good intentions may bring harm instead of advantage. The child may start to be ashamed of his parents and avoid communicating with them in public places. Here psychologists recommend that parents should stick to their own style of verbal communication but allow the child to use slang and demonstrate that they understand him perfectly. Sometimes, however, they can use slang words from the child's vocabulary. For instance some unobtrusive English words like "hi" and "bye" instead of their Bulgarian counterparts. This strategy will make the child feel his parent closer while keeping the necessary distance in their relations. The child will trust the parent more and will be ready to share more about some situations which could be held back if he was afraid of being misunderstood.

The written form of communication is more suitable for the use of slang, mainly in the chat and SMS. The reason is that the information is received visually. The child expects to see exactly that in his chat and will be less surprised when the parent uses typical chat slang. Even more, this type of behavior can be very useful for the fall of some psychological barriers in communication. A conversation between a parent and a child started in the chat with some elements of slang and continued in person can be beneficial to both parties.

Some Features of the chat

Verbal slang, although initially shocking, is quickly accepted by parents and they easily adapt to it. The reason is that the information is received through hearing and, with the exception of some unknown words and abbreviations, no other "shortcomings" of the language are perceived. When this slang is read in its written form, however, parents can be highly indignant, especially at first sight. Here the reason is that slang has a lot of unofficially accepted rules that are in total conflict with all grammar and spelling rules of the respective language.

One of the most drastic chat rules is the nearly absolute absence of capital letters. Sometimes you may not see a single capital letter either at the beginning of sentences or in the names. The whole text is in a solid block of lowercase letters. This tires the eye and strains the mind, especially if you usually work with grammatically correct texts. It may sound surprising, though, that many adults, too, communicate on the web with incorrect grammar. This fact may be irritating but we'd better accept it than criticize it severely. No adult is obliged to accept such writing style. On the contrary, if the parent chats with his child in a grammatically correct style, he can have a positive effect on the child and the youngster can learn and finally accept the correct style of the parent.

Another striking feature of the chat on the web and in mobile phone SMS is the absence of punctuation. Commas that young people rarely put in their right places even in Bulgarian language lessons at school are absent as if they never existed. Other punctuation is rare. Questions usually end without question marks and statements end without full stops. It is also strange to read sentences that do not start with capital letters. Messages are unclear to the uninitiated adult who will find it difficult to interpret them.

Among the most irritating features in the chat is the use of figures, Latin letters and keyboard symbols in messages that are obviously written in Bulgarian. This style is similar to the English “leet” but looks even stranger. It is to be found also in other countries that use the Cyrillic alphabet – Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. To the unacquainted adult such a message can look like a coded one and he can even refuse to read it. Here are some examples:

- Messages in the Bulgarian language can be transliterated with English letters, and some sounds that don't have separate letters of their own in English (like ch in child and sh in sheep) receive the figures 4 and 6 because the Bulgarian words for 4 (chetiri) and 6 (shest) start with these combinations when transliterated in English.
- Many messages are made directly in English but use many abbreviations. 10x means “thanks” (you can also find it as tnx); CU means “see you”; R U OK means “Are you OK?”. All this is used for the sake of brevity and speed of writing.

Conclusion

This new youth slang is a modern phenomenon that needs to be studied and analyzed to better understand the needs of the child and to achieve a more effective two-way communication. Neglecting or ignoring it can have a negative impact on the child-and-parent relationship. Communication between them in a language with some elements of slang can develop trust and closer contact. On the other hand, if the parent demonstrates a respect for grammatically correct writing and speaking but does not impose that on the child at any cost in their informal written chat, the effect can be double. He can get closer to the child's world and teach the child how to use grammatically correct language where necessary.

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**DIFFERENCES IN LEXICAL AND SYNTACTICAL COMPLEXITY
IN JAPANESE STUDENTS' MONOLOGUES AND DIALOGUES**

Robert W. Long, Masatoshi Tabuki
Kyushu Institute of Technology, Japan

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the interrelationship of fluency and the lexical and syntactical complexity of 10 EFL learners whose TOEIC scores range from 683-793. In the videotaped interviews, each participant gave two monologues (one self-introductory) and another (summation) and engaged in two dialogues. The research aim focused on determining if there was a significant difference in comparing the lexical / syntactical complexity between the monologues and dialogues and in comparing fluent and dysfluent speech. Results indicated no significant differences among the participants in comparing the two types of monologues, two types of dialogues, and in the random selection of utterances from fluent and dysfluent speakers. A significant difference was found, however, in comparing dialogues with monologues. An examination of idea units, fluency and complexity indicate that teachers should try to be more aware of varying degrees of complexity can affect students' ideas in their presentations.

Key words: fluency, lexical complexity, syntactical complexity, idea units, TOEIC scores

1. INTRODUCTION

In this globalized era, students, both undergraduate and graduate, are having to write and present their research findings in English. Thus, in many oral communication EFL classes around the world, the goal of the teachers is to help their students to be more fluent. While many studies in the area of fluency have examined indicators such as articulation rates, fluency rates, pause duration and frequency, and mean length runs (MLR), the one issue that remains unexamined is that the interrelationship of fluency and a speaker's lexical and syntactical complexity. It is a common problem: in too many of students' compositions and presentations, the aim has often been to focus on accuracy, thus limiting the lexical and syntactical complexity of their writing, relying on short and simple sentences to express their ideas. In short, to have *correct* English usage, students will often avoid, (in their speech or writing) using dependent clauses, parenthetical comments, complex noun and verbal phrases, gerunds, and adverbial clauses, to name a few forms or structures.

Complexity, as Ellis & Barkusizen notes (2005, p.139) is the "extent to which learners produce elaborated language" and is often related to the syntactic and lexical aspects of narrative performance. Of course, complexity has little meaning if the speaker's fluency is so poor that it interferes with meaning or the overall impact of the narrative. Ferreira and Bailey (2004) have pointed out the shift in attitudes in the study of disfluencies, and that many computational linguists have developed tools for predicting the locations of disfluencies. The issue of complexity becomes more complicated in that oral communication is often fragmented, reformulated, repeated, and interrupted. This makes it more complex but often ineffective. In the example below, one can note the problems of oral communication

in the language of two young Japanese women with fairly high TOEIC scores of 780 and 785, (their names have been abbreviated) who are introducing themselves.

My name is S. S. and I'm(.)nineteen years old. (1.6) And I'm a second-year student at the University of Kitakyushu. (1.7) And I'm from Fukui and there five members in my family. (1.1) And I have, (1.4) one brother and one sister. (1.6) And my: (.) hobby is listening to music (.) and I like singing and I often go shopping in my free time.

My name is M. O. and I am from Amami island (.) Kagoshima prefecture and I like making cakes and: (1.8) uh I want to to become (.) pastry cook before and then: (.) I like studying English (1.8) mmm: (1.0) and I will study abroad next year so (.) I (1.5) I do my best now, heh and (.) mmm: (3.4) mmm: (2.5) mmm: (3.9) um: (.) heh (6.1) mmm: heh.

The participants (who were videotaped) were extremely conscious of their output, and focused on being *correct* in their speech, yet in doing so, they sacrificed more meaningful production (content and expressions) that would have created a more meaningful impression of who they are as individuals. Now in comparison, two native speakers are also interviewed and are introducing themselves; their speech differs in fluency as there are fewer filled pauses and less silence.

My name is C.O. I'm from Salisbury, which is in the UK, south of English, I've been in Japan now↑ for about let's see (.) eighteen or nineteen years. (.) Quite a long time, isn't it? And:↑ 43, two kids, one boy, one girl, and one↑ wife. That's all. Just the one I thought (.) was enough. heh heh. Um:↑ what else? I have been working here for quite a while. Hobbies (.) I have various hobbies, of course, (.) like everyone really, reading, and investing, (.) motorbikes, (.) uh:↑ drinking too much wine, that's not really a hobby, is it, it's something you do, but that's about it, really.

My name is M.M. I come from Toronto↑ Canada↑ I've studied biology and chemistry at University. At graduate school I studied a kind of anthropological approach to medicine. I came to Japan at 31; I've been here now 17 years teaching English at different places. Now I work at several universities. I have my own language school, married a Japanese woman. We have a lovely child. I spend most of (.) my time when I am not working,↑ reading,↑ (.) doing a lot of work on the computer, (4.2) and that's about it.

While these two native speakers seem to have more *rhetorical* abilities (asking questions, or making comments on what they have just said ("wine is not really a hobby, is it")), what is not yet known is how lexical and syntactical complexity of oral communication from native speakers differs from that of EFL learners, particularly at different levels of abilities or test scores. Furthermore, (particularly on the videotape) native speakers tend to establish a rhythmic and intonational structure that also signals relations between constituents, thereby improving the *appearance* of fluency.

In this paper, the general aim is to examine data collected from videotaped interviews of EFL speakers in order to examine (a) whether or not lexical / syntactical complexity differs between two types of monologues and two types of dialogues, in addition to determining if there is a significant difference in the fluency and complexity between the monologues and dialogues, and (b) whether or not lexical and syntactical complexity differs in speech that reflects a high degree of fluency as compared to speech that exhibits dysfluency, and if there exists a difference, on which specific criterion are they apparent? The findings can help indicate whether or not EFL speakers have more problems in monologues (such as

presentations) or in dialogues, and to examine the issue of dysfluency and complexity in a more meaningful way.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Syntactic complexity

In considering the concept of what makes for a *good* speech or article, one of the underlying issues is that of syntactical complexity: how sentences are arranged, and connected in order to create effective meaning. In the past, there had been a dearth of precise definitions and convincing approaches to operationalize these concepts, so researchers often avoided or side-stepped the issue or had poorly designed contexts and constructs. So what is meant by syntactic complexity?

Givon (1991), drawing a sizable body of psycholinguistic studies, asserted complexity studies should take into account that subordinate clause structures are more complex to process than conjoined main clause structures, and so by counting linguistic tokens that can be considered telltale signs of increased grammatical subordinateness and embeddedness, one can understand the complexity of a particular narrative. Some examples of these linguistic tokens include: (i) subordinating conjunctions (for instance, *because, since, as, when, that, etc.*); (ii) WH-pronouns (*who, whose, whom, which*); (iii) verb forms, both finite and nonfinite and (iv) noun phrases.

Szmrecsanyi, (2004) points out that complexity (or scope) can be understood by either taking into account pure length, duration and size of the unit or by appealing to notions which are not related to these constructs. The main issue is that length does not necessarily correlate as a measure of *syntactic relationships*. Szmrecsanyi uses the following example:

- (1) I wasn't there cause I had to fill out all this.
- (2) I didn't do it, and the reason for this was that.

Both (1) and (2) have a length of 11 words, but the first contains a main clause and a dependent adverbial clause of reason, while the second has a compound clause with the word *that* which might take on any reason (e.g....the reason for this was that I was sick) or might not (e.g. The reason for that was that guy) (p. 1032). Complexity becomes more of an issue insofar that the word *that*, in turn, introduces a syntactically dependent complement clause, so as Szmrecsanyi explains the measure of scope interferes with one's ability to assess syntactic complexity. Also Norris and Ortega (2003) indicate that complexity, as measured by means of subordination ratio, may not always increase linearly, but that syntactical complexity may grow in other ways, for example, by phrasal and clausal complexification. Yuan and Ellis (2003, p.2) also agreed with this concept of equating complexity with phrasal and clausal complexification by stating, "Measures of complexity are generally based on the extent to which subordination is evident." (e.g. Number of clauses per T-unit or c-unit. In some studies, lexical complexity has been assessed by means of type-token ratio.)

For many other scholars, *reducing* complexity to type-token ratios and to the number of clauses does not provide for an in-depth understanding of the term. Skehan, (1996, p. 22) notes that complexity "concerns the elaboration or ambition of the language that is produced" and that complexity should also take into consideration "learners preparedness to take risks." By involving the concept of semantics, pragmatics, and meaning, Skehan, thus, takes the issue of complexity a step further in that it asks the observer, to what effect does the complexity have on the overall message.

While O'Loughlin (1995) found lexical density (a measure of the relationship between grammatical items and high- and low-frequency lexical items of oral performance) to be influenced by test formats (live or tape-recorded) and task types (describing a familiar setting or a role play), as well as the interactions of the methods. Thus, the issue of how (if at all) complexity changes and differs in various forms of communication and how it may differ between fluent and dysfluent speakers has yet to be explored.

3. THE STUDY

3.1 Rationale

As Michel, *et al.* (2007) indicated dialogic tasks triggered more accurate and fluent output though it was structurally less complex. Other researchers, Schmidt (1990, 2001), Doughty (2001), Gass (2005) found that interactivity favors accuracy while fluency is expected to decrease. In addition, Norris and Ortega (2003) question current reasoning under which a linear or co-linear trajectory of greater accuracy, fluency, and complexity is expected; therefore, they propose that measurement focus on a variable and non-linear view of L2 development.

3.2 Research Questions

Our aim is to better examine specific criterion concerning lexical (12 criteria) and syntactical complexity (13 criteria) from 10 EFL speakers (with TOEIC scores between 683-793). First, a comparison of the two types of monologues will be made in order to see how summarizing affects complexity, and then comparisons will be made with the dialogues to identify if a formal structured interview differs from a causal conversation. Then, a second aim is to establish if the lexical and syntactical complexity differs between monologues and dialogues. Lastly, to analyse the L2 fluency of the participants, we aim to identify if both fluent and dysfluent utterances possibly differ in relation to complexity.

In short, as the data concerns potential differences relating to complexity, and fluency for the ten subjects, the three research questions are as follows:

1. Is there a significant difference between the two types of monologues and the two types of dialogues in terms of lexical and syntactical complexity?
2. Is there a significant difference between monologues and dialogues among the participants in regards to both lexical and syntactical complexity? Dialogues will show more lexical and syntactical complexity than monologues.
3. Does syntactical complexity differ in speech that reflects a high degree of fluency as compared to dysfluent speech. In other words, do utterances that contain no pausing and with long mean length runs (MLRs) indicate more complexity than shorter utterances with more pausing and hesitation phenomenon?

Our hypotheses are as follows: (H1) There will be no significant differences in comparing both the two types of monologues and dialogues in lexical and syntactical complexity. (H2) There will be increased lexical complexity in dialogic interactions while syntactical complexity will be lower. Monologues will generally reflect greater syntactical complexity. (H3) Utterances that are more fluent will exhibit higher syntactical complexity than those which exhibit a high degree of dysfluency. Specifically, the focus of the third hypothesis will be on the interrelationship between complexity and fluency.

3.3 Participants

The participants involved nine Japanese and one Chinese speaker, all of whom had a TOEIC score within the range of 683-793. The average TOEIC score of these participants was 753 and their ages (average 21.3) ranged from 19 to 25. The participants, all of whom had no special English tutoring, were from three universities—a woman's university, a municipal university, and a national university for engineering students, see Table 1. Two participants were graduate students. At the initial meeting, participants gave informed consent before videotaping. The participants did not know neither of the topics nor readings beforehand, and were informed that the data would be used only for educational and research purposes.

Table 1. Participants

Participants	Score	Age	Gender	Nationality	Study Abroad - Duration
Participant 1	780	22	F	Japanese	Yes - 10 months
Participant 2	725	21	F	Japanese	Yes - 6 months
Participant 3	810	21	F	Japanese	Yes - 6 months
Participant 4	780	19	F	Japanese	Yes - 12 months
Participant 5	785	19	F	Japanese	No
Participant 6	765	21	F	Japanese	Yes - 5 months
Participant 7	720	20	F	Japanese	Yes - 1/2 month
Participant 8	790	24	M	Chinese	No
Participant 9	685	22	M	Japanese	Yes - 1 month
Participant 10	690	25	F	Japanese	No

Note: Study abroad relates to an exchange program which placed students in a primarily English-speaking country.

3.4 Transcripts

The transcripts (see table 2) taken from the 10 participants were based on videotaping of 54 interviews which had started in June 2012 and continued to June 2013. There were six overall categories of TOEIC scores ranges: (a) 350-460, (b) 461-571, (c) 572-682, (d) 683-793, (e) 794-895+, and (f) native speakers. As the fourth category seemed to represent a average range of fluency, these videotaped interviews were transcribed first. Students were paid for their interviews. Students also gave written permission for the videotapes to be used for research purposes and to be shown. Each interview involved four parts: (a) self-introduction monologue, (b) causal dialogue based on the students' background, (c) structured interview, and (d) reading recall (of three previously read material² that was given at the beginning of

the interview). Students did not know of the topics beforehand. Coding of the transcripts reflects the Conversational Analysis conventions, see Appendix A.

Table 2. Descriptive data for participants' speaking

For all Ten Participants	Self-introduction Monologues	Summarizing Monologue	Simple Dialogues	Structured Interview
Number of Words	3,134	2,433	3,312	3,531
Shortest Speech Sample (words)	68	100	148	191
Longest Speech Sample (words)	1,093	511	687	519
Average Time Speaking (seconds)	220.19	197.5	271.3	219
Average Amount of Silence (seconds)	51.7	47.5	81.74	79.5
Average Mean Length Runs	13.5	10.4	11.26	8.6

3.5 Data Analysis

In order to avoid reliability issues related to manual coding, a web-based Lexical Complexity Analyzer¹ was utilized to analyse differences in *lexical complexity*, as it can compute 25 indices of lexical complexity of any text, describing five aspects of lexical density as seen in the five following indices: lexical sophistication I, (LS1), lexical sophistication II (LS2), verb sophistication I (VS1), verb sophistication II (VS2), and correct VS 1 (CVS1). For purposes of this study, the following criteria were used: lexical density (LD), lexical sophistication 1 (LS1), verb sophistication 1 (VS1), number of different words, (NDW), type/token ratio (TTR) correct TTR (CTTR), verb variation (VV1) lexical word variation (LV), noun variation (NV), adjective variation (ADjV), adverb variation (ADV) and modifier variation (ModV) were examined.

As for syntactical complexity, a web-based L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer was used as it counts the frequency of 9 grammatical structures in the text, and computes 14 indices of syntactic complexity of the text. The results are presented in 23 indices, along with a graphical representation of the results. For purposes of this study, data focused on word count (W), sentences (S), verb phrases (VP), clauses (C), T-units (T), dependent clauses (DC), complex T-units (CT), coordinate phrases (CP), mean length of sentences (MLS), clauses per T-unit (CT), t-unit per sentence (T/S), and complex T-unit ratio (CT/T).

One limitation to the software relates to how oral communication has to be transcribed, and so the placement of periods is often subjective. This can affect sentence and T-unit lengths, thus generating variances and misleading results. In addition, the software, in the tokenization process, will separate contracted forms such as *I'd*, *can't*, *wasn't*, etc. into two tokens with each being counted as a word.

In answering the third research question, whether or not *long* utterances are more complex, a random selection of 25 fluent utterances based on one long MLR (averaged 41.3 syllables) were obtained from the 10 students' self-introduction monologues and from the dialogues that followed. Similarly, 25 dysfluent utterances that contain filled pauses and with shorter MLRs (approximately of ten syllables or less) were obtained. To further validate any results, a case study of the most fluent and dysfluent speaker in this TOEIC range were also compared. This data were then analyzed by the L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer; a nonparametric *Mann-Whitney U* test was used as the sample size was limited in order to determine whether or not complexity differed in these three research questions.

4. RESULTS

A nonparametric *Mann-Whitney U* test was used to determine differences in complexity, see Table 3 for results.

Table 3. Mann-Whitney results

Interaction	Monologue/Monologue		Dialogue/Dialogue		Monologue/Dialogue	
	LC	SC	LC	SC	LC	SC
<i>U</i>	1750.0	1750.0	1750.0	1750.0	1366.1	1366.6
<i>Z</i>	0.075	0.378	0.680	0.378	1.839	4.950
Asymp. Sig	0.939	0.705	0.496	0.705	0.065	0.000

Note. LC = lexical complexity, SC = syntactical complexity.

4.1 Research Question 1

As indicated in the above table, the nonparametric *Mann-Whitney U* test was used to determine differences in complexity between the two types of monologues as it was conjectured that *summarizing* would be more complex in nature than a *self-introduction* monologue. As for lexical complexity, it can be concluded that there was neither a statistically significant difference between self-introductions and summaries ($U = 175.0, p = 0.939$) nor for syntactical complexity ($U = 175.0, p = 0.705$). Similarly, as

for the dialogues, no significance was noted for lexical complexity ($U = 175.0, p = 0.496$) or syntactical complexity ($U = 175.0, p = 0.705$). This indicates that in this TOEIC range the complexity of speech is very similar. So, the first hypothesis is correct.

4.2 Research Question 2

In regard to possible differences in lexical and syntactical complexity between monologues and dialogues, the results indicated significant difference, for lexical complexity ($U = 1366.1, p = 0.065$) and for syntactical complexity ($U = 1366.6, p = 0.000$). It can be further concluded, based on the descriptive data in tables 5 and tables 5, that there was an increase in dialogues with number of different words (NDW), word count (W), sentences (S), clauses (C), T-units (T), and complex T-unit (CT); however, the mean length of sentence in causal dialogues were shorter than those in other discourse formats. Thus, while the second hypothesis (that there will be a significant difference between the monologues and dialogues) is correct, there were not any important differences in lexical complexity in the two kinds of interactions while scores for syntactical complexity were twice as *high* for dialogues than monologues.

Table 4. TextAnalyzer Lexical Complexity descriptive data

Lexical Complexity Factors	Monologues		Dialogues	
	Self Introduction	Summarizing Stories	Casual Dialogue	Structured Interview
Lexical Density (LD)	4.77	0.42	0.452	0.452
Lexical sophistication 1 (LS1)	0.368	0.337	0.396	0.396
Verb sophistication 1 (VS1)	0.091	0.093	0.071	0.071
Number of Different Words (NDW)	104.7	89.6	106.7	106.7
Type/Token Ratio (TTR)	0.493	0.465	0.479	0.479
Correct TTR (CTTR)	4.762	4.543	4.937	4.937
Verb Variation (VV1)	0.712	0.699	0.675	0.675
Lexical word variation (LV)	0.684	0.566	0.601	0.601
Noun Variation (NV)	0.685	0.475	0.583	0.583
Adjective Variation (ADjV)	0.1	0.102	0.125	0.125
Adjverb Variation (ADVv)	0.019	0.032	0.015	0.015
Modifier Variation (ModV)	0.119	0.133	0.141	0.141

Table 5. TextAnalyzer Syntactical Complexity descriptive data

Factors	Monologues		Dialogues	
	Self Introduction	Summarizing	Casual Dialogue	Structured Interview
Word Count (W)	85.4	67.7	156.7	166.4
Sentence (S)	6.8	5.4	19.2	14.1
Verb Phrase (VP)	13.7	11.2	25.2	27.5
Clause (C)	11.1	9.3	21.2	21.4
T-unit (T)	9.5	4.4	18.8	14.5
Dependent clause (DC)	1.7	3.7	5.3	6.6
Complex T-unit (CT)	1.5	1.8	4.2	4
Coordinate phrase (CP)	2.5	3	4.2	4
Mean length of sentence (MLS)	12.29	15.77	8.45	12.561
Mean length of T-unit (MLT)	8.91	12.04	8.42	11.728
Clause per T-unit (C/T)	1.18	2.07	1.118	1.329
T-unit per sentence (T/S)	1.47	0.985	0.868	1.042
Complex T- unit ratio (CT/T)	0.11	0.336	0.192	0.318

This indicates that the dialogues provide enough lexical input for participants to immediately use, which helps to sustain more complex structures in their responses.

4.3 Research question 3

As for the third research question, whether or not syntactical complexity differs in speech that are fluent and have longer MLRs than speech which has more pausing and hesitation phenomenon, it was decided to examine the complexity of utterances between pauses. Data was examined based on a random selection of 25 fluent utterances (extracted from two points of pausing) from 10 students' self-introduction monologues as well as from the dialogues that followed. Similarly, 25 dysfluent utterances were then compared using a web-based L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer.

In order to further verify possible differences, fluency data concerning the ten summarizing monologues was used to identify the least fluent ([participant 5] with 15 pauses) and the most fluent [participant 10] of these ten participants who had TOEIC scores from 683-793. The differences between the two participants are as follows: in talking time (125.1 seconds [participant 5] as compared to 358.4 [participant 10]), percentage of silence (46.0% vs. 30.3%) fluency rate B (38.3 vs. 53.9), and MLR (5.8 vs. 9.0).

While the overall results from a *Mann-Whitney U* test indicated that for both the random selection of fluent and dysfluent utterances, and for the case study of two participants, there was no difference ($U = 72, p = 0.862$), it is important to understand the important differences within criterion of complexity. The results, seen below, are mixed.

Table 6. Comparison of fluent and dysfluent speech

Factors	Random Selection of Utterances		Case Study of Two Subjects (Summarizing)	
	Dysfluent speech	Fluent speech	#5 Dysfluent	#10 Fluent
Word Count (W)	565	490	84	400
Sentence (S)	30	30	17	37
Verb Phrase (VP)	100	73	16	55
Clause (C)	81	61	13	48
T-unit (T)	51	47	14	40
Dependent clause (DC)	22	16	3	10
Complex T-unit (CT)	19	14	2	8
Coordinate phrase (CP)	15	132	2	14
Mean length of sentence (MLS)	18.8	16.3	4.9	10.8
Mean length of T-unit (MLT)	11.0	10.4	6.0	10.0
Clause per T-unit (C/T)	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.2
T-unit per sentence (T/S)	1.7	1.5	0.8	1.0
Complex T- unit ratio (CT/T)	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2

As can be seen from the data concerning the random utterances from 25 participants, syntactical complexity is higher on *all* indices with dysfluent speakers whereas in the case study of the two participants, due to the limited production of the dysfluent subject, the results are the opposite. This indicates that a random sampling of speech from less fluent speakers (who have spoken approximately for the same amount of time) is *technically* more complex as it is more fragmented, reformulated and rephrased, yet when taking comparing longer samples from fluent and dysfluent speakers, the production of the fluent speaker(s) will offset any differences in complexity between the two groups. Thus, the third hypothesis that a random selection of utterances that are more fluent will exhibit higher syntactical complexity than those which exhibit a high degree of dysfluency is proven false, but the case study shows that there are key areas of difference.

As complexity does not *necessarily* mean more powerful or clearer speech or writing, it is important to examine the segmentation of events in analyzing spoken narrative performance. To be more specific, Appel (1984, pp. 188-194) investigates the amount of events or *idea units* in a story. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, p. 154) also assert that this measure is best suited for use when the performance is based on predetermined content (e.g. by a picture sequence).

The idea unit is defined as "a message segment consisting of a topic and comment that is separated from contiguous units syntactically and/or intonationally" (Ellis and Barkhuizen, p. 154). The researchers also discuss that idea units can be divided between *main idea units*, which are the essential ideas to complete the story, from *minor idea units* that are not essential but enrich the story. To understand how narrative

effectiveness relates to complexity, one needs to divide the number of words by the idea units, with the IU ratio reflecting words and the number of idea units, along with the IU index indicating average number of words per idea unit. The more fluent and complex is the narrative, both numbers in the index will be higher whereas too much complexity would be reflected, as an example, as 5/40 with too many words in one idea unit; similarly, a lack of complexity would result in a number such as 3/8 with few idea units and few words in each unit. The IU index can then be compared to an Index of Syntactic Complexity or ISC (Szmrecànyi, 2004, p. 1035); the formula for the ISC is as follows: $ISC(u) = 2 \times n(u, SUB) + 2 \times n(u, WH) + n(u, VF) + n(u, NP)$.

It is apparent, from the data, see Appendix B, that some of the ISC scores of the dysfluent speaker are consistently low compared to the story and fluent speaker whereas the fluent speaker often has ISC scores which are similar to that of the original story. However, the IU indexes, for the fluent speaker, tend to be higher than the original story indicating the participant is either putting in too much information in one idea unit or is not using enough idea units to express his ideas, resulting in a confusing narrative.

DISCUSSION

The results indicate lexical complexity is similar when comparing monologues with dialogues but there is a significant difference with syntactical complexity, with scores concerning indices such as *word counts*, *sentences*, *verb phrases*, *T-units*, *dependent clauses*, *complex T-unts*, and *coordinate phrases* twice as high than those in the monologues. This indicates that dialogues are effective in helping EFL learners to improve in ordering and expressing their ideas. In short, dialogues provide enough lexical input for participants which helps to create and use more complex structures in their responses. Furthermore, as a whole, the lexical and syntactical complexity of these EFL learners is similar; however, there are important differences in producing sentences, verb phrases, clauses, dependent clauses, and mean lengths of sentences in comparing a more fluent speaker with a dysfluent one. When taking idea units into consideration, and, in particular, how many words are used to express an idea, a more complete picture of complexity can be seen, with fluent speakers using just enough words, clauses, phrases in *each* idea so that the meaning can be clear.

CONCLUSION

Lexical and syntactical complexity has an important role in fluency and meaning. Teachers should, thus, take into consideration how the various indices of lexical complexity and syntactical complexity, (number of different words, verb sophistication, type/token ratio, lexical word variation, noun variation, clauses, T-units, coordinate phrases, etc), are used consistently throughout the narrative's idea units. Often students can use too much or too little complexity which may impact their meaning.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The Lexical Complexity Analyzer / L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer can be retrieved at <http://aihaiyang.com/synlex/lexical/>. Xiaofei Lu, the linguist who created the software is an associate professor of Applied Linguistics at Pennsylvania State University.
2. Summarizing material was drawn from *New Aesop Fables for Children Volume 1*. Long, R. (2008). Lulu Press.

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Appendix A. CA Transcription Symbols

Manner/Quality

Smile quality	£
Exhale / inhale	hhh
vocalism	(sniffle)
click	.t
laugh pulse	heh
laughing word	wo(h)rd
laughter	heh heh
Low pitch	↓
High pitch	↑
pause, timed	(1.2)
4. pause, short	(.)
lag (prosodic length / elongated sound)	:
unintelligible	()
uncertain	(word)
Emphatic tone	!
Interviewer comment	[[]]

Appendix A. Ideal Units of Story and Summarization by Fluent / Dysfluent Participants

	Idea Units from Fables	Fluent Participants Idea Units	Dysfluent Idea Units
<i>Fable 1 The Dog's Reflection</i>			
1	A dog stole a steak from a trash can.	Number five?	vanity uh vanity will cost you,
2	The dog thought it was very clever.	Ok. That's the story about ah: dog	I only remember.
3	It raced away with the steak in its mouth.	there was dog he has a steak on his mouth	
4	Finally it came to a bridge.	when he, when he goes through river, so he happened to notice the: his face on the surface of the river	
5	There it felt safe enough to stop.	he stare at his own face reflect, his reflecting face on the surface of the river,	

6	The dog put down the steak to catch its breath.	he, he told to himself, so what a beautiful dog I am.	
7	It noticed its reflection in the river.	And at that moment, he had to speak so he putted his steak on the other side,	
8	"I am a really good-looking dog," it said in a loud voice.	but so because ah because of he told to himself that he uh about himself, other dogs, uh around the river wake up	
9	This woke another dog that was sleeping on the bridge which saw the steak on the road.	and the dogs uh notice the steak was be beside the dog, and other dog the took the steak awake,	
10	It picked up the steak and raced off with it.		
11	The first dog continued to look at itself in the river-- admiring itself.		
12	Moral: Vanity will cost you.		
	IU Ratio: 12/111 Index: 9.25 ISC: 46	IU Ratio: 9/128 Index: 14.2 ISC: 41	IU Ratio: 2/9 Index: 4.5 ISC: 7
<i>Table 2 A Man Bitten by a Dog</i>			
1	A man saw his friend walking a very big, very ugly dog.	So ah next story is about the: the dogs.	the man ah no uh the pretty small
2	The friend called out and wanted to chat, but the man stayed far away.	So: the guy is walking,	dog dog bite the man
3	He was afraid the dog would bite him.	and he saw, the big ugly dog, is uh: coming, from the other side of the road,	so the pretty and small is dangerous
4	After a short chat, the man walked on.	and at first he: really scared about the dog,	
5	He soon saw another friend with a pretty little poodle.	and he try not to close, to be enclose to the dog.	
6	He greeted his friend, and said, "What a cute dog you have."	So but after the dog the big dog went past,	
7	What's its name?"	so he saw the other dog, ah: the other dog is a small poodle,	
8	The man reached down to pet the dog, but the dog jumped up and bit him on the hand.	so: at the moment, he thought what there cute dog, and ah he tried to be closer to the dog, and ah:	

9	Moral: The small and pretty can be as dangerous as the large and ugly.	but when he tried to touch or the dog, and the small dog jumped and uh bitted him,	
10		so: from the story you can study ah: not only big and ugly things but also you have to care about be careful about the small and uh: the: cute things.	
	IU Ratio: 9/100 IU index: 11.1 ISC: 34	IU Ratio 10/147 IU index: 14.7 ISC: 42	IU Ratio: 3/20 IU index: 6.6 ISC: 6
<i>Fable 3 The Ants and the Cricket</i>			
1	The ants were spending their autumn, as usual, storing up food.	the next story is about ant and cricket.	crickets have lots of friends
2	A cricket passed by jumping, singing, and dancing.	Ok, so, ah: So, um: usually, the story is uh: the story is told the cricket is will be frozen in the end,	and so they can store food
3	The ants called out, "Hey cricket, don't you think you should store up some food for the winter?"	but this story is different.	because their friends take care of each other
4	"Store up some food?" the cricket asked.	So: uh: ant is working in the summer and the cricket is playing in the summer and uh, in the winter, ant is uh: ant is having party in his their house	So those who those who have many friends don't go hungry.
5	"Why should I do that?"	and uh: but cricket is also playing in his friend's house	
6	"I have friends, you know. They will take care of me!"	so it means, ahm:even if you don't work in the summer, if you have a friend, a good friend who has enough money or something in winter, you can go to your friend's house, and enjoy it.	
7	The ants went back to work.	So from this story you can study that most important thing is having friends.	
8	However, they often laughed at the cricket		
9	They repeated what he said. "I have friends you know," they laughed. "What a fool!"		
10	Winter and snow came.		

11	Sometimes the ants would look out of their anthills.		
12	They wanted to eat him!		
13	But every time, they saw that the cricket was warm and safe.		
14	He was singing and dancing in the homes of his friends.		
15	Moral: Those who are good at making friends don't go hungry.		
	IU Ratio: 15/140 IU Index: 9.3 ISC: 65	IU Ratio: 7/130 IU Index: 18.5 ISC: 61	IU Ratio: 4/11 IU Index: 7.5 ISC: 14

**CASE STUDY PROSPECTIVE ON THE COMMUNICATION
ACCOMMODATION THEORY FOR ARAB SPEAKERS**

Yousef M. Deikna

English Department, University of Tripoli, Faculty of Education,
Janzour, Libya

Abstract

This case study attempts to investigate the communication accommodation (CA) of two Arabic speakers while conversing in two apparently different dialects of Arabic i.e. Cairene Egyptian Spoken Arabic (CEA) & Eastern Libyan Arabic Spoken (EL). Apparently, names of myriad types of every-day use articles, and modes of communication are not the same in both dialects, which would hypothetically hinder communication if one of the speakers does not accommodate to the other. This paper endeavors to investigate accommodation aspects while conversing in social issues from an Arab-Western perspective. Other sociolinguistic features of CA are discussed in light of recent findings in sociolinguistics. An hour and a half of stereo recordings were used and transcribed afterwards to highlight the variations in language use. A detailed analysis of the conversations of the speakers explains many valuable implications of the sociolinguistic prospective of accommodation theory at the dialectal level.

Key words: *accommodation theory, dialectal variation, sociolinguistics*

1. INTRODUCTION

Giles (1973) was the first one to come up with Speech Accommodation Theory which was updated (i.e. Giles et al. 1987) to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) since it turned out that accommodation does not affect the speech, rather, it affects forms of communications. CAT goal is to explain some of the motivations behind people's shifts in their speech styles in social situations, and the outcomes of such a behavior. It started to expound the cognitive and emotional procedures encapsulating speech convergence and divergence (Beebe & Giles 1984, p. 7).

Convergent accommodation is defined as the process by which speakers adapt to each other's communicative norms by using many linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal tactics which includes speech rate, pauses, length of utterance, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so forth (Giles et al. 1991, p. 7). Therefore, one could see that convergence reduces the individuals' linguistic disparities which cause the converger to be ascribed with adjectives like friendly, warmth, loyal... (Giles et al. 1987, p. 15). On the other hand, divergent accommodation is highlighting the linguistic differences between speakers, which are, to some extent, the opposite of the convergent behaviors. Divergent behavior might be interpreted in two ways, either negatively or positively, depending on whether the recipients are dissociative or favorable if divergence was in an intergroup interaction (Beebe & Giles, 1984, p. 9). Convergence and Divergence could be inward or downward which depends on whether the speaker is adjusting speaking style into one which is higher or lower than his or her variety status. Windy Samter (2006, p. 330) bring us this example about how Larry King accommodates his pitch accent when talking to socially higher

status with people like the President Clinton whereas Vice President Dan Quayle would accommodate more to Larry King.

It is worth mentioning that there is another type of accommodation called “stereotypical convergence” which is the process by which speakers converge toward a believed speech style that the speaker thinks the interlocutor uses. This is very similar to my current study since the Egyptian speakers’ style of speaking is well-known (as will be shown below), so the other speaker converges to his style based on this concept i.e., stereotypical convergence.

Another crucial aspect of accommodation is the idea that “during interaction individuals are motivated to adjust (or accommodate) their style as a strategy for gaining one or more of the following goals: evoking listeners’ social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities. In addition, it is the individual’s perception of the other’s speech that will determine his or her evaluative and communication responses (Giles et al. 1987, p. 15).

There are many studies that talked about communication accommodation of speakers of other languages (e.g. Hajek, et al. 2006, Molly, 2010). However, there had been some researcher about Arabic speakers’ linguistic accommodation to other Arabic dialects or to codeswitch to another languages (e.g. S’hiri, 1995; Elsaadany, 2003); still, there is little, if not at all, any work done for Libyan Arabic linguistic accommodation to other Arabic speakers giving that Libya has a huge population of other nationalities either from other Arab or non-Arab countries according to ethnologue.com. To be specific, this study focuses on two dialects of spoken Arabic i.e. CA and EL. Although Versteegh et al. (2006, p. 6) stated that there are some lexical and morphological features that tend to be the same in both dialects, still he did not offer any proof for this claim.

However, there are some erroneous held beliefs like- all Arabs speak the same language; and Fuṣḥa, an educated Arabic variety, is often cited as the living proof of the Arab unity and it is used in interpersonal discourse of speakers of different Arabic dialects (Holes, 1995, p. 5). Moreover, MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) is used in discourse situations. In contrast, the facts indicated that the differences in spoken Arabic varieties are so huge that some say it is languages not dialects (Holes, 1995). Fuṣḥa is used by few educated people and it is very rare to switch to MSA or Fuṣḥa in normal face-to-face conversations unless all else fails (Abu Melhim 1991, 1992). MSA and Fuṣḥa are not the only medium of choice in contact situations (Mitchell 1986, El Hassan 1977; Meiseles 1990). In fact, the previous studies found out that the Arabic speakers codeswitch to Fuṣḥa, other prestige varieties, and to foreign languages (Abu Melhim 1992) and even use “hybridized forms” (Holes 1995, p. 5). In either CA or EL speakers Fuṣḥa is used as a prestigious variety to be used in media and journals.

Versteegh, Eid, Elgibali, Woidich, and Zaborsky (2006) mention that dialect studies in the Arab world especially these that tries to draw dialectal borders are very hard to pursue. The reason for that is the political conditions of some areas where wars and civil strife make it impossible. Also, local authorities do not give permits of research on dialectal studies since the stakeholders think it is worthless and maybe even imperialistic. To wit, such studies tend to be viewed as against the Arab world unity claiming that differences are going to arise from such topics. In some areas, research could be pursued illegally. Similarly, I was in a graduate course with one of the Libyan professors and she mentioned that the authorities asked her to make a dialect atlas to the Berber language in Libya. The professor refused and said that she will not do it since it is not her specialty and that these studies are useless and tend to divide the Libyan linguistic ecology.

In this paper, I will talk first about both dialects and shed light on how they are different from one another in general terms.

1.2 CAIRENE EGYPTIAN SPOKEN ARABIC

Ethnologue.com stated that Cairene Arabic has a population of 52,500,000 speakers in 2006 census. It is an amalgam of Delta and Middle Egypt Arabic which also includes some borrowings of literary Arabic. Versteegh, et al. (2006) categorized it into Lower Egypt-Nile Delta. They also divided CA into four major geographical areas- Central Delta surrounded by Eastern Delta, Western Delta and Northeastern groups, each of which could have other subgroups. In this case, there must be a variation in the use of these dialects including lexical, phonological, pragmatic variations, even if slightly. However, the second most distinguishable especially the Sa'idi dialect (Upper Egypt- Nile Valley) of the Bedouins who live south of Cairo to the Sudanese border is very well-known as well, but their pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic is viewed as ungrammatical, inappropriate, and harsh in some cases by speakers of higher prestigious value which of course includes CA. In this study, we are concerned with the Central Delta one since the Egyptian speaker is from that area i.e. Cairo.

CA is slightly different from the other rural varieties in its shortage of pausal forms as well as it is characterization with the suffix –it for the third person singular feminine which is realized as –at in other dialect e.g. ramit “she threw”, şallit “she prayed” vs. ramat, sallat in the other rural dialects (Woidich, 1997). The most well-known CA phonological variant, which is also called the Egyptianized form, is the alternation in the pronunciation of the voiced velar stop /g/ into [ʔ] or the easily written version [ʔ]. In addition, q is /g/ in some dialects, but in CA it is colored with /ʕ/ addition. Besides, CA lost the imala, which is a form of assimilation of vowels, at the end of the 19th century; an example of which is the imala in the second word of this set- “muhrāt” > mehrēt “plough”. What also characterizes CA is its morphological preference to use the i-perfective instead of the other dialects use of the a-perfective in words like farab > firib “he drank”, faham > fihim “he understood”, nasa > nisi, maşa > mişi, and so on.

CA is actually the standard Egyptian dialect and is used in country and international Egyptian media production as well. It is one of the infamous dialects in Egypt and in the Arab world. El-Hassan (1977) noted that speakers of CA tend to be proud of its ownership since it is the dialect that ever maşri “Egyptian” is identifying him or herself with, and thus, it is a distinguishing identity mark. It is viewed as appropriate in all contact situations and it is the standard de facto Arabic dialect in the country. Other dialects may get disparaging comments if used in typical situations.

S'hiri (1995) emphasized the fact that Egyptian Arabic is one of the most well-known dialects in the Arab world. The reason for that is the Egyptian media. It is that the film, music, operas industry in Egypt has been thriving from over a century now compared with the hardly ever mentioned Libyan films or music in the Arab world. It is even famous in the Arab world that those who want to be famous musicians or actors, they have to go to Egypt to be well-known in the Arab world and even internationally. The widespread of this form of culture is sometimes called Egyptian cultural imperialism by some scholars who are western oriented people i.e. S'hiri (1995).

It is well established that CA has a national prestigious status in Egypt, and that the other Egyptian speakers of other varieties are said to accommodate to this one when speaking to CA speakers (Miller, 2005). In an earlier study, Mitchell (1986, p. 12) pointed out the following comments:

Egyptian films are seen and the Egyptian radio heard in every Arab country and Egyptians teaching schools from Kuwait to Libya; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Egyptian colloquial is much better known than any other. In addition, it has advanced further than other colloquials along the road

to linguistic independence, for there exists a clearly recognizable norm to which educated Egyptian usage conforms.

1.3 EASTERN LIBYAN SPOKEN ARABIC

Eastern Libyan Spoken Arabic is spoken in the area of Benghazi stretching to the Egyptian borders. It is indicated that this dialect is different from the other dialect in the western side of Libya which is called Western Libyan Arabic that stretches to the Tunisian borders. Probably the most comprehensive linguistic description for this language is conducted by western linguists who used to work at Garyounis University during the 1950s. Mitchell (e.g. 1952, 1960, and 1975) discussed the syllabic structure, morphology and phonology of many Arabic dialects including EL, but he did not examine it in depth. However, Owens took Mitchell's notes and made extensive analysis to the dialect (e.g. 1984, and 1993). Probably the most compelling topic that Owens (1993) discussed is the Imala in EL. Abumdas (1985) also confirmed the Imala findings of Owens, and stated that one could differentiate between EL dialect and the others in Libya based on this very vowel assimilation feature. Words that exemplify this concept are *bāb* > *bēb* "door", *zaman* > *zmein* "since".

Therefore, this would be a distinguishable feature between the two dialects i.e., EL and CA. EL does not use the variant /ʔ/ instead of /q/ nor does it use the perfective suffix *it-*; rather EL uses the a-perfective for such cases (see above how CA deals with this variant). There are prosodic features concerning tone and stress assignment that, in addition, helps explicate the variability between the two dialects. EL has lesser vowel inventory than CA which would definitely account for part of the dialectal phonological disparities among the speakers. An evidence of that is how the Tunisia speakers characterized CA tonal aspects as a dialect that has a lot of rhyming in its words and phrase structure compared to their Tunisian Arabic that tends to lack this vowel variability, which explains why musicians of other arabic dialects have to adjust their dialect to meet the CA features, even Tunisian musicians (S'hiri, 1994).

Egyptians may not know the Libyan Arabic dialects as a study by Herbolich (1979) showed that Egyptian speakers were not able to identify the Libyan dialect speakers from a number of recordings. Nor is that all, Herbolich (1979) also found out that Libyan dialect was unfavorable by Egyptians. The reasons for this conclusion were unknown; however, I would expect the reasons to be social in nature (as reasons for language attitudes usually are), rather than linguistic. Another reason could be that LA is not famous in the Arabic world because Libyan media did not reach outside the country with famous productions like the Egyptian media production. One of S'hiri's participants (1994) told her that "Arabic was born in Egypt, thrived in Lebanon, and died in Tunisia".

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 PARTICIPANTS

There are three participants in the conversations. Two of them are older than 50 years old. They are speakers of two seemingly different dialects of Arabic. One is speaking Eastern Libyan Arabic Spoken (EL) and the other one is speaking Cairene Arabic Spoken (CA). However, the third speaker originally speaks Western Libyan Arabic Spoken (WL), but he did not participate much in the conversations since he was the researcher collecting the data. It is worth mentioning that the main speakers of this study have been living here in the Western world for over 29 years. Both participants are males and they hold dual citizenship as well as being from the same socioeconomic class, and that seems apparent from their dress and the cars they own as well as the work position for each of them in which one is a professor

and the other is a physician. In this study, I refer to the CA speaker as (S), and the EL speaker as O, and the researcher as Y.

2.2 INSTRUMENT AND ANALYSIS

The material used is extracted from tape recordings taken in informal meetings in a public place where the speakers are conversing in every-day social matters. These encapsulate eight conversations for both speakers S & O. Only three conversations were recorded in a latter time whereas five conversations took place at the same day and in the same session. The criteria I followed to divide the conversations from one to another was by the change of topic as well as the accommodation mode since as we shall see below, the speakers do change the pattern of accommodation when the topic changes. Sometimes a conversation ends by a laugh or an appearance of a novel topic allows a new mode of speaking. It is important to note that for the sake of easiness of presenting the data of the analysis, there will be transliteration key (see appendix) in order to see what the symbols I am using in my analysis that actually stand for in the IPA chart symbols. Moreover, the color key chart (**i.e. chart below**) explains the placement of various functions that explicates how and why the speaker chooses to do a certain linguistic accommodation act. Further affective issues are also discusses under each accommodation situation.

	Dialectal lexical Code-Switches + phonological variants
	Funny comment that is used with a heightened pronunciation
	Stylistic variations: distancing words, backchannelling markers
	English Code-Switches
	Laughter instigators that functions as pre-stage of mutual laughter afterwards.
	Laughter instigators that did not drive to mutual laughter since the other speaker does not reciprocate back

Chart of color key symbol used in the analysis

In this research, any non- native dialectal feature used by the speaker has been highlighted. The features includes the first aspect I looked for in the data was the lexical entries that the speakers use, but I found out that the phonological variants were immersed within the same dialectal word alternations. Therefore, I decided to amalgam both of them in one category. Secondly, among the aspects that I noted was the heightened pronunciation and the intense tendency to make the other interlocutor follow the same mood e.g., laughter, however, in some cases, this strategy did not succeed. The third aspect that I categorized was the stylistic choices that the speaker made in relation to specific accommodation style as a reply to specific feature instigated by the interlocutor, or the topic of the discussion. This contains distancing

words i.e. divergence aspects, or hedges or any other discourse markers that are distinguishable of one dialect rather than the other in the utterance. The fourth aspects include the code-switch to English. The last two categories explain two affective tactics or strategies that end up with two different results based on different assumptions from both speakers which end up with laughter or dismissing of it. In addition to the chart above, in the last section of the paper, I provide extra frequency, and percentage figures that display the exact variant use in all the taped material I did for the two speakers.

Situation one

S and O are talking about some bad social habits that characterize some rural areas in the Middle East, which is the fact that some families do not give inheritance right of a girl if she got married to a stranger, and they do not do that to the boy side. What is funny about this is that in the Islamic Culture and beliefs, it is necessary that no one should be denied the family inheritance, but those people who oppose this law come up with an Egyptian lexeme “erreq’ala g’orb” “Those men are strange”. This stands on the pretext that if the family wants to share their inheritance with their sons-in-law who do not belong to their blood line, it would mean that they would enable strangers to share inheritance. This is not a reasonable condition since their daughter who is married to this man has been neglected her legal and religious rights under this situation. So, S will talk about this situation from a western perspective as a matter that is very common in Egypt.

O- lama teg ^s i elfulus IA	“when the money comes they refuse to give them”
S- lama teg ^s i elfulus mabya3teech	“when the money comes he will not give it”
S-... eneswaan hynak kalu xabTa	“women there (i.e. Middle Eastern Countries) were
mag’loobeen 3ala amrohom	deceived, they do not own their decision”
O- ha ha ha ha	“ha ha ha ha”
S- muq’tama3at mutaxalefa	“illiterate communities”
O- muq’tama3at eSafara	“controlled communities”
S- ha ha ha	“ha ha ha”

In the above example, we could see that O starts accommodating with S in terms of the use of the verb comes above. Specifically, the use of the variant /g^s/ is not an EL consonant, but is a CA variant. Another aspect of accommodation is that both speakers copy each other’s expressions (“when the money comes”). It is observed that both speakers just started the conversation and O, right away, converges phonologically to S. However, one could note that the second accommodation that happened in the discourse is a tactic that allowed both speakers to be in complete agreement as well as to affirm the point that S initiated in the talk. This unifying technique shows the appraisal of O of this point as well as to augment the point and make it sound mutually funny.

Situation 2

The two speakers changed the topic to talk about a phone that Y owns. It is that S started the talk about the cell phone network plan that Y is currently subscribed to. However, it is noticed that O used a word that is not conventional in EL. The word *in addition* (see below) is a CA word, and it is not part of the EL word inventory. I think that this word is used in O talk since he knows that if he used the EL word

which is tani “once more” which would certainly hinder S from understanding the phrase. So, O resorts to the CA word in this case i.e. bardo. The use of ya in the conversation seems to be a switch to English conversation norms. This code-switch is used to quickly elucidate and emphasize the point that Y was making about the existence of this company here in Muncie.

Y- T-Mobile

S- T-mobile? Hathi fein heya? T-mobile? Do they have an office here?

O- **ya ya** fi el mall yeah, yeah, it is in the mall.

S- g'ayrt le TNT “change to TN&T ?”

O- fi Verizon aHsenlek “Verizon is better for you!”

O- **bardo** 3endak internet? “**In addition** to that, do you have internet connection?”

Situation 3

In this situation, O will abstain from convergence to S because he is directing his talk to Y, and thus, he does not have to alternate his dialect use since both O and Y are Libyans even though S was available and participated in the conversation. The topic is generally about Y's car where Y sold his current car and was planning to buy another car.

O- **kam modelha?** “**what is the model?**”

Y- Kamry ee x el. “Camry EXL”

S- **modeel** 3am alfeen? “Year of 2000 **model?**”

Y- wa Hed **efriqi** byerja3 wa **bechteriha menh** “Someone from **Africa** is about to go back, and I am **buying** it from **him**”

S- O3a tedfa3 fulus wa matg'ayarhach... “Be careful not to pay him money without changing the title”

From the above example, we could see how both Libyan speakers do not accommodate to the Egyptian speaker since the center of the talk is Libyan in nature. That is, the topic was so Libyan that the Egyptian speaker did not get much attention in the talk like the two Libyans i.e. Y & O, this pattern continues even in the next section although O in the previous instances was the one who makes the convergence. Also, in case there will be accommodation to the CA, it would be a phonological one where O would say “modelhaa” instead of the EL “moodelha” where the stress is one the first syllable in the EA whereas it is on the last in the CA dialect. Still, I considered this to be a CS since the word is not Arabic, and that both speakers use the same word since this word is still in the process of borrowing in some Arabic dialects, but for the two speakers, it is already used a borrowed word since the application of stress would differentiate both speakers. Y made three lexical code switches from Saudi Reyad speakers. Since it is not the purpose of this study to investigate the features of Saudi Arabic, I am going to neglect the features that do not belong to the purpose of the purpose of this study.

Situation 4

The following segment is a continuation to the previous one since the topic of the conversation is to some extent still the same except that the two speakers are advising Y about car purchase. This made the conversation a little formal and rigid in tone.

O- Xth raAye fi noqTa. echterilak sayarah jdida ya ema “Listen to me! Buy a new car either

Honda accord, civic, Ao Hyundai tetrayaH menha “Honda Accord, civic, or Hyundai make you comfortable in the future in terms of fixing”

S- tAxot7a ma3ak “take it with you to Libya”

O- qTa3 g’yar metwafara “their parts are cheap i.e. Hyundai”

S- Alhonda tela Feyha bardo “Honda parts will also be available right?”

O- elhondai se3raha arxS chwai “Hyundai are cheaper”

Again, O did not accommodate in any way even though both speakers i.e. S and O were talking the about the same topic which is to advice Y about car selection. S did not use any feature that makes him converge and so did O. This is because the third speaker draw the attention of both speakers and that it does not convey any purpose to accommodate to any other dialect other than everyone’s own dialect except in the last sentence when O lexically converges to S. This also happened in situation 2 above. I also think that seriousness plays a role in the convergence and divergence status of the aforementioned example. This was apparent in the careful enunciation that O used in the discussion which eventually made him diverge to his pronunciation of the default mode i.e. converging to CA.

Situation 5

Here O and S are laughing over the selling tactics that Y portrayed when selling and buying cars. It is amazing to see that O and S are in total convergence since both of them are directing the talk to each other commenting on the way Y handled his car affairs poorly. Here Y is pictured as someone who always fails to make a profit. He always loses and so O and S are commenting on this aspect. The use of the verb that stands for buy in EL is not similar to the one mentioned in O’s sentence. In particular, the verb does exist in EL, but has other phonological composition. It is yechry < buy- masculine in EL, so we could see that O converges in this discussion to the EL form of that verb i.e. yechtery which is CA oriented by the addition of the –t consonant. It is noted that both speakers in this discourse displayed solidarity by conjoining in the same topic and the proof is that both of them laughed over potential peril, and their use of the same verb e.g. buys portrays this fact as well.

S- xbra fi bai3 el3arabeyat SaH “He has an excellent experience in selling cars!”

O- ha ha yechtery bi3achara wa yabi3 bites3ah “ha ha, he buys a car with ten and sell it nine!”

S- ha ha aiwah! bi yechtery bi3acharah wa yabi3 bitamaniah “ha ha, yes! He buys it by ten and sell it eight”.

S- wa bta3 elbonk leg’ayet biyeHjezo alaik “they may even i.e. those who want to buy Y’s car make fraudulent check until he completely loses.”

Situation 6

O in this case is diverging from his use of CA features since he is talking to Y again. It seems that the accommodation is a directed tool in which when he talks to Y, he does not use any CA features, but when he talks to S, he converges. This example clearly shows how O converges to the dialect of Y i.e. WL.

O- lamajyt lAmrika 3an Tareeq cheno? “What carrier did you choose when you came here?”

Y-KLM

“KLM”

The word cheno< what is particularly an WL word. It is in widespread use in EL. Libyan Arabic speakers all know this word as an alternative to the word *ma tha* “what”. As I mentioned above, O has the choice to converge or not to the dialect of the interlocutor in front of him. It is that this time O is trying to diverge by this word use from S and to exclusively talk to the WL dialect speaker i.e. Y. Also, O used a structure similar to the Tag question structure in English. However, unlike English, the Arabic Tag question structure is not common in all the Arabic dialects. However, in both EL and WL dialects, this phrase structure is common whereas in CA it is not as common. Therefore, it makes great sense that O is making not only phonological and lexical divergence from CA, but also stylistic ones like the one mentioned here.

Situation 7

In this situation O uses /ʕ/ instead of /ʒ/ in the following dialogue. EL has the /ʕ/ variant in positions like wa chen ʕ'al < what did he say, but not in a position like the following in speech.

S- yemken inak toktub benank kunt surprised “May be you could say that you were surprised
bikatha wa astonished bikatha by something and astonished by something...”

O- ha ha Ha3'a bitfaraH elawlaad “ha ha, something that makes children happy”

S- qeSat kefaHak q'ay men Libya lehina “the story of your struggle from Libya to here”

O- ha samiha kiffaHi “ha ha, you may call it my struggle”

S- yeah, kefaH Tab3an “yeah, it IS struggle!”

In the construction of this dialogue, O made two converging words to CA. The second word elawlaad is different from the equivalent Libyan word lulaad which does not have the Egyptianized –aw structure. As it seems that S did not laugh with O two times in the duration of this discussion, S was a little serious in his talk, but O was trying to make the situation funny again, however, he was not able to change the course of the discourse by his comments. In addition, this time S used two English words in the construction of his sentence. The function of this code-switching is to show that English has many ways of saying the same thing and that creating a narrative is not that difficult task. This sentence also shows that Arabic is the matrix language and English is the embedded one in which the latter is the one which only contributed with words in the structure whereas the former is the one that provided the structure along with the other stylistic aspects at the sentence level like how the sentence started and how it ended. This may also imply that the state of the English in the discourse of those two speakers i.e. S and O is acceptable. In other words, both S and O are used to codeswitch from time to time before this dialogue took place. This also confirms the fact that O used particles like “ya ya” in one of the previous examples.

Situation 8

This situation corroborates to the previous situations when O did not accommodate to S when conversing with him. However, in this dialogue, S is using a formal question construction which requires that O should use standard features of his dialect i.e. EL in replying.

S- **laken ramAn q'able elq'th'afi kan fih kam q'am3ah?** “**But before al-Q'athafi, how many universities were in Libya?**”

O- **3ame3ah** waHdah 3endaha **two campuses** “One **university** has **two campuses**”

S- kan **esmaha 3^sam3et** almalek... or ... “its **name** was after the king's name or...”

O- kan **essmha al3ame3ah** ellibiyah. “its **name** was the Libyan **University**”

As one could notice, O used the EL variant /3/ instead of the CA variant /3^s/ i.e. 3^same3ah vs. 3am3ah. It is also observed that O switched to English in his answer. Also, notice the contrast of the CA word *esmaha* vs. the EL *essmha* “its name fem.” above. The contrast clearly draws the line between the two dialects. It is that O is the one who almost always converges and diverges according to the topic of the discussion. Since the question was formally directed to O, then he chose to diverge from the CA features because he was stating facts about history of Libyan universities, so he did not want to alter the way the Libyans pronounce the name of this university.

Situation 9

Another reasonable aspect that I would like to stress on in the discussion of the code- switches that the two speakers portray from time to time is the fact that English seems to be more understandable in certain situations than the choice of either dialect while speaking. Recall that in situations 2, 7, and 8, the speakers used at least an English feature in their Arabic conversations. While each switch could have a different function in discourse, in this situation I argue that S uses the English conversion since it is easier to comprehend than using the CA words to the EL speakers. It seems that the English has become part of both speakers' idiolect. This is because when someone listens to a different dialect, it could take the other speaker sometime to understand what he or she is talking about. The proof for that is that both speakers use an English feature that does not accept more than one interpretation and is highly structure of the English language e.g. how are you? Hello! I am 24. He's a doctor.

O- heya **mamlukah lemuHamed ali** mech eIHokumah “it was for Mohamed Ali, not the gov.”

S- **Ayy**.... “**uhh**...”

O- **mamlukah lemHamed ali?** “It was owned by Mohamed Ali?”

S- Ibno leg'ayet ma Hakam meSr wa “his son governed Egypt and died

mat makanch beiyatkalem 3araby “**he can't speak Arabic**” **he cannot speak Arabic..**”

In the above switch, one could observe how the switch is placed at the end of the sentence to ease the processing of information to O. This switch could be a type of accommodation that helps the hearer ease the process of the heavy information that O was conveying via his CA features. This either happened since S does not know how to converge to EL features or because he used that to show that he also wants to converge with his listener i.e. O, but he could not, so he used the switch to cover for that. The following graph will show the number of times S switches to English in all the conversations compared

to these of O if ever. I observed that O uses English to ease the comprehension of some utterances, but S uses it to converge as well as emphasize a point in the conversation. It is also worth mentioning that O already knows how to converge using the CA features, as stated above, so he switches less to English.

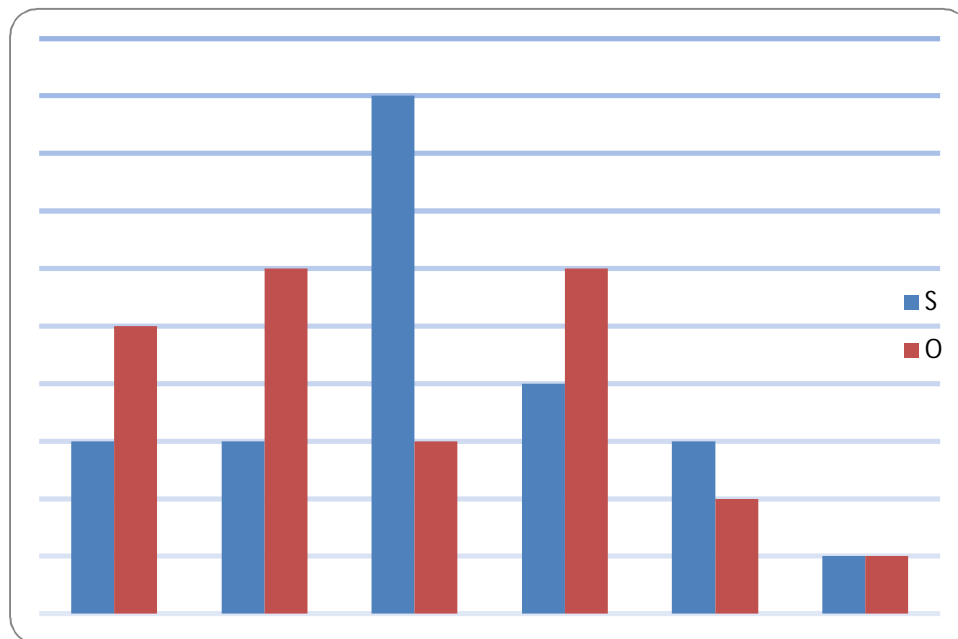


Figure 1: shows the frequencies of the items mentioned above in the color key chart.

It seems plausible that O is the one who is more knowledgeable with dialectal code switching (Dia. CS.), but he did not switch as much as S did when it comes to English code-switching. As for the stylistic variation (Sty. Var.), it seems that O knows how to switch forth and back more from EL to CA, and thus, enabled him to use different stylistic markers to communicate better in the conversations. As for laughs, it seems that O laughs more than S. This is partly due to affective matters that distinguish those two arabic speakers since O's wife is American, and probably all his family speaks English, so when he meets up with Arabic speaker he tends to reduce his use of English, use more dialectal code switching, as well as increase in his laughs, but not all his (fai. Insti) attempts to instigate the other speaker succeeded since maybe the joke did not capture the attention of the other speaker. In contrast, S's wife is Egyptian and almost all his family, who lives here in the U.S. speak Arabic.

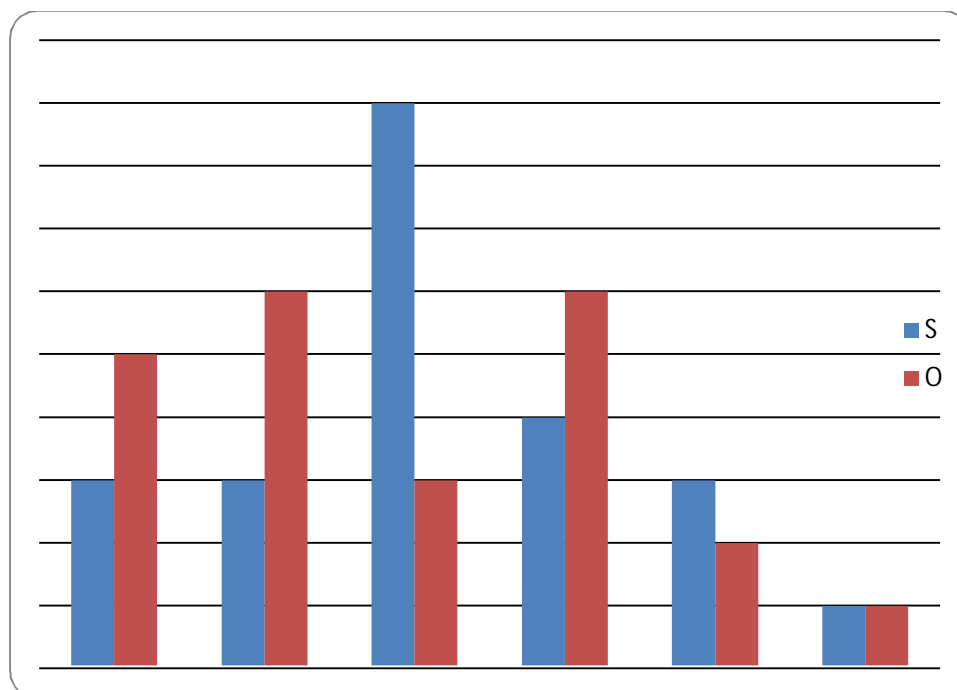


Figure (2) percentages of the use of the same mentioned variables in all the recordings

Therefore, when he meets up with O, he uses more CS to English and less to the dialectal level. But S is really an efficient laugh instigator since his style of presenting funny topics starts step by step until O and S find themselves laughing, which would explain why S did not laugh as much as O did because he, as this situation implies, did not understand the main point of laughing at a specific situation. Another finding for this study that I did show in the above conversations, is the fact that S used more back-channeling markers (30%), than O who only did it (10%). This behavior indicates that S is also trying to compensate for his law dialect switching by verbally explaining that he is participatin in the conversation, and trying to show his solidarity with O.

This study corroborates with the previous studies (e.g. Elsaadany, 2003; S'hiri, 1995) that speakers of other Arabic dialects converge to Egyptian Arabic when they encounter an Egyptian. This convergent action happens in both the lexical and phonological aspects of the Egyptian dialect. Nevertheless, this study found some other stylistic convergence and divergence behaviors according to the topic of the conversations. As discussed in the previous figures, it turned out that psychological factors have a great deal in conversational styles, convergence and divergence, word selection.

The researcher is not sure that O has his own idiolect because, he does not deal with EL speakers that much in the environment he is in. Whereas S has a wife who speaks the same language and so do his other family members here in the U.S. Giving that O does not have much exposure to his EL native dialect, and he does not have intimate friends except S, it is believed that this could be another reason why he converges more to CA as he is used of doing it for a long time. However, I asked O about the reason why he always converges to CA, he laughed and said that is because my dialect won't be understood by the other speakers in Muncie, which refers to the fact that it is true an idiolect of his. S

also developed a different type of idiolect since he switches more to English. This could be an indicative that he is trying to stick to the bilingual identity as well as being understood better by his interlocutor.

The motive behind convergence was to ease comprehension, show friendliness and intimacy. As mentioned earlier, the Egyptian speaker does not switch to the other's dialect except when he code-switches to English. It is possible that the speakers switch to the English language since it seems plausible that English is surrounding the speakers' language production mostly all the time since their workplace is certainly a place where English is the primary form of communication. Gumpers (1982, 75) mentioned that such switches i.e. from Arabic to English serve to "amplify or emphasize a message". Although the data I have that portray CS, to some extent, it does corroborate with the previous research of code-switching, and the convergence and divergence aspects of CAT. Still, since this is a case-study, it is hard to generalize this study to the whole group of speakers, and thus, further studies will need to confirm the findings of it.

For further studies, I would really like to see how speakers of Arabic use back-channeling behavior when speaking to each other. It makes sense to understand what the proper functions of such markers are.

APPENDIX (APA chart correspondence)

APA	My symbols
ʔ	3
ħ	H
ʃ	<u>ch</u>
ʕ	g'
ʔ	A
ð	<u>Th</u>
<u>s^f</u>	S
<u>z^f</u>	d'
<u>t^f</u>	T
g	j

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**NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL FUNDAMENTALS
OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING**

Maria Mikheyeva, Olga Burukina

Moscow State Institute for Tourism Industry n.a. Yu.A. Senkevich

43A Kronshtadtsky Blvd., 125499 Moscow, Russia

E-mail: mikh_maria7@mail.ru; oburukina@yahoo.com

Abstract

Foreign language learning is stipulated by a number of factors – both subjective and objective, with the latter including cultural fundamentals of national psychologies and mentalities determining the general perception, the level of difficulty/easiness, as well as the pace and depth of mastering foreign languages as complex culturally stipulated systems. Lifelong learning and cultural self-determination are seen as issues central to the future success or failure of European nations, particularly those of minor languages. National cultures based upon national languages, mentalities and psychologies influence the ways foreign languages as scopes of grammar, lexis and phonetic peculiarities are perceived and learnt and must be taken into account in foreign language teaching.

The discussion emphasizes the importance of cultural issues as related to effective foreign language teaching and learning. The findings suggest that cultural synchronization between teachers and students contribute to increased effectiveness of foreign language acquisition.

Key words: *foreign language learning, national psychology, national mentality, cultural fundamentals*

INTRODUCTION

Foreign language learning is one of the fundamentals of the Bologna Process, one of the competencies viewed as a must within the contemporary professional's portfolio in the European Union. Foreign language learning is no longer considered to be a prerogative of specially chosen ones, but a competency of every European graduate of a higher (or even high) school. Foreign language learning has gradually turned into a second language learning and mastering another language – most commonly English has become an integral part of today's social life.

As is known, language pervades social life. We share Krauss' and Chiu's and other social psychologists' opinions that language is the principal vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge, and the primary means by which we gain access to the contents of others' minds. Language is implicated in most of the phenomena lying at the core of social development: attitude change, social perception, personal identity, social interaction, intergroup bias and stereotyping, attribution, etc. (Krauss & Chiu, 2007: 2).

Key to our analysis is an understanding of how teachers' and students' cultural background and culturally determined communication influence the teachers' responses to the needs and potential of the foreign language learners. Also, we consider the impact that the teacher's methods may have on the quality of the students' language learning progress.

The purpose of the paper is not to research high or higher teachers' foreign language teaching practices. We have taken into consideration the issues of cultural synchronization in foreign language teaching and learning as well as those of cultural impact on both processes.

Though a number of papers have already been published on the theme, there still remain aspects that have not been paid enough attention to and this study is intended to emphasize some important issues of national culture and foreign language acquisition interrelating and overlapping both in concept and consequence.

1 INSEPARABILITY OF NATIONAL CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND MENTALITY

Though the relationship between language and culture is viewed from two opposite angles: on the one hand language and culture are seen as inseparable phenomena, on the other hand language and culture are seen as separated phenomena as language is seen as an instrument of communication that may be used with any subject and anywhere in the world (Risager, 2005: 185), Risager argues that both positions are dissatisfying as language should be conceptualized as an integrated part of society, culture and the psyche (ibid.).

The inseparability of language and culture is dynamic: just as language use pervades social life, the elements of social life constitute an intrinsic part of the way language is used. Any communicative exchange is situated in a social context that constrains the linguistic forms participants use. How these participants define the social situation, their perceptions of what others know, think and believe, and the claims they make about their own and others' identities will affect the form and content of their acts of speaking (Krauss & Chiu, 2007: 2).

Since the study of culture is always about communication, it is always intrinsically semiotic. Communication, be it inter- or intrasubjective, is always social. Communication is executed through sign systems and artifacts that are frequently also the outcome of interaction (Randviir, 2004: 12).

1.1 Cultural determination of national mentality and consciousness

As Krauss and Chiu correctly state in their work (Krauss & Chiu, 2007: 2), many cultural psychologists including Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus et al., 1996; Shweder & Sullivan, 1990, have focused on culture as a shared meaning system developed by members of a collective to represent the world, create cultural artifacts, orient themselves and others to features of the environment, and evoke certain feelings. A cultural meaning system consists of a large, diversified pool of shared ideas, values, beliefs and causal knowledge, coherently organized in a network of interrelations (D'Andrade, 1984), that constrain the meanings people construct and the inferences they draw (e.g., J. Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994). Another way to conceptualize the relation of language, meaning and culture within the cultural meaning system framework is to view language as part of the mental architecture used to represent cultural experiences that is a vestige of earlier cognitive evolution. From this perspective, a language reflects a world view shared by its speakers (Krauss & Chiu, 2007: 2).

According to Privalova (2005), the culturally stipulated consciousness integrates knowledge of cultural objects as well as rules and norms of communicative behaviour. Ethnolinguistic consciousness is an ensemble of cognitive-emotive and value-oriented structures, which national integration provides their variability from one culture to another (Privalova, 2005: 7). Besides, the images of ethnolinguistic consciousness are constituted by functional / operational units of three spaces – linguistic, cognitive and cultural. These spaces are structured in a specific way and consist of functional units each of which bears a separate quantum of information (ibid.). Ethnolinguistic consciousness can be viewed as equal to

linguistic consciousness described in ethnic aspects as a model of linguistic consciousness for a certain linguistic community, stipulated with its national culture. Ethnolinguistic consciousness also turns out to be multidimensional, reflecting subcultural differences and those of variants of national languages. Ethnolinguistic consciousness is a kind of polylogue, in which we can find “plurality of approaches, positions, assessments that give basis for exchange between various contents and are at the core of evolution and creation of new contents” (Ufimtseva, 2002: 162). So, ethnolinguistic consciousness integrates various value-oriented systems represented in traditional, mass and elite subcultures (Tolstoy 1995).

1.2 National mentality and national psychology as part of national culture

The assumption of national psychology is that different ethnic groups, or the people living in a national territory, are characterized by a distinctive “mix” of human attitudes, values, emotions, motivation and abilities which is culturally reinforced by language, the family, schooling, the state and the media (Chandra Gitta 2011).

Though the mankind has changed a lot within the recent centuries and even more than that within the recent decades, the idea that a nation shares a specific cultural mentality, morality and mindset, embedded in its language and institutions is still rooted in national identity and ethnic cultures.

Although national mentalities may change over time and large-scale international migration make people adopt new cultural traits, they still clench to their national traditions and cultural and linguistic specific features as losing them will mean losing their previous self-identity and getting melt in a new one, which usually involves serious personality challenges and psychological conflicts.

1.3 National language as a reflection of national culture

The national language is both a means of culture translation / transfer (Tarasov, 2000), and a means of verbal embodiment of cultural traditions as “language is a product of a national culture, a structural element of the culture and an important condition of the culture. It takes its fundamental sense in concentrating and embodying all fundamentals of human life in one unity” (Dyke van, 1989: 47).

When getting acquainted with another language, we enter the world of another culture. On mastering the foreign language, we get a tool – a key for getting the knowledge stored in the foreign culture (Ufimtseva, 2002: 610), we enter the circle made around another nation – the foreign language native speakers (Humboldt, 1984: 80). The saying that we are captives of our native culture and our native language is very true as we can only perceive a foreign culture while comparing it with our native one (Ufimtseva, 2002: 609, 614) because there is no other method of understanding the new but through comparing it with the old (Tarasov, 2000: 9).

2 LANGUAGE IS MORE THAN JUST A CODE

It also involves social practices of interpreting, making meanings (T&LL) and general understanding. Native and foreign languages are always the core of language teaching and learning as they make an inseparable mutually depending couple in the classroom practice.

Krauss and Chiu (2007) are absolutely right saying that messages are vehicles that convey speakers’ communicative intentions. However, people’s perspectives often differ, and recipients may employ different interpretive contexts in constructing the communicative intention that underlies the message. As a result, the same message can convey different meanings to different recipients (Krauss & Chiu,

2007), and the case get more aggravated in situation of communications between speakers of originally two different native languages.

2.1 Culture and language intertwined

There is a fundamental relationship between language and culture both in everyday life and in specific classroom situations when certain cultural peculiarities get highlighted.

We fully agree with Kramersch (1993) that culture in language learning is not an expendable fifth skill, tacked on, so to speak, to the teaching of speaking, listening, reading, and writing. It is always in the background, right from day one, ready to unsettle the good language learners when they expect it least, making evident the limitations of their hard-won communicative competence, challenging their ability to make sense of the world around them (Kramersch, 1993: 1).

The speaker (a layman) making an utterance in a foreign language always unconsciously orientates on his/her own system of cultural values, while the listener bases upon his/her system of cultural values. As a result, communicators belonging to different linguistic cultures often decode the same utterances differently and both the communicative function of the language and the purpose of the communication do not reach their goals.

2.2 Native language and personality

“One’s native language is so tightly interwoven with one’s personality that to teach it also means to develop the student’s intellectual, spiritual abilities (personality)” (Buslaev, 1897).

Indeed, language and man are inseparable. Language does not exist outside man and man as *Homo sapiens* does not exist outside language. So, man can not be studied outside language and vice versa. Language reflects the world around us – through man and for man, language likewise reflects the culture created by man, preserves it for posterity and hands it down from generation to generation, from father to son. Language is a cognitive tool through which man perceives the universe and culture. And, finally, language is a cultural tool: it forms man, determines his behaviour, way of life, outlook, mentality, national character and ideology. Language is a strict and incorruptible teacher; it imposes upon man the ideas, concepts, models of cultural perception and behaviour that are inherent in it (Ter-Minasova, 2003).

A lot has been written by psychologists, culturologists and sociologists on the correlation between national culture and personality. In their book, “Language and Culture,” Vereshchagin and Kostomarov (1990), comment as follows in this connection: “A man is not born a Russian, German or Japanese etc., but becomes one as a result of living in the relevant national community of people. In its upbringing, a child is exposed to the impact of the national culture to which, the people surrounding it, belong” (Vereshchagin & Kostomarov, 1990). However, one should not forget the huge role played by language, in direct association with culture, in upbringing and personality formation. The well-known aphorism by the Soviet psychologist, Ananyev, quoted by Vereshchagin and Kostomarov, “personality is a product of culture,” should be altered to read: personality is a product of language and culture (Ter-Minasova, 2003).

3 FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Thanasoulas (2001) gives a deep observation of foreign language and foreign culture interdependence for a foreign language learner as foreign language learning is not only comprised of several components, including grammatical competence, communicative competence, language proficiency, but it involves

a change in attitudes towards one's own or another culture. For scholars and laymen alike, cultural competence, i.e. the knowledge of the conventions, customs, beliefs, and systems of meaning of another country, is indisputably an integral part of foreign language learning, and many teachers have seen it as their goal to incorporate the teaching of culture into the foreign language curriculum. It could be maintained that the notion of communicative competence, which, in the past decade or so, has blazed a trail, so to speak, in foreign language teaching, emphasising the role of context and the circumstances under which language can be used accurately and appropriately, 'fall[s] short of the mark when it comes to actually equipping students with the cognitive skills they need in a second-culture environment' (Straub, 1999: 2 cited from Thanasoulas, 2001).

3.1 Culturally determined myths about learning foreign languages

There are several culturally determined myths about learning foreign languages that wander from monograph to monograph and from textbook to textbook.

Myth 1 – Grammar is at the core of foreign language learning

The fact that grammar is the basis for every language doesn't need to be proved, yet, the situation when language courses turn into grammar rules learning diminish the efficiency and decrease foreign language learners' self-esteem as learning grammar rules does not mean mastering foreign grammar and developing the grammatical competency within the learner's linguistic and communicative competences.

Myth 2 – Grammar is unimportant as long as communication purposes can be reached

This is an opposing myth, which is not less detrimental as speaking does not mean uttering ill-connected phrases and communicating does not mean constantly solving puzzles of 'what the stupid foreigner intended to say' or 'what the stupid native speaker meant using this or that grammatical form'. The times when foreigners were admired for their ability to utter a few words in a different language have passed: the mankind has developed and got much better educated.

Myth 3 – Plunging into a foreign language abroad is the best way to learn it

It is a common myth very widely spread in laymen's minds. Unfortunately, they don't recall the experiences from their childhood when they used to listen to birds' singing, cows' mooing, cats' meowing or dogs' barking for many hours, in the cases of their pets for years but have hardly learnt their languages being much better developed cognitively and mentally than the animals.

Myth 4 – Young children acquire a second or additional language faster than older learners

The misconception that young children can acquire a second or additional language faster than older learners is quite common. Yet, as Lightbown (2008) has proved becoming completely fluent in a second language is not, as many have claimed, 'easy as pie', but rather, takes several years (Lightbown, 2008) even for very young learners. Thus, it is a mistake to assume that providing day care or preschool programmes in a second language is sufficient to prepare children for academic success in that language (Ball, 2011: 19).

Lightbown (2008) has concluded that when it comes to learning a foreign language, both *age and intensity matter* (Lightbown 2008). A later age – when children are both fluent and literate in their home language(s) – combined with more hours of exposure and formal instruction, support foreign language acquisition better than starting "drip-feed" courses earlier (Ball, 2011: 29).

Myth 5 – Native speakers are the best teachers of foreign languages

This myth is particularly widely spread in the US and Russia as well as the rest of Europe. Yet, being a native speaker doesn't mean being a professional language teacher and moreover, it doesn't mean being a professional teacher of a language to foreigners whose linguistic and cultural background may differ drastically from that of the native speaker and while some grammar phenomena may seem difficult to the native speaker, they can be evident to the learners, though some others, adopted by the native speakers as is with his/her mother's milk may seem absolutely illogical and weird to the foreign language learners.

Irvine (1990) and others have presented compelling arguments regarding detrimental effects that result from a lack of cultural synchronization between teachers and students. Examples include the development of deficit views among teachers, the deterioration of interpersonal respect between teachers and students, increased attention to controlling student behavior, and poor use of instructional time (Irvine 1990 cited from Monroe & Obidah, 2004).

3.2 Culturally stipulated incongruence of grammatical difficulties

We agree with Siti Rohani Bt Md. Zain (2007) that although researchers and language educators differ in giving emphasis toward grammatical competency, they all share the same view that grammatical competency has its important role in the development of communicative competence. The stages and time for each learner to learn or acquire certain aspect of grammatical constructs vary with age and personality (Siti Rohani Bt Md. Zain, 2007).

The different views of approaches in analyzing and describing language have influenced the ways grammar is taught. Based on these different approaches, Woods (1995) derived three views of grammar; grammar as rules, grammar as forms and grammar as resource. These three views of grammar, to a large extent, inform teachers about their approaches to teaching grammar in a classroom (Woods, 1995 cited from Siti Rohani Bt Md. Zain, 2007).

In our opinion, the first approach is good for future grammarians of professional language teachers within their third or fourth years' courses. The second approach is widely used in classrooms where communicative methodology is worshipped, while the third approach still awaits its time as it seems to be the most progressive and thus preferable in tomorrow's language teaching – for both native and foreign language acquisition.

3.3 Mental patterns and limitations

Citing a number of researches, Krauss and Chiu (2007) describe clear evidence of language effects on certain aspects of cognition including (a) visual scanning, verbal learning, visual memory, decision-making, and problem-solving. Thus, *visual scanning* presumes that habitual ways of reading in a language can affect the preferred direction of visual scanning. *Verbal learning* means that phonological properties of language used to encode stimulus materials can affect verbal learning. Under *visual memory* the researchers understand the ways a visual stimulus is labeled can affect its representation in memory. *Decision-making* includes issues when verbal framing of a decision problem can affect problem representation and subsequent decisions. And *problem-solving* states that verbal encoding of visual stimuli can facilitate or hinder problem-solving, depending on whether or not the problem-solving task requires an accurate representation of the visual information (Krauss & Chiu, 2007).

Indeed, reading from left to right or vice versa – horizontally or vertically determines the habitual directions of visual scanning and there are numerous proofs that the other aspects of cognition are also affected by the intrinsic features of national languages and thus, national mentalities.

4 ADVANTAGES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING BASED ON NATIVE LANGUAGE SYSTEM

The benefits of effective foreign language instruction focus on the role of the individual in a multilingual, global society. No longer do Americans, Japanese or other nations live in isolation; instead, there is an ever-changing, interdependent world in which diverse cultural and linguistic groups converge (Chico & Koch 2011).

The Analytical Report prepared by Ball (2011) informs policy-makers of existing research and practices in mother-tongue instruction in early childhood and early primary school years; and raises awareness of the value of maintaining the world's languages and cultures by promoting and resourcing mother tongue-based education for young children (Ball, 2011: 5).

Actually, we believe that the approach of mother-tongue based second (foreign) language acquisition can and should be developed and extrapolated over adult second language learning.

Many linguists, psychologists, and educators argue that respecting learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds in educational settings is crucial in fostering their self-confidence as persons and community members, and in encouraging them to be active and competent learners. Many studies show that mother tongue-based instruction can improve a child's self-esteem (Appel, 1988; Cummins, 1989, 1990; Hernandez-Chavez, 1984 cited from Ball, 2011).

Similar findings can be found in many other researches conducted in Russia (Buslayev, 1897; Tosltoy, 1995; Ufimsteva, 2000, 2002) and beyond (Kioko; Mutiga; Muthwii; Schroeder; Inyega & Trudell, 2008).

4.1 Foreign language and personal mentality development

F.A. Wolf stated that a foreign language infuses one's attention much more and makes us bring linguistic phenomena to mental deductions while a native language is rooted in one's inner perception (Wolf 1892 cited from Buslayev, 1897, reprinted in 1992).

We wholly share Buslayev's opinion that comparison of two languages – the mother tongue and the foreign language in the process of acquisition – helps the learner to engrave both grammatical and logical relations in his/her mind more deeply and clearly. The language comparison contributes to the learner's understanding the difference between word and idea, between sentence and thought, between contextual and vocabulary meanings. It is the best way to develop the learner's abstract thinking and understanding that almost every linguistic phenomenon can be found in a generalized way in different languages seemingly unconnected, separated by spaces and cultures and thus existing in parallel worlds. Learning foreign languages and comparing them with the native language contributes to the learner's better understanding of life and world – the laws of being, the similarity and differentiation. And the native language can easily serve here as a basis, a measure that every foreign phenomenon can be compared with, understood, adopted and obtained (Buslayev, 1992).

4.2 Cognitive ability development

According to Buslayev (1897), at an early age the development of cognitive ability and the development of memory are closely connected – almost coincide. If one's ability to memorize fails to be developed and strengthened early enough, the deficiency will be felt all through one's life. That is why young children find pleasure in training memory. That is why the great people who influenced the mankind largely with both word and deed at their mature age are known to have had a remarkable memory in

their childhood. And here comes the question – how can memory be developed and trained? (Buslayev, 1992: 48).

There are a number of proposed and well-developed trainings, with foreign language learning being among the best kinds. F. Buslayev emphasized that foreign language learning including learning the finest shades in word meanings contribute largely to training memory and personal mentality at large (ibid.).

And vice versa – according to Ball (2011), fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lay a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning additional languages. When children receive formal instruction in their first language throughout primary school and then gradually transition to academic learning in the second language, they learn the second language quickly (Ball, 2011: 5).

5 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

The Illinois Learning Standards for Foreign Languages state: “To study another language and culture gives one the powerful key to successful communication: knowing how, when, and why to say what to whom” (Chico & Koch 2011).

In this aspect we agree with the three maxims developed by Scarino and Liddicoat (2009):

- The way we teach language reflects the way we understand language.
- What is learned in the language classroom, and what students can learn, results from the teacher’s understanding of language.
- It is important to consider how language as code and language as social practice are balanced in the curriculum (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009).

If the three maxims are taken into account and developed in foreign language courses both theoretically and practically, the situation with foreign language acquisition in many national high and higher schools is sure to improve.

According to the Illinois Learning Standards for Foreign Languages, students of foreign languages make four types of connections throughout their study. First, they learn how to transfer skills and content of the foreign language in ways to better understand skills and content of the first language. Second, students make subject-matter connections, reinforcing content and skills of other areas such as science and fine arts. Third, students explore issues and themes which cross disciplinary lines, and fourth, students use the target language for making connections to vocabulary and processes important in the world (Chico & Koch 2011).

5.1 Principles for developing intercultural language learning

Scarino’s and Liddicoat’s (2009) Teaching and Learning Languages Guide commissioned by the Commonwealth of Australia offers five major principles for developing intercultural language learning including (1) active construction, (2) making connections, (3) interaction, (4) reflection, and (5) responsibility.

Active construction presumes that learning involves purposeful, active engagement in interpreting and creating meaning in interaction with others, and continuously reflecting on one’s self and others in communication and meaning-making in variable contexts.

Making connections means that learning is developed firstly through social interactions (*interpersonally*) and then internally within the mind of the individual (*intrapersonally*). In the interpersonal process previous knowledge is challenged, creating new insights through which students connect, reorganise, elaborate and extend their understanding, with constant connections being between language and culture and learning, existing conceptions and new understandings, language and thinking, first language and additional language(s), previous experiences and new experiences, the intercultural self and intracultural self–others.

Interaction emphasizes that learning and communication are social and interactive. Interacting and communicating interculturally means continuously developing one's understanding of the relationship between one's own framework of language and culture and that of others.

Reflection underlines that learning involves becoming aware of how we think, know and learn about language (first and additional), culture, knowing, understanding and their relationship as well as concepts such as diversity, identity, experiences and one's own intercultural thoughts and feelings.

And responsibility focuses on the issue that learning depends on learners' attitudes, dispositions and values, developed over time, while in communication, it involves accepting responsibility for one's way of interacting with others within and across languages and for striving continuously to better understand self and others in the ongoing development of intercultural sensitivity (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009).

We think that the five principles can be shared and more widely used by both native and foreign language teachers as they are fundamental to learners' mental and psychological development as learners of languages and those of social interaction.

5.2 Using the national cultures' advantages and diminish their disadvantages

We suppose that it is a foreign language teacher's duty to understand and learn how to use particular national cultural advantages in teaching a certain foreign language to his/her students and diminish their disadvantages. For instance, for a Russian speaker, every English grammar phenomenon can be easily understood and perceived but four grammar illogicalities including the illogic –s ending in the plural form of most English nouns and in the singular form of most English verbs in the Present Indefinite Tense.

Educators in Africa have described many benefits of mother tongue-based bi/multilingual education, reporting that use of the learners' first language in school promotes a smooth transition between home and school, fostering an emotional stability that translates to cognitive stability. Such children learn better and faster, and retain knowledge longer (Kioko, Mutiga, Muthwii, Schroeder, Inyega, & Trudell, 2008 cited from Ball, 2011: 24).

It is very important to explain the benefits of the linguistic system well developed in foreign language learners' minds in order to help them integrate another, sometimes very different system in their mind not as a foreign tissue but as an integral element of their selves, of their personalities.

5.3 Supporting students' learning

It is also important to explain to foreign language learners what benefits they get while studying foreign languages. Understanding the scope of benefits adds both to their motivation and systemic understanding of the mental processes going on in their heads, contributing to their mental, psychological and personality development and fostering the interrelations between their studying or different subjects or studies and work when it comes to adult learners.

Research studies clearly indicate that studying another language may give students the “edge” needed to succeed at higher levels in some other subjects. A study of over 17,000 students applying for college admission revealed that “students who had completed a foreign language course in high school tended to have higher scores on the ACT exams in English and math regardless of their ability level” (Olsen & Brown 1992). It has also been verified that “high school foreign language students perform significantly better on the SAT verbal exam than non-foreign-language students, and that SAT verbal scores increase successively with each half year of foreign language study” (National Standards).

5.4 Turning mental specificities into learners’ advantages

Sure, every learner has his/her own mental specificities determined by personal (subjective) psychological characteristics but also those culturally stipulated, coming from the national language and its proximity to the target language – foreign language. Taking this into account, we can estimate the average difficulty / easiness of second language acquisition and the average time needed to reach a certain level.

Thus, the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) has created a list to show the approximate time an English speaker as an adult foreign language learner needs to learn a specific language. The FSI methodologists believe that after this particular study time s/he will reach “Speaking 3: General Professional Proficiency in Speaking (S3)” and “Reading 3: General Professional Proficiency in Reading (R3).” They have identified 5 categories as follows:

Category I: 23-24 weeks (575-600 hours) includes languages closely related to English, i.e. 5 Germanic and 5 Latin Romance languages. Category II: 30 weeks (750 hours) is called ‘Languages similar to English’ but it only includes one language – German. Category III: 36 weeks (900 hours) comprises languages with linguistic and/or cultural differences from English (Indonesian, Malaysian and Swahili). Category IV: 44 weeks (1100 hours) is devoted to 42 languages (including Bulgarian and Russian) with significant linguistic and/or cultural differences from English. And Category V: 88 weeks (2200 hours) includes languages which are exceptionally difficult for native English speakers, i.e. Arabic, Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin), Japanese, and Korean (LDR 2012).

Anyway, whatever language is chosen and being studied – the authors of textbooks and instructors in classrooms in particular should give both linguistic and affective support to the learners basing on peculiarities of the learners’ culture and mentality and convey a positive attitude about the opportunities the native language and culture provides to the foreign language learners.

CONCLUSION

Summing up the above considerations, we would like to reiterate the main premise of the study: the national psychological and cultural issues should be an integral part and primary aspect of foreign language learning.

The results coming from the study offer a framework for understanding how cultural synchronization between teachers and students influences foreign language acquisition.

Although research papers are replete with studies that investigate interrelations between national culture, mentality and effectiveness of foreign language acquisition, a majority of the works overlook the salience of national psychology factors and the experiences of teachers practicing in various national and cultural environments.

We believe that the theme partially covered in this paper is worth the effort and many other efforts and future researchers should expand on issues raised in the current study to develop a more comprehensive understanding of culturally responsive learning environment. We recommend that empirical studies should be conducted with evidence coming from practitioners from many different cultural backgrounds, representing different cultural communities. The scope of the study expanded is sure to contribute to scholars' further understanding of culturally stipulated learning environment and help them to find new ways and methods of raising the efficiency of foreign language acquisition.

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**TECHNOLOGY-ENHANCED SCIENCE-TO-BUSINESS LANGUAGE EDUCATION
ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE CONTINUED EDUCATION CENTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES LAVOSLAV RUŽIČKA IN VUKOVAR**

Tihomir Živić

University of Applied Sciences Lavoslav Ružička in Vukovar (UAS)

Continued Education Center (CEC)

Županijska 50, HR-32000 Vukovar, Croatia

Antun Pintarić

Electrical Engineering School, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek

Kneza Trpimira 2b, HR-31000 Osijek, Croatia

Abstract

Aimed at a collaborative, interactive, and reflective in-class learning while cementing an instructor – student conversation and partnership, the UAS-based CEC Business English course regularly uses “educational landscapes” to simulate and animate a tutored instructor – student and student – student dialog and subsequent written assignments, and a special attention is thereby devoted to an error-free pronuncional fluency and proper discourse selection, as well as to the elimination of negative influences transferred from an attendee’s mother tongue.

The paper thus elucidates a technology-enhanced science-to-business (S2B) language education exemplified by the CEC’s Business English course, within a broader entrepreneurial education scheme.

Key words: *adult education, educational landscapes, entrepreneurial education, lifelong learning, S2B, technology-enhanced language education*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Notion of “Continued Education”

A “lifelong learning” concept implies an educational systematization in all life epochs and in all of its realizational forms (i.e., as a formal, informal, and nonformal learning). The notion is frequently being replaced by a “continued education” or “lifelong education” syntagma, but it is worth emphasizing that these two phrases are not identical. While “education” denotes just an organized way of learning, “learning” is comprehended as a broader concept, also involving unintentional, unorganized, and spontaneous knowledge acquisition that can be conducted throughout the life span.⁵² During the past 50-odd years, effectuated were the major technological changes that have influenced the labor market.

⁵² An informative article thereabout, titled “What Is Lifelong Learning,” was posted to the Croatian Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education’s website (AVET) already in 2011.

In the 1960s, the so-called “lifelong learning concept” was more considerably developed. It was initially reduced to the organization of courses, workshops, seminars and other knowledge transfer forms. Foreign experts mostly participated in these organized gatherings as visiting lecturers. However, this nonformal knowledge transfer modality proved to be insufficient. Advocated was an organized involvement of universities, universities of applied sciences, and university colleges in the lifelong learning development by the curricula of their own.⁵³ In Croatia, existent are certain curricula containing such initiatives and opening an area to the establishment of various partnerships while realizing such a modernized lifelong learning variant. The European Union’s Lifelong Learning Program (LLP) is the largest in the educational field, amounting to a total of €6.9 billion for the 2007 – 2013 period, whereby HRK 14 million have been allocated to Croatia. A national organ in charge of program implementation in Croatia is the Agency for Mobility and EU Programs.

As a part of the Lifelong Learning Program, the Grundtvig stimulates cooperation between the institutions offering adult-oriented educational and post-qualificational opportunities in overall Europe. In case of project realization partnerships with other institutions, it is possible to apply for major projects.⁵⁴ Hereby, the family-based entrepreneurial science-to-business (S2B) programs that have been implemented abroad exactly by virtue of collaborating educational institutions networked with the private sector are being emphasized as an extremely interesting example. In Croatia, the family-based companies feature the most represented form of proprietary organization and corporate management, as well as in the world, so such initiatives are well-accepted by all stakeholders due to their multiple positive effects. Bearing in mind the fact that the University of Applied Sciences Lavoslav Ružička in Vukovar (henceforth: UAS) and some other Croatian vocational-oriented higher educational institutions have already established partnerships with the European institutions through the Erasmus Subprogram, e.g., with the Trnava University’s Law School in Trnava, Slovak Republic, simplified is a collaborational capacity in joint projects. A linkage therewith is sensible while entrepreneurially upgrading a lifelong learning-oriented educational vertical due to their expertise, experience, and interconnectivity.

A Grundtvig programmatic segment applicable to the realization of such a partner activity relates to the persons reluctant to be motivated and involved in educational curricula. E.g., the typical representatives of the group are retiring Croatian civil servants employed with various municipal administrative bodies integrating in the European Union as of July 1, 2013, elderly physicians necessarily acquiring basic Computer Science know-how, and senescent founders or family firm proprietors learning Business English as a foreign language. Inveterately adamant in their attitudes, they do not like to be taught or advised what to do and how to do it. With regard to a considerable number of the undecided, the programs emulating Grundtvig schemes could exert a positive influence on their openness to learning and cooperation without an exclusive reliance to self-assistance, what was generally practiced heretofore. Their participation in such a program could render them more open to acquiring new knowledge and experience and more motivated to learn while improving their communicational skills

⁵³ Moreover, in July 2004, the Croatian Adult Education Commission even devised a document titled *Adult Education Strategy and Action Plan*.

⁵⁴ Such a possibility was also envisaged by the Croatian Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds and published on their website: cf. <http://www.mrrfeu.hr/>.

and increasing understanding and tolerance toward something quite different. In order to stimulate such an ingenuousness, the Grundtvig programmatic topics including an intergenerational learning and learning in the 3rd lifecycle stage, as well as an intergenerational dialog, counseling, and guidance, seem most appropriate for such a group.⁵⁵ The establishment of such a partnership program provides for both an economic and social dimension to a (private) professional and vocational education.

As the Council of Europe has recognized entrepreneurship as one of the eight crucial competences in lifelong learning necessary for all individuals concerning their personal realization, development, social inclusion and employment, it is indubitable that the aspect of entrepreneurial courses' introduction into the lifelong educational systems and lifelong learning had to be also pondered upon in the preparatory processes of the Republic of Croatia's accession to the European Union. The following competencies were identified as the core ones:

1. native-tongue communicational skill;
2. foreign-tongue communicational skill;
3. mathematical, scientific, and technological knowledge comprehension and usage;
4. ability to use digital technology;
5. learning capacity;
6. social and civil skills in a multicultural environment;
7. entrepreneurship;
8. cultural communicational skills.

This paper deploys the "lifelong learning" term for the acquisition and modernization of all types of capabilities, interests, knowledge and qualifications, while the "lifelong education" term stands for all types of formal, nonformal, and informal education.

Thus, the UAS invests its maximal efforts in the development of lifelong learning curricula in the field of education and mobility increase with regard to the students involved in the process. These curricula have been adapted pursuant to the guidelines of the International Association for Continued Education and Training (IACET) from Washington, DC, as well as those from the European Union.

1.2 Lifelong Learning and Vukovar

Consistent with its mission, the UAS is dedicated to the education and qualification of highly expert vocational staff (or individuals) in the fields of Biomedicine, Healthcare, and Social Sciences who acquire (or obtain) their essential knowledge and skills based upon an integrated system of theoretical and applied cognitive and scientific epistemologies while utterly responding to the economic needs and labor market and social community necessities wherein they operate by their professional capacities and practical abilities.

⁵⁵ Cf. European Commission, „Grundtvig Success Stories,“ Lifelong Learning Program, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 2007.

To realize its mission, the UAS stimulates personal and professional development of its professors, teaching assistants (TAs), and students through the implementation of vocational and scientific, research-oriented, and applied activities, as well as by multiple forms of networked science-to-business (S2B) transfer. Collaborating with the relevant institutions and practical experts, the UAS actively contributes to an improvement its students' professional competencies while methodologically creating, engineering, innovating, and adjusting its curricula and advocating and applying a lifelong learning concept.

Visionarily, the UAS is one of the leading and recognizable higher educational institutions in the Croatian Danubian Region area, featuring intellectual excellence in the implementation and integration of educative, exploratory, and applied scientific activities; contemporary curricula commensurate to the societal developmental objectives and labor market necessities; an inspiring environment for knowledge, proficiencies, and professional competency acquisition and interchange, indispensable in a permanently mutating local and international circumstances; and decidedly established quality standards concerning an overall educational process. As such, the UAS represents a desirable partner on an international and national level that continuously develops and implements the operations contributing to the realization of community-oriented economic and societal goals by its activities. Therefore, the UAS' motto is "A University to the pride of Vukovar."

There is a correlation between an economic efficacy as a whole, i.e., the effectiveness of economic entities, professors, and students, implying an increased interconnection and harmonization in a higher educational system. Educational objectives try to describe what a professor does so that students can fulfill them toward the end of a semester and adjust themselves to the market condition necessities. On the other hand, learning outcomes, differentiated from overall educational objectives, define what a student and not a professor should be capable of doing toward the end of a semester. Exemplified by the UAS, the objective of an applied higher educational system is to harmonize necessary knowledge, Croatian communicational skills, and communicational skills in the business-oriented English language. For that purpose, it is essential to continuously invest an effort in the maintenance of proper knowledge, thus being able to take part in lifelong learning as both an individual and broader social community benefit.

As unemployment is the greatest problem of the 21st century, the vision of UAS' vocational Course of Studies in Commerce is an establishment of positive communication between the students, professors, and entrepreneurs. The students are provided with a professional initiative possibility and ideational development that could improve an economic expansion. They are also allowed to create excellent preconditions for their future involvement in entrepreneurship and labor market through knowledge, innovation, creativity, and communication in a positive atmosphere during their schooling. Thereby, entrepreneurship is defined as an "entirety of knowledge and skills about an ability to spot a chance and transform it into a personal or professional endeavor."⁵⁶ Through an educational system adapted to the economic entities' needs, the students thus acquire knowledge and skills that enable their high-quality participation in entrepreneurship. The general working principles of foreign higher educational institutions applicable to the UAS testify to their immediate connection to the economy and labor market of a broader social environment and community wherein they operate. Commonly, observable therein

⁵⁶ Qtd. according to a 2007 definition produced by Slavica Singer, a noted professor at the Osijek School of Economy, when asked what could render Croatia an entrepreneurial country. Prof. Singer issued the statement as a commentary of the 2006 *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor*.

is a higher stake of professional, applied scientific, and vocational activities than in Croatia, whereby the experiences and databases demonstrate that the students spend just a part of their instruction load at institutionalized theoretical lectures in some comparable higher educational institutions abroad, while the rest of instruction, which in some cases could last for even several months (e.g., *Praxis* in the FRG), is located in a company wherewith these higher educational institutions have a concluded functional cooperation contract. The existent UAS' study programs, i.e., its curricula and syllabi, mostly correspond to the curricular specifications encountered in the practice of foreign higher educational institutions. E.g., a purpose-oriented program of the Course of Studies in Commerce, devised for the issuance of a *licentia docendi*, starts from a partial comparability with the professional and vocational commercial curricula and syllabi at the European higher educational institutions, such as the polytechnics, university colleges, or the universities of applied sciences.⁵⁷

2. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STUDENTS, PROFESSORS, AND ECONOMIC ENTITIES

Significant deficiencies in the knowledge of Business English as an entrepreneurial *lingua franca* in a global communicational domain were observed while researching the market for the economic entities' needs and monitoring the labor emporia as a prospect of an easier adjustment to the European Union standards. A continuous economic growth and development effectuates the introduction of alterations in education. To monitor these changes, a new model of communication between the students, professors, and economic entities has to be developed. Why is it necessary to start from the students? It is so because they have acquired general educational, professional, and vocational knowledge in certain fields during their compulsory edification and training, which is especially important for the advancement of innovation, creativity, and higher-level communication. Being sufficiently responsible and self-censured, they formulate certain excogitations that motivate them to further qualification and knowledge acquisition for the economic entities' sake. An incessant communication in the state-of-the-art multimedia classrooms provides the students with an open communiqué toolbox to be interactively deployed with their professors and businesspersons who recognize the students' individual dexterities and capacities. Thus, they are enabled to apply their acquired knowledge globally. The entrepreneurs should be flexible and adapt themselves to the market demands as quickly as possible, thereby rendering an assistance to a direct student schooling to facilitate his or her employability. The most renowned economic entities that achieve acclaimed results through their practice while transacting their business nationally announce innovation-orientated tenders, thus recruiting the successful, pioneering, and creative juveniles to be involved in their corporate industry.

As services are mostly represented on the market in all the economic life segments, that fact exactly directs toward a necessity to be oriented to lifelong learning in the domain of communications and Business English application.

⁵⁷ Cf. a quadrimestral study program of *Wirtschaftsakademie* in Frankfurt, a semestral study program of *Berufsakademie* in Mannheim, or a semestral study program of *Berufsakademie* in Karlsruhe, FRG.

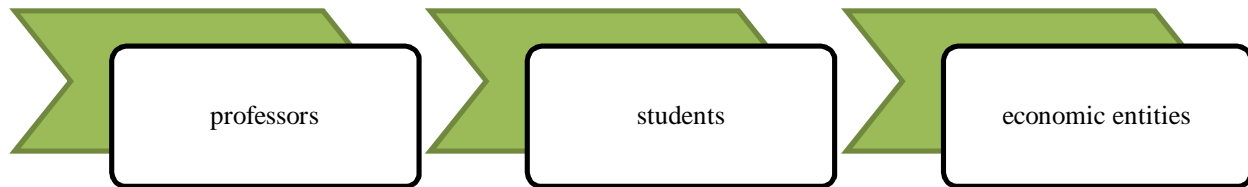


Figure 1: Professor – student – economic entity interactivity scheme

3. NECESSARY STUDENTS' COMPETENCIES IN AN EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Student's achievements, or learning outcomes, demonstrate clearly evinced competencies, i.e., expected knowledge and necessary adroitness and capabilities. Toward the end of his or her tutelage, a student is expected to apply the acquired knowledge, skills, and attitudes in a concrete business practice. Learning outcomes represent the expressions whereby we formulate what a student should understand and be able to exhibit subsequent to the completion of his or her teaching process.

Therefore, learning outcomes provide for the following object-oriented assistance:

- existent enrolled students – comprehension of expectations and learning process facilitation;
- faculty – precise description of obligatory students' capacitation and programmatic fulfillment at the end of certain learning period, indefinite heretofore;
- prospective students (potential enrollees) and economic entities – information on skills and competencies acquired during a study process.

The values that a student has to acquire subsequent to his or her attendance of a (major or minor) subject lectures or toward the end of his or her schooling are described through educational objectives, learning outcomes, and tasks, being related to the activities a student would be able to carry on following his or her successful completion of subject curriculum at a socially acceptable level.

Additionally, the *Self-Analysis* devised by the UAS during its reaccreditation process as a higher educational institution in October 2010 stipulates the following developmental vision (p. 11): "The University shall educate excellent experts in a partnership with the economy and congenial institutions while adapting itself to the economic needs and rendering its assistance to the economic development by virtue of its flexible curricula." Professionally, in the same document, the University has already anticipated the establishment of two vocational Specialist Courses of Studies in the forthcoming quadriennium, as well as the introduction of additional lifelong learning syllabi based on its mission and vision; a further reform of its vocational curricula (in coordination with the alumni and in the form of partnership with the entities from its environment); and the improvement of its intern quality monitoring system, a professional activity upgrade, an international cooperation advancement and studying standard elevation (through the erection of campus and Students' Center while continuing the ancillary extracurricular activities). Consequently, the aforementioned *Self-Analysis* specifies the following on p. 13: "It is justified to aspire to the establishment of at least one productive Course of Studies at the University based on regional tradition (rubber and footwear industry, enology, horticulture,

transportation) or new technologies (logistics, recycling, energy efficiency, footwear design, environment-friendly agribusiness, etc.).”

4. THEORY

The educational system in the territory of the Republic of Croatia has been subject to numerous reforms that, as a rule, have not contributed to the creation of high-quality human resources, ready to be directly involved in entrepreneurship; moreover, this problem is aggravated due to the fact that the higher education system has also passed through its transformation in the recent years, being developed in the Bologna Process, while the high-school educational system has not adequately followed this change.

Bearing in mind the prominence of professional personnel education because of eastern Croatia’s economic development, especially that of Vukovar-Sirmium County as a Special State Concern Area, it was necessary to launch a triennial vocational Course of Studies in Commerce at the UAS. Its curricula and syllabi should provide for a basis that could be appropriate to the present-day needs and understanding of entrepreneurship as a key lifelong learning competence, acquired by the economic entities in the best possible way.

On the level of the UAS, the curricula and syllabi should be renovated as to solve the problems of students’ adaptation to the pragmatic business conditions and acceptance of entrepreneurship as an educative, societal, and economic value. Additionally, it is necessary to analyze the policy, mission, and educational objectives within lifelong learning and adult education.

By virtue of its mission, business philosophy, and approach, the UAS’ Continued Education Center (henceforth: CEC) endeavors to follow good practice examples and guidelines recommended to its members by the International Association for Continuing Education and Training (IACET) from Washington, DC,⁵⁸ as well as the so-called framework Lifelong Learning Program (LLP), especially the Grundtvig Subprogram,⁵⁹ dedicated to adult education and mobility of stakeholders involved in the process within the European Union (EU) and Accession Countries.

In that way, the CEC, as an authorized provider of adult education services pursuant to a verification of the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports of the Republic of Croatia (MSES)⁶⁰ and a collaborator of the Croatian Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education (AVET),⁶¹ invests constant efforts as to satisfy the strict criteria, market demands, and objectives of such an educational aspect, in addition to a responsible and highly qualified processual management.

In this respect, the CEC is oriented toward the following in its Business English course conduct:

⁵⁸ Cf. <http://www.iacet.org/iacet-standard/standard-references>.

⁵⁹ Further information on the LLP is obtainable on its official website: <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/>. For the Grundtvig Subprogram, see http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/llp/structure/grundtvig_en.html.

⁶⁰ For information on *licentia docendi*, see <http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2428>.

⁶¹ On the Agency, cf. <http://www.asoo.hr/default.aspx?id=93>.

- provision of services of informal, computer-assisted linguistic education and development of communicational dexterity pursuant to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)⁶²;
- procurement of spatial and material conditions for the conduct of such short-term (multimodal) multimedia curricula, e.g., in the fields of foreign languages and business negotiation skills while applying the new technological solutions;
- promotion of lifelong learning system pursuant to the modern labor market demands;
- emphasis on self-employment skills and an increased employability.

5. METHODS

As *modi operandi* within the CEC, we promote mutual attendees and lecturers' confidence and an investment in the knowledge of their own as the most profitable decision and a significant successfulness factor, whereby an individual attendee acquires skills and expertise for advancement in his or her own career, or an advantage in recruitment procedures. Thus, while promoting the slogan "I choose knowledge for I select by knowledge," we constantly ensure the following in our work:

- a high quality and modernity of an institutionalized and certified educational process in all its components;
- matriculation of newly acquired qualifications in attendees' labor documentation pursuant to an approval by the MSES;
- possibility of attendees' education at an acceptable price, whereby we demonstrate our social susceptibility while retaining the quality of a provided educational content;
- adjustment of instructional schedule and course material modalities to a spare time of the most of employed adult attendees, with a possibility of constant free consultations and business consulting or orientation during an overall educational process, pursuant to the needs and interests;
- incalculation of all costs into an overall course price, whereby a certified literature becomes a permanent attendees' property.

Our primary product is knowledge, but the one provided in a multiple, accessible way, different from conventional lectures.

6. FINDINGS

Pursuant to the *Regulations on the Register in Adult Education* (OG 129/08),⁶³ especially their Art. 3 – 8, the CEC and the UAS' Financial, Information, and Students' Services keep separate *Records of Adult*

⁶² The CEFR criteria are explained in detail at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre_en.asp.

⁶³ *Narodne novine* is the *Official Gazette* (OG) of the Republic of Croatia.

Education Programs, Attendees' Records, and Lecturers' Records while regularly providing all necessary data concerning program implementation to the AVET.

With regard to the excellence promotion, quality assurance (QA), and tuition standardization, the CEC operates within the UAS and possesses computer equipment and software support for an Internet-based data interchange with the AVET and *e-Matica (e-Matrix)*, i.e., a MSES system for the management of standardized data groups.

In addition, the CEC has entirely harmonized its curricular conduct with the *Regulations on the Content, Form, and Andragogical Documentation Filing and Archiving Modality* (OG 129/08). As an institution, the CEC fulfills all technical, hygienic, spatial, faculty and material preconditions for a standard adult education program execution pursuant to the *Regulations on Standards and Norms and Modality and Procedure to Establish Condition Fulfillment in Adult Education Institutions* (OG 129/08).

Subsequent to the education completion pursuant to the programs enrolled, the CEC and the UAS matriculate new qualifications in attendees' labor documentation and issue certificates pursuant to the *Regulations on Public Documents in Adult Education* (OG 129/08).

7. DISCUSSION

In conformity with the *Europass* portfolio,⁶⁴ the CEC differentiates education (i.e., an institutionalized learning form, usually connected to a juvenile age), aspires to diminish a "return to classroom" discomfort, and promotes a lifelong learning habit among the citizens in the region (i.e., a spontaneous, informal knowledge acquisition irrespective of age) pursuant to the *Croatian Adult Learning Strategy*.

Accordingly, in terms of curricular correspondence, the CEC's operation is entirely harmonized with the social community needs, for the European A1 and A2 CEFR levels⁶⁵ distinguish the following:

understanding (e.g., listening, reading), speech (e.g., interactivity and production), writing

European A1 level: simple sentences, asking and responding to questions on the known topics, form fill-outs, discernible conversation;

European A2 level: evincing personal interests, information enunciation, simple communication, short essays, textual scanning and skimming, brief notice records

7.1 Foreign Language Program:

Structuralization

The Program objective is to introduce the attendees to the American and British business terminology while enabling them for a basic vocational receptive-productive and an argumentative structural competence in the English business communication, both written and the oral one (having a duration of 280 instructional hours).

⁶⁴ Cf. <http://europass.cedefop.europa.eu/en/home>.

⁶⁵ An in-depth self-assessment grid is available at <http://europass.cedefop.europa.eu/LanguageSelfAssesmentGrid/hr>.

Having a device “Speak up like a businessperson,” it is dedicated to 30 adult attendees per term, without an age limit, and a *Written Preliminary Examination* classifies them in two groups, pursuant to their prescience degree, e.g., the beginners and the advanced learners.

With regard to the implementational modality and content organization, it pertains to a nine-month bimodular tuition, whereby each module has a 140-hour lecture workload following the guidelines and deploying the audiovisual multimedia provided by the Croatian chapter of *Pearson ELT*.⁶⁶

The expected realizable advantages thereof pertain to intensification in personal communicability and attendees’ mobility, whereby his/her success is being comparatively evaluated pursuant to a congenial curricular comparison principle. Such a structuralization also facilitates course efficacy and organizational articulation because the attendees’ curricular workload is lesser, thus providing for their increased individualization.

Certification is alleviated by the fact that the course descriptors and objectives comply with a user-friendly, accessible, compelling, and interesting global and entrepreneurial terminology, e.g., a business sectorial diversification, corporate organization, Human Resource Management, multimedia campaigns, and Public Relations, business correspondence, etc. Thus, the attendees learn an Anglo-American company- and enterprise-related vocabulary, with a lexicon pertaining to the categories and historical development in the United States of America and the United Kingdom and a comparison with the Croatian small- and medium-sized enterprise lexis. A special attention is hereby devoted to a conventional and modern electronic communication (i.e., a business letter, facsimile, telephone conversation, and live conversation vs. e-mail, etc.).

Bearing in mind the fact that the Business English course attendees regularly arrive from various segments of a successfully innovative academic and economic cooperation, our lecturers deploy various network platforms and information databases as to expedite an in-classroom and home-based human – computer interaction and enable knowledge management while frequently surmounting attendees’ unequal acquisition and prescience of some fundamental economic wordlists and dictionary entries. In the CEC, a technology-assisted dynamic glottodidactic education uses digital ink, digital videodiscs, desktop and laptop computers, an overhead projector and a SMART Board interactive whiteboard to promote learning outcomes, and grammatical contents, i.e., the rules of English business language with regard to morphology, semantics, and syntax are lectured by an optimized role model and simulation software up to a grade permitting a correct, individualized business-like communication.

Eventually, during a biennial of its successful duration, the course has thus qualified its attendees, be it the municipal public administration representatives from the City of Vukovar and Vukovar-Sirmium County, local entrepreneurs (e.g., the Port of Vukovar), General Hospital physicians,⁶⁷ and the like, for the so-called “language activation,” i.e., for a refreshment of an already acquired linguistic competence

⁶⁶ Cf. <http://www.longmanhomeusa.com/>. The course instruction is organized in 70 hrs. of lectures and 70 hrs. of language practicum, what approximately corresponds to 15 points of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), as specified at http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc48_en.htm.

⁶⁷ The CEC Business English course tuition is organized pursuant to *Collaboration Agreements* signed with the UAS in 2009 (Vukovar-Sirmium County and the City of Vukovar administrative organs and public enterprises’ employees) and 2011 (Vukovar General Hospital and the Vukovar Port), respectively.

while combining it with the newly absorbed and accumulated expert and vocational vocabulary.⁶⁸ A combined multimedia instruction, which interchangeably fosters both an individualized and group principle, is flexibly scheduled two times a week, with consulting opportunities meanwhile: digitized high-end audiovisual teaching aids deploy Internet-connected computers for presentations created in Microsoft's *Office* packet, and attendees are challenged to use Adobe's portable document files (PDFs), *PowerPoint*, and interactive multiple choice answer sheets as a quotidian routine.

This circumstantiates the fact the CEC activities are completely synchronized with the 2007 – 2013 *Vukovar-Sirmium County Developmental Strategy*, notably with its Objective 2 (Human Resource Development through Lifelong Learning), Priority 4 (Harmonization of the Existent with a New Educational System and County's Market Needs), Measure 22 (Support to the Higher Educational Institutions' Development), as well as with Objective 4 (Vukovar-Sirmium County's Proactive Role in Integrative Processes and Creation of Partnerships in the Environment), Priority 8 (Enforcement of International and Intercounty Cooperation), Measure 36 (Enforcement of Cooperation between Local Self-Governmental Units and an Active Role of Relevant Institutions in Regional Development).⁶⁹

The attendees' course textbook, containing all the units and additional linguistic materials, expands, in addition to the numerous authentic materials posted only online, their ultimate realization of the specificities and regularities of American and British business speech, while the modular written and oral examinations, as well as the final one (*viva voce*), facilitate them to gradually monitor their progress. While so doing, this andragogical curriculum of mastering basic Business English provides for an intriguing opportunity of a formally verified instructional coordination with an overall lifelong learning promotion at the UAS; moreover, it contributes to an entire educational offer while emphasizing qualificational acquisition and/or expansion, expert and vocational knowledge acquirement, and attendees' employability.

Hereby, one of the long-term UAS strategic priorities is also to exert its gradual influence on the preferment of an entrepreneurial culture, especially while encouraging the companies to invest in the training of their existent and prospective employees through lifelong learning and inspiring the citizens of Vukovar, and the inhabitants of the Danubian area participating in the CEC programs to update and upgrade their knowledge and skills.

7.2 Foreign Language Proficiency and a Successful Business

Fluency and proficiency in one or more foreign languages are two essential competencies of a successful entrepreneur. The significance of foreign languages has never been dubitable, but the knowledge of a foreign language in the period of overall globalization and business internationalization is not a selection, it is a necessity. Based on a Council of Europe decision, the European Day of Languages (EDL) is celebrated annually on September 26,⁷⁰ expanding the rudimentary ideas of diversity and multiculturalism, plurilinguism and polyglossia, as well as the promotion of foreign language learning

⁶⁸ Cf. <http://www.vevu.hr/?g=12&i=160>.

⁶⁹ At the time of their implementation, the correspondent CEC curricula have also supported the *City of Vukovar Economic Development Program*, adopted on Jul. 21, 2006, as well as the *Mar. 2009 Program of Incentives for Entrepreneurship Development*, especially when it comes to the UAS participation in the *e-Vukovar* project.

⁷⁰ The Strasbourg, France-based Council of Europe promulgated the EDL initiative to ca. 800 million European citizens in 2001. Cf. <http://edl.ecml.at/>.

privately and professionally. E.g., the 2010 EDL was dedicated exactly to the importance of foreign language proficiency in business, especially in the SMEs. Within the aforesaid EDL, the conference titled *Languages for SMEs* was convened in Brussels, Belgium, having emphasized the fact that 11% of SMEs lost their business opportunities exactly, thus accruing financial losses and eventually creating the loss of jobs as well. The SMEs share an ambition to be expanded to the new foreign markets, but thereby they encounter both the linguistic and cultural barriers. Similar problems were also elucidated by the results of an SME- and crafts and trade-oriented educative need research conducted by the Croatian Chamber of Commerce from September to October 2009: according to them, it was plainly observable that a lack of proficiency in foreign languages was one of major obstacles faced by the Croatian entrepreneurs aspiring to expand their business transactions to the foreign markets.

As of 2006, when the European Union defined the previously mentioned eight essential competencies pertaining to a lifelong learning concept, foreign language communication and foreign language acquisition appear to be an inmissible part of any entrepreneurial learning.

Within its 2005 plurilinguism strategy, the European Commission emphasized the motivation of the European Union citizens to learn foreign languages as an extremely important momentum for the realization of the European policy objectives. A confirmation of the thesis was provided by the 2006 ELAN study titled *The Effects of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in an Enterprise on the European Economy*.⁷¹ Therein, almost 2,000 SMEs responded to the issues necessary to determine the existent status. E.g., it was established that the companies dealing with export are more productive than the non-exporters, deriving their advantages from their contacts with a technical know-how, better market knowledge, cost efficiency and an efficacy of their own. Unquestionable is the fact that foreign languages provide for an obtainance of classified information in business surroundings and new ideas on the production, raw materials, commercialization and commercial channels.

In 13 out of the total of 29 European countries that were encompassed by the study, more than 50% of the pollees expressed their supposition that they would need an additional foreign language knowledge in the years to come. When it comes to companies, 48% stated that they have offered their employees a foreign language course, while this figure exceeded 50% in 15 countries, being lower than 20% only in the United Kingdom. The Czechs and Slovaks were leading in this perspective (90% and 84%, respectively), followed by the Austrians, Finns, and Swedes, whereas these cases still constitute a real rarity on Malta and in the United Kingdom. However, these percentages are drastically reduced in the answers to the question of how many courses were indeed recently conducted in the aforementioned companies. On the other hand, these data cannot be considered discouraging if we take into account the problems encountered by small-sized businesses when investing in export-oriented merchandises. For this reason, all companies prefer to hire an employee equipped with a foreign language proficiency as to avoid linguistic course investments. Averagely 40% of companies employ personnel knowing a foreign language depending on a foreign market it transacts with. The employment of “domestic workforce” fluent in the mother company’s tongue on the foreign market directs to the fact that the SMEs are lacking linguistic capacities to transact abroad without mediators. An average amounting to 31% of companies employs such a “domestic go-between.” The countries transacting their business in such a way greatly are France and Germany, understandably followed by the English-speaking ones.

⁷¹ Cf. http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/Focus/docs/elan_en.pdf.

The study adduced that more than a quarter of Turkish exporters recorded losses predominantly due to their ignorance of foreign languages, followed by the Rumanian companies (25%), four Scandinavian firms (in Finland, Sweden, Denmark and on Iceland), and the entities from Spain, Norway, Czech Republic, France and the Netherlands. The total constituted an enormous forfeiture for the European Union economy. The companies quoted an insufficient number of employees proficient in a foreign language as the main reason for these losses (63%), followed by an inadequate self-esteem (8%), while the telephone switchboard problems, outlet difficulties, and a deficiency in cultural competencies were almost insignificantly represented.

Interestingly, 18% of companies affirmatively responded to the question of whether a company has faced difficulties with foreign clientele due to culturological differences.

From the previously mentioned facts, it is clearly visible that a business success is closely connected to linguistic competencies and that an entrepreneurial education has to incorporate a systematically business-oriented foreign language acquisition.

7.3 Linguistic Competencies as an Entrepreneurial Educational Component

A foreign language learning is a continuous process encompassing the acquisition of reading, writing, comprehension and oral competencies. All the mentioned competencies are being constantly intertwined and upgraded. In practice, one frequently differentiates the learning of a foreign language in general and a vocationally orientated foreign language acquisition, whereby one speaks of a foreign business language acquisition in entrepreneurial education. When discussing a foreign business language learning, we have to bear in mind that this process does not only encompass the acquisition of linguistic knowledge in the sense of certain business vocabulary attainment, but it implies a far more complex procedure. To be linguistically competent in a business environment signifies the knowledge of business etiquette, the possession of adequate social and presentational skills, the ability of participation and presiding over in a business meeting, a capacity to hold a telephone conversation in a foreign language, an aptitude to communicate in a foreign language and compile a communiqué, email, a business letter, etc. All of these are the skills that have to be the components of foreign language learning within an entrepreneurial education.

7.4 A Good Practical Example

In an ideal situation, a foreign language learning is a complex and structuralized process that starts as early as in high school and is continued in a higher educational institution. In some UAS's subject syllabi, e.g., in Enterprise Organization (T202), Business Transactions in Sale (T402), Entrepreneurship (T504), International Commercial Transactions (T601) and Business Negotiation and Communication (T604), the students establish fictitious companies of their own to acquire a corporate managerial talent, introduce themselves to the operation of various sectors, and acquire business communication skills. In parallel, the students acquire the aforementioned skills in Business English as well while learning how to compile a business letter, a questionnaire, or an offer; how to apply for a job in English or how to compile a résumé; or how to present a company of their own in English. Business English learning is thus streamlined toward realistic future needs of present-day students and prospective successful entrepreneurs through a business-oriented oral and written communication practice, having an entrepreneurial education and development of all entrepreneurial competencies as its objective. It is clear that a subject-based harmonization of curricula and syllabi between Business English and vocational majors is extremely important. A student acquires knowledge and skills during vocation majors' instruction and Business English lectures analogously.

The skills acquired during secondary education are further developed when a student is transferred to the UAS' tertiary level, whereby foreign languages are mandatorily taught. An emphasis is continuously laid on students' capacitation for successful functioning and communication in a realistic business world. Instruction is organized via lectures, seminars, laboratories and practicums, whereby linguistic competencies are being acquired through interactive methods, e.g., simulation, case study, role-play, etc.

Throughout a perennial instructional practice, case studies were exactly proven as one of successful methods wherewith the UAS' students simultaneously acquire their entrepreneurial knowledge and foreign language communication skills necessary in a realistic business environment. Therefore, the advantages of case study deployment in a foreign language instruction aimed at the development of entrepreneurial competencies are as follows:

- development of oral and written communicational skills and acquisition of appropriate nonverbal communication that is frequently an extremely important communicational element in the world of business;
- organizational skill development, whereby the students learn how to discern the relevant information and be focused on those that could lead them to the solution of an assigned problem;
- critical excogitational development;
- competence practice essential in the education of a successful entrepreneur and manager functioning in an international environment, e.g., meeting convention in a foreign language, presentation, contractual negotiation, etc.;
- comprehension of teamwork connotation.

In addition to the previously mentioned points, the case studies proved to be an excellent exercise field to test all the competencies objectivized in Business English instruction within an entrepreneurial education. The students have an opportunity to perceive how a realistic business situation would look like and learn how to adequately react and find the best solution while simultaneously activating their overall Business English knowledge.

7.5 Ultimate Thoughts

Irrefutably, the importance of foreign language familiarity in the business world is not limited only to a necessity when executing concrete tasks but also relates to an overall corporate image and employees' capacity to perform on the market individually and self-assuredly. This especially pertains to an increased preparation to take a risk that is significantly diminished when accompanied by the aforementioned aptitudes, thus creating a positive atmosphere for a maximized success and complete ideational creativity. A linguistically competent entrepreneur prevents potential culturological difficulties as well as the business ones. Thereby, it is worth emphasizing that a linguistic competence is acquired exclusively through continuous activity, so this process has to be structuralized in a high-quality manner as to achieve its entrepreneurial goal: a business transaction liberated from communicational exertion and cultural prejudices.

8. CONCLUSIONS

To ease a long-term or permanent retention of acquired knowledge, information retrieval, and the so-called “adaptive data distillation” to its attendees, especially regarding a robust vocabulary corpus learned in the business-oriented lessons, in its computer-assisted instruction the CEC’s Business English course applies various contemporary linguistic techniques whose main objective is to guarantee dynamics, excitement, flexibility and ubiquitous *Windows*-based platform usability. This is particularly valid for otherwise static or tedious language practice, i.e., narrative, phonological, or syntactic exercises.

Aimed at a collaborative, interactive, and reflective in-class learning while cementing an instructor – student conversation and partnership, prerecorded video clips featuring interdisciplinary native speakers acting in authentic business sequences and virtual business environments or “educational landscapes” (e.g., an office, business conference, store, airport, etc.) are regularly used to simulate and animate a tutored instructor – student and student – student dialog and subsequent written assignments, and a special attention is thereby devoted to an error-free pronounciational fluency and proper discourse selection, as well as to the elimination of negative influences transferred from an attendee’s mother tongue. The attendees are also instructed and encouraged to individually use sophisticated search engines, e.g., *Bing* or *Google*, as an information management infrastructure to rapidly find and filter specific, lexically constrained English business content and allocate this adroitness to their everyday practice.

Personal computers (PCs) in a Wi-Fi “language laboratory,” in an Internet-enabled UAS videoconference room, are also utilized to simulate a real-time virtual bureau and/or workplace, e.g., to create an online curriculum vitae, send an e-mail via Microsoft’s *Office Outlook*, review a corporate *Facebook* advertisement or profile, to participate in a multicultural blog or chatroom, or to install unobtrusive assessment software and communicate the progress to the attendees, but rather in the form of an innovative multiparty or individualized problem-solving notice than a conventional learning outcome or desiderata report.

Finally, the hyperlinked toolkits posted to our website as a copyrighted downloadable content (DLC) available to our registered subscribers (e.g., customized case studies, adapted or accurate magazine articles, tailored business-oriented webisodes, etc.)⁷² successfully imitate simplified versions of natural language processing (NLP) algorithms⁷³ and familiarize the attendees to an intercultural behavioral and linguistic diversity while fostering comprehension, audible interlingual grammatical combinations, plastic metadata visualization, and a personalized information aggregation and summarization in an incessantly altering and multitasking world of global economy.

The authors would therefore like to conclusively acknowledge and express their profound gratitude to the Zagreb, Croatia-based *Pearson ELT* staff (cf. <http://www.pearson.hr>).

⁷² Cf. <http://www.videovocab.tv>.

⁷³ A webisode-embedded NLP is feasible in different ways, e.g., in this case in a form of a foreign-language reading aid, i.e., a pronounciational computer software assisting a nonnative English speaker to utter a business term with a proper intonation.

9. IMPLICATIONS

Expected results are connected to the following:

- professional development through nonformal learning but in a motivating academic environment, with a high permeability and attendees' satisfaction;
- utilization of the state-of-the-art teaching aids and an opportunity to acquire adjusted curricular contents during attendees' spare time, outside of a conventional classroom;
- possibilities to more significantly involve the highly qualified practical externs in a CEC-based instructional process and an improved attendee – lecturer interaction.

Namely, an action plan implementing the 2010 – 2014 Entrepreneurial Education Strategy dubbed *Entrepreneurial Croatia* contains, *inter alia*, Measure 3 (pertaining to the introduction of entrepreneurial learning and qualification in all developmental policies and programs); Measure 7 (pertaining to the invigoration of collaboration, educational institutional networking, and interconnection of scientific, exploratory, and economic entities); as well as Measure 10 (pertaining to an increase in the number of successful SMEs established out of a business opportunity).

Indubitably, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial education, entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurial climate have contributed to the individuals' employment, being the bases of a sustainable economic expansion and social security. Equally, entrepreneurial skills undeniably contribute to the workforce competitiveness on the labor market, as well as to the economy's attractiveness as a whole.

Entrepreneurship implies an individual's ability to transform his or her ideas into action. Entrepreneurial programs and modules offer the students a toolbox for creative excogitation and efficacy in problem-solving. An entrepreneurial learning may thus be especially efficacious in an initial vocational qualification, like the one demonstrated by the UAS and its CEC.

As a value and an educational and nurturing objective, entrepreneurship opens a space to the knowledge and learning, interconnects educational and nurturing areas, and alleviates a knowledge acquisition process and development of capacities and dexterities. A key moment in an instructional curriculum could be the movement of our focus from the contents toward expertise. Such a process could be upgraded while increasing the teachers' expert basis. Consequently, entrepreneurship is designated as a sociocultural value and an educational and nurturing objective already in the Croatian *Strategy for the Design and Development of a National Curriculum*, with a tendency to be gradually expanded to the elementary and secondary schooling, i.e., to the vocational high schools, and even to the level of kindergarten and preschool education.

The aforementioned Measure 7, dealing with a collaborative enforcement and networking of scientific, research, and economic entities in Croatian entrepreneurial programs, is very important; nevertheless, it is partially dependent on the scientific and technological policy of the State.

As production modalities and interpersonal associations, relation to work, instruments, and tools, as well as a human relation to the nature are altered, so is the science being transformed into society's basic productional force. An obsolete technical and technological basis and the structures based thereupon are being removed, paving the way for a new electronic, bionic, genetic and robotized technical and technological foundation. Therein, a dominant position is occupied by microelectronics, biotechnology, and genetic engineering, as well as photonics and other high technologies that effectuate changes in the structures of all significant activity areas within a society, organization, administration and management

and *Weltanschauung*, up to the changes in our way of thinking and an approach to research and problem-solving.

In that context, besides Measure 10 that pertains to an increase in the number of successful SMEs established out of a business opportunity, being a result of acquired competencies to recognize an opportunity for an excellent entrepreneurial endeavor in a businesslike environment, an innovative science, a system of ideational generation and commercialization, and the development of entrepreneurship are necessary presuppositions for an economic recovery and unemployment decrease.

Due to the adduced facts, one may expect a successful development of entrepreneurship in a society only in a triangle formed by knowledge, i.e., in an education – innovation – research triangle. In other words, it necessitates an efficacious interconnectivity between scientific-research resources with other parts of a societal and economic system, whereby the preconditions for the generation of new technologies and innovations in the form of new products, production processes, and services will be created pursuant to a sustainable development program and global market competition.

9.1 An Interconnection Between Societal Development and Knowledge

A successful future is nowadays connected to the “society of knowledge,” manifested by a “culture of knowledge” (i.e., edification, civilization, and cooperation) and “economy of knowledge” (i.e., the fabrication of new knowledge and competition on a global “knowledge market”). This trend of dependence on knowledge, on its improvement, expansion, and acceptance, is being accelerated, thus becoming a focal point in the future. Science, as a domain wherein a new knowledge is being created, is a central motivator of development, an activity that enables the satisfaction of societal needs, especially those in the field of labor and overall life quality.

Knowledge and the accompanying technological solutions are a fundamental resource whereupon social welfare is based. Phrased differently, a prosperity growth is founded on the scientists who proliferate and apply the new knowledge, transmitting it to the next generations. While creating the new products, processes, and services, a scientific activity promotes employment and a sustainable economic growth. The fact that most working posts are presently connected to the hi-tech sector has dispersed a fear that some harbored heretofore according to which scientific development and new technologies would effectuate the working post abolishment.

Additionally, science occupies a key position when devising, applying, and evaluating political decisions. E.g., as demonstrated by the UAS’ courses of studies in Commerce and Physiotherapy as well, decisions in healthcare, environmental protection, and industrial security are necessarily based on scientific facts. The role of science is even more pronounced when it comes to the comprehension and solution to the economic and social dilemmas. Thus, investment in science becomes a guarantee of future more than ever before.

According to its nature, science is orientated toward an argument-based analysis and criticism of existent decisions while creating new possibilities and solutions. Promoting information, reproach, and readiness to change, scientific and professional-vocational institutions such as the UAS’ CEC upgrade a segment of societal civilizational level, and the scientists and professionals become unavoidable and influential promoters of international cooperation, peace, and democracy thanks to their international connectedness. Nevertheless, it seems that the existent scientific system in the Republic of Croatia needs to be more scientifically oriented.

The existent level of (linguistic and general) competence, creativity, efficaciousness, responsibility and competitiveness of scientific activity frequently fails to correspond to the necessities of an accelerated social development in spite of significant personal achievements. Without emergent and in-depth alterations, the present level of creation, application, and expansion of new knowledge will not allow for the realization of a welfare state. In that sense, a legislative, organizational, and financial scientific system reform, pertinent to both its exploratory and educational components, is simultaneously a condition for Croatia's sustenance in the European civilization space and that of a developed world.

9.2 UAS and Europe 2020

In a preamble to the aforesaid European *Strategy for a Smart, Sustainable, and Inclusive Growth* dubbed *Europe 2020*, European Commission President José Manuel Barroso stated the following: "The European Commission shall propose five measurable European Union objectives up to 2020 that would streamline the process and would be transformed into national goals, i.e., employment, research and innovation, climatic changes and energetics, education, and a war on poverty. They shall represent a direction we should take and shall signify that we shall be able to measure our success."

As an add-on, the *Europe 2020* strategy suggests three mutually complementing priorities:

- a smart expansion: development of economy based on knowledge and innovation;
- sustainable growth: promotion of an environmentally-friendlier and more competitive economy that exploits the resources more efficaciously;
- inclusive growth: nourishment of economy having a high employment rate while enabling social and territorial connectedness.

To define its desirable position in 2020, the European Commission also suggested the following main objectives for the European Union:

- 75% of the population aged 20 to 64 should be employed;
- 3% of the European Union GDP should be invested in the R&D sector;
- the so-called "20/20/20" climatic-energetic goals should be fulfilled, being increased to even 30% of greenhouse gas emission reduction should circumstances allow⁷⁴;
- the percentage of early school leavers should amount to less than 10%, whereas 40% of juvenile generation should complete a tertiary educational level;
- a number of people endangered by poverty should decrease by 20 million.

The UAS opines that these objectives are representative concerning three priorities of a smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth, but we also deliberate that they are possibly insufficiently elaborated and that it would necessitate a series of supportive activities on a national, international, and the European Union tier.

Nevertheless, the goals are causatively interconnected, so an increase in educational level or foreign language competence, such as the one exemplified by the CEC's Business English courses, may

⁷⁴ The "20/20/20" formula actually denotes a greenhouse gas emission reduction by at least 20%, an increase in renewable energy consumption by at least 20%, and an expected 20-percent energy efficiency increase by 2020.

reciprocally increase an attendee's employment prospects, while a progress in an employment rate elevation may help to the reduction of poverty. In addition to an increased efficacy of resource exploitation, an invigoration of exploratory capacity and development, as well as innovations in all economic sectors, will contribute to an increase in competitiveness and facilitate the opening of new working posts.

Investments in R&D and innovations in education and technology that efficaciously exploits the resources will expectedly exert a positive influence on traditional sectors, rural areas, and high-quality service economy, such as the one in Vukovar-Sirmium County, being the home of UAS' CEC. This will enforce an economic, social, and territorial cohesion as to vouchsafe that each Member State may adapt the *Europe 2020* strategy, bearing in mind its specific situation. A "smart growth" designates a progression of knowledge and innovations as the motivators of the future European Union advancement, necessitating an elevation in educational quality, invigoration of research impacts, promotion of innovation and knowledge transfers within the Union, better utilization of ICT and the assurance of innovative ideas' conversion into the new products and services, resulting in an increment and high-quality jobs while assisting a confrontation with the European and global social challenges. As to achieve success, it is necessary to interconnect such a growth with entrepreneurship, finances, and focusing on the end users' needs and their market capacities.

When it comes to innovations, the R&D expenditures in Europe amount to less than 2%, unlike 2.6% in the US and 3.4% in Japan, being predominantly a result of a lower private investment level. Unaccounted are only the absolute sums spent for R&D, so Europe should focus on the effect and R&D expenditure composition while improving the conditions for private sector's R&D in the European Union.

Concerning education, post-qualification, and lifelong learning, the aforementioned European strategy provides for certain depiction of status in the European Union. It adduces that a quarter of students' total reads badly,⁷⁵ every seventh juvenile leaves his or her schooling prematurely, while ca. 50% thereof complete a secondary educational level, but that frequently fails to respond to the labor market needs. In the Union, less than every third person aged 25 to 34 has graduated from a university or a university college, while the correspondent figure amounts to 40% in the US and over 50% in Japan. According to a Spanish index data, only two European universities were ranked among the first 20 worldwide.

In relation to a "digital society," it is assumed that a global ICT demand represents a market in the worth of €2,000 billion, whereby only a quarter of companies is headquartered in Europe. Europe is also still lagging behind in the field of high-speed Internet, which is necessary, for instance, for the full implementation of modern technology-enhanced linguistic courses and distant learning as the one exemplified by the UAS's CEC, exerting, in turn, a negative influence on a possibility of innovations, knowledge expansion, and distribution of merchandises and services online, especially in rural areas.

9.3 UAS and a Strategy of Scientific and Technological Policy

Scientific challenges of the 21st century imply the issues that will demarcate the epoch. Their incomprehension and ignorance would result in unpredictably negative consequences. This does not purport, however, that other traditional issues should be disremembered or that all new challenges should

⁷⁵ The figure does not pertain to the Business English only but also refers to a mother tongue reading proficiency.

be automatically accepted. Currently, the developed world pays its meticulous attention to the ICT domain, biomedicine and genetics, biotechnology, nanotechnology, new materials and energy sources, environmental science and to a sociocultural transition from an industrial into a “society of knowledge.”

Most developed states have implemented a reform in science financing, aimed at an improvement of flexibility and openness toward the future while strengthening the role of knowledge, increasing innovativeness, and fostering the commercialization of ideas and discoveries, as well as scientific management. Thus, a scientific activity is confirmed as a fundament to understand the reality, interpersonal relation settlement, and amelioration of living conditions, health, and liberty. The efforts are preponderantly concentrated on the promotion of creativity and innovativeness, stimulation of an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research approach, alteration of organizational structure to allow for an increase in efficacy, an interconnection of science and economy through an accelerated result commercialization, accumulation of scientific and financial resources via transnational megaprojects, development of research and educative capacities and via increased investments in research.

The basic strategic documents of developed countries emphasize an importance of education on all levels, with a recommendation to elaborate the curricula that stimulate the acquisition of fundamental natural science categories; an increase in quality, flexibility, and higher educational efficacy; an improvement in mobility of highly educated juveniles, especially in a correlation between science and economy; a secured provision of assistance to the scientists for the sake of a postdoctoral employment; a structural reform of graduate and postgraduate studies as to elevate a scientific studying efficacy; the information and education of public to comprehend the usefulness and importance of knowledge; and an increase in scientific work’s transparency and societal impact.

As a future European Union Member State, the Republic of Croatia is expected to adjust to and harmonize its scientific and technological policy with the five measureable goals ensuing from the previously mentioned *Strategy* up to 2020. The Republic of Croatia participates in the European Union programs as of 2006, with an exception of the Seventh Framework Program (FP7).⁷⁶ The overall sum of assets withdrawn amounts to €23.9 million in that Program alone, whereby 137 Croatian partners have been involved in 108 projects. Predictably, the Republic of Croatia will have to take its legislative, organizational, and financial measures in a shortest possible timeframe, what is necessary for a radical change in most of its present-day scientific system as to reduce its lagging behind the developed world when it comes to science-oriented investments.

The 21st-century technologies, e.g., those being successfully applied in the CEC’s Business English courses, are anticipated to be more widely incorporated into the national developmental directives as to devise a regulative that would stimulate an increase in quality and competitiveness, as well as decentralization and scientific work internationalization. Additionally, it would be necessary to implement a series of measures that encourage creativity, commercialization, and an S2B ideational transfer while accelerating an infrastructural annexation key to the further development of science, especially the one in the ICT field.

⁷⁶ I.e., the Republic of Croatia participates in the 2007 – 2013 Seventh Framework Program **of the European Community for Research, Technological Development, and Demonstration Activities** ever since its establishment, which is an exception to the rule. Cf. http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/home_en.html.

Pursuant to the 1956 Bloom's taxonomy of learning domains that differentiates six levels,⁷⁷ knowledge is evidently necessary, but it should be enriched by an applicative value for the needs of contemporary labor market at the aforementioned levels and educative forms. While contributing to an S2B transfer concerning its corporate attendees, a technology-enhanced linguistic education, such as the one exemplified by UAS' CEC, fully conforms to the rules stipulated by an entrepreneurial learning process.

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**THE NEWS COVERAGE OF A RALLY BY TURKEY'S MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY
PROTESTING THE NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE TURKISH MEDIA AND
DISCOURSE STRATEGIES IN THE NEWS**

Banu Terkan¹, Nurullah Terkan²

¹Selcuk University, Communication Faculty, Turkey, bterkan@selcuk.edu.tr

²Selcuk University, Communication Faculty, Turkey, nurullahterkan@selcuk.edu.tr

Abstract

The law proposing the gradation of the Turkish education system and increasing compulsory education from eight years to twelve years was accepted at the General Assembly of the TGNA on 29 March 2012 and was put into effect on 11 April 2012 upon being its publication in the Official Gazette. The Republican People's Party (CHP), the main opposition party, held a rally in Ankara's Tandoğan Square on 27 March 2012 to protest against the 4+4+4 education system before the proposal was accepted in the TGNA. In this study we aim to explore how the CHP demonstration against the 4+4+4 education system was portrayed in the Turkish media. This study is also intended to point out how newspapers with different ideological backgrounds viewed the new education system through this protest. To that end, the following twelve national daily newspapers were analyzed: Aydinlik, Birgun, Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet, Milli Gazete, Sozcu, Star, Taraf, Yenicag, Yeni Safak, Yurt and Zaman. In the selection of these newspapers, their ideological orientations were taken into consideration. News coverage of the issue in the above-mentioned newspapers was analyzed by using the discourse analysis method. In the study, news pieces were subjected to critical reading within the framework of ideological and rhetorical strategies of discourse analysis and additionally the newspapers' ideological orientation and interpretation system were pointed out.

Key words: 4+4+4 Education System in Turkey, News and Protest, News and Discourse Strategies, Turkish Media.

INTRODUCTION

Claiming that the education system did not take into account the varied age groups and the individual differences of students and therefore did not equip the young population with the knowledge and skills required for an information society, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) has restructured the eight-year continuous education system. With the enactment popularly known as 4+4+4 which increases compulsory education to 12 years, a new era in education has begun. The law proposing the gradation of the Turkish education system and increasing compulsory education from eight years to twelve years was accepted at the General Assembly of the TGNA on 29 March 2012 and was put into effect on 11 April 2012 upon being its publication in the Official Gazette.

In the booklet called 12-Year Compulsory Education Questions-Answers prepared by Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education (2012: 9) it was stated that one of the most important purpose of this regulation is to have request to make the education system "democratization" and "flexibilisation" and by dividing education into grades, first grade was structured as 4-year primary school, second grade as 4-year middle school, third grade as 4-year high school and rights related to lateral and vertical

transfer among the grades and right of choice were provided to the individuals according to their ability and development in early ages. Through the new regulation, it was stated that Qur'an and life of the prophet are provided as elective lessons to educate in middle and high schools (2012: 10). It was transmitted that children who completed 4th class may go either imam hatip middle school or other middle schools, there will be no difference between the compulsory lessons to be educated in general middle schools and imam hatip middle schools and Qur'an and the life of the prophet to be provided as elective lessons, differences may only be occurred for other elective lessons (2012: 11-12). There is a question asked in the booklet as "Why media and nongovernmental organizations approach this issue that much adversely?" and in the answer given for this question, two basic reasons for objecting this regulation are determined. It was asserted that one of these reasons is an "ideological" view, the persons who thought this was could not give up their habits to "grow only one person" by melting individual and cultural differences in same pot, and they do not have a purpose as "competing with the world". As second reason, by stating lack of knowledge, the amendment performed could not be assessed objectively and miscellaneous, critiques of the ones who do not have scientific proficiency related to aspects about education and unaware of the regulations but within one party in terms of categorical do not reflect the truth (2012: 13). As one of the most discussed dimension of new education system, in the booklet, related to imam hatip schools, there was a question as "What is the connection between 4+4+4 and the issue of imam hatip school?" and in the answer given to this question, it was stated that "giving opportunity with for opening imam hatip schools law caused and unfair assessment stating that the regulation was done only for this purpose" (2012: 34). Again, by considering another aspect discussing is the reactions towards this system would cause girls to marry in early ages, it was stated that these discussions towards this system will give opportunity such an implementation were completely hassled on purpose, and this system will never give an opportunity such an implementation (2012: 35). Another aspect discussing is that the system will extend child labor. This aspect was also handled in this booklet and by indicating that participation of everyone to 12-year compulsory education and completion of this education process are obligatory, it was stated that there is not any possibility for anyone to get out of the system at any stage of the education and also the administration will not give opportunity for this situation (2012: 35).

There have been discussions in different environments from different point of view related to the aspects indicated about new education system in Turkey. The Republican People's Party (CHP), the main opposition party, brought the law before the Constitutional Court on 19 April 2012 with an appeal of repealing the legislation and the suspension of execution. However, the Constitutional Court declined the repeal request on 24 May 2012. The CHP held a rally in Ankara's Tandoğan Square on 27 March 2012 to protest against the 4+4+4 education system before the proposal was accepted in the TGNA. In this study, it was sought to state that how 4+4+4 protest meeting of CHP framed in Turkish media and how the meaning of new education system was given by the newspapers having different ideological tendency over this protest. In the resolution conducted by acting from basic concerns of critical discourse analysis, first of all, what was the meaning of handling the news as discourse, what kind of discourse strategies are found in the news and representation problem in the news have been discussed, and the role of the discourse of the news in reproduction of ideologies were tried to be presented.

1. NEWS AS DISCOURSE

Taking news as discourse is one of distinguishing feature of critical news studies in the approach of news. Taking news as discourse is closely related to problematise the reality concept in the news with various dimensions and assess the news within the framework of power and rulership relations. While

the determinations put forward during analysis of news and news production process of mainstream approach focus on the fiction that it reflects the reality, emphasizes on the news will only represent the reality or constructs the reality come forward in the critical news studies. Determinations asserting the news constructs the social reality are especially come forward in the studies of Tuchman. The study of Tuchman named as *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (1978) is important in terms of solving constructive logic.

The reality in critical news studies was handled as a result of construction of the reality specifically. Media do not simply reproduce it, in fact defines it. Definitions of the reality were carried and produced through representing the definitions related to the reality and mediation of linguistic practices formed within the representation. This process is a process of selecting and presenting covering whole choosing and representing, structuring and shaping transactions (Hall, 2005: 60; Stamou, 2001: 653-654). By considering the affect of symbolic elites on the process through determining the genes, topics, argumentation, style, rhetoric or presentation of public text and talk (Van Dijk, 1989: 23), the affect and supervision of the ones having social rulership on news discourse become more apparent.

Elites provide the ideological framework necessary for the implementation or sustaining the rulership through discourse. Discourse and ideology structured within news discourse have important role in activating or legitimating the rulership. By giving place to political and economic elites in the news frequently, approval and legitimization of their ideologies and rulership are ensured. In the news, political, economic and martial ruling owners are represented and thus, news text is closed around the dominant discourse. Opposing and alternative opinions are not generally located in to a convincing position within the news text; they are melting into the dominant discourse (Alver, 2003: 211-212). Approaches handling the news as a discourse are concerned about its conventional set used for supervising and restricting the meaning of the events carried. This conventional set requires the news text as closely and strictly structured. Such structuring is basically aroused from the texts which are presenting other's opinions (Dursun, 2001: 131). Molotch and Lester (1974: 111) state that the news provides the reality of political work emerged from the events constructed by the ones constantly having rulership/power.

Following point should be especially noted. News is a discourse but it is a discourse having different features compared to literature, cinema, TV series. It is a discourse based on a convention which does not allow journalist to bring his own individual style, and structured within professional ethical rules. News values related to presentation as objectivity, neutrality and balance which ensures the establishment of credibility of the explanations brought to the events by the persons and institutions having rulership/power within discourse structure of the news play important role. Through these notions, the journalists mediate certain opinions become dominant in framing the events subject to the news (Inal, 2007: 142). Hackett (1984: 248) states that conventional establishment styles for impartiality and neutrality keep underlying ideological proposals away from attention. He emphasizes that the efforts for finding the balance between competing politicians and giving place for both parties of a story keep the attention of the audiences away from the question as why events were handled within certain themes and right for defining the problem was given to certain persons (generally officials of bureaucratic institutions or high-level elected politicians). When approaching the issue from this point of view, within the constructive fiction of the news, it may be understood better why the emphasis made on the effects of the status definition of bureaucratic institutions on formation process of the news are that much apparent. The persons stating that the news constructs social reality constantly discourse that the journalists are in a position idealized by bureaucratic institutions and transferring framed events, the journalists substantially adhere to the bureaucratic structure of the state and bureaucratic resources are major resources for the journalists (Fishman, 1997: 226-227). Hall et al (1999: 648-649) also positioned

journalists as a secondary definers of the issues and in his study names *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (1978), they put forward that the persons having ruler ship and power define the events in making street robbery news in the media and how the journalists move as the transmitter of the news over these definitions. Hall (2006: 169) highlights that any society/culture will not show a tendency for making the classifications of social, cultural and politic world accepted by force with the changing degrees of closure however it constitutes a dominant cultural order. In conclusion, it is apparent that various ruling groups, even if mutual conflict and contradictions may sometimes occur, are a series of economic, cultural and symbolic strategies which can direct information and knowledge, transfer major purposes and values and by this way, ensure the milestones of major ideologies (Van Dijk, 1989: 27).

2. DISCOURSE STRATEGIES IN THE NEWS AND REPRESENTATION PROBLEMS

Understanding how the ideologies show themselves in the discourse is closely related with resolving discourse strategies accurately. The issue about how social reality is represented and constructed necessitates making ideological dimensions in the news discourse visible.

According to Talbot (2007: 5), media discourse circulates in and across institutions and it is deeply embedded in the daily life and daily interaction of almost everyone. It is a truth that people benefit from various discourses including the interpersonal ones and the information derived from them to constitute and change their own minds. Symbolic elites and their discourses determine discourse types, the topics, the amount of information, the selection or censoring of arguments and the nature of rhetorical operations. This strategic supervision of the information in news media is implemented through the limited selection of heading and more generally reconstruction of public and politic realities (Van Dijk, 1989: 25-26). Many theories of social constructivism emphasize the role of text in the construction of the social world (Fairclough, 2003: 8). When Van Dijk analyzing discourse strategies in the news, he focuses on the news text and mentions about macro and micro structures. He analyses macro structure under two headings as thematic and schematic. In thematic analysis, discourse and ideological strategies are put forward by analyzing upper heading, heading, sub heading, spot and news entrances. Schematic analysis consists of status and comment sections. In status section, it has been focused on the story, processing method of main event, context and background information and results are evaluated. In comment section, assessments of the journalists and own comments of the newspaper are discussed. Comment section consists of two major sub headings as evaluation and expectations. Evaluation section is related to actual news events, expectation section is related to formulation of political and other possible results of the actual events and situations (Van Dijk, 1988a: 53-56; Van Dijk, 1991: 114-115). Macro analysis presents important information in terms of ideological concerns and how the reality is reproduced through the news.

In micro structure, syntactic patterns, the choice of words, and rhetoric analysis of the news are included. In syntactic analysis, status of the sentence as short/long, active/passive etc is analyzed; in the section of word selection; ideological analysis can be performed by focusing on the words. In the section of rhetoric analysis of the news; it serves for the determination of strategies for convincing. (Van Dijk, 1988a: 77-81; Van Dijk, 1991: 115-116). Micro analysis also charts out an important path to see rhetorical, ideological and discourse strategies in the news. When Van Dijk (1991: 111-112) analyzing news discourse, he states text semantics as considering words, sentences, paragraphs or whole discourse interpretation rules important. He refers local consistency and global consistency of the text. In local consistency of the text, connections are established between time, condition, cause, and consequence. Proposals are conceptually connected with each other. Global consistency means the text having a

semantic union. Global consistency puts forward what we intuitively knew about the themes and topics. Topics conceptually, summarize the text and give most important information related to the news. In the discourse and ideological analysis of the text, Van Dijk (2000: 62-85) also states that putting forward the strategies as how the actors are defined, application style to the authority, establishment of common opinion, disclaimers, distancing, dramatizing, victimization, presenting evidences, explaining with samples, ironies, metaphors, comparison, negative other-presentation, positive self-presentation, legality, illegality, implication, populist discourses are important.

Thinking over these discourse strategies is important in terms of establishment effect of certain equivalence systems between what can be assumed about the world and what can be true and supporting certain closures of the discourse (Hall, 2005: 71). By considering the truth that discourse not only reproduces the reality, but also it defines and establishes again, importance of these strategies is increasing. Definitions of reality are produced by supporting through linguistic practices in the widest sense and selected definitions of the reality are represented through these linguistic practices and the discourse is handled as the sum of these representations (Sancar Usür, 1997: 124-125). Hall (1997: 17-18) discusses the concept of representation as the production of the meaning through the language and the representation is the connection between language and concept giving us the power of expression both for the fantastic world of imaginary objects, people or events or the real world of people, objects or the events. He states that the meaning depends on the relations among the things in the world – people, objects and events, real or fiction – and the conceptual system operating as their cognitive representation and underlines that similar conceptual maps have been shared through communication.

This point is also important in terms of realizing the effect of the news on our cognitive schemes. Cognitive processes are not isolated from discourse practices. Linguistic discursive processes cannot be handled apart from other social practices. Experiences, actions and practices in physical life reflect discursive formation and affects cognitive maps of the audience through media mediation. Frames presented by news to the audiences, the schemes which stored these framed issues by the individuals, models and maps in which the realities related to the world poured are handled as an inseparable part of the identity of today's people (Inal, 1996: 151-152). Even only one news can be framed in various figures as including different qualifications and producing different variations (Ozer & Ozer, 2012: 25). Frames can be defined as “patterns of interpretation that are used to classify information and process it efficiently” (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2012: 149). Entman (1993: 52) states that functions of the frames are defining problems; defining reasons; making moral judgments and finding solutions to the problems. Gitlin (2003:7) defines media frames [for further information about framing please see: Iyengar & Kinder (1987); Iyengar (1991); Scheufele (2006)] as cognitive, permanent figures related to comment and related to representation emerged through verbal or visual presentation, selection emphasis and excluding organized by the ones participating symbolic production routinely. He remarks that framing ensures processing and regulating a wide range of information so as to perceive swiftly and routinely and also distributing to targeted group so as to appeal cognitive categories.

Van Dijk (1988b: 21) states that the information represented in mind shaped like scenarios and stereotyped information stay in long term memory and when required, it becomes activated by passing through the connection filter of the user. In the model of social cognition directed discourse analysis, Van Dijk (1993: 110) also indicates that reproducing processes of domination through the discourse involves not only text and speech, but also social mind representations shared by group members. He states that social cognition takes place between the discourse and the society and explains the position of social cognition as follow: The discourse is basically produced or interpreted by individuals however the ability of the individuals related to this is realized by means of the information and beliefs shared socially. Influence of the discourse of social structures passes through the social mind of expression's

participants. In contrary to social structures, it again passes through social cognition to influence the structures of discourse. Persons and groups having power also turn the advantage they have about accessing media compared to ordinary people into another advantage at the supervision of minds. The ones having power reach out the opportunity to be able to supervise receptive minds by supervising the discourse of institutional or public discourse in line with their interests. Therefore, by analyzing ways for supervising and affecting mind (Van Dijk, 1995: 21-22) especially critical discourse analysis makes discourse strategies in the news, representation figures and the invisible dimensions under the text more visible. Fairclough (2005: 68; 2006: 8) states that through focusing on discourse, critical discourse analysis aims to elucidate the discursual moment of social process, practices and change in its dialectical relations with other moment. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009: 10) critical discourse analysis aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimized by language use or in discourse.

3. METHODOLOGY

News texts have been analyzed in this study which tries to present how the indignation meeting of CHP about new education system was represented in Turkish press and meaning was given to this new education system through this way. CHP was performed this indignation meeting about new education system on 27 March 2012. The period covering one week before and after the date of the meeting performed were also included into this research in order to resolve how this indignation meeting was presented in the press. Newspapers published nationally and daily in Turkey as *Aydinlik*, *Birgun*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hurriyet*, *Milli Gazete*, *Sozcu*, *Star*, *Taraf*, *Yenicag*, *Yeni Safak*, *Yurt* and *Zaman* have been analyzed in the study. *Aydinlik*; neo-nationalist, *Birgun*; left, *Cumhuriyet*; left, *Hurriyet*; central, *Milli Gazete*; having national vision/Islamist, *Sozcu*; nationalist, Kemalist, *Star*; right/conservative liberalist, *Taraf*; is a newspaper being in a liberal line with the slogan as “thinking is being a side”. *Yenicag*; nationalist, Kemalist, *Yeni Safak*; Islamist, *Yurt*; defines itself as independent public gazette. The gazette is in a leftist line. Owner of the gazette is a member of parliament from CHP. The gazette *Zaman* is a conservative gazette with a rightist line. Ideological tendencies were taken into consideration for the selection of these gazettes. News related to the subject handled in these gazettes analyzed was given in the front page after the date of meeting performed. 127 news which were directly related to the subject and handled in the study have been analyzed. Printed copies of the gazettes dated 28 March 2012 have been analyzed in order to be able to analyze better how the news have been given in the gazettes right after the meeting. Other ones within the period analyzed in the study have been reviewed through their web pages. News in the gazettes determined in the study has been analyzed with the discourse analysis method. A critical reading of the news within the framework of ideological and rhetorical strategies of the discourse analysis in the study has been conducted.

During the discourse and ideological analysis of the texts; it has been focused on how the strategies as how the actors were defined, their application style to the authority, establishment of common opinion, disclaimers, distancing, dramatizing, victimization, presenting evidences, explaining with samples, ironies, metaphors, comparison, negative other-presentation, positive self-presentation, legality, illegality, implication, populist discourses were discussed in the news (Van Dijk, 2000: 62-85). Aspects focused on by Van Dijk (1988a: 53-56; 1988a: 77-81; 1991: 111-116; for further information about evaluation in media discourse please see: Wodak, 2009; Matheson, 2005; Bednarek, 2006; O’Keeffe, 2006) have been taken into consideration while analyzing discourse strategies in the news within the framework of macro and micro structures. In the study, firstly it was tried to put forward how meaning was given to the indignation meeting of CHP. Another aspect focused on in the study is to find an answer

to the question as how 4+4+4 education system was positioned by AKP and CHP within the framework of the indignation meeting of CHP. Although there are a lot of persons accepting protests and demonstrations as a vehicle of political participation, there are some who criticize this perception. In this context, the framing of protest by media has become an important problem (Terkan, 2012: 76).

4. THE NEWS COVERAGE OF A RALLY BY TURKEY'S MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY PROTESTING THE NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE TURKISH MEDIA

4.1. Interpretation Styles of Indignation Meeting

4.1.1. A Meeting Performed by the Persons Protecting Their Country and Having Concerns about Future

Approximately one week before the meeting, under the heading as “People from CHP will come to Tandogan”, the gazette *Yurt* informed that CHP discusses the idea of making party group meeting together with “public” in Tandogan Square after 4+4+4 law proposal “changing the education system entirely” passes through the commission in a “disputed” manner. In the news before the meeting and until the date of meeting, the discourse related to make together with “public” especially came into prominence. Similarly, in the news of the gazette *Cumhuriyet* before the day of the meeting, the discourse related to make together with “public” especially came into prominence. In the news under the heading “CHP will bring 4+4+4 to the public” of the gazette *Cumhuriyet*, it was emphasized that CHP acts in concert with “citizens” and “nongovernmental organizations”. In the news under heading “Rebel against 4+4+4”, it was forwarded that in contrary to “the government which turned a deaf ear to scientific information and expert opinion”, Kılıçdaroglu calls “everyone who wants to protect his children and country” to Tandogan. The wording used in the heading of the news as “rebel” and the assessments in the content of the news related to be “turned a deaf ear” to scientific information by the government totally belong to the gazette. In the upper heading of the news with the heading “Invitation to Tandogan” in the gazette *Cumhuriyet*, it is stated that “Kılıçdaroglu calls everyone who wants to protect the country to the group meeting open to public” and it is forwarded in the news that Kılıçdaroglu calls “everyone who wants to protect his children and country regardless their political opinion” to Tandogan. In the spot of same news under the heading of “It takes form according to religion”, there have been comments stating that the explanation of Recep Tayyip Erdogan as “Families do not send their adolescent (pubescent intelligence) daughters to the schools especially in Southeast. Open high school is here for this” puts forth the actual reason of decreasing the age of starting primary school to 5, along with this proposal, “female students will complete their formal education before they reached their obligation era according to the belief of Islam”, “coeducation”, “boarding school” and “headscarf ban” would be partially removed.

For the meeting to be held in Tandogan, CHP made a banner prepared which indicates “Let’s meet in Tandogan for our National Claim” and infused all around Ankara with these banners. The gazette *Yurt* used the heading “CHP called with the banner as “National Claim”” in the news before the meeting and it was indicated in the news that Erdogan Toprak who is the vice president of CHP states they expect to see everyone in the meeting to be performed who concerns about the right of his children and the future of the country; siding with equal, scientific and free education. Same assessments have been indicated in the news of the gazette *Cumhuriyet* with the heading “Rebel against 4+4+4”. When assessing the aspects became prominent in the written explanation of Mr. Toprak in the gazette *Yurt*, it is seen that it was tried to ensure “common opinion” with this meeting by making it “important and attractive”. While, the statement “we will present our democratic reaction in Tandogan on Tuesday against antidemocratic

mentality who kicked our colleagues on the floor and do not allow us to talk under the high roof of TGNA” became prominent in the quoted news from Toprak, in reply to the disclaimer statements presenting the government of AKP in an adverse manner, discourse strategies which were presented by CHP in a positive manner were drawn attention. This meeting has been positioned as an action performed by “the ones who show their democratic reaction” “against the ones having antidemocratic mentality”. Intermediate heading in the news as “First time in History of Democracy” is also important in terms of realizing the meaning attributed to this meeting.

Putting forward the assessment of Toprak stating his party will perform the group meeting together with public for the first time in the history of democracy under intermediate heading is an indicator of choice. Participants of this meeting have been discussed as the ones who “concerns about the right of their children”, “concerns about the future of the country”, “siding with equal, scientific and free education”. Giving place to the explanations of Toprak stating this meeting will be “dishonor” of AKP is also important in terms of seeing the approach towards the government.

The explanation of Birgul Ayman Guler who is vice president and spokesman of CHP stating “It will be a group meeting open to public together with the participation of the ones who concerns about future, cares about the future of their children and country, everyone all the world and his wife bearing Turkish flag instead of the party flag” have been taken place in the news of *Yurt* gazette headed as “The Ones who Care About Their Children Come”. Statements became prominent in the heading is important in terms of seeing the meaning attributed to this meeting. Similarly, same news have been taken place in gazette *Cumhuriyet* as “the meeting of the ones who concerns about future” and in gazette *Hurriyet* as “Severe criticism from Guler to Cemil Cicek”.

Again, in the news headed “Provocation warning for Tandogan” in the gazette *Yurt*, while the group meeting to be performed in Tandogan were evaluating by the Central Management Board of CHP, it was stated that CHP vice president Gursel Tekin warned about an issue by indicating the intelligence received towards the possibility about some “provocative” posters which was opened during *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Meetings. After all, the intermediate heading of the news is also “Warning from Tekin”. While giving place to the assessments of Tekin stating it is a meeting beyond the meeting of CHP which every citizen can participate with a social sensitivity, it was tried to make visible that CHP cannot be taken as responsible in case any negative circumstance and necessary warnings have been made by CHP. Under the intermediate heading “Warning from Tekin” of the news headed “Invitation to Tandogan” in the gazette *Cumhuriyet*, it was referred to same concerns. In the news headed “Tandogan Preparations of CHP” of the gazette *Birgun*, it was forwarded that CHP vice president Erdogan Toprak warned about AKP will be responsible from every provocation to be performed before, during and after the meeting and stated that “AKP should act with the consciousness of responsibility as being government instead of trying to slander, despise or deem as illegal our reaction”. In the same news, the assessments of Toprak as they expect to see everyone who concerns about the right of his children and the future of the country; siding with equal, scientific and free education because if the education system is divided and became interrupted, Turkey will stay backward compared to other countries in the world brought forefront. In the news headed “Tandogan warning of Toprak from CHP” of the gazette *Hurriyet*, same themes have been brought forefront as the other gazettes supporting the meeting and the assessments of Toprak as the meeting will be “Honor for CHP”, “Dishonor for AK Party” have been emphasized. Warnings of Tekin have been made visible in the news, too.

In the news headed “CHP should withdraw from the commission” of the gazette *Aydinlik*, it is stated that “CHP will complain about the law proposal foreseen reopening middle classes of the Imam Hatip high school by diving 8-year compulsory education to public.” “New education system” has been dealt

with in the news as “A regulation providing opportunity to open imam hatip schools with law” and it is emphasized that CHP will complain about it to public. In the news headed “We will say no to Erdogan the Dictator” of the gazette, it was forwarded that thousands of people attending to the meeting give the message as “we will protect the future of our children”.

4.1.2. A Huge Meeting Having Thousands of Participants

In the news headed “Tens of thousands of people pour in Tandogan” of the gazette *Yurt*, it was stated that thousands of people came from far and wide of country started to gather at Tandogan square and CHP aimed to have “100 thousand” participants to the meeting. Demonstrating the number of participants of the meeting high is an important strategy. Benefit from the power of numbers which is one of the strategies used for framing the news may be also considered as an important rhetorical strategy. Again, in the sub heading as “Hundreds of CHP buses have been stopped at the entrance of the city Ankara!” of the news headed “Police barrier to CHP” of the gazette *Yurt*, exclamation mark stated at the end of the news establishes an impression towards an abnormal circumstance and through stopping hundreds of CHP buses, actually an opinion towards people poured in the meeting was created and also an impression as the meeting was tried to be “stopped”. In the news given from the front page and headed “The ones who will participate our meeting are not being stopped” of the gazette *Sozcu* dated 27 March 2012, it was also forwarded that Kılıçdaroglu stated the ones who want to come from out of Ankara were prevented. In news headed “CHP made group meeting with 30 thousand people” of the gazette *Yurt*, statements as “thousands of people came from far and wide of country gathered at Tandogan square” have been taken place. The gazette *Yurt* tried to emphasize that “30 thousand” people participated to the meeting and the participants came not only from Ankara but also from everywhere in Turkey. By stating Rahsan Ecevit who is the wife of Bülent Ecevit also came to the Tandogan square to participate the meeting, it was intended to benefit from the power of important persons. In the upper heading of the news headed “4+4+4 separatist project” of the gazette *Cumhuriyet*, it was stated that Kılıçdaroglu, the leader of CHP, addressed “tens of thousands of citizen” in the meeting performed in Tandogan, despite “it was weekday”, “tens of thousands of people” protested against “AKP government” was stated in the texts under photos. Yet, in order to demonstrate these protests as important, it was forwarded that this was “breaking new ground” at Tandogan square, Rahsan Ecevit participated to the meeting and she said “we all see that Turkey proceeds towards becoming a state of sharia. I came to support my friends to prevent this” and the assessments of Ecevit was given in the news as bold character style.

In the spot of the news headed “Prefect 4+4 meeting at Tandogan” of the gazette *Yurt* dated 28 March 2012, it was stated that CHP “brought something new” and performed group meeting at Tandogan square Ankara, Kemal Kılıçdaroglu who addressed to tens of thousands of people filled the square in the “meeting as demonstration” “challenged” to Prime Minister Erdogan. It is clear that there is an intention to “demonstrate as important”, “establish difference” through the discourses as bringing something new, to put forth the crowd by emphasizing the huge numbers through the discourse as “addressed to tens of thousands of people” and to convert to “show of force” through the discourse as “challenging”. In the continuation of this news on 7th page, in the news headed “Enshrouding is our oath”, it is forwarded that Kılıçdaroglu who addressed to “tens of thousands of people” “came from far and wide of the country” emphasized the 4+4+4 law proposal which was passed through the commission “by force and pressure” aimed to “divide young generation” and he said that “this pressure do not intimidate us, cannot silence CHP, enshrouding is our oath” and challenged to Erdogan the Prime Minister with the words “If you are courageous enough, confront me”. Status to benefit from the metaphors in the speeches of Kılıçdaroglu was also brought forefront in the news.

Moreover, in the gazette *Yurt*, the discourses of Melih Gokcek who is the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor stating the indignation meeting performed at Tandogan did not cover “tens of thousands of people” as asserted by CHP was also dealt with in the gazette with an ironic language. Before the meeting, in the news headed “Gokcek forbade Tandogan to CHP”, it was stated that Gokcek wrote on his twitter account as “I said you cannot perform the group meeting in Tandogan and I forbade” and the representatives of CHP stated that “We do not take the show of Gokcek performed in cyber world seriously. Giving permission is not under the responsibility and limitation of him”. Exclamation mark used at the end of the news headed “Gokcek counted the people from CHP one by one at Tandogan!” indicates that the statements of Gokcek was not taken seriously. By giving place to the explanations of Gokcek as there were “7000” people in the meeting according to my opinion, in the intermediate heading of the news headed “same discussions have also been made in 2007”, it was forwarded that same discussions have also been made in Republic Meetings and these discussions were tried to demonstrate as nonsense and insignificant. In the news headed “Retort from Kılıcdaroglu to Gokcek”, the reaction of Kılıcdaroglu as “I only respond to a person thinking” was stated to towards the assessments of Gokcek as “7000” people were there and the explanations of CHP vice president Gursel Tekin as “80 thousand” people were there also took place. Same assessments also took part in the news headed “Meeting was over, its disputes remained” of the gazette *Birgun*. In the news headed “CHP made the photograph of Gokcek analyzed by the expert” of the gazette *Hurriyet*, an explanation made by CHP Press Office took part. In this explanation, it was forwarded that the statements as “After Kılıcdaroglu addressed tens of thousands of people by gathering CHP group meeting at Tandogan, Gokcek evaporated tens of thousands of people by photograph, the candle of someone who lies almost always burns just to midnight” were given place. In another news headed “He sent the photo of Tandogan to Kılıcdaroglu”, it was forwarded that Tandogan discussion dragged on between CHP and Melih Gokcek who is the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor from AKP. In the news, being from “AK Party” became prominent rather than being a municipality mayor.

In the news of the gazette *Cumhuriyet* which brought it up to the headline, the heading “Open message of tens of thousands of people” was used, the statements as “Public gathered against 4+4+4 despite the attempts for prevention” have been included in upper heading. When assessing the heading and upper heading, “rulership” and “public” were come across, CHP was positioned as a part “representing public” and by describing the attitude of the government within a structure as “preventing” “imposing bans”, actions of the government were tried to trivialized with the heading as “open message of tens of thousands of people” against all this events. Usage of photograph in the news which has an important power from rhetorical view is relatively attractive. Kılıcdaroglu saluting public within the images of crowded people has become prominent and this affect was increased by putting a caricature into the picture.

In the news given above the fold of the gazette *Yenicag* dated 27 March 2012, the heading “Historical day at Tandogan” was used, it was given in the sub heading of the news as “CHP which was silenced through smothering in the commission by AKP will bring something new and make the group meeting in the famous square of Ankara. Purpose: Reach out to public in order to prevent enactment of 4+4+4”. When assessing the heading of the news, the definition of “historic day” indicates the importance given to the protest to be conducted, in the sub heading it is realized that through bringing CHP into a mistreated position, AKP tried to “cut the voice” of CHP and this was conducted in a vandal manner by “smothering”. The news became more attractive by using metaphors. When focusing on the words selected in the news headed “Historical Group Meeting of CHP” of the gazette *Hurriyet*, it may be said that a strategy trying to make this meeting more important was followed. The gazette *Yenicag* brought the meeting of CHP up to the headline of the edition dated 28 March 2012. Sub heading of the news

headed “One of three radiations of heat fallen in Tandogan” is “CHP brought the rebellion to 4+4+4 education model to the square. Even it was not a holiday, tens of thousands of people poured in. Image of spring established with Turkish flags in the capital”. Intermediate heading is “A group with thousands of people”. When assessing the headings, “being outnumbered” became prominent and the issue was turned out to be a show of force. The photograph used in the news also has the characteristics to support the discourse towards the meeting was too crowded. In the continuation of the news at internal pages, the heading “They do not carry brain in their heads” was used. While forwarding the assessments of Kılıcdaroglu as “they silenced the televisions, they want to cut the voice of CHP. They do not want to have opposition. This was the understanding of the ones who do not carry brain in their heads” in the news, it was stated that tens of thousands of people came from far and wide of the country to attend the meeting.

Upper heading of the news headed “Anger of 4+4+4” given from the headline of the gazette *Sozcu* dated 28 March 2012 is “CHP stakes to the government with tens of thousands of people gathered at Tandogan”. When focusing on the words preferred in the heading and upper heading, the concepts as “anger” and “stake” tried to make visible the reaction, anger and stake of tens of thousands of people against the policies of the government. The gazette *Sozcu* stated that the number of participants to the meeting is approximately “thirty thousand”. In the intermediate heading as “CHP will be at Tandogan” of the news headed “Agenda of the assembly is 4+4+4” of the gazette *Aydinlik*, it is stated that Kılıcdaroglu will perform the group meeting with the participation of thousands of people, after giving tough messages during his speech the ones from CHP will object the acceptance method of the commission related to this law by coming to the assembly. Before the meeting was performed, it was clearly stated in the discourse of the gazette that “thousands” of people will be there and “though messages” will be given. In news headed “Modern education meeting at Tandogan” given from the front page of the edition dated 28 March 2012, it is forwarded that “thousands” of people from Ankara came together in order to object “Law proposal of AKP about interrupted education”. In the continuation of the news headed “We will say no to Erdogan the Dictator”, it was stated as upper heading “Tens of thousands of people objected interruption of the education”. When focusing on the words selected in the news, it is quite clear that this education proposal belongs to AKP and it was not embraced in no circumstances.

While it is forwarded in the news headed “Target of the Tandogan is 100 thousand” of the gazette *Hurriyet* that the participation of approximately “100 thousand” people to the meeting of CHP was planned, in the news headed “Tens of thousands of people are in Tandogan”, it was forwarded that “tens of thousands of people” “came far and wide of the country” gathered at Tandogan square. In the news headed “CHP 4+4+4 Tandogan Group”, also in the intermediate heading as “There were 80 thousand people”, the assessment of CHP Vice President Gursel Tekin as “There were 80 thousand people” have been included. However there is no statement or punctuation mark showing these words belong to Tekin in the heading.

4.1.3. A Meeting Mentioned Republic Meetings and Could Not Find Interest as Expected

In the news headed “Dejavu” of the gazette *Taraf*, it was stated that together with CHP, “Kemalist organizations” including “Kemalist Ideology Association” (ADD) and “Turkish Youth Union” (TGB) which “organized” Republic meetings in 2007 will support the meeting of CHP. Connections between the meeting of CHP and Republic Meetings have been established and in order to express the status which were experienced before, the heading “dejavu” was selected. It was indented to establish a thought towards there are “Kemalist organizations” behind the meeting was embraced by “everyone”. In news headed “National Tandogan” given from the front page of the edition of the gazette *Taraf* dated 28

March 2012, it was forwarded that the interest for “Tandogan group meeting” which was intended to turn out to be a meeting for protesting the 4+4+4 law proposal was lower than expected, the square was not fully filled, people wearing kalpaks and house wives became prominent, the reprehension of a retired woman from CHP summarized the meeting, the woman assessed that “The soul Tandogan was dead...”. When analyzing the news, it is clear that the meeting of CHP was tried to become “insignificant”. When analyzing the heading, a mocking approach did not escape from notice, an impression about expected interest for the meeting could not be provided was tried to establish. Yet, “National forces” referred by saying “people wearing kalpaks” have been positioned ironically. Again, by making the assessment of a woman from CHP prominent, an opinion indicating a person from CHP even found this meeting “nonsense” was tried to establish. While all gazettes supporting the meeting made the photographs, banners and posters in the meeting prominent, in the gazette *Taraf*, a person wearing kalpak along with a few old men and women were demonstrated in the photograph used and an impression indicating there were a few people attending this meeting tried to be established. In the continuation of news in the interior pages, the heading “The soul of Tandogan was dead” was used. Words in the heading were given directly without using quotation marks. Actually, the heading has the characteristic to summarize the view of the gazette towards this meeting rather than a woman from CHP. It was forwarded in the news that the number of participants was 20 thousand according to the CHP which planned to gather 100 thousand people. None of the gazettes supporting this meeting gave such information related to the participants as 20 thousand. There were assessments in the news stating Tandogan having a “symbolic” importance was not filled, the speech of Kılıcdaroglu was far from inflaming the crowd having “high expectation”. The expression “high expectation” was given in quotation marks in the news and by this way, having high expectations before CHP criticized ironically and they intended to make people think that Kılıcdaroglu did not have sufficient performance. It was included in the news that Melih Gokcek asserted the number of participant is “eight thousand” and he shared the photographs that he took through twitter. The photograph used in the news demonstrates the meeting as more crowded. Even if the gazette *Taraf* included the points targeted to the government in the speeches of Kılıcdaroglu in the news, the gazette tried to make the frames of the news which will make the meeting “nonsense” prominent.

The gazette *Star* did not try to put the meeting of CHP in the agenda constantly before the meeting. After the meeting, in the edition dated 28 March 2012, the gazette gave the news headed “CHP mentioned Republic Meetings” from the front page however the gazette did not bring the issue up to the headline, positioned it on the bottom left corner. The photograph used in the news was taken far from the meeting area and people could not be seen. Under the photograph, it was stated that while expecting “100 thousand” people to attend the meeting, “15-20 thousand” people have attended instead. It was indicated in the news that CHP mentioned Republic Meetings and Onuncu Yıl March which was “identified with 28 February” was played during the meeting. When reading the news, it is quite clear that it was tried to make the meeting of CHP nonsense and demonstrate as insignificant. A connection was established between Republic Meetings, Onuncu Yıl March was tried to become prominent. The news was tried to be framed in the plane as “Onuncu Yıl March”, “28 February”, “Kemalists”, “Republicans”. In the continuation of the news in interior pages headed “CHP came to the squares against 4+4+4”, it was repeated that while expecting “100 thousand” people to attend the meeting, “15-20 thousand” people have attended instead. In the news headed “Colasan attended the meeting, ADD confused” of the gazette *Star*, it was stated that after being selected as the president of Kemalist Ideology Association, Tansel Colasan attend this meeting of CHP “eagerly” even it was asserted that she promised “not to become a backyard of any political party”, a call stating “be principled” was received even from the own branch of Colasan. Along with this news, a connection between the meeting of CHP and

Kemalist Ideology Association was tried to establish and the attitude of Colasan was tried to reflect as an attitude “far from being principled”.

In the news headed “First meeting then interpellation from CHP” of the gazette *Yeni Safak*, assessments were made about there will be a support from the institutions as Kemalist Ideology Association and Association for Supporting Contemporary Life to the meeting of CHP as experienced in Republic meetings and also in this gazette, the meeting of CHP was positioned as a meeting mentioned Republic Meetings and a connection between this meeting and the institutions having important positions in Republic Meetings was tried to establish. In the news headed “He had fun with Tandogan meeting through twitter”, it was forwarded that Melih Gokcek asserted that there were “7 thousand” people in the meeting. Heading of the news also demonstrates the meeting as insignificant. In the news headed “Tandogan response from Gokcek to CHP with photographs”, above the expression saying Kılıcdaroglu addressed tens of thousands of people, the response was given by Gokcek and the number is 7 thousand and Gokcek stated that it was a “smack down” for CHP. When analyzing the news, it is clear that the gazette tries to demonstrate this meeting as insignificant. In news headed “Head loss in Tandogan”, it was stated that “CHP could not fill even the half of the square”, “he addressed to embarking continents” and the leader of CHP again “insult” to Erdogan the Prime Minister. In the edition dated 28 March 2012, the gazette gave the news headed “Tandogan Hazy” from the headline, in the sub heading, it was stated that the square selected by CHP has the name of the mayor Nevzat Tandogan who is the “symbol of one party despotism” and it was a “weird irony of fate” and it was indicated that “while talking, Kılıcdaroglu loses his quality level and he was a complete substitute of Tandogan who did not allow citizens to enter Tandogan due to their clothes”. When analyzing the words and actors selected, it was quite clear that the meeting was tried to make nonsense. Headings in the spot of the news as follows: Embarking continents are in the square; Kılıcdaroglu expressed his rage to everyone; He also attacked to Cemil Cicek the president of the Assembly. Expressions and words preferred in the headings of the spot as “embarking continent”, “expressing rage”, “attack” is the expressions denying both CHP and the meeting as well through their negative association. When focusing on the photographs used in the news, there is a photograph including a poster stating “Calling Army for Duty” and another photograph in which the flags of Turkish Youth Union became prominent and a photograph which will not create an impression as the meeting was crowded. In the news under photograph, it was stated that “nationalist team which opened a poster indicating as calling army for duty in Republic Meetings arranged in 2003 was there complementally”. In the news, a meaning was tried to attribute to this meeting with “Republic Meetings” and “nationalist wing”. In the continuation of the news in the interior pages headed “In the way of Tandogan”, same issues have been made prominent and in the intermediate heading as “Again, the story of police barrier”, the statements of CHP vice president Gursel Tekin about the buses have been stopped at the entrance of the city and people were prevented to attend to the meeting are considered as a “tall story”. In the news headed “Melih Gokcek made CHP very angry” of the gazette, it was stated that Gokcek made CHP angry by saying there were 7 thousand people in the meeting; in the news headed “CHP threw police a curve”, it was stated Kemal Kılıcdaroglu could not find his expectation who intends to resist 4+4+4 which will clear the way for imam hatip’s with a meeting similar to Republic meetings of the period of CHP president Deniz Baykal; the new management of CHP aimed to gather hundreds of thousands of people at Tandogan square could manage to gather only 10 thousand people approximately; the assessments of Melih Gokcek stating “I will leave the presidency if there were 50 thousand people” and others are the statements set back the meeting.

After the meeting, in the news given from the headline and headed “So called people’s party” of the *Milli Gazete* dated on 28 March 2012, by giving the heading above the photograph as “Theater in Tandogan”, the meeting was considered as “theater” and it was stated that there has been no change in

CHP as from 28 February until today and “being confronted with public” “same prohibitive attitude” proceed. A connection tried to be established further with the process of 28 February in the news. In the intermediate heading as “Tandogan meeting failure” of the news headed “Request for permission of the officers of national intelligence service is before the Prime Minister’s Office”, it was stated that deputy prime minister Bekir Bozdag indicated the Tandogan meeting of CHP was a failure, “Little lower and higher than the amount of ten thousand was discussed, they found a community composed of the a few number continents informed. We are always happy about CHP’s going to public. Yesterday they did but again they went as known CHP. They went with an understanding as commending, imposing to public, pumping their own understanding to public. You go to public but for listening the public, receiving their instruction and learning their wishes”. Quotation mark was not used in the heading in order to indicate that the Word “failure” belongs to Bozdag. After all, when analyzing the news of the gazette, opinions towards the meeting considered as a “failure” is also very apparent.

In the news headed “this time they are coming to squares against 4+4+4” of the gazette *Zaman*, it was stated that the biggest supporter of the CHP’s meeting is Kemalist Ideology Association, the organizer of the Republic Meeting held at the same square on 17 May 2007 was “Kemalist Ideology Association” and the biggest supporter of them was “CHP”. It was emphasized in the news that similarity with Republic meetings in 2007 caught the attention, Republic Meetings did not increase the vote of CHP in the elections of this year, but vote of “AK party which is on the target of these meetings” increased its percentage from 34 % to 47 %.

In the news given from the front page and headed “First time by CHP: Assembly group was gathered at Tandogan” of the gazette *Zaman* dated 28 March 2012, in the continuation of the news in interior pages with the heading “Stern words have been attributed to Prime Minister at Tandogan”, it was states that this meeting reminded Republic meetings held in 2007 at same square, the ones who had come at that period as the representatives of various institutions came this time as the member of parliament of CHP, the place of Turkish Youth Union was allocated in the square which was known with close relationship between Kemalist Ideology Association and Labor Party. It was stated that some of retired famous generals could not come to Tandogan this time since they were arrested due to the accusations related to Ergenekon and Balyoz coup plot. The gazette *Zaman* identifies the meeting of CHP with “Republic Meetings” and with an ironic attitude, it was forwarded that actors of this meetings have never changed, main actors of Republic Meetings were arrested due to the accusations of coup plot at the moment and framing style of the news was completely executed in the level of Republic Meetings, Kemalist Ideology Association, Turkish Youth Union, Ergenekon and Balyoz. The gazette *Zaman* also brought the polemics as how many people were at Tandogan to the news. In the news headed “How many people were at Tandogan?”, it was forwarded that various numbers between 10 thousand to 100 thousand of participants of CHP’s meeting were stated in the gazettes and Melih Gokcek assessed there were 7 thousand people. In the news headed “Gokcek signed the photographs of the meeting and sent them to Kılıcdaroglu”, it was indicated that Gokcek wrote a message to Gursel Tekin from his twitter account, in this message, he stated that if you reduce the personnel brought Yenimahalle municipalities and civil polices, there were “4 thousand” people in the meeting at maximum and by saying CHP was disgraced and they should accept that citizens is of different opinions with CHP. When assessing the aspects became forefront, it may be said that an impression including the meeting was not interested as expected was tried to be established more.

4.2. Positioning Styles of 4+4+4 Education System, AKP and CHP within the Framework of Indignation

4.2.1. A Project Carrying Turkey Backwards

Quotation as “if the education system is divided and become interrupted, Turkey will stay backward compared to other countries in the world” taken from the written explanation of CHP Vice president Erdogan Toprak in the gazette *Yurt* has the characteristics of summarizing the approach of new education system of the gazette.

In the edition of the gazette *Yurt* dated 28 March 2012, the news related to the protest brought up to the headline. In the sub headings of the news headed “Perfect action”, following statements were included: Law proposal of AKP government related to interrupted education known as “4+4+4” was protested by indignation meetings all around Turkey. Many union and mass organization poured in the street. When assessing sub heading of the news, emphasis about this law proposal related to new education system was not embraced and this law proposal belongs to the “government of AKP” were quite clear. At the same time, assessments stating this law proposal were protested “all around Turkey” trivialized new education system.

The gazette *Yurt* presented its approach to the new education system within the framework of these protest especially by putting the posters which were carried by the participants of this meeting. In the news headed “CHP made group meeting with 30 thousand people”, it was notified that “thousands of people” who gathered at Tandogan square carried posters written as “Mother father do not believe, my future was darkened”, “I am a father, solution for education is 1+8+4”, “AKP obsessed by science”, “4+4+4 does not bring solution for children of laborers”, “One cannot choose his profession at the age of 10”, “Children should not be bride”. In the news headed “4+4+4 divisive project” of the gazette *Cumhuriyet*, it is realized that people who carried the posters in their hands and writings on these posters have been focused on the photographs used. It was forwarded that posters as “One cannot choose his profession at the age of 10”, “Mother father do not believe, do not darken my future”, “4+4+4=Zero”, “No either to master or to husband”, “4+4+4=Darkness. We will not surrender”, “do not steal from your future, do not limit basic education” caught the attention in the news. All these slogans were written in bold character in the news and became more attractive. Moreover, the determination towards posters stated in the news were attractive is also related to the point intended to put forefront in the news. Because the ones considered as attractive among many find their meaning within the ideology of the gazette.

In the news headed “CHP made a group meeting with 30 thousand people” of the gazette *Yurt*, when analyzing the section given as start of line of the Kılıcdaroglu’s speech, it is realized that part of the speech confronting AKP government and Recep Tayyip Erdogan the Prime Minister was entirely put forefront. When focused on chosen highlights from speech, setting a link between new education system with “culture of obedience” and present new education system in the form of “lack of mind usage” with “allows mind to rent somebody else” has an important role at reproduction of Kılıcdaroglu’s discourse.

The gazette *Yurt* reported at 28 March 2012 issue, “Wearing shroud is our oath” headed news with title-break “Education is our national claim”, cites Kılıcdaroglu’s “They bring it with a Nazi mentality as they wish” referring to new education system. We will say no to dicta regime, we will say no to Recep Tayyip Erdogan, as well. Nobody forgets that CHP is the common voice of people. Everybody came here with Turkish Republic Flag because national education system is our national claim”. “Nazi mentality”, “Dicta regime”, “Dictator Recep Tayyip Erdogan” discourses that target AKP government and Prime Minister are reproduced over Kılıcdaroglu’s speech. Moreover, to see general attitude of gazette, it can be said as a footnote; at gazette *Yurt’s* 28 March 2012 dated issue “Sharp Pen” signed

editorial, talks about AKP Government's continuous insist and determination to send a "last killing blow" to "agonizing secular education", Government's preparation to change National Education schools to "Medrese". It is claimed that aim of this system is paving the way for guiding 10-11 years old children to Imam Hatips after 4th grade.

The gazette *Cumhuriyet*'s 28 March 2012 dated edition "Clear message of ten thousand" headed news includes a caricature signed by Musa Kart that images Ministry of Education wearing a turban associated with the idea of religious generation 4+4+4 written on it watering plants with rain pitcher and says "How happy to raise generation for the sake of land and nation". At the continuation of "Clear message of ten thousand" headed news on further pages, "4+4+4 separatist project" headed news is used and "4+4+4 separatist project, 1+8+4 carries Turkey to modern civilization" message is wanted to make visible. At the news Kılıcdaroglu's explanations handled and when used title-breaks like "Reaction against Arınc", "National claim", "Have peace with mind Erdogan", "Separation proposal", "Doctor Mengele mentality", "Vindictive and Hypocrite", "Reaction against Cemil Cicek" evaluated, it is seen that speech's that target government and Prime Minister Erdogan dimension has been taken considered to bring to front. Section of speech where Kılıcdaroglu is targeting Prime Minister with "Hitler" mentality –and in the news Hitler name was written bold- is remarkable. Evaluations about mentality who made this legislation proposal as "fascist mentality", "doctor Mengele mentality" –in the news Mengele name is bold- is remarkable. Moreover, it is important to pay attention how news were framed once how quotes of Kılıcdaroglu's speech that targets Prime Minister like "CHP is against vindictive and hypocrites. You are vindictive. You are hypocrite" reported.

In parallel, at *Yenicag* gazette also "They don't carry brain in their heads" headed news reported Kılıcdaroglu's expressions of "4+4+4 is a separatist project, 1+8+4 is the project that will carry Turkey to modern civilization. There is no one who is against religious education. Our children will take religious education for sure. What kind of education, however?" Furthermore, Kılıcdaroglu's "religion merchant", "vindictive", "hypocrite" definitions about Prime Minister Erdogan had taken place in the title break "4+4+4 separatist project". It is reported that "Thug can't govern the world" song will be played at Tandogan group meeting of CHP against "AKPs 4+4+4 insist" as a reaction at *Sozcu* gazette's 26 Mart 2012 dated issue first page "People will call AKP as thug at Tandogan" headed news. It can be understood how gazette want to position AKP when focused on headline. Gazette *Sozcu*'s "4+4+4 anger" headed news "4+4+4 education system made people flow to streets. Reaction is huge!" was reported and evaluated new education system as government's raising a religious youth project. Expressions of Kılıcdaroglu about new education system like "Separatist", "vindictive person can't be religious" and children will be "deceived" with this legislation proposal was brought to front by *Sozcu* gazette similar to *Yurt*, *Yenicag*, *Cumhuriyet* gazettes. Kılıcdaroglu's expression of how much Recep Tayyip Erdogan resembles "dictator", how education system is "separatist" and how practice of Prime Minister is in "fascist mentality evaluation", how Prime Minister's attitude looks like "Mengele's extermination applications with torture and fire in concentration camps of Hitler Germany mentality" are brought to front at *Aydinlik* gazette's "We will say No to Dictator Erdogan" headed news. Expressions of Kılıcdaroglu that positions Prime Minister "vindictive, hypocrite" evaluation of legislation proposal as "separates education" and "how to choose job for 10 years old child" evaluations brought to front at *Birgun* gazette, 28 March 2012 dated issue "You are vindictive, hypocrite" headed news. In the "Kılıcdaroglu: We will resist against barbaric force" headed news at *Birgun* gazette mentions Kılıcdaroglu's speech of "Why do you want to change legislation during midnight if your reference is people?" against Erdogan who says "My reference is people" and calls him with the sentences of "We will say No to Dicta management and Dictator Recep Tayyip Erdogan". Moreover, in the same news it is reported Kılıcdaroglu's we reject and don't want such an education system allows

“grasping culture of obedience”, “non-questioning life”, “non-using mind”, “renting mind to somebody else” sentences. This notion of Kılıcdaroglu that defines new education system also indicates gazette’s view about new education system.

Hurriyet gazette’s 28 March 2012 dated issue “Laid heavily upon Erdogan at Tandogan” headed news was published from front page. *Hurriyet* gazette serviced this news not on headlines but at right below corner in front page. However, continuation of the news covered two full pages inside gazette. Main theme that wanted to be shown at first place was the sections of speech where Kılıcdaroglu accuses Prime Minister of being “ignorant”, “hypocrite”, “dictator” and qualify AKPs attitude at legislation proposal process as “dumbness, Hitler mind and Mengele mentality”. At the continuation of the news inside pages with “CHP 4+4+4 Tandogan Group” headed news a title at upper side “To Erdogan: Ignorant man, vindictive, hypocrite, dictator” was used. Quotation marks weren’t used in the title to show these words belong to Kılıcdaroglu. Words that brought to front in the title show the approach to Prime Minister and new education system. Photographs that used in the news were also remarkable from rhetorical point of view. Slogans written on banners like “We either walk on your way or die at your way” and “(4+4+4)+AKP=ZERO!” brought to front where Atatürk’s picture is at forefront.

4.2.2. An Essential Project for Turkey

The gazette *Yeni Safak* positioned 4+4+4 education system as a “revolution” at their “Tandogan Mentality” headed news and CHP was presented like “such a party that tries every way to block this revolution”. Also, CHP was stated as they go to great lengths to prohibit gradually transitioned 12-years compulsory education system at “Let-down at Tandogan” headed news. Moreover, Kılıcdaroglu “hurled insults” to Prime Minister Erdogan was said, again. In the news, CHP was seen as one of the major obstacles against education system; an idea was trying to be imposed like Kılıcdaroglu is always hurling insults to Prime Minister already with the word “again”. “Footsteps of Tandogan” headed news stated that Kılıcdaroglu hurled insults to Prime Minister Erdogan, AKP executives and even Chairman of Parliament Cemil Cicek while heavily criticizing 4+4+4 at his speech in the meeting due to paving a way for “Imam Hatips”. “No brain in their heads”, “Nazi mentality”, “Vindictive”, “Hypocrite” definitions of Kılıcdaroglu were criticized. “No future with CHP background” headed news cites AKP Vice President Huseyin Celik’s assessments about Kılıcdaroglu having no future with CHP background and having slang street tongue with mouthful of unspeakable words towards Prime Minister.

“CHP is at squares against 4+4+4 education” headed news was given with a title-break “Insulted Prime Minister, again” at the gazette *Star*. In the news, “Vindictive”, “Hypocrite” and “Religion Merchant” like definitions that targets Prime Minister were interpreted as insult against Prime Minister. It was tried to be given the impression with the word “again” in the news that Kılıcdaroglu always hurl these insults.

The day after meeting, 28 March 2012, the gazette *Milli Gazete* headlined “So-called People’s Party” and continued that CHP’s objection against modification “expectation of people for years” didn’t surprise anyone even though all insufficiencies. An impression is tried to be created that new education system is supported and modification is expected for years. This expectation is tried to be imposed not only fulfils a fraction’s desires but making emphasis on “people” to generalize it to refer all people with general expressions. Expressions in the news thoroughly disclaim CHP. CHP was positioned as a party that is known to be against the moral and national values of people they are living with. Spots of the news also targets CHP. Spots’ headers are like: They showed they are not people’s party, again; who are the ones who rented their minds to someone else? In the news, CHP’s denial words for new education system which gives obedience culture and non-questioning was interpreted as “protecting of 28 February post-modern coup remnants”. Kılıcdaroglu’s critics about education system with the words who will rent people’s minds to someone were interpreted as “It put majority of the public in the dock”. Moreover,

in the news it is said that Kılıcdaroglu accused legislative proposal as being separatist. “Not “hen fight” but people want country’s problem to be taken care of” is written on the picture used in the news.

After the acceptance of legislative proposal of gradually transitioned education system in the parliament, “Status-Quo got the necessary answer” headed news at *Milli Gazette* cites Prime Minister that “28 February’s most important trail is deleted” and “status-quo got the necessary answer” despite “all resistance”, “all incitements”, “all provocations”, moreover, if CHP would like to assemble its group meeting at square, “crows will laugh at them” and continued citation of Prime Minister’s “People obtained their rights to learn their religion with the sake of our government likewise how people obtained their azan with Menderes’ hand. Families who wish to learn Qur’an and our Prophet’s life for their children can apply for it. What can be more awesome than learning Qur’an and our Prophet’s life?” assessments in the news. In the “Democratic steps and politics agenda” headed news it was reported that acceptance of 12-years compulsory education legislative proposal welcomed with pleasure and in the news again this acceptance was tried to be tied to 28 February to make sense. This news serviced as this was such a progress that will “disgrace” whom extends compulsory education to 8 years without interruption in the name of “ruining civil politics” by the command of “28 February Generals”. *Milli Gazette* seems to support new system due to new education system opens a possibility of having especially “religious education”.

It is reported in the gazette *Zaman*’s “A first from CHP: Parliament group assembled at Tandogan” headed news that Prime Minister and Chairman of Parliament are criticized heavily at Kılıcdaroglu’s speeches, Imam Hatip schools were not the reason why CHP members are against the proposal, also mentioned. In the “Criticized Prime Minister at Tandogan with heavy words” news it is said that Kılıcdaroglu accused Prime Minister with such “heavy words” like “Hypocrite” and “Religion Merchant”. After the day of meeting, the gazette *Zaman* was tried to make an impression of not taking serious of Kılıcdaroglu’s speech against Prime Minister by limiting whole speech and not going into details unlike other gazettes that supports meeting. In the “Celik: They couldn’t manage to accede with public will, now started smearing” headed news AKP Vice President Huseyin Celik’s quote of Kılıcdaroglu had mouth with full of unspeakable words against Prime Minister at Tandogan Square, since they couldn’t accede with “public will”, they started smearing, is serviced. In the “Children will be guided according to their talents with new system” title-break, there is no punctuation or expression if this thought belongs to Celik or not. In the news, children will be guided according to their talents, Celik states and on the other hand, an evaluation of having Qur’an and Arabic lessons for children who desires to go to Imam Hatip schools and it is stated that this system kept a record of officials who send their children to Imam Hatip School. In the *Zaman*’s “CHP wants to keep up coup era legislation” headed news includes Health Minister Recep Akdag’s evaluations about new education system and CHP. In the head, quotation of Recep Akdag was highlighted by using quotation marks to make people sure this quote belongs to Recep Akdag. However, it is very closely related how gazette wants to bring expression into front at head and frame this news. Akdag’s “28 February residual” “monotype mentality” children’s training is vanished with new education system is quoted. Also, CHP’s meeting against new education system with great effort had failed as Akdag stated. In the “Prime Minister spoke at TUSKON’s 4th general assembly” headed news it is cited with title-break “education system got rid of its shackles” that “Turkish Parliament wrote history” and confirms “sovereignty belongs to public unconditionally” with the acceptance of 12-years compulsory education legislation one more time. Understanding general approaches of gazette seem to be possible when chosen header is paid attention to. Prime Minister at his speech “Lets break shackles in minds, let’s discard feet shackles from our ankles. Let our children go where they want to...” reflected to news header as “Education system got rid of its shackles”. In the “Erdogan talked at group meeting” headed news gave citation of Prime Minister “CHP is defending 28

February by defending uninterrupted education” and CHP is a strictly bond to “status-quo” assessments. Regarding the news at *Zaman* gazette, CHP’s behavior against new education system is criticized, obviously.

CONCLUSION

In this study, it was sought to state that how 4+4+4 protest meeting of CHP framed in Turkish media and how the meaning of new education system was given by the newspapers having different ideological tendency over this protest. Gazettes presentation about CHP’s meeting performance is closely related to their approach to government. The gazettes which support government’s politics find new education system significant, whilst approaching strategies by showing CHP’s meeting performance insignificant. On the other hand, the gazettes which criticize government politics applied vocal strategies to monitor new education system deprecating whilst using news frames to show CHP’s meeting performance significant. At this point most important element of framing-style of this meeting is attitude of gazettes against government depending on ideological orientation of each.

Once news are analysed, *Aydinlik*, *Birgun*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hurriyet*, *Sozcu*, *Yenicag* and *Yurt* gazettes which are negative towards government’s politics were allied about new education system at the point of that is a project “carries Turkey backwards”. Especially in these gazettes new education system was considered as “government’s raising religious generation” project. Gazettes which are against new education system positioned system as “AKP”s project. These gazettes brought news that presents Prime Minister who was criticized by Kılıcdaroglu and AKP government in negative manner, in front. Project was evaluated as “separatist project” at protest meeting which was held at Tandogan by Kılıcdaroglu that targeted AKP government and Prime Minister was determined with definitions of “Nazi mentality”, “Dicta regime”, “Dictator Recep Tayyip Erdogan”, “Doctor Mengele mentality”, “vindictive and hypocrite” were made visible in the news. Gazettes which are against new education system had framed CHP’s meeting performance as “a meeting of who claimed their country and have concern about future” and “huge meeting with thousands attendees”. Definition of held with “public” and Kılıcdaroglu’s discourse of “national claim” always brought to front. Gazettes which support meeting tried to emphasize that tens of thousands of people participated to the meeting.

Milli Gazete, *Star*, *Taraf*, *Yeni Safak* and *Zaman* gazettes identified the meeting of CHP with “Republic Meetings” and “Tandogan Square” was associated with “single party governorship” more likely. Instead of other gazettes which especially follows a strategy to make visible of Kılıcdaroglu’s speeches about criticizing new education system that targets AKP and Prime Minister, *Milli Gazete*, *Star*, *Yeni Safak* and *Zaman* gazettes which support new education system evaluated Kılıcdaroglu’s speech targeting Prime Minister as “insult” and handled new education system as an important project for Turkey. Especially *Yeni Safak* and *Milli Gazete* presented CHP negatively in their news. Approach of gazette *Taraf* became bright by criticizing CHP over this meeting and correlate actors of Republic Meetings and meeting that CHP held while evaluated the point as “déjà vu” with an ironic approach, instead of putting their approach clearly new education system over this meeting.

All gazettes either positively or negatively approaches the meeting that CHP held had framed the news as they wish with the words they choose, with the headers they use and implications. More dramatized expressions, normalized or marginalized expressions were used from place to place, frequently. In this study was determined some framing techniques and discourse strategies frequently used in the presentation of news text of protest. Flowing were found in the discourse strategies of the news: Exaggeration, presenting evidences, explaining with samples, establishment of common opinion,

comparison, negative other-presentation, positive self-presentation, legality, illegality, implication and ironies. Persuasive rhetorical elements had an important role to frame the news. Distancing and statements of disclaimer were used frequently. They had taken advantage of power of metaphors to be more effective. The news has an important power to frame the idea it is trying to construct as wished when the position of the news handled as a discourse.

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**THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PAINTINGS OF PERICA GEORGIEV – PEPSI AND
THE POETRY SELECTED BY THE ARTIST, AS SUPPLEMENT TO THE PERCEPTION
OF BROADER CREATIVITY**

Ivo Pecov, Macedonia

ivopecov@yahoo.com

Abstract

This article is dedicated to the connection between poetry and visual art through the creative example of Macedonian painter Perica Georgiev. The aim of this paper is to give new information about art searches of the significant artist for Macedonian art scene and to enrich the wide open subject about links between different arts. The stance of this painter can be considered as representative for wide artistic circle because it stresses some of the present disorders of the contemporary art in general.

Key words: *image and poetry, painting, painter, poet, visual arts, meditation, mysticism, art ethics, inspiration, spiritual, time in art, space in art*

The connection between painting and poetry is often surveyed in art history. There are abundant evidences of examples where boundaries between the arts disappear. This fuzziness or nonexistence of boundaries enables acceptance of a broader creativity. No doubt the indivisibility of arts and the opus of creative expression using all means of human creative potentiality lead the way to sublime esthetic pleasure.

In Egypt the temple walls were decorated with images and hieroglyphs and they tell us of their religious and cultural world. The paintings-icons in Byzantium were associated with words in their mission to give the knowledge about religion and the Holy book to those who were illiterate. The cathedrals and chapels during the Renaissance were decorated with scenes from the Bible and biographies of the respected saints. A strong expression of combined arts - poetry and painting we see in the Zen Buddhist art of China and Japan, including Zenga and the calligraphic works of the Edo period monks.

During the course of art history those relations are maintained in new forms and are vivid in the creativity of many artists, emblematic in various artistic orientations. Let us only mention the examples of Michelangelo Buonarroti (Buonarroti, 1994); then one of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood - Dante Rossetti who was a painter and poet; William Blake whose expression is equally strong in visual art and poetry. Paul Klee (Aichele, 2006) and Marc Chagall who were writing and literary painting poetry; well-known is the case of the poet and critic Andre Breton who wrote the Surrealist Manifesto, the meaning of which most strongly is noticed in the works of Dalí, De Chirico and Magritte (Breton, 2000). Today, with the development of technology and internet it is possible the linking between poetic and painting creations and the existence of one movement called "Image and Poetry" is one good example. This movement was established in Turin, Italy in 2007 by group of creators, among who Aeronwy Thomas a daughter of well-known Welsh poet, Dylan Thomas (<http://imaginepoesia.jimdo.com>).

Together with development of the scientific idea more often philosophers and critics of art have been trying to establish basics and thesis of the differences between poetry and painting. Such tries can be

traced in the ancient Greek philosophy, Renaissance and the start of the new era, the idea of comparative analysis also accompanies the entire Enlightenment era. No doubt the utmost contribution in the clarification of differences between painting and poetry gives us the art theorist and critic Lessing (Lessing, 1978). With the aid of distinguishing theories we can detect the means with which two types of art can contribute to one another; to separate their roles during perception of the artwork made in common parts – painting and poetry. In this article we turn our attention to the artistic work of Perica Georgiev and his esthetic values.

He was born in Skopje in 1957, graduated in 1987 at the “Faculty of fine art” in his home town. He leaves his trace in the Macedonian art as one of the group “Zero” which was active during the 1980s and left influence over generations of Macedonian artists. This group appears as characteristic underground response to the established art scene of the socialistic regime of SFRY (Velickovski, 2003). Together with Aleksandar Stankoski, Igor Tosevski, Bedi Ibrahim, Sinisa Cvetkovski, Zlatko Trajkovski, Miodrag Desovski and Tatjana Miljovska were representing “Zero”. He has presented his art in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Germany, Nederland, USA and in the countries of former Yugoslavia. During the past 15 years he has been living and creating in Bulgaria.

The author of this article has met Perica Georgiev as an artist and meditation teacher in Sofia, Bulgaria during the summer of 2007. Since the time of our meeting so far I had the chance to monitor his characteristic creative occupation and approaching in art by building symbiosis between more arts. One of these practical approaches was making connection between his paintings and the chosen poetry. Proceeding from the importance to turn attention to one unique artist, and to reveal and present his creative practice to the public, I will gradually elaborate to most characteristic qualities in his practice of creating link between painting and poetry. For realizing this article I had the help by the artist himself through an interview in March 2013.

The approach to art by Perica Georgiev is characterized by his understanding of artistic activity importance and the role of the artist in our modern society. According to him the artist is an honest enquirer after something metaphysical, something that transcends this world, and the transformation that happens during the moment of creation is a process of self-discovering. The artist has a very important role in society. “The artist is a visionary who discovers the new universal spaces that can serve as example to people.” There is something pioneering in the artist, sort of courage and audacity is necessary for searching the field of poetry and painting. But Perica Georgiev believes that the artist is not meritoriously positioned in society. Art is devaluated by the commercial moment, and by that its mission is omitted. I believe that there is a way out of the crises of identity which deeply turmoils the man, because the art is deep, dearly asks questions and is not scared to overpass the boundaries.

His understanding of art is existential. Art is needed now and here to fulfill man’s thirst. The art has a fundamental meaning, so it is not taken as non-important one or simply as for entertainment. That kind of understanding shows that art is not luxury of the wealthy ones and appears as an existential need from the depths of human being. Perica Georgiev has the guts to express himself in synchronization with his understanding and his works most explicitly illustrate his vision. (II.1)

Perica Georgiev draws inspiration from the treasure of arts inheritance, out of the spiritual and artistic reach of individuals both from the past and contemporary and directly through those inspirational examples he has found his creative path. About the connection between fine arts and poetry he says: “in my cases that tie is more as an inside feeling. I have read plenty of Zen and Sufi poetry, but when I become a student of Sri Chinmoy then I began literarily to build links between painting and poetry, I was creating visual poetry, respectively painting-poetry, the poems by Sri Chinmoy I was transferring

into paintings. I did not illustrate directly, but I received the energy of the poem or what the poem aims at, and after that with my visual language I was creating something as a replica to certain poem.”

His resolve, as said above, while being a student of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of our time does not place him in certain frames and limits, because his artistic expression does not blindly stick to canons of externally set rules, but instead he creates images inspired by poetry. These are original and not repeatable art creations, product of his individual experiences – experiences of inner world, seen in meditation and transformed in paintings to witness for a secret reality. (II. 2)

According to him poetry and visual art are deeply connected – very deeply. Many of his paintings are inspired by poetry: “I read a poem and it starts acting inside me creating some kind of energy or atmosphere and that atmosphere expresses itself visually.” That expression is not imitation or illustration, but something like respond, replica, or a kind of continuation of the poem. This is his method he uses in creating his connection of poetry and painting (it is possible variety of other ways of connecting arts) in a way it complements the experience and speaks of main goals to express himself with all available means, and that might lead to a mystical experience. “Mysticism goes further from art, mysticism transcends the art. Genius artists only shortly reach the mystical level, touch those levels of consciousness.”

The paintings done under the influence of poetry are part of his creation. “Not all of my paintings are done in this manner. Generally in the visual art there is much poetry, and also in the poetry there is much visual. Out of all arts most abstract is the music. Sometimes painting is abstract and then it approaches to music. Sometimes for perception of my painting can help poetry which accompanies the painting written, spoken or exhibited next to the painting. It helps if one after reading the poem can intersect in himself and afterwards the effect of the painting will feel a deeper intimate feeling. Best precondition to attain something is the silence and without persuasion, when one is quiet, because when he thinks he has predispositions, suppositions and because of them the things cannot be noticed. When the brain has much to do it is not acceptable, it is closed for complete enjoy of arts.”

According to Lessing, painting imitates beauty (Lessing, 1978, p. 36). And poetry imitates truth. Since painting imitates beauty, physical beauty, its object most of all is the body with its visual changes in space. Painting is spatial art. Since poetry imitates truth in its available general integrity, and by that its development, its subject is actions in their change in time. Poetry is art of time.

But if art imitates nature, then what kind of nature art imitates? When analyzing the world-understanding of our artist, we detect that he has pretty different attitude for beauty, truth, space and time and in opposite of the presented by Lessing. If for Lessing the upmost beauty exist only in the man, and only in man because of the ideal, if that ideal is less noticeable in the animals, and there is no such in plants and dead nature (Lessing, 1978, p.27)., then in the case of Perica Georgiev the question about beauty is answered differently.

“Beautiful art for sure is not nice art. Only true art is beautiful” – says Perica Georgiev. “Beauty is inside the man, beauty is in your eyes, it isn’t outside of you. Beauty is in your heard, in love, in light, in deity and whatever you look at if you look it with your hard and in silence. The concept of beauty and ugly is relative. There are works of art that pretend to be beautiful and because of that pretention they are ugly. Ugly they are when they have commercial intention to earn cheap satisfaction connected with business and trade. Ugly is the dishonesty, because of the hidden intention for money manipulation, which is a kind of prostitution. The artist may become a prostitute at the moment when he wants to manipulate for money. Commercial artists do not have what to give to the world; they are empty” (to this thoughts of Perica Georgiev extend the thoughts of William Blake who says that man does not have to possess talent

or genius to be sought for on the market, he ought to be a passive, polite and charitable donkey, submissive to aristocratic opinion of arts and science (Bogomilova, 1984, p. 81-82). Let's mention one more statement of Michelangelo Buonarroti which in this context supplements - I have never been a painter or sculptor who trades with art. For the honor of my race I have always taken care of that (Éluard, 1979 p. 227). "If there is nothing of craziness, something wacky and irrational, if there is no feeling for freedom such a man cannot create. Van Gogh, Soutine, Pollock... they were crazy people, they are not normal and not businessmen. Rubens was a politician, a businessman and at the same time a great painter and a reasonable man. Rembrandt also wanted to be businessmen but failed – because he was too honest."

According to Perica Georgiev in the base of creation is the authentic experience of inner truth. That kind of authentic experience can be expressed through poetry, painting, music, dance... if creation is based on authentic inner experience then it has power and the expression is powerful. "It is quite different whether people can accept such creation, which is cultural and sociological phenomenon, a matter of the individual acceptance of watchers or listeners. If the author of a piece of art expresses authentic experience of truth, if he is absolutely honest, then the truth is reflected by his work." To what degree do musicians, painters and poets experience the truth it is only an individual phenomenon – which is truth for them. "Truth is one and only and the manifestations of that unique truth are very different." The presented authentic experience of truth in various arts is accepted by man with developed intuition and then the man do not doubt the truth of the authentic. (Il. 3)

"Truth and beauty are one. Truth cannot be ugly, no matter how it looks that it can. Truth is always perfect beauty, perfect peace and pure brightness. Poetry and painting have the beauty and truth. From man's truthiness, from truthfulness of what man expresses comes out the truthfulness and beauty of poetry and painting."(il.4)

The approach of the artist Perica Georgiev is different because as he says sarcasm, irony and critics are not to be seen in his creation. "In the beginning with group "Zero" appeared the absurdity of some illusory worth depicting me, that it can be said, that I was close to the sarcasm. Essentially I do not think that sarcasm is kind of a spiritual quality. It can possess criticism towards things that are untruth and criticism in that case is necessary." What the group "Zero" was practicing in the 1980s was very spontaneous and non-commercial, it was socializing. Its acting was not reaction against the cultural system of the time, it didn't show pretensions to criticize or displace the established art at the time and it did not have pretensions towards anybody or anything.

"I think that the contemporary art is ill, for it gets drunk and notices only the dark side, there is no direction for something higher, higher level of existence. According to myself at the present most of artists are sick. The contemporary art is ill and manifests neurosis, because the artist is ill. Quite a part of today's artists are dishonest because of their ambition is career, fame and money. This insincerity does not permit their art to shine with truthfulness and beauty, so a big part of works of the contemporary artists have a bad influence to today's man. I decided not to be interested in career, not to become a famous artist – I made up my mind only to meditate."

According to Perica Georgiev the space is inner phenomenon which changes and the time disappears. The inner time is different from the outside one, the clock time. The inner time is involving into eternity. "In that timelessness and from the eternal, flows something that is manifested as time. When eternity touches the time, the space enlivens." Our artist believes that eternity is something that existed before everything and which will remain to exist when everything will disappear. "Anything which happens now has already happened in the eternity. Time is in the motion of this changeable existence - I was young and now I'm old; good times change to bad times. When time and mind transcendent we enter

the eternal illumination. It happens when mind disappears time disappears too.” Poetry is connected with time because poetry is linked with the mind, with the thought, with the form of the word. “When time and mind disappear we arrive beyond, in a state of no-mind, in a state of meditation where the body of time does not exist, because this body is time: body-time. Time is supreme master of the world of changeability. If time and mind are overpassed we experience the eternal light – the eternity.”

His personal understanding regarding art is that it is not imitation of reality because reality cannot be depicted. Spiritual space depends on the personal spiritual formation of the man. The way the spirit of the man is shaped is the way he experiences spiritual space. “For example an Indian experiences spiritual space differently than someone who is not an Indian. Spiritual space is subjective reality, inner reality, and at moments it can be experienced as objective reality. Spiritual space can be presented with symbols – words, images.” One symbol in reality has great power. The symbols are the language for communication, but the symbols are only a door that can take us beyond. “The word is only an entrance to walk in the silence. The OM symbol expresses the spiritual space. I have very often written the symbol OM, have painted and meditate over it. Om is a pre-sound and sound which the universe is made of. (II.5) Spiritual and material space are not separated but they are the same. The spiritual is present everywhere. We live in the spirit and we are the spirit and nothing is separated. Multiplicity exists but it is one.” So we come to conclusion that those creators who try to establish link between several arts, actually they are heading to mystical experience of the sole reality. “Conceptual art, performance and all those aspects of contemporary art tend to such completeness in order to make connection between music, painting, theater, dance... This concept of the syncretic art most powerfully can be seen in the seventh art – the cinema, and that is why it is the most hypnotic of all. The film can present poetry, painting and theater. The concept of the syncretic art leads us to become one with the observed.”

Perica Georgiev says that the distancing of modern man from poetry is due to science. “We could say that science kills little by little of man's poetic perception of the modern world. Viewed more comprehensively can be noticed that poetry in general loses the influence because of the bigger use of the left part of the human brain. The right brain half is connected to the intuition, the poetry, creation while the left one is linked with the rational thinking – mathematics, logic, practice. It is important for man's development of both halves and both should be activated equally. Today the very public education does not aim to develop the right half of the brain, it stresses more interest for the development of left one, aiming how to use the computer, the technology.” According to Perica Georgiev this is the reason for losing the poetical side of life. “Technology somehow is a big destroyer of poetry. Compared to the logic attitude and functionality of technology - poetry is irrational. The actions and experience of the poet in the eyes of the rational and calculating man seem as craziness.” (II.7)

Sometimes the different ways of different authors lead to same or similar conclusions. The understanding of William Blake that machine is neither a man nor a piece of art and that machine destroys the art and also it devastates the humanity and art – and corresponds the said above (Bogomilova, 1984, p. 83).

“It is necessary that he who is acting as a creator to have spiritual values and the expression of this exact qualities makes art to be an art. The creator and art can inspire people so they alone will search or make them to recall to for those spiritual values in themselves. The mission of the creator is to awake people and make them aware of their spiritual values. The painter and the poet carry responsibility, and creator's part in this is to manifest spiritual value, to manifest the true which comes from the depths of his soul; for example - when we see a work by Van Gogh that work wakes happiness, passion, for existing and celebration. That is it, because that man has lived maximally and had been a live fire. His paintings are true inspiration for the spectator, because has managed to create cosmos out of a pair of old shoes, from

ordinary people created something different, has entered in the landscape and has turned it alive, has put in such passion at what we look and it sings and dances. But can do only a man who undergoes something inner.”



(II.1)



(II.2)



(II. 3)



(II. 4)



(II. 5)



(II. 6)



(Il. 7)

Here exposed positions of Perica Georgiev are discovering his attitude for the role of painting and poetry, for the role and responsibility of the artist in society. The so far exposed, shows the methodology, the concepts and approaches of the artist during creation of an artistic work and by doing so contribution is done in discovering new aspects of art activity of one very significant artist from Macedonian art scene, and lately of Bulgarian also.

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MAPPING AS THE ALGORITHM OF ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT IMPERATIVE

Assel T. Shetiyeva

Al-Faraby Kazakh National University

Abstract

This article is devoted to one of the approaches in studying the language phenomena – the cognitive one as a part of an anthropocentric direction, in particular a technique of mind-mapping which allows carrying out the analysis of the concept IMPERATIVE. Mind-maps as a version of mental maps are the effective tools of structurization and the information analysis. Using mind-mapping, we chart the conceptual analysis, identifying key steps and stages of the research.

Key words: *cognitive approach, mapping, mind-mapping, concept, conceptual analysis*

1. INTRODUCTION

It is known that each epoch, each stage in a science is characterized by the dominating idea, methods, technologies, the approaches which correspond to the concrete paradigm. The researches of comparative and contrastive character dominated in comparative-historical-linguistics. The structural linguistics has allowed developing of the descriptive, typological techniques. The feature of linguistics of the end of the XX century – the beginning of the XXI century is poly-paradigmality that is explained by the coexistence of such features, as anthropocentrism, expansionism, neo-functionalism, explanatority (Kubryakova, 2004). In study of the language the scientists are guided by the certain approach. The choice of approach defines the research methodology. This article is devoted to one of the approaches in studying the language phenomena, the cognitive one as a part of an anthropocentric direction, in particular a technique of mind-mapping which allows carrying out the analysis of the concept IMPERATIVE.

2. THE COGNITIVE APPROACH AND THE MAPPING

The cognitive approach is productive both in acquisition of the linguistic knowledge which is realized in the text, and in generation of new knowledge. Representation of the text-content is fixed in the form of the formal model due to activization of the intellectual processes. Such formal model is the result of the transferring of the structure of knowledge from the physical space of the text into its conceptual space through structurization of figurative schemes. A version of figurative schemes is maps. The process of creation of maps is called mapping (Musataeva and etc., 2012). The most popular creation techniques are denotative-maps, cognitive-maps and mind-maps. The technique of mind-mapping is used in the given article for the description, the analysis and interpretation of the concept IMPERATIVE. Mind maps as a version of mental maps are the effective tools of structurization and the information analysis. The essence of the conception of mental-maps is representations about the principles of work of a human brain: associative thinking, visualization of fancies, complete perception (gestalt).

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3. THE ESSENCE OF MIND-MAPPING

The technique of working out of mind-maps (or associative maps) is associated with the names of brothers Tony and Barry Buzan (Buzan, 2007) and represents a way of multilateral representation of the system relations of the information through revealing of associative communications of the central object. The brothers named it an integrated radiated way of acquisition of the information. It is called a radiated way because acquisition of the material is carried out through the associative thought processes the starting point of the application of which is the central object. Further we will present the description of the development cycles of a mind-mapping by a technique stated in (Musataeva, etc., 2012). Mind-maps “Concept and technique of its description” and “The content of the concept IMPERATIVE” have been developed for the description of the concept IMPERATIVE.

The construction of the map begins with the central image. The mind-map “Concept and technique of its description” has been constructed for presentation of the technique of the description of concept through representation of its structure. The map is built as a “geometrical figure”. The main idea, concept, is in the centre of the figure.

The central image-figure has branches, the basic components of concept which have been revealed from the review of the researches devoted to the description of the concept.

Concept-branches generate the system of own associations which are the branches of the second level and are also designated by keywords, images or color. Key images of each branch are considered again as stimulus and describe the following level of associations.

To represent the mind-map of general conceptual analysis (as we call it) we will consider the term “concept” and also the techniques of its description which are generally presented through exposure of components of concept.

4. CONCEPT AND TECHNIQUES OF THE CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

There is a set of definitions of concepts in science. However, all of them point to its mental nature: it is “mental formation” (Askoldov-Alekseev, 1997), “operational unit of thought” (Vorkachev, 2003), “mental construction” (Karasik, 2009), “operative memory of a mental lexicon” (Kubryakova, 2004), “mental essence” (Kilevaya, 2002). Different scientists distinguish as a part of concept such definitions as linguacultural unit (“marked by ethnocultural peculiarities”) (Vorkachev, 2002), “a point of intersection between the world of culture and the world of individual senses”, «a culture clot”, “a form in which the culture is included into the mental world of the person” (Stepanov, 1997) and linguacognitive “knowledge quantum” (Kubryakova, 1999) components.

As a working definition we accept the formulation offered by Yu. Stepanov according to which concept is “a point of intersection between the world of culture and the world of individual senses”, it is “a culture clot in the consciousness of the person; in the form of which the culture is included into the mental world of the person” ... on the other hand ...it is that phenomenon by means of which people – the private soldier, the ordinary persons, who are not “the creators of cultural values» enter the culture, and in certain cases influence on it” (Stepanov, 1997).

As we have been convinced from the given definitions the concept is a many-sided unit and respectively methods of its descriptions and approaches to studying it will be various too. However, it is necessary to create one full technique as far as it is possible. For this purpose it is necessary to analyze existing techniques, review the existing methods and it may be appropriate to identify a procedure.

Let's proceed directly to the techniques of conceptual analysis which are generally limited to the following steps.

- **The analysis of dictionary entries** involves the analysis of entries of all definitions of lexicographical sources (Sternin and Popova, 2010). According to S. Vorkachev (2003), "lexicographic meanings ... reflect the main stages of formation of a concept", allow to identify the main meaning and derivative ones which represent the most common features of the concept. In the analysis of semantico-structure of a keyword N. Kryuchkova (2004) in addition to "the interpretation of the lexical representation of the key words in the dictionaries" includes analysis of the etymology, the procedure which we regard as the next stage of conceptual analysis.

- **Definition of etymological component** which is an obligatory component of a concept. It is "cultural" and also "cognitive memory of a word" which are defined and understood as semantic characteristics of a language sign (Karasik, 2009) and connected with its primordial mission, national mentality, system of cultural wealth and spiritual value system of native speakers". In etymology we can see "the evolution of an internal form, the way of etymon" (Stepanov, 1997).

Constructing a method to describe the concept of "genetic sequences", Yu. Stepanov (1997) identifies "three components or three" layers in the concept: 1) basic, *actual sign*, and 2) some additional "historical", "*passive*" signs being already irrelevant, outdated", and 3) an internal form, which is usually not realized, embodied in an external, verbal form. The internal form of a word is closely connected with its etymology, its starting point. The definition of "passive signs" is carried out by means of historical, culturological methods, when the connection of a concept with the history of a country, social structure, its development (updating, a passivisation of certain meanings and values) is revealed. The definition of "an actual sign" is conducted with regard to the social factor, the importance of the concept in a society, awareness and perception of it by society.

The appeal of the author to history, to "passive signs" which are already unknown and aren't significant shows the development and the way of a concept to diachrony. The facts of diachrony define the direction of "a semantic derivation" (Zaliznyak, 2001).

- **Definition of derivational potentialities** gives the chance to describe the categorial value peculiar to a word name-of-concept. In S. Vorkachev's (2002) opinion, "word-formation relations" have "every reason to believe that the semantic history of the concept is... fragmentarily recorded in current part-speech implementations of its name". Linguacognitvists I. Sternin and Z. Popova (2010) claim that derivational connections are arranged in the form of "derivational field" and for this purpose word-formation dictionaries (including in particular "Derivational dictionary of the Russian language" by Tikhonov) are used. "Definition of word-family, derivational nest" by V. Gaidukova (2000) is considered in the analysis of linguistic semantics alongside with the etymology of the word, setting of the frequency, the study of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of this concept with other words.

- **Identification of antonyms and synonyms** adds the additional signs to the main ones. According to S. Vorkachev (2003), this component of a concept is designated as "paradigmatic, syntagmatic bonds" which are indicators of a place taken by a concept. As to N. Kryuchkova this stage is defined as "the analysis of lexical paradigms" which covers also the description of hyperonyms, and a derivational field. But in the most part of researches, as a rule, identification of sememes -synonyms is carried out by means of the dictionary of synonyms. V. Gaydukova (2000) divides all obtained data "between themselves by thesaurus functions" (the term offered by Yu. Lotman) in which "the statistical and dynamic relations" are allocated further. So, synonyms, antonyms as well as metaphors with symbols are statistical equivalent functions of a concept.

- **The analysis of frequency of word-concept-name** with other words shows an assessment, transfers “implications, how we understand a concept” (Vorkachev, 2003), allows to define “ways of a categorization” (Sternin and Popova, 2010), known to intuition and it deduces them on a consciousness surface through language knowledge. As a material for this analysis art, journalistic texts are used in which words defining symbolical sense (Kryuchkova, 2004) are presented. V. Gaydukova’s (2000) approach is subjected to a more thorough analysis and comprises dynamic relationship: 1) actant (subjective, objective and instrumental) and 2) implicative (cause-and-effect and relationships of sequence)relationships. Here relations of localization which can connect the dynamic and statistical relations are considered too.
- **The analysis of the metaphors** including a word- name-of- concept shows domination signs of one or the other seme. A. Rudakova calls this procedure “the analysis of the figurative nominations” (Popova and Sternin, 2010)
- **The analysis of idioms**, or identification of plemies (proverbs, sayings and phraseological units) (Sternin and Popova, 2010) discloses occasional meaning of the semes, or supplements existing signs. According to V. Gaydukova (2000), cultural semantics of a concept is included in proverbs, phraseological units, literature, etc. Therefore this part of the conceptual analysis is called “the analysis of cultural semantics”.
- Special significance is given to **the experimental techniques** because experimental data are practical confirmation of “real values, a concept as reality of consciousness” (Sternin and Popova, 2010). V. Karasik points out three-dimensionality of the concept including conceptual, figurative and valuable components. He uses experiment-poll for the purpose of identification of the last (acsiological) component to define the place of concept at this stage (in synchrony) in consciousness of native speakers (Karasik, 2009). In V. Gaydukova’s article (2000), the analysis of language and cultural semantics are combined by psycholinguistic experiment.

As a rule, the experiment is carried out with native speakers. There are two versions of the experiment – *free* (shows concept-relations in a conceptsphere) and *directed* (reveals cognitive signs). In our research both types of experiment are undertaken. The results of the associative experiment are necessary so as to confirm, or completely to reject the signs revealed at the previous analysis stages.

After revealing cognitive signs they are distributed in hierarchic order: actual and less common signs of a concept – its kernel and the periphery (Sternin and Popova, 2010).

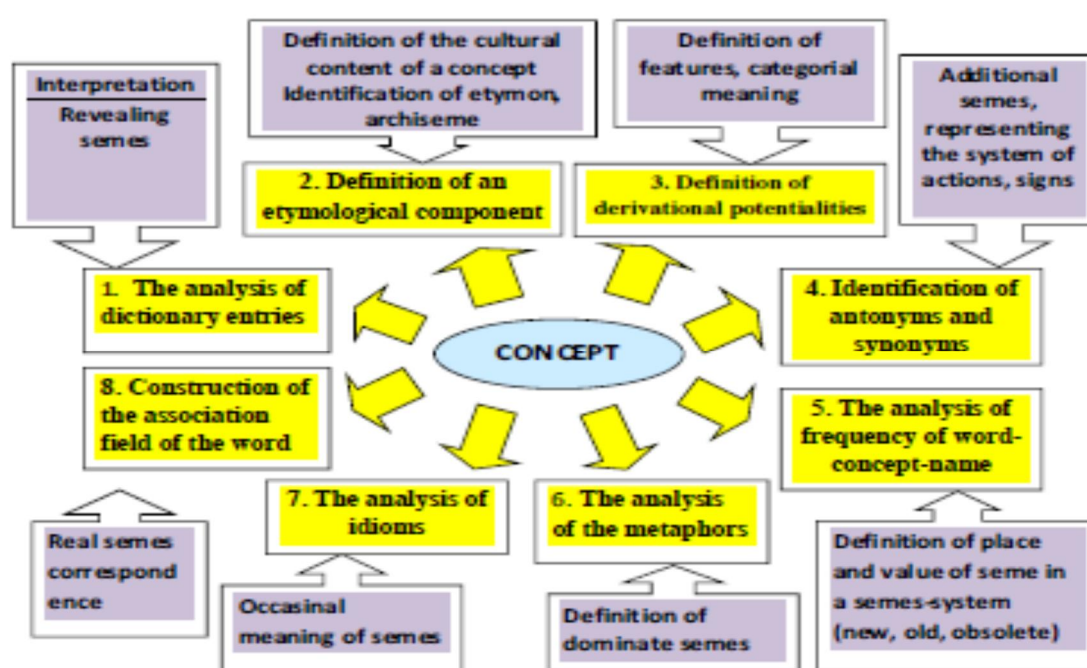
Generalizing all of above-mentioned techniques, having taken the logical analysis of V. Gaidukova as the basis, we represent a technique of the description of a concept in the form of the conceptual-analysis-mind-map.

In explanatory dictionaries following semes are revealed: the *imperative* is 1) command, the categorical, absolute order – and this meaning acts as the first one in explanatory dictionaries edited by D. Ushakov, S. Ozhegov and N. Shvedova (2010); and 2) ‘an imperative mood (in linguistics)’. This meaning is the first one in “The new explanatory and word-formation dictionary of Russian language” edited by T. Efremova (2010).

In “The modern explanatory dictionary” (2010) besides of two specified meanings one more meaning is noted, which is connected with the term “categorical imperative” introduced into philosophy by I. Kant. According to the philosopher, it is the valid moral instruction. I. Kant distinguished two types of imperatives: hypothetical and categorical. “The first one expresses the command given due to the desirable goal (as means); the second commandment states absolute command. I. Kant presented this

distinction of two types of imperative in the work “[Groundwork of Metaphysics of Morals](#) (Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten)” (1785). The categorical imperative orders everyone to operate by a rule concerning which the operating would like it to become the general law. The term “categorical imperative” is metaphysical because it means absolute opposition of what should be to what it is in reality. So, one more seme is added to two selected semes, and then, as a whole, the following signs are distinguished: 1) absolute order, command; 2) grammatical category of mood; 3) Kant’s categorical imperative. The etymology analysis will allow us to build these semes in a chronological order, i.e. to define the most significant-initial and secondary meanings.

Scheme No 1. Mind-map “Concept and technique of its description”



The description of the concept IMPERATIVE is carried out according to this scheme.

It is obvious that the word is not of Russian origin. Therefore for revealing etymology of a word we address to sources of other languages. In the etymological dictionary of English language the word *imperative* exists as a noun (n.), and as an adjective (adj.); and what is more as an adjective (Online etymology dictionary, 2010) is the primary one.

In grammar as the name of the category the noun *imperative* began to be used since the XV century. Later it designated ‘something obligatory / a duty’ (from 1600th). Word passed into to Old-French *imperative* directly from late-Latin *imperativus* ‘arranged by order; imperative’ which in turn came from Latin *imperare* ‘to order, rule’ (Online etymology dictionary, 2010).

Imperare was formed by connecting the prefix “*im-*” (one of the variants of the prefix “*in-*”, before “*b*” and “*p*” consonant “*n*” in a prefix turns into “*m*” if the root begins with these letters) and the root ‘*parare*’

(‘to prepare, collect’). The prefix meaning negation or contrast can designate also the action directed to something or being in something (Latinpro, 2011). In our case the second meaning influenced the formation of a word.

Parare came from Old-French “*parer*” (‘to arrange, organize, prepare’) which was formed from Latin *parare* to (‘prepare’), going back to proto-Indo-European **per-*(to put forward, to show clearly) (Online etymology dictionary, 2010).

Latin word *imperare* connects the word *imperative* with such words as the *emperor* (the leading person, the commander), the *empire* (‘country where the emperor rules’) (Online dictionary, 2010). P. Chernykh (1994) notes that “Latin *imperium* – command, the power, the high command (<*in + paro*> – “provide”, “obtain”, “organize”) came “probably directly from Latin into Russian language”.

Due to semantics of the word, later I. Kant selected it as the name of the theory of “categorical imperative”. Philosopher understood it as “the sentence having a form of command”.

Thus, it is possible to assume that the meaning of imperative is the action which should be done by the person to whom the addressee speaks, literally ‘organize, or prepare something. Etymon “command, the order” influenced on the choice of the name of grammatical category in the XV century, and then this seme defined I. Kant’s choice.

In the process of development other single-root-words were formed from this word. In English-language dictionaries we find the adverbs *imperatively* (‘surely’), *nonimperatively* (‘unessentially’) and *imperative* (Efremova, 2010) and the adjective *nonimperative* (‘commanding’; juridical; ‘not allowing a choice’). These words indicate the adjectival and attribute character, that is, doing something we should not just perform, but do it well, in accordance with the order assignment. In English, there are such nouns as *imperativeness* (obligatory exactingness), and *nonimperativeness* (non-exactingness, optionality) (Oxford dictionary, 2011), we find the corresponding word in the Russian language - the *imperativeness* analyzing of the compatibility of the word-concept-name in one of the examples of RNC (Russian National Corpus): *И, однако, как часто эта «императивность» вырождается в мечтательную притязательность, в некую одержимость надуманными преобразовательными планами! (Г. Флоровский. Пути русского богословия (1936) – transl.: And yet how often this “imperativeness” degenerates into a dreamy pretentiousness in some contrived obsession transformation plans! (G. Florovsky. Ways of Russian Theology (1936)).* This noun denotes commitment, exactingness, order, which is peculiar to a particular object.

The presence of adjectives and adverbial derivatives allows claiming that the imperative contains in itself the quality, i.e. an object or subject quality and an action quality (something that can be performed being endowed with this quality). In the “Dictionary of Synonyms” the following words similar in meaning: *law, inclination, a commandment, imperative mood, a prescription, the principle, the order* are presented (Abramov, 1999). These synonyms can be divided into two groups: 1) synonyms which are related to the grammatical category (imperative mood, inclination) 2) synonyms which are in one degree or the other express the commandment: *the law, a commandment, a prescription, a principle and the order*.

With the synonyms of the first group *imperative* will be connected by the seme ‘grammatical category’, as since the given term in Russian studies functions alongside with the Russian variant – imperative mood; it relates to the grammatical category the Mood of the Verb.

The instruction, the law, command and the order are connected with *the imperative* by the seme ‘the official order (government) / document with such order’.

Law differs from other synonyms as the semes distinguished in a word are related to justice ('the judiciary, judicial authorities'), science ('relation between the phenomena, internal relation between cause and consequence'), religion (obsolete word 'system of moral and ceremonial rules of any religious doctrine; obsolete word 'marriage union; church wedding') (Ushakov, 2010).

Command is the most obsolete word, as noted in dictionaries, the most out-of-date word (literary archaic term ('bookish 'decree of the Supreme power (ceremonial), order (official)' (Ushakov, 2010).

The *requirement* is distinguished by the seme 'the desperate request expressed in a categorical form' (Ozhegov, 2010).

The word *principle* having in its structure the semes 'basic position of any scientific system, the theory' and 'internal conviction in something, the norm or a behavior rule crosses with the word. *law*, covering thereby scientific and moral / religious spheres. But in it we can find the seme basis of any device, mechanism' (Ozhegov, 2010).

Thus, identified from the analysis of synonyms the words of the first group are related to the seme 'grammatical category'; the dominant and common seme for all synonyms of the second group is the 'official order (government) / document with the order. The remaining semes – 'inner connection between cause and consequence', 'a system of moral and ceremonial rules of any religious doctrine', 'urgent request, expressed in categorical terms', 'basic starting position of some scientific system, theory' are specifically manifested in this or that given context.

The analysis of the compatibility of lexemes which objectify the concept in the language gives the chance to determine some components of the concept" (Sternin and Popova, 2010). This stage is the most significant in our study, as a large amount of factual material has been analyzed. In order to identify combinations of the word-concept-name examples were taken from the Russian National Corpus (<http://www.ruscorpora.ru>). Examples (510 sentences-contexts of using the word *imperative*) were selected by continuous sampling method.

Examples were distributed according to syntaxemes (G. Zolotova's term) relating to a specific case. Using the "Syntactical dictionary" (Zolotova, 2006) the meanings of syntaxemes have been defined. As a result we received the following groups:

- **syntaxemes of the Nominative case (178 examples)** are the subject of the sentence. As the subject of the sentence imperative acts as **Causer of the action, character or state** (Zolotova, 2006), so it can **take revenge (отомстить)** (*Законы бессильны для тебя, но тебе отомстит категорический императив* (Л. Шестов, Шекспир и его критик Брандес, 1898) – transl.: *Laws are powerless to you, but you will revenge the categorical imperative* (L. Shestov, Shakespeare and his critic Brandes, 1898), **(not) to forbid, prohibit (не) запрещать** (*Очевидно – не категорический императив, ибо он не запрещает убивать людей, похожих на отца* (Л. Шестов, Шекспир и его критик Брандес, 1898) – transl.: *Obviously - not a categorical imperative, because it does not prohibit killing people like his father* (L. Shestov, Shakespeare and his critic Brandes, 1898), **(not) to allow, let (не) позволять** (*По Ницше, лживая "культура", "служанка" государства, "императив стадной трусости" никогда и ни при каких условиях не позволит возрасти "высшему гению", чаемому им грядущему "сверхчеловеку", злонамеренно трактуемому зачастую в качестве харизматической проекции тоталитарного вождя, фашиствующего лидера* (Ф. Крахоткин, Фридрих Ницше: антагонизм культуры и государств, 2003 // "Лебедь" (Бостон), 2003.09.21) - transl.: *According to Nietzsche, false "culture", "the servant" of the state, "the imperative of herd cowardice" never and under any circumstances will allow to grow "higher genius", coming to them, "Superman", often maliciously interpreted as a charismatic projection of a totalitarian leader, fascist leader* (F. Krahotkin, Friedrich

Nietzsche: antagonistic cultures and states // "The Swan" (Boston), 2003), to demand (требовать) (Но **императив** существования орануса как целого **требует**, чтобы его клеточная структура омывалась постоянно нарастающим потоком денег (В. Пелевин, *Generation "P"*, 1999) – transl: **But imperative** of oranus existence as a whole **requires** that its cellular structure to be washed constantly by increasing flow of money (V. Pelevin, *Generation "P"*, 1999), **inhibit to oppress (угнетать)** ("Полагаю, что категорический **императив** посконности **угнетает** художника исключительно у нас в Испании" (П. Вайль, *В сторону рая // "Иностранная литература"*, 1997) – transl.: "I believe that the only definitive **imperative oppressed** the artist here in Spain"(P. Weil, *To the Side of Paradise // "Foreign Literature"*, 1997), **to order (предписывать)** (... во всяком случае, нравственный **императив предписывает** нам такое отношение к познанию, обуславливая его, предопределяя форму его нормой... (А. Белый, *Эмблематика смысла. Предпосылки к теории символизма*, 1909) – trans.: ...at least, a moral **imperative orders** such attitude to knowledge that causing it predetermines the shape of it as the norm... (A. Belyi, *Emblems of sense. Premises to the theory of symbolism*. 1909), etc.

- **syntaxemes of the Genitive case (133 examples)** without prepositions have the meaning of **comparison in comparative constructions** (Zolotova, 2006) (Но этого не случилось: у Макбета не хватило силы, звонок жены оказался **властнее, чем** голос **императива** (Л. Шестов, *Шекспир и его критик Брандес*, 1898); – transl.: *This did not happen: the Macbeth did not have the strength, the call of his wife was more powerful than the voice of the imperative* (L. Shestov, *Shakespeare and critic Brandes*, 1898); **the media of feature** (Символ, выражая идею, не исчерпывается ею; выражая чувство... не сводим к эмоции; возбуждая волю... не разложим на **нормы императива**... (А. Белый, *Между двух революций* (1934) – transl.: *Symbol, expressing the idea, is not exhausted by it, expressing a sense of feeling... not being reduced to the emotions, exciting will is not expanded by the rules of imperative*... (A. Belyi, *Between Two Revolutions* (1934); **syntaxemes of the genitive causative** (Zolotova, 2006) (Он **создатель** категорического **императива**, противоположного кантовскому, – человек, человечество всегда выступает для него в качестве средства при его охоте за предметами (В. Гроссман, *Все течет*, 1955-1963 // "Октябрь", 1989) – transl.: *He is the creator of the categorical imperative, Kant's opposite - man, mankind always acts for him as a tool in its hunting for items* (Grossman, *Everything Flows // "October"*, 1989);

- **syntaxemes of the Dative case (28 examples)** without prepositions express the meaning of the **object of the sentence** and are collocated (Zolotova, 2006) with such verbs as **to yield (поддаваться)** (Следует заметить, что эта неограниченность в принципе обладает дозволенностью, даже жёны в новогоднюю ночь в основном **поддаются** ритуальным **императивам** и позволяют мужьям выпивать "без оглядки" (О. Николаев, *Новый год: праздник или ожидание праздника? // "Отечественные записки"*, 2003) – transl.: *It should be noted that this unlimitness in reality has permitted even the wives on New Year's night yield to ritual imperatives and allow husbands to drink "without thinking"* (O. Nikolaev, *New Year: a holiday or waiting for the holiday? // "Notes of the Fatherland"*, 2003), **follow (следовать)** (Оппортунисты в большинстве своем вовсе не склонны **следовать** какому-либо "моральному **императиву**" и много размышлять на тему, "хорошо ли управлять другим народом" (Л. Бронштейн, *О "Поселениях" и не только*, 2003 // "Вестник США", 09.07.2003) – transl.: *Mostly opportunists do not tend to follow any "moral imperative" and think a lot on the theme, "whether they manage other people well"* (L. Bronstein, *The "settlement" and not only // "Bulletin of the US"*, 2003), **submit (подчиняться)** Если это так, то я должен буду признать, что Вы как и в освободительную эпоху 1905-го, **подчинены** сейчас в своих верованиях некому категорическому **императиву**, некому аксиомическому гипнозу, для меня непонятному, ибо я также аксиомически убежден, что еврейский вопрос сыграл великую роль в событиях (В.

Шульгин, В. Маклакову 17 декабря 1929) – transl.: *If so, I'll have to admit that you like in the era of liberation in 1905th, are **submitted to the beliefs of some categorical imperative**, some axiomatic hypnosis, which I can not understand, because I am also axiomatically convinced that the Jewish question has played a great role in the events (V. Shulgin, V. Maklakov December 17, 1929); and formed from the verbs with the semantics of command nouns (**подчинение общества экономическим императивам** (subordination of society to economic imperatives, *послушание категорическому императиву* (obedience to the categorical imperative), with the preposition 'on' to express the **reasons of the actions** (Zolotova, 2006) (*перестраивать по императиву* (the imperative to rebuild), *уступить по императивности* (to yield the imperativeness), **direction** (Zolotova, 2006) (Доказавши, что критерия национальности, собственно говоря, не существует, он смело **перешел к императиву**: а потому не должно существовать и национализма (К. Чуковский, Случайные заметки, 1903) – transl.: *Having proved that the criterion of nationality, in fact, does not exist, he bravely **went to the imperative**: and therefore nationalism should not exist (K. Chukovsky, Random Notes, 1903);**

- **syntaxemes of the Accusative case (66 examples)** without a preposition express the meaning of **the object of causation** (Zolotova, 2006) (*Тут, мне кажется, важно понимать, что ресурс, конечно, все равно нужен, но не надо **делать из этого жизненный императив*** (Г. Копанев. Робот или не робот? // “Пятое измерение”, 2003) – transl.: *Here, I think it is important to understand that resource is, of course, still necessary, but **do not do vital imperative of this*** (G. Kopanев. Robot or not robot? // “The Fifth Dimension”, 2003), in the **causative models** expressing **logical relations between phenomena by verbs-complicators** (*Этим понятием царства целей определяется третье и окончательное выражение категорического императива* (В. Соловьев. Оправдание добра (1894-1899) – transl.: *The third and final expression of the categorical imperative is defined by this concept of the kingdom of aims (V. Solovyev. Justification of the Good (1894-1899);* with the preposition **in** function as **transgressive** (Zolotova, 2006) – a result of causation of transformation with the verb **to turn** (*И этот чисто конкретный вывод они **превратили в** своего рода кантовский “**категорический императив**”, повелевающий безусловно и непререкаемо, долженствующий осуществляться независимо от чего бы то ни было, “хотя бы он и никогда не осуществился”, — по принципу “ты можешь, ибо ты должен”... (Н. Устрялов, Под знаком революции, 1927) – transl.: *And they have **turned this concrete specific conclusion in** Kantian “**categorical imperative**” commanding and indisputable, forced to be dependent on whatever, “even though it had not taken place”, – according to the principle “you can, for you must”... (N. Ustryalov. By the sign of the revolution, 1927); and formed from a gerund (*Записи последнего дня, несмотря на некоторую хаотичность, выдают спокойную покорность умыслу, который, из совершенно мимолетного мечтания **превратившись в** категорический императив, все дальше увлекает его к центру воронки* (В. Голованов. Остров, или оправдание бессмысленных путешествий, 2002) – transl.: *Records of the last day, despite some randomness, give calm resignation to the intent, which, from the very fleeting of dreams **turned in categorical imperative**, carries it further to the center of the crater (V. Golovanov. Island, or justification of senseless journeys, 2002);***

- **syntaxemes of the Instrumental case (77 examples)** without preposition function as a predicate in nominal models with link-verb **становиться (to become)** (Zolotova, 2006) (*... закономерность, как объективный принцип мира, невольно **становится императивом** практического разума, а с субъектом этого разума олицетворяет себя художник: в его “я” открывается “я” мировое; он – демиург своего мира; мир искусства есть начало сотворения нового мира в мире бытия* (А. Белый, Смысл искусства, 1907) – transl.: *...regularity as an objective principle of the world, unwillingly **becomes the imperative** of practical reason, and the artist represents himself as the subject*

of reason: his “I” opens “I” of the world, he is the demiurge of his world, the art world is the beginning of the creation of a new world in the world of being (A. Belyi, *The meaning of art*, 1907); within the meaning of the secondary – **sign in an authorized constructions** with the verb **назвать (to call)** (Zolotova, 2006) (*В самых различных, самых разнокачественных и самых противоречивых своих аспектах культура (и отчасти жизнь) предшествовавшей эпохи стоит под знаком того, что мы назвали выше императивом значительности* (С. Аверинцев, *Моя ностальгия* (1995) // “Новый Мир”, 1996) – transl.: *Culture in the most varied, the most differently qualitatively and in the most controversial aspects (and sometimes life itself) of the preceding era is marked by the fact what we have named above imperative of significance* (S. Averintsev. *My nostalgia* (1995) // “The New World”, 1996); with preposition ‘with’ in nominative constructions with verbs denoting struggle, fight, manifestation of mutually directed activity (Zolotova, 2006) (**Борьбе человека с категорическим императивом** у него посвящен «Макбет» (“Macbeth is devoted to man’s struggle with his categorical imperative); ...*Ему и думать было страшно о борьбе с категорическим императивом* (Л. Шестов, *Шекспир и его критик Брандес*, 1898)... *It was scary for him to think about the fight with the categorical imperative* (L. Shestov, *Shakespeare and his critic Brandes*, 1898).

• **syntaxemes of the Prepositional case (28 examples)** with preposition ‘about’ are used in combinations with speech-action-verbs (Zolotova, 2006): 1) **Об императиве** *новогоднего пира говорит* и *Вера Панова...* (О. Николаев. *Новый год: праздник или ожидание праздника?* // «Отечественные записки», 2003) (*Vera Panova says about the imperative on New Year's feast...* (O. Nikolaev. *New Year: a holiday celebration or expectation?* // “Notes of the Fatherland”, 2003), 2) *В сущности, речь идет об императиве, о котором я писал Вам еще в конце 1985 года, о формировании двухпартийной системы* (А. Яковлев. *Омут памяти. Т.1*, 2001) (*In fact, we are talking about the imperative of which I wrote to you at the end of 1985, the formation of a two-party system* (A. Yakovlev. *Whirlpool of Memory. Vol.1*, 2001).

Thus, the distribution of syntaxemes on cases allowed revealing the role of the imperative in a sentence. The dominant feature is the function of the subject, to a lesser extent – the object and predicate. The main meaning appears to be causation. Causative nature is manifested in combination with all cases: the word *imperative* appears to be the Causer, phenomenon, object of causation, result of causation. Imperative in combination with auxiliary verbs serves as a predicate. However, the imperative used in comparative constructions, serves as the name of something, it is the object of discussion.

As a declaration of intention *imperative* has its own means of expression, i.e. command is expressed in the concrete form: 1) *Религиозное чувство, выраженное в форме повелительного наклонения (категорический императив), говорит нам не только желай совершенства, а будь совершен* (В. Соловьев. *Оправдание добра* (1894-1899) – transl.: *Religious feeling, expressed in the form of imperative (the categorical imperative), tells us not only to want perfection, but be committed* (V. Solovyev. *Justification of the Good* (1894-1899). As the object run by a human – subject, the imperative can be formulated in the following way: 1) **Кант формулирует этот закон в виде нравственного требования — категорического императива:** “*Поступай так, чтобы максима твоей воли могла в то же время иметь силу принципа всеобщего законодательства*” (П. Гайденко. *Теории обоснования нравственности* // “Альфа и Омега”, 1999-2000) (**Kant formulates the law as a moral requirement – the categorical imperative:** “*Act so that the maxim of your will could have the virtue of the principle of the universal law at the same time*”. (P. Gaidenko. *Theory of justification of morality* // “Alpha and Omega”, 1999-2000). Thus, the presence of a certain form expressing *imperative* is one of the signs of the concept distinguished in the analyses of compatibility.

Imperative has a voice: 1) *Его категорический императив* – «надо», так часто, к его великому горю, разрешавшийся “ахинеей” и “чепухой”, но никогда в нем **не замолкавший**, в значительной степени обуславливался его отношением к жене и детям (Н. Михайловский. Г. Успенский как писатель и человек, 1886) – transl.: *His categorical imperative* – “must”, so often, to his great grief, being then “rubbish” and “nonsense”, but never did not stop in him, to a large extent determined his relation to his wife and children (N. Mikhailovsky. G. Uspensky as a writer and a man, 1886); and 2) *В первом – употребление множественного числа личного местоимения в названии показательно – звучит императив...* (М. Амосин. Между законом и благодатью // «Звезда», 2001) – transl.: *In the first - the use of the plural personal pronoun in the title is significant - it sounds imperative ...* (M. Amusin. Between law and grace // “Star”, 2001). I.e. imperative, by using language units, is articulated and pronounced.

The word *imperative* possesses qualities dictated by the semantics of *imperative*: 1) *Категорический императив* прежде всего **страшно тяжел**, в нем нет окрыленности (Н. Бердяев. Смысл творчества (1913-1914) – transl.: *The categorical imperative above all is terribly heavy*, it does not have inspiration (N. Berdyaev. Meaning of creativity (1913-1914); 2) *...истинная трагедия категорического императива* во всем его величии, но также **во всей его суровости** (Л. Шестов. Шекспир и его критик Брандес (1898) – transl.: *the real tragedy of categorical imperative is in all its majesty, but also in its severity* (L. Shestov. Shakespeare and his critic Brandes (1898).

Imperative is a **distinctive differentiating sign**: Он сохранил бы неизбежный категорический императив, которым явления нравственной жизни отделяются от других явлений нашей психики и, смотря по тому, какая школа пришлась бы ему по вкусу, говорил бы либо о непосредственной интуиции, либо о “естественном” происхождении моральных представлений (Л. Шестов. Добро в учении гр. Толстого и Ницше, 1900) – transl.: *He would save the inevitable categorical imperative by which the phenomena of the moral life are separated from other phenomena of our psyche and, according to what kind of school would come to his taste, he would say either about the immediate intuition, or the “natural” origin of moral ideas* (L. Shestov. Kindness in teachings of Tolstoy and Nietzsche, 1900).

The subject and the object of *imperative* is the person himself, i.e. the person submits to imperative. As the chastener imperative is directed at a particular group of people. Then the aim of imperative will be people who break it: *Все те настроения, которыми до сих пор поддерживались суверенные права нравственности, которыми можно было грозить беспокойным послушникам категорического императива, оказались безличными, двуличными слугами, одинаково ревностно исполняющими свои инквизиторские обязанности независимо от того, исходит ли приказ от оскорбленного добра или пренебреженного зла* (Л. Шестов. Добро в учении гр. Толстого и Ницше, 1900) – transl.: *All those sentiments, which are still supported by the sovereign rights of morality, which could threaten the restless disobedient of categorical imperative, were impersonal, two-faced servants, equally zealous to perform inquisitorial duties regardless of whether the order comes from offended kindness or from the neglected evil* (L. Shestov. Kindness in teachings of Tolstoy and Nietzsche, 1900).

Due to semantics of the word *imperative* appears to be the **basis** – that from which something starts, the beginning of something: *...для этики убеждения исходным является императив действия...* (Н. Захаров, Система регуляторов социального действия российских государственных служащих (теоретико-социологический анализ), 2002) – transl.: *imperative of the action is the source for the ethics of conviction* (N. Zakharov, Regulator of social actions of the Russian government officials (theoretical and sociological analysis), 2002).

Compatibility analysis has shown that imperative **takes place**: its **localization** appears to be mostly in human soul, in his inner world: 1) *Между прочим, это и есть голос категорического императива внутри нас* (М. Мамардашвили, *Введение в философию*, 1986) – transl.: *By the way, this is the voice of the categorical imperative in us* (М. Mamardashvili, *Introduction to Philosophy*, 1986), 2) *Мне как-то Готт говорил, что его внутренней жизнью правит категорический императив Канта, а вот мой категорический императив – воля Б.О.* (Р.Б. Гуль, *Азэф*, 1958) – transl.: *Gots once said to me that his inner life is ruled by Kant's categorical imperative, but my categorical imperative is will of B.O.* (R.B.Gul , *Azef*, 1958) and in the environmental world (that is out of human being) (*gets imperatives outside, imperative is encoded in culture.*)

Compatibility with relative adjectives *территориальный* (*territorial*), *нравственно-психологический* (*moral and psychological*), *экологический* (*ecological*), *цивилизационный* (*civilized*), *этический* (*ethical*), and others shows that the imperative covers various areas of human life. Dominant (most frequent use of the word in context) areas are *policy* (*императив политического высказывания* (*the imperative of political expression*)), *социально-политический императив* (*social and political imperative*), *геополитический императив* (*geopolitical imperative*), *императив политической работы* (*the imperative of political work*) and *religion* (*евангельский императив* (*evangelical imperative*)), *императивы протестантской этики* (*imperatives of protestants' ethics*), *религиозный императив* (*religious imperative*). Combination with adjectives *стратегический* (*strategic*), *непреложный* (*indisputable*) highlights and magnifies the importance of the imperative.

Thus, *imperative* is presented in the sentences as the object and the subject, but the role of the latter dominates. Semantics influences on the use of the word. So, being the subject and object *imperative* has causative nature. *Imperative* has a linguistic form as a command. It is expressed through language units and has a voice. Localization of imperative is in the man himself, his soul, mind, and culture is a store of spiritual wealth of human being. Imperative covers areas such as ethics, morality, religion, and politics.

In the examples presented in the Russian National Corpus combinations such as “*императивы времени*” (“*the imperatives of time*”), “*императивы эпохи*” (“*the imperatives of the era*”) (*императивы перестройки* (*imperatives of restructuring*); *высокая профессиональная компетентность – императив нашего времени* (*high professional competence - the imperative of our time*); *Возрождение русской идеи – императив наших дней* (*revival of the Russian idea - the imperative of our time*); *экологически-гуманистический императив нашего времени* (*eco-humanistic imperative of our time*), *социально-психологический императив данной эпохи* (*the social and psychological imperative of the era*), *исторический императив* (*the historical imperative*), *становился лицом к лицу с великим историческим императивом* (*getting face to face with the great historical imperative*) are found. As for these metaphors L. Kilevaya (2002) believes that they (the “imperatives advanced by the time”), determine a strategy for future action. “Some stage in the history, a certain epoch has its own requirements which are relevant to this particular time. As well as every age and time, the state can also have imperatives: 1) *И отсюда перед каждым государством встаёт практический императив: стремись к расширению, будь могучим, если хочешь быть великим!* (Н.В. Устрялов. *К вопросу о русском империализме* // «Проблемы России», 1916); – transl.: *And in front of every state there is practical imperative: to strive to expand, be great, if you want to be great!* (N. Ustryalov. *To the question of Russian imperialism* // “*Problems of Russia*”, 1916), and 2) *Для России сближение с США – стратегический императив, считает Вершбоу* (А. Лебедев. *Посол США расставил акценты* (2003) // «Известия», 2003) – transl.: *For Russia rapprochement with the United States is a strategic imperative, said Vershbow* (A. Lebedev. *Ambassador of the USA put the accents.* (2003) // “*News*”, 2003).

Unfortunately, phraseological units which include a word *imperative* as a part have not been found. Therefore the description of this part of analysis is not possible.

The associative-field of the concept was built according to results of two types of experiments which we mentioned above: free and directed.

Generally, 100 people at the age of 18 till 70 took part in the experiments. **Free associative** experiment was carried out as follows. Word-stimulus, *imperative* was given to interrogators. It was necessary to write 5 reactions. As a result, a word appeared unfamiliar to 25 % of respondents.

According to the results of free associative-experiment native-speakers connect *imperative* with linguistics. This connection is noted in reactions (*наклонение (mood), наклонение глагола (the mood of the verb), повелительное наклонение (imperative), в лингвистике повелительное наклонение (imperative in linguistics), глагольная форма (verb form), грамматика (grammar), лингвистика (linguistics), глагол или предложение (verb or sentence), глагол (the verb), часть речи (part of speech), предложение (sentence), в лингвистике (in linguistics)*).

In speaker's consciousness *imperative* has two plans – the plan of the speaker (declaratory of intention) and the plan of the listener (performer). Depending on these plans associations are interpreted from the point of view of the speaker (*повелевать (to command), повеление (command), приказывать (to order), требовать (to demand), влияние (influence), власть (power), побуждение к действию (call to action)*), and from the position of the listener (*обязательно выполнять (always do), умереть, но сделать (to die but do it), начальство (the authorities), принуждение, навязывание чего-то (imposition of something), бесприкословность (obedience), подчинение (order), поручение, задание (job requirement), требование, которое необходимо соблюдать (a requirement that must be observed), повеление (imperative)*).

In consciousness of native speakers shades of command exist in semantics of *imperative* (*приказ (orders), предписание (directives), принцип (principle), просьба (request), религиозные заветы (religious precepts), устав (statutes)*).

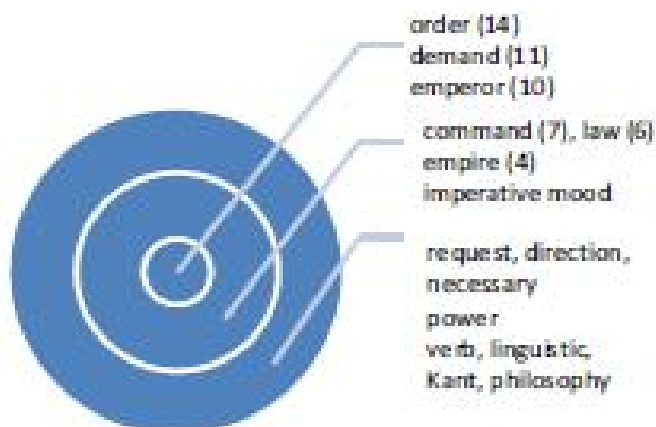
The importance of *imperative* is emphasized with associations *необходимое (necessary), неизбежное (inevitable), обязательный (obligatory), предписанный (prescribed), главный (chief), высший (supreme), требовательность (demands), что-то категоричное (something definitive)*, testifying to existence of the seme 'importance'.

Many respondents note the connection of imperative with the theory of German philosopher I. Kant. The reactions – *Кант (Kant), императив Канта (the imperative of Kant), философия (philosophy), философствовать (to philosophize)* – were evidences of this fact.

Sometimes far connections of the word *imperative* with etymon can subconsciously be revealed at associative level. So, words *the empire, the emperor* already absent in lexicographic sources were connected with the word *imperative*. But it was revealed from associations while speaking (*император (the emperor), империя (the empire), король (власть) (king (power))*).

Reactions of respondents are presented in the field of frequency of words (scheme №2).

Scheme No 2. The associative-field of a concept IMPERATIVE



The next stage was the directed-experiment consisting of 4 tasks (using a technique presented in (Musatayeva, 2012)). Interrogated respondents were given questionnaires in which it was necessary to complete the following tasks:

- 1) to give definition – to continue the phrase: “*The imperative is ...*”;
- 2) to describe the image which causes the word incentive “*imperative*”;
- 3) to call a word-synonym to *imperative*;
- 4) to call a word-opposite to *imperative*.

It became clear according to the results of directive-experiment that *imperative* in consciousness of the native-speaker is verbalized as language category – “imperative mood of a verb”: ‘it is the form of a verb expressing motivation’. Results of the directed-experiment confirm results of free-experiment. *Imperative* is an order which must be fulfilled. As confirmation of the results of the free association experiment was the presence of a number of responses with words *empire and emperor* (sema ‘power’), highlighting the ancient bond and a single root.

Imperative appears in the image of **the person possessing power** (commander, a man sitting at the management office, the Roman commander), more often as the head of the state (emperor, president, king). Dominating seme ‘power’ verbalizes *imperative* through attributes of the power – *scepter, throne, the king wearing a crown and mantle with scepter in the hands, the king on the throne*. Images representing *imperative* were also revealed in the form of a forefinger or the person with such gesture making warning.

It is necessary to note that 20% of respondents didn’t answer questionnaire questions, or represented the answers which were not connected with the word. This was mainly manifested at the stage when it was necessary to include synonyms. Among the answers were also words close in their meanings to *imperative*, according to the respondents, as *creative, aperitif, cooperative, active, reception*, etc. This can be explained by the fact that not all the native speakers (depending on the level of education, erudition) know this word.

Dominant group was a group of synonyms for some *empire*, *the emperor*, and some *power* (to command) can be revealed too from which on the associative level a native speaker gives synonyms such as *приказ* (*order*), *требование* (*request*), *повелевать*, *повеление* (*command*). This seme gives such reactions, which are presented by causative verbs and combinations with these verbs: *повелевать* (*to command*), *приказывать* (*to order*), *требовать* (*request*), *повиноваться* (*to obey*), *влиять* (*to influence*), *держат в подчинении* (*lead by the nose*), *принимать, решение решать* (*to decide*), *заставлять* (*to make*), *настаивать* (*to insist*) and *гнуть свою линию* (*to bend the line*).

In turn, from the position of the performer native speakers identified synonyms, which showed the relation to the imperatives as to commandments of another person: *упрямствовать* (*to be obstinate*), *упорствовать* (*to persist*), *идти против воли* (*to go against the will*).

According to directive-experiment *imperative* is opposed to: 1) *softness, flexibility*; 2) *indifference* (*пассивности* (*passivity*), *равнодушие* (*indifference*), *безынициативность* (*inertia*), *незаинтересованность* (*disinterest*); 3) *freedom* (*демократия* (*democracy*), *воля* (*will*), *суверенность* (*sovereignty*), *добровольность* (*voluntariness*); 4) *non-obligation*. As to imperative in the meaning of order the request is opposed to it (and the verbs connected with this act – *просить* (*ask*), *просить разрешения* (*ask for permission*).

It is interesting that *command* and *power* which are comprised by *imperative* are opposed to such group of antonyms meaning *the slave* (*рабство* (*slavery*), *раболенство* (*subservience*), *слуга* (*a servant*), *раб* (*a slave*).

The results of the association experiment revealed the following semes: 1) *linguistic term*, 2) *the interpretation from the perspective of the listener* (*to execute, implement*), and 3) *the interpretation from the perspective of the speaker* (*command, order*), 4) *shades of commandment* 5) *something important*. The seme 'linguistic term' is specified in the next step and indicates the grammatical form, (language) category, i.e. is a form of the verb. The seme 'power' is verbalized in the form of visual symbols *rod, throne, and the king wearing a crown and mantle with scepter in the hands, the king on the throne*. One of the images of *imperative* is also the head of the state (mostly emperor, king). Synonyms of *imperative* consolidate the position of the seme 'order', 'power'. *Imperative* is opposed to *freedom, indifference, and softness*. A person making out orders is opposed to slave, order is opposed to request

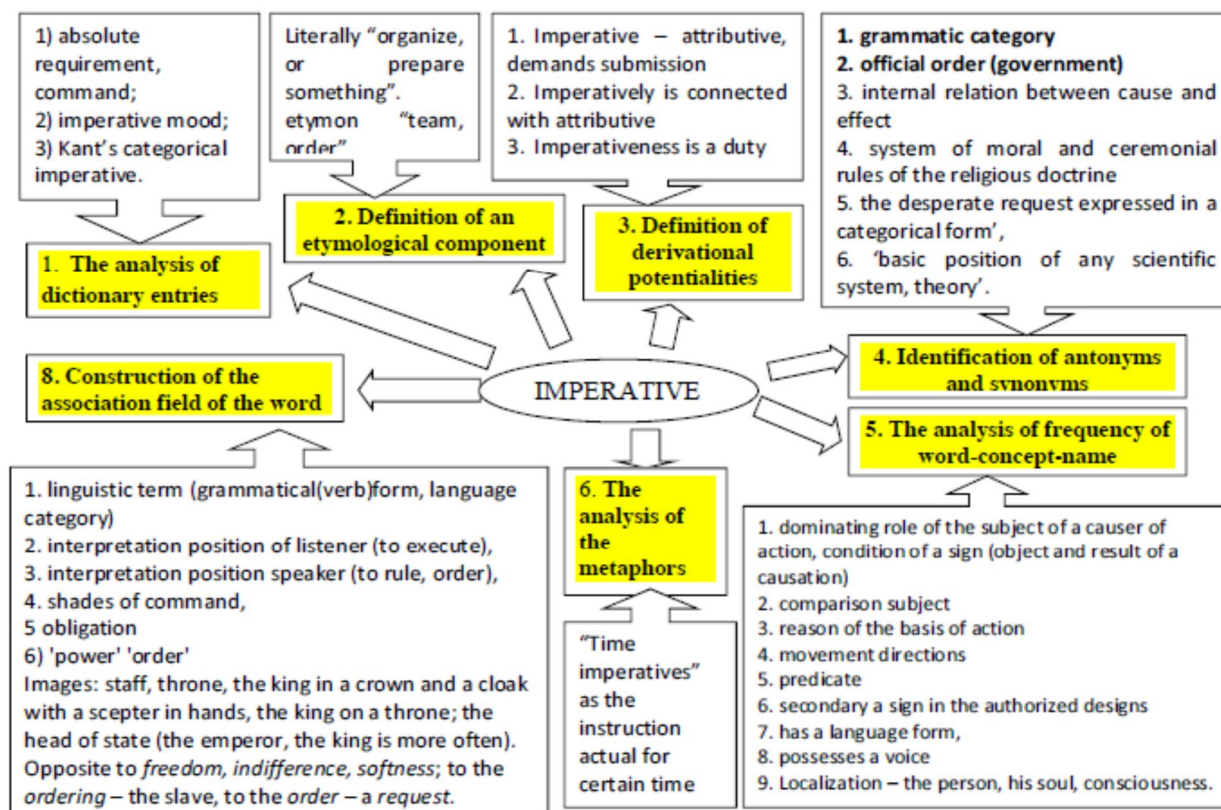
Thus, if all the identified semes include in the map, we get the following scheme

CONCLUSION

Using mind-mapping, we chart the conceptual analysis, identifying key steps and stages of the research. Thus, a structured sequence of analysis has been built.

The mind-map allowed us to see the full picture and combine all semes of the concept, highlighting the dominant and additional ones. 'Command' and 'grammatical category' are the central semes of the concept IMPERATIVE. And the first one is the primary seme. The same seme on the associative-level keeps in contact word-name of concept *the imperative* with root-words *the empire* and *the emperor*. This linkage isn't specified in lexicographic sources, but associative thinking of native speakers point to proximity of words. Additional semes are realized in the definite context, depending on a situation.

Scheme No 3. Mind-map of concept IMPERATIVE



It appeared the dominant meaning of a word-name-of concept in the analysis of compatibility to be causality: the imperative functions as the subject, the object, the result of causation. The imperative possesses a certain form and voice. The person, his soul and environment is localized in the concept. The concept possesses two components – the plan of the speaker and the plan of listener, i.e. imperative could be interpreted both from a position of the speech-sender, and from a position of the addressee. A concept in the consciousness of the native-speaker is visualized in the images of a rod, a throne, a king wearing a crown and mantle with scepter in the hands, a king on the throne, and the head of the state - a man with authority.

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CHANGE FOR THE BETTER: AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF AN ENGLISH TEXTBOOK

Jabreel Asghar

King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah

Jabreel@hotmail.co.uk

Abstract

This paper investigated the way an English textbook at higher secondary level in Pakistan is being used in EFL context. The study conducted a questionnaire survey to gauge the level of text comprehension and the expected learning outcome of the textbook in line with the curriculum goals of developing awareness of various cultures as well as critical thinking among learners. The data analysis highlighted that the current pedagogical model of the textbook dis-empowered the participants of the study by imparting either misperceived or incomplete information due to using inappropriate pedagogic approach. The textbook offered superficial comprehension of the texts and restricted independent as well as critical thinking to understand the texts and synthesise new learning with the learners' existing world knowledge. The findings called for a shift in pedagogic paradigm in order to exploit the textbook effectively to achieve the goals as set in the national curriculum.

Key words: Pedagogy, ELT, dis-empowerment, critical reading, cultural contexts in textbooks, critical thinking, curriculum development

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper covers one aspect of a major study conducted in the Pakistani academic context of higher secondary level. The main study critically analyses the texts of one of the higher secondary English textbooks to investigate how treatment of these texts influences the learners' perception of the world and their learning outcome. The critical discourse analysis was complemented by a questionnaire survey and semi-focused group interviews with a selected group of learners to gauge their level of understanding of the texts in line with the goals and objectives set by the NCEP. This paper, however, focuses only on the findings gained through the questionnaire, and presents how the selected group of readers of the textbook perceives it in the academic as well as in the social context.

English is taught as a subject, rather than as a language, in Pakistani main stream schools and colleges. Textbooks from primary to bachelor levels are mostly comprised of different types of literary texts such as short stories, poetry, prose, drama etc. From primary to secondary level, these texts are especially written for teaching English language. At higher secondary level, texts are mainly selected from English and American literature in addition to few translated texts from Urdu and/or regional folk literature. All these texts cannot be called authentic in the real sense as in most cases they are abridged, simplified and censored versions of original texts to suit to the needs and level of learners as determined by the policy makers as well as curriculum developers. This paper examines one of such English textbooks (henceforth the textbook) taught at higher secondary level in Pakistani state colleges. Through this paper I intend to highlight how conservative pedagogical treatment misses the opportunity of beneficially using the world literature in English classroom to develop critical as well as analytical thinking in addition to bringing awareness of other cultures of the world.

1.1. The textbook

The textbook in question is comprised of 15 short stories out of which 11 short stories are abridged versions of English/American literature whereas two stories are abridged translations from Urdu literature, one from Persian literature and one story is a translation from a folk tale with no reference to its origin. The texts in table 1 have been grouped to ease the data collection and analysis, and hence this division is general in the sense that the texts cannot be specifically divided into two groups, especially in the case of the local texts where three texts appear to be in Asian context but not specifically in the Pakistani context. Likewise, the foreign texts also contain stories seemingly from various western countries due to which they have been generally grouped as foreign texts. Without having access to the textbook, it might be difficult for readers to understand the discussion of the data. Referring back to the Table 1, whenever necessary, might be supportive in understanding the participants' priority to the texts and the interpretation of their choices.

Foreign Texts (FT)	
1. Button Button	A couple comes across an offer of getting a big amount for pressing a button which would result in killing a person somewhere in the world. The wife accepts the offer and gets insurance of her husband after his death.
2. Cleaning in the Sky	A father narrates to his son how, sheer out of his dedication and hard work, he cultivated a piece of land at a very difficult mountainous location.
3. Dark they were, and Golden-Eyed	The earth has been destroyed and the mankind has started a new life at the Mars from the scratch; one man keeps trying to go back to the earth despite the opposition of everyone else.
4. Thank you Ma'am	A woman treats a child with love and affection who tried to snatch her handbag to buy suede shoes.
5. The piece of String	A poor villager is falsely accused of stealing money. He spends his life in clarifying his position but nobody believes in him until after a flood which sweeps away everything except his grave.
6. The Reward	A boy wants to be an acrobat and is successful in achieving his goal after consistent efforts and facing a lot of difficulties.
7. I have a Dream	Abridged version of Martin Luther King's speech about freedom and equality for all mankind.
8. The use of Force	A sick child is not willing to let the doctor examine her throat. The doctor has to use force to examine her throat and prescribe the medication.
9. The Gift of the Magi	A poor young girl sells her beautiful hair to buy a strap of watch for her husband as a Christmas gift. On the other hand, the husband sells his watch to buy a golden hair clip for his wife.
10. The Angel and the Author – and Others	At a Christmas eve, the writer humorously and sarcastically talks to the Recording Angel about the details of his trivial acts to be recorded.
Local literature	
11. The Gulistan of Sa'di	Short stories in classical Iranian context to highlight wisdom of everyday life.
12. The Foolish Quack	A foolish villager tries to treat people without using common sense and receives punishment by people.
13. A Mild Attack of Locusts	Apparently in a colonial context, where the local population overcomes an attack of locusts on their village, only a significant portion of their crops was destroyed. However, the local population, unlike their colonial masters, was contented for this attack not being worse than that.
14. God be Praised	A poor clergyman finds it hard to keep both ends meet. He spends whole of his life expecting God to sort out his difficulties – especially marriage of his daughters. Apparently it seems to happen.
15. Overcoat	A well-dressed young man meets his end while he was strolling on the Mall. During his postpartum, it was discovered that under his precious overcoat he was in rags.

Table 1: Summary of short stories in the textbook⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The summaries in this table only summarise the major factual events of each text. These do not include the potential symbolic significance.

1.2. The students

In Pakistan students study this textbook in their 12th academic year and most of them have been studying English as a compulsory subject since their first year at school. Apart from having exposure to English in academic context, they widely come across English on electronic media, signboards and product information in markets. However, despite the fact that their exposure to English language is spread over more than a decade in academic and everyday social context, generally they cannot be considered competent users of the language due to their lack of ability of comfortably using English in written or spoken form. Listening to native accent/s in real life is even a more challenging area for them. The motivation level of students about learning English varies from highly motivated students to absolutely non-motivated students. This varied level of motivation may depend on a large number of factors ranging from social and economic background to students' previous academic training and skills in English.

1.3. Teachers and teaching methodology

The teaching methodology is mainly teacher centred and classrooms more or less present a picture of traditional grammar-translation based approach. The teachers for this level are qualified and experienced teachers with a minimum of a master degree in English literature, which is considered as a basic qualification to teach English language and literature in state colleges and universities. A clearly dominant majority of these teachers have been educated through the same traditional educational system as with a focus on grammar translation method with rare innovation in teaching methodology. Asghar (2010) describes a typical procedure of teaching such a textbook as teacher reading the English text with Urdu translation followed by a commentary on (some) aspects of the texts. Such a practice leaves little room for students to participate in the class room procedure. The medium of instruction in classroom is largely L1, i.e. Urdu. The students are expected to complete the activities followed by each text themselves (usually through guiding books) and majority of the students have tendency to memorise the answers of questions which are likely to occur in the examination. As specified in the National Curriculum for English in Pakistan (2006), all these texts and follow up activities have been included with the objective of developing critical and analytical thinking among learners, in addition to teaching English language.

1.4. The national curriculum for English in Pakistan (NCEP)

The NCEP (2006) is a detailed document which benchmarks the levels from primary to higher secondary level with specified goals and objectives. The NCEP, under the category of "Reading and Thinking Skills", gives two standards. Each standard is explained through benchmarking and further illustrated through specific examples to measure the targeted skills (pp. 126 – 31: 2006). Referring to the social value of the curriculum, the NCEP maintains that "all students will develop ethical and social attributes and values relevant in a multicultural, civilised society" (p. 15). For the students' ethical and social development, the document states that the texts in the syllabus should enable learners to "analyze and evaluate short stories, poems, essays and one-act plays; relate how texts affect their lives and connect the texts to contemporary and historical ideas/issues across cultures" (p. 12). The following is an extract, from the NCEP, of the goals and objectives set as learning outcome of various themes taught in classroom (pp. 145 – 149):

1. Character building
2. Respect for Pakistani values and those of other nations
3. Tolerance, humanism, equity between groups and nations

4. Handling /sharing responsibilities
5. Accommodating family and work responsibilities
6. Understanding international cultural diversity
7. Understanding the World
8. Respect for all professions. (Valuing disparity and equality among professions)
9. Practicing adaptability

In the perspective of these goals and objectives of the NCEP, this study explored how far the conservative pedagogical treatment has been successful in achieving the NCEP goals. It also explores how it affected the learners' understanding of texts by dis-empowering them through either misperceived or incomplete information.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural representation in textbooks is one of the important factors that influence learning process in classroom. Cortazzi and Jin (1999: 200) assert that a “textbook is seen as an authority and can also be viewed as an ideology in the sense that it reflects a worldview or cultural system, a social construction that may be imposed on teachers and students and that indirectly constructs their view of a culture”. They further elaborate that “on analysis, there may be an identifiable interest-based perspective, revealed by such questions as ‘In whose interest is this text written and why?’” De Castell, Luke, & Luke (1989) and Apple & Christian-Smith (1991) (In Hinkel, 1999) are also of the view that English textbooks can act as a form of cultural politics by inclusion/exclusion of aspects of social, economic, political, or cultural reality (p. 200). Holme (2002) initiates the arguments by referring to the theory of instrumental view of language learning. By this he means that a language will become a mechanism of cultural transmission, promoting the values of its host-culture against those of the regions to which it is exported (p. 211). This is what Fairclough (1989) calls ideologies which he believes are most effective when most invisible in discourses. Thus the cultural contents of a textbook are significant because they indirectly and/or invisibly influence and shape learners' identity and their perception of the world.

Cortazzi & Jin (in Hinkel, 1999) refer to various examples of textbooks used in various parts of the world which used the source culture e.g. a textbook for Venezuela, *El libro de ingles* (Nunez, 1988 in Hinkel) which mirrors the source (L1) culture; EFL textbook for Turkey, *Spotlight on English* (Dede & Emre, 1988 in Hinkel) with primarily Turkish rather than a target culture; *English for Saudi Arabia* (Al-Qurashi, Watson, Hafseth & Hickman, 1988 in Hinkel) with all the settings located in the source culture. The survey by Cortazzi & Jin reflects that the source culture has been more popular in non-English-speaking countries for various reasons. They observe that materials in source culture could help learners become aware of their identity, in addition to enabling them talk about their own culture. By identity I mean the self-reflection of an individual which is “dynamic, inter-subjective, constructed moment by moment through social interaction, and, at the same time, subject to existing ideologies and perceived social constraints” (Mayes, 2010: 195). Thus in the academic scenario the source culture becomes important, signifying that learners' membership of their vernacular communities should be addressed in order to “consider how learners negotiate competing subject positions in conflicting discourse communities, and how these struggles shape their practices of language learning” (Canagarajah, 2004: 117). Luke (1988) has also been of the opinion that the selection of knowledge, competencies and practices for transmission in school curricula is an ideological process which serves the interest of

particular classes and forms of social control. If the cultural contents of a textbook are mainly foreign, it may leave gaps between learners' schematic knowledge and the new information. These gaps may also develop an unconscious power relation between learners and the text in certain cases if the pedagogical approach does not consider what Morgan (1997) calls building bridges of learning between the learners' understanding and ours.

Liu (2005) claims that closed discourses are important in almost all Asian educational contexts where textbooks are used as a means of propagating certain political notions. Their aim is not to develop better human beings but better followers of a particular political and economic agenda. In line with Liu, the discourses in this textbook do not engage students with ideologies, as these texts are supposed to do; rather these texts are used to impose pre-determined ideologies on learners by moulding the themes of various texts. In line with Fairclough (1992) and Morgan (1997) who believe that discourses form people's thoughts, their social behaviours and practices and as well as their sense of self, with the current treatment of the textbook, these texts are likely to affect the learners' ideologies and attitudes in a wrong direction if these texts aim to shape any sense of self at all. Current philosophy of education and teaching methodology do not seem to develop better human beings but better followers of a particular political agenda set by the state, which not only narrows down learners' perception of the world, but also aims to produce degree holders who are ignorant of the demands of the contemporary world.

The discussion in the coming section will demonstrate how the existing pedagogical philosophy does not allow the learners to understand and explore a text beyond the limits set by curriculum developers. It will also demonstrate that the current treatment of the textbook does not equip them with English language skills as benchmarked in the NCEP.

3. RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Questionnaires are good and cost effective source to find a large number of participants' expressions and opinions in short time. They are mostly useful as research instrument to locate the participants' attitudes towards certain issues. In order to gauge students perception of the textbook in hand, a questionnaire (Appendix 1⁷⁹) was administered to randomly selected 150 male and female participants living in the metropolitan city of Lahore in Pakistan. Ninety-three out 150 questionnaires were returned. In the questionnaire survey, both male and female participants were approached who had recently completed the book. The questionnaire was comprised of three types of questions: closed ended Yes/No questions (1, 7, 9, 21, 22, 23, 26); questions which required answers to list or choose an option (2, 3, 5, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25); and questions which asked participants to further elaborate their responses (4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 27, 28). Almost in all cases the close ended questions were followed by the open ended questions to gain detailed information from the quantitative data.

The questionnaire was structured in to gain information on the following three categories:

- **Conceptual comprehension of the texts:** this section includes questions on the number of texts the participants read, the texts they found particularly interesting/uninteresting/difficult, followed by open ended questions inquiring about the reason for a particular response (Questions 1- 8).

⁷⁹ The questionnaire is not in its original form. For reasons of space, the appendix only lists the questions from the original questionnaire. It does not include the space given for each question.

- **Cultural awareness of the texts:** this section includes questions on situations from the texts which might be different/new from students' own experiences and questions about the way students perceive religious, economic, social, rural/urban contexts in the texts (Questions 9-19).
- **Pedagogical efficacy of the textbook:** this section includes questions about the procedure of how the texts are taught in class, how the follow up comprehension/grammar questions are attempted, and how students view and treat the book on their own (Questions 20-28).

After the questionnaires were returned, each questionnaire was given a number to replace each participant's name as M1, M2 or F1, F2 and so forth where 'M' stands for male and 'F' stands for female participant in order to ensure anonymity of the participants' responses.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

For analysing the data, initially the responses in Questions No. 3, 5, 7, 9, 15 and 17 – 28 were counted and recorded in bar charts. Later, the participants' open responses were analysed in the perspective of their choices made in the close-ended questions. In the part II only positive responses (Yes/No) to the questions (21- 23 & 26) have been shown in graphs. Though responses to all the questions were carefully read and analysed as reflected in the graphs, for reason of space, the forthcoming discussion will focus only on the questions that seemed to yield the most interesting information on the pedagogic side of the textbook.

Schallert & Martin (2003) maintain that readers are more likely to comprehend a text if they share more background knowledge. In line with Schallert & Martin, the first group of questions (1–8) explored how far the texts of the textbook were comprehensible for the participants in terms of engaging their interest and articulately disseminating the new information to them.

4.1. Conceptual comprehension of the texts

Responding to Question 3, a remarkably high number of the participants viewed four texts (three in foreign context and one in local context) as the most interesting texts. Further elaboration of their responses in the open ended questions reflected that the participants' tendency to find these texts interesting either because the texts contained moral lesson; or the texts were close to real life; or the texts were interesting under "Other" category which includes factors such as suspense, humour and "generally interesting". As shown in figure 1, sixty-three participants found certain texts most interesting because of embedded moral lesson; 17 participants found certain texts most interesting because they relate to the real life whereas 36 participants found certain texts interesting because of "other" reasons. The individual responses were categorized as "others" because they varied in type. The "other" category emerged somewhat higher only because it gathered various individual responses into one category. Hence higher number of responses in this category should not be taken for being highly significant.

Among the least interesting texts are those which the participants either did not seem to have experienced in real life or the text which are more fictional e.g. *The angel and the author* or *Dark they were and Golden-Eyed* and *I have a Dream* (all in foreign context). The last text is not fictional but it has been indicated as one of the least interesting text, probably because this text talks about racial discrimination and Pakistani society is not multicultural in the sense as American or British societies are. Therefore, the participants seemingly did not find the issues relevant to their circumstances. Such a response to this text might also be due to inappropriately perceived concepts of the story, as one respondent (F48) refers to Martin Luther King as "the king who is very passionate to his nation". The highest category of

responses (55/93) for the least interesting texts is that of ‘Other’ category which includes factors such as lengthy texts, difficult language or lack of suspense.

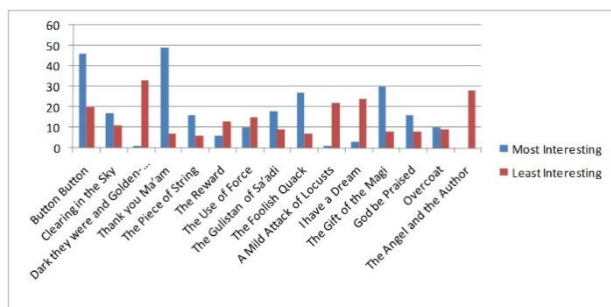


Figure 1: Most/Least Interesting Texts

Responding to the questions 7 & 8 about the texts which participants found difficult to understand, six stories appeared as the most difficult (Figure 2). All the six stories are in the foreign context.

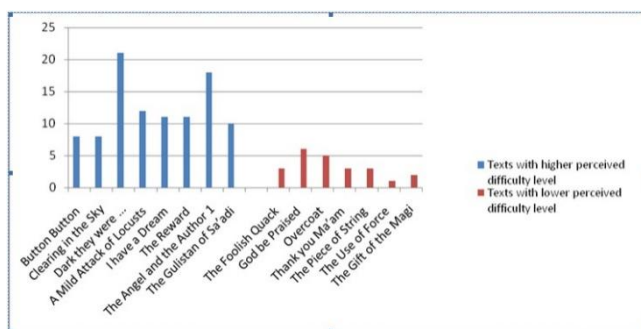


Figure 2: Perceived Difficulty level in the Texts

Least interesting texts Dark they were and Golden-Eyed The Author and the Angel I have a Dream	Most difficult texts Dark they were and Golden-Eyed The Author and the Angel I have a Dream The Gulistan of Sa'di, The Reward
Most interesting texts Button Button Thank you Ma'am, The Foolish Quack The Gift of the Magi.	Least difficult texts Thank you Ma'am, The Piece of String The Use of Force The Gift of the Magi.

Table 2: Comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2

These responses seem to make more sense when viewed together with Figure 1 where relatively the same texts have been shown as less interesting texts than others (see Table 2 for comparison). Furthermore, most of the foreign texts were declared as more difficult. Variation in responses to the texts written in the foreign context reflects the participants' level of high difficulty about these texts. On the other hand, responses to the texts written in the local contexts do not have much variation. Table 2 shows that the participants seemed to group four foreign texts with lower perceived level of difficulty.

These three texts might have been viewed as less difficult texts because they seem to be culturally closer in term of social environment. These texts depict social values and moral strength as shown in the character of a motherly figure, a truthful person and protective parents. However, the participants' identification of *The Gift of the Magi* is interesting because this text apparently does not relate to the local context, neither in terms of theme nor in terms of prevalent cultural norms. However, the participants grouped this text in this category probably because of the theme of love which is usually attractive for the age group these participants belong to. One text (*The Gulistan of Sa'adi*) is also an exception which is apparently closer to the local context in terms of social and religious background, but it was perceived as a difficult text by 10 participants. Since most of the participants had previously informed that they found these texts difficult mainly due to unrealistic situations (as in *Dark they were and Golden-Eyed* and *The Author and the Angel*), they seemed to group *The Gulistan of Sa'adi* with difficult texts because of its royal context which is likely to be different from the contemporary life, and hence far from their own experiences

4.2. Cultural awareness of the texts

Question 17 gauges the participants' perception of social understanding of the texts. In term of financial status the texts could have been divided into three categories i.e. the rich, the middle class and the poor. However, the questionnaire only gave two options of *Rich* or *Poor* due to which it was difficult to interpret the data more accurately because the texts cannot be separated so distinctively. In order to organise the responses to this question more comprehensibly, the texts were divided into two categories of rich and poor where seemingly prosperous class was moved to the rich and the rest were merged with financially poor contexts. In some texts it was difficult to specifically categorise in economic context, as in case of *The Gulistan of Sa'adi* where the king, his courtiers and common people belong to three different classes; or in case of *A Mild Attack of Locusts* where it is difficult to judge the financial condition of the leading family. Keeping in view the colonial history in the sub-continent, it was assumed that the leading family was rich and the local community was poor. However, despite the limitation of the question, the data clearly informs on the participants' understanding of the economic background of the text.

As Figure 3 shows, six texts were rightly perceived with financially poor background by a majority of the participants. Three of these are the texts in the local contexts. All the six texts were easy to judge because they talk about the miseries of life. The participants also rightly perceived the economic background in three texts with foreign context most probably due to the fact that the themes of these texts relate to the experience and interests of the participants. Two of these texts were also viewed by the participants as the most interesting and least difficult (Table 2 above).

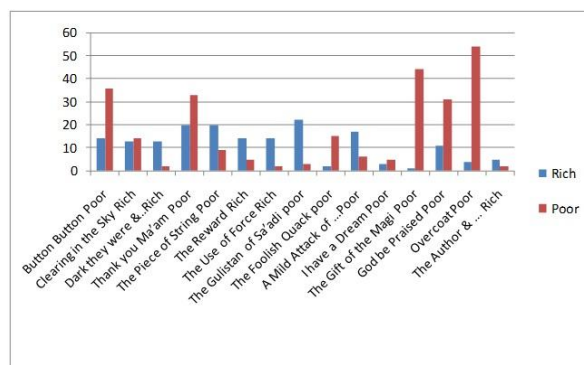


Figure 3: Social background in the texts

Overall, in terms of recognising the economic background in the texts, the participants had some ambiguities, which clearly occurred in the case of foreign texts, except one text *God be praised* (in local context) which was unexpectedly viewed as a text in a “rich” setting by 11 participants. Such a response regarding a story of clearly poor class in the immediate local context reflects the incompetent comprehension of the text by the participants.

Question 19 examines the participants’ understanding of the social background setting of the texts. Responding to this, the participants slightly varied from each other in recognising the actual setting of each text (Figure 4).

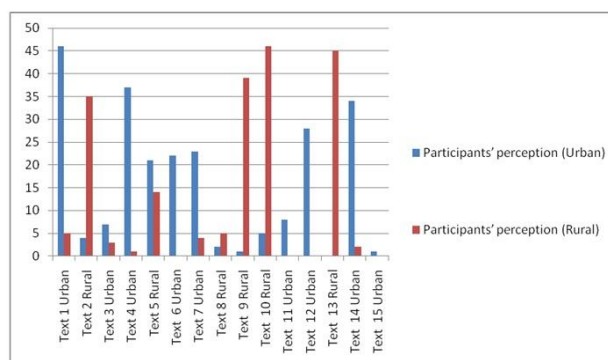


Figure 4: Social background in the texts

A high ratio of accurate identification in the texts No. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 13 and 14 reflects that the participants were more confident about these texts. It is noteworthy that the texts No. 9, 10, 13 and 14 are in the local context of the participants. On the other hand their uncertainty about recognising the context of the texts No. 3, 5, 8, 11 and 15 is significant in the perspective that all these texts are in foreign context.

Responding to Questions 9 & 10 about the situations different from their experience, 18 participants found *Button Button* whereas 22 participants viewed *Dark they were* and *Golden-Eyed* different from their experience. Five participants said that *The Author and the Angel* depicted different situation for them (Figure 5).

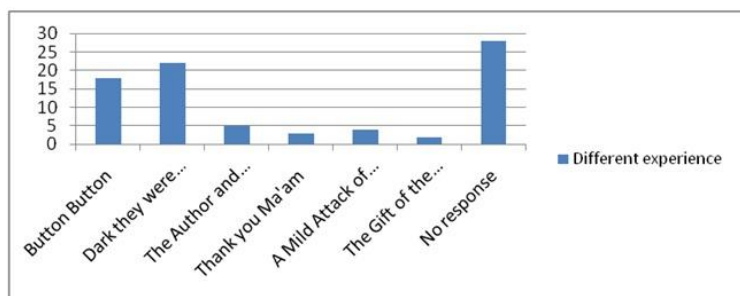


Figure 5: Situations different from the participants' experience

Giving reasons for their responses, 35 participants mentioned that they found the situations in these texts different because they had not experienced them in their life. The same reason was given for all other texts identified by the participants in figure 5. As Table 2 shows, many of the texts in figure 5 are those which the participants also found difficult as well (e.g. *Dark they were and Golden-Eyed*, *The Author and the Angel*, *A Mild Attack of Locusts*). It suggests that the participants seem to alienate themselves from the texts which they found difficult to understand.

The texts which the participants did not mention in this question logically can be considered without a problem. These texts include *Clearing in the Sky*, *The Piece of String*, *The Reward*, *I have a dream*, *The Use of Force* (in foreign context), *The Gulistaan of Sa'di*, *God be Praised*, *Overcoat* and *The Foolish Quack* (in local context). With the exception of few responses based on clearly incomprehension of the above mentioned group of texts, it can be safely asserted that the participants did not show alienation towards any of the text written in the local contexts whereas they identified six texts in foreign context as having no commonalities with their immediate experience.

4.3. Pedagogical efficacy of the textbook in classroom

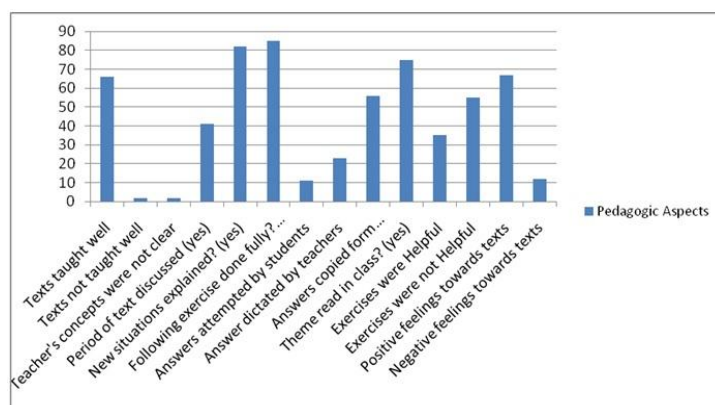


Figure 6: Pedagogic Analysis

In the textbook, each text is followed by a series of activities which include short (one sentence answer) and detailed (100-150-words answer) comprehensions questions, in addition to true/false statements,

matching correct information and some other fill-in-the-gap grammar activities. Question No 20 of the questionnaire asked the participants to briefly describe how these stories were taught in the classroom. The purpose of this question was to seek information on the way the text was exploited in classroom. However, the participants were unable to specifically describe the classroom procedure.

Figure 6 informs of the participants' perspective on this part of the book which has been designed to check comprehension of the texts from examination viewpoint, and in some cases to give students practice of the relevant language items as well as grammatical structures involved in each text. Responding to this question, 66 participants showed satisfaction regarding the teaching strategies used by their teachers. In this regard, almost all of the 66 participants made general comments such as 'the teacher taught very well; teacher taught honestly; teacher explained in an easy way' which do not give a clear picture of what actually happened in the classroom.

One reason for these general comments might be traced in the prevalent Pakistani convention of not questioning or criticising teachers. However, five participants (M3, M21, M25, M33 & M40) explicitly informed that teacher did not teach well. Some information was also gained from the questions 21 and 22 where respondents talked about the teacher's strategies. Responding to question No. 21, forty out of 93 participants mentioned that the teacher explained the time-period of the texts before starting the text. Eight-two participants told that the teacher explained whenever a culturally different situation occurred in the texts. Some information was gained from the questions 21 – 22 where respondents talk about teacher's strategies. Responding to question No.20, forty participants mentioned that the teacher explained the time-period of the texts before starting the text. 82 participants told that the teacher explained whenever a different situation occurred in the texts. Presumably, this supporting explanation might be one of the major components for the response about the teacher's '*teaching well.*'

Questions 23 – 25 seek information on the follow up activities of each text. While answering to the Question No 23 about the activities, 82 participants told that they completed all parts of the exercises (figure 6). A high ratio of positive response to this question is most probably due to the fact that examination paper is based on these activities. Question 24 gives a four scale option on how far these activities were helpful to understand the texts. For readers' convenience, the participants' responses have been shown in two options (Helpful/Not Helpful) in figure 6. Despite the fact that these activities form an essential part of final examination and consume a significant amount of time to be attempted, almost 50 percent participants in Question 24 did not find them beneficial. Such a high negative response to question 24 raises issues about the treatment of these activities in classroom.

Despite the students pointed out in the questionnaire that the follow up activities were compulsory; despite a large number of students' (66/93) having shown satisfaction with the teaching strategies, and even a higher ratio for the accomplishment of the activities from examination view point, responses to Question 25 show that 79 participants either copied the answers from the guidebooks or learnt from the written notes provided by the teacher (Figure 6). Only 11 out of 93 participants could claim to have attempted themselves the answers to these activities.

5. DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

5.1. Conceptual and cultural awareness of the texts

The comprehension of the texts, the participants demonstrated a tendency to group the texts into two categories: the texts with simple language, contemporary issues related to the participants' immediate life and also containing some kind of moral lessons were considered as interesting and easily

comprehensible texts. In this regard, the students did not indicate a clear preference for the texts in local or foreign contexts. As mentioned in section 2 above, Canagrajah (2004) maintains that learners should be viewed as social being rather than as a bundle of psychological reflexes exposed to grammar. In line with him, the data analysis seems to establish the fact that the texts relevant to the practical issues of the participants' lives are easier for them to comprehend. This view seems logical because these texts appear to have enabled the participants develop a contextual relation with the texts. This point is supported by the fact that they also demonstrated better comprehension of such texts.

The second category is comprised of the texts carrying situation and contexts which did not closely relate to the social experience of the participants. It is interesting to note that this category includes three texts (*The Gulistaan of Sa'di*, *God be Praised*, *Overcoat*) from local context. Apparently, these texts, despite sharing the same social context as that of the participants, could not engage the participants' interest. Examining the participants' responses in open ended questions, it is clearly reflected that a majority of the participants was unable to demonstrate a good level of comprehension of last two texts in particular.

With reference to the objectives of the NCEP, as mentioned above in section 1.4, the objective 2 is important for the citizens of an ideological state like Pakistan. But the textbook contains only two texts (*God be Praised* and *Overcoat*) depicting Pakistani values. Furthermore, the participants could not demonstrate accurate comprehension of these texts local texts. These texts could have generated a number of potential issues for discussion such as poverty, social inequality, marriage etc which are closely related to the issues in the contemporary society of Pakistan. But the material developers did not aim to achieve such objectives. The textbook does not seem to initiate any critical discussion on the social issues reflected in the stories written by two top most Urdu story writers. As compared to foreign texts where almost 90 percent of teacher community is as unfamiliar with the western culture as learners would be, teachers had opportunities of discussing the social issues reflected in these Pakistani texts, which is not reflected in the participants' responses.

Regarding the objectives 4 & 5 of the NCEP, the participants have shown misunderstanding of family values and shared responsibilities which might be viewed the other way round in the particular context of respective texts. For example, they view Norma's (*Button Button* – foreign context) being vocal negatively and took her efforts of convincing and contradicting with her husband for lack of understanding and love between the two. On the other hand, they seem to appreciate the quiet and static role Zaibun Nisa and her daughters (*God be Praised*- local context). Without arguing for either of these viewpoints, looking at the contemporary Pakistani society and its close interaction with the rest of the world, I tend to say that such a static role of women, as portrayed in *God be Praised*, in society might be debatable for a majority of contemporary Pakistani society – an issue which was never touched by the participants of this study, certainly due the fact that they were never given an opportunity to critically analyse things. Being a debateable issue, this could be taken as an opportunity to discuss on these issues and help learners to develop and express their individual opinion. It would be beneficial not only in term of academic learning but it would also contribute to establishing more acceptable and justifiable social norms in real life. In another example, learners were unable to realise in their open ended responses how *Overcoat* suggests the society to take responsibility of deprived people and thus missed an opportunity to exploit this text more beneficially.

The data also reflects that learners had difficulties to identify with a large number of texts in terms of cultural accessibility and comprehension beyond the surface level. As it is believed that “people's thinking, their social actions and attitudes and even their very sense of self are shaped by discourses” (Morgan: 1997: 2), the discourses these participants are exposed to are not understood beyond the

superficial level. Moreover, these texts are likely to affect their ideologies and attitudes negatively if they shape any sense of self at all among them.

5.2. Pedagogical efficacy of the textbook

Comprehension check is one of the main components of the activities. Comprehension check of a text is not likely to be effective if it targets only the superficial understanding of facts, as happened in this case. Such a check does not encourage critical thinking nor does it show if new learning has taken place. A thorough examination of the comprehension exercises showed that these questions do not lead readers to the in-depth thematic level of the text. These activities also do not add to learners' awareness of cultural diversity which is one of the objectives of the NCEP. In these activities, such a chance has been missed by leaving teachers and learners to make assumptions about the societies depicted in these texts.

The comprehension questions in the textbook followed by each text are supposed to help learners understand the texts more vividly and more clearly. Such an activity could have been manipulated beneficially not only to enhance the learners' understanding of the text but also to expand their vision of life and humanity. However the questions in this section are confined only to check the superficial understanding of the texts and seem to repeat what learners have already read (with Urdu) translation in the class. For example:

1. What was the message Norma received on pushing the button?
2. Did Norma remain normal on hearing the news of the accident of her husband? (Button Button).
3. What had the doctors told the old man?
4. What were the names of the vegetables the old man grew on his farm? (Clearing the Sky).
5. What climate did the face?
6. What did they want to grow?
7. What was the advice Harry gave to the people?
8. How dangerous can a Martian virus be? (Dark they were and Golden-Eyed)
9. What was the time the boy tried to snatch the purse of the woman?
10. How did the boy look physically? (Thank you Ma'am)
11. What was the subject discussed at the Club?
12. How did Gorgios persuade his people to make his country strong?
13. What were the feelings of Gorgios on the occasion? (The Reward).
14. Did the girl change her expression when the doctor said, "Does your throat hurt you?"
15. Did the sick girl promptly respond to the instruction of the doctor? (The Use of Force).
16. What is a clump of trees?
17. What was stuck in the camel's throat?

18. What was the result of the cure? (The Foolish Quack).
19. Why did the farmers throw wet leaves on fire?
20. What was the desire of every farmer?
21. How did old Stephen treat the stray locust which he found on his shirt?
(A Mild Attack of Locusts).

The above examples and yet more in the follow up exercises show that most of the questions are concerned with “what”. If there are few questions focusing on “how” and “why”, they focus on the superficial aspects of the texts. They do not encourage learners to think critically and develop their own vision of the text which is one of the major goals of the national curriculum (pp. 3, 121, 122, 151, 155, 158).

Similarly no efforts have been made in term of making text culturally more accessible and explanatory for learners which may lead to concluding inappropriate notions about different values. For example in *Button Button* and *Dark they were and Golden-eyed* two female characters are equally strong as male characters. It might be quite normal and acceptable in western culture. However, such a tendency might not be appreciated among females in Pakistani society. A good example can be observed in *God be Praised*, where wife and the daughter never argue on any issue with the main male character. In the background of such local cultural knowledge, absence of information of acceptable behaviour/s in western society might lead learners misperceive those female characters in the western texts having negative traits.

All the texts are followed by multiple choice questions which check only specific information. It may help to ensure that learners have read the text carefully but it does not enhance their understanding of the text and hence that of life which is one major purpose of including literature in curriculum. Followed by the comprehension questions, is the section which in most cases ask learners to write detailed answers in about 50 – 100 words about the various aspects of the text. The questions are such as:

1. How did the farmers try to prevent the main swarm of locusts from landing on their farms?
2. What are the measures the farmers should have taken to save their crops?
(A Mild Attack of Locusts)
3. Write ten lines on racial discrimination. (*I have a Dream*)
4. How did Magi want to celebrate their Christmas?
5. What is the moral of the story? (*The Gift of the Magi*)

The question 2 above might be irrelevant for learners, a good number of whom would have never come across such a situation. Likewise, regarding question 3, after reading a short piece of speech on it, learners should not be expected to write on an issue which almost all of them never came across in their lives. Regarding Q 4 the story does not give much information on celebrating Christmas except buying a Christmas gift only. On the basis of this text (*The Gift of the Magi*) it is unrealistic to ask learners to write in about 100 words on an event which they have never seen in real life. Sometimes in the section of detailed answers, questions have been put which might be answered in a single sentence and there is not much scope or utility of writing in details. For example:

1. How did the camel-men cure their camel?
2. How did the quack try to cure the old woman?

3. How did the camel-man prove the stupidity of the quack?

It is hard to rationalise putting these questions in this section rather than including in the section of brief question answers. Moreover, all these answers do not invite the individual response of learners, rather asking them to provide uniform answers from the text.

The text *God be Praised* does not ask for detailed answers to comprehension questions but just brief questions checking learners' reading comprehension skills. The text *Overcoat* does have a section of detailed answers where answers should not be less than 100 words with questions such as:

1. Give the list of articles, which were found from the coat of the young man.
2. What is the moral of the story?
3. Write a gist of the story in ten lines.
4. What is the theme of the story?

Question 1 seems to be illogical as learners cannot write a list of few things in about 100 words. Rest of the three questions are more or less the same by nature and the learners are most likely to answer these question taking help from the theme given by the editors at the end of the text.

On the whole it can be inferred that the activities followed by each texts could be manipulated beneficially to expand the understanding of learners regarding their vision of the world and humanity. It could be used to introduce foreign culture usefully and make it easier for learners to understand foreign literature with more ease.

Most of the texts have been originally produced in the mid/late 20th century and because of no reference to the time-frame of the texts, learners might take these situations for contemporary. Despite a number of participants indicated that teachers referred to the time frame of the texts, keeping in view the examination pattern, where such information is never required, a general and sweeping reference to the context of a text is unlikely to be productive.

There are two stories (*God be Praised & Overcoat*) in the textbook which are translations of Urdu stories and written purely in Pakistani cultural context. These texts could have generated a number of potential issues for discussion such as poverty, social inequality, girls' marriages etc. But the texts and follow up activities do not seem to aim for such objectives. As mentioned in the literature review that curricula should enable students to make decisions about how learners' own society is historically and socially constructed, and also how existing social practices of their own set up are implicated in relation to inequalities, racism, sexism and other forms of oppression. The current pedagogical model of the textbook deprives learners of such an opportunity. It does not encourage critical thinking on the social issues, and the participants do not seem to be engaged with these texts efficiently. Regarding the foreign texts, dominant majority of teachers is not familiar with the foreign (in this case mainly American and European) culture, and they are as naive in this regard as learners could be. As mentioned earlier, if the cultural content of the textbook is mostly foreign, it psychologically creates a gap between learners' schematic knowledge and the new information. This gap may also develop an unconscious power relation between learners and the text in certain cases, especially in societies with colonial memories, if it does not focus on what Morgan (1997) calls building bridges of learning between the learners' understanding and ours. These gaps can be filled if the texts avail the opportunities to exploit the social issues discussed in the texts in relation to the real life experience of learners. However, structure of comprehension exercises for the texts deprives teachers as well as learners of such opportunities.

From pedagogic viewpoint, the treatment of the textbook appears unable to equip learners with the level of competence it is supposed to do. A vast majority of the participants informed that they were not able to write about the texts they are being taught. They also informed that their best strategy to cope with the writing tasks in the examination was cramming from various key books available in the market. Literature might be used as a rich form of discourse because it reflects all dimensions of life and at the same time it has the potential to address readers' intellect and influence their approach towards life as well as their behaviours in society. It is unfortunate that despite having opportunity of reading the selected literature of the world, its readers remain deprived of its essence.

6. CONCLUSION

The above discussion signifies that the fault lies not only partly with the teaching methodology at bottom but it also lies in the current philosophy of education which does not allow learners to become critical and independent learners. It does not even allow them to visualise and comment a text beyond the limits set by the policy makers and/or curriculum developers. It also does not make them proficient in English language as targeted by the NCEP. Currently the learners' concern seems to be only with the themes and the topics of the texts to complete the follow up exercises for success in the examination. The analysis of the participants' responses seems to suggest that teachers are neither aware of the potential nor of a more useful approach to treat the textbook effectively. Consequently, the participants of this study demonstrated misconceptions, incomplete information and pre-determined conclusions which may result in misrepresented ideologies leading to what Morgan (1997) calls "false or naive consciousness". Morgan believes that when students are in the state of false consciousness, teachers, through their strategies, may bring their students to the point where the students can "name their world" according to their experience of it, and not according to the ideologies, institutions and discourses that declare it to be otherwise.

A traditional teacher-centred paradigm and pedagogy evolved around such methodology does not show much sensitivity to learners' individuality, their personal experiences as well as cultural background. On the contrary, critical approaches to second language learning view language as a practice that constructs, and is constructed by the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for future. Norton & Toohey (2004) refer that approaches to ESL investigate "the ways that social relationships are lived out in language and how issues of power are centrally important in developing critical language education pedagogies" which, they believe, can be investigated through critical approaches to ESL (p. 1). From the viewpoint of critical pedagogy, teaching methodologies, texts and activities should not offer a cultural clash with the learners' existing social knowledge of their own worlds. Curricula should enable students to make decisions about how learners' own society is historically and socially constructed and also how existing social practices of their own set up are implicated in relation to inequalities, racism, sexism and other forms of oppression. Critical pedagogy also believes that learners bring social experience into the classroom and the learning process should consider the learners' schematic knowledge.

In this perspective, if the traditional pedagogical and academic systems do not allow learners to be critic of what they are learning, and if it does not empower them with the ability to decode the learning process according to their own level of perception as well as understanding, critical pedagogy is potentially an effective instrument to empower learners by enabling them to become not only a critique of their own learning but also an agent of change for a better society.

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Appendix 1

Dear Participant,

As a part of my doctoral research at University of Warwick, UK, I am analysing the stories of English Book I for Intermediate classes. I am interested in examining how far these texts are useful and effective in Pakistani English language classrooms. I understand that you have recently completed this book. Would you please recall the stories you read in this textbook and answer the following questions? If you need to have a look at the book to refresh your memory, please ask for a copy.

I would appreciate it if you could answer as accurately as possible. Please feel free to answer in Urdu, if you think you can express your views more effectively in this language. If you are not clear about any question, please do not hesitate to ask for clarification.

Your responses will not be shared with anyone except the people involved in research. Wherever your responses are reported in the research study or future publications, they will be referred to anonymously. The information you provide will not be shared with any of your teachers at any stage.

PERSONAL DETAILS:

Your personal contact details will only be used if we need to contact you again for a follow up meeting.

Name: _____ **Gender:** Male/Female **Age:** _____

College: _____ **City:** _____

Year of study: _____ **Section:** _____

Email: _____

Phone: _____

PART I

Encircle the appropriate answer/s.

1. Did you read all the stories in the textbook? Yes No
2. If no, which stories you have not read?
3. From all the stories you read, which story/stories did you find most interesting?
4. Why did you find them interesting?
5. From all the stories you read, which story/stories did you find least interesting?
6. Why did you find them uninteresting?
7. Is/Are there any story/stories you found particularly difficult to understand? Yes No
8. If yes, which one/s?

9. In any of these stories, did you notice any situation/incident which was very different from your experience/knowledge? Yes No
10. If yes, what was that and in which story, if you can remember?
11. Do you like any character/s from these stories? If yes, which ones? Yes No
12. If yes, why do you like these characters?
13. Do you dislike any character/s from these stories? If yes, which ones? Yes No
14. If yes, why do you dislike these characters?
15. Which stories do you think reflect religion in any sense?
16. How is God represented in these stories?
17. Which stories are about people with a rich background? Which are about people with a poor background?
- | Stories about rich people | Stories about poor people |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
18. Can you name the characters in this book who you think are strong or weak in any sense?
- | Strong Characters | Weak Characters |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
|--------------------------|------------------------|
19. Which stories do you think have an urban setting? Which have a rural setting?
- | Urban Setting (City) | Rural Setting (Village) |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
- PART II**
20. Would you briefly describe how these stories were taught in the classroom?
21. Did the teacher discuss about the period in which story was written? Yes No
22. Did the teacher explain various situation if they appeared new to you? Yes No
23. Did you do all parts of the exercises for each story? Yes No
24. How far did the questions at the end of each story help you understand the topic of each story?
- Very much
 - To a large extent
 - To some extent
 - Not at all
25. How did you find the answer to the questions in each story?
- Wrote the answers yourself
 - Teacher dictated the answers.
 - Copied from some guide book
26. Did you read the “Theme” in the class at the end of each story? Yes No
27. Did you learn anything new from the stories? If yes, what?
28. Do you feel positive or negative about this new learning?

Thank you!

ITALIAN EPISCOPAL INSIGNIAS IN POLAND

Katarzyna Bogacka

Department of Humanities, Warsaw University of Life Sciences

ul. Nowoursynowska 166 02-787 Warsaw, Poland

Abstract

Insignias that were made in Italy and brought to Poland were obtained under various circumstances. These were usually brought to Poland by bishops who then made use of them, or they were given as gifts. The aim of the paper is to trace back some mediaeval and early modern insignias history and explain the underlying motives for importing them. The oldest symbol of episcopal office connected with Italy is the so-called mitre of St. Stanisław, a relic per contactum and a national symbol. The pallium of Jakub Świnka was a gift from the Pope. In the late middle ages the insignias imported from Italy were very rare, despite of a fashion on Italian handicraft. Dominant role of this fashion in Jagiellonian times caused that the number of Italian insignias in Poland increased.

Key words: insignias, ring, crosier, mitre, bishop

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout Poland's history, the people most likely to visit Italy were dignitaries of the Catholic Church, that is bishops, archbishops and cardinals, headed by the Primate. Episcopal insignias, in the form of crosiers and rings, pectoral crosses, mitres and, sometimes, full sets of liturgical vestments, were frequently brought back as a souvenir of these contacts. These objects also occupy a prominent position among the examples of sacred craftsmanship that can be found in Poland.

Strictly speaking, the term insignias denotes the ring and the crosier – the earliest recognized signs of episcopal authority which, from the ninth century onwards, were given to a bishop during the investiture ceremony. In the broader meaning, insignias also denoted other symbols of such authority: the pectoral cross, mitre⁸⁰ and zucchetto,⁸¹ as well as, among others, the pallium and the rationale (an episcopal humeral and counterpart of the pallium)⁸² reserved for metropolitan archbishops, known collectively as pontificals.⁸³ Due to their relevance to the subject matter under discussion, the first four articles have been taken into account in this article.

⁸⁰ The mitre has been treated as a liturgical vestment since the pontificate of Pope Leo IX (reg. 1049-54).

⁸¹ Bishops are distinguished by a purple zucchetto, cardinals wear red and the Pope white.

⁸² The pallium is a symbol of power unique to a metropolitan bishop. The rationale is only worn by the metropolitan bishops of Eichstätt, Kraków, Nancy-Toulouse and Paderborn.

⁸³ Pontificals (*ornamenta pontificalia*) include, first and foremost: the mitre, liturgical stockings (buskins), episcopal gloves, episcopal sandals, the *cingulum*, tunicle, dalmatic, episcopal ring, pectoral cross, bugia, lavabo and paten. An archbishop's accessories include, apart from those used by bishops, the pallium and rationale. Zieliński 1960, p. 239.

The oldest preserved insignias in Poland date back to the eleventh century, thus the period immediately following Poland's Baptism (*Chrzest Polski*) in 966, and the creation of the first Polish metropolitan see in Gniezno (in 999). From that time on, symbols of episcopal authority were made both in Poland and imported from abroad, although it was usually only the most important figures in the Polish church, such as the metropolitan archbishops of Gniezno or the Bishops of Kraków who were able to take advantage of this latter possibility.⁸⁴ This is indicated by the information concerning insignias that can be found in written sources as well as by the preserved objects themselves. The fact that fewer examples of the historical as well as contemporary regalia belonging to Polish bishops has survived than in other western European countries is due to socio-political factors.

Insignias that were made in Italy and brought to Poland were obtained under various circumstances. These were usually brought to Poland by bishops who then made use of them, or they were given as gifts; in modern and contemporary times, they were also given as souvenirs of *ad limina apostolorum* visits. In many instances, however, both with respect to mediaeval as well as modern regalia and accessories, it is no longer possible to trace back their history, and can the underlying motives for importing them be explained.

1. IMPORT OF ITALIAN INSIGNIAS IN MIDDLE AGES

The phenomenon which consisted of importing symbols of church power from Western Europe to Poland started very early on, in the eleventh century, and concerned both episcopal as well as abbatial insignias. The earliest surviving import is the upper part of a crosier found in the grave of Anchoras, the abbot of the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec. The crosier was made in the middle of the eleventh century, probably in Lower Lorraine or the Rhineland (Bogacka K. (2004), pp. 62-6, cat. no. 1, fig. 17). A similar, tentative attribution was also proposed for the oldest episcopal ring in Poland. It is not much older than Anchoras's crosier, and belonged to Maurus, the Bishop of Kraków (†1118), who came from either Italy or France. It was found in the grave of Bishop Maurus in the Wawel Cathedral *Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa jubileuszowa* (2000), vol. I, p. 212, cat. I/186, ed. Marek Walczak; Bogacka K. (2008), pp. 81-8).

According to current knowledge, the oldest symbol of episcopal office connected with Italy is the so-called mitre of St. Stanisław which has been housed in the treasury of the Wawel Cathedral since the thirteenth century. It was made for the canonization ceremony of Stanisław of Szczepanów, which took place on the anniversary of the birth of the Holy Virgin, on 8 September 1253, in Assisi. The mitre was subsequently displayed during the solemn elevation of the relics and the announcement of his canonization on 8 May 1254 in Kraków.

Michał Rożek established that the silk cloth of the mitre was woven in an Italian workshop (although he did not establish its firm provenance), whereas the mitre itself was made locally, in Kraków. This attribution is justified by the thirteenth-century contacts between Poland and Italy, which were revived during the preparations for Stanisław's canonization, and which are known from Jan Długosz's accounts (Białoskórska K. (1963), pp. 249-57; Rożek M. (1972), pp. 38, 42-4). The direct impetus for reviving these contacts was provided by the canonization of Thomas Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1173,

⁸⁴ The highest ranks in the Polish Catholic Church were held by bishops who were the heads of the five oldest episcopal sees, (usually) the best equipped and the positions were (always) held by members of the *szlachta* [i.e. members of the Polish gentry/nobility]: Poznań (968), Gniezno (999), Kraków (1000), Płock (ca. 1075) and Włocławek (1123); see: Koczarska 2005, pp. 109-10.

three years after his murder by King Henry II. Beckett suffered a martyr's death similar to that of the Bishop of Kraków. The endeavours to bring about Stanisław's canonization came to fruition thanks to the efforts of the Blessed Jan Prandota of Białaczów (ca. 1200-66) and, from 1242, Bishop of Kraków. In 1250 he sent the Canons Jakub and Gerard to Pope Innocent IV requesting the opening of his cause for canonization. The Pope was distrustful and set up a commission to examine the documentation. The commission included Fulko (Pelka), the Metropolitan Archbishop of Gniezno, Tomasz, the Bishop of Wrocław and Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery in Lubiąż, and their work was overseen by Jacobus de Velletri, an Italian Franciscan friar. The commission's first report, delivered to the Pope while he was in France, was rejected, and it was the second report that was delivered to the Pope while in Perugia which finally received his endorsement.



Figure 1. The so-called mitre of St. Stanisław, Italy or Poland, ca. 1253, setting: Kraków, 1881; Kraków, Wawel Cathedral, Treasury; Photo Dariusz Kołakowski

In Perugia, Cardinal Reginald was against Stanisław's canonization, but changed his mind when St. Stanisław purportedly appeared to him in a vision when he was very ill and healed him (Kmietowicz F. (1994), pp. 92-3)⁸⁵. The answers to the questions concerning the provenance of the Saint's mitre - an

⁸⁵ Franciszek Kmietowicz has quoted, after Długosz, the story of this late canonization to support the hypothesis that Stanisław of Szczepanów was a bishop of the Cyrillo-Methodian Byzantine rite and not the Latin rite. Therefore he was not listed in the Vatican's records, "because the founder of the Methodian rite was subordinated to the Pope only". The Pope's caution during the canonization process was therefore only due to a lack of sufficient information about the candidate and the fear that Stanisław may not be faithful to the Church of Rome. Kmietowicz believes that Stanisław act of betrayal, for which he was punished, and which according to Gall Anonim did not only concern

important attribute during the solemn consecration ceremony - lie somewhere within the context of these events. Which thirteenth-century centre specializing in the manufacture of silk – Lucca, Genoa or Venice – did the material come from? Given the exceptional nature of the commission, it can be assumed that prestige also played an important part in the choice of centre⁸⁶.

From that moment on, until contemporary times, the mitre has had the status of a relic per contactum and it also constituted the earliest material proof of the veneration of the saint. In 1963, Pope John XXIII declared St. Stanisław the patron of Poland, and as a consequence, his mitre was raised to the rank of a national symbol.

When he writes about Jakub Świnka's ordination as bishop, the Reverend Władysław Karasiewicz testifies to the fact that Poles who were installed as Bishops received symbols of their authority from the Pope. According to Jan Długosz, Jakub studied in Rome and befriended Pope Martin IV, and while there, was nominated Archbishop of Gniezno in 1283. Although he had only recently been appointed deacon, he was not ordained a priest or anointed Bishop while he was in Rome, so as not to prolong his absence outside Poland because the diocese, which had fallen into neglect after an extended vacancy, was in dire need of a minister. The Pope requested that one of the suffragan bishops of Gniezno, chosen by an elder, ordain Świnka [after his return to Poland] and then anoint him bishop in the presence of two or three other bishops. "The pallium, however, which the elder usually received from the Pope after being anointed and swearing obedience, was taken by Filip, Jan and Rayner, canons of Gniezno, for Jakub after he had sworn obedience. One of the suffragan bishops, from Płock or Poznań, was to have handed it to the newly-anointed bishop in accordance with Church regulations" . This insignia has not been preserved.

The import of insignias from Italy was also dictated by fashion. In Europe crosiers made of ivory were very popular in the second half of the thirteenth, and particularly in the fourteenth century. At that time, this type of pastoral staff was produced in northern Italy. One such crosier (of which there are about twenty known examples) dating from the second half of the thirteenth century made in a northern Italian workshop, under Sicilian and Arabian influence, was housed in the treasury of the Cathedral in Kamień Pomorski until the end of World War II.

According to Walter Borchers, this is probably the crosier listed in the Municipal Archives of Szczecin dating from 14 July 1476 (Borchers W. (1933), p. 35). Even if the insignia was in Kamień Pomorski at that time, who its original owner was is still debatable. The earliest is could have been brought to Poland was in 1296-1301 by Piotr, a Dominican, who was then Bishop of Kamień. In 1282-4 he was tutor to Philip, bishop of Fermo, a papal legate of Martin IV, and from 1292 the penitentiary of Boniface VIII (Bogacka K. (2004), pp. 155-61, cat. no. 16, fig. 56, 57). Some historians believe that the appointment of Piotr as Bishop of Kamień was possible thanks to the support of Przemysław II, who was grateful to the Dominican for effective endeavours to obtain the crown of Poland for him (Karasiewicz W. (1948), p. 336; Ożóg K. (1999), p. 159; Zientara B. (1995), p. 371). Piotr could have come into possession of the crosier while at the court in Rome, during the reign of the previous pope, before he was interned in Avignon. Until 1386, the diocese of Kamień Pomorski belonged to the Gniezno metropolitan see and thereafter was subordinated directly to Rome.

the King but also the Pope, concerned the threat that the Cyrillo-Methodian rite might break away from Rome, op. cit., pp 94-9.

⁸⁶ Michał Rożek was the first to draw attention to the similarity between the embroidery on the mitre and columns of the chasuble from Henryków in the Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław, funded by Agafia of Rus the spouse of Duke Konrad I of Masovia, for St. Hedwig of Silesia (Polish: St. Jadwiga Śląska); Rożek M. (1972), p. 42.

At the turn of the fifteenth century the insignia, which had become worn with the passing of time, was altered (perhaps on the commission of one of the later bishops of Pomerania). During conservation work undertaken in 1940, rock crystals were inserted in the (probably) missing places in the decoration of the volutes. The renovation was carried out to maintain the splendour of the insignia, and testify to its significance. (Perhaps the fact that it was looted during the Second World War and has still not been found also testifies to its importance.)

Research into the episcopacy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that Polish bishops at that time travelled far less extensively than Western European bishops, and that their careers were restricted to Poland itself or to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; foreigners were rarely entrusted to manage Polish dioceses (Koczarska M. (2004), pp. 111, 115) . The uniqueness of the insignia in Kamień Pomorski is all the more astonishing due to the fact that it did not end up in a diocese that was more highly ranked within the Polish episcopal hierarchy (See: op. cit., pp. 109-10).

3. IMPACT OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The Italian origins of the fifteenth-century mitre belonging to Tomasz Strzemiński (1398-1460), from 1456 Bishop of Kraków, is, however, highly likely, although there are two alternative hypotheses concerning the provenance of his mitra pretiosa (jewelled mitre), housed in the treasury of Wawel Cathedral. It was supposedly made in Kraków or Italy in 1456-60. Then, between 1524 and 1535, on the commission of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, it was submitted for restoration work in Kraków. The first hypothesis, suggested by Adam Bochnak, was based on information dating from 1563 in the Kraków Cathedral inventory concerning this fact; it is assumed that the mitre's appearance underwent a fundamental change, and in its present state it is considered the "work" of Stanisław Samostrzelnik (Bochnak A. (1966), pp. 93-4; Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa jubileuszowa (2000), vol. I, pp. 215-6, cat. I/189, ed. Marek Walczak, vol. III, Fig. 253). Before undergoing restoration work, the mitre was considered to be a Gothic-cum-Renaissance piece made in Italy (Bochnak A., Pagaczewski J. (1959), pp. 11-12). This view can be justified; the resewing of the pearls on the 'new' mitre was probably related to the change made to its shape to correspond to sixteenth-century standards and, probably, to add the Łódzia coat of arms of Piotr Tomicki to the infulae. The Prus coat of arms belonging to Tomasz Strzemiński which was sewn with pearls is still visible on the infulae.

No clear information relating to the provenance of this insignia can be found in Strzemiński's life history. When already a professor and Vice-Chancellor of the Kraków Academy, he represented the Archbishop of Gniezno, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, at the Council of Basel (later the Council of Florence) in 1433. He only went to Italy twice – in 1436 when he visited Rome as the representative of Eugene IV concerning the confirmation of Wincenty Kot as Archbishop of Gniezno and in the following year, when he visited Bologna, and spoke to the Pope on behalf of the Polish legation (Ozorowski E. (1983), pp. 221-3; Korczak L. (2007), pp. 80-4).

If the mitre was made in Italy, it is then readily understandable why Bishop Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535) took such great care of it. Tomicki was one of the main representatives of the Polish Renaissance. He studied in Kraków and Lipsk, and in 1493-1500 he studied law at the University of Bologna, where he received a Doctorate; he then practised in the curia in Rome. His education (he spent almost ten years in Italy) and his later contacts with Bishop Jan Lubrański (his predecessor to the Bishopric of Poznań) and Erasmus of Rotterdam helped shape his ideological stance as well as develop his artistic one (Nitecki P. (2000), pp. 451-2).

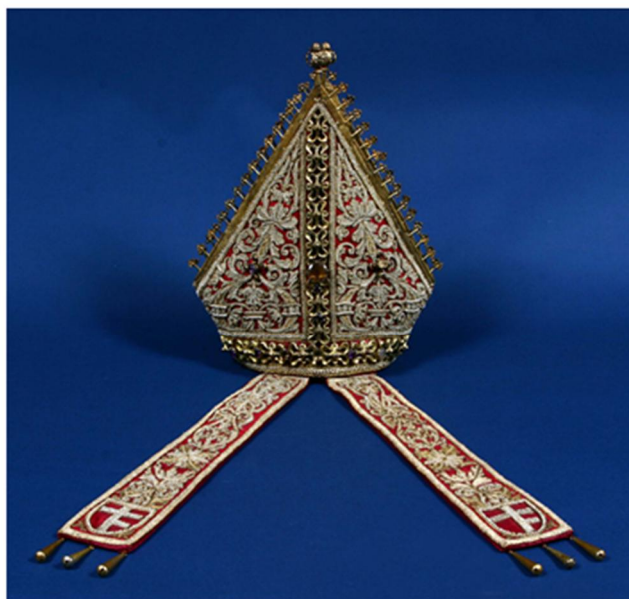


Fig. 2. Mitre belonging to Bishop Tomasz Strzemiński; Italy or Kraków 1456–60 (renovation: Kraków 1524–35); Kraków, Wawel Cathedral Treasury; Photo Dariusz Kołakowski

Tomicki liked Italian cloth, a fact documented by Agnieszka Bender in her research. When Bishop of Kraków (1523-35), he was already ordering Italian cloth for his coat of arms: velvet brocade with thistle motifs and the Łódzia coats of arms, and a bishop's mitre, probably for making liturgical vestments as well as "ciemnoczerwony adamaszek, ze złotymi rozszowanymi motywami gęstej sieci, w której okach przemiennie umieszczone zostały renesansowe wazony z kwiatami i herby (...)" [dark red damask with a tight network of gold brocaded motifs decorated with Renaissance vases containing alternately flowers and emblems (...)]. This particular material was used for sewing a cope and, according to Agnieszka Bender, other vestments were probably sewn from it too. The author based her assumption on information found in the Bishop's will which was discovered by Tadeusz Mańkowski. In his will Tomicki bequeathed to Kraków Cathedral "36 i pół łokcia karmazynowego, przerabianego złotem atlasu z herbowymi łodziami i infułami nad nimi (*cum naviculis infulatis*)" [36 and one half ells of crimson satin interwoven with gold thread with a pattern formed of the Łódzia coat of arms and mitres above the arms] from which the Bishop commissioned the making of liturgical vestments (Mańkowski T. (1954), pp. 12-3; Bender A. (2011)). Both the cope, and a small fragment, made of brocade, sewn into the velum are housed in the treasury of Kraków Cathedral (Bender A. (2011)).

In sixteenth-century Poland, together with the unfolding of the Renaissance, Italian art began to be held in high esteem. Italian cloth was greatly valued both during the Renaissance and the Baroque period. The cloth was not only used to make mitres, but also full sets of episcopal vestments, especially for the highest ranking dignitaries – namely the archbishops of Gniezno. When circumstances permitted, the vestments were sewn in Italy, and, like Tomicki, some people also imported both cheaper and more expensive cloth to Poland where the actual liturgical vestments were made locally. Cloth, and in particular material decorated with coats of arms, was commissioned privately by both clerical and other dignitaries. The cloth was used frugally, and after damaged and/or used vestments, including secular

robes, had been unpicked, they were re sewn. (It should be remembered that Poland in the second half of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century was ravaged by wars and that Church property became seriously depleted as a result.)

There are very few Italian liturgical vestments remaining in Poland that date from those times, although source materials, such as Jan Łaski's will (1456-1531), do help supplement our knowledge about them. The will informs us that the Primate made a very generous bequest to the metropolitan church in his native Łask, leaving, amongst others, his episcopal regalia ("gold pectoral cross with chain", "expensive ring" and separately "a large gold ring with a rich sapphire" and a crosier), as well as "silk and satin cloth, a significant number of robes" and – of particular value, because it is described in more detail – "a full set of white robes brought from Rome" (Korytkowski J. (1888), vol. II, p. 732). He thus described a full set of episcopal vestments, in this case in liturgical white, as used in most church ceremonies.⁸⁷ By analogy to the surviving robes, it can be assumed that the set of vestments included a chasuble, cope, dalmatic, mitre, stole, maniple and perhaps also episcopal gloves, sandals and episcopal stockings (buskins), and altar vestments: the velum and bursa. The set of white vestments belonging to Jan Łaski (similarly to the other valuables detailed in the will) have not survived.

The iconography pertaining to sixteenth century liturgical vestments also confirms that like the chasuble, episcopal head-coverings could be made from Italian cloth (Venetian?). The triptych in Skotniki (1540) shows St. Wojciech and St. Stanisław wearing such mitres (1540)⁸⁸. They differ due to the pattern used in the material with asymmetrically placed, stylized plant motifs; the pattern repeats on the cloth are considerably larger than the surface of one half of the mitre⁸⁹.

Italian influence was visible in many areas of craftsmanship; it was the objects made by goldsmiths which were the most splendid of all. The desire to own jewels (and in the case of clergymen - rings and pectoral crosses) was influenced by the legendary valuables belonging to the last of the Jagiellons, in particular Queen Bona Sforza and, in the second half of the century, by Zygmunt II August's collection, which was on a par with the most famous European collections (See: Letkiewicz E. (2011)). As can be seen in the few surviving artefacts, the sixteenth century insignias imported from Italy were also influenced by this trend. Insignias and accessories were imported more frequently than in the Middle Ages due to the revival of contacts with Italy. In the sixteenth century many members of the *szlachta* – including future bishops, such as Samuel Maciejowski (1499-1550) – studied at the University of Bologna and Padua.

Evidence of these contacts can be seen in the mediaeval *mitre pretiosa*, decorated with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Venetian jewels, which Bishop Samuel Maciejowski brought back from Italy. It has not been entirely preserved; only the jewels remain which, in the thirteenth century, decorated the mitre made for Krzysztof Jan Szembek, the Bishop of Chełm (1713-1719), now in the Archdiocesan Museum

⁸⁷ White vestments are used for feast days devoted to God and Jesus Christ (apart from the Passion), feast days connected with the Holy Virgin, angels, the faithful, the birth of John the Baptist, All Saints, during celebration of the sacraments, when blessing items, when administering the sacraments (apart from the sacrament of reconciliation and anointing of the sick); Forstner D. (1992), p. 115-6.

⁸⁸ *The Holy Virgin with St. Wojciech and St. Stanisław*, Skotniki, Parish Church; Gadomski J. (1995), Fig. 254.

⁸⁹ *Matka Boska ze św. Wojciechem i św. Stanisławem*, (The Holy Virgin with St. Wojciech and St. Stanisław) Skotniki, Parish Church; Gadomski J. (1995), Fig. 254. Re. The iconography of mitres, see: Bogacka K. (2009), pp. 441-58.

of Religious Art in Lublin. The original mitre, with its early-Gothic proportions, decorated using all the jewels, is known from Aftacy's reconstruction (Cf. Pikulski A. (2002), photo 32 on p. 102).



Fig. 3. The Lublin Mitre – plaques encrusted with precious stones, Venice, 14th c., present state (dating from 1713–17), back side; Lublin, Archdiocesan Museum of Religious Art; Photo Katarzyna Bogacka

A relatively large number of analogies for the Lublin jewels can be found in work by Italian goldsmiths dating from the fourteenth century, and in particular the Pala d'Oro retable, gilded and encrusted with precious stones, which was made in 1343–5 for St. Mark's Basilica in Venice. The jewels in the cross of the royal diadems in the Wawel also bear certain similarities (See: Pikulski A. (2002), p. 110).

The author of the monograph on the Lublin artefact, the Reverend Andrzej Pikulski, assumed that the mitre came from the treasury in St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, and that it is the same item that was recorded in the treasury's inventory of 1524; it is not listed in the inventory in the following year because it may have been given to Bishop Samuel Maciejowski (Pikulski A. (2002), pp. 107–8). Hypothetically, Maciejowski could have acquired the mitre in the twenty-five year period following the compilation of the inventory and preceding his death (1524-50). At that time Samuel Maciejowski had already completed his studies in Padua (1522-4), where he was sent by Piotr Tomicki, as well as studies in Bologna (1524-30). From 1518 he worked in the Royal Chancellery, in 1537 he was appointed Great Secretary for the Crown and became Deputy Chancellor in 1541. From 1539-41 he was the Bishop of Chełm; the crowning point of his career was his being anointed Bishop of Kraków in 1545. King Zygmunt August had great confidence in him. His secretary, Łukasz Górnicki, gave an excellent

rendition of his court at Prądnik Biały, steeped in the atmosphere of humanism, in his book *Dworzanie Polski* (Przybyszewski B. (1993))⁹⁰.

With reference to the Reverend Andrzej Pikulski's hypothesis, it should be underlined that the fact that the mitre with the valuable jewels from St. Mark's treasury came into the Polish bishop's possession, testifies to his being given special consideration. For more than five hundred years the mitre was considered magnificent in artistic terms because of the Venetian jewels, whereas the head-covering itself was remade between 1713 and 1717 for Bishop Krzysztof Jan Szembek. He added his coat of arms next to the Ciołek coat of arms, which were the arms of Samuel Maciejowski.



Fig. 4. Seal Ring of Maciej Drzewicki of the Ciołek coat of arms, 1st third of the 16th c.; Gniezno, Archdiocesan Museum of Gniezno; Photo Katarzyna Bogacka

Sixteenth century symbols of episcopal authority made in Italy, or under Italian influence, include two seal rings bearing the coats of arms of their owners who were Archbishops of Gniezno. The rings are on display at the Archdiocesan Museum in Gniezno. Strictly speaking they are not episcopal rings, which should consist of a circlet set with a stone without any bas relief. The rings belonged to Maciej Drzewicki (1467-1535), the Polish Primate, and Wojciech Baranowski (1548-1615), the Primate of Poland and Lithuania, and bear their coats of arms.

⁹⁰ In his Polish translation of Baldassare Castiglione's "Il Cortegiano" (English translation by Thomas Holby "The Book of the Courtier", 1561), Górnicki compared Bishop Samuel Maciejowski to Socrates, who surrounded himself with good and courageous people. They admired his honesty, temperance, kindness, holiness, and they used him as an example just like the ancient painter Zeuxis, who selected the best features from five women to create a composite image of ideal beauty. Górnicki then wrote that although this book was not the place in which to enumerate those who [thanks to their residing at the Bishop's court] later became dignitaries holding high offices, there were more "good, virtuous and admirable" people there than soldiers that came out of the Trojan horse. (Paraphrase of part of Book I, Górnicki 1954.)

Drzewicki's ring, bearing the Ciołek coat of arms and the monogram MD carved directly into the metal, dates to the first third (or even first quarter) of the sixteenth century, making it the oldest ring in Poland with the coat of arms of its owner. The shape of the ring was of the type popular in the sixteenth century. Its exact provenance has not been determined, although it is very similar to an Italian ring, also made in the sixteenth century, with a bird and the moon in the shield of the coat of arms and which bears the initials "RS"⁹¹.

Before he was appointed Metropolitan Bishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland in 1531 (at the behest of Queen Bona), Maciej Drzewicki (1467–1535) advanced in his secular career first as Secretary, then Deputy Chancellor (1501) and finally Grand Chancellor of the Crown (1510), and in his career in the Church as Bishop of Przemyśl (1504) and then Kujawy-Pomorskie (1513) (Pociecha W. (1946), pp. 409-12). Seals were probably needed to perform his various duties in all these offices, and since the seal bears no indication of which function (arch)bishop, the bearer was fulfilling, the ring could have been made in the first third of the century⁹².

As noted by the Reverend Edmund Palewodziński, "the Primate's (Maciej Drzewicki's) signet ring survived despite being ceremonially broken up in front of the altar as was the custom pertaining to seals on the death of an archbishop. The ceremonial breaking of Drzewicki's great seal took place in the cathedral on 30 September 1535"⁹³.

More than fifty years later Wojciech Baranowski's signet ring was a far more elaborate and refined type of ring with spiralling gold arabesques against a dark blue enamel background and an emerald with a carved intaglio. The surface of the stone bears a perfectly cut intaglio representing the shield with the Jastrzębiec coat of arms – a Greek cross within a horseshoe reversed under a Bishop's hat. Above and below, engraved in a mirror image are the letter pairs "A B" and "E P" – "Adalbertus Baranowski", "Episcopus Premislensis" or "Episcopus Plocensis".

The similarity of the signet rings belonging to the Mayor of Kraków and to King Stefan Batory, which were probably made in Kraków, as well as the accessibility to ornamental patterns would speak in favour of attributing Baranowski's ring to a Polish craftsman, but due to the skill with which it was made, it would seem justifiable to say that it was probably commissioned in Italy.

⁹¹ Seal ring with a bird and a crescent moon in the shield of the coat of arms and the initials "RS", Italy, 16th c., British Museum; see: Bogacka K. (2008), pp. 124-5.

⁹² Marek Adamczewski also lists: the signet ring with the Ciołek coat of arms, and the owner's initials M-D and the processional cross (Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, collection of plaster casts belonging to the Rev. Leon M. Formanowicz), seal with the Ciołek coat of arms, mitre and processional cross and angels with the inscription: "MATHIAS DREVI D G ARCHIEPISCOPVS GNESNENSIS" (impression on a document MA Łódź, Dokumenty pergaminowe [parchment documents], ref. 27 and cast in the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno) and a seal with numerous fields with the Ciołek coat of arms in fields 1 and 4, the coat of arms of the Chapter of Gniezno in fields 2 and 3 and figures of the bishop and two angels (Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, collection of plaster cast belonging to the Rev. L. M. Formanowicz); Adamczewski M. (2010), pp. 19-20.

⁹³ Palewodziński E. (1960) *Pierścień – sygnety prymasa Macieja Drzewickiego (1531-35)* [Primate Maciej Drzewicki's signet ring].



Fig. 5. Seal Ring of the Polish Primate, Wojciech Baranowski of the Jastrzębiec coat of arms, Italy or Poland, 1585-90; Gniezno, Archdiocesan Museum of Gniezno;
Photo Katarzyna Bogacka

4. SUMMARY

An analysis of the surviving materials, iconography and sources indicate that when episcopal insignias first appeared in Poland, in the period up to and including the sixteenth century importing this type of regalia from Italy was a phenomenon that emerged (above all) among dignitaries who held a high position within the church hierarchy, either because of their rank or through their own achievements. Importing objects made by goldsmiths from Italy, including insignias, was associated with personal contacts between bishops. ‘Secular’ contacts were made while studying at the Italian universities or during diplomatic missions. Until the Council of Trent (1545-63), however, episcopal contacts with Rome were infrequent. Bishops like Maciej Drzewicki who were anointed in Rome could have come into the possession of such insignias on these occasions, although there is no documentation to support this hypothesis. In 1568 the duty was imposed on Bishops to undertake *ad limina apostolorum* visits once every five years– (i.e. visits to the threshold (graves) of the apostles Peter and Paul), during which they had to report on the state of the diocese for which they were responsible. These more frequent contacts as well as visiting Rome created an opportunity for them to take note of new patterns and trends, also in the area of liturgical vestments and insignias. This did not, however, have a significant impact on the popularization of Italian insignias. On the contrary, in the declining years of the Renaissance era and the early Baroque period in Poland there was a noticeable boom in the use of native craftspeople, and also guilds, who levels of artistry were very varied. It was only in the 1730s that Italian insignias were imported into Poland more frequently, although they only reached the height of their popularity in the second half of the twentieth century.

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**SECONDARY LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG
RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

Natalia Kasatkina¹

Demidov Yaroslavl State University¹

Abstract

The resolution of the language question—whether to maintain the mother tongue, shift to the mainstream language, or try to maintain two or more languages in the family—creates significant psychological complications and linguistic reflections. Methods of sourcing these challenges vary, but the most effective data source to date is the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) data set. It helps to address the quantitative part of this research. Findings suggest that weak tendencies toward language revitalization could be explained by the influx of Russian speaking immigrants to the United States between 1990 and 2000, when opportunities for Russians/Russian speakers to communicate in their native language sharply increased. However, in the big picture, this occurrence did not reverse the continuing shift from Russian to English. Multivariate analysis suggests that the strongest effects are related to linguistic isolation and the number of generations living within the same household, both of which tend to be positively associated with multilingualism.

Key words: *language maintenance, immigrants, russian language, cross-generational problems*

1 INTRODUCTION

As a Russian national, I grew up in a world where no one talked about “immigration,” which was a taboo topic for a rather long period. Unwittingly, however, I was exposed to the lives of immigrants from the former Soviet Union by marrying one of them. Now, as the mother of two little children, I am also personally interested in the educational, cultural, and linguistic experiences of immigrant children and families living in the United States. My recent reflections about my role as a researcher have sharpened my perspective and raised my consciousness about issues of positionality. I belonged to one group (Russians living in Russia), and my mentality was shaped by a strong link between the place where I lived and my Russian identity. I was born in Yaroslavl (Russia) where I got my PhD in Pedagogy. As a Fulbrighter I went to study to the United States where I met my husband – an immigrant from the former Soviet Union. I spent seven years in the US where I got my Masters Degree and PhD. In addition to two dissertations I defended, I have two beautiful children who have been exposed to both Russian and English languages. As you could see, I was an “extreme outsider” to immigration issues, but my situation now as I write is more complex. I do not perceive myself as an “insider.” I remain a Fulbright scholar with a PhD from the University of Arizona, yet I also share an insider’s perspective because of my marriage.

In their daily lives, immigrants make hundreds of choices, many of which are vital to the quality of their experiences in new cultural and geographical locations. Language choice becomes one of the paramount areas of challenge. Very often parents decide what language(s) to use not only for themselves but also for their children. However, parental preference does not necessarily coincide with children’s literacy levels, particularly in the parents’ mother tongue. This disconnection occurs because in communities

that are characterized by multilingualism, immigrants are likely to use different languages in different domains (Fishman 1986 in Mesch, 2003), and each of these domains has its own policy, with some features managed internally and others influenced by forces external to the domain (Spolsky, 2009). Consequently language choice at the family level can be simultaneously regulated internally and influenced by external controls, creating a conflicted learning/acquisition environment.

Since many parents have come to the United States hoping to improve living conditions for their children, their decisions become of crucial importance in relation to how their children use language. The adults feel an enormous responsibility to provide their children with what they consider to be the best resources available in the country of settlement. Frequently, the decisions of the middle generation (middle, because they are located between their children and their own parents) impact the elder (grandparent) generation, who are more likely not to speak the language of their country of origin and consequently have less flexibility in finding jobs and participating in English-speaking life. One of the decisions the parents have to negotiate is whether to continue use of the mother tongue at home. This decision and its consequence involves all three generations. Spolsky (2009) says that "language policy is all about choices" (p.1). This statement refers to different levels, two of which are society and family. In this manner, the present study attempts an examination of external factors affecting the language-based choices made by families and individuals within these families in addition to the individual characteristics that interplay in these decision making processes.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Immigration is a world-wide phenomenon that produces complex interactions among individuals from all over the globe; these interactions include exchanges of ideas, values, and customs (Safdar, 2002). In fact, large scale immigration is one of the most important social developments of our time (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). The United States of America becomes the new home to an average of 800,000 immigrants each year (Dimitrov, 2004). Based on the U.S. Census Bureau estimates for 2006, every 31 seconds one person is being added to the U.S. population as a result of net international migration. According to Ginsburg (2002) in Lashenykh-Mumbauer (2005), in the first half of the previous decade, the Russian speaking population was one of the fastest growing minorities in the U.S. These numbers contrast greatly with those from 1990, in which the U.S. Census reported only 334,000 foreign-born residents from the former Soviet Union. Between 1995 and 2005, nearly 450,000 immigrants arrived in the U.S., according to the Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (SYINS) (Lashenykh-Mumbauer, 2005). In addition, an estimated 250,000 undocumented Russians flocked to the U.S. in the 1990s, resulting in a total population growth rate of almost 200% for the period (Lashenykh-Mumbauer, 2005). During 1993-2003, approximately 500,000 Russian speaking immigrants came from the former Soviet Union to the United States (Epshteyn, 2003).

The literature refers to immigrants from the former Soviet Union as "Russian" despite the fact that they are a heterogeneous and multilingual group of people. Thus, in addition to being misleading, this label causes a great deal of confusion among researchers. To avoid further complications, I shall examine how different researchers explain the phenomenon, using a wide variety of arguments. Malko (2005), in her study, explains that the word "Russian" refers to the immigrants of Russian ethnic background in addition to immigrants from other former Soviet republics where Russian was spoken, taught in schools, and used in home settings as a compulsory discipline. She assumes that those who went through the Soviet system of education had similar types of experiences, regardless of ethnic background. After their arrival to the United States, immigrants from the former Soviet Union preferred to call themselves Russian to reflect their linguistic and cultural reality and to simplify explanations to Americans

(Andrews, 1999 in Malko, 2005). Even if some immigrants were unsure as to how to identify themselves, their choice was guided by their proficiency in Russian over other languages spoken in the household (Malko, 2005). One example of this phenomenon is the Soviet-Jewish immigrant population within the U.S. They were classified as the fifth largest refugee group to enter the United States in the period 1981-1990 (Vimala, 1995). Many Jews recognize themselves as Russian because they have changed their nationality registration (the 5th line in the Soviet passport where the ethnicity of every individual was stated) in their internal passport because of fear of persecution and intermarriage. In fact, as of 2003, ninety percent of children of mixed marriages who were registered as Russian (Epshteyn, 2003) had started identifying themselves as Jews to simplify the emigration procedure. The preceding example emphasizes the need for current immigrants to the U.S. from the former Soviet Union to be viewed as a very diverse group of individuals and not as a monolithic cultural unit.

Historically, research done in the field of immigration has uncovered some of the reasons that motivated members of the Russian population to emigrate. According to Watson (2006), among these reasons are the following: (a) discriminatory state policies; (b) persecution under the Soviet government, and, as a result, the inability to obtain the status of a political refugee (Watson, 2006); (c) discrimination against ethnic groups after the Soviet Union collapsed (for example, all negative events in Russia were blamed on ethnic Armenians) and Russians in the republics of the former Soviet Union (for example, Latvia and Uzbekistan); (d) poor economic conditions; (e) medicalemergency situations; (f) recruitment policies of American companies, causing a brain-drain phenomenon; (g) Russian-American marriages; (h) military draft avoidance; and (i) better opportunities for their children when emigrants' futures looked bleak (Watson, 2006).

Lashenykh-Mumbauer (2005) posited that up until 1995, Russian immigrants came to the United States to flee religious persecution and to escape political chaos created by the fall of the Soviet Union, whereas in recent years, Russians have been entering the United States with work and student visas, some with the intention of earning money and returning home and others with the hope of obtaining residency status. Epshteyn (2003) lists the following reasons for the emigration of Russian Jews: (a) persecution, (b) victimization, (c) mockery under tsarism, (d) physical extermination of Jewish families during the Russian Civil War, (e) extermination of the Jewish intellectual elite under Stalin, (f) the Holocaust, (g) anti-Semitism in the postwar decades, and (h) the increase of anti-Semitism during the perestroika and Glasnost years. Lashenykh-Mumbauer (2005) distinguishes newly-arrived Russian immigrants from refugees and immigrants of the first, second, third, and fourth waves by several important characteristics: (a) the majority of recent immigrants have relocated to the U.S. single-handedly, without extended family members; (b) recent non-Jewish immigrants do not enjoy any governmental benefits or support of from local religious communities; (c) a great number of Russian immigrants do not belong to any religious groups and are not involved in resettlement programs or refugee services; and (d) Russians are no longer considered refugees, as their country of origin is no longer viewed as a place of religious and political persecution.

For the purpose of the current work, it is necessary to bring together the research being done on adaptation and acculturation strategies of Russian immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Birman and Trickett (2001) measured acculturation along three dimensions: language competence, cultural identity, and behavioral acculturation. Their research has shown that it takes about 6-7 years to shift from being very Russian-oriented to being acculturated in both cultures along the measures of behavior and identity. Malko (2005) stated that assimilation was the most typical acculturation strategy used by immigrants from the former Soviet Union. However, the strategy of separation experienced by some parents (when they preferred to reject the culture of the majority group) led to negative psychological outcomes for their children, resulting in depression. The strategy of integration was pursued by those

individuals who had high proficiency in their native language and English. Those who had low proficiency in both their first language and English oscillated between separation and assimilation.

Information on Russians' experiences of acculturation is sparse (Kisselev, 2005). The most frequently studied dimensions are gender and age. Special attention has usually been paid to the person's age at the time of arrival in the United States rather than to the length of time spent in this country (Kisselev, 2005). When acculturation starts early, the process is generally smooth, and personal flexibility is maximal during these early years (Berry et al., 2002). These findings are supported by research done by Birman and Tyler (in Kisselev, 2005), who have claimed that older men and women tend to be more attached to the Russian culture than their younger peers. Evidence also suggests that gender influences the acculturation process (Berry et al., 2002). Despite the proclaimed equality of sexes, men usually have held more positions of power in the former Soviet Union than women. Even women with impressive educational attainments have rarely been promoted to leadership roles in Soviet society (Kisselev, 2005). In addition to holding fulltime jobs, they are responsible for all housework and childcare. However, this may have prepared them better than men for immigration (Kisselev, 2005), since immigrant women who enter the job market to support their families did not really think about the loss of their professional status, moreover, they were preoccupied with their family responsibilities, whereas their husbands have experienced a loss of status and a concomitant lowering of self-esteem (Chun & Akutsu as cited in Kisselev, 2005). This fact contradicts the conclusions made by Berry et al. (2002), who emphasized that females may be more at risk for assimilation problems than males.

Russian immigrants in the United States adopt various acculturation strategies that help them better fit into the host society. Vimala (1995) identified three directions of adaptation relevant to Soviet Jews: (a) striving to adopt American-Jewish ways; (b) developing parallel Soviet-Jewish institutions unconnected to American ones; and (c) developing syncretic behavior that incorporates symbols and behaviors from both the Soviet and the new American context. Lashennykh-Mambauer (2005) named the ability to access Russian television channels, Russian books and newspapers, and Russian food as key coping strategies. Spending American and universal holidays in America with Russian people is another way to relieve stress. The aforementioned strategies provide the participants with the feeling of being in "another world"—in the "Russian world," where they are able to experience familiar rituals and interactions. Good English language skills are also a potential key to success in the host society and a factor related to lessened alienation, as English proficiency increases chances for a better job and for a better relationship with the host society (Lashennykh-Mambauer, 2005, Fridman, 2000).

Language choices of immigrants from the former Soviet Union are a complex issue that undergoes a number of transformations due to its constantly changing nature. The language learner does not just learn grammar but also individually constructs and predicates language use on historical, social, and political contexts (Gonzalez, 2005). These contexts, in their turn, cause personal choices and force decisions related to language use. This review of the literature shows that the issue of language choice that immigrants have to face on the daily basis is very complex. The present study fills a perceived gap in the knowledge about Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union by analyzing this population in a quantitative way. Also unique is that this research allows comparison of immigrants from the former Soviet Union with immigrants of other nationalities and reveals some unusual characteristics of this group.

3 METHODOLOGY

This paper focuses on the quantitative part of a bigger research project which explores how external variables and internal controversies affect the choice of language by an individual family member as well as the family as a whole unit, and how this choice, in its turn, impacts the relationships within the family. This study draws on the several theoretical domains of immigration, psychology, and language acquisition. A mixed-method research design used for a bigger project allows a broad outlook on the Russian speaking immigrants, comparison of immigrants from the former Soviet Union with immigrants of other nationalities, and restricted and concentrated analysis at the family level. The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) data set helps to address the quantitative part of this research, while the qualitative part is based on in-depth case studies of four immigrant families.

For the purposes of the current paper I refer to the IPUMS data set, which contains a stratified sample of the population that revised long-form census questionnaires eliciting, in part, language-use information (Mora, Villa, & Davila, 2006). The following results use the 1980, 1990, and 2000 census data as well as the 2008 ACS samples, which were collected through the IPUMS data base. Different variables were analyzed based on specific questions and assumptions being considered. Among those variables several were created based on information in the original sample to better address several of the issues and relationships in which I was interested.

The sample selected for the study represents Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union who reported their place of birth as “other USSR/Russia” or “46500”; “Byelorussia” or “46510”; “Ukraine” or “46530”; and “USSR, ns” or “46590.” Two new variables, “selected” and “else,” which combined all the responses listed above, were created. Afterwards, the “else” selection was dropped, as I was interested exclusively in the immigrants born in the former Soviet Union. Using the “serial” category, I sorted heads of household by serial number in order to link them with their family members. The weighted sample design was not chosen for the purposes of this paper because the reported disadvantages outweighed the advantages. While the advantage of a weighted sample design is that it provides maximum precision for persons residing in small localities, the disadvantage of this design is that it makes the sample more cumbersome to use and actually reduces precision in relation to the general population (Ruggles et al, 2009).

To document the retention or loss of Russian among foreign-born and U.S.-born children with immigrant parents, I relied on Mora, Villa, and Dávila’s (2006) work to develop synthetic cohorts based on data drawn from the 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2008 Censuses from the IPUMS database. Following the path suggested by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006), I identified U.S.-born children with foreign-born parents on the basis of the IPUMS provided momloc (mother’s birth location) and poploc (father’s birth location) variables. The cohorts are presented in the following way: (1) the first cohort (the 1980s Cohort) includes children 5-7 years old in the 1980 IPUMS, and 15-17 in the 1990 IPUMS; (2) the second cohort (the 1990s Cohort), includes children 5-7 years old in 1990 and 15-17 in 2000; and (3) the third cohort (the 2000s Cohort), includes children 5-7 years old in 2000 and 15-17 in 2008. In order to distinguish those who were born in the U.S. from those who immigrated at some point, I created two variables: “bp” = born in the United States and “other” = everybody else. These two groups are associated with emigration from the former Soviet Union. The group associated with the “bp” variable is more closely limited than the “other” group because I allowed that the “other” group emigrated at some point in contrast to being exposed to the American culture since birth (“bp” group). To preserve the synthetic cohorts, foreign-born children included were only those who had migrated to the U.S. by the initial Census year. For example, in the 1980s Cohort, foreignborn children who migrated to the U.S. after 1980 are excluded from the 1990 sample. To see which factors had played an important role in the

choice of language, a multivariate analysis that involved logistic regression modeling of the outcome of speaking Russian at home was conducted. The dependent variable contrasts the individual's speaking only English (0) with speaking another language, Russian (1). The model included parental, household, and locational variables. With regard to parental education, the EDUC (education) variable was selected. It indicates respondents' educational attainment as measured by the highest year of school or most advanced degree completed. Following the IPUMS coding, education variables were recoded in the following way: 1 = through high school, and 2 = through the first year of college and above. The second variable of interest was "lingisol" or linguistic isolation area. LINGISOL identifies "linguistically isolated households" and comes from IPUMS. These are households in which either no person age 14+ speaks only English at home, or no person age 14+ who speaks a language other than English at home speaks English "Very well".

The number of children in the household was another variable of interest. NCHLD counts the number of children (of any age or marital status). I coded this variable as follows: "0" = no children, "1" = 1 child, and "2" = two or more children. "Multigenerational household" was selected to be the next variable. MULTGEN identifies the number of distinct generations contained in each household. The coding I used for this variable was straightforward, and it incorporated all of the details assigned to each generation: "1" = one generation in the household; "2" = two generations in the household; and "3" = three (or more) generations in the same household.

"Total family income" was the next variable considered. FTOTINC reports the total pre-tax money income earned by one's family (as defined by FAMUNIT) from all sources for the previous year. For the census samples, the reference period is the previous calendar year; for the ACS/PRCS, it is the previous 12 months. "House value," VALUEH reports the value of housing units in contemporary dollars. YEAR reports the four-digit year when the household was enumerated or included in the census, the ACS, and the PRCS.

The Ordinal Regression Model was used in the Discussion category, with SPEAKENG or "English language proficiency" as a dependent variable that indicated whether the respondent spoke only English at home. This model also reported how well the respondents who spoke a language other than English at home also spoke English. All the other variables from the Logistic Regression Model remained unchanged.

4 MIGRATION AS A FACTOR OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Families of Russian-speaking immigrants are spread all over the United States, which is demonstrated in the map presented in *Figure 1*.

The map above illustrates that this group resides in almost each state but prefers the East Coast. Thus, the concentration of the Russian speakers). Moreover, in Tucson this group is scattered, with no Russianspeaking enclave as in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, where one can successfully function in society without knowing English.

The histogram below (Figure 2) illustrates the reported years of emigration in the twentieth century and makes a point about how the emigration from the former Soviet Union took place and made "Russians" unique as compared to other populations. The histogram illustrates the waves of emigration that occurred after the Second World War, during the Soviet era, and beginning in 1987. The last wave on the histogram is the "thickest" and largest. It is clear that the phenomenon of intense emigration is relatively recent and is a result of increased political freedom and open borders between countries. This massive

ten-year wave helps explain the nature of Russianspeaking emigration and how it changed the patterns of language use observed during the decades before and after.

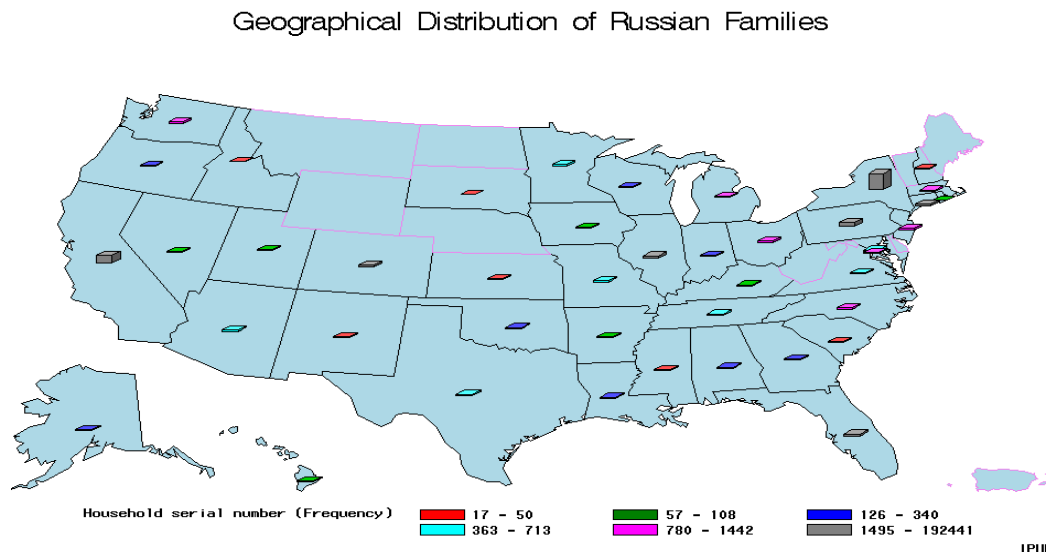


Figure 1. Distribution of Russian immigrant families in the United States.

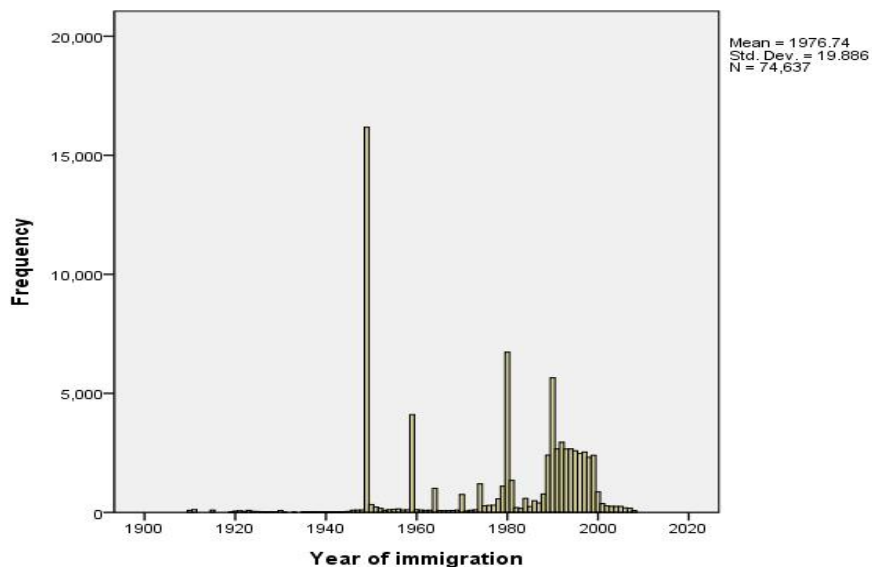


Figure 2. Histogram of number of Russian immigrants coming to the United States. Created by the author from the IPUMS database

Before moving into the discussion of language choice by the family members and their motives regarding Russian-language maintenance, we have to think about the reasons these people departed a country where some of them had been residing for up to half a century. Moreover, in the majority of cases people had to leave behind their friends, family members, and a familiar lifestyle. Some had to give away furniture, jewelry, and other valuable possessions they had accumulated over the decades. Why did those who spent more than half of their lives in a country they considered to be their motherland abandon it and move into uncertainty? The element that made this decade (1990-2000) different from the previous waves of emigration was that people had an opportunity to sell their apartments and dachas (summer cottages) and often found ways to bring the money to the United States. Earlier people could not buy or sell their apartments because they could not own them. All the property belonged to the government. On the other hand, sellers often could not get full price for their homes, accepting whatever money they could to invest in their houses in the United States. This side of the story is still very sensitive and painful to many immigrant families, and they prefer not to return to those times and recollect the details of abandoning their motherland.

5 LOSS OF RUSSIAN AMONG FOREIGN-BORN AND U.S.-BORN CHILDREN WITH IMMIGRANT PARENTS

A lot has been said about language maintenance and language shift in the immigrant communities in the United States. However, a need also exists to document the retention or loss of Russian among foreign-born and U.S.-born children with immigrant parents. To do this I used the synthetic cohort method, based on data drawn from the 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2008 Censuses.

I relied on Mora, Villa, and Dávila's (2006) work to develop the cohorts. They claim that this method is "an important tool for estimating the transmission of non-English languages from a migrant generation to its children, an analytic approach that aims to create a temporal representation of a population, over ten year intervals in this case." (p.242). The goal was both to study Russian-speaking populations and compare them with other immigrant populations using the available data. In this case available data on Hispanics and non-Hispanics comprised two synthetic cohorts: the first cohort (the 1980s Cohort) includes children 5-7 years old in the 1980 IPUMS and 15-17 in the 1990 IPUMS; the second cohort (the 1990s Cohort) includes children 5-7 years old in 1990 and 15-17 in 2000. In addition to replicating the study by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006) with the two cohorts of Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union, I created a third cohort (the 2000s Cohort), which includes children 5-7 years old in 2000 and 15-17 in 2008. To preserve the synthetic cohorts, the only foreign-born children included were those who had migrated to the U.S. by the initial Census year. For example, in the 1980s Cohort, foreign-born children who migrated to the U.S. after 1980 were excluded from the sample in 1990. Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006) selected the 5-to-7-year age range for the initial samples because the children would have been old enough to speak but still young enough to reside with their parents a decade later.

The Census contains birthplace information, which allows for direct identification of foreign-born children. The authors identified the U.S.-born children with foreign-born parents on the basis of the IPUMS-provided momloc (mother's birth location) and poploc (father's birth location) variables. I used the data from the article by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006) for Hispanics and Non-Hispanics and compared them to "Russians". This term ("Russian") describes people from a variety of countries and racial backgrounds in the former Soviet Union. Then I followed the analysis described by the aforementioned researchers to discover whether the results I obtained were comparable to theirs.

Table 1: Percentages of the Synthetic Cohorts who Spoke a Non-English Language at Home: Foreign-Born Children and U.S.-Born Children of Foreign-Born Parents

Year	Hispanics (Data from the article by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006))		Non-Hispanics (Data from the article by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006))		"Russians"	
	Foreign-Born	U.S.- Born	Foreign- Born	U.S.- Born	Foreign-Born	U.S.- Born
1980s Synthetic Cohort						
1980 (ages 5-7)	90.7	85.6	44.4	28.2	8.8	2.5
1990 (ages 15-17)	91.1	88.1	37.3	30	5.5	1.9
1990s Synthetic Cohort						
1990 (ages 5-7)	88.7	85.5	49.5	36.2	11.3	4.4
2000 (ages 15-17)	92.3	87.1	45	38.3	17.8	6
2000s Synthetic Cohort						
2000 (ages 5-7)					29.5	18.6
2008 (ages 15-17)					14	5.1

Table 1 provides the percent of Hispanic, Non-Hispanic, and Russian children in the synthetic cohorts who spoke a non-English language in each Census year for. Groups are separated on the condition of whether children were foreign-born or U.S.-born. Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2006) drew several conclusions analyzing Hispanic and non-Hispanic children: (1) Hispanic children were more likely than children from other racial/ethnic backgrounds to speak a non-English language at home; (2) a greater proportion of non-Hispanic children in the 1990s Cohort spoke a non-English language at home than in the 1980s Cohort; (3) the 1980s and 1990s Cohorts exhibited different patterns with respect to language maintenance Foreign-born Hispanics in the 1980s Cohort, for example, did not experience a significant language loss or gain during the 1980s, where approximately 91 percent of this sample reported speaking Spanish at home in both 1980 and 1990. In the 1990s Cohort, however, the share of foreign-born Hispanics who spoke Spanish at home increased from nearly 89 percent to over 92 percent between 1990 and 2000; (4) non-Hispanic children born outside of the U.S. experienced loss of their original traditional language in both the 1980s and 1990s, although this loss was not as severe in the 1990s. These findings provide evidence that non-English languages have been recently retained in U.S.

households beyond the first generation; the beginning of this maintenance appears to have been as early as the 1980s.

My research documented a severe Russian language loss compared to both Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. The proportion of the U.S.-born population who speak Russian at home is forty times smaller than in the same group of Hispanics and on the average ten times smaller when compared to non-Hispanics. If we compare foreign-born groups, then the number of Russian speakers is dramatically small as well. U.S.-born children in households where somebody speaks Russian have experienced more significant language loss than foreign-born children. Looking at the patterns across the years, it is evident that the 1990s Synthetic Cohort has exhibited a tendency towards home language maintenance; moreover, the proportion of children speaking Russian has increased from 11.3% to 17.8% for those born outside the U.S and from 4.4% to 6% for the U.S.-born group.

6 CROSS-GENERATIONAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

My special interest is rooted in the cross-generational issues and problems immigrants from the former Soviet Union face. One of the causes of these problems arises from the fact that different generations speak different languages. It is commonly understood that the generation of grandparents does not speak English, whereas the generation of children does not speak their heritage language. To see if this is actually the case, I decided to investigate the populations of Russian-speaking immigrants maintaining their mother tongue at home by generations. The first generation was born in the former Soviet Union; the second generation was born in the U.S. but had parents (or at least one parent) born in the former Soviet Union; and the third generation was born in the U.S. while somebody in their family (for example, grandparents) was born in the former Soviet Union.

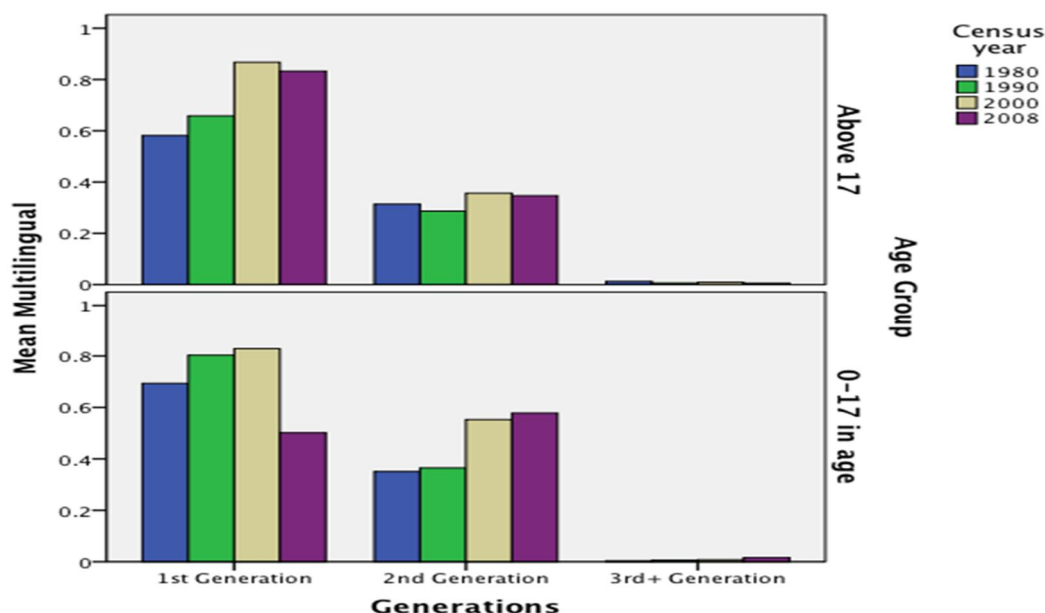


Figure 3: Percentage of first and later generations who speak Russian at home. Created by the author from the IPUMS database

The results show inconsistencies in the effect of the year of migration turned. The proportion of those who speak Russian varies slightly across years but not significantly. I expected that the pattern of linguistic assimilation would be different for the two age groups (above 17 and 0-17), as children are reported to shift to the language of a host society much faster than adults. However, I found instead that there was not any statistically significant difference between these age groups. Another finding worth noting is that the 0-17 second-generation group showed a reversed language-shift pattern in the year 2008. The proportion of those speaking Russian at home increased from 55.3% in 2000 to 57.8% in 2008. One possible explanation for this phenomenon may be the influx of Russian-speaking immigrants that occurred between 1993 and 2000, thus increasing the overall size of the Russian language-use community and perhaps expanding the opportunities to speak Russian. This occurrence may be compared to a generation of baby boomers in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. The effects of this trend could be observed over several decades.

The analysis of the IPUMS database with reference to Russianspeaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union revealed the following findings: (a) the loss of the Russian language within three generations was more severe compared to Hispanic and non-Hispanic populations in both U.S.- born and foreign-born study groups; (b) the 1990s Synthetic Cohort of the children of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, compared to the 1980s and 2000s cohort groups, showed a larger degree of home-language maintenance; (c) generational analysis aiming to reveal the proportion of Russian-speaking immigrants who maintained the mother tongue at home demonstrated a language shift and language loss within three generations and showed the increase in use of the mother tongue in the 0-17-year-old, secondgeneration group in 2008; and (d) weak tendencies of language revitalization noted above could be explained by the influx of Russian-speaking immigrants between 1990 and 2000, when the opportunities to communicate in the native language sharply increased. However, in the big picture, this occurrence did not reverse the overall language shift from predominantly Russian to predominantly English.

7 WHAT FACTORS AFFECT WHICH LANGUAGE(S) IMMIGRANT FAMILIES SPEAK WITHIN DIFFERENT DOMAINS?

My multivariate analysis involved logistic regression modeling of the outcome of speaking only English versus speaking Russian at home. The purpose of this logistic regression model was an attempt to see which variables predict Russian language maintenance in the household. The selected variables were based on the literature available (see for example, Andrews [1998], Dimitrov [2004], Mora, Villa, Davila [2006]) as well as availability and credibility of this variable in the IPUMS database. The model included parental, household, and location variables.

In regard to parental education, Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller (2008) have considered the human capital that immigrant parents possess to be one of the principal resources that helps them confront the challenges they face in the course of adjusting to a new life. Education is an essential part of the human capital that predicts how successful family members will be in the labor market (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2008).

The Russian-speaking families that emigrated to the U.S. in the 1990s are likely to have gotten their education in the former Soviet Union. Parental higher education has been considered a variable having a high influence on the willingness of parents to maintain their heritage language at home. Kagan (2006) has specified that competency in Russian is interrelated with the amount of education the immigrants received in the former Soviet Union.

The IPUMS database delineates two variables (higher education and higher education of the head of the household) which are subdivided into various levels of educational training. For the purposes of the current project, I was mostly interested in whether the immigrants attempted or received higher education. To study these educational variables, I recoded them: 1= through high school, and 2 = through the first year of college and above.

The second variable of interest was “lingisol” or the linguistic isolation area. LINGISOL identifies “linguistically isolated households” in which either no person over the age of 14 spoke just English at home, or no person over the age of 14 and who spoke a language other than English at home spoke English “Very well.”

The graph illustrated below, Figure 4., shows that linguistically isolated households positively relate to the city population variable. The bigger the city in the U.S., the more it is likely that a Russian-speaking enclave will be located there. Among locations where there are large Russian-speaking enclaves are New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Denver. Tucson also has a Russian-speaking enclave for elderly people, although it is a small one.

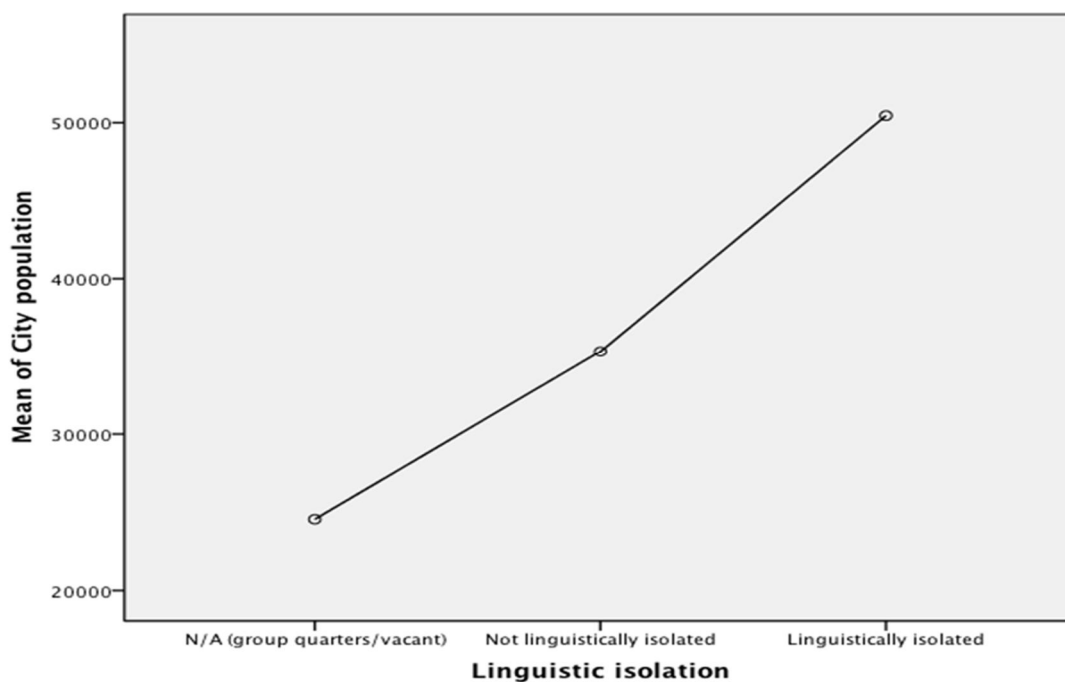


Figure 4: Relationship of linguistically isolated households to city populations. Created by the author from the IPUMS database.

The number of children in the household was another variable of interest. “NCHILD” counts the number of children (of any age or marital status) residing with each adult individual and includes step-children and adopted children as well as biological children. Persons with no children present in their homes are coded “0.” I coded this variable as follows: “0” = no children, “1” = 1 child, and “2” = two or more children. The research (see for example, Stevens and Ishizawa, 2007) suggests that the probability of

children speaking a non-English language is influenced by their siblings and by the length of their residence in the U.S. Consequently, if there is more than one child in the household who has lived in the host country since a very young age or who was born there, it is more likely that the family will be inclined to shift to English as a language spoken at home.

This happens because after one child begins to go to daycare or school, he/she brings the dominant language home. Siblings often shift to the language of the dominant society easily, as it is the language spoken everywhere.

The multigenerational household was selected to be the next variable. MULTGEN identifies the number of distinct generations contained in each household. I chose the detailed version of the IPUMS for this purpose, as it provides more nuance within each general category. The family interrelationship pointer variables provide additional information on "other relatives" and nonrelatives of the householder.

The presence of one of the following relationship combinations caused the household to be coded as multigenerational: (1) householder, householder's child, and householder's grandchild; (2) householder's parent, householder, and householder's child; or (3) householder's parent-in-law, householder, and householder's child. The coding for this variable was straightforward and incorporated all the details assigned to each generation by the IPUMS database: "1" = one generation in the household; "2" = two generations in the household; and "3" = three (or more) generations in the same household.

Three more variables included in the model were total family income, house value, and year of immigration. Table 2 (see below) presents the estimated coefficients from a logistic regression model for immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The dependent variable contrasts individuals speaking only English (0) with those speaking another language, Russian in my case (1).

Table 2: Logistic Regression Model Predicting Speaking Russian Language at Home

Variables in the equation	Variable codings	B	Wald
Highered (1)	Higher education	.322	444.625
Higheredhead (1)	Higher education of the head of household	.501	1198.048
Lingisol 2	n/a		6896.753
Lingisol 2 (1)	Non-linguistically isolated	- 6.429	6590.877
Lingisol 2 (2)	Linguistically isolated	- 6.543	6876.884
Numchild	No children		1073.178
Numchild (1)	1 child	.088	23.158
Numchild (2)	2 or more children	.542	860.243
Multigen	1 generation		778.152
Multigen (1)	2 generations	- .659	767.616
Multigen (2)	3+ generations	- .473	541.666
Constant		4.879	3551.211

The strongest effects relate to linguistic isolation, which is associated with being multilingual. At the same time, being in a non-linguistically isolated group is negatively related to being multilingual; consequently, being in a linguistically isolated group tends to be positively associated with being multilingual.

Another significant influence on bilingualism (in this case speaking Russian at home) is the number of generations living within the same household.

The more generations who live under the same roof, the greater the probability that the mother tongue will be maintained at home: “The presence of aunts and grandparents reduces the odds that the child will be monolingual, especially when grandparents or aunts and uncles who speak a mother tongue live in the home, the frequency of conversation in the mother tongue increases, and, depending on the English proficiency of these adults, the child may be encouraged or required to speak to them in the mother tongue (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2002, p.477)”.

Table 3 illustrates how the number of generations in the same household influences the language spoken at home. Having two generations at home reduces the possibility of Russian language maintenance across the years, whereas with three generations under the same roof, the probability increases.

It is worth noting that the year 2000 stands out as showing an increase in three-generational households and therefore the number of Russian languages spoken at home (from 25.1% in 1980 and 21.3% in 1990 to 48.2% in 2000). I have already addressed this issue and shown that the peak of immigration occurred from about 1993, which had a big impact on language maintenance. However, in the year 2008, the percentage of three-generation households returned to what it had been before the influx of a Russianspeaking population.

Table 3: The Impact of the Number of Generations Living in the Same Household on the Frequency of the Language Spoken at Home

Number of generations	Speak Russian at home			Speak only English		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1980	20.1%	13.4%	21.3%	79.9%	86.6%	78.7%
1990	15.4%	14.7%	25.1%	84.6%	85.3%	74.9%
2000	35.7%	38.6%	48.2%	64.3%	61.4%	51.8%
2008	21.1%	22.8%	29.4%	78.9%	77.2%	70.6%

Absence of children creates a small positive relationship with being multilingual as compared to households with two or more children. In a singlechild family, that child is more likely to be multilingual than in a multi-child family. Thus, the presence of two or more children in the household has tended to lead to English monolingualism in the families of immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The effects of socioeconomic status and year of immigration seem to be inconsistent and have not made any difference in the model.

8 KEY FINDINGS. DOCUMENTING LANGUAGE LOSS ACROSS THREE GENERATIONS

My research, using the IPUMS database, documented a severe Russian-language loss. The proportion of the United States-born population who speak Russian at home is forty times smaller than in the same group of Hispanics and on the average ten times smaller when compared to non-Hispanics.

Russian emigration occurred in several distinct waves. The last wave, between 1993 and 2000, is the “thickest” on the histogram and the largest compared to the rest. It is clear that the phenomenon of intense emigration is a result of increased political freedom and open borders between the countries. This massive ten-year wave helps explain the nature of Russian-speaking emigration and how it changed the patterns of language use observed during the decades before and after.

The assumption that different generations speak different languages was supported by statistical analysis of the IPUMS database. Generational analysis aiming to reveal the proportion of Russian-speaking immigrants who maintained the mother tongue at home demonstrated a language shift and language loss within three generations.

Weak tendencies toward the language revitalization noted above could be explained by the influx of Russian-speaking immigrants between 1990 and 2000 when the opportunities to communicate in the native language sharply increased. However, in the big picture, this occurrence did not reverse the continuing shift from Russian to English.

The multivariate analysis involved logistic regression modeling of the outcome of speaking only English versus speaking Russian at home. The strongest effects related to linguistic isolation, which is associated with being multilingual; being in a linguistically isolated group tends to be positively associated with being multilingual. Another significant influence on multilingualism (in this case speaking Russian at home) was the number of generations living within the same household.

9 EPILOGUE

My research was strongly motivated by my desire to answer the following troubling question: How does one maintain her mother tongue in a host country that does not support multilingualism in general or immigrants in particular. Knowing the statistics and frequently running into the secondgeneration (not even the third!) immigrant children from the former Soviet Union who do not speak their native language, I have witnessed the complete disappearance of the mother tongue within three generations. My hope was to find exceptions to this “language death” rule—specifically conditions that help to maintain biliteracy—and to learn how to bring up my own children as biliterate in Russian and English.

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**THE LITERAL HISTORICAL SENSE (PROPER AND FIGURATIVE)
IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURE**

Cătălin Vatamanu

Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Iași, 9, Cloșca Street, Iași 700066, Romania

Abstract

The biblical sense contains the truth that the Spirit of God has sent us by hagiographers through language. In the Holy Scripture we can identify two types of senses: one literal-historical, directly expressed through words, and one mediated, real-typical. An expressing only in the properly sense is very rare, as the author tries often to express meanings beyond the words. But a specific mode of expressing can give to a literal statements more beauty, power, dynamics and plasticity. The figuratively or tropic sense is met when the author expresses something indirectly, using related expressions by sense. The Church testifies through its patristic and liturgical treasure the universality and the unity of literal historical sense, the reality that the Scripture is revealed in its integrity, is the Word of God.

Keywords: *Holy Scripture, biblical sense, proper sense, figurative sense, hyperbole, metaphor, symbol, comparison*

1. THE CONCEPT OF SENSE

1.1 CONCEPTUAL DELIMITATIONS

Through verbal (uttered or written word), paraverbal (intonation, intensity of the voice, rhythm etc.) and nonverbal (sign, mimic, posture etc.) language, man generates and transmits messages, his own thoughts, feelings, intentions and meanings.

From an etymological point of view, the term *sense* (meaning) derives from the Latin *sensus*, *-us*, which means “perception”, “feeling”, “understanding”, “reason”, “idea”, “meaning”, “signification”.

In the field of Biblical hermeneutics, “sense” or “meaning” is defined as “the elaborated product of the spirit, expressed through uttered or written words with the help of which it is communicated” (Scriban, 1922, p. 14) or as „the author’s thinking or intention transmitted by the uttered or written word” (Basarab, 1997, p. 24).

The words are, in the first place, objective elements, for everybody to understand and use and secondly, they serve as means of communicating the meaning from one person to another, being directly connected with the subject which produces and expresses them. In the context of this premise, one must stress upon the terminological delimitation between *meaning* and *signification*.

The meaning is the result of the author’s elaborated thinking process. Signification, on the other hand, is always fixed in the common language according to the general rules of the language. The dictionary is the one which presents various significations of the words, independent from any person who would enunciate.

For example, the Hebrew verb *!n:v'* (*shanan*) has the significance „to sharpen” something (Koehler, 1953, p. 998), especially swords and arrows (Deut. 32:41; Is. 5:28; Ps. 45:6; 120:4; Prov. 25:18). It is

used mainly in Qal, at Piel and Hitpoel. However, in Piel the verb has an intensive meaning: to educate early, perseveringly and repeatedly. In this form, the verb is met only once, in Deut. 6:7, in the well-known text on the duty of educating the children:

^ÜT.b.viB. ~B'_ T'Pr>B;dIw> ^yn<ëb'l. ~T'an>N:viw>
`^m<)Wqb.W ^ßB.k.v'b.W* %r<D<ëb; ^åT.k.l,b.W 'At,'ybeB.

„Thou shall *instill* (*sow*, in the authorized translation) them to your sons and speak about them when you are in your home, when are on the road, when you go to sleep, and when you wake up” (personal translation).

In this text, the meaning of the verb is “to stimulate”, “to sharpen”, and “to instill”. The *Jerusalem Bible* translates it, otherwise very correctly, by ”to repeat”. God instructs man by the formal education at home and also by the informal education, through the everyday life. The theological meaning of this verb in Piel is that God’s messages penetrates deeply the soul and mind of the one who listens to it, it ”sharpen” his senses, makes him shine and be ready to throw away all the sins from his soul.

Used only by Saint Paul (Rom. 8, 15; Gal. 4, 5; Eph. 1, 5), the term *ui`oqesi,a* includes the idea of the blessing which the Incarnation of the Son of God offers us (John 17, 23), not due to our merit (Eph. 1, 7), but through grace. Knowing very well the Roman law regarding adoptions, according to which an adopted person got all the privileges of a natural son, saint Paul transfers this lay signification in the theological field, showing that the divine grace makes us “sons of God” in our own right (Rom. 8, 15-23, in parallel with I Pt. 1, 14) and, according to Saint John’s conviction, sons of the Church (II John 4).

The meaning differs from the usual signification and is revealed only after reading the sentence and following the logical thread of the ideas expressed. The significance of a word is often multiple, whereas the meaning takes only one significance, excluding all other possible ones. The meaning is precise and objective.

In the hermeneutical process, of interpreting the revealed text, one needs to know first the significance of the words in order to discover the meaning of a word or a text.

1.2 THE BIBLICAL SENSE AND ITS CATEGORIES

The biblical sense contains the truth which the Holy Spirit transmitted to us, men, through hagiographers by the means of language.

In the text of the Holy Scripture we can identify two kinds of senses: a literal-historical one, expressed directly through words and another one, intermediated, real-typical.

The literal-historical sense is not specific to the Holy Scripture but rather met in any literary text. However, the real-typical sense can be found only in the Scripture.

Two examples, from the Old and the New Testament, are presented in order to delimitate the types of biblical meaning:

Ezekiel 9, 4: “Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set the sign of the cross (the letter tau which in the Greek alphabet had the shape of a cross) upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof”.

Revelation 7, 2-4: „And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in

their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousands of all the tribes of the children of Israel".

It is obvious that the Holy Scripture in the Romanian translation introduces in Ezekiel 9.4 "the sign of the cross", even if these are not words that appear in the Hebrew text, but wT'ø t'yl' "t.hiw> („make the sign *taw*").

The significance of the word wT' is that from the Hebrew dictionary, "the name of the last Hebrew consonant" (Koehler, 1953, p. 1920). The meaning of this letter is, at Ezekiel, a special one: wT' becomes a sign by which all those marked by the angel of God will be spared.

From a literally-historical point of view, the text mentions a sign which eases the delimitation, by the six men of the divine revenge, of the believers from the idol worshipers from the holy city, who were to be killed. But, if we go from the literal to the typical understanding, this sign should be T from hr"AT, which means that the Israelite had to remember the divine commandment which could save him from any danger, even from death. The real-typical meaning is underlined in the Romanian text by the phrase "the sign of the cross" which the paleo-Hebrew T resembles, a context in which the Hebrew wT'ø t'yl' "t.hiw> may be a direct allusion to the Holy Cross in the Old Testament. Also, Rev. 7, 2-4 refers to the believers' salvation through the Holy Cross.

2. THE LITERAL-HISTORICAL SENSE (PROPER AND FIGURATIVE)

The literal-historical sense can be proper or figurative, metaphorical, tropic.

The proper sense is the one of using the words with their usual meaning while the figurative is that of using the words with a meaning which differs from the usual one, by giving them traits of other beings, objects or actions.

In Jeremiah 2, 13: "For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.", there is no water or fountain in the proper meaning. Jeremiah admonishes the people, the unworthy priests and the political leaders who were *thirsty for the word of God no more*. That is why Israel will become opprobrious among the peoples (Jeremiah 2, 31-37).

In the Gospel of John 15, 5, Christ the Lord says: „*I am the vine, ye are the branches*", making us understand that only by the Eucharistic nurture from Christ-the-Vine can we live for eternal life, can we become aware of and responsible regarding our belonging to His mystical body, the Church.

2.1 THE TYPES OF THE PROPER SENSE

Expressing by using only the proper sense is very rare because the author often tries to express meanings that go beyond the words. But a certain way of expressing things may render a statement expressed in the proper meaning more beautiful, strong, dynamic and plastic. The figures of speech that this rhetorical process consists of are: the magniloquence, the hyperbole, the meiosis, the irony, the ellipsis, and the comparison.

a. *The magniloquence* is the articulation of a sequence or a word which the speaker considers not enough underlined for assuring an optimal decoding from the receiver.

In the Old Testament it is often announced the "day", "that day", "the day of God", but Zechariah (14, 1) states with magniloquence: "Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the

midst of thee". Related to this, Saint Paul affirms that „*the day of God will come like a thief at night*”, adding eschatological details (I Thessalonians 5, 1-11).

The speech that appeals to magniloquence is called magniloquent. It is more solemn than the usual speech.

b. *The hyperbole* is an artistic figure of speech by which one exaggerates intentionally, increasing or decreasing the features of a being, a thing, phenomenon or event in order to impress the readers.

As an example I quote the text from Is. 2, 2: “And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.”

Saint Apostle Paul calls himself the chief of the sinners (I Timothy 1, 15).

c. *Meiosis* is a figure of speech through which one expresses, in an ironical way, the contrary of what one thinks. An appropriate example is the speech, of a special beauty, held by Jotham on Mount Garizim, a speech referring to his brother, Abimelech, and presented in Judges 9, 7-15, from which verse 14 calls for attention: “Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us”.

d. The *irony* expresses the contrary by a dissimulated, ironical speech.

Joel 3, 10: “Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears: let the weak say, I am strong!”

e. The *ellipsis* consists of suppressing a word or a fragment from the sentence because it is not essential or it can be deduced from the context. It is known the fact that the frequent absence of the verb “to be” from the Hebrew text is a characteristic of this language as we may see, for example, in Deuteronomy 6, 4:

ֹדֵא, הוֹיָהוּ > WnyhePl{a/ hw"i'hy > lae_r"f.yI [m;Pv.

„Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord”.

f. The *comparison* is the figure of speech by which one pinpoints the resemblance or difference between two terms.

As an example I quote Ezekiel 1, 28: „As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord”.

Such figures of speech belonging to the literal proper style are very frequent in the Holy Scripture and bring a special stylistic value.

2.2 FIGURES OF THE FIGURATIVE SENSE

The figurative or tropic meaning is met when the author expresses something indirectly, by using expressions that are related to each other concerning the meaning.

The following figures of speech and stylistic devices led to a real literary adornment of the sacred text by giving it expressivity, coherence, and harmony:

a. The *synecdoche* is a figure of speech which consists of the broadening or narrowing of the meaning of a word by using the part for the whole (*pars pro toto*) or the other way around, of the particular for the general, of the material of which a thing is made for the thing itself, of the singular for the plural.

Jeremiah 23, 19: "Behold, a whirlwind of the Lord is gone forth in fury, even a grievous whirlwind: it shall fall grievously upon the head of the wicked" (the whole body).

Colossians 3, 15: „And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful”.

b. The *metonymy* is a figure of speech related to metaphor, which consists in replacing the cause with the effect and the other way around, of the work with the author's name, of a product with its origin, with the concrete with the abstract etc., on the basis of a logical relation.

An example of replacing the work with the author's name may be read at Luke 16, 31: „And he said unto him: «If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead».”

In order to describe longevity, a life rich in years, the Scripture of the Old Testament uses phrases like: “fullness of days”, “advanced in years”, *orek iamim* “length of days” (Job 12, 12; Ps. 21, 4; Prov. 3, 2.16), *iamim rabim* „many days” (Ps. 34:13; Eccl. 11:8), *sheva iamim* „sated with days” (Gen. 35, 29; I Cr. 23, 1; 29, 28; II Cr. 24, 15; Job 42, 17), *mle iamim* „full of days” (Jer. 6, 11) Or verbal expressions like *vehaarakti et iameika* „lengthen thy days” (I Kings 3, 14), *iosif al iameika* „He will add unto thy days” (Is. 38, 5). God Himself is described as being „the Ancient of days” (Dan. 7, 9), represented with white hair (Rev. 1, 14; Dan. 7, 9).

c. The *metaphor* is the figure of style by which a usual term is replaced, on the basis of resemblance, by another one, improper or figurative.

The Holy Scripture keeps very many metaphors among which: “the heart of the sea” (Exodus 15, 8), „the mouth of hell” (Is. 5, 14). Christ the Saviour warns His contemporaries to avoid „the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees” (Matthew 16, 6).

Sometimes God is endowed with parts of the human body (anthropomorphisms), human activities or traits (Ps. 33, 15; Is. 1, 20; Job 19, 21; Luke 1, 5).

Many of the metaphors of the text have been lost in the process of translation. Instead of the word with a figurative meaning, the one with the proper meaning was used. We have an example in Deut. 32, 18, a text in which Moses chides the people of Israel for worshiping the idols of other peoples and reminds it that the only true God is the One who “gave it birth” – the Rock: „You have forgotten the *Rock* (the *Defender* in the authorized translation) who gave birth to you and you have not remembered God who made you (with pain)” (personal translation).

˘^|<)l.xom. laeî xK;Pv.Tiw: yviT,_ ^bd>l'y> rWci

The psalmist lends colour to this idea by the words: „He will call Me «You are my Father, my God and the Rock (the Forwarder in the authorized translation) of my salvation»” (Ps. 89:27-28, personal translation):

˘yti(['Wvy> rWcaw> yli^ae÷ hT'a'_ ybia'ä ynIaer"q.ylä aWhå

In a theological meaning, rWc and the synonymous noun !b,a, „stone” may refer to the unchangeableness of God 's will, expressed by His laws (Exodus 24:12; 31:18; Deut. 4:13).

d. The *allegory* is the figure of speech by which abstract concepts are personified with the aim of transmitting a moral teaching.

For example, Ezekiel speaks, in chapter 23, about the spiritual prostitution of the two cities, Samaria and Jerusalem, presented allegorically as two sisters with symbolic names: Ohola „my own tent” and

Oholiba „my tent is in her”. They debauched with their neighbors, the Assyrians and the Egyptians, i.e. they worshiped their idols and abandoned God.

e. The *parable* is a fictional story with a didactic character which transmits truths of faith or moral teachings. In the Old Testament we have the parable of Nathan about the rich man (II Kings 12, 4). Christ the Saviour presented a great part of his teachings through parables: that of the sower (Matthew 13, 18-23), of the king's son's wedding (Matthew 22, 1-14), of the charitable Samaritan (Luke 10) etc.

The elements of a parable are taken from the daily life and also from the vegetal and animal world.

Saint Cyril of Alexandria (In *Commentary on Luke*) states: „Hidden and discreetly, the parables teach us useful knowledge least we contemplate their meaning closely”.

f. The *fable* is an allegory which takes the form of an imaginary tale from the world of nature or of the animals, with the aim of rendering a truth more plastic.

An example of fable is the text Judges 9, 8-15, about the council of the trees on the election of a king from among them.

g. The *riddle* is a species of the folk literature by which the listeners are asked to identify an object or a phenomenon that is described.

Samson's riddle (Judges 14) is an obvious example in the Hebrew Scripture.

h. The *gnome* is a short sentence, an apothegm that represents a moral thought, a piece of practical advice. From among the numerous sentences of the Old Testament I mention:

Ps. 7, 15: „(The unbeliever, m.n.) made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made”.

Obadiah 1, 21: „Pride leads to destruction”

i. The *symbol* is the concrete sign which evokes or represents, by analogy, something different from it. The symbols in the Holy Scripture may be:

- Prophetic symbolic acts
- Symbolic visions
- Symbolic things and persons

As examples I present theological symbols from *The Vision of Ezekiel* or *The Mystic Wheel* by Fra Angelico.

The elements that characterize the presence of divinity in Ezekiel's vision are also depicted by de Fra Angelico: the exterior wheel is surrounded by fire, its rungs are golden, sign of a radiant light, the idea of the spinning wheel leads to the name it was given by Ezekiel, *galgal* – “whirlwind”, and the texts in the upper part of the image seem to be uttered by the all mighty voice of God who reveals Himself. Ezekiel himself (1:24) states that the sound that was produced by the flapping of the wings was “like the voice of the Almighty” (yD:v;-lAqK.) (*keqol Shadday*), on one hand an anthropomorphic description of God's manner of communicating, on the other hand, as the Judaic and Church tradition understood, a manifestation of the prophetic spirit through which God revealed Himself.

The exterior wheel represents the Old Testament, portraying twelve of its most important prophets: Moses, Solomon, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Micah, Jonah, Joel, Malachi, Ezra, Daniel, Isaac, and David. Moses, flanked by King David on the right and King Solomon on the left, is the central character, holding

the two tables of the Commandments. From those aforementioned, Isaac is the only figure of the Old Testament who was not a writer.

The interior wheel represents the New Testament, portraying John, Simon Peter, Marcus, Judah Thaddeus, Lucas, Jacob son of Alpheus, Matthew, and Paul.

Not surprisingly, the four Evangelists are placed in such a manner that they form the sign of the cross. Like the four sides of the Cross, the correlation among the four Evangelists and the four faces of the celestial beings brings forth the symbolical significance of number four, as an expression of the idea of universality. Attentive to details (let us not forget that Fra Angelico exercised miniature, too, probably working with his elder brother, Benedetto, also a Dominican monk (James Mason, 1908, 27), Fra Angelico depicted the four with the faces revealed to Ezekiel: in the upper part John, with an eagle's head; on the right Marcus, with a lion's head; at the bottom Lucas, with an ox's head; on the left Matthew, with a man's/ angel's head (Clara Erskine Clement, 1895, 21-24). They hold codex (bound books) in their hands, in contrast with the other Apostles portrayed with scrolls in their hands.

The theological idea that the painter-monk wants to highlight is that God gave his Word through four accounts, differing in form but identical as regards the gist, united by the same Holy Ghost. The identity of the Scripture is linked to the identity of the source of its revelation, the Holy Trinity. That is why Jeronimus states: "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John are the Lord's team of four, the true cherubim or store of knowledge" („Matthaeus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes, quadriga Domini, et verum Cherubim, quod interpretatur scientiae multitudo"; Cf. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 1893).

In Fra Angelico's representation, the background for the Old Testament prophets is dark, as of the "people that walked in darkness" (Is. 9:1), who, in the New Testament "have seen a great light", so that over those who were living "in death's shadow" light will come, represented by Fra Angelico by the blue image of the sky. The exterior circle does not delimit, but leads to the center, to the interior, to the mystery, justifying thus John's text: "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it" (John 1:5, parallel with John 8:12; 12:35-36.46; Luke 2:29-32; II Corinthians 4:6). It is also noticeable that there is continuity between the center and the poles of light of the two Testaments' representations.

Fra Angelico surrounded the exterior wheel of the Old Testament with the Latin text from Genesis 1:1-5: "In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebrae super faciem abyssi et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas dixitque Deus fiat lux et facta est lux. Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona et divisit lucem ac tenebras appellavitque lucem diem". The interior wheel, of the New Testament, is surrounded by the Latin text from John 1:1-3: "In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est". It is obvious that the texts chosen by Fra Angelico for the two wheels begin with in principio ("in the beginning") and this is to show the unity of God's revelation in the two Testaments.

In *The Vision of Ezekiel*, Fra Angelico highlights two fundamental characteristics of the revelation: the unity of the Scripture, from the first to its last word, and the intrinsic relation between the Scripture of the Old and the New Testament.

More textual clues from Ezekiel 1 and 10 led the Church Fathers to the argumentation of the idea of unity of the divine revelation. The four beasts/cherubs look identical (1:5-8) and that is why they are identified in Ezekiel 1:22; 10:15.17.20 by the singular hY"x; ("being"). Their unity results also from the fact that "their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel" (Ezekiel

1:16). “Wheel in the middle of a wheel” is an image of the two Testaments’ unity, an idea completed by other Old Testament theological images as of the cherubs “face to face” on the cover of the Tabernacle (Exodus 25:18.22; Numbers 7:89) among which God reveals Himself.

Ezekiel’s wheel may be viewed as a sun with rays that burst from the center, and being itself as a continuous and infinite relation. As source of light, the wheel of revelation of the New and the Old Testament is the icon of God’s light, of the eternal discovery of God’s timeless love.

At the bottom of the representation appears prophet Ezekiel, on the left, and Saint Gregory the Great, pope of Rome in 590-604, on the right. The text on the upper part quotes a fragment from Gregory’s homily on Ezekiel’s book, a text first translated in English not earlier than 1990 (Saint Gregory the Great, 1990). Gregory the Great refers to Ezekiel’s idea of wheel within wheel, with application to the two Testaments. It is important to underline the fact that Fra Angelico refers, in his painting, to Pope Gregory and not to Saint Augustine (354-430 A.D.), the one who established as dictum the phrase *Novum in Vetere latet et in Novo Vetus patet* (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, 2, 73).

As biblical arguments for the idea of the unity of revelation and of the intrinsic relation of the two Testaments, Fra Angelico reproduces under each image from the complex *Armadio degli argenti* two scriptural texts: the first one is an Old Testament prophecy and the second one is a New Testament text that shows the fulfillment of the first. Each pair of texts exemplifies the idea of “wheel in the middle of the wheel” and demonstrates the authenticity of the holy text, and the reality and unity of revelation. God is the One Who speaks and the One spoken about. The revealed Word in the Old Testament is the Embodied Lord in the New Testament (Revelation 19:13).

CONCLUSIONS

The biblical text has two levels: a human one (the literal meaning) and the divine one (the spiritual meaning) which should be neither separated from each other nor mixed. In the first epistle to the Corinthians 3, 1, Saint Paul states: “And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ”. Consequently, he differentiates between two levels of human understanding: the spiritual (*pnevmaticos*), hidden, and the bodily (*sarkinos*), literal, obviously.

The Church affirms, by its patristic and liturgical thesaurus the *universality and unity of the literal meaning*, the fact that *the Holy Scripture is, in its integrity, revealed*, it is the Word of God.

The Christian has to read the Scripture while having “the mind of the Lord” (I Cor. 2, 16). Thus, Saint Maximus the Confessor stresses: “there is a gradual incarnation of Christ in the reasons of the world, of the Scripture, and of man, corresponding to the natural law, the written law and the law of grace.”. Christ, the Word of God, is Scripture or, in other words, is incarnated in the Scripture. Christ Himself is the interpret of the Scripture.

Saint Maximus the Confessor’s words, written in *Mystagogy*, constitutes a patristic conclusion to the issues presented in this course: „The Holy Scripture, taken as a whole, is like a man, who has the Old Testament as his body and the New as his soul,...and mind; or the literal history of the whole Holy Scripture, the Old and the New, the body and the meaning of the what is written and the aim towards which that meaning tends, the soul [...] Because, as the man is mortal according to what is seen and immortal according to what is invisible, so has the Holy Scripture the *visible letter* and the *grace hidden* in its letter never stops existing. And as man, while mastering by wisdom the want and the sinful tendency, withers the body, so does the Holy Scripture, understood spiritually, cuts out the letter from itself. [...] The more its letter withdraws, the more grace increases.”

„[The spiritual man] should go up with wisdom towards the Holy Ghost through the thorough study of the Holy Scripture, rising above the letter. Because it is in Him that one finds the whole good and the hidden treasures of knowledge and wisdom, inside which the one who becomes worthy to enter, will find God Himself inscribed in the tables of the heart by grace.”

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Department of Lithuanian Philology, Vilnius University

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University of Applied Sciences Lavoslav Ružička in Vukovar (UAS), Continued Education Center (CEC)

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