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FOSTERING INDEPENDENT LEARNING OF ENGLISH VERB TENSE, ASPECT AND VOICE FORMS AT THE TERTIARY LEVEL

VINETA APSE AND MONTA FARNESTE

University of Latvia, Latvia

Abstract. The prior research on typical errors in student tests on tenses (Apse and Farneste, 2014) demonstrated that first-year undergraduates who were majoring in modern languages and business encountered such problems as distinction between the verb-aspect forms, which were followed by the verb tense forms and the combination of both. Although students had studied English as a Foreign Language for almost ten years, they still could not distinguish between the use of the present and past tenses in the given context. One of the reasons for student problems was insufficient practice of independent learning. Thus, the present study was focusing on designing exercises which were related to the content and the skills required for the completion of the study programme and which could foster developing independent study skills. The research was a case study. Undergraduate students from full-time studies (22 students) were selected. The results of the pre-test-post-test design showed that doing the self-test and several practice exercises helped students to improve the use of verb forms. The views collected with the help of a questionnaire survey revealed that half of the students considered useful the provided self-test, and they had retaken it before the final test in class, but only few of the students had also done the electronically available additional exercises for self-study.

Key words: independent learning, English verb forms, tense, aspect, voice, tertiary level

INTRODUCTION

Previous research in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) studies indicates that non-native students in tertiary contexts experience a range of problems that are related to grammar. Research done by Çakır from Turkey (2011), Jurina Babović, Skledar Matijević and Krakić from Slovenia (2013), Muftah and Rafic-Galea from Yemen (2013), Apse and Farneste from Latvia (2014) has resulted in a similar conclusion that even after several years of studying grammar, EFL undergraduates are still struggling with tenses. Çakır's study (2011: 123) revealed that Turkish students could not distinguish between the past simple and the present perfect, the present continuous and the present simple as well as the past simple and the past continuous tenses. Similarly, the research of Jurina Babović et al. (2013: 114) showed that typical grammatical mistakes advanced students make were misuse of the simple and the continuous tense and avoidance of perfect tenses.

The reasons for these problems have been sought in differences between the native language (L1) and the target language (Çakır, 2011), between the student level of English proficiency in one group, as well as limited time for in-class teaching and extensive syllabus which should be covered (Jurina Babović et al., 2013: 114). Larsen-Freeman, Kuehn and Haccius (2002: 3) emphasised that English verb forms were among the most effort consuming grammar themes for an EFL learner because of their various verb tense-aspect form combinations and semantic meanings each combination conveys.

In order to solve this problem, sometimes students are put in groups according to their level of English proficiency. However, the study of Jurina Babović et al. revealed that special grouping of learners was not a useful decision, as all students have to meet the same requirements to complete the course. Another solution proposed was additional online material design to meet different student needs (Jurina Babović et al., 2013: 114). The above idea has been supported by Reinders and Balcikanli (2011: 23), advocating that popular textbooks provide little information about learner autonomy and its development and, therefore, teachers should work at supplementary material design as well as appropriate instruction.

Besides additional practice, the text included in exercises is also essential. Linguists suggest teaching the tense-aspect system not only at the sentence level, but as a means of achieving cohesion in discourse (Larsen-Freeman et al., 2002: 8). Hinkel (2002: 195), in his turn, pointed out that teachers should select a real-life context for mastering English tenses; namely, the exercises should include simplified authentic discourse. As the same verb form may express different meanings in a text, EFL learners need to master the distinctions between forms used in different contexts (Newby, 1998).

In the previous study on student performance while studying tenses at a university in Latvia, it was concluded that, similar to Çakır's observation (2011), the undergraduates had problems in distinguishing between the present and the past tense as well as between different aspect forms in the given context (Apse and Farneste, 2014: 14). It was also emphasized that the first-year learners were not used to autonomous and/or additional work to prepare for their tests; therefore, teachers should help to develop self-learning habits (*ibid.*).

Thus, the goal of the present paper is to design contextual practice exercises in order to improve the students' use of verb tenses and to foster developing independent study skills.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 TEACHING ENGLISH VERB FORMS IN CONTEXT

Linguists distinguish three types of practice in grammar classes: mechanical, meaningful, and communicative (Paulston and Bruder, 1976; Richards and Reppen, 2016). If mechanical practice is focusing on form and is controlled by

employing drills, then meaningful practice activities focus on form and meaning and are based on the use of model texts. Communicative activities deal with form and meaning in 'a real communicative context', which envisages that students write their own texts (Richards and Reppen, 2016: 159-160). The linguists consider that students should start with doing controlled (e.g. gap filling) and semi-controlled activities (i.e. using grammar in different situations) (ibid.: 160). McCarthy (2016) stresses that advanced grammar should be discussed at the discourse level, not at the separate sentence level. That would ensure that students encounter how grammar is used in paragraphs (2016: 214).

Long (1991) distinguishes between focus-on-forms and focus-on-form instruction. Focus-on-forms involves practice-based teaching of specific forms of the target language, whereas, focus-on-form deals with meanings in performing communicative tasks. Ellis (2015: 3) holds the view that focus-on-forms instruction is effective only if the forms are dealt with their functions in different communicative activities. However, it is noted that second language learners encounter problems with focusing on both forms and their meaning, and that learners can master the forms better if intensive instruction is ensured, 'involving repeated activities performed over a period of time' (ibid.: 4). Despite its limitations, Ellis considers that language learning intentionally can be useful for older learners, especially if there is not sufficient time allocated for the focus-on-form type instruction (Ellis, 2015: 10). Also, other linguists (e.g. Lyster and Sato, 2013) emphasise the importance of repetition in grammar classes.

Nunan (1998: 108-109) suggests that students should be given opportunities (1) to use authentic texts so that they can practice linguistic forms in different contexts; (2) to do drills as the first step in studying grammar; (3) to master links between forms, meaning and use; (4) to 'develop their own understanding' how English grammar is used in context; and (5) to encounter the same grammatical items in different contexts of different level of complexity. The target of teaching English grammar should be focusing on the use of grammatical structures in purposeful communication (ibid.: 109).

Although an ever-growing number of contextual tasks is included in advanced grammar books, the demand for them is greater than offer. Books for self-studies frequently contain 'uncontextualized sentences' where learners are expected to fill in the gaps or open brackets, using correct verb forms (Fortune, 1992: 160) and a few exercises with the focus on one or two tensed verb forms in context. Although linguists consider that drill-based exercises are useful in a language classroom (Levy and Stockwell, 2006: 185), Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993: 124-125) emphasize the importance of communicative tasks which should view 'the language as a tool of communication'. They (ibid.: 153) assert that students should learn how to deal with 'the contextual cues', which 'should not be sufficient by themselves to immediately solve the processing problem for the learner [...]. If context cues are too rich, the learner will not be forced to rely on the target structure for meaning'. The teacher should help learners to master 'form-meaning connections' to eliminate the problems while mastering tenses (Lee, 2016: 94).

2 PRACTICE FOR INDEPENDENT LEARNING

Prior research demonstrates that independent learning skill development at the tertiary level could be useful to ensure more grammar practice, which is vital when dealing with mixed ability groups within a limited period of time. Self-study skills will also be useful for further studies and future career.

In order to meet different level student needs, Jurina Babović et al. (2013) suggested designing additional exercises, which could be done in the local online learning platform. The study showed that the availability of supplementary online exercises designed for different levels of English proficiency was successful even with part-time learners. Such exercises helped students from lower levels 'to "standardize" their knowledge' before dealing with more demanding tasks, which should be performed in other subjects, for example, business English classes (ibid.: 114). Teachers at the tertiary level face problems not only with 'different linguistic knowledge' groups, but also different 'pace of learning' (Al-Subaiei, 2017: 182; 185). Similarly to Jurina Babović et al. (2013), Al-Subaiei suggested focusing on strengths of mixed-ability groups and using 'specific tasks' in order to meet the needs of all levels of students (ibid.: 186).

As mentioned above, online independent learning has proved to be useful for additional training of grammar at the tertiary level (Jurina Babović et al., 2013); however, research conducted so far on the use of network for learning grammar has resulted in contradictory findings. Dafei (2007) claimed that independent learning fostered higher learners' English proficiency. In order to achieve that students' autonomy should be developed 'by giving more responsibility, teaching learning strategies, cultivating positive attitudes and guiding reflection' (Dafei, 2007: 16). Dafei also emphasised that learning strategies should be selected depending on the learner's 'preference', and that it is important for students to learn how to 'control their own learning' (ibid.). Likewise, other linguists have concluded that online learning should be fostered to ensure learner-centred approach in their learning process and to adapt to different student needs (Garcia and Arias, 2000).

Other studies also support the use of multimedia in teaching as they ensure some variety in EFL classes (e.g. Armenteros et al., 2013). As to learners, some studies demonstrate that they prefer paper-based rather than web-based materials, despite the fact that nowadays students are considered 'digital natives' (Jarvis and Szymczyk, 2010). Although students have a positive attitude towards independent learning, and they consider that online activities are 'more interesting', not all of them do online exercises (ibid.). Among the main reasons which are mentioned is 'hypertext' which directs students to completely different web pages, and the materials which are not systematic in design (ibid.: 37-38). The reasons for favouring books are their 'availability, clear organization and gradation of exercises, comprehensible presentation and explanation of a grammar point, and clarity of instructions', whereas 'lack of variety' seems to be the major limitation from students' perspective (ibid.: 38). When asked for reasons why students have not practiced outside the classroom, the respondents

mention several: 'lack of time', 'because it is boring', preference to practice under the guidance of a teacher, interest in other aspects than grammar, 'lack of results', 'grammar being difficult to practice' (ibid.: 35). Thus, Jarvis and Szymczyk (2010: 38) suggest using a blended approach to teaching grammar by combining web- and paper-based activities.

Because the opportunities it provides, the Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment (Moodle) has become one of the most popular online platforms in teaching languages at the tertiary level (e.g. Brandl, 2005; Levy, 2009; Sahin-Kızıllı, 2014). However, multimedia teaching cannot 'replace traditional teaching', which ensures 'mutual interaction and influence between teachers and students' (Dai and Fan, 2012: 1146). Frequently, students lack involvement, they have problems in dealing with more complex questions and understanding 'the cause of the wrong answers' (ibid.: 1147). Ceylan's (2015: 90) study revealed that tertiary level learners perceive the teacher as an authority, who makes decisions and takes responsibility for the learning process. Despite understanding importance of autonomy, learners show reluctance in independent studying (ibid.).

According to Richards and Schmidt (2010: 326), 'learner autonomy is 'the principle that learners should be encouraged to assume a maximum amount of responsibility for what they learn and how they learn it'. They emphasize that it is 'not necessarily the same as independence' (ibid.) Najeeb (2013: 1240), who has analysed the multi-faceted and sometimes interlinked notions 'autonomy' and 'independence' from language learning perspective, concludes that they might be used 'as synonyms, or near synonyms', and that linguists still have different views about their meaning and use. Learner independence is closely linked with learner involvement, which, in its turn, fosters the learning process (Najeeb, 2013: 1238). Foreign language learning is linked not only with independence, but also with interaction and cooperation. Material selection for grammar classes 'require some expert knowledge, which teachers possess'; therefore, learning should be controlled by the teacher and modified for a particular situation or even culture (Ertürk, 2016: 653). It means that students cannot be independent in choosing either goals, or materials and methods as well as exercises (ibid.: 650). However, in the context of the teacher helping students to develop their skills that could be useful for life-long learning, the notion *autonomy* and *autonomous learner* could be used.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

The present research was a case study as the size of the studied sample was small – 22 first-year full-time undergraduate students at a university in Latvia, majoring in foreign languages and business. The study language for the entire programme is English. The group had mixed language proficiency, but all of the students had studied English at school as their first foreign language. During the case study the students were taught the English tense, aspect and voice forms. The studies in class comprised both theoretical material and practice exercises of

different level of difficulty, including also exercises that students had to prepare independently at home and that were checked in class afterwards. After this, a paper-based pre-test (self-test) on the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms was given to the students, but the right answers were not provided. The students were asked to take the self-test at least one more time independently, not during the class, but this time they could do it electronically as the test was available in the online platform Moodle, and after submitting the test, they could also see the right answers. In fact, the setting of the test was arranged so that the students could take it as many times as they wished; thus, the researchers could observe whether the students were willing to practise the same exercises independently going through them several times. The test contained a gap filling exercise that asked the students to open the brackets using the given verb in the appropriate tense, aspect and voice form. There were 24 gaps in the exercise, among which 7 required the use of the passive voice (present simple, future and past perfect forms), and the others required the use of the active voice (2 present continuous, 7 present simple, 5 past simple, 1 past perfect and 2 future (with *will*) tense-aspect forms). The self-test was based on a slightly modified authentic text, taken from J. K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat*, and it was contextual for the field the students were majoring in. The students were also advised to do the following to prepare for the final test (post-test) on the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms, which was graded: redo the class and homework exercises, redo the self-test electronically and revise the theory, as well as do the specially designed self-study exercises available in the online platform Moodle. The final test contained a gap filling exercise with 20 gaps where students were asked to open the brackets using the given verb in an appropriate tense, aspect and voice form. All additional exercises were also contextual, based on authentic materials, namely, articles from *The Economist*.

All students were familiar with the Moodle platform where the self-tests, as well as the additional self-study exercises were available because it is used in all subjects the students take, both for independent assignments and as a place where to find study materials, including interactive ones. The platform is even used for tests that are graded, so it was assumed that the students who participated in the present research should not experience any difficulties due to the form in which the self-test and additional self-study exercises were available. In addition, students are familiar with various electronic devices, namely, personal computers, smart phones, and tablets, because they use them on daily basis to get access to the study materials during the classes, to check some information on the internet and also to do some assignments in class. There are even subjects where the students are required to come to classes with their own electronic devices to be able to participate and do all the class assignments.

The applied research methods were the frequency analysis of the grammatical errors the research participants made in the self-test and the final test and the authors' designed questionnaire survey (see Appendix 1). The purpose of the questionnaire was to find out whether the students have prepared

independently for the final test and what the students' opinion on the designed additional exercises and their usefulness is.

During the case study, the authors asked the following research questions:

1. What is the improvement in the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms after doing additional self-study exercises and the self-test?
2. What are the students' perceptions about the provided training opportunities before the final test on the use of the finite forms of the verb?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1 IMPROVEMENT IN THE USE OF VERB TENSE, ASPECT AND VOICE FORMS

In order to find out whether the students' ability to apply the English verb tense, aspect and voice forms had improved after self-studies, a frequency analysis of the errors students made in the self-test (pre-test) and the final test (post-test) was conducted. When the self-test was taken in class in paper form, 168 correct answers (or 39%) were received while there were 257 errors (59%) and in 7 cases no insertions were made. Because the self-test was offered when students had already studied the theoretical material and done the planned class and homework exercises on the use of verb tense, aspect and voice forms, it could be assumed that they had mastered the theme. However, the results lead to an assumption that either the class and home assignments alone did not prepare the students well enough for a test or that the students had not been preparing carefully enough for those assignments, thus assuring the authors that additional self-study exercises would be useful to help the students prepare for the final test.

Analysing the grammatical errors the students had made in the self-test, it can be observed that most of them occurred in the use of the verb tense (66) and aspect (57) forms, although a rather large number also refer to the use of both tense and voice (30) and tense and aspect (29) forms (see Figure 1). These can also be related as corresponding to the findings of the previous research (Apse and Farneste, 2014).

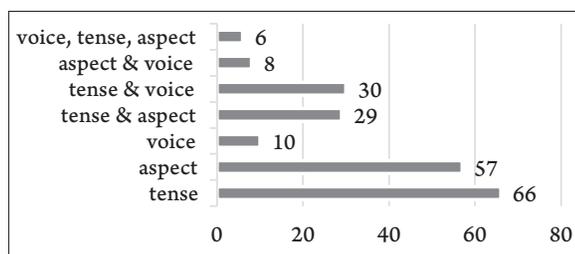


Figure 1 Number of errors in the self-test

Particular gaps seemed to be more problematic for many of the students, for example the sentence where the second gap required the use of the present simple tense:

It (1) _____ (to be surprising) that all our treasures of today
(2) _____ (to be) only the dug-up commonplaces of three or four
hundred years ago.

In 6 cases the present simple tense was used instead, which could be explained by the fact that the students had most probably assumed that the present tense was used in the first gap and they had not paid attention that the second part of the sentence was already in the past. In gap 14 no correct answer was obtained:

(13) _____ (to be) that the same in the future? (14) _____ (to refer, we) to lovingly as 'those grand old artists that (15) _____ (to flourish) in the nineteenth century, and (15) _____ (to produce) those soup-plates or beer-mugs'?

However, almost every student had used *will that be* correctly in gap 13. In gap 8, which required the use of the present continuous (*are hanging*), the students provided the following answers: *hangs* – 7 cases, *is hung* – 1 case, *had been hanging* – 1 case, *is hanging* – 1 case, *are hung* – 1 case, *is going to hang* – 1 case, *hanged* – 2 cases, *hang* – 1 case.

The 'old blue' that (8) _____ (to hang) about our walls as ornaments (9) _____ (to be) the common every-day household utensils of a few centuries ago; ...

The errors for gap 8 illustrate a number of problems, like the use of the wrong aspect or the wrong tense or the wrong voice or both wrong voice and tense, including also the lack of knowledge of the contextual use of the past forms *hung* and *hanged*.

The results of the final test on the use of the verb tense, aspect and voice forms showed a large improvement in the overall students' skills to employ the right verb form because 289 (or 76%) correct answers were received and the number of errors was 89 (24%).

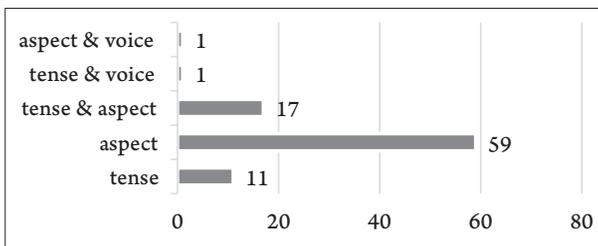


Figure 2 Number of errors in the final test

The analysis of the errors in the final test revealed that the major problem was the use of the appropriate verb aspect (59 errors), followed by the use of the verb tense-aspect form (17 errors) and then the tense form (11 errors), which is a clear indication that after the independent study the use of the verb tense forms had definitely improved (see Figure 2).

The comparison of the number of the grammatical errors by their type (see Table 1) reveals that the use of the English verb tense and voice forms has improved significantly. Nevertheless, the choice of an appropriate aspect form is still a problem, because the number of errors in selecting an appropriate aspect form exceeds by 2 in the final test, and the errors in both tense and aspect have reduced by 1.7 times. This is an indication to the fact that the students need more practice exactly on the use of the verb aspect forms in context, which, as already indicated in the first part of the article, is also supported by the conclusions of the previous research.

Table 1 Comparison of the number of grammatical errors in the self-test and the final test

Error type	Self-test	Final test
Aspect	57	59
Tense	66	11
Voice	10	0
Tense and aspect	29	17
Tense and voice	30	1
Aspect and voice	8	1
Tense, aspect and voice	6	0

As no additional formal teaching and practising was done in class between the self-test and the final test, it can be concluded that the students had prepared independently for the final test. Three students failed the final test; however, it is impossible to correlate their results with the information whether and how much in total they had prepared independently for the test because the survey, which provided information on how the students prepared for the test, was anonymous.

2 STUDENTS' OPINION ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEIR INDEPENDENT STUDY

In order to find out how much the students had prepared for the test independently, a survey was conducted. As the research interest was to find out the students' approach when preparing for the test and whether they would try new exercises, not only revise what had already been taken in class, the answer choices included various activities – from revising the theory and redoing the class exercises and the specially designed self-test to doing the additional authors' created contextual self-study exercises available in the Moodle platform and searching Google for other practice exercises.

The findings of the survey revealed that 14 students had revised the theory, 11 students had done the class exercises one more time, 9 students had retaken the electronic self-test more than once, 7 students had searched Google and done some exercises available, 6 students had done the self-study exercises available in the e-course and 4 students had taken the electronic self-test once (see Figure 3). This indicates that most of the students preferred redoing the exercises they were already familiar with. It assures the findings of the previous research that the students benefit from repetition (Lyster and Sato, 2013), as the overall results in the test had improved, but it is also observed that the students were not particularly willing to learn independently if the task was new because only 6 respondents did the electronically available self-study exercises and 7 searched for additional exercises available on other internet sites, which means that the students rely more on the teacher guided and controlled learning once already experienced in class, and they are not really ready to take the responsibility for their own learning, but it is a very important skill that their future employers will demand; thus, it needs to be addressed more at tertiary level studies.

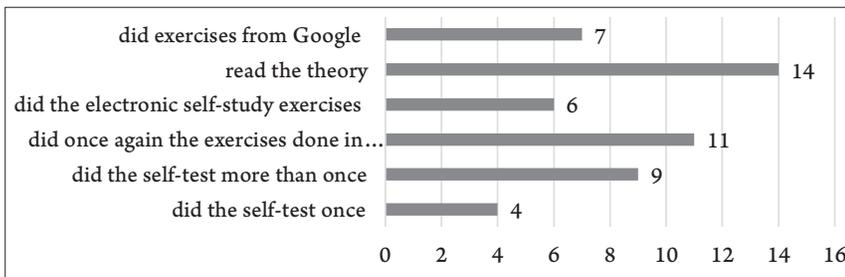


Figure 3 The ways the students independently prepared for the final test (N of students)

The students' answers to questions 5 and 6 of the survey showed that 91 per cent of them had taken the self-test while preparing for the final test: 41 per cent had taken it once, 23 per cent had taken it twice and 23 per cent had taken the self-test three times, which allows the authors to assume that the designed contextual test was useful in the students' opinion. However, the analysis of the electronic data in the system on how many times the students had taken the electronic self-test indicated that 35 per cent of all the research participants had retaken the test on the same day it was given in class in the paper-form. They had retaken it as many times they needed to receive 100 per cent correct answers, which shows that these 35 per cent of the respondents did not use the self-test to prepare for the final test. This leads to an assumption that the students probably did not consider it useful to use the same exercise to revise the grammar theme right before the final test.

The previous assumption is also partly supported by the students' answers to the survey question whether they considered useful the designed electronic self-test, because the survey results indicated that only 3 students considered

it 'very useful' while 8 said that it was 'useful', which is exactly 50 per cent of the respondents (see Figure 4). 7 students (or 32%) stated that the test was 'partly useful' and only 1 student admitted the self-test to be 'not useful at all'. However, the improved performance results in the final test allow the authors to conclude that most probably the self-test and the encouragement to retake it, along with all the other revision activities, had fostered the students' independent learning of the verb tense, aspect and voice forms.

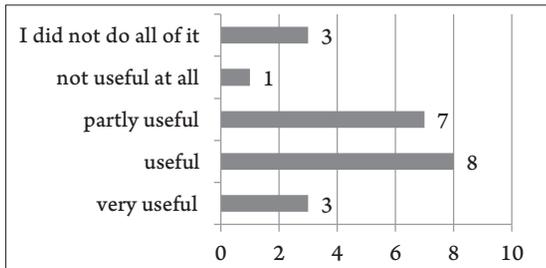


Figure 4 The students' opinion on the use of the electronic self-test (N of students)

In contrast, the results of the students' answers to the second question of the survey about the usefulness of the class exercises (see Figure 5) demonstrated that 73 per cent considered them 'very useful' and 'useful' (7 and 9 students respectively) while 23 per cent (or 5 students) thought they were 'partly useful'. The result can be explained by the fact that the students might have felt more obliged to do the class exercises even if they were not present in class as they wanted to make sure they had covered the class material or they felt this was definitely something compulsory to do. The retaking of the self-test or doing the additional electronic self-study exercises, the latter being done only by 6 students (see Figure 3), was not compulsory, the students were only advised to take them.

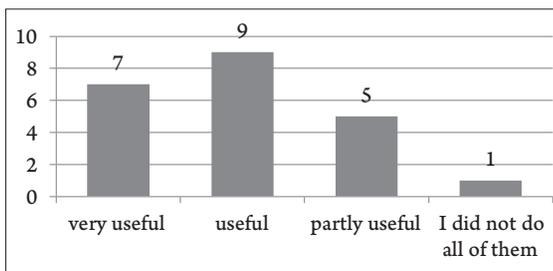


Figure 5 The students' opinion on the use of the class assignments (N of students)

To summarise, the above discussed results illustrate that when the students are required to be responsible for their own learning, they still tend to rely more on the teacher as an authority who can decide what, when and how to learn, which corresponds with the findings of the previous research described in

the theoretical background of this paper, but as autonomy is not only useful to attain better academic results in the studies, but also a skill required in the labour market, its development needs to be fostered not only at the tertiary level, but also at lower levels.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The results of the final test (post-test) clearly indicate that the overall use of English verb tenses, voice and aspect has improved. However, the use of aspect (present perfect vs. past simple; present continuous vs. present simple) is still problematic and needs to be addressed with additional practice exercises.
2. Half of the students found the self-test useful or very useful to prepare for the test and improve their knowledge, which is an indication to the fact that some students have a positive attitude to electronic self-tests and exercises as there is less pressure when and how to do them while the other part might still prefer the paper-based approach due to various reasons.
3. A combination of paper-based and electronic exercises when teaching and learning English verb tense, aspect and voice forms proved applicable and useful, because the overall students' skills to apply the verb forms correctly improved. The approach needs to be continued.
4. Independent study requires students to self-guide themselves, to reflect on their studies, i.e. be responsible. Autonomy is required in social and professional life; so, it may be concluded that the teaching approach also helps the students to prepare for life-long and life-wide learning.
5. The research had some limitations that need to be addressed in the future if possible: small sample size; impossibility to directly correlate the results with the authors' previous research as these are different students, so their language proficiency and other situational factors affecting the way they learned were not the same; the self-test and the additional self-study exercises were not designed to suit different levels of English language proficiency.
6. The present case is the first step in the research. The independent learning of tense, aspect and voice of verbs will be studied further as the same respondents were advised to do three more electronic gap-filling exercises to prepare for the examination. Based on the present research, the assumption is that the results should be better if the students did the self-study exercises.

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APPENDIX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Students

We are working on designing tasks for self-studying of English tenses and would appreciate your opinion. The questionnaire is anonymous, and the answers will be presented only in a summarized form.

Please select the answer choice that suits you more.

- 1) What is your opinion about the theories given on tenses?
 - a) It was very useful
 - b) It was useful

- c) It was partly useful
 - d) It was not useful at all
 - e) I did not read all of them
 - f) Other (comment please) _____

- 2) What is your opinion about the class assignments given on tenses?
- a) It was very useful
 - b) It was useful
 - c) It was partly useful
 - d) It was not useful at all
 - e) I did not read all of them
 - f) Other (comment please) _____

- 3) What is your view about Self-test I with keys provided in the e-studies course?
- a) They were very useful
 - b) They were useful
 - c) They were partly useful
 - d) They were not useful at all
 - e) I did not do all of them
 - f) Other (comment please) _____

- 4) Did you do Self-test I before writing the test on Tenses?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
- 5) How many times did you do Self-test I before writing the test on Tenses?
- a) Once
 - b) Twice
 - c) Three times
 - d) Other (please indicate the number): _____

- 6) Did you re-do Self-test I after
- a) Less than 10 minutes
 - b) 11-20 minutes
 - c) More than 21 minutes, but on the same day
 - d) On some other day
 - e) Other (comment please): _____

- 7) How did you prepare for the first midterm test on tenses? (please circle all that apply)
- a) I did self-test I once
 - b) I did self-test I more than once
 - c) I did once again the exercises which we had done during the classes
 - d) I did the self-study exercises available in the e-course
 - e) I read the theory
 - f) I did not do anything
 - g) I did exercises from Google
 - h) Other (comment, please): _____

- 8) Please provide any other suggestions which could be important in your study process.

Thank you for your comments and time!

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SINGING AS AN ANXIETY-REDUCING STRATEGY FOR LEARNERS STRUGGLING WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM ANXIETY

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Abstract. Foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA) adversely affects learners' performance in foreign language classes. The related literature focuses on the relationship between FLCA and learners' achievement or its potential sources. Considering the possibility of students' having different levels of FLCA in classes, this study was designed to find out whether teaching English songs could decrease FLCA of the students having different levels of anxiety and whether it could increase foreign language examination performance of these learners. The participants consisted of 161 tenth graders. FLCA scale (Horwitz et al., 1986) was administered as a pre-test at the beginning of the study which determined the participating classes as high anxiety (two classes) and low anxiety (two classes). The students in two experimental classes were taught four songs chosen through their votes in four weeks. The results indicated that teaching students' favourite English songs in regular English classes decreased students' FLCA regardless of their anxiety level, though higher anxiety group benefited more. Moreover, the results also showed an increase in students' foreign language examination performance with the use of song teaching due to decreased FLCA.

Key words: foreign language classroom anxiety, music, foreign language learning through songs, EFL learners

INTRODUCTION

With the change in perspective from teacher-centeredness to student-centeredness, especially since the 1990s, the field of language teaching has witnessed growing interest in understanding students' academic emotions and emotional aspects of language learning, such as learners' motivation, willingness to communicate, attitude, personality, and language anxiety (Trang, Moni and Baldouf Jr., 2013). Among these and many other emotional factors affecting language learning either positively or negatively, foreign language anxiety has gained recognition as one of the most significant negative factors influencing second language acquisition (e.g. Young, 1991; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993;

Arnold and Brown, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005; Huang and Hwang, 2013). Mostly associated with an increased level of worry or negative emotions in the course of learning or using the foreign language (MacIntyre, 1999), foreign language anxiety, commonly stemming from inherent linguistic deficit of foreign language learners, seems to vary across the participants' characteristics and context due to its situation-specific nature (Horwitz, E. K., Horwitz, M. B. and Cope, 1986).

The popularity of anxiety and its relationship with foreign language learning has always attracted researchers' attention. However, it has provided confusing results, indicating that it is not a simple, but rather a complex construct (Scovel, 1978). The vast majority of studies provided results showing the debilitating effect of anxiety on foreign language performance of the learners (e.g. Young, 1991; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993; Onwuegbuzie, Bailey and Daley, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005; Liu and Zhang, 2008; Demirdaş and Bozdoğan, 2013; Huang and Hwang, 2013; Tuncer and Doğan, 2015). Moreover, despite the results of the studies illustrating the potential sources of foreign language anxiety, such as the impact of teacher (Aida, 1994), testing of language (Madsen, Brown and Jones, 1991), the type of instruction (Kim, 2009), and learner-related factors (Jackson, 2002), Krashen states in Young's (1992) interview that beyond all these sources, it is especially the traditional language learning environment that is inherently anxiety-provoking for language learning. MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) also claim that anxiety develops gradually, and with increasing negative experiences in foreign language classes, learners develop negative attitudes which further deteriorate their performance in learning a foreign language. Therefore, considering these views, the significance of methodology followed in language classes outweighs that of the personal problems in creating a less stressful learning atmosphere (Young, 1992).

However, despite the general consensus on the deteriorating effect of foreign language anxiety as previously put forward, some situations arousing fear or anxiety for specific group of people may be perceived as comfortable by another group of learners due to its context dependent feature (Horwitz, 2001; Kim, 2010). This creates a further question of how we can decrease anxiety in heterogeneous classes, where the same method may yield different results for each student, to increase performance of foreign language learners. In order to address this issue, several researchers have already studied it and claimed various solutions that may be universally accepted. For instance, immediately apparent Suggestopedia, humanistic and student-centered methodologies (Dörnyei, 2005), allowing learners to recognize their irrational beliefs or fears (Foss and Reitzel, 1988) may be listed among the solutions. Moreover, learners' working with a tutor, joining a language club, practicing self-talk, doing relaxation activities, and instructors' own evaluation of their teaching beliefs as well as their error correction and attitudes toward learners (Young, 1991) are also considered as strategies to decrease anxiety of the learners. In addition to these, personalization of instruction in natural approach, making the message interesting and suitable

for learners' level of proficiency (Young, 1992), playing games (Saunders and Crookall, 1985), assessing exactly what has been taught in class (Madsen et al., 1991), using multimedia environment (Huang and Hwang, 2013) and songs in language classes (Dolean, 2016) have been demonstrated in literature as the alternative strategies to decrease anxiety.

Among these methods, teaching songs has already been proved to contribute learners' language acquisition in several ways ranging from increasing attention to optimizing the operation of learning mechanisms (Schönet et al., 2008). Apart from positive impacts of using music and songs in language learning, it has been found to be decreasing anxiety as well, which may eventually increase learners' foreign language performance (Dolean, D. D. and Dolean, I., 2014; Zoghi and Shoari, 2015; Dolean, D. D., 2016).

Considering that most students with various English language learning backgrounds come together in regular heterogeneous English classes in public schools in Turkey, one of the methods to reduce their foreign language classroom anxiety (hereinafter FLCA) may be to teach songs in English during regular foreign language classes as it is believed to increase their English language learning performance. Although there is evidence to support the fact that teaching songs in foreign language classes reduces overall FLCA of most of the students (Dolean, D. D. and Dolean, I., 2014; Dolean, D. D., 2016), how effective it is for the students having different FLCA levels in these heterogeneous public classes has only been partly investigated in the context of teaching French (Dolean, D. D., 2016). In order to shed more light on this issue, this paper aims to investigate the reactions of different groups of English learners having different FLCA levels in public schools in Turkey through teaching songs in their regular English classes.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY AND USE OF MUSIC IN LANGUAGE CLASSES

E. K. Horwitz, M. B. Horwitz, and Cope (1986) were the first to conceptualize FLCA as a unique and separate type of anxiety particular to language learning showing low correlations with trait anxiety (Dörnyei, 2005). They also developed a scale called *FLCA Scale* to measure this construct (Horwitz E. K., Horwitz, M. B. and Cope, 1986). This unique concept to language learning was explained to appear due to two factors. One of them includes more general types of anxiety people have, such as test anxiety or communication apprehension and the other type appears as a specific reaction to language learning (Horwitz and Young, 1991). This type of anxiety, which is called FLCA, in the simplest terms, makes learners feel nervous in learning a language.

FLCA has mostly been reported to be negatively correlated with the performance of the language learners (Campbell and Ortiz, 1991; Arnold and Brown, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005; Awan, Azher, Anwar and Naz, 2010; Amiri and

Ghonsooly, 2015). On the other hand, some researchers also claimed facilitating impact of FLCA through motivating students to learn more about the foreign language (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001). Moreover, learners' proficiency levels were claimed to be a factor in determining the anxiety of the learners in foreign language classes as well. While Price (1991) and Hembree (1988) claimed negative correlation between the proficiency level of the learners and their language anxiety, the results of the study of Monica and Garau (2009), on the other hand, showed that even advanced learners exhibit the highest level of anxiety. However, they did not show low course achievement despite their anxiety level.

Considering predominantly negative effect of FLCA, in order to neutralize the debilitating effect of it, researchers first attempted to find the potential sources of it. Results identified personality and individual factors of learners (Bailey, 1983; Gregersen and Horwitz, 2002; Bekleyen, 2004), teachers (Aida, 1994), teachers' way of instructing (Liu and Jackson, 2008), and testing (Madsen et al., 1991) as the main sources of foreign language anxiety.

Researchers also put forward various suggestions and proved their effectiveness to decrease foreign language anxiety of the learners. Despite the use of a relaxed and anxiety free classroom atmosphere method of Suggestopedia (Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Dörnyei, 2005), 'rarely are instructors given specific examples of how to go about creating a low anxiety atmosphere in the foreign language class' (Young, 1991: 432). One of those rare techniques is using music and songs in foreign language classes (Dolean, D. D., 2016).

Music is originally defined as a form of emotional communication by the theorist Leonard Meyer and its aptitude is positively associated especially with second language pronunciation ability (Levitin and Tirovolas, 2009). In general, music inspires, motivates, soothes, and relaxes learners depending on learners' taste (Israel, 2013). It constitutes a significant part in the activity list of Suggestopedia to lessen students' anxieties, which inhibit learning. Music has already been reported to contribute to learners' academic achievement, creative development, motivation through enhancing their self-esteem, which is mostly negatively correlated with FLCA (Eady and Wilson, 2004).

In the context of language learning, music was claimed to have a profound relationship with language acquisition, in that music and language support each other (Israel, 2013). It has already been proved in several studies that music and use of songs in language classes contribute positively to learners' language learning (e.g. Gatti-Taylor, 1980; Murphey, 1990; Ludke and Medina, 1993; Schön et al., 2008; Ferreira and Overly, 2014). It also captures the attention of academically unsuccessful students and makes them willing to communicate (Israel, 2013). However, the impact of songs and music is not limited just to language learning performance. At this point, Krashen (1983) suggests that fear, anxiety, or boredom affect the optimal learning and they serve as a screen to block comprehensible input reaching language areas of the mind. However, incorporation of songs in language classes results in positive attitudes and high motivation by providing a relaxing and stress-free atmosphere and lowering

learners' affective filter (Adamowski, 1997; Mora, 2000). It encourages students' participation in classes (Gatti-Taylor, 1980) and makes language learning fun and more understandable (Little, 1983). However, using songs in foreign language classes to decrease foreign language anxiety varied considerably between high and low anxiety groups. FLCA decreased only in the group with high anxiety (Dolean, D. D., 2016).

Use of songs creates a harmonic atmosphere in the classroom, which strengthens the rapport between students and teachers (Eleutério, Oliveira, Silva and Feleiros, 2011). This positive relationship contributes to students' language development and their self-esteem that decreases their foreign language anxiety. Especially students' desire to understand the lyrics of popular international songs and their wish to be able to sing them are the other motives that encourage teachers to use songs in language classes. In terms of the song and music type selection, several researchers provided positive results using different kinds of music, such as humorous songs (Rafiee, Kassaian and Dastjerdi, 2010) and pop/rock songs (Little, 1983).

Despite the existing research providing a broad range of results concerning foreign language anxiety of the learners and the use of songs in language classes as stated above, few researchers (Dolean, D.D., 2016) were concerned about the students' anxiety levels and how different anxiety level groups benefit from the use of songs in French language classes. Although this study primarily follows the methodological steps of the study of D.D.Dolean (2016), this research demonstrates its originality in the context of English learners and use of students' favourite songs. Therefore, this study attempts to find answer to the following research questions:

- How does teaching songs during regular English classes affect students of different FLCA levels?
- How does teaching songs during regular English classes affect examination performance of the students of different FLCA levels?

METHOD

The present study is an experimental study employing intact classes as control and experimental groups including a pre-test and a post-test in the design. The main aim was to investigate the impact of teaching songs (the independent variable) on FLCA of the students (the dependent variable). Moreover, it was also examined whether foreign language learners' examination performance (the dependent variable) was affected because of song teaching in regular English classes.

PARTICIPANTS AND SETTING

Initially, a total of 161 the 10th grade A2 level students (89 girls) enrolled in the same public high school in Denizli, a province located in the west of Turkey,

participated in this study. These students (aged 16-17) attending one of the 6 participating classes started learning English at the age of 10 in the 4th grade. All students took four 45-minute English classes a week in the 10th grade. At the beginning of the study a pre-test was conducted including foreign language classroom anxiety scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz et al., 1986), the results of which determined the participating classes as high anxiety (2 classes) and low anxiety (2 classes) (see data collection procedure). The students in these 4 classes were taught by the same English teacher in the 9th and 10th grade.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

At the very beginning of the data collection procedure, FLCAS (Horwitz et al., 1986), which required students to rate their anxiety in English classes from 1 (low anxiety) to 5 (high anxiety) through 33 items, was translated into Turkish. The students in all classes responded to the questionnaire in approximately 20 minutes. The analysis showed that four classes out of six had rather high (2 classes with mean scores of 2.96 and 2.94 respectively) and rather low FLCA (2 classes with mean score of 2.30) compared to the remaining two classes (2 classes with mean scores of 2.49 and 2.48 respectively). As the values of the scores were not very close to 1 (low anxiety) or 5 (high anxiety), they were considered as moderately high and moderately low. In order to make a rational comparison, the classes having relatively higher and lower FLCA were chosen to take part in the study. These four classes were categorized as ‘experimental’ and ‘control’ groups including 2 in each category. They were named as ‘high anxiety experimental’ (HAE) ($n = 21$, 13 girls), ‘high anxiety control’ (HAC) ($n = 31$, 14 girls), ‘low anxiety experimental’ (LAE) ($n = 33$, 19 girls), and ‘low anxiety control’ (LAC) groups ($n = 34$, 13 girls).

Following this step, independent-samples t tests were conducted to measure the difference in the initial anxiety levels of the experimental and control groups as well as between the high and low anxiety groups before using songs in English classes in the experimental groups. The results indicated no significant difference between the initial anxiety scores for the HAE group and HAC group ($t(52) = .76$, $p > .05$), and the LAE group and LAC group ($t(63) = .07$, $p > .05$).

The average scores of the examinations conducted in the second term of the 9th grade (before the experiment) and the first term of the 10th grade (after the experiment) were considered as the pre-test and post-test examination performance of the participants respectively. In each term, there were three examinations. Vocabulary, reading, listening, and grammar were the skills that were tested in these examinations. The questions of each skill were put in separate sections (each 25 points, 100 total). In this study, the participants’ examination performance in English classes was measured by calculating the average scores they received from three examinations each term separately. These scores out of 100 were used as pre-test and post-test data instead of skill-based evaluation.

Therefore, the increase or decrease in the participants' examination scores would show the participants' overall performance in the foreign language examinations. The types of the questions included matching, filling in the gaps, and multiple choice. The subjects to be covered were all decided by the Ministry of National Education for each class and all the students in Turkey follow the same syllabus. This syllabus also includes the functions and use of language, language skills and learning outcomes, suggested materials and tasks to be employed for each class and week. The examinations took place during regular English classes of 40 minutes. Independent-samples t tests were also conducted to see the difference in the 9th grade English scores of the same groups (out of 100). The results indicated no significant difference for the HAE group and LAE group ($t(50) = .12, p > .05$), and the HAE group and HAC group ($t(52) = -1.03, p > .05$). However, there was a significant difference in the 9th grade English scores of the HAC group and LAC group ($t(65) = -4.05, p < .05$), and the LAE group and LAC group ($t(63) = -4.84, p < .05$) before the experiment. The 9th and 10th grade students' English class averages as well as the differences between the scores for each class are provided in Table 2 below.

While the control and experimental groups followed the regular English syllabus determined by the Ministry of National Education of Turkey for the 10th grades in their regular English classes, the experimental groups additionally followed a 4-week English program including 4 songs chosen through voting among the many alternatives put forward by the students in these groups. The students in the experimental groups were not informed about the aim of this program. As the English teacher of all groups was the same, this teacher implemented the program including songs in the experimental groups.

At the very beginning of the song selection procedure, a pool of 12 English songs chosen by the students in the experimental groups was written down on the board by the teacher. Each song was voted on and the most popular 4 songs were selected to be used for the first classes of every week in the following 4 weeks in regular English classes. *Somebody that I used to know* (by Gotye), *Diamonds* (by Rihanna), *Hymn for the weekend* (by Coldplay), and *Counting starts* (by OneRepublic) were the four songs to be used. They had 129, 92, 102, and 122 beats per minute respectively. The students were informed about the study plan including when and how to learn each song. The students were provided with worksheets including the lyrics and the activities related to the songs' lyrics, such as filling in the gaps or further discussion questions about the lyrics. The students in the experimental groups were informed about the vocabulary test that would include the words in the songs at the end of the program that would partly affect their English scores. As almost all students feel anxious about examinations, the main aim in informing the students in this way was to create anxiety provoking atmosphere that could take place in any regular English class to obtain more realistic results.

The methodology followed to teach the songs in these 4 weeks was adopted from the study of D.D.Dolean (2016). However, there were some remarkable

differences between his study and the present research with regard to the context, participants, and the design. First of all, the target language is French in the study of D.D. Dolean (ibid.) whereas it is English in this study. Secondly, while the participants in the present study are the tenth graders, D.D. Dolean (ibid.) investigated the eighth graders' anxiety level. As a final difference, the songs were chosen by the votes of the learners in the present research. However, the students in the study of D.D. Dolean (ibid.) did not recognize any of the songs when they were first introduced.

This method, which was adopted from D.D. Dolean's study (ibid.), included the following steps: (a) teacher model reading and group translation, (b) group reading, (c) rhythmic group reading, (d) teacher model singing, (e) repetitions, (f) singing in small groups, and (g) final repetition. In the first step, the teacher read out all the lyrics of the song displayed on the screen reflected through projector in the class. She divided all the students in two experimental groups into the groups involving 5 students in each to translate these lyrics with the help of online dictionaries. In the second step, the teacher read each verse of the song and the students repeated. The pronunciation of some problematic words was repeated several times. The students figured out the rhythm of the songs in this step. In the fourth step, the teacher sang the song once while the students were following the lyrics on the screen. Then, the teacher and the students sang the song all together. Following this step, the students were required to sing the songs separately as a group. In the final step, all the students in the class sang the song with the teacher for the last time. Each week, the worksheets given to the students in the experimental groups were practiced following the last step of singing. At the end of the 4-week period, all students in both control and experimental groups were required to complete the FLCAS one more time. English class averages of the 9th (before the implementation) and the 10th (after the implementation) graders were taken as pre-test and post-test measures respectively to examine the effect of song teaching on the students' performance in their English examination. In order to establish intrarater reliability with the examination scores, the same teacher has evaluated the same examination papers at two different times and the same results have been found.

FINDINGS

1 THE EFFECT OF SONG TEACHING ON THE STUDENTS' FLCA

In order to answer the first research question, which is about the effect of song teaching on FLCA of the students from different levels, the statistics regarding the FLCA scores before and after the implementation of the program were presented in Table 1. As the assumptions of normal distribution and homogeneity of variance need to be met in order to calculate ANOVA, Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was employed to decide whether samples were normally distributed across the groups (HAE, HAC, LAE, LAC) and FLCA scores (pre and post-test). All

Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics were among the acceptable range (between .15 and .19, $p > .20$). Moreover, Levene's test of equality of error variances showed that variances across the groups were homogenously distributed in pre-test $F(3, 115) = 1.045, p = .37$ and in post-test $F(3, 115) = 1.608, p = .19$ (Geng, Wang and Miller, 1979).

The results gathered through mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) illustrating the foreign language anxiety scores of the 4 groups (2 experimental and 2 control) at 2 different times showed a significant time effect $F(1,115) = 48.775, p = .000$ revealing significant differences among the groups over time and a significant interaction effect between the group and time $F(3,115) = 17.36, p = .000$, which means the change in scores over time is different in each group (see Table 1).

Table 1 FLCAS pre-test and post-test scores

	Groups			
	Experimental		Control	
	High	Low	High	Low
Pre-test mean scores	2.96	2.30	2.94	2.30
Post-test mean scores	2.47	2.08	2.84	2.32
Difference	-.49	-.22	-.10	+.02

Paired-samples t tests were conducted to compare foreign language anxiety mean scores of each group in pre-test and post-test. The results indicated no significant increase or decrease in FLCA scores of the LAC group for pre-test ($M = 2.30, SD = .70$) and post-test ($M = 2.32, SD = .64$) ($t(34) = -.499, p = .621$), and those of the HAC group for pre-test ($M = 2.94, SD = .83$) and post-test ($M = 2.84, SD = .79$) ($t(31) = .500, p = .621$). On the other hand, the results showed a significant difference in the scores of the HAE group for pre-test ($M = 2.96, SD = .68$) and post-test ($M = 2.47, SD = .53$) ($t(21) = 5.589, p = .000$) and of the LAE group for pre-test ($M = 2.30, SD = .67$) and post-test ($M = 2.08, SD = .65$) ($t(33) = 6.845, p = .000$). The statistical information shows that there has been no significant increase or decrease in the FLCA scores of the LAC or HAC groups when their pre-test and post-test FLCA mean scores are compared. However, the significant difference in the FLCA scores between pre-test and post-test can be observed in the HAE and LAE groups.

While the post-test mean scores of the LAC group increased compared to their pre-test anxiety scores, the biggest difference between the mean scores of pre-test and post-test was observed in the scores of the experimental group with high anxiety (HAE) (see Table 1).

2 THE EFFECT OF SONG TEACHING ON THE EXAMINATION PERFORMANCE OF THE STUDENTS

The four groups of the 9th grade English class averages were compared to their 10th grade English class averages to see whether teaching songs in English classes

affects their examination performance in English. Paired-samples *t* test statistics indicated a significant increase in their 10th grade English class averages for the HAE ($t(34) = -3.276, p = .002.$) and LAE ($t(33) = -2.380, p = .024$) groups, but no significant effect for LAC ($t(21) = -.548, p = .589$) and HAC ($t(31) = -.377, p = .709$). Although all groups' English class averages increased, the highest increase could be observed in the experimental group with high anxiety (HAE) and low anxiety (LAE).

Table 2 English class averages (out of 100) in the 9th grade and 10th grade after the implementation

	Groups			
	Experimental		Control	
	High	Low	High	Low
9 th grade English class averages (out of 100)	76.26	59.32	63.90	59.85
English class averages in the 10 th grade (out of 100)	85.85	63.90	65.09	61.23
Difference	+9.59	+4.58	+1.19	+1.38

DISCUSSION

Students in language classes feel anxious in both learning and using the foreign language in the classroom due to several reasons, such as the examination-oriented system, the impact of teacher, and the type of instruction. As the feeling of anxiety is common in language classes, the related literature is quite rich. However, suggestions to decrease FLCA in regular English classes have only been provided by a few studies. Teaching songs in foreign language classes is one of those (Dolean, D. D., 2016). Considering the gap, the main aims in this study were to find out whether teaching English songs chosen by the students in regular English classes could decrease foreign language anxiety of the students having different levels of anxiety and whether it could increase foreign language examination performance of these learners.

The results indicated that not only students with high FLCA but also the ones with low anxiety in the experimental groups benefited from song learning in terms of their anxiety level. The learners in both groups had less FLCA after the experimental program. However, when they were compared, it was obvious that this method worked much better with the learners having higher anxiety. Although this result is in line with that of D. D. Dolean (*ibid.*), in his study, the learners with low anxiety had higher level of FLCA after the implementation of the program contrary to expectations. This result contradicts with the finding concerning low anxiety group in the present study, as there was a significant decrease in the FLCA level of the students in the low anxiety experimental group. On the other hand, the students' FLCA showed a decrease in his study in the low

anxiety control group while there was a slight increase in the same group in the present research.

Learning a second language is mostly anxiety-provoking experience for most learners during which they are asked to provide ideas and thoughts in another language in which they have very limited competence (Young, 1999). This is considered as a serious challenge and a threat to learners' self-concept (Horwitz et al., 1986). Especially the learners at the age of 16 as in this study may be seriously affected from this. Therefore, EFL teachers should reduce learners' FLCA so that students can feel better and easily express themselves in language classes. On the other hand, Terrell states in Young's interview that (Young, 1992) it is also possible for the students not to attend to the input very carefully when teachers reduce anxiety to a minimum level and make students really relaxed. Considering these facts, one of the major challenges of EFL teachers becomes apparent, that is how to reduce learners' FLCA and keep it at an optimum level.

One of the methods is to use music in language classes as music contributes to learners' academic achievement, motivation, creativity, and self-esteem, which is mostly negatively affected by high FLCA (Eady and Wilson, 2004). The decrease in FLCA of the students in both high and low anxiety groups may be attributed to the rapport established between the teacher and the students with the use of music in regular classes as suggested by Eleutério et al. (2011), which is also considered as an indispensable element of effective learning. Moreover, EFL learners always want to sing along with popular international singers in English and understand the lyrics (Ward, 1991). Including these songs in English classes might be another reason for the decrease in FLCA. In addition, as singing returns students to a more playful state by eliminating logical barriers (Bancroft, 1999), it is also possible to establish a relationship between the decrease in FLCA in the two groups and the fun students had in English classes in the experimental groups in the present study.

The findings also showed that when the students' English grades are compared before and after the experimental program, although all groups had higher scores, it is clear that only the learners whose FLCA significantly decreased had significantly higher scores. The increase in students' grades after the program could be attributed to the use of music and teaching songs in English classes as it was reported in the related literature (Gatti-Taylor, 1980; Murphey, 1990; Medina, 1993; Schön et al., 2008; Ludke, Ferreira and Overy, 2014). The increase in students' foreign language performance could also be explained with their low level of anxiety after the implementation as it is mostly reported to be negatively correlated with learners' performance (Arnold and Brown, 1999; Dörnyei, 2005; Amiri and Ghonsooly, 2015).

Most students are used to popular or rock songs in their daily life. Hence, when the regular English classroom turns into the place where they can sing them, they consider lesson as more fun, interesting, and understandable (Little, 1983). In addition, rhythmic songs with a catchy melody attract their attention

and keep them motivated. Apart from affective impact of singing songs, the repetition of words and phrases also enables learners to learn and remember the vocabulary (Mora, 2000). All these factors might be effective not only on decreasing the FLCA of the learners but also on increasing students' performance in English examinations.

Last but not least, the education system in Turkey is very much examination-oriented (Hatipoğlu, 2016). Therefore, EFL teachers mostly employ pen and paper activities including multiple choice tests which can be less interesting for the students while underestimating students' self-confidence, pronunciation, teaching four skills as a whole. All these factors and especially the examination-oriented system may create high anxiety. Considering the fact that relaxed learners perform better, Turkish EFL teachers' use of song teaching in EFL classes might be suggested to decrease FLCA which may hereby increase learners' performance in foreign language examinations.

As Young (1991) suggests, the biggest challenge in foreign language teaching is to set a low-anxiety classroom environment for the learners. From this point forth, there should be particular emphasis on the relaxing effect of music on students learning a foreign language. As the studies addressing this issue suggest, FLCA adversely affects the foreign language examination performance of the learners. In order to increase this performance, as the findings of this study exhibit, FLCA might be decreased through teaching students' favourite songs. From the results it becomes apparent that learners having both high and low FLCA can benefit from song learning. Therefore, EFL teachers might employ this technique in order to decrease students' anxiety in language classes that may eventually result in an increase in students' examination performance.

CONCLUSION

This paper provides findings suggesting that teaching students' favourite English songs in regular English classes decreases students' FLCA regardless of their anxiety level, though a higher anxiety group benefits more. Moreover, the results also indicated an increase in students' foreign language performance in the examination with the use of song teaching due to decreased FLCA of the students.

Apart from the benefits of song teaching in foreign language classes, some problems that may arise during the implementation of this method should not be ignored. As the method followed in song teaching includes group work, some students may stay silent in some songs. Moreover, in some parts of the songs, loud music overlaps the lyrics which may make it more complicated for the learners with limited listening skills to hear, understand, and figure out the lyrics.

Such empirical evidence and results open up new research avenues for further research. Despite the certain impact of teaching songs on decreasing the FLCA and increasing students' foreign language examination performance,

it may still be unclear whether students had a lower FLCA level due to increased foreign language performance or their attitude toward foreign language learning changed. Further research may find answers to these questions by including students' diaries explaining how they felt in each class learning a song and an interview questioning the potential reasons of the change in their FLCA. Moreover, different types of songs may be employed in different groups in order to assess the impact of song type on learners' FLCA.

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PHRASAL VERBS IN LEARNER ENGLISH: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF LITHUANIAN AND POLISH LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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Abstract. Phrasal verbs, though very common in the English language, are acknowledged as difficult to acquire by non-native learners of English. The present study examines this issue focusing on two learner groups from different mother tongue backgrounds, i.e. Lithuanian and Polish advanced students of English. The analysis is conducted based on Granger's (1996) Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis methodology, investigating the Lithuanian and Polish components of the International Corpus of Learner English, as well as the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays. The results obtained in the study prove that both learner groups underuse phrasal verbs compared with native English speakers. It is concluded that this could be due to the learners' limited repertoire of phrasal verbs as they employ significantly fewer phrasal-verb types than native speakers. Furthermore, it is noticed that learners face similar stylistic, semantic and syntactic difficulties in the use of this language feature. In particular, the analysis shows that such errors might be caused by native language interference, as well as the inherent complexity of phrasal verbs. The present study not only helps to account for the challenges that are common to those language groups which lack phrasal verbs in their linguistic repository, but also provides insights into the understanding of advanced learner language.

Key words: phrasal verbs, learner language, corpus linguistics, contrastive interlanguage analysis

INTRODUCTION

With recent studies in applied linguistics highlighting the importance of vocabulary in second language acquisition, more researchers have begun to shift their attention from syntax and phonology to the neglected areas of the lexicon and multi-word units (Zarifi and Mukundan, 2013). The study of lexicon, which was once considered 'an inherently messy part of our linguistic competence' (Meara, 1984: 230), is now recognized as central to native and non-native language acquisition process.

Phrasal verbs as an aspect of the lexicon are one of the most distinctive and productive structures among multi-word units. They are typical of spoken and informal English, but also widely used in all registers – from comic books to the most academic forms of the language (Biber et al., 1999; Darwin and Gray, 1999). When it comes down to non-native learners of English, particularly

learners with non-Germanic first languages, phrasal verbs are considered notoriously difficult to learn due to their syntactic and semantic complexity. This issue is further complicated by the fact that many non-native English learners avoid using phrasal verbs and rather choose single-word verbs. As Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999: 425) state:

Most students [...] will find such verbs strange and difficult. Yet they are ubiquitous in English; no one can speak or understand English [...] without a knowledge of phrasal verbs. Because they don't realize this, some non-native speakers of English have a tendency to overuse single lexical items where a phrasal verb would be much more appropriate [...].

Although linguists have long been investigating the difficulties that lie behind the usage of phrasal verbs, the interest in this field gained momentum only in the 1990s, when the first learner corpora were compiled and corpus-linguistic methodology emerged. With electronic collections of authentic learner texts at hand, a number of detailed corpus-based studies into the use of phrasal verbs by learners with different mother tongue backgrounds (De Cock, 2005; Waibel, 2007; Mandor, 2008; Chen, 2013; Wierszycka, 2015) were carried out. None of them, however, focused specifically on the use of phrasal verbs in the writing of Lithuanian and Polish learners of English – the two non-Germanic language groups that do not have such a grammatical feature in their native languages.

The present study thus aims at highlighting specific aspects that are characteristic of Lithuanian and Polish learners in the use of phrasal verbs. With its detailed analysis of Lithuanian and Polish written English gathered in the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), the study seeks to offer some insights into the understanding of non-native advanced learner language, as well as contributing to further research in this field.

LITERATURE REVIEW ON STUDIES OF PHRASAL VERBS

The syntactic and semantic complexity of phrasal verbs has long been drawing linguists' attention. Even though the body of literature dealing with these constructions is extensive and multifaceted, research into this field is still impeded by endless discussions on how to define and classify them.

In fact, the very name for this particular language feature is controversial. Various terms have been proposed to refer to it, such as 'discontinuous verb' (Live, 1965), 'verb-particle construction' (Lipka, 1972), 'verb-particle combination' (Fraser, 1974), 'phrasal verb' (Potter, 1965; Bolinger, 1971; Sroka, 1972; Palmer, 1974; Quirk et al., 1985; Biber et al., 1999) or 'two-word verb' (Taha, 1960; Meyer, 1975; Siyanova and Schmitt, 2007). As the term 'phrasal verb' predominates in most studies, as well as in dictionaries and grammars, it is also used in the present paper.

The inconsistent terminology has not been the only source of discussion. Researchers also seem to be concerned with the very structure of the phrasal verb, or, to be more precise, with its non-verbal component. It is generally held that the first part of the phrasal verb constitutes a lexical verb. Yet when it comes to the second component, i.e. the particle, disagreements arise over whether to include a preposition as the non-verbal component and if a three-word verb, which is composed of a verb, a preposition and an adverb, should be treated as a phrasal verb.

Most scholars (Lipka, 1972; Palmer, 1974; Quirk et al., 1985; McArthur, 1989; Downing and Locke, 1992; Greenbaum, 1996; Biber et al., 1999) make a sharp distinction between combinations with adverbial particles and combinations with prepositional particles. For instance, in *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, Quirk et al. (1985) define a phrasal verb as a unit which acts to some extent either syntactically or lexically like a single verb. It is treated by them as a 'multi-word verb', which consists of a single verb combined with a 'morphologically invariable particle'. More precisely, with regard to the nature of the particle, three different types of multi-word verbs are distinguished by Quirk et al. (*ibid.*: 1161): 'phrasal verbs', 'prepositional verbs' and 'phrasal-prepositional verbs'. As explained by them, in phrasal verbs it is an adverbial particle that follows a verb, in prepositional verbs – a preposition, while in phrasal-prepositional verbs – an adverb and a preposition.

Some scholars, on the other hand, take the opposite stance and do not draw the line so rigidly. For example, in *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, Cowie (1993: 39) defines phrasal verbs as 'idiomatic combinations, whether of verb + adverb or verb + preposition'. There are also those who adopt an even broader definition of phrasal verbs, treating not only verb + adverbial particle and verb + preposition but also verb + preposition + adverbial particle combinations as phrasal verbs. For instance, in *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, Courtney (1983: 1) describes phrasal verbs as 'idiomatic combinations of a verb and adverb, or a verb and preposition, or verb with both adverb and preposition'.

The structure of phrasal verbs, however, is not the only source of confusion. The subject is further complicated by the way idiomaticity is dealt with. It is commonly held that based on the degrees of idiomaticity of phrasal verbs the following three categories can be distinguished: non-idiomatic, semi-idiomatic and idiomatic phrasal verbs (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1999). While in idiomatic phrasal verbs both the verb and the particle are opaque (e.g. *to count on*), in semi-idiomatic combinations the verb retains its lexical meaning, while the particle does not, adding a certain nuance to the meaning of the verb (e.g. *to write out*). In non-idiomatic phrasal verbs, on the contrary, both components retain their original meaning that generally expresses direction and movement (e.g. *to walk out*).

Even though it seems that this classification is quite straightforward, some linguists claim that there is no such direct endpoint to either of the categories.

The reason for this is that phrasal verbs have polysemous meanings that often fade into one another. As Waibel (2007: 19) points out, intermediate stages of such classification consist of 'too many shades of grey which are impossible to define clearly'. When considering such polysemous phrasal verbs as *to take in*, it is difficult to distinguish at which point the meaning is still literal, and at which it becomes idiomatic.

Another issue arising from the debate about idiomaticity of phrasal verbs is whether to consider both literal and idiomatic verb-adverb combinations as phrasal verbs, or whether to include only truly idiomatic multi-word verbs. Cowie and Mackin (1993), for instance, exclude non-idiomatic phrasal verbs from their dictionary while most other phrasal-verb dictionaries include both literal and idiomatic phrasal verbs (e.g. Courtney, 1983; Sinclair and Moon, 1989; Cullen and Sargeant, 1996). Quirk et al. (1985: 1152) claim that non-idiomatic combinations should not be called 'phrasal verbs' but 'free combinations'. According to them, only combinations in which each element carries a certain idiomatic meaning can be regarded as 'proper' phrasal verbs. The authors state that the two are often confused because the structure of free combinations is similar to that of phrasal verbs. They list three different methods for distinguishing phrasal verbs from free combinations. Firstly, Quirk et al. (ibid.) claim that the meanings of phrasal verbs cannot manifestly be predicted from the verb and the particle in isolation, for instance, *give in* ('surrender'), *catch on* ('understand') or *blow up* ('explode'). In free combinations, however, the meanings can be inferred from the verb or the adverb. Secondly, the verb or the adverb in free combinations can be substituted by other lexical items, for example, *put + down/outside/away; take/bring + out*. Thirdly, it is also possible to insert an adverb between the particle and the verb in free combinations, e.g. *walk straight in*, but this is unacceptable for phrasal verbs.

These methods, however, are not without their flaws. Although Quirk et al. (ibid.) state that the elements of a phrasal verb cannot be substituted by other lexical items, there are some semi-idiomatic phrasal verbs, such as *turn out* (the light), in which both the verb and the particle can be replaced, e.g. *turn off, switch out, put out*. Furthermore, with the same form, some phrasal verbs can act transitively or intransitively in different meanings, for example, *give in* ('yield') but *give something in* ('hand in'). This further complicates the judgment of phrasal verbs and free combinations.

Biber et al. (1999: 403), in turn, argue that in different contexts free combinations can function as phrasal verbs, and therefore can belong to one category, e.g. *go back, come down*, where both the verb and the particle have distinct meanings and 'represent single semantic units' that cannot be understood from the individual meaning of the components. According to Biber et al. (ibid.), in practice, it is problematic to isolate phrasal verbs and free combinations because the fixedness of such combinations is graded and not discrete.

It is evident from the discussion above that there is some dispute regarding the idiomaticity, the definition and the very structure of phrasal verbs. All

of the scholars, however, unanimously agree that multi-word combinations consisting of a lexical verb and an adverbial particle are to be called 'phrasal verbs'. The present paper will thus follow this view and adopt Quirk et al.'s (1985) division of multi-word verbs into phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs, extracting only those two-word items from the Lithuanian Component of the International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE) and Polish Component of the International Corpus of Learner English (PICLE) that consist of a lexical verb and an adverbial particle. As regards the level of idiomaticity of phrasal verbs, due to the fact that a straightforward differentiation between free combinations and phrasal verbs in many cases is not possible, the present paper investigates verb-particle combinations with both non-idiomatic and idiomatic meanings.

PHRASAL VERBS AND LEARNERS

Mastering the use of phrasal verbs is a notoriously difficult challenge for non-native learners of English. The previous corpus-based studies with regard to phrasal verbs highlight this issue, suggesting that non-native learners of English who lack phrasal verbs in their mother tongue (such as Hebrew-speaking, Italian-speaking or Polish-speaking learners) tend to underuse phrasal verbs, preferring their one-word verb equivalents (Dagut and Laufer, 1985; Waibel, 2007; Wierszycka, 2015). Learners with Germanic first languages (such as German-speaking or Dutch-speaking learners), on the other hand, use these combinations more confidently as they are more familiar with this verb type from their native languages (Hulstijn and Marchena, 1989; Waibel, 2007). In fact, through a corpus-based analysis of Italian and German components of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), Waibel (*ibid.*) has revealed that advanced German learners of English use even more phrasal verbs in written English than native speakers.

Furthermore, learner-related research has shown that non-native speakers of English tend to be somewhat 'stylistically deficient' when using phrasal verbs: that is, they appear to be largely unaware of the differences between colloquial speech and formal writing. Working on the data from ICLE and its spoken counterpart, the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI), De Cock (2005) has discovered that learners' formal writing often contains speech-like features, such as overuse of colloquial phrasal verbs, whereas their spoken language sometimes sounds rather 'formal and bookish'. Interestingly, she claims that learners' overreliance on colloquial phrasal verbs in academic writing can be traced to the interference of learner's mother tongue, and more specifically to the fact that in some Germanic languages (for instance, Dutch, German or Swedish), phrasal-verb constructions 'are not marked for style' and can be used equally in academic writing and informal speech.

Learners' stylistic knowledge of phrasal verbs has also been analysed in Chen's (2013) corpus-based study of the Chinese learners' use of phrasal verbs.

The findings of the research indicate that British novice writers employ a higher number of phrasal verbs that are found to be most frequent in academic written English in general, while Chinese learners lack such a good command of stylistic knowledge of phrasal verbs. Chen (*ibid.*: 97) states that ‘sixty per cent of the highly frequently used phrasal verbs in the learner writing turn out to be less frequently used in academic writing’.

Another major finding that emerges from the previous studies is that foreign language learners tend to misuse phrasal verbs. As demonstrated in Mandor’s (2008) analysis of verb-particle constructions in Swedish argumentative writing, learners often use particles for emphasis in inappropriate contexts, e.g. *end up his life* instead of *end his life*. In addition, they have problems with collocational restrictions, e.g. *rub out thoughts* instead of *rub out pencil marks*. Such errors have also been outlined in the previously mentioned Waibel’s (2007) and De Cock’s (2005) studies. The latter has indeed established that the most typical errors made by learners are semantic errors, demonstrating an incomplete understanding of the meaning of phrasal verbs.

Overall, the findings from these studies can be summarized to a conclusion that non-Germanic learners of English who do not have phrasal verbs in their mother tongue tend to avoid using these combinations. As regards the quality of use, it is noticed that both learners with non-Germanic and Germanic first languages face certain difficulties which involve stylistic, semantic and syntactic confusion over phrasal verbs. Some linguists (Dagut and Laufer, 1985) attribute this to the structural differences between the learners’ native and the target language that interfere with the correct use of this language feature, others (Hulstin and Marchena, 1989; Waibel, 2007) stress that this is also due to the inherent complexity of phrasal verbs and can often depend on the student’s proficiency level of English.

Bearing these observations in mind, the present study sets out a hypothesis that Lithuanian and Polish learners of English underuse phrasal verbs in comparison with native language speakers. Furthermore, it is predicted that both learner groups face difficulties in the use of this language feature. For this reason, a qualitative analysis of the most common errors is also performed in this study.

DATA AND METHODS

The study was conducted according to Granger’s (1996) Contrastive Inter-language Analysis with the aim to highlight specific aspects characteristic of Lithuanian and Polish learners in the use of phrasal verbs. In order to analyse their written English, two components of ICLE were used: a subcorpus of Polish learner English (PICLE) from the second version of ICLE (Granger et al., 2009) and a subcorpus of Lithuanian learner English (LICLE, Grigaliūnienė and Juknevičienė, 2012) which is a new addition to the currently developed version of ICLE. Both subcorpora represent written English of senior undergraduate

university students whose first languages are Lithuanian and Polish. As a reference corpus, the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS, CECL, 1998) consisting of argumentative and literary essays written by British and American students (excluding A-levels examination essays) was also employed.

The detailed information about the Polish and Lithuanian components of ICLE, as well as the LOCNESS control corpus, is presented in the table below:

Table 1 **Corpora used in the research**

Subcorpus	Number of essays	Size (in words)	Average length of essays
LICLE	415	248,489	598
PICLE	365	234,702	643
LOCNESS	298	262,339	886

The research was carried out in several stages. First of all, in accordance with Quirk et. al's definition of phrasal verbs, every occurrence of a multi-word item consisting of a lexical verb and an adverbial particle were extracted from LICLE and PICLE. The subcorpora were analysed with the use of AntConc, a corpus-analysis toolkit, developed by Laurence Anthony (2004). As neither LICLE, nor PICLE are morphologically annotated with respect to parts of speech, the search for phrasal verbs was carried out on the basis of a list of adverbial particles proposed by Fraser (1976) and Quirk et al. (1985).

Further on, the data were analysed following a 'hypothesis-based' approach (Granger, 1998: 15). Based on the knowledge derived from the previous phrasal verb studies, a hypothesis was set forth that Lithuanian and Polish learners of English underuse phrasal verbs in comparison with native English speakers. In order to test the validity of this hypothesis, the data were first approached from the quantitative point of view. Subsequently, an in-depth qualitative analysis with respect to phrasal-verb use was carried out. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis will be presented in the following section.

PHRASAL VERBS IN LEARNER LANGUAGE: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

The extraction of all verb-adverbial particle combinations has revealed that, overall, 559 phrasal verbs are used in the Lithuanian component of ICLE. As regards the PICLE subcorpus, the estimated overall number of phrasal verbs used by Polish learners is 819. Although it is evident at this point that Polish learners employ more phrasal verbs than Lithuanian learners do, in order to draw conclusions on whether the two learner groups underuse or overuse phrasal verbs

it is necessary to compare the obtained results with the quantitative findings from LOCNESS. The comparison of the three corpora is therefore presented in the figure below.

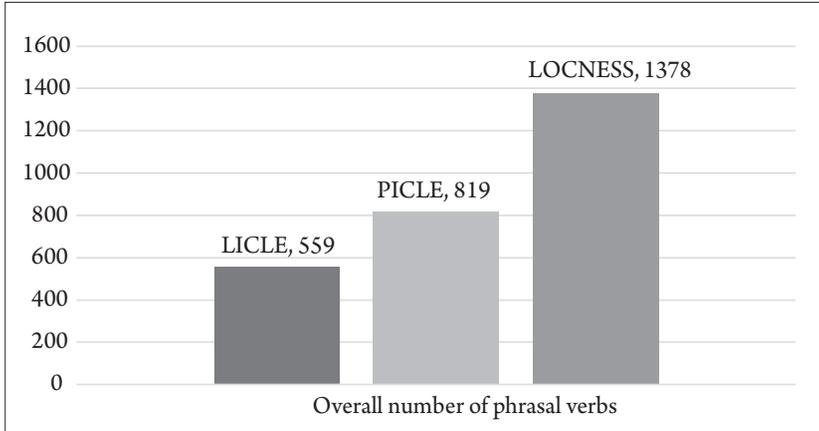


Figure 1 Overall number of phrasal verbs in the three corpora

What follows from the analysis summed up in Figure 1 is that native speakers tend to use about three times as many phrasal verbs as Lithuanian learners and about twice as many phrasal verbs as Polish learners of English. In terms of percentages, Lithuanian and Polish learners use 59.4 per cent and 40.5 per cent less verb-adverbial constructions than native speakers. Such findings, in fact, correspond with the observations reported in the previous studies on the avoidance of phrasal verbs conducted by Dagut and Laufer (1985), Waibel (2007), Wierszycka (2015) and prove that Lithuanian and Polish learners of English underuse phrasal verbs in comparison with native speakers. In addition, it has been identified that learners not only use significantly fewer phrasal verbs than native speakers, but also employ a smaller variety of these constructions (cf. Table 2). This leads to a conclusion that learner writing is lexically less varied with respect to phrasal verbs than that of native speakers.

Table 2 Number of different phrasal verbs in each corpus

	Number of different phrasal verbs
LICLE	183
PICLE	243
LOCNESS	422

Taking into consideration the number of occurrences of each phrasal verb, ten most frequent verb-adverbial particle combinations in the LICLE, PICLE and LOCNESS corpora can be presented:

Table 3 Top 10 most frequent phrasal verbs

	LICLE	PICLE	LOCNESS
1	to sum up	to bring up	to go on
2	to come back	to turn out	to carry out
3	to find out	to give up	to point out
4	to pay back	to find out	to take away
5	to carry out	to go on	to bring up
6	to grow up	to carry out	to take on
7	to point out	to grow up	to end up
8	to go on	to sum up	to grow up
9	to write down	to bring about	to give up
10	to come out	to point out	to bring about

Although a more comprehensive analysis of the qualitative use of phrasal verbs will be presented in the following section, some interesting facts from Table 3 will be highlighted at this point.

To go on, a phrasal verb that is very common in fiction, news and colloquial speech, but less frequent in academic prose (cf. Biber et al., 1999: 410), is at the top of the list in the native control corpus LOCNESS. Such a finding corresponds with Biber et al.'s observation that *to go on* is 'the most common phrasal verb overall in the LGSWE [Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English] Corpus' (1999: 411). While *to go on* is not the most frequent phrasal verb in either LICLE or PICLE, it nevertheless is among the top ten most frequent phrasal verbs. This might indicate that the argumentative essays included in the corpora are written in a semi-formal rather than academic style. However, it is worth contrasting the number of occurrences of *to go on* with the frequencies for *to continue*, one of the one-word equivalents of *to go on*, which is considered more suitable in academic pieces of writing. The frequency of use of the two is presented in the table below.

Table 4 *To go on versus to continue*

	LICLE	PICLE	LOCNESS
to go on	14	28	53
to continue	49	22	146

Looking at Table 4, it is obvious that while in the native students' and Lithuanian learners' essays the more formal alternative outnumbers the less formal one by far, Polish learners of English opt for the more colloquial *to go on*, for instance:

- (1) *However, if women go on accepting their position within imposed frames, they will remain second-class citizens forever.* (ICLE-POL-POZ-0036.1)

- (2) *The war between the former Yugoslavia republics was at first extremely appalling with all its atrocities, but as it **went on** people got used to seeing dead bodies on the streets, no matter young or old.* (ICLE-POL-SUS-0067.2)

Considering the fact that in the Polish language the verb *to continue* has a direct translation equivalent *kontynuować*, this finding is quite striking. Although some linguists (Bywater, 1969; Side, 1990) claim that native language plays an important part in the choice of phrasal verbs and foreign learners of English mostly prefer using a single-word verb of Latin origin over an equivalent phrasal verb, this does not seem to be the case in the current context.

Even though in LOCNESS the list of the most frequent phrasal verbs is headed by the colloquial *to go on*, two phrasal verbs follow immediately which are reported by Biber et al. (1999: 410) to be common in academic prose, i.e. *to carry out* and *to point out*. These two phrasal verbs are among the 10 most frequent phrasal verbs in the learner subcorpora as well, but they are not used as frequently by the learners as by the native students:

Table 5 *To carry out and to point out*

	LICLE	PICLE	LOCNESS
to carry out	19	27	48
to point out	14	20	41

One more phrasal verb that is worth mentioning in the context of academic prose is *to sum up*. As can be seen from Table 3, in both learner subcorpora *to sum up* is among the 10 most frequent phrasal verbs (62 occurrences in LICLE, 24 occurrences in PICLE). Having in mind that this phrasal verb is a common text-structuring device in the domain of academic language, it is not striking that it occurs frequently in learner writing. In the native control corpus, on the other hand, *to sum up* is used only once in 298 essays, and it is not employed as a means of structuring the text but rather as a simple lexical verb:

- (3) *I contend that the saying is meaningless-or a least impractical – for **summing up** the woes and corruption of humanity since desire-much less evil – cannot be appropriated objectively and weighed against financial aptitude.* (ICLE-US-IND-0005.1)

In the LICLE subcorpus, by contrast, *to sum up* is used in the following way in only two instances:

- (4) a. *The issue under consideration can be **summed up** thus: despite trying to deny negative effects of emigration it is obvious that many problems arise from it, such as demographic crisis and loss of cultural identity.* (ICLE-LT-VI-0231.5)

b. *This quotation **sums up** every point discussed.* (ICLE-LT-VI-0293.7)

Meanwhile, in PICLE, *to sum up* serves only as a text-structuring device. Interestingly, in almost all the instances in the LICLE and PICLE subcorpora, this phrasal verb is found sentence-initially, for example:

- (5) a. ***To sum up**, writing is a challenge for writers rather than adventure.* (ICLE-LT-VU-049.1)
- b. ***To sum up**, it is possible to prevent the spread of the plague or even to nip it in the bud.* (ICLE-POL-0194)

The strikingly frequent use of *sum up* at the beginning of a sentence might be explained as the learners' intention to make the structure of their essays more obvious. By using *to sum up*, Lithuanian and Polish learners of English not only demonstrate their awareness of text cohesion but also ensure that the reader is able to follow the line of argumentation more easily. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that such over-reliance on one particular discourse organizer is also indicative of the learners' limited lexical repertoire.

Overall, the quantitative analysis of phrasal verbs in native and learner writing yielded several insightful results. Based on the overall number of phrasal verbs extracted from the LICLE, PICLE and LOCNESS corpora, the hypothesis was confirmed that both Lithuanian and Polish learners underuse phrasal verbs in comparison with native English speakers. It was concluded that this could be due to the learners' limited repertoire of phrasal verbs as they used significantly fewer phrasal-verb types than native speakers. In the further analysis, certain phrasal verbs were identified that were underused (e.g. *to take away*) or overused (e.g. *to sum up*) in both PICLE and LICLE. The analysis of the most frequent phrasal verbs also revealed that formal phrasal verbs like *to point out*, *to carry out* and *to sum up* are used together with more informal ones like *to go on* or *to come back*. This style deficiency leads to an assumption that in certain cases learners might not be fully aware of the stylistic restrictions of phrasal verbs. In order to draw conclusions, it is important to analyse in which contexts informal phrasal verbs are used; therefore, style deficiency will also be investigated in the qualitative part of the study.

PHRASAL VERBS IN LEARNER LANGUAGE: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

At various points of the research, it became evident that Lithuanian and Polish learners of English face certain difficulties in the use of phrasal verbs. The investigation of the examples gathered from LICLE and PICLE has revealed that both learner groups have a tendency to use highly colloquial phrasal verbs that are not typically associated with formal writing. Such instances include:

- (6) *People do not **go out**, do not communicate with their friends and relatives. (ICLE-LT-VY-1004.1)*
- (7) *The easiest way of appeasing one's hunger is to **pop in** for a hamburger or pizza. (ICLE-POL-UCS-0008.1)*

As the content of these essays might, indeed, not intend to convey seriousness, the use of such highly colloquial phrasal verbs as an expressive device is by all means justified. However, not in all cases the mixture of informal and formal styles is appropriate in academic writing, for instance:

- (8) *We all know that there is a lot of corruption and shadows in the overall circulation of money in the world, but it has not just **popped up** recently. (ICLE-LT-VI-0281.7)*
- (9) *What if some factor which was hidden or simply overlooked **croops up** and alters the entire situation? (ICLE-POL-UCS-0006.1)*

In examples (8) and (9), the essays are concerned with such serious topics as the financial crisis of 2008 and capital punishment. Therefore, using *to pop up* or *to crop up* instead of a much more neutral verb as *to emerge* might be considered inappropriate and demonstrate that in some cases learners are not fully aware of the stylistic restrictions of multi-word verbs.

Another common issue that appears in both subcorpora is the misuse of certain phrasal verbs. In contrast to examples (8) to (9) above, which demonstrate style deficiency, examples (10) to (17) below involve inappropriate selection of either the verb or the particle. The first two instances evidence the particle mistakes:

- (10) *So to start with, at the very beginning a person who is due to **take over** a new writing adventure (either a new book, article or even a poem is usually amused and interested about the idea and prepares for it intensively: thinks about the structure, chops down the ideas for the content. (ICLE-LT-VI-0172.4)*
- (11) *And suddenly the public opinion is acquainted with the fact that gays are human beings as well and that they want to lead normal (!) lives, with a spouse and a couple of children **running about** the house. (ICLE-POL-POZ-0026.4)*

As seen from the examples above, the selected particles are not suitable in the intended context. In (10), *to take up* would be the appropriate phrasal verb, meaning 'to start to do a new activity', whereas the actually employed phrasal verb *to take over* means 'to do something instead of someone else' or 'to gain control over something' (the phrasal verb meanings given in this section are taken from *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English* (2006)). *To run around*, meaning 'to run in different directions, especially in an excited way', would be the correct option in example (11). The learners producing the above-mentioned

examples are evidently familiar with the verb part of the phrasal verb but they do not know the particle that is necessary to complement the verb in order to convey the relevant meaning.

There is, however, a number of instances in LICLE and PICLE where errors occur not due to the inappropriate selection of the particle but, on the contrary, because of the superfluous use of it, for instance:

- (12) *To **summarize up**, W. Churchill was right when comparing writing with an adventure. (ICLE-LT-VI-0183.4)*
- (13) *But not only is there a tendency in art to escape into the world of dreams but also in architecture. People get and tired of concrete and iron and they **seek after** solitude in the countryside. (ICLE-POL-POZ-0044.1)*

In the instances above, *to summarize up* and *to seek after* are used although the verb-part of each combination already conveys the intended meaning on its own. Therefore, single-word verbs would be the more appropriate choice.

While in examples (10) to (13) the particle proves to be problematic, in the following instances it is the verb that provokes errors:

- (14) *To **round up**, one should understand that even if not legalized homosexual families do exist and they are struggling for their survivor. (ICLE-LT-VY-0019.2)*
- (15) *However, there is little hope that those criminals will be **stacked away** forever. (ICLE-POL-POZ-0003.1)*

In (14) and (15), *to round up* and *to stack away* should be replaced with *to sum up* and *to lock away*, respectively. Although the phrasal verbs used in these examples do exist as such, they have meanings different from the ones assumed by the learners. *To round up* does not actually imply 'to give the main points of something in a few words' but carries the meaning of 'to bring together a number of people, animals or objects in one place'. And *to stack away* carries only one meaning which is 'to keep or lay aside for future use'.

Examples (16) and (17), in turn, are erroneous due to the confusion of the verb-part of a phrasal verb with a phonetically similar verb:

- (16) *He says that even Lithuanians earn more, they still **lack behind**. (ICLE-LT-VI-0103.2)*
- (17) *Besides, the decision to stay together 'till death **tells us apart**' involves taking up serious obligations and duties. (ICLE-POL-POZ-0020.3)*

To lack behind in (16) is a result of confusion with *to lag behind* ('to progress or develop more slowly than others'). In (17), *to tell apart* is confused with *to tear*

apart ('to separate people in a family, an organization, a country, etc.) which would be the correct option in this case.

Apart from examples (8) to (17), which demonstrate learners' stylistic and semantic confusion over phrasal verbs, there are also a number of instances in the LICLE subcorpus that are marked by syntactic errors, such as using transitive phrasal verbs intransitively or vice versa, for instance:

- (18) *Firstly, the children left by one or both of their parents tend to be more easily affected which means we are **growing up** a generation having an unstable basis.* (ICLE-LT-VI-0218.5)
- (19) *Then, the hormones having ceased to be excessively produced, which is only after two or three years, he or she begins to look for another love, **splitting up** the relationship.* (ICLE-POL-POZ-0031.5)

In examples (18) and (19), it can be observed that the intransitive *to grow up* and *to split up* is used transitively. Intransitive phrasal verbs, however, do not and cannot take objects as they function separately in a sentence. The correct alternatives in these instances would be the transitive phrasal verbs *to bring up* and *to break off* or the single-word verbs *to raise* or *to end*. As noticed in the previous studies with regard to phrasal verbs, such errors often stem from native language interference. Indeed, in Lithuanian, the construction corresponding to *raise a generation* is *užauginti kartą*. The verb (*už*)*auginti* translates directly as *to grow* and is transitive in the Lithuanian language. Learners that use *to grow up* in such contexts are, apparently, familiar with the semantics of this phrasal verb in that they use it in connection with children and education; they are, however, unaware of its syntactic restrictions or, more precisely, of the fact that this phrasal verb is intransitive in English.

Another example of an error that can be traced back to the mother tongue of the learner is displayed below:

- (20) *Lecturers do not have time to provide students with proper information and explain their subjects as they have to work two or more extra jobs in order to **live by**.* (ICLE-LT-VI-0149.3)

The correct phrasal verb intended by the student is *to get by*. The actually used phrasal verb, *to live by*, can be related to the Lithuanian verb *pragyventi*, meaning 'have the means to meet your daily needs' (the meanings of the Lithuanian and Polish verbs provided in this section are based on *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* and *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, respectively). *Gyventi* is the Lithuanian equivalent of *to live*, and the prefix *pra-* serves a similar function as the adverbial particle *by*.

Native language interference is also discernible in Polish learner writing. In several examples in PICLE, the selection of the verb-part of a phrasal verb is due to direct transfer from native language, resulting in the production of multi-word

verbs that exist as such in English, yet take on meanings diverging from their dictionary meanings, for instance:

- (21) *If a social point of view is considered, those who are in favour of the present situation, believe that the modern human being lives in a natural social environment he has managed to **work out** throughout the past centuries.* (ICLE-POL-POZ-0005.2)
- (22) *Denominational scouting means **crossing out** tolerance from the list of its principles.* (ICLE-POL-POZ-0005.2)

In examples (21) and (22), learners used the English verb that is closest to their mother tongue: *wypracować*, meaning ‘to gain effect by effort or work’, is translated literally as *to work out* (*wy* + *pracować* → *out* + *work*), and *wykreślić*, meaning ‘remove sth from a list’ is translated as *to cross out* (*wy* + *kreślić* → *out* + *cross*). Although the Polish verbs do convey the suitable meaning, the produced phrasal verbs do not apply to the context. It thus may be assumed that the learners producing these sentences lack the necessary vocabulary skills to find suitable English equivalents for their Polish thoughts and employ expressions that are a result of direct transfer from their native language.

CONCLUSIONS

The extraction of phrasal verbs and comparison of the three corpora revealed that Lithuanian and Polish learners used significantly fewer verb-adverbial constructions than native speakers. Such findings corresponded with the observations reported in the previous studies on avoidance of phrasal verbs conducted by Dagut and Laufer (1985), Waibel (2007), Wierszycka (2015) and verified the set out hypothesis that Lithuanian and Polish learners of English underuse phrasal verbs in comparison with native speakers. It was discovered that learners not only used significantly fewer phrasal verbs than native speakers, but also employed a smaller variety of these constructions. The quantitative data demonstrated that nearly twice as many phrasal verb types were used in LOCNESS as in PICLE and LICLE. This led to a conclusion that the writing of Lithuanian and Polish learners is less diverse lexically than that of native speakers. The limited repertoire of phrasal verbs was also outlined as one of the reasons learners underused these combinations in their writing.

Further analysis of the most common phrasal verbs revealed that both Lithuanian and Polish learners were more focused on the use of phrasal verbs associated with a discourse organization function. Although the extensive use of text-structuring devices was attributed to learners’ awareness of text cohesion and discourse organization, this also indicated the more varied repertoire of the native speakers who created cohesion by other lexical means than the overt discourse organizers and avoided using such phrasal verb as *to sum up* in their essays.

Finally, a qualitative analysis of phrasal verb use in the writing of Lithuanian and Polish learners was performed. As predicted, both learner groups faced similar difficulties in the use of this language feature. In particular, the investigation of the gathered examples has revealed that learners tend to use highly colloquial phrasal verbs which are not typically suitable in the context of academic writing. Not only are learners unaware of stylistic restrictions in certain cases, they also lack relevant vocabulary knowledge and tend to choose phrasal verbs that convey different meanings from the ones assumed.

The qualitative analysis has also demonstrated that the inherent complexity of phrasal verbs is not the only source of difficulty for Lithuanian and Polish learners of English. Errors in the use of phrasal verbs are also caused by native language interference or, more particularly, by direct transfer from either Lithuanian or Polish. During the analysis of the instances from the subcorpora, it has been noticed that in certain cases learners fail to recognize the appropriate phrasal verbs in English and employ expressions that are a result of erroneous transfer from their mother tongue. This conclusion, in fact, supports Dagut and Laufer's (1985) claim that structural differences between the native and the target language impede successful learning of phrasal verbs.

Overall, the quantitative and qualitative analyses have showed that, apart from the great numerical difference in the use of phrasal verbs, Lithuanian and Polish learners of English share a number of similarities. The present study has helped to account for the challenges that are common to those language groups which do not have phrasal verbs in their linguistic repository. The findings from the present research can not only be employed to draw further conclusions concerning learner language universals in future studies of different language groups, but also can be used to expand the knowledge of phrasal verbs and provide insights into the general understanding of advanced learner language.

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SPECIFICS OF TRANSLATING OSTEOPATHIC TERMINOLOGY FROM ENGLISH INTO LATVIAN

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Abstract. The present article explores the complex issue of translation in the field of biodynamic osteopathic terminology. Due to the status of this discipline in Latvia, terms in the source language (English) still need to be transposed into Latvian, implementing the process of secondary term creation. The research examines community-generated translation practices and provides an overview of the resulting situation. The principles of terminological work are based on the communicative and frame-based theories of terminology, with the grounding principles of the General Theory of Terminology (GTT). The methodology includes qualitative and quantitative analysis of term translations obtained from 7 respondents, based on a corpus of 229 terms extracted from course books and didactic CDs in the field of biodynamics in osteopathy. The resulting data on user-generated translation practices can serve as a basis for further exploration of the given terminology in a more prescriptive key.

Key words: terminology, translation, equivalence, term creation, terminological metaphor, biodynamic osteopathy

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to provide an overview of translation practices and challenges with a focus on user-generated translation in a specific domain of manual medicine – osteopathy in the cranial field, also known under the title of ‘biodynamics’. The purpose of such a review is descriptive, the goal of determining a central term for each notion in question being beyond the scope of this particular research.

Osteopathy is a branch of manual medicine based on physical contact. The discipline originated in the United States in the late 1800s. Today, it is taught both as a medical school program and as a residency specialty for doctors in Latvia. Osteopaths, or Doctors of Osteopathy (D.O), develop their sensory apparatus to a very high degree, increasing their perceptual skills far beyond what a normal person can feel.

The profession uses an extensive original vocabulary in English as its main source language. This terminological pool presents a number of difficulties that I have been able to observe over my more than ten-year experience as a translator and interpreter in the field.

The biodynamic branch of osteopathy does not provide a uniform glossary for its terms. Definitions are rarely present in textbooks and can differ from one text to another, as the notions they mirror are very complex and seemingly abstract. Thus, the meaning of many terms remains rather vague for beginner students, especially those who embark upon the biodynamic journey. Translation only exacerbates this problem, since translators are even less initiated into the sensory worlds of osteopathy, and whenever the translation is managed by osteopaths themselves other difficulties arise.

Teachers of biodynamic osteopathy consider language as a deficient tool for the transmission of knowledge. They actively support the transmission of information by other sensory means and advocate continued use of the oral tradition. Consequently, there are relatively few publications in the field. Another factor is the apparent esoteric nature of most biodynamic terms, which has been amply criticized, undermining the level of credibility of the few D.Os who ventured to write their thoughts down.

The principle challenge of biodynamic terminology in Latvia is the fact that it has not yet been translated, since it is not a part of the basic training of osteopaths, but an elective postgraduate program. I will therefore attempt to observe the linguistic choices made by specialists in the field and establish patterns of translation practices for further elaboration and research. This research can serve as a starting point for further elaboration in the prescriptive light of lexicographical work.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Translation and terminology are both conditioned by semantic, pragmatic, contextual, and cultural factors that operate both on the level of source language and that of the target language (House, 2000: 150). In order to approach the specifics of rendering terminology into different target languages, we need to delineate the subject field and point out some of the characteristics of terminological units.

In the case of biodynamics in osteopathy, we are dealing with what is considered specialized language. Michele A. Cortelazzo (2007) proposes to consider specialized language as a functional variety of common language, a variety that depends on the knowledge sector or on a specialized sphere of activity and that can be used in its entirety only by a rather restricted group of speakers in order to satisfy their communicative needs. Therefore, according to him, its primary function is referential for a given specialized sector: more precisely, on the level of lexis, the specialized language is composed of additional correspondencies, compared to the general language, and on the morphosemantic level it presents the totality of selections, regularly recurring inside the inventory of the available forms of the natural language in question (*ibid.*).

Cortelazzo goes on to say that, even though the research of specialized or special languages includes various parameters, such as morphology, lexis,

syntax, etc., the vocabulary of these languages is what most often allows us to establish their status. He adds that the lexical side of specialized languages, i.e. terminology, is distinguished from general language not only quantitatively (a higher level of lexical needs), but also qualitatively (different criteria related to the specific type of relationship between the signified and the signifier) (ibid.).

Rogers (2007: 13) gives the following definition of a term:

term: a lexical unit with a specialized meaning relating to a particular domain e.g. virus (information technology) versus virus (microbiology), platform (general language relating to train stations) versus platform (software); a term can be multiword e.g. computerized axial tomography or an abbreviation e.g. CAT or CT.

The principles of terminological analysis depend on the theoretical framework that determines the approach to empirical research. Over time, several approaches and theories regarding terminology and terms have been developed, each of them providing a unique appreciation and detail of the units in question.

The first theoretical introspection of terminology, later known as General Terminology Theory (GTT), was based on the work of Eugen Wüster in the 1930s. The GTT principles as exposed by Felber (1979) emphasize the priority of concepts, their monosemy and univocity, harmonization, the absence of synonymy, precision and neutrality, giving priority to written registers and synchronous investigation. The principles of GTT have laid out the basis for the International Organization for Standardization and continue to be present in the form of guidelines for terminological standardization and systematization, such as outlines in Skujiņa's work (Skujiņa, 2002; Skujiņa, Ilziņa, Vasiļjevs, Borzovs, 2006), for example.

For a long time, GTT remained the only framework for terminological work. But later, as a result of 'the cognitive shift' (Faber Benitez, 2009), new theories of terminology arose later in the 20th century, incorporating knowledge from other branches of science and concentrating more on the communicative, social and cognitive aspects of terminology. New approaches to terminology, such as socioterminology (Boulanger, 1991; Guespin, 1991; Gaudin, 1993, 2003), the Communicative Theory of Terminology (Cabré Castellví, 2000) and sociocognitive terminology (Temmerman, 2000) largely in tune with the two previous ones, have made it possible to include this science into a wider spectrum of research (L'Homme, 2003).

As a result of the cognitive shift, new aspects of term management have come within the scope of consideration. First of all, a certain stratification of terms has become accepted in relations to the communicative situation. Cabré (2003: 172) writes that a translation, including those in a technical field, 'must be literal regarding its content, appropriate regarding its expression, adequate regarding the register and precise regarding the rhetoric of the receptor community'.

This way, the resulting text is fully comparable to the original. Translators will obviously need to apply terminology appropriate for the specialists of the target

community, use similar range of variation of expression and select designative structures that are most appropriate to the text type in question.

Cabré proposes to evaluate a terminological unit via the theory of ‘doors’, which takes into consideration the term’s cognitive, linguistic or communicative aspect. Thus, cognitively, terms constitute ‘conceptual units representing nodes of knowledge which are necessary and relevant in the content structure of a field of specialty and which are projected linguistically through lexical units’, and thus play a ‘representation function’ for specialized knowledge (Cabré, 2010: 357). In terms of linguistics, ‘terms are lexical units of language that activate a specialized value when used in certain pragmatic and discursive contexts’ (ibid.). Finally, terms as discourse units identify their users as members of a professional group, providing a communication tool for interaction in any format, including didactic.

Modern theories of terminology also attempt to integrate the pragmatic aspect of term evaluation into terminological practice. Sager claims that term formation is influenced by the subject area in which it occurs, the nature of people involved and the stimulus for term creation (Sager, 1990: 80).

Another feature, which has been closely scrutinized within another approach called frame-based terminology, is contexts and how terms behave in texts. Faber Benitez (2009) explains how frames consider both the potential semantic and syntactic behavior of specialized language units. This necessarily includes a description of conceptual relations as well as a term’s combinatorial potential. Semantic and syntactic information is extracted from corpora using various tools. This practice can potentially provide a wealth of information for the translator and contribute to the establishment of terminological equivalents.

As stated by Faber Benitez (ibid.: 123-124), ‘conceptual networks are based on an underlying domain event, which generates templates for the actions and processes that take place in the specialized field as well as the entities that participate in them’.

Within the framework of socio-cognitive terminology model, diachronic study of terminology and the ‘splicing’ of terms used to determine the evolution of different aspects of meaning for a particular unit, has led researchers to suppose that one of the mechanisms consciously or unconsciously used in the creation of scientific terms is metaphorical modelling (Kerremans, Temmerman and Vandervoort, 2005).

In fact, when dealing with the terminology of biodynamics, one realizes that the majority of terms in biodynamics in osteopathy are metaphors. This brings about specific challenges on the level of translation due to some unique characteristics of terminological metaphors. Metaphor is one of the main ways (along with morphological, syntactic, lexical and stylistic devices) for new term formation in medical terminology (Divasson and León, 2006: 59-61), of which osteopathy is part.

As noted by Dunbar (1995: 142), ‘metaphors occur most frequently in areas where the phenomena described are not fit for our everyday language’, which is exactly the case with biodynamic osteopathy. Cognitive sciences view metaphor as a central figure of cognitive phenomena, a constitutive element of our thinking, our experience of the world, not just a tool for expressivity. A terminological metaphor or a metaphorized term, in turn, can be seen as a conceptual metaphor anchored in a particular domain, such as medicine, or more specifically, osteopathy, or social practice, where it becomes the expression of a new concept.

Terminological metaphor, according to Oliveira (2005: Online) forms a direct link with the ‘incarnate experiences’ of the specialist in a given domain, their daily practices whether those are sensory-motor, cultural, social or linguistic. Thus, anchored in a specific social practice, terminological metaphor becomes an identifier of a new concept. In a similar light, ‘it is far from a simple manner of speech’ (Assal, 1995: 23). Assal (1995) continues that the metaphor is essentially a manner of thought. Being a borrowed image in the first place, it is inserted into a particular social practice, where its meaning becomes clarified by the actors of the domain. As a result, it becomes an expression of a new concept.

Metaphors in biodynamic terminology present instances of ‘interactive metaphors’ (Oliveira, 2005: Online) that compares two domains implicitly and aim to surprise the mind, thereby inciting scientific research of similarities between the domains in question. After a certain cognitive conflict, specialists begin to consider the object of the metaphor in a different perspective, which predisposes them to proceed to conceptual change. In terms of translation and equivalence, metaphorized terms can present a rather important challenge. As Knudsen (2003: 63) remarks, newly-produced metaphorical expressions require certain clarification, they are to be ‘subsequently [...] tested, accepted or discarded, questioned and extended in order to be scientifically acceptable’. The clarification process is reproduced several times until the metaphor in question is officially scientifically accepted.

While that protocol may be the ideal way to proceed, it has not happened this way for osteopathy in the biodynamic field. Metaphors were created by various authors and groups, some presenting obscure motivation, often without sufficient explanation or pragmatic perspective.

In cases like this, translators are often at risk terminologically, since misunderstood metaphors can result in differing interpretations across cultures or even within the same one. Conversely, whenever specialists themselves translate terms, the risk is that they invest their own personal interpretation into the target language neology. Assumptive frameworks, which allow us to filter out the unnecessary information and focus on the pertinent statement, are not automatically activated in ambiguous cases, and metaphor mapping (the correspondences that exist between the source and the target domain) may differ.

As stated previously, the particularity of this research resides in the fact that no translations into Latvian have yet been made for this discipline, nor have any

of the teaching seminars in biodynamics been interpreted into Latvian. Thus, the terminology in the target language is virtually non-existent. This way, we cannot speak of various degrees of translators' involvement into the process (such as in the levels according to Cabré (2010: 363), since no translators are engaged in this work. Instead, we are dealing with units produced by true native-language experts in the field, which has its advantages and disadvantages. Obviously, experts in osteopathy cannot act as professional terminologists, but they do have a unique perspective regarding the concepts in question. The proposed work is not qualifiable as terminography (that is why the term 'translation' is used). Cabré (1999: 115) writes that terminological work does not indicate pure translation of a term 'based on supposedly equivalent designations', but rather it requires gathering the designations employed by language users in order to refer to a concept. If necessary, the translator can propose alternatives in cases where existing designations are unsatisfactory.

Reconciling the principles of terminology with those of translation studies is indeed not as obvious as it might seem. As Pym puts it, 'If a distinction must be made, let us propose the following: translation involves the obligation to select between more than one viable solution to a problem, whereas terminology seeks situations where there is only one viable solution' (Pym, 2011: 93). Certain adjustments will clearly have to be made in order to find the most fitting definition of the principle of terminological equivalence, inseparable from translation practice.

In terminology, there are at least two levels of equivalence for the units according to Rogers (2007): denotational and textual. The first one corresponds to the level of lemmas and helps specialists or machines retrieve information where they serve as labels for structured sets of data – it relies mainly upon lexicographic resources. The semantic information is provided by definitions. Thus, denotational equivalence includes grammatical and semantic components, as well as some pragmatics, if such information is included in glossaries.

When dealing with biodynamics though, we need to look at the second type of equivalence – textual due to the absence of lexicographic resources. In their joint article, Faber Benitez and Montero Martinez (2009: 88) point out that textual equivalence occurs 'in real life contexts and situates these specialized knowledge units within the context of dynamic communication processes'. They go on to point out that within the context of translation, terms should be studied in texts, 'as they really occur' rather than 'from the perspective of an idealized conceptual structure determined by organizations that must standardize terminology in specialized domains' (*ibid.*: 94).

Equivalence requires the recourse to specific strategies or translation procedures for interlinguistic transfer. In the absence of interlinguistic correspondences based on existing concepts in the specialized field, we are dealing with the issue of secondary term creation. Although the concepts of biodynamics are adopted into the target language with the corresponding denominations, we cannot claim that they are culture-specific, since they reflect

universal reality, valid for any culture. They do have a lot in common with culture-specific terms though in that they present gaps in terms of linguistic signs and thus belong to the category of 'equivalentless lexis' (Ivanov, 2006): more precisely, the lexicosemantic kind as defined in the tradition of the Russian school of linguistics – words and word combinations that lack ways of expression in a target language due to the absence of the notion itself in the target language worldview.

Sager (1990: 61-99) explores term formation in detail: there is planned and conscious creation of terms according to a specific plan, like in chemistry, for example. Osteopathy does not present that high a degree of organization, but this does not exclude consciousness in word choices in English. Watching the terms of biodynamics in osteopathy, the first observation made was that there was little chance of establishing rules of primary naming applicable to the field, rather than metaphorization. In biodynamics, the language of metaphor has become a convention from the start of the profession, unlike in many other technical specialties where compounds are formed on the basis of hierarchical relations between units.

Sager proposes to distinguish three major approaches to term creation: '1. the use of existing resources, 2. the modification of existing resources, 3. the creation of new linguistic entities' (ibid.: 71). These approaches call for more specific translation procedures that can be observed. Translation procedures as methods used for rendering small units from one language to another have been discussed at length in Translation Studies.

The central question of this piece of research consists in determining the translation or secondary term creation choices made by professionals in the field when rendering the terminology in their target language (Latvian) from English. The particularity of the observation process is going to reside in the fact that we will be witnessing user-generated translations without the component of the web, as defined by Perrino (2009: 62). This type of solicited community translation could hardly be qualified as a type of 'crowd-sourcing', since the number of people contributing to it in our particular field of research is rather scarce, but it still contains an element of effort on the part of the users to generate words in the target language for notions familiar to them in a foreign language.

METHODS

In order to proceed with the analysis, we first need to single out terms in the chosen field – the Biodynamics of Osteopathy. Drouin and Doll (2008) identify four criteria of termhood: formal, semantic, quantitative and textual. The formal criteria are based on statistical and linguistic methods that measure the strength of association or analyze regular term formation patterns. Indicators of termhood include such parameters as frequency, along with the reuse of lexical material between term candidates (TC) that can be an indicator of semantic

relations. The authors also cite the C-Value and NC-Value proposed by Frantzi, Ananiadou and Mima (2000), which factor the length of multiword TC as an indicator of termhood. Other formal criteria include the reuse of single word term candidate in multiword term candidates (Nakagawa and Mori, 2003). Semantic criteria include indicators of semantic relationships that are established using existing terminological resources, such as glossaries and dictionaries (Maynard and Ananiadou, 2000). Quantitative approach is based on statistical methodology in the frequency of TCs. Textual parameters imply contrastive work using corpus and ATE tools.

In the absence of dictionaries and glossaries in biodynamics, the only reliable parameter for termhood was quantitative – measuring the frequency of particular units in Sketch Engine, but it had to be combined with semantic criteria, and finally, necessitated consultations with professionals in the field, as frequency alone could not serve as an indicator. A list of candidate terms was submitted to the evaluation of experts who validated the TCs and added the missing terms based on their experience and knowledge.

Thus, the present investigation relies on a corpus of 229 terms. The terminological units were collected from the following didactic resources of osteopathy in the cranial field: 9 manuals for the corresponding ‘phase’ seminars in Osteopathy, 3 manuals for seminars on Pediatrics in biodynamics, 57 CDs recorded by the doctor James Jealous for educational purposes, each treating a specific aspect of biodynamics. The CDs have been transcribed in order to obtain measurable written material that could be analyzed with tools like Sketch Engine.

The list of terms was submitted to 7 osteopaths who have undergone a complete training in biodynamics (at least 9 basic seminars), and thus are familiar with the concepts in question. All of them are native Latvian speakers. Five of them responded and agreed to participate in the study. The participants have undergone their training with an English-speaking teacher with or without translation into Russian. The terms submitted to the participants were arranged in an Excel table in the following way: term in English, term in Russian, with an example of the term used in context and an empty field for the term in Latvian (see Table 1) where the participants were to register their responses.

Table 1 Term table

English term	Russian term	Latvian term
flame of intention (Pediatrics manual, 3 phase): The flame of intention is a therapeutic force that you can see in the patient and that communicates us the intention of the Breath of Life	plamja namerenija (Učebnik po Pediatrii, 3 faza): Plamja namerenija – èto terapevtičeskaja sila, kotoruju možno uvidet' v paciente, i kotoraja soobšæet nam namerenie Dyhanija žizni.	This field was left blanc for the participants to register their responses.

The participants were asked to fill in the term in the empty field, without translating the contextual explicitation given in the source language. They were asked to write the best possible equivalent according to their personal judgement and feeling that the concept evoked for them.

Having observed the results, I identified the underlining translation procedures. By combining Sager's (1990) approach with those of Newmark (1988: 84) and Harvey (2000: 2), I obtained a reference table for secondary term creation practices (see Table 2).

Table 2 Term creation and translation procedures

Term creation approach	Translation procedures
<i>use of existing resources</i> extension of meaning for the linguistic sign to embrace a new concept or exploration of the polysemic nature of general language words	<i>Functional equivalent</i> (using a referent in the TL culture whose function is similar to that of the source language (SL) referent), but also the use of a different 'culture-neutral word' (Newmark, 1988: 83). By functional equivalent, I mean a term that, in the case of metaphor, does not copy the metaphorical base of the source term, but transmits its meaning, even if with a certain degree of approximation. <i>Descriptive equivalent</i> (describing the term in several words)
<i>modification of existing resources</i> derivation, compounding, conversion and compression	
<i>creation of new linguistic entities</i> producing unique linguistic forms in the source language or by borrowing a form from the source language into the target language	<i>Calque</i> (word-for-word, formal equivalent) and <i>borrowing</i> (transcription or transliteration), subject to 'naturalization': the SL word is first adapted to the normal pronunciation, then to the normal morphology of the TL (Newmark, 1988: 82). Calques are usually multiword formations. However, in case of terminological metaphor, we may propose to consider even a one-word term calqued when its underlying metaphorical structure is copied into the target language.

This way, we have four main procedures for the translation of terms in biodynamics at our disposal: the use of a functional equivalent, descriptive translation, a borrowing and a calque. The calque can be qualified both as the use of existing resources and the creation of new linguistic entities: some calques exploit the polysemy of language by meaning extension, others are unconventional combinations of linguistic signs that can be qualified as new creations.

Regarding the modification of existing resources – this approach is especially productive for primary term creation in English but has not been observed in

Latvian. One important note is that such terms do present a certain challenge in translation, mainly because of complex relationships between term components that have to be deciphered by the translator or term user, which is not always easy. An example from our corpus is *motion testing* which is a test performed by the doctor in order to determine the range of motion permitted by the structure and its function. The interpretation of ‘test of the motion’ could be misleading, because it would mean ‘what kind of motion do we find’ rather than ‘is there motion, and if yes, how much and in which direction’. All of this information is difficult to compact into a two-word expression in target languages (especially when it comes to inflected Russian and Latvian).

With terminological metaphors, I added more parameters to help evaluate translation procedures. It seems necessary to identify the relationship between the source and the target domain for the source term and the target term and note its mapping. According to Lakoff (1993: 6), mappings are ‘a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in a source domain and entities in a target domain’. Since metaphorical projection is always partial – only a part of experiential gestalts that constitute the source domain structure are projected onto the target domain (Oliveira, 2005: Online), whenever a word or expression from the general language is metaphorized into terminology, a semantic modification takes place – some components of meaning are activated, while other are suppressed.

Rossi (2016: 8-9) suggests three possible scenarios for secondary term formation in the field of terminological metaphors:

- 1) Both metaphors share the same underlying metaphoric mechanism (this principle corresponds to a calque if the mapping principles coincide).
- 2) The metaphorical lexical field of the source is adapted (this one corresponds to a partial calque (or structural calque where the surface structure is calqued, but the deep relationship between meaning components changes) – if the mapping principles differ, or other meaning components are activated due to additional associations the source domain brings into the target culture).
- 3) Metaphor loses all of its heuristic power (here, borrowing renders it opaque, or the term is translated by a functional analogue, or descriptive translation, without recourse to metaphor).

Term lists submitted to the study participants were copied into an Excel table for analysis. The responses were noted in the respective cells. Since, quite frequently, the respondents noted more than one equivalent for each term, the total number of equivalents was recorded. Then, translation procedures were identified for each variant (calque, borrowing, functional analogue, descriptive translation or other).

Finally, with metaphorized terms, mapping was established in order to account for more subtle aspects of meaning.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For the 229 source language terms, the four study participants submitted 1258 possible equivalents total, some of which coincided and some of which did not. The average number of variants per term amounted to 2.77. Only in the case of 19 per cent (43 terms) did the respondents come to a spontaneous unanimous choice of wording.

Translation procedures chosen by the respondents (in percentage) were distributed in the following way (see Figure 1): calque, functional analogue, then descriptive and borrowing.

Not surprisingly, calque is far and away the preferred choice of rendering foreign terms in the target language. Shuttleworth (2017: 18-19) mentions a strong 'gravitational pull' the source language exercises on the target-language user: whenever possible, it is much easier to use a calque than an analogue. For one thing, a calque is a ready-to-use unit, and transposing it into another language requires minimal effort, while a functional equivalent, in comparison, is much more energy consuming. Secondly, translators (professional or unprofessional/circumstantial) may prefer to stay true to the creator of the term: in the case of osteopathy, it means conserving the form coined by the founding fathers or at least some other figure of authority, rather than 'reinventing the wheel' in the target language. Thirdly, to people used to receiving information on their field of expertise in a foreign language, particular word combinations may have come to evoke a certain experiential resonance the structure of which they unconsciously copy into their native language.

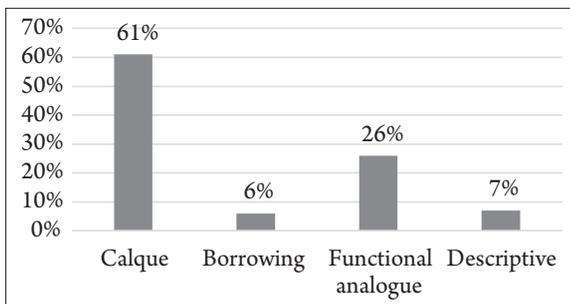


Figure 1 Translation procedures: all terms

There are, however, a few particularities that are noteworthy. Many times, calques are not uniform, divergencies ranging from:

- Slight: *divided attention* as *dalīta uzmanība* or *sadalīta uzmanība*, both meaning 'divided'. Or a change in number in *life force* as *dzīves spēks* or *dzīves spēki*.
- Moderate: *doorway of the fulcrum* as *izeja uz fulkrumu*, *fulkruma durvis*, *ceļš uz fulkrumu* or *ieeja fulkrumā*. While the underlying principle is the same:

an entry point to the fulcrum, - the wording ranges from ‘fulcrum entry’, ‘fulcrum door’ all the way to ‘fulcrum exit’.

- Considerable: *fluid drive* as *fluīda dzinulis* (a calque consisting of a borrowing + a functional analogue of the word *drive* in the sense an impetus, moving power, urge), closest to the source term. Other versions include other calques: *fluīda kustība* (fluid movement) and *fluīda spēks* (fluid power), as well as *šķidrums jauda* (fluid/liquid power) and a more descriptive *fluīda potenciālais piemītošais kustības spēks* (potential indwelling fluid movement power). The accents are placed in a different way in all of the suggested translations.

In some cases, these divergencies seem innocuous, and the perception of the term remains more or less the same, such as in *living substance* translated by *dzīva substance* (living substance) or *dzīva viela* (living matter). In other cases, the choice of words brings about different associations: *liquid light* translated as *plūstoša gaisma* (flowing light), *šķidra gaisma* (liquid light) or *ūdeņaina gaisma* (watery light) – the accents are obviously diverse.

Therefore, in each particular case, the candidate terms have to be closely examined in order to choose the one that does not bring on significant additional associations, without falling into excessive borrowing and foreignization. As an example, with the term *longitudinal fluctuation* we have a set of possible combinations including more foreign elements: *longitudinālā* and *fluktuācija*, and more domestic one: *gareniskā* and *svārstības*. All of the four elements are in use in the Latvian language, but *gareniskais* means the same as *longitudinālais*, while providing a more euphonic, ‘palatable’ and comprehensible term for the target language. Meanwhile *fluktuācija* and *svārstības* are not quite equivalent: *svārstības* is closer to oscillations that do not include the wavelike motions of the sea that the term *fluctuation* is meant to convey. Thus, the choice should probably fall on *gareniskā fluktuācija*.

Some choices are governed by consistency: when the term *lesion* is rendered as *bojājums* in the presence of another term *dysfunction* which translates as *disfunkcija*, it is only logical to choose the term *lesion field* as *bojājuma lauks*, not *disfunkcijas lauks* (as a respondent suggested), even if *lesion* and *dysfunction* are very close in meaning.

In other cases, we have to filter out some instances in which the respondents suggest confusing translations such as, for example, when *indwelling therapeutic forces* are translated as *būt terapeitiskiem spēkiem* (be therapeutic forces) or *būt klātesošam* (be present). Here, the choice obviously falls on *iekšējie piemītošie terapeitiskie spēki* (a calque with a slightly descriptive element: inner inherent therapeutic forces). Another example is where a descriptive translation is inapplicable because it is too long: *lock up* is translated as *fluīds no pārlietu lielas uzmanības var aizvērties* (fluid can lock up from excessive attention). The translation is true to the context given as an example but cannot be applied everywhere. A similar phenomenon can be observed in another translation:

motion present is rendered as *ir kustība* (there is motion) – this obviously cannot be used as a term in context, therefore the choice is between *klātesoša kustība* (present motion) – the closest calque and *esoša kustība* (existing motion), or *piemītoša kustība* (inherent motion).

Interestingly, in one case we observe the preference of the respondents to use a calque from another target language (Russian), rather than from English: *waterbeds* are rendered as *ūdens spilveni* (water pillows), like the Russian *vodianye podushki*, probably because the meaning is that of fluid spaces of the sacrum, where the word *beds* translated literally seems inadequate. In fact, the English language offers more flexibility: *beds* here can be interpreted not as a piece of furniture for sleeping, but rather as a layer (as in geology).

Borrowings can differ in their spelling: *afferent* is translated as ‘*aferents*’ or ‘*afferents*’, the second one being inapplicable to Latvian due to grammatical reasons. Another example is *strain* rendered both as transcription: *streins* or transliteration *strains*. Sometimes, there is a shift in meaning: *potency* is translated as *potence* – and we consider it a borrowing even though the word existed in the language before, but with a different meaning and contextual use (the *Tilde dictionary of the Latvian language ELED-T* (Online 1) cites two main meanings: *apslēptas iespējas*; spējas, spēki, kas nepieciešami kādai darbībai, bet vēl nav īstenoti (hidden possibilities; powers, forces which are necessary for a particular action but not yet applied) or *vīrieša dzimumspēja* (male sexual function)). In biodynamics, *potency* can describe a range of phenomena, none of which coincide with the general language meaning.

With functional analogues, we observe that, sometimes, the necessity for a functional analogue is guided by morphology: the English term *nothingness* becomes unpalatable if rendered by the calque **nekātība*. Therefore, the choice is between the following suggested analogues: *tukšums* (emptiness), *nekas* (nothing), *nebūtība* (non-existence). Most experts concord on *nekas*, it remains to be seen how this term can be incorporated into context: *nothingness* is used as a noun, most often as a subject, so one of the solutions would be to use *nekas* as a noun as well, attributing it a gender (probably masculine, since it ends in an -s).

In one of the cases, we can witness a rather delicate situation regarding terms: *stillness* and *peace* (which are not synonyms) are both translated as *miers* (peacefulness, stillness) by all the respondents. Tilde’s dictionary (Online 1) suggests using *miers* or *klusums* to translate *stillness*. *Klusums*, however, also means the absence of sound – quiet, therefore, it is not considered as a viable option for the osteopathic *stillness*, unrelated to sound. *Peace* in Tilde dictionary (Online 1) is rendered by *klusums*, *miers* and *kārtība*. The osteopathic *peace* is closer to *inner peace*, *peace of mind*, which still brings about the word *miers*. In this case, one of the possible solutions would be to come up with a convention – set *miers* for *stillness*, for example, which is one of the central terms in biodynamic osteopathy. And the much less frequent *peace* could be rendered by *iekšējais miers* (inner peace), as an option, or by *mierīgums* (peacefulness) to distinguish it from *miers*.

With almost 60 per cent of the entries in the corpus (135 out of 230) as terminological metaphors, it is interesting to observe how the mapping is transferred into the target language and how the terms are rendered in Latvian.

For the 135 metaphorical terms, 727 variants of translation have been proposed. The procedures are spread as such: the vast majority are translated by calque, while functional analogues account for 19 per cent, with descriptive translation and borrowings forming a minority (see Figure 2). In contrast, the non-metaphorized terms are translated in the following way: the calque still dominates, but to a lesser degree, while functional analogues represent a higher number of cases, and descriptive translation and borrowings still forming the minority (see Figure 3). Most notably, calque dominates among the terminological metaphors, while with non-metaphorized terms functional analogue is almost equally important.

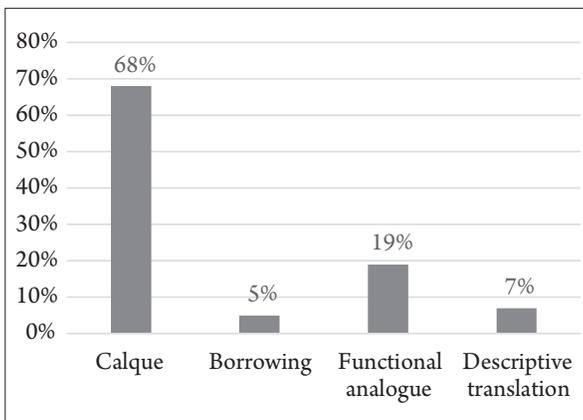


Figure 2 Translation procedures of metaphorized terms

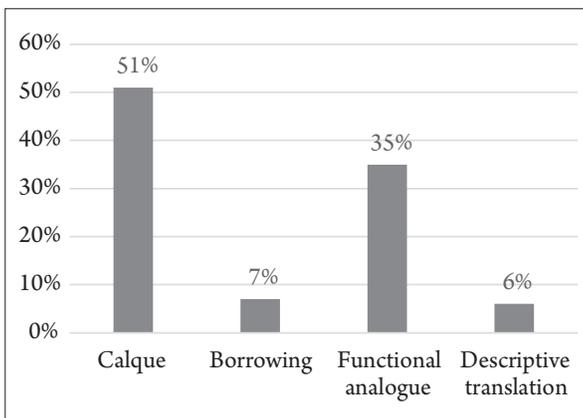


Figure 3 Translation procedures of non-metaphorized terms

When it comes to mapping, we get three possibilities: the mapping can stay approximately the same in the target language, when the metaphor is based on the same image, such as in *lesion field* – *bojājumu lauks*. It can be mapped differently, such as when *gear* is translated as *zobrats* (cogwheel). Finally, the mapping, as well as the metaphor, is lost when the term is translated by a descriptive translation or borrowing, such as in *thrust* – *trasts*. In terms of percentage, this is how the statistics unravels: in most cases (76%), the mapping remains the same, while in 18 per cent of the cases it changes. The remaining 6 per cent account for terms in which the mapping is lost.

At times, the limits between same and different mapping are rather fuzzy: if we take the example of *fluid* (a living substance of the body that has its own consciousness, not a liquid), the corresponding term *fluīds* in Latvian has the same origin, and does mean a kind of fluid, but Tildes dictionary (Online 1) lists the following meanings: '1. vēst. Pēc 18. gs. fiziķu priekšstatiem — šķidrums, ar ko izskaidrojamas siltuma, magnētisma un elektrības parādības. 2. Šķidrums vai gāze. 3. Hipotētisks strāvojums, ko izstaro cilvēks, arī kādi citi ķermeņi. [1. Hist. According to the beliefs of the 18th century physicists, it is a liquid that explains the phenomena of heat, magnetism and electricity. 2. Liquid or gas. 3. Hypothetical current emitted by people or other bodies]. The meaning scope in English does contain the second point: according to dictionary.com, *fluid* is a substance, liquid or gas, that is capable of flowing and that changes its shape at a steady rate when acted upon by a force tending to change its shape. Thus, the Latvian equivalent brings about unnecessary associations with esoterism and alchemy. On the other hand, the translation *šķidrums* violates the presupposition that *fluid* is not a liquid. In the light of translation practices, it seems that one should look for the least of two evils in cases where such situations occur. In this particular example, it would appear that *fluīds*, notwithstanding its additional associations, is a better choice, since it does not violate an important premise contained in the definition.

CONCLUSIONS

In the present article I set out to begin an exploration of the complex process of translation of osteopathic terms from English into Latvian. In the absence of lexicographic or any other resources in the target language, the goal is to observe translation practices of the community members in order to subsequently use the obtained results for further terminological work.

The research showed that ad-hoc translators most often chose to render foreign terms by calques, especially when it comes to terminological metaphors. Interestingly, those calques are not uniform, as term users rarely came to an agreement as to which translation to use, judging by the great number of proposed variants. Some of these variants could easily be discarded due to their incompatibility with the terminological nature of units (long descriptive

translations, which may be grammatically irreconcilable with the term's function in context). Other units require careful observation and discussion. The premises of GTT advise strongly against the use of synonyms in terminology, but other theories, such as the communicative theory, allow for variations in designative structures, based on the situation and combinatorial potential of terminological units. This variation is determined by the communicative situation – in the case of biodynamics, it most frequently is one of knowledge transmission in a didactic setting, but other situations are not to be considered as well, such as peer-to-peer communication.

Having thus laid the groundwork, the next step would be to consider the obtained results in order to choose the central term in Latvian by combining the efforts of osteopaths and linguists. The resulting outcome can also serve as material for comparative studies where translation practices of several target language communities are put to test.

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LATVIAN OR ENGLISH – THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION IN LATVIA

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Abstract. The growing dominance of English as an international language of scientific communication in the world has been widely acknowledged. However, its effect in the relevant discourse community in Latvia is still to be explored. A case study was undertaken to improve upon the current understanding of the choice of scientific publishing language in Latvia and explore historical factors underpinning the current predominance of English as the lingua franca of the scientific community. It has been concluded that with a strong focus on international publishing in indexed databases, the role of English in scientific communication in Latvia has an increasing tendency to grow. Although currently English does not pose an existential threat to the use of the Latvian language in scientific publications, there is alarming evidence of the increasing hegemony of English in Latvia.

Key words: scientific communication, publications, case study, English as a lingua franca, the Latvian language

INTRODUCTION

Today the acquisition of scientific knowledge is affected by broad information scope disseminated by scholars within and across disciplinary discourse communities in both printed and online journal publications worldwide, which are considered as valuable assets for ranking the scientific excellence and the prestige of higher education and research institutions.

To be able to climb the academic career ladder, receive research funding, and gain international recognition, academics and scientists often experience certain pressure to produce comprehensive scientific outcomes and publish articles in high-impact-factor journals and databases. Web of Science (hereinafter WoS) and Scopus are among the most valued abstract and citation databases of peer-reviewed literature (e.g. see Krasnopjorovs, 2011; *Latvijas Universitātes zinātniskās publicēšanās un izdevējdarbības vadlīnijas*, 2017).

It is well-known that the English language has become the main lingua franca for academic (e.g. Oakes 2005; Bennett 2013) and scientific communication (e.g. Ferguson, 2007) in the world. Hamel accentuates that ‘more than 75 per cent of the articles in the social sciences and humanities and well over 90 per cent in the natural sciences are written in English’ (2007: 54).

Research by Cambridge University scholars (Online 1), who studied over 75,000 journal articles, books and theses relating to biodiversity conservation on the web platform Google Scholar in 2014, found out that 'some 35.6% were not in English. Of these, the majority was in Spanish (12.6%) or Portuguese (10.3%). Simplified Chinese made up 6%, and 3% were in French' (ibid.). Thus, a large number of scientific papers are published in languages other than English.

Moreover, it has been identified (ibid.) that only approximately half of the papers written in languages other than English contain titles or abstracts in English. The scholars seem quite worried that international scientific community and practitioners might not have access to this new knowledge owing to the lack of information in English. It is argued (ibid.) that a publication in one language causes an imbalance in knowledge transfer and suggested that summaries of key findings should be given in several languages. It is stressed that research results must be also published in the local language (ibid.). Similarly, Salö draws attention to the fact that 'the value of national languages tends to decrease in transnational communication such as that of science and research, where English currently prevails' (2017: 9).

While publications in English coexist with publications in national languages, including the Latvian language, key databases (e.g. WoS and Scopus) are biased towards the use of the English language; thus, it can be argued that asymmetrical power relationships in science exist. Similarly, Archambault, Vignola-Gagne, Lariviere, and Gringas (2006: 340) posit that English language journals in some of the major databases (e.g. Thomson Scientific) are overrepresented. They emphasize the importance of local publications in national languages especially in the social sciences and the humanities (hereinafter SSH). Moreover, the authors (ibid.) stress a fundamental difference between the scientific communication practices of scholars in the natural sciences and engineering (hereinafter NSE) and those in the SSH (e.g. Hicks, 2004; Archambault et al., 2006); namely, a large number of scientific publications in the SSH are not journal articles but mostly books, and 'the research orientation is more local' (ibid.), which means that the issues reported on are of interest to a particular country or region.

Van Raan, Van Leeuwen and Visser (2011: 34) contend that journals that are published in languages other than English have a lower impact factor than those, which are published in the English language because fewer scientists tend to read them. In this regard, the authors (ibid.) mention clinical medicine and the SSH. This situation affects the ranking of the university where the research was conducted. Rauhvargers concludes that 'the non-English-language output of these universities has a lower citation impact and thus a lower position in the rankings' (2013: 11). Thus, it can be assumed that the language choice affects impact scores.

Considering the briefly outlined context above, the present study aims at studying language choice in scientific publications in Latvia and exploring historical factors underpinning the current dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of the scientific and academic community globally and in Latvia.

The paper draws on literature survey and bibliometric data offered by other scholars. Empirically, it adopts a qualitative perspective by focusing on the practices of scientific publishing by the Latvian Academy of Sciences and three major universities in Latvia: the University of Latvia, Riga Technical University and Riga Stradiņš University. These are the only universities from Latvia having rankings in the *Times Higher Education World University Rankings* (Online 2), which offers a list of the world's best universities selected applying a methodology which analyses data against 13 performance indicators, covering, for example, research, knowledge transfer and international outlook.

In the *World University Rankings 2019*, the University of Latvia is ranked between the 801st and 1000th place, in the *University Impact Ranking* – in the 92nd place, and in the *European Teaching Rankings 2019* – in the 201+ place. Riga Technical University is ranked between the 801st and 1000th place in the *World University Rankings 2019*, in the *University Impact Ranking* – between the 201st and 300th place, and in the *European Teaching Rankings 2019* in the 201+ place. Riga Stradiņš University is ranked in the 80th place in the *Impact Ranking: Good health and well-being for people 2019*, in the *Impact Rankings: Quality education 2019* in the 301+ place, and in the *Impact Rankings: Peace, justice and strong institutions 2019* in the 201+ place (Online 2).

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA OF SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although the world-wide triumph of English has a long history (e.g. Kaplan, 2001), major preconditions for English becoming a dominant language of science can be attributed to the end of the Second World War, when the United States of America emerged as a key leader in scientific, technical and educational fields. This was largely due to the fact that its infrastructure was not damaged (*ibid.*), and it was able to allocate substantial resources for research. At about the same time, the United Nations (UN), founded in 1945, established Chinese, French, English, Russian and Spanish as its official languages, and English and French as its working languages (Online 3). It is claimed (e.g. Kaplan, 2001) that the formation of the UN 'coincided with the birth of the computer age' (*ibid.*: 10), and the first computer programs, for instance FORTRAN, a scientific computing language, developed in the 1950s, used 'English-like statements' (Online 4). Up to 1914, much scientific literature was written in German (Ferguson, 2007: 6), so it was still used as 'a documentary language' (Kaplan, 2001: 10). Due to the cold war period, there were 'heavy political restrictions on the use of Russian – imposed on both sides' (*ibid.*: 11). As a result, much research in the 1950s and 1960s was undertaken and documented in English. Moreover, in 1973, with the United Kingdom becoming a member country of the European Union (EU), English became one of the nine official languages of the EU. Currently, English (along with French and German) is a working language of the EU.

Although English, French and German had quite a balanced role in the scientific landscape at the beginning of the 20th century, a constant shift towards English as a lingua franca of scientific publications started in 1980 and had reached a status of the dominant language by the end of the 20th century (Hamel, 2007: 56; 60).

There is no doubt that English has gained significance in the world, as it is the primary foreign language of most prestigious international conferences and journals; it has become the language of instruction in many academic and professional study programmes of non-Anglophone universities, and it facilitates staff and student mobility and scholarly communication in academia (e.g. Bennett, 2013: 169). Similarly, Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales emphasize that it is also ‘the premier vehicle for the communication of scholarship, research and advanced postgraduate training’ (2010: 634).

In fact, the necessity to acquire knowledge of one globally recognized foreign language in order to gain information and disseminate research results may seem to simplify scientific communication and offer opportunities; on the other hand, it poses challenges to academics and scientists: ‘While English manifestly opens doors for many worldwide, it also closes them for others’ (Phillipson, 2008: 251). The scholar questions the role of English as a neutral medium and claims that it is a false assumption: ‘a lingua franca generally seems to imply that the language is a neutral instrument for “international” communication between people who do not share a mother tongue’ (2008: 260). Since English is not a native language for all its users, there is certain inequality between Anglophone and non-Anglophone scholars (Ammon, 2010). Non-Anglophone scholars who want to publish their papers in peer-reviewed journals and present their papers at international conferences, and produce globally recognized work are expected to possess high level English language skills, which they often do not have, or they lack confidence in the ability to meet high rhetorical standards of publications in the English language. This may affect their scientific output. As it is posited by Ferguson (2007: 7), non-Anglophone scholars’ opportunities to publish their research in prestigious international journals may be marginalised due to a likely lack of appropriate English language skills.

The situation discussed above has given rise to numerous sociolinguistic questions about the dominance of English over national languages. The almost monolingual situation in scientific communication having traces of cultural imperialism might cause irreversible consequences for the development of science and national scientific languages.

One of the consequences of the dominance of English in the academia in the world is the loss of linguistic diversity, which can be described as ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 2013). In this context, the dominant role of English can be viewed as a hegemonic tendency. Swales (2004: 52) sees ‘Englishization’ as a form of power or dominance. Also, Ferguson is critical of the prominence of English in international scientific communication. He argues that this may result

in ‘global diglossia’ and in ‘domain loss because of English potentially relegates other languages to a lesser role’ (2007: 7).

Several authors (e.g. Coulmas, 2007; Hamel, 2007; Ammon, 2012) regard the dominance of English as a threat to local languages. This may be true in case of languages with a small number of native speakers, as they may be threatened with extinction. A situation when journals are converted to English from other languages has also been observed, and this might result in ‘a real loss in professional registers in many national cultures with long scholarly traditions’ (Swales, 2000: 67).

It is important that recognition at national level is given for the articles to be published in the non-Anglophone authors’ native languages, especially if the reported research is of national importance and if it may have less value outside a national scientific domain. To avoid a situation when the reach of such articles is limited locally, summaries should be given in English.

LANGUAGE SITUATION AND SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE DOMINANCE OF ENGLISH IN LATVIA

Contact between languages is an every-day reality in Latvia due to the opportunities provided by the free movement of people as well as modern technologies. Latvians have been in contact with other languages (e.g. Swedish, German, Russian) for centuries. For instance, German was the language of the elite from the 13th to the beginning of the 20th century (Rozenvalde, 2018: 55). The foundation of the Latvian scientific language was laid in the 19th century (Raag, 2008 in Rozenvalde, 2018: 57). Today, Latvia is a multilingual society – at least 95 per cent of Latvian population speak one more language in addition to their mother tongue (Lauze, 2016: 52). The most popular foreign languages are Russian and English (ibid.: 57). The presence of English in Latvia, as a language of high economic, academic and research value, has increased tremendously since regaining Latvia’s independence in 1991, joining the EU and NATO in 2004, participating in a single European higher education and research area.

In Latvia, increasing Russification efforts to impose the Russian language on non-Russian community were observed since the 70s’ of the 19th century (Lauze, 2016: 13), and they continued throughout pre-revolutionary Russia. To give an example of the language of science used in the period from 1923 to 1944, all Latvian scientists obtained their scientific degrees in Russian or German universities (Baltiņš, 2004: 7). Dissertations were written in German, French, Latin, Russian, and none – in the English language (ibid.). After the Second World War, when the Soviet power was established in Latvia, the Russification and the Sovietization of Latvia were enforced by the Soviet Union. The Russian language held the position of being the language of knowledge dissemination, and it dominated not only in education and science, but also at work, in daily

life and events, as the government of the Soviet Union 'had the goal of gradually diminishing the importance of the Latvian language' (Mežmalis, 2017: 22).

At present, the Latvian language faces a situation when it is forced to compete with the priority language of publications, namely English. Many Latvian scientific journals have either switched to English or they accept publications both in Latvian and in English.

The *Proceedings of the Latvian Academy of Sciences* (Online 5) is a peer reviewed scientific journal, published by the Latvian Academy of Sciences since August 1947. Beginning with 1992, the journal has two sections. Section A covers the social sciences and the humanities, and the languages of publication are Latvian, English and German. All articles are provided with summaries in English. Section B deals with natural, exact, and applied sciences. English has been the language of publication since 1994. The journal is indexed by key databases, including Scopus, WoS, Biological Abstracts, and Google Scholar.

Riga Stradiņš University publishes a collection of scientific articles in Latvian and English in the field of medicine, health care and social sciences. Manuscripts must be prepared in Latvian or English (Online 6). For instance, *Acta medico-historica Rigensia* is a refereed academic open access journal devoted to research in the history of medicine and life sciences and medical museology in Latvia and the Baltic Sea region countries. It is interesting to observe its long history (published since 1957): the title of the journal was originally in Russian *Iz istorii meditsini* (From the History of Medicine), acquiring its present title only in 1992.

Riga Technical University enlists 23 journals on its website (Online 7), and only one – about the history of engineering and higher education institutions. *Inženierzinātņu un augstskolu vēsture* (History of Engineering Sciences and Higher Education Institutions) is published in the Latvian language; others are either in the English language (e.g. *The Baltic Journal of Road and Bridge Engineering*), or they offer publication opportunities in Latvian and English (e.g. *Materials Science and Applied Chemistry*. Vol. 29, 2013). *Materials Science and Applied Chemistry. Special Issue* (Vol. 35, 2018) is a publication in Latvian to mark the anniversary of the foundation of the Department of Silicate Technology. *The Scientific Journal of Riga Technical University* is published in 13 series, each having its own title and ISSN number (ibid.). As it can be seen, there is a growing tendency of publications in the English language.

The website of the University of Latvia Press (Online 8) gives information about 15 journals and periodicals published by the University of Latvia. Some of them have a long history, for instance, *Academic life*, which is devoted to significant scientific, cultural and social issues relevant for Latvia, was published by the Academic Life Publishing House in the USA from 1958 to 2005, and it has been published together with the University of Latvia Publishing House since 2006. *Baltu filoloģija* (Baltic Philology) is a journal of Baltic linguistics, and it is published in Latvian, Lithuanian and English. *The Baltic Journal of English Language, Culture and Literature*, published by the Faculty of Humanities,

the *Baltic Journal of Psychology* – by the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Education and Psychology are published in English. Also, a quarterly journal *The Magneto hydrodynamics* (former *Magnitnaya Gidrodinamika*) was first published in 1965 by the Institute of Physics, and it has been published only in English since 2001. *Ceļš* (The Way) (published since 1938), a refereed journal with an international panel of referees, publishes in English and Latvian. The articles in the journal on law *Juridiskā zinātne* (Law) are published in Latvian, English and German. The use of Russian as the working language of *Rusistica Latviensis* can be explained by the production of knowledge in the Slavic languages, cultures and literatures. Considering the examples above, it can be argued that, although the position of Latvian is still strong in the publishing practices at the University of Latvia, a growing predominant position of English is present.

In the scientific publication guidelines (*Latvijas Universitātes zinātniskās publicēšanās un izdevējdarbības vadlīnijas*, 2017), the University of Latvia supports all kind of publications, but it recommends publishing scientific papers in such international databases as WoS or Scopus since they have a high impact factor. It also supports scientific journals published in, for instance, EBSCO and Emerald. It should be emphasized that the UL accentuates the importance of scientific publications in the Latvian language, as this facilitates the development of scientific terminology and specialised discourses in Latvian.

The above-mentioned UL regulation is in line with the official language policy guidelines for the years 2015-2020 issued by the Cabinet of Ministers of Latvia (2014: Online):

Under the circumstances of the language competition the greater prospects to be preserved will be for those languages which will be able to follow modern science and technology development, [...]. Nowadays preservation and development of a language does not occur in a spontaneous drift, but countries must develop a consequent language policy and carry out measures for the preservation and development of languages.

The effect of the dominance of English can be seen by plentiful diachronic evidence of the increasing use of English in scholarly publications. It can be observed that language is no longer a barrier to knowledge dissemination internationally in Latvia, as universities participate in global discourse communities speaking English as a lingua franca of science. The impact of the publications in the English language in journals is evident, as the authors are included in the web of international discourse community, and they have a chance to receive international recognition by being cited more often than when having published in their native language.

Although the Latvian language retains a privileged place in education and is still respected as a language of scientific publications in Latvia, Druviete (2014) argues that a certain loss of higher education and research domain in Latvian

is taking place and, despite the adopted legal measures of the Government to protect the Latvian language, equity in the choice of language in scientific communication is under threat, as English is taking over the prestigious scientific discourse.

CONCLUSIONS

Globalization affects contemporary scholarly life in Latvia, and scholars' research output production is benchmarked by peer-reviewed publications, namely, scientific journals, books and conference proceedings in international databases. This tendency is currently happening in the whole world and thus is not unique to Latvia only.

The language policies commonly adopted by major international publications use English to disseminate scientific knowledge. The dominance of English as a lingua franca of science marks an inevitable development in the global scientific community, as the choice of language offers a shared means of communicating knowledge and helps to reach out to large scholarly audiences, to get acknowledgement by the relevant disciplinary community and achieve scientific publicity and citation. As a result, the ranking of the university where the research was conducted is increased.

The situation above may be seen not only as an advantage but also as a problem. Scientific knowledge produced by non-Anglophone scholars may be under-represented, particularly in the leading English-language academic journals. This may be caused by scholars' language barrier which may narrow the opportunities available for publications.

Although English will remain to be the lingua franca of publications and education in the world, the language policies relating to scientific communication practices which are biased towards exclusive use of English in high impact journals need critical scrutiny in order to avoid any detrimental impact on national languages. In order to strengthen national languages, the importance of local publications, including books, in national languages, especially in the social sciences and the humanities should be recognized. In order to disseminate research results and inform international society, abstracts in English should be provided.

Despite the fact that the Latvian language is an important part of Latvian national identity, the use of English in scientific publications and higher education is supported and encouraged and, thus, seen as more compelling investments in a scholar's career. There is a general tendency of English dominating in the scientific publishing practices of such fields as medicine, natural sciences, technologies, while Latvian still stands fast in fields which typically deal with national issues, such as Latvian literature and language, which might seem to have less value outside of the national scientific domain. On the other hand, it is important that national scientific achievements become available globally.

The increased tendency of academic papers in English outnumbering publications in the Latvian language is currently unthreatening to the Latvian language, but if the global tendencies continue to prevail, it is hoped that the predominance of English in scientific publishing will not lead to the eventual replacement of Latvian in the academia.

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ENGLISH-LATVIAN DICTIONARIES IN THE AGE OF ELECTRONIC LEXICOGRAPHY

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Abstract. In the 21st century the advantages of electronic dictionaries have been widely acknowledged. Electronic dictionaries form an important branch of contemporary lexicography, however, in general English-Latvian lexicography print dictionaries still outnumber the electronic ones since there is only one large English-Latvian dictionary with complex microstructure and two differing user interfaces that is available in the electronic medium. The aim of the study is to analyse the major general English-Latvian electronic dictionary, determine its type and assess the compliance of this dictionary with the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography. The analysis focuses on the evaluation of dictionary microstructure, the accessibility of information, the adaptability of user interface, the use of dictionary-internal and external links and the sources of lexicographical data in the general English-Latvian electronic dictionary. The analysis reveals that even though the microstructure of the electronic dictionary is essentially based on a print dictionary, it has been supplemented by information from various other sources. The dictionary applies some innovative features of contemporary electronic lexicography, but various improvements related to the presentation of some metalinguistic elements, unity of microstructure, diversity of search options, use of dictionary-internal and external links, application of corpus data and multimodality would be necessary to enhance its correspondence to the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography.

Key words: electronic lexicography, English-Latvian electronic dictionary, headword, microstructure, user interface, corpus data

INTRODUCTION

Electronic dictionaries form an important and fast-developing branch of contemporary bilingual lexicography and serve as an important tool for international communication. The changes introduced into lexicography by the introduction of electronic medium have been widely discussed and positively evaluated in the metalexigraphic literature, for instance, Fuertes-Olivera (2015: 324) asserts that it is 'crystal clear that many scholars see the future of lexicography in connection with the electronic medium, mostly the internet'. Granger (2012: 2) holds that 'today lexicography is largely synonymous with electronic lexicography' and adds that currently lexicography is 'at a turning point in its history' (*ibid.*: 10). These changes in the field of lexicography have even been compared to the transition from the manuscript culture to the invention

of printing (Gouws et al., 2013: 10). Thus, a topical question posed by many scholars is – when will electronic dictionaries oust the printed ones? Though it has often been predicted that the printed dictionaries will soon disappear from the face of the earth, it has not yet occurred, but it is quite likely that one day it might happen. However, most likely, at different times in various lexicographic traditions.

It is undeniable that nowadays dictionaries have ‘found their ideal platform in the online medium’ (Rundell, 2012: 15), but it is also important to note that this medium has to be used appropriately and wisely. There is still ample scope for improvement in electronic lexicography since, according to Granger (2012: 11), there is so much information available on the web for users to choose from that the compilers of the electronic dictionaries have to pay serious attention to user needs to persuade them to choose their products.

A glimpse at the scene of general English-Latvian lexicography in this age of electronic lexicography reveals that print dictionaries still considerably outnumber electronic ones. There are two medium-sized print English-Latvian dictionaries: a dictionary originally published by *Jāņa sēta* in 1995 (Belzēja et al., 1995), revised and updated in 2004 (Belzēja et al., 2004) comprising approximately 42 000 headwords, and another dictionary published by *Avots* in 2007 (Kalniņa et al., 2007) that claims to comprise nearly 85 000 headwords. There are also more than ten smaller, often derivative dictionaries, mostly produced by the publishing house *Avots*, nearly all of them published before the year 2010. However, there is only one major general English-Latvian dictionary with complex microstructure available in the electronic medium that can be accessed through two differing user interfaces. There are also several translation devices and smaller (often crowd-sourced) electronic dictionaries that reveal lack of careful editing of the information suggested by the users.

Thus, the aim of this study is to analyse the major general English-Latvian electronic dictionary, determine its type and assess the compliance of this dictionary with the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography.

TYPES OF ELECTRONIC DICTIONARIES

According to the intended application, electronic dictionaries can be roughly divided in two major categories – dictionaries intended for human use and dictionaries designed to be used by computers. Only the electronic dictionaries for human use will be discussed in this study.

Based on their origin, electronic dictionaries can also be divided in two types – dictionaries transferred from existent print dictionaries or digitized print dictionaries and dictionaries compiled for the electronic medium or purpose-built electronic dictionaries (Svensén, 2009: 438–439). The properties of a print dictionary that has been adapted to the electronic medium have been described by Debus-Gregor and Heid (2013: 1002) as ‘somewhat “in between” those of

a paper dictionary and those of a dictionary conceived to exist exclusively as an electronic tool'. Though, it should be noted that these electronic dictionaries may be very close or nearly identical to the original print dictionaries or, due to extensive use of advantages offered by the electronic medium, already differ from them considerably. Tarp (2011) has proposed a typology of electronic dictionaries according to their degree of adaptation to the electronic medium and interest in the users' needs, dividing them in four wittily named categories: Copycats (copies or near copies of existent paper dictionaries), Faster Horses (print-based dictionaries that have been equipped with some advantages offered by the electronic medium), Model T Fords (purpose-built electronic dictionaries that make extensive use of information technologies in order to cater for the needs of the users) and Rolls-Royces (largely hypothetical purpose-built electronic dictionaries that would attempt to meet the needs of individual users). The latter ones, being purpose-built electronic dictionaries, quoting Granger (2012: 2), can be described as 'testimony that the innovations afforded by the electronic medium can radically transform every facet of dictionary design and use'.

Another subtype of electronic dictionaries comprises products where dictionary is combined with raw data from corpus. Asmussen (2013: 1082–1083) mentions several examples of such combined dictionary-corpus products, but also notes that the degree of integration of the material from both sources may vary. For instance, the electronic versions of the monolingual English learners' dictionaries *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* provide additional authentic examples made available through the user interface to give additional information about usage peculiarities of words and phrases. Willis et al. (2018) describe another ambitious project where entries of a historical dictionary of Old Norse prose were supplemented with manuscript texts from a historical corpus. While in some other dictionary-corpus combining projects the link between the dictionary and corpus is not so close or, according to Asmussen, 'they are not formally interlinked, they just appear side by side, accessible through a joint interface' (2013: 1083). A lexical resource (described by Trap-Jensen in 2010) combining two Danish online dictionaries and a corpus, and presenting some look-up possibilities across the three resources, serves as an example of partial dictionary-corpus data integration.

Furthermore, Asmussen (2013: 1084–1085) asserts that none of the above approaches presents a real combined dictionary-corpus product, which should offer separate access to dictionary and corpus, but at the same time they should be syntactically and semantically interlinked. It is also stressed that the access interface of the product should be user-friendly and adapted to the needs and skills of a non-expert user. Moreover, an important decision has to be made concerning the presentation of corpus evidence – as raw data (which would be appropriate as a source of authentic data for more informed and experienced users, but can contain mistakes) or as edited material (more appropriate for language learners and less experienced users).

It is evident that nowadays a purpose-built electronic dictionary is viewed as the most recommendable type of electronic dictionary, however, it is worth noting that the mere fact that a dictionary has been initially designed as an electronic tool, does not always guarantee its quality and superiority over electronic dictionaries originating from print dictionaries.

AN OVERVIEW OF INNOVATIONS INTRODUCED TO LEXICOGRAPHY BY THE ELECTRONIC MEDIUM

The electronic medium has introduced some considerable changes in the structural system of the dictionaries. Since the information in electronic dictionaries is not stored sequentially and the alphabet is not necessary in the look-up process, the macrostructure has lost its vital importance while the microstructure has not lost its importance, but has become a less distinct notion due to the adjustable user interface (Svensén, 2009: 441). These changes have created a situation when users of electronic dictionaries at least to some extent can adjust the macro- and microstructure of the dictionaries according to their needs (Schmitz, 2013: 1015).

In the 21st century, the advantages the electronic medium can offer to lexicography have been widely acknowledged. The following is a brief summary of relevant innovations introduced to lexicography by the electronic medium that have been pointed out by Atkins ([1996] 2002: 11–16); Varantola (2002: 34–38); Atkins and Rundell (2008: 238–246); Svensén (2009: 439–447); Granger (2012: 2–5); Asmussen (2013: 1088–1089); Debus-Gregor and Heid (2013: 1005–1011), Engelberg and Müller-Spitzer (2013: 1023–1033):

- The considerably reduced space restrictions in the electronic medium allow the compilers to avoid using textual condensation, representation symbols and nested entries but provide a wider scope of data (e.g. additional examples, collocations, multimedia content). The only real space restriction is related to the screen space of user interface – it should not be overloaded with information because it is not convenient for users, moreover, for less experienced users who can lose interest or even get lost if the microstructure (or the user interface) of the dictionary is too overcrowded with information. Thus, often some information is presented in reduced form and, if necessary, can be expanded using clickable hyperlinks.
- The accessibility of information has considerably improved in electronic dictionaries – it has become easier to find information since users do not have to browse through the alphabetically arranged headword list. Besides, such search options as wildcard search (where such symbols as * and ? can be used for unknown characters), incremental search (where the list of possible options is reduced with every character that is added) or fuzzy search (where existent words are suggested if something

non-existent has been typed in) can be offered to users in the electronic medium.

- The use of links or hyperlinks, both dictionary-internal (leading to another place in the same dictionary) and external (leading to sources outside the concrete dictionary) has made the text of the electronic dictionaries dynamic and the navigation through the dictionary and the related sources much quicker and easier.
- The interface of electronic dictionaries is adjustable and can be easily adapted (or even adapt automatically) to the users' needs and skills. Using the provided hyperlinks, users can expand or minimize the microstructural elements which are viewed as unnecessary. Thus, the electronic medium has transformed dictionaries from static to dynamic tools.
- Different types of reference works and language resources can be combined in an online electronic dictionary or at least some information from these sources can be made available to the user. For example, an electronic dictionary may be supplemented with data from monolingual and parallel corpora, lexical databases, specialized dictionaries and encyclopaedias, thus, creating a multipurpose tool. Such collections of electronic dictionaries and other language resources (also referred to as dictionary portals) may be cross-referenced to various degrees.
- The use of electronic medium has facilitated extensive and efficient use and presentation of corpus data in the process of compiling the main body of dictionary entries as well as providing additional examples, collocations and other microstructural elements.
- The electronic medium has also ensured the multimodality of dictionaries – if in print dictionaries the textual modality could be supplemented only with pictorial illustrations, electronic dictionaries can also provide sound recordings and videos.
- Users can contribute to compiling and improving of electronic dictionaries by sending comments and suggestions related to the lexicographic information provided in the dictionary and language change or pointing out mistakes. This process, often referred to as *collaborative lexicography*, has become very popular, though, it is important to note that quality control is a very important part of this process.

These are some of the most obvious and widely recognized innovations brought into lexicography through the application of electronic medium, though, certainly, this is not a finite list. These advantages not only allow the dictionaries to comprise more information but have also made the information more easily accessible and the dictionaries more user-friendly. Some scholars even refer to such properties of electronic dictionaries as *added value* (e.g. Atkins and Rundell, 2008: 241; Debus-Gregor and Heid, 2013). A hard fact of life, though, is that these innovations are not always introduced when compiling electronic dictionaries.

Having stated that the contemporary electronic dictionaries are capable of fulfilling various past and present lexicographers' dreams, Schmitz (2013: 1021–1022) also notes that the lexicographic community is at the beginning of a new era, but the opportunities it offers are very demanding both theoretically and practically. Thus, he mentions some desiderata for more successful exploitation of electronic medium in lexicography, for example, more varied computational linguistic tools could be linked to electronic dictionaries, more attention should be paid to designing and testing of better and more user-friendly interfaces, more profound and systematic research of the use of electronic dictionaries should be carried out, exchange of experience and collaboration on the international level should be considerably enhanced.

METHODOLOGY

In order to provide an insight in the general English-Latvian electronic lexicography in the 21st century, the aim of this study is to analyse the largest and most complex general English-Latvian electronic dictionary, determine its type and assess its compliance with the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography.

The advantages and innovations introduced to lexicography by the electronic medium will be applied as the main criteria of analysis of the major general English-Latvian electronic dictionary (ELED). First some microstructural peculiarities of the dictionary will be pointed out, then the dictionary will be described and evaluated using the above criteria, eventually the type of the electronic dictionary and its compliance with the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography will be determined. Thus, the analysis is based on the following criteria:

- the structure- and content-related aspects of dictionary microstructure;
- the accessibility of information;
- the adaptability of dictionary interface to the users' needs;
- the use of dictionary-internal and external links;
- the combination of various reference works and language resources;
- the use of corpus data in compiling and updating of the dictionary;
- the possibility of user contribution;
- the multimodality of dictionary.

It should be noted that these criteria of analysis will not always be dealt with in the above order since some of them, being tightly related and even partly overlapping, cannot be treated in isolation.

The English-Latvian electronic dictionary (ELED) analysed in this study is based on the 1995 edition of the English-Latvian print dictionary published by *Jāņa sēta*, which has been supplemented with terms from various terminological dictionaries, abbreviations and nearly 150 000 monolingual entries from

the lexical database *WordNet 2.1* (an older version of the currently available *WordNet 3.1* (Online 1)) at *Tilde*, a leading language technology company in Latvia. Since the ELED was updated and supplemented with new entries in 2009, now it can already be viewed as quite outdated. Thus, currently the dictionary is being updated using data from the reversal of *Tilde's* Latvian-English electronic dictionary (LEED) (Online 2) compiled by Andrejs Veisbergs. The ELED can be accessed using two similar but somewhat differing user interfaces (both developed by *Tilde*), hereinafter, referred to as English-Latvian electronic dictionary *Letonika* (ELED-L) (Online 3) and English-Latvian electronic dictionary *Tilde* (ELED-T) (Online 4, which is available only to the subscribers of the software product *Tildes Birojs*). However, the distinction between the interfaces will be made only when describing the aspects of the dictionary microstructure where the interfaces vary, otherwise the generalized abbreviation ELED will be applied to refer to this dictionary. As regards the availability of the dictionary – a reduced version of the ELED-L is available free of charge, but the access to full content of the dictionary through both its interfaces is offered only to subscribers.

There are several more translation devices and smaller electronic dictionaries including crowd-sourced or collaborative dictionaries. They often present a limited scope of information on the microstructural level and may reveal lack of monitoring and editing of the information suggested by users. Some samples of English-Latvian dictionaries (all of them include the word *dictionary* in the title) available online are presented here, applying the previously established abbreviation ELED supplemented by the website where they have been made available: ELED-Glosbe (Online 5) is an online translation device rather than a bilingual dictionary; ELED-Ectaco (Online 6) is a combination of a translation device and a dictionary with quite limited microstructure; ELED-Lingea (Online 7) is a fairly small dictionary which is presented only as a Latvian-English dictionary, though it also comprises an English-Latvian direction). These dictionaries will not be discussed in the present study since due to very limited structural complexity and editorial work they do not provide useful material for the discussion of the state of the art of general English-Latvian electronic lexicography in the 21st century, though, possibly, the situation might change if the content and editorial work of these dictionaries are enhanced.

ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH-LATVIAN ELECTRONIC DICTIONARY: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Since the general English-Latvian electronic dictionary analysed in the present study can be accessed using two user interfaces, which may vary according to the layout and information categories presented, they will be discussed alternately, commenting on the different solutions when necessary. Screenshots of both interfaces will be provided to illustrate the discussion of various microstructural aspects of the dictionary.

The presentation of the entry *regulation* retrieved from both interfaces of the ELED is provided in Figure 1 (ELED-L) and Figure 2 (ELED-T).

The screenshot shows the ELED-L interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with tabs: Enciklopēdijas, Vārdnīcas, Lasītava, Multivide, Valoda, Ceļvedis, Pasakas, and Kultūras kanons. Below this, the search bar contains the word 'regulation'. To the right of the search bar are buttons for 'Meklēt' and 'Paplašinātā'. Below the search bar, the text 'Meklēt: Vārdnīcas * Angļu—latviešu vārdnīca' is displayed. On the left side, there is a vertical list of search results, with 'regulation' selected. The main content area displays the entry for 'regulation' in the English-Latvian dictionary. The entry includes the word 'regulation' with its phonetic transcription [ˈregjuˈleɪʃn] and the part of speech 'n'. It lists three numbered definitions: 1. regulēšana, 2. priekšraksts; regula; noteikums (with a sub-definition: traffic regulations - satiksmes noteikumi), and 3. pl nolikums. Below the definitions, there is a copyright notice: © Zīrīda Belzēja. Irēna Birzvalka. Lūcija Jurka. Rasma Mozere, Jānis Raškevičs, Agris Treilons, 1995; © Tilde, 2009. At the bottom of the entry, there are sections for 'TERMINI' and 'SKAIDROJUMI', each with a dropdown arrow. A link 'Iesūtīt komentāru par šķirkli' is also present.

Figure 1 Entry *regulation* retrieved from ELED-L (Online 3)

The screenshot shows the ELED-T interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with tabs: Translation, Synonyms, Encyclopedias, Grammar, OCR, Speech, Templates, and Library. Below this, the search bar contains the word 'regulation'. To the right of the search bar are buttons for 'English', 'Latvian', and a search icon. Below the search bar, the text 'regulation' is displayed. The main content area displays the entry for 'regulation' in the English-Latvian dictionary. The entry includes the word 'regulation' with its phonetic transcription [ˈregjuˈleɪʃn] and the part of speech 'noun'. It lists three numbered definitions: 1. regulēšana, 2. priekšraksts; regula; noteikums (with a sub-definition: traffic ~s - satiksmes noteikumi), and 3. plural nolikums. Below the definitions, there is a copyright notice: ©. At the bottom of the entry, there is a link 'Enhance your dictionary or suggest a translation'. On the right side, there is a vertical list of search results, with 'regulation' selected. The list includes: regulation, regulations, traffic regulation, temperature regulation, regulation, state regulation, self-regulation, regulation account, loan regulation, ink regulation, and indirect regulation.

Figure 2 Entry *regulation* retrieved from ELED-T (Online 4)

The content of the *general part* or the main body of this entry is nearly identical in both cases – it reveals that the selected headword *regulation* is a noun, its pronunciation is presented using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (recorded pronunciation is available only for the users of ELED-T), the word has three senses, one collocation is also provided. The content of this section of the microstructure is often very similar or even identical with the content of the original print dictionary (a reference to it is provided below the main body of the entry in ELED-L and under the symbol © in ELED-T interface).

Both interfaces on the left or right-hand side of the screen present additional lists of hyperlinked headwords, though the selection criteria and layouts of these lists differ. Figure 1 shows that ELED-L comprises a list of alphabetically arranged headwords that follow the selected item, however, it should be noted that this list includes not only headwords of the ELED but also provides cross references to other sources linked to the dictionary. Figure 2 reveals that in ELED-T the list is not alphabetical and comprises derivatives, compounds, collocations and phrases featuring the selected headword, furthermore, these items may appear in the dictionary as the main and secondary headwords as well as examples. These additional lists serve as dictionary-internal cross-references, but in ELED-L also as dictionary-external links. They are not of vital importance for the look-up process in an electronic dictionary but could be beneficial for users in several ways. The alphabetical list provided in ELED-L resembles the traditional alphabetical list of headwords found in print dictionaries and might help in the look-up process if the user has doubts about the correct spelling of the headword or enhance the possibility of serendipity (a more typical advantage of print dictionaries), it could also meet the needs of the users who still prefer the look-up process offered by print dictionaries. The list offered in ELED-T could increase the awareness of items related to the selected headword and help to navigate through the dictionary. None of these lists can be minimized, but the one found in ELED-L can be expanded to view the full list of headwords resembling the macrostructure of a print dictionary.

The systems of presentation of various types of labels and secondary headwords in both interfaces are also dissimilar. In ELED-T (see Figure 2) the part of speech labels and other grammar-related labels (e.g. *noun*, *plural*) are presented in full form, while the other groups of labels (e.g. subject field, regional, formality), placeholders (e.g. *smb.*) and metalinguistic comments (e.g. *u. tml.*) have been abbreviated, the plural form of the headword is replaced by a swung dash in secondary headwords and examples (e.g. *traffic ~s*). In ELED-L (see Figure 1), on the other hand, all types of labels, placeholders and metalinguistic comments are presented in abbreviated form, while the headword in secondary headwords and examples is presented in full form. Thus, it can be concluded that in both cases the approach to presentation of lexicographic metalanguage and secondary headwords only partly corresponds to the system typically applied in contemporary electronic dictionaries. They usually present these microstructural

elements in full form, as there are no space restrictions in the electronic medium but is willingness to make the dictionary text more transparent and comprehensible for users.

As regards the search options, incremental search is available in both user interfaces, though in ELED-L no distinction is made between English and Latvian options, thus, the possible list of headwords suggested, while the word is typed in, may contain both English and Latvian headwords. The dictionary comprises nested entries, especially the entries of highly polysemous headwords may contain long lists of nested items (e.g. collocations, phrasal verbs, phrases). Some of the items that are presented in nested entries may also appear as separate entries (e.g. the phrasal verbs *look up*, *give in*, *go out*). The possibility to de-nest items from highly nested entries is a very useful feature offered by the electronic medium since it considerably enhances and speeds up the look-up process. The search for nested items in this dictionary is typically directed to the entry where they are listed, though, if the phrase has not been typed in precisely as presented in the entry, in ELED-L the search may lead to the explanatory rather than the bilingual part of the entry, while in ELED-T to machine translation rather than the dictionary. Thus, it can be inferred that several of the technical advantages offered by the electronic medium have been used to ensure the accessibility of information in this dictionary, but it could be further enhanced by diversifying and improving the search options.

The screen space of both user interfaces is not overcrowded with information and each interface offers several similar expandable sections that lead to additional parts of the dictionary microstructure, thus, revealing the adaptability of the user interface to the needs and interests of different users. ELED-L offers its registered users to view the full entry using the link *Skatīt pilnu šķirkli* (See the full entry), then two expandable sections are provided (see Figure 1) – *Termini* (Terms) presenting translated terms from various bilingual terminological dictionaries as well as terminology bank *EuroTermBank*, and *Skaidrojumi* (Explanations) presenting definitions for various senses of the headword and illustrative examples from *WordNet 2.1*. ELED-T also offers three expandable sections (see Figure 2) – the first *Term Dictionaries* presents similar content as the one provided in ELED-L with the addition of translated phrases and sentences from several other sources (e.g. *Eurovoc Thesaurus*), the second section presents translated terms from *EuroTermBank*, but the third *Usage Examples* presents automatically selected translated examples from the parallel English-Latvian corpora used for compiling of bilingual dictionaries (see Deksne and Veisbergs (2018: 129–131) for description of the parallel corpora and their application in updating of the LEED) and developing machine translation tools at the company *Tilde* (see Figure 3). This is a relevant addition to dictionary entries since it comprises authentic corpus data showing the actual use of the headwords. It could be further improved by providing translated examples illustrating a wider scope of senses of polysemous words (usually these are only the most widespread

senses), moreover, due to the fact that these are automatically selected examples, one can come across occasional mistakes and mistranslations, which might mislead some less advanced and experienced users.

USAGE EXAMPLES ▲

- The implementing regulation may permit other exceptions.
- Īstenošanas regulā var būt paredzēti citi izņēmumi.
- Details of the register should be established by a Commission implementing regulation.
- Komisijas īstenošanas regulā būtu jānosaka sīkāka informācija par reģistru.
- Before adopting any regulation.
- Pirms visu regulu pieņemšanas.
- A reference to the regulation applicable,
- Atsauce uz piemērojamo regulu,

Figure 3 Fragment of the expanded section *Usage examples of the entry regulation* from ELED-T (Online 4)

TERMINI

LV **noregulēšana** *ekon.*
 RU **урегулирование**,
 EN **regulation**,
 DE **Regulierung**

© Autoru kolektīvs Valentīnas Skujiņas vadībā: Hermanis Kadiķis,
 Ruta Grēviņa, Inese Vaidere, Jānis Kalniņš, Regīna Kvašīte,
 Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas Latviešu valodas institūts, 1997; © Tilde, 2009

EN **regulation** *mult*

1.
 LV **kārtošana**,
 LV **regulēšana**

2.
 LV **priekšraksts**,
 LV **kārtība**

© Sast. Irēna Blumfelde, Irēna Matisone, Aija Ķēbere, Lauma Krieviņa,
 A. Valujevs; rec. Valentīna Skujiņa, Jāņa sēta, 1997; © Tilde, 2009

Figure 4 Samples of entries from terminological dictionaries compiled in Latvia from ELED-L (Online 3)

The Latvian equivalents provided in the ELED are presented as hyperlinks leading to the headwords of the LEED (and vice versa), thus establishing a tight network of dictionary-external links between the English-Latvian and Latvian-English dictionaries provided through both interfaces. In the terminology sections of the entries available through ELED-L the Latvian equivalents from the bilingual terminological dictionaries and databases compiled in Latvia have been presented as hyperlinks (see Figure 4), while the equivalents of the entries selected from the *EuroTermBank* (Online 8) and *Eurovoc Thesaurus* (Online 9) have not been hyperlinked (see Figure 5). In contrast, the equivalents from the *EuroTermBank* available through ELED-T have been hyperlinked. ELED-L, on the other hand, provides the only dictionary-external link leading to the terminological database *EuroTermBank* (the title has been hyperlinked), however, it should be added that the user is directed to the term bank in general, not the concrete term that has been searched for.



Figure 5 Samples of material from *EuroTermBank* available from ELED-L (Online 3)

The analysis of the linking system established in the ELED reveals that both interfaces of the dictionary present a network of dictionary-internal links, which can considerably improve the navigation through the dictionary. It should also be noted that the compilation of data from various terminological dictionaries and databases (or the opportunity to search for information retrieved from several sources simultaneously) provides valuable information on the use of the headword and its various equivalents in different subject fields. However,

since information from each source has been presented separately, it also leads to somewhat fragmented microstructure and partial overlapping of information, which might cause some look-up problems to less experienced users.

Both interfaces of the ELED provide data from or links to various reference works and language resources. Some of them, for example, *EuroTermBank*, *WordNet*, *Eurovoc Thesaurus* and various bilingual specialized dictionaries have already been mentioned in the context of adaptability of dictionary interface and the system of links, however, apart from the above, both interfaces offer another set of links to various types of sources listed in the upper section of the screen (see Figure 1 and 2). Thus, ELED-T offers several links including 'Translation' leading to the dictionary as well as offering machine translation of the search word or phrase if it has not been found in the dictionary, the link *Synonyms* provides synonyms, definitions and untranslated examples from *WordNet*, the link *Encyclopedias* leads to *Wikipedia*, the link *Grammar* provides some basic information depending on the part of speech of the search word (e.g. plural form(s) for nouns, principal forms for verbs), the other links are not directly related to the dictionary in question. The opening screen of the digital information repository of the Latvian language *letonika.lv* (Online 10) apart from ELED-L, comprises two links related to reference works: *Vārdnīcas* (Dictionaries) offering a list of eleven bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Latvian-English, Latvian-Russian, Russian-Latvian) and a dictionary of personal names as well as *Enciklopēdijas* (Encyclopedias) presenting a list of eleven encyclopaedias and specialized dictionaries.

Even though not all of the abovementioned reference works and language resources might be useful for the target audience of the ELED in the process of consulting a bilingual dictionary, it is obvious that by providing a set of reference works and language resources, both user interfaces at least to some extent resemble portals of electronic dictionaries, thus, utilizing another advantage offered by the electronic medium.

Another important advantage offered by the electronic medium is the possibility to make extensive use of corpus data. Data from English-Latvian parallel corpora have been used in selection of translated examples available at ELED-T as well as when supplementing the main body of the dictionary with headwords and equivalents. This approach places the ELED in the category of corpus-informed dictionaries that has been described by Kosem (2016: 79) as revealing limited use of corpus data, for instance, 'for a specific dictionary feature, which is often one of the upgrades from the previous version of the dictionary'. Data from general representative corpora of the English language so far have not been applied while updating the ELED; though, evidently it would help in the process of enhancing of the dictionary, for instance, while extending the dictionary macrostructure.

Both interfaces of the ELED comprise a section inviting users to send their comments on the entry (ELED-L) and supplement their customized dictionary or propose their translations (ELED-T). Thus, the editors of the dictionary

encourage users to contribute to updating of the dictionary but also make it clear that the process of user involvement is carefully monitored.

The potential of multimodality offered by the electronic medium in compiling and improving of the ELED so far has been utilized to a limited extent. The dictionary does not comprise any pictorial illustrations or videos, it includes only sound recordings. These modes of information presentation can be used in electronic dictionaries not only to make them more lively and user friendly, but may also enhance the users' perception of some microstructural elements, for instance, the introduction of recorded pronunciation of the English headwords could be appreciated by those users who are not sufficiently familiar with the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet applied in this dictionary. This user-friendly feature has been made available for the users of ELED-T interface.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis reveals that even though the general English-Latvian electronic dictionary analysed in this study is based on a print dictionary (currently already quite outdated), it is not merely a digitized print dictionary since it has been updated and supplemented by information from various reference works and language resources. Despite the fact that this approach enriches the contents of the entry, it also leads to quite fragmented microstructure and occasional overlapping of information in the entry. Typologically the dictionary still belongs to the somewhat extended category of dictionaries transferred from existent print dictionaries, or *Faster Horses* according to Tarp's (2011) classification, but, thanks to the introduction of some innovative features, for instance, illustrative examples from parallel corpora and adaptable user interface, it has already started moving in the direction of more advanced electronic reference work.

The analysis of the dictionary, which is available through two varying interfaces, reveals implementation of various innovative features of contemporary electronic lexicography, but various improvements primarily related to the presentation of some metalinguistic elements and secondary headwords, unity of microstructure, diversity of search options, use of dictionary-internal and external links, application of corpus data and multimodality, would be necessary to enhance the correspondence of this dictionary to the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography. Moreover, it would be beneficial for the users if all the positive innovations were available through both interfaces which may vary both in content and the mode of presentation.

It is also worth noting that in the process of further development of the dictionary, the focus should be primarily on enhancement of the English-Latvian dictionary *per se* (which in many ways still resembles the print dictionary it is based on), only then on the other additional bi- and monolingual elements of its microstructure.

General English-Latvian lexicography has entered the age of electronic lexicography with a dictionary which to some extent already meets the standards of contemporary electronic lexicography but also has considerable potential for further development.

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ELECTRONIC DICTIONARIES AND LEXICAL DATABASES

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INTERNATIONALIZING SECONDARY EDUCATION IN POLAND THROUGH ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

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Abstract. Since English as a lingua franca is extending into virtually all domains of public life, non-Anglophone countries move away from the approach of English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to the practice of English being a medium of instruction for content subjects. The methodology is increasingly implemented at all educational levels from primary to tertiary education. Yet few empirical studies have been undertaken into how the programmes are run. Thus, the article presents the findings of a research project, which attempted to provide a broad picture of this phenomenon in the Polish context. The article explores the two most recognized bilingual programmes in the European Union, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and English Medium Instruction (EMI), both being thoroughly investigated in the paper. The article attempts to shed light on the teaching approaches applied in EMI classes. In addition, it discusses the extent to which the English language is used in such classes (partial or exclusive). Further, it focuses on the implications L1 interference has for the L2 learning process taking place in the classroom. Last but not least, the study gives a brief account of students' and teachers' perspectives on and attitudes towards EMI. Regarding the methodology, the triangulation of methods was adopted including questionnaires, interviews and observations.

Key words: EMI, CLIL, English, internationalization, bilingual education, bilingual programmes

INTRODUCTION

Post-war civilization of political unions, globalization or migratory movements necessitates the knowledge of more than one language in more than one discipline. In order to meet the growing demands, countries all over the world are committed to improving their students' foreign language proficiency and, in consequence, modify their educational programmes through the increased implementation of foreign languages into the school system. The most effective method, as regards language learning, involves a situation in which an additional language (e.g. English) that previously was taught as a separate school subject becomes the medium of instruction for academic subjects such as science, mathematics or geography. Given the successful implementation of Canadian and American bilingual programmes, the idea of teaching content

subjects through a foreign language has at an unprecedented rate expanded into the European countries (Czura, 2009: 105). Although the approach was generally adopted several decades ago, its practical implementation depends on a country, its government and policies regulating bilingual education within the state. As opposed to bilingual programmes in multilingual countries where an additional language is often the second language for students, monolingual countries introduce an additional language that is not the most widely used language of the environment. It is usually a foreign language for the students who often do not have an opportunity to use it outside the school environment. Given the monolingual countries and their search for a more practical than scholastic practice as regards language learning, one should refer to the two commonly practised and internationally recognized approaches to bilingual education, i.e. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and English Medium Instruction (EMI), both being thoroughly investigated below.

ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI)

EMI is defined as ‘the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English’ (Dearden and Macaro, 2016: 456). Although EMI is often called an umbrella term with its multifaceted application, the term serves as a reference to a classroom setting where the English language is used as a means of communication between the teacher and the students. In Europe, English is ‘the most dominant L2 medium of instruction’, with its position forecast to strengthen further (Brumfit, 2004: 166; Marsh and Laitinen, 2005: 2). The first to implement EMI were Sweden and the Netherlands in the 1950s. The next to follow were Finland, Norway and Hungary in the 1980s. The trend, however, took off in the 1990s expanding not only to Western but also to Eastern and Central Europe (Coleman, 2006). At the moment, over 55 countries all over the world and 21 European states, e.g. Italy, Austria, Croatia, Cyprus, Hungary, Portugal, Spain have been increasingly using EMI in secondary and tertiary education (Dearden, 2015). Further, in some European countries EMI is promoted as a passport to a global world (*ibid.*: 16). Policy makers, teachers, administrators and parents consider EMI as a mechanism for internationalizing their education offer, e.g. in Croatia, Estonia, Portugal or the Netherlands. There are practical reasons for this, for most academic research is published in English (over 90% in international, high-impact publications). So, if students want to stay current in their field, it makes sense for them to study in English, given that the content is mostly in English. In many technical fields, much of the content and vocabulary is also in English, as are students’ dissertations and research.

Dearden (2015) also makes it clear that the term EMI itself is so new that no proper definition exists. Hence, the notion is sometimes misunderstood in various educational contexts. As a result, EMI is wrongly associated with

teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) through English implying that the interaction and texts used for instruction in EFL should avoid any recourse to the students' first language. It is also mistakenly perceived as part of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) programmes where courses are specifically designed to aid the students with undertaking particular professions. In addition, EMI term often misleads researchers and practitioners into believing that it is similar to EAP (English for Academic Purposes) designed to provide students with academic lexis and discourse enabling them to function at a university where academic subjects are delivered in English.

Although it seems that EMI has not yet received as much attention in Europe as CLIL, its advantages seem to be self-evident. The central idea of the programme is that it does not concentrate on the acquisition of grammatical structures or studying other language-connected aspects representing the formal language learning (English as a school subject) but focuses on the development of communication skills, intercultural relationships, as well as on natural interactions with both native and non-native speakers of English. EMI contributes to the international mobility of the students involved promoting intercultural awareness (Tsou and Kao, 2017: 4). The programme helps students broaden their knowledge about the today's highly interconnected world that is driven by English as an international language. This important role of English motivates students to learn it. The universities and other higher institutions located in non-Anglophone speaking countries require their prospective students to demonstrate high level of proficiency in English. Therefore, participation in the EMI programme would facilitate the entrance process. EMI students do not only develop the four linguistic skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening), but also gain specialist knowledge in each discipline (biology, geography, psychology, mathematics, etc.) in a language other than their mother tongue. Given that the EMI programme ends with an internationally recognized matriculation exam (for example International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme), students usually do not have to sit any additional written or oral tests verifying their linguistic competence or subject-content knowledge. Apart from the academic aspect, EMI can bring considerable advantages to the future career of the students involved, both at the domestic and international level. Additionally, EMI is viewed as beneficial not only for the students, but also for the schools that implement the programme, as it boosts the prestige of such institutions. Having employed international staff, participating in foreign exchange programmes and cooperating with other bilingual schools worldwide may attract not only parents, but also local and national government which, in consequence, may lead to additional funding needed for further development and scientific research (Tamtam et al., 2012). EMI gives schools an opportunity for promotion and participation in international projects and research, gives access to a wide range of diversified teaching and learning materials, as well as helps to build up international respect and visibility on the European stage.

The approach provides greater exposure to the target language and more opportunities to use it. As opposed to the regular English classes where an emphasis is placed on the grammatical forms and structures, the English-medium instruction methodology allows for a daily contact with the target language through a variety of academic subjects. The difference between the regular classes and EMI classes lies in the way of the language acquisition. Students no longer learn about English as a separate school subject but learn through English as a medium to study non-language content (Dearden, 2015: 4). This way of language learning allows students to develop both receptive and productive skills. Students gather information from listening and reading and convey knowledge through speaking and writing, acquiring at the same time new terms and concepts from a non-language discipline. The main purpose of EMI is to focus on the meaning of the subject content and not on the language learning and its form. This means that the target language is acquired unintentionally, and its development can be referred to as a by-product of this process. The unintentional language acquisition process that takes place through EMI is a result of students being exposed to the new knowledge and new terminology they were not familiar with so far.

CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING VS. ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION

The term CLIL is defined as ‘an integrated approach where both language and content are conceptualized on a continuum without an implied preference for either’ (Coyle, 2007: 545). CLIL is referred to any dual focused educational context in which an additional language, thus not normally the first language of the learners involved, is used as a medium in teaching and learning of non-language content (Marsh, 2002; Romanowski, 2018). The implementation of CLIL was driven by the desire to spread and reinforce multilingualism in Europe and respond to situations where there was a deficient foreign language competence (Pérez-Cañado, 2012). This is how CLIL evolved and became an established teaching approach, spreading fast across European countries being adopted at all educational levels from kindergarten through vocational schools and professional development courses to universities (Czura, 2009). CLIL is deemed to be a descendent of Canadian immersion and North American bilingual education programmes which, as Pérez-Vidal (2007: 44) emphasizes, ‘are extremely revealing for the design and implementation of programmes in Europe’. The approach also draws on the models developed by European international schools. The overriding conclusion that can be reached from the precursors of CLIL education is that learning a second language in isolation is not as effective as using it for the purpose of acquiring non-language content. Although the experience and observations gathered in Canada and in the USA were valuable, the programmes could not be directly transferred to Europe. Immersion education bears little resemblance to the study of a language through

CLIL programmes in Europe, particularly “in terms of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural context in which the L2 is learned and the authenticity of the input” (Gallardo del Puerto et al., 2009: 65). In this sense, CLIL offers less contact with a language when compared to immersion settings where the language of instruction is often an official language. The effect thereof is that CLIL represents a methodology focused on teaching students how to use a language for specific purposes rather than to gain native-like competence.

In the light of the above assumptions, it is crucial to distinguish between CLIL and EMI as these two concepts are often confused. CLIL is deeply rooted in the European ideal of plurilingual competence for EU citizens. On the contrary, EMI has no contextual origin. Whereas CLIL may refer to any second, additional or foreign language (L2), e.g. English, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., EMI clearly underlines the significant role of English as the medium of instruction at any educational levels. In addition, CLIL as an objective sets out furthering both content and language, in EMI there is concentration on the acquisition of grammatical structures. The main objective of EMI programmes is the development of communication skills and intercultural relations with native and non-native speakers of English (Dearden, 2015). Finally, yet importantly, it should be highlighted that although CLIL has often been used to describe programmes within primary and secondary education, EMI can be implemented at any stage of the educational cycle (Simpson, 2017; Toth, 2018).

A STUDY OF EMI IN A POLISH SECONDARY SCHOOL IN WARSAW

The study was conducted using naturally occurring data while sitting in on classes that took place in Stefan Batory Secondary School in Warsaw. The school was founded in 1918 and represents one of the bilingual secondary schools in Poland. Since 2005, the school has been granted the IB authorization and has offered the two-year International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) intended for students aged 16–19. Prior to enrolment, written and oral English tests verify the linguistic competence of the candidates. All students are expected to know English at a level that will allow them to participate in classes held partially in this language. According to the IB Organization, the school is currently registered for the following subjects: Polish A (literature), Biology, Chemistry, English A (language and literature), English B (intended for students who have had some previous experience of learning the language), Geography, History, Mathematical Studies, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology, Visual Arts, German B, French B and French *ab initio* (intended for students who begin to learn a new language). Throughout the two-year course, students need to attend six classes a week provided in English, irrespective of the subjects taught in a national language. Three of them must be taken at a higher level (HL) and the other at a standard level (SL) (Romanowski, 2019). The subjects the students choose to learn during the Diploma Programme are to be taken in the matriculation examination (the

Polish matura). In addition to IB classes and the exams, there are three more core requirements students must complete to earn an IB diploma. These are the Theory of Knowledge (TOK), the Extended Essay and Creativity, Activity, Service (CAS). It is recommended that students devote approximately 150 hours to these courses over the two-year period.

1 PARTICIPANTS' PROFILE

The following study is based on the observations that lasted for approximately two weeks. Data were gathered during the biology and chemistry lessons. The research was undertaken on 11th grade students from two different classes. None of the students had participated in the programmes preceding the Diploma Programme (PYP or MYP). Altogether, 29 participants took part in the project including 27 students and 2 teachers. Throughout the two-week fieldwork, 10 participants from one class and 17 participants from the other class were involved. Although the IB classes are small-sized and their number does not exceed 20 students, during the first week of the project, only 10 learners were present (as regards the biology class). For the purpose of the reliability and consistency of the study, students who came in the following week did not take part in the research. To make a clear distinction between the two groups the term Class 1 and Class 2 respectively is used. Then, when referring to the educators involved in the present study, the term Teacher 1 and Teacher 2 is applied, depending on the class.

2 METHODOLOGY

In the present study, the triangulation of methods was adopted. The aim was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the investigated phenomenon. Triangulation appeared to be an effective technique to validate and check the credibility of the collected data through cross verification from more than two sources and via several research methods. All the methodologies adopted in the research interweave with each other that allows for exploring the investigated area from more than one standpoint. The use of various instruments proved to widen the scope of the research. The data analysed comprised questionnaires completed by teachers and students, interviews, as well as observations made and field notes taken while observing both classes. Questionnaires were used to gain the basic knowledge of the students' and teachers' language background, as well as their personal motivations to participate in a class where English is a medium of instruction. Interviews were conducted to understand the attitude of the respondents towards EMI programme. Observations were made to see to what extent the Polish language is incorporated into the classroom and what kind of teaching methods are adopted by the educators while teaching in such classes. This allowed adopting both quantitative- and qualitative approach to the analyses. The former one enabled to study the data of all the participants. The second one allowed for collecting in-depth perceptions and descriptions

of the target group and the investigated subject. Besides, whenever additional information was needed or any inquiries appeared while marshalling facts and composing the present study, questions were sent per e-mail to the IB coordinator. Alternatively, appointments were arranged to personally discuss the doubts, if any.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

1 TEACHING APPROACHES APPLIED IN THE CLASSROOM

As regards the biology class, task-based learning approach was adopted. In other words, the lesson was based around the completion of a variety of tasks. The teacher provided plenty of opportunities for interaction and in his course employed communication-oriented learning activities alongside the coupled inquiry model mixing the two methodologies (a guided approach with an open inquiry) where the focus of instruction is gradually shifted from the teacher to the student who is put in the centre of the learning process. The leadership is, however, shared (person-centred approach involving both the teacher and the students). And thus, the teacher first introduced the topic and gave the students clear instructions on what they had to do at each individual task stage. Then, he helped the students to recall some specialized language that could be useful for the exercises. During the review, the students took notes and asked questions. Next, they spent some time preparing for the assigned tasks and completed them in pairs through independent self-directed interaction. In the meantime, the teacher monitored the work of the students, offered his assistance and cleared up any language- or content questions that arose during the completion of the assigned tasks. Additionally, the students made use of other resources available to them in the classroom, such as notebooks or smartphones. Interestingly, the students used exclusively English websites to search for the information needed and never looked up for a word in a dictionary even if they worked with complex and specialized terminology. Afterwards, the students delivered a short oral report in front of the class to explain what had happened during their task-completion process and shared their findings. Meanwhile, the teacher gave each group some quick feedback on the content. During the presentations, he highlighted relevant parts from the text and repeated them. From time to time, he asked questions to point out some interesting features. Throughout the task-based approach, a wide exposure to the language was guaranteed. Besides, the students seemed to enjoy the learning process and appeared to be motivated. Due to the student-centred instruction, the learning process seemed to be cooperative, collaborative and community oriented. The students were encouraged to work in teams, drive their own learning and become self-directed with the ability to link the new knowledge within the context of the existing knowledge. The teacher successfully implemented instructional strategies designed to foster active engagement and experiential learning. The central focus was thus on meaning making, inquiry

and authentic activity. The class was expected, as Brophy (1999: 49) explains, to: 'strive to make sense of what they are learning by relating it to prior knowledge and by discussing it with others' and to act as 'a learning community that constructs shared understanding'. As regards the chemistry class, the teacher played an active part being the primary source for knowledge while the students took a more passive and receptive role. As opposed to the biology class, Teacher 2 acted as an instructor rather than as a facilitator that resulted in applying a traditional Present-Practice-Produce (PPP) approach that tends to be teacher-centred. During activities, the students worked alone and collaboration was discouraged. Such methodology resulted in narrow obedience without the possibility to act freely in teams. This conformed to the statement made by Brophy (2006: 40) that 'the system which orients students toward passivity and compliance with rigid rules undercuts the potential effects of an instructional system' that he continued 'is designed to emphasize active learning, higher order thinking, and the social construction of knowledge'. The classroom interaction followed the specific pattern where the teacher initiated a question, provided a series of steps for the students to follow to discover the principle, rule or generalization, the students then responded, and the teacher evaluated their responses. Even if the teacher endeavoured to involve the students in the assigned tasks and asked them questions, she did not give the learners enough time to analyse the discussed problem and to find their own solutions but replied immediately with a correct answer. Instead of letting the students work on their own and giving them a chance to search for the desired solution, she simply showed them how to accomplish the particular task. This limited the students' commitment to active participation and resulted in passive listening and taking notes. Furthermore, unlike the biology class where all the students sat in a U-shaped configuration and the teacher approached each group individually or stood aside, the physical design of the chemistry class placed the teacher to the frontal position. In other words, the classroom setting was organized in such a way that the desks faced towards the primary focal point, i.e. the teacher. The U-shape layout (also known as a horseshoe layout) left room for more interaction between the teacher and the students. Consequently, the U-shaped desk arrangement encouraged discussion and made it easy for the teacher to observe the students and assist them, if needed. In contrast to the U-shaped setting, the traditional classroom arrangement (the rows or the columns configuration) did not support conversation or interaction. Besides, the traditional layout appeared difficult for the instructor to observe the students in the mid- and back rows.

2 PARTIAL VS. EXCLUSIVE USE OF ENGLISH

Before the biology class started (Class 1), the students talked to each other in Polish. Further, the informal communication during the lesson between the teacher and the students, the one not related to the subject content, took place in the students' L1. The lesson was provided to a large extent in English. However,

the use of the Polish language was neither forbidden nor undesired. Even if the learners touched upon the aspects related to the subject content in the Polish language, Teacher 1 did not punish or correct his students. He replied either in English or in Polish. Sometimes, it depended on the complexity of the subject matter, but usually the teacher switched between the languages. It appeared quite natural. Similarly, the group activities were held in both languages. On the one hand, the students were aware of the fact that they are enrolled at a bilingual school with an IB programme where English serves as a medium of instruction for most of the school subjects and that they need to learn the subject content in this particular language. On the other hand, they did not treat this situation as an opportunity to become bilingual in its pure sense but saw it as a tool to learn a language for useful purposes, such as employment, travelling or school exams. In other words, language learning was perceived as a self-oriented process that could bring considerable benefits in the future. Such an attitude towards language acquisition (or rather language learning) generated the instrumental motivation common to academic situations that involve learning the target language without interacting with the target language community. During the interview Teacher 1 claimed that some learners were not proficient enough to learn subject matter exclusively in English. Therefore, he supported the idea that additional lecturing and/or repeating some information in the student's L1 provides deeper and clearer understanding in terms of the content of the lesson. This approach enabled students to become familiar with the specialized terminology in both languages. In other words, the methodology helped to build up the students' lexicon and foster their metalinguistic awareness, i.e. the ability to monitor and control their use of language. If the students encountered any difficulties with understanding the subject content provided in English, Teacher 1 immediately cleared up the doubts and explained the subject matter in Polish. As regards the chemistry class, English was the primary language used for both informal communication and formal instruction. During the interview, Teacher 2 claimed that students would learn a second language only if they communicated enough through that language (even if this created an artificial situation). The aim was to construct an environment in which children would be motivated to use English in multiple contexts. Therefore, both informal and formal conversations were held in English. However, it sometimes did not work as the teacher wished. In some cases, Teacher 2 asked a question in English and picked a particular learner to answer. It happened that the student replied in Polish. Usually, the teacher did not punish the students when they asked or answered questions in their first language. Besides, she did not force them to repeat the questions in English but always replied in the target language. What could be noticed during the observations was the fact that some students used the Polish language as a response to the teacher who appeared to overuse English and excessively stick to this language in all kind of conversation. As far as the students comprehend the subject content and such behaviour is just a minor disagreement to the unnatural use of the foreign language, it has no severe implications. But if formulating a question

in the students' mother tongue is a sign of incomprehension and the teacher fails to notice the students' difficulties in grasping the subject content, the learning progress might be hampered which may, in turn, lead to discontent, frustration and poor performance on the part of the students.

3 L1 INTERFERENCE IN EMI CLASSES

There has been a heated debate about whether the use of the students' first language in the L2 learning process, the one that takes place in the classroom, should be allowed. According to Littlewood and Yu (2011: 64), 'for many decades, foreign language teaching has been dominated by the principle that teachers should only use the target language'. However, the trend has reversed in the recent years. This turned out to be true when observing the biology class in which the use of students' L1 was considered to provide an important communicative support for both the teacher and the students. Both code mixing (changes at the word level) and code switching (changes at the sentence level) were applied. These were introduced once an L2 explanation failed. As a last resort, if the students faced comprehension problems, the translation of a term from the L2 into the L1 was provided. Code switching was also adopted without any specific reason, somewhat subconsciously. As the teacher was not previously trained on the use of L1, this practice was neither systematic nor based on some specific rules (it could be concluded from the observations made). It was introduced intuitively drawing on the teacher's previous knowledge and experience. Teacher 1 believed that the partial use of the students' mother tongue was essential in order to facilitate the comprehension of the subject content and to ease the transition to confident and effective use of English. He went on to advocate that 'L1 provides a sense of security which is extremely important, at least in the initial stage of integrating content and language, as it allows students to express themselves freely on the subject matter that is, at the beginning, foreign to them. As L2 proficiency increases, L1 use decreases'. According to Teacher 2, learners who are given the opportunity to familiarize with the content in their L1 before it is thoroughly provided in a foreign language are much more willing and determined to switch to English than the students who are deprived of this possibility. He added that 'sometimes, the immediate switch to the Polish language is a useful tool to check if students understand what is being taught'. Still the first language was introduced to such an extent that it did not impede the proper development of the target language. L1 use also did not disrupt the classroom management and seemed to have no adverse influence on the teaching and learning process. It could result from the fact that both the teacher and the students shared the same mother tongue. Thus, the teacher could keep an absolute control over its use in the classroom. The students did not communicate in the language that was unknown to the teacher. As regards Class 2, near-exclusive use of English was required, at least on the part of the teacher. The aim was to imitate the natural process children follow when acquiring their first language. In the interview, Teacher 2 said that in her opinion, any L1 use would interfere with the students'

attempts to master the target language. Should any comprehension difficulties arise, the teacher tried to convey the meaning through monolingual dictionaries, thorough explanation, action or demonstrations. There were only two situations in which Teacher 2 had to resort to the use of the Polish language, still reluctantly. First, the switch to the students' L1 took place if the English language proficiency was insufficient to comprehend the subject content. If the students had no previous knowledge about the specific term, and all the strategies designed to clarify such complex words had been tried out and none of them worked, the explanation in the students' L1 was provided. Such a situation occurred when the teacher used the chemical term 'titration', which the students could not grasp. The teacher tried to clarify the word in English in two different ways. When both failed, she provided an explanation in Polish. Second, the Polish language was introduced for disciplinary purposes, which turned out to be an effective strategy if the students became sidetracked and did not pay enough attention to the lesson. The teacher used a wide variety of expressions aimed at scolding the students and capturing their attention. The analysis showed that the contexts in which the educators introduced the students' L1 vary from teacher to teacher. In addition, the attitudes towards the students' mother tongue, as well as the amount of its use differed significantly. Despite the differences, some commonalities were brought to light. Both teachers resorted to the Polish language if the content comprehension is endangered.

4 STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMI

The purpose of the following section is to determine the students' attitudes concerning English-medium instruction and their perception of English as a foreign language. First, personal motivations for EMI are briefly presented. Secondly, the students' self-evaluation, as regards the extent to which they comprehend the subject content provided in English, is described. Then, a comparison is made as to the comprehension of the same subject-specific terminology but provided in the students' native language. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, both with the teachers and students, during the two-week period of the research project.

4.1 PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS FOR EMI

As regards the personal motivation for the participation in EMI, the students touched upon various reasons. The prime motive to enrol at a bilingual school and take part in an IB programme was of an academic nature. Twenty-seven students (the responses were counted together, irrespective of the class students attended) wished to develop their English language proficiency in a variety of disciplines. The students perceive EMI as an ideal opportunity to enlarge specialized vocabulary and enrich the knowledge in another language. Due to the regular use of English in the classroom, the students improve their English skills, become confident and much more fluent in its use in both informal and

formal conversations. These factors turned out to be the prime ones for choosing an EMI programme. Nearly as many students agreed that English is essential for travelling purposes as it serves as a lingua franca. Then, 23 students explicitly mentioned career-related reasons referring to the increased number of some good job opportunities, both in and outside the home country (Poland), provided that an excellent command of English in various fields of study be demonstrated. However, the academic content, travel purposes and the career-related reasons were not the only factors for the students' choice. The response, rating fourth, was the desire to study abroad. As many as 13 students wished to apply for studies at a university outside Poland. Some of them considered an EMI degree to be beneficial for future career perspectives. The students who chose neither 'yes' nor 'no' response (as regards studying overseas) but commented the field 'other' were asked in the interview for the reason for doing so. On the one hand, they answered that they could not imagine leaving their home country, their friends and their family. On the other hand, they all agreed that having English as a medium of instruction in secondary education would allow them to apply for studies of their choice (in the country) and facilitate their future university life in Poland. Ten students wished to participate in the EMI programme to improve their English language proficiency in order to make some international friendships. Last but not least, as many as two students admitted that they wanted to attend a mainstream secondary school, but the decision had remained with their parents.

4.2 STUDENTS' SELF-EVALUATION

All students (considering both classes) evaluated their English language skills (those that pertain to the comprehension of the subject content provided in English) as fairly high. The majority of EMI students admitted that they did not encounter any comprehension problems concerning the materials and/or lectures provided in English. Thus, 26 students stated that they understood the subject content in more than 80 per cent. Only one student confessed that the extent to which he comprehends the subject matter is between 50 and 80 per cent. None of the students, however, had assessed their English language skills as poor. The boy that put himself in a lower position when judging the comprehension of the materials provided in English justified it as follows: 'Sometimes, I lag behind my friends. Some terms or lessons are more complex, and I need to devote a bit more time to understand the unknown words and the subject matter. But the teacher and my friends do not wait until I grasp this meaning. It makes me feel upset as I face then difficulties in catching up with the material'. Apart from one student who now and then experiences some comprehension problems, the majority of the learners was rather pleased with the EMI classes and found that studying a subject in English improved their general English language competence. Initially, many of the interviewed students had perceived an EMI class as a burden due to their uncertainty about or lack of precise vocabulary and subject-specific terminology in English. Over the time, the context familiarity played its part. All students were able to take notes. Nobody asked

the teacher for repetition or peers for verification. This shows that familiarity with the context is one of the factors that can rule out comprehension problems. When asked about the comprehension of the same subject content but provided in Polish, the students' responses were less satisfying. When requested to provide the equivalents of the English terms, almost half of the students encountered considerable difficulties. The students were asked if studying a subject in English prevents them from improving their mother tongue. Five students responded saying 'yes' that they did not know the equivalents of the English terms. One student answered that the subject matter provided in English had no influence on his L1 competence. In this case studying a subject in the students' native language would be more challenging than learning it in English.

5 TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMI

According to the interviews conducted separately with each of the teachers, both agreed that English medium instruction improves the language competence of the students in the target language (i.e. English) as it provides a medium for learners to use the language. Then, they both admitted that the students who have some background knowledge in English are likely to succeed in the subjects taught through this language when compared to the students who have just started to learn it and, thus, are short of relevant experience. However, they believe that due to the context familiarity also the students, who initially seemed to lag behind, will get accustomed to the target language and over time, will easily absorb the new terms and concepts. Nevertheless, it happens that the students want the subject matter, first explained in English, be translated into their mother tongue (i.e. Polish). This request is driven by some minor comprehension problems that occur during the lesson. The switch to the students' mother tongue depends on the English language competence the students have developed so far. In any case, the teachers confirmed that the classes, which participated in the research project, face minor (if any) difficulties in understanding the English sources and materials used in the classroom. Thus, they do not recognize a need to organize any additional courses or preparatory tutorial, as there are no students who would be linguistically unprepared or who would not be fully acquainted with the necessary basics of a subject. Next, both teachers believe that EMI is an effective method to teach a foreign language and that the knowledge of English will bring considerable advantages to the students in the future. In contrast to the common belief, both teachers claimed that studying a subject in English does not prevent students from improving their mother tongue. Given that the explanation in the Polish language is provided (should the need arise), students have access to the terminology in their mother tongue. Every now and then, L1 served as a bridge from the familiar to the unfamiliar. As mentioned in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, the students' mother tongue was used more often during the biology class. However, if needed, the reference to the Polish language was also made during the chemistry class. Furthermore, both teachers perceive teaching in a foreign language as a source of personal and professional satisfaction

that has a positive impact on their teaching performance. Nonetheless, despite some shared opinions on particular issues connected to the EMI programme, the teachers differed in some aspects. They both agreed that English medium instruction contributes to students' cognitive development, but the biology teacher disagreed that it encourages creativity. Additionally, Teacher 1 said that knowledge of the English language is no more a mark of prestige in society whereas Teacher 2 believes it is still an important asset, not available to everyone. Besides, the biology teacher admitted that some students feel the need to pre-prepare using the materials in their mother tongue to be able to understand the content matter provided in the target language while the chemistry teacher disagreed with that. All in all, the advantages outweigh the challenges. Both teachers have positive attitudes towards English medium instruction and find the programme useful and beneficial.

CONCLUSION

Regarding the teaching approaches applied in EMI classes, two different methods were developed by the educators. Teacher 1 adopted task-based learning approach oriented towards interaction and communication. Additionally, he applied the coupled inquiry model mixing a guided approach with an open inquiry where the focus of instruction was gradually shifted from the teacher to the student who was put in the centre of the learning process. However, the leadership was still shared through the person-centred approach that involved both the teacher and the students. Whereas Teacher 2 acted as an instructor rather than as a facilitator that resulted in applying the traditional Present-Practice-Produce (PPP) approach that tends to be teacher-centred. In other words, the teacher played an active part being the primary source for knowledge while the students took a more passive and receptive role. The students worked alone without the possibility to collaborate freely in teams. Considering the use of English, Teacher 1 conducted the lesson to a large extent in English. Nevertheless, speaking Polish was neither forbidden nor undesired. He believed that introducing the students' L1 would allow deeper and clearer understanding of the subject content. Both the teacher and the students switched between the languages, and it appeared quite natural. Whereas Teacher 2 claimed that students might learn a second language only if communicating enough through that language. English has been recognized as the primary language and used for both informal communication and formal instruction. An artificial situation was created which was negatively received by the students who often replied in Polish thus expressing disagreement with the unnatural use of the foreign language. Despite the differences in teaching methods, both teachers resorted to the Polish language if the content comprehension was endangered. Taking into account the students' personal motivation for the participation in EMI, they did not desire to become bilingual in the pure sense of the word, but saw it as a tool to learn a language for useful purposes, such as employment, travelling or school

exams, which generated the instrumental motivation common to academic situations that involve learning the target language without interacting with the target language community. As regards self-evaluation, the students of both classes assessed their English language skills as fairly high. Despite the initial uncertainty and doubts about the participation in the EMI programme, they quickly became familiar with the subject content. The vast majority faced no comprehension problems when reading the materials and/or listening to lectures provided in English. However, their comprehension of the same subject content in Polish was less satisfying. Almost half of the students encountered considerable difficulties when requested to provide the equivalents of the English terms. In this case studying a subject in the students' native language would be more challenging than learning it in English. Both teachers agreed that English medium instruction improves the English language competence of the students as it provides a medium for learners to use the language. They both believe that the knowledge of specialized language learnt in English will pay off in the future career of the students. Teaching in a foreign language seems to be a rewarding experience for the teachers as they both claim that this activity has a positive impact on their teaching performance. Even if they differ in some aspects, they both perceive EMI as a useful and beneficial programme with a large potential to expand in Poland.

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DISCOURSE 8-D THINKING AS THE OBJECT OF RESEARCH AND TRAINING

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Abstract. The article rooted in the tradition of Discourse Linguistics deals with the 8-dimension model of discourse organization and production discussed with reference to three key sources: (1) the Tartu Semiotic School with its focus on the notion of semiosphere (Yuri Lotman) as a ground for revealing the semiosis of communicative signs in functioning; (2) the Causal-Genetic Approach to discourse modelling (Irina Oukhvanova / Oukhvanova-Shmygova) as a ground for reconstructing and classifying the causes of the inherent discourse elements production open to become constructive elements of discourse on micro, meso, and macrolevels of its functioning, and (3) the approach to discourse organization built in the field of Discourse Linguistics / *la linguistique du discours* (Dominique Maingueneau) as a ground for linguistic approaches to discourse analysis. All three approaches being unique but overlapping and open to integration can work as a holistic ground for a joint theoretical model to be applied as a tool for collecting and organizing qualitative data for multipurpose discourse research and for training researchers to forming skills of processing qualitative data. The author visualises such a model by finding its own meaningful space and functional meaning for each of 8 inherent elements of discourse no matter which representations it takes. It makes the elements categorised as *discourse atomic characteristics*, and the model as a *translevelled classification of discourse elements*. The article also suggests a discussion on educational research discourse and within its framework training young researchers to visualise and interpret some of the atomic characteristics of discourse for applying them in production of academic and professional types of discourses.

Key words: integrative 8-dimension model of discourse, Discourse Linguistics, qualitative data processing, training flexibility in collecting qualitative data

INTRODUCTION

The research field actualised in this article is Discourse Linguistics. This branch is a vivid representative of the applied science of arts and humanities being interdisciplinary at large. It intersects with Discourse Studies but still has its own niche, which is formed due to the integrative synthesis-based approach to define its key research object – discourse. The latter is a linguistic unit identified transdisciplinary, complex but holistic, the one that carries the content of informative but also interactive nature, open to phenomenological, ideational and activity-represented levels of functioning in society at large and in the research

domain specifically. It is this vision of discourse that is being developed and verified in this article via the discussions of both theoretical and applied nature.

The actual research problem posed in this article is how to process interdisciplinary integrative thinking, which is an important skill for researchers and trainers in the field of research methodology, specifically for those involved in qualitative database collection and organisation. Qualitative data are really complex in their functional representations. Properly collected and organised, they can be treated as a separate, self-sufficient research goal. Being open to a wider interdisciplinary research community, its value cannot be overestimated.

In this article, the methods of critical experience reflection and constructive modelling of discourse are applied, while discourse is viewed within its complexity and multiple functional layers met in overlapping centripetal and centrifugal forces just as differentiated causes, which form multi-dimensional activities and realities.

The aim of the article is to propose and discuss an integrative 8D model of discourse organisation and production within the perspectives of three European scientific schools and to illustrate its work by applying some elements of the model in teaching research thinking in a classroom. The perspectives involved have initially been declared as linguistic, showing a great potential for opening their expertise to philosophising and method-building practices applicable to both theoretical and applied science space. They include both deductive and inductive thinking, each as a tool for verifying the results of the other. Within this, they develop the idea of an inclusive discourse space covering its periphery and the centre. Both forces keep discourse in a holistic but flexible lingua-semiotic macrostructure of transformed and transforming content space, alive and developing.

The Causal-Genetic Approach (hereinafter CGA) can initiate a discussion about a joint integrative discourse model, as it originates from specifying the causes of discourse production (coding and decoding) hidden in Lotman's (2005: 205-226) ideational semiosphere as well as Aristotle's approach to causality in relation to people's knowledge production (*SEPh*, 2020: Online), in particular, the idea of differentiating the causes into *factors* (an ideational approach) and *facta* or *factums* (a phenomenological approach). The first group of causes (factors) is defined as permanently existing reasons represented as people's inherent inner mental processes, while the second group of causes (*facta* or *factums*) is treated as people's outer activity producing and comprehending reality as such.

CGA (Oukhvanova, 2017: 5-16) discusses the factors of discourse organisation and production focusing on 4 types of people's inherent mental processes, namely, epistemic and axiological (producing cognitive and pragmatic structures of discourse), syntagmatic and paradigmatic (producing textual and language structures of discourse). Their influence on discourse production is evident as its comprehension presupposes the reconstruction of

corresponding mental structures of discourse. While in functioning, they are in interrelation, which highly influences the content produced making it open to transformations.

The *factums*, in their turn, are represented in CGA (ibid.) by 4 types of people's inherent activities: practical (general environment-focused activity producing referents as informative units of discourse), behavioural (community-environment-focused activity producing corteges as interactive units of discourse), communicative (verbal or sign-environment-focused activity aimed at producing paradigms and syntagms as communicative units of discourse), and, finally, experience storing activity (archetype pattern environment-focused activity producing formats and genres as experience-rooted units of discourse). The latter promotes discourse on the level of its macrolevelled organisation. The influence of these phenomenon-bounded activities on discourse organisation and production can be presented as transparent. In fact, they participate in constructing referential and interactive realities (referents and corteges of communicants in their relationship) just as their virtual representations in signs and patterns on corresponding levels of discourse production.

As two groups of the causes and correspondent discourse elements (idea-bounded structures and phenomenon-bounded units) have their own specifics, it seems evident to suggest that semiosphere, declared to be a holistic but differentiated source of social and personal meanings and senses (Lotman 2005: 205-226), can and should be viewed and discussed in a certain correspondence with them.

The said above reveals the fact that discourse (as the research object of this article) viewed within its functional complexity needs its further clarification and transparency. The field of Discourse Linguistics introduced by the French dictionary of discourse analysis (Charaudeau and Maingueneau, 2002) fulfils this purpose. In fact, the article *Discours* (Maingueneau, 2002: 185-190) sets the interdisciplinary borderlines for discourse promoting the discussion to the field of Discourse Linguistics, within which Maingueneau specifies the notion under discussion. As a result, the eight-element structure of discourse is revealed making two research schools – CGA and the French school of Discourse Linguistics – meet. Confronting and comparing their 8-dimension models of discourse organization and production seem to be productive as it leads to their verification and the strengthening of their position.

Topicality and significance of integrating three theoretical models, which function as if in a parallel way though rooted in a similar research background, lie in the fact that this model may work for a further development and self-identification of the field of Discourse Linguistics within the fields of both theoretical and applied sciences.

In this connection a parallel pilot discussion on applying the verified model of discourse in training students at the early stage of their involvement in research and qualitative data collection is proposed here with a focus on how to

notice, collect, organise, and adopt for different research purposes the data on differentiated content layers of discourse organisation and production.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: WHY REFER TO DISCOURSE LINGUISTICS

Discourse accepted as a complex polyfunctional (polyphonic) unit and research object open to transformations on all levels of discourse production – micro, meso, and macro – definitely presents a kind of a puzzle. Therefore, it seems natural to start its modelling with the model of a closed (four-angled) envelope ready to be opened to reveal different shapes and thus content, octagon shape including. Thus, a question arises about the meaning of its first four angles discussed in CGA and also in the French school of discourse analysis.

Maingueneau (2002: 185-187) approaches discourse organisation via confronting it to four linguistic terms. As a result, the paradigmatic meaning of discourse can be shaped in association with classical linguistic approaches other than Discourse Linguistics. Discourse in this case is considered by the French linguist as positioned to the following four terms: *phrase*/ sentence with reference to Harris ([1952]1969); *langue*/ language with references to Saussure's ideas presented and developed by Gardiner ([1932]1989: 24, 285), other references being Guillaume (1973: 71), Benveniste (1966: 266), and Foucault (1969: 153); *texte*/ utterance with reference to Adam (1999: 39); and *énoncé*/ statement (utterance) with reference to Guespen (1971: 10).

As a result of the epistemic discussion rooted in the references mentioned above, discourse is:

- 1) *not a phrase* (sentence) but sequence of sentences ruled by a special macro-levelled grammar – ‘discourse grammar’, which is different from sentence grammar or syntax being open to study discourse texture. In the course of time, the field of Discourse Grammar transformed into the field of *Text Linguistics*;
- 2) *neither language nor speech (parole)*, as language is treated as a system of ‘meaningful virtuals’ opposed to discourse which uses language in particular contexts. The latest (context) ‘filter it producing something new’. It is language which is in-between discourse and speech. It makes discourse, first, ‘being mentally and socially oriented’. Then, using language, its components (signs) ‘articulate the personal’ making discourse represent wishes and opinions, while ‘parole’ in discourse stays ‘physical and referential’ by itself. Besides, the notion of language involves the opposition of language as a system adhered to particular communities (discourse formations) and the one accepted as a system which restricts its usage (within discourse types). In fact, contemporary *Language Studies* opens a new page of its history dealing this time with language macrostructure types of representations;

- 3) *not a text* as it inscribes text into context, and context here acts as ‘a condition of discourse production and reception’. *Pragmatics* follows up the contextual realization of discourse as such;
- 4) *not an utterance*. The difference lies in ‘different modes of the understanding’ of the statement (utterance) and discourse as ‘transfrastic’ units. While the first reveals itself exclusively in a linguistic way, the second ‘traces the act of communication which is socio-historically determined’. The discussion is turned to a specific format characteristic of discourse and, this position places the research discourse into the field of socially determined macrostructures and thus macro-level *Cognitive Studies*.

In accord with the logics of the above discussion, it is natural to accept the fact that discourse, while seeking for its self-identification transdisciplinary, starts with the domains of four quite popular directions of contemporary linguistics.

Considering *the closed envelope model* (Figure 1) as a pre-stage of discussion on the 8-dimension discourse modelling, its next stage follows as a stage of comprehending its complexity.

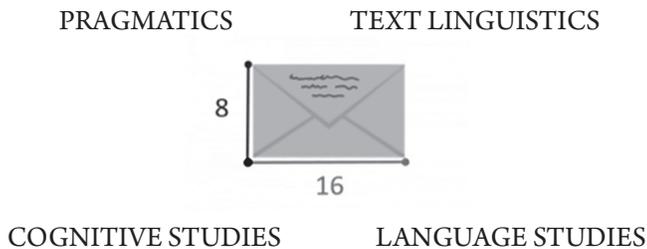


Figure 1 **Discourse as an object of research: the closed envelope model**

After the background discussion on the term *discourse* and its interdisciplinary identification, performed inductively, let us turn to the background discussion on the term from the CGA perspective, which suggests the deductive logics of discussion.

CGA, which is not only an integrative lingua-semiotic approach but also an approach compatible with the discourse-linguistic perspective (Oukhvanova, 2015: 43-56), suggests looking at discourse via the following trans-disciplinary specification, namely, discourse can take the images of:

- 1) a *phenomenon and its reflection* in an interdisciplinary and philosophy grounded phenomenological theory; thus, it will also apply the approaches of behavioural, communicative, experience-storing, and referential (Reality Studies) theories to its study, when applicable;
- 2) a *highly abstract and definitely open idea* addressed to macro space cognitive, textual, pragmatic, and languages classified issues; thus, Google search here can also lead to ‘philosophy and literature’ but not only to the theories implied in listing the issues;

- 3) a *reflected activity* both individual and social, verbally and nonverbally represented, actualised and latent; thus, all theories mentioned above are viewed as open to join the research. It is no wonder that the expertise of Functional Linguistics and Communication Studies, Discourse Psychology and Social Studies are naturally added as fruitful in a long run of theoretical discussions on the notions of verbal and social action, just as informative and interactive, social and individual;
- 4) a *reflected event* involving the issue of its picturing. Thus, the theories of representations and language at large are intertwined with the theories and approaches covered above.

The discussion is meant to go further to the Tartu School of Semiotics and specifically to its idea of semiosphere as a source of a holistic knowledge space – the space without which the whole idea of semiosis does not exist (CD, 1999: 244-248; Lotman, 2005: 205-229). Semiosphere is viewed as a holistic continuum (i.e. the system in its real functioning) represented by a number of distinct and functionally well-defined systems. It is only from a heuristic point of view so necessary for the science development that these well-defined systems exist by themselves. They function only as ‘being downloaded to some semiotic continuum, filled with semiotic structures of different types and functioning on different levels of organization being characterized within the abstract character of its existence’ (CD, 1999: 244).

The term *sphere* as a part of the term *semiosphere* is not a metaphor but a real closed space. Its closeness is necessary for ‘communicative processes realisation and new information processing’. It can be regarded as ‘sets of texts and languages closed in relation to each other’, and it is characterised by both systems’ borders and isomorphism inside a system. The first of these two keeps inside the borders both ‘common and individual semantic properties: whatever is outside can enter only if it is processed in accord with the inner semiotic code’ (ibid.: 244-245).

Is discourse doomed to be studied exclusively from its analytical vision? What if discourse is not its analytically viewed parts but all the components taken together?

The synthesis approach is or, at least, can be on the agenda, as we live in the period of integrative approaches in science at large. Besides, there is a field and there are tools to approach discourse in this way. The integrative mission to approach and study discourse seems to be given to Discourse Linguistics, as it is responsive to this trend whatever scepticism follows (it is not a surprise to hear such a phrase as *whatever you say you have done is impossible to do* addressed to those for whom an integrative type of thinking is natural).

The responsiveness of Discourse Linguistics to this mission (as we see it from the CGA perspective) is because it accepts the following:

- 1) a medieval tradition of approaching discourse as genres with a special focus on the genres of dissertation and preaching. In fact, the idea of

discourse processing – going to and fro – is realised in these genres by involving both inductive and deductive thinking. Besides a medieval tradition views discourse in both oral and written forms, just as both individual and community-revealed informative and interactive practices (cognising and textualising as mental practices);

- 2) the fact that discourse thinking is a typical research thinking as such as it follows the commonly accepted Peirce's logical circle. The latest adds the stage of abduction (hypothesis building) in-between the stages of induction (going from particular to general) and deduction (going from general to particular). The added stage gives time for organisation of and reflection on the data collected and for its evaluation before the next move. The circled logics accepted systemic approach to discourse research, and it views discourse as a holistic multifunctional set that extends cognitive and textual thinking to pragmatic and language-bounded;
- 3) a qualitative tradition of approaching research. As a result, it enjoys both approaches, each for its own purpose: quantitative in choosing research tools for a particular research sample and qualitative in choosing a case for study and approaching it. It leads to a highly organised or focused thinking practice which implies focus change: from one key element of discourse to the other key element in one case, or from the key element to it operationalising categories and back, in the other case. Such a practice gives an opportunity to collect maximum data and, at the same time, to verify its value for the type of discourse analysed and for the tasks stated. The change of foci enriches the data collected making them specified and classified;
- 4) the specific, particular and general (key categories of a research methodology). As a result, *discourse* thinking can float not only between quality and quantity but also between the type and archetype. For example, let us focus on the term *particular*. What seems particular in a quantitative research will tend to be accepted as general (revealing the structure of a type) but in a qualitative research – as specific (revealing the archetype structure).

With this vision of Discourse Linguistics and discourse as its field-forming category the discussion can proceed further, namely, to joint modelling of the 8-D shape of discourse in functioning.

MEETING THREE TRADITIONS IN DISCOURSE CONTENT MODELING: DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

There are many variants of presenting *an octagon shape* that can serve as an 8-D model of discourse. Figure 2 presents the shape that is traditionally used by CGA (*D-ART*, 2017: 5-16).

If to describe a general idea of the CGA discourse model presented in Figure 2 (Oukhvanova, 2017: 12) detaching for a while from the particular meanings of its elements involved, the model represents two types of the causes of discourse organisation and production – those of mental processing and activity processing, namely *factors* and *factums*. It is the overlapping of these types of causes that produces *inherent functional elements of discourse* as a research translevelled unit. Thanks to this overlapping, the meaning of each element is alive. Its life and change is in the fact that each inherent phenomenological element (be it a referent or a cortege, a sign referent or a sign cortege) is developed via at least two ideational elements (as shown in Figure 2), while each inherent ideational element (be it a cognitive, pragmatic, textual or language structure) is developed via at least two phenomenological elements. Otherwise, not only discourse itself but each of its 8 elements is a mixed *factor-factum production* (marked accordingly – *a1, b1, b2, etc.*)

Thus, the octagon model of the 8-D discourse organisation and production is a result of the phenomenological and ideational marriage, which makes all its parties inhere the same trait (*gene*) of mobility and transformation. That is why we called the approach *Causal-genetic*: causes in their overlapping give birth to the elements specified by them, which, being of a dual nature, are searching for other combinations of self-composing and production.

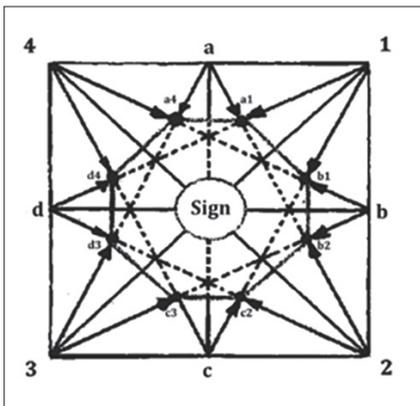


Figure 2 Octagon inbuilt CGA model of discourse inherent functional elements

If to be more specific, Figure 2 represents the model of discourse based on the crossing of two axes: vertical (*ac*) and horizontal (*db*). The 1st involves Referential content layer, while the 2nd – Cortege content layers. They are enriched by representational layers of *verbal or virtual nature* (1-textual and 2-language bounded) and of *nonverbal nature* (3-epistemic and 4-axiological, which are above particular languages and texts). Their integration reveals 8 elementary functional units of discourse coding to be reconstructed in the process of discourse research, which are *a1* and *b1, b2* and *c2, c3* and *d3, d4* and *a4*).

Note that the letters (a, b, c, d) used in Figure 2 are just labels, which can be changed for meaningful letters (abbreviations). To underline in the next joint model (Figure 3) the fact that they represent not only a group of phenomenological causes of discourse but also its basic content axes, the changes are to be introduced. Thus, instead of *a, b, c, d* the abbreviations C, R', C', R are used in Figure 3 in order to reveal and visualise such key discourse content axes as C – C' (cortege – cortege prim or sign cortege) and R – R' (referent – referent prim or sign referent).

Let us have a closer look at Table 1 aimed at comparing 8 elements of discourse organisation specified by Maingueneau (*Dictionnaire*, 2002: 187-190) with 8 elements of discourse organisation and production introduced by CGA (Oukhvanova, 2015: 43-56; 2017: 5-16). The table links the terminology of the approaches, and by highlighting their key messages builds the bridge between Figure 2 and Figure 3 helping in the comprehension of the logics of the latter.

Table 1 **Tabular diagram of functional discourse elements: Compatibility of 8 inherent qualities of discourse (D)**

Label and axis position of D element (Fig. 2, 3)	Functional elements of D organisation and production (Oukhvanova, 2017: 11-14) (The order of the elements is grouped around two axes C – C' and R – R')	Organisational elements of D (Maingueneau, 2002: 187-190). (The number in brackets gives the order of the element in the source)
1	2	3
a1 C–C'	C (cortege) is represented <i>textually</i> via the roles that its parties take on themselves. As the role is a social marker, its reconstruction adds information on how the addresser treats the addressee, which corresponds with the idea of discourse orientation.	(2) ' <i>Le discours est orienté</i> ' = Discourse is audience targeted (and, thus, time-responsive)
a4 C–C'	C (cortege) is represented <i>attitudinally</i> via its evaluation by the parties and has no social background; its reconstruction is carried out with no reference to D textual or cognitive parameter; it is a pure axiological matter, which fully corresponds with the idea of interactivity (in-between the participants of C).	(4) ' <i>Le discours est interactif</i> ' = Discourse is interactive
c3 C – C'	C' (virtual or sign cortege) is represented by a <i>format</i> structure, which is social <i>a priori</i> and thus dictates the norms of discourse production, which corresponds with the idea that D is regulated by norms.	(7) ' <i>Le discours est régi par des normes</i> ' = Discourse is regulated by norms

Label and axis position of D element (Fig. 2, 3)	Functional elements of D organisation and production (Oukhvanova, 2017: 11-14) (The order of the elements is grouped around two axes C – C' and R – R')	Organisational elements of D (Maingueneau, 2002: 187-190). (The number in brackets gives the order of the element in the source)
1	2	3
c2 C – C'	C' (virtual or sign cortege) is represented by a <i>genre</i> structure, which is at large the choice of/ agreement between the parties of a particular cortege and might be changed or transformed into another genre; its interplay or adjustment to the situation of communication fully corresponds with the idea of interdiscourse.	(8) ' <i>Le discours est pris dans un interdiscours</i> ' = Discourse is part of interdiscourse (genre structure of D)
b2 (R – R')	R' (virtual or sign referent) is represented by its paradigmatic inscription into the language system, which is a source of paradigmatic meaning – the place of the element in its <i>paradigm</i> . Paradigmatic organisation of the language system is definitely transfrastic (covers all levels of language production).	(1) ' <i>Le discours suppose une organisation transphrastique</i> ' = Discourse is transfrastic
b1 (R – R')	R' (sign referent) is represented by its syntagmatic inscription into the <i>individually</i> formed message which makes it performative, e.g. activity-bias.	(2) ' <i>Le discours est une forme d'action</i> ' = Discourse is a form of activity
d4 (R – R')	R (referent) is represented by its evaluative frame, which brings a certain <i>value</i> (meaningfulness) to the given referent, which definitely corresponds with the idea of a social context.	(5) ' <i>Le discours est contextualisé</i> ' = Discourse is contextualized
d3 (R – R')	R (referent) is represented by its <i>sense</i> individually processed (individual cognitive structure). Otherwise, while loading, the individual sense is processed.	(6) ' <i>Le discours est pris en charge</i> ' = Discours is (down) loaded

We can add apart from what Table 1 presents that the order of discourse organisational elements given in the French dictionary (as the numbers in brackets show) is according to the following order (if to represent them by the terminology of the CGA tradition): R' – C – R' – C – R – R – C' – C'. The order, as we think, matters. Thus, it reveals the fact that in French tradition sign referential reality and cortege reality are of a greater value for discourse analysts, while referential and sign cortege reality are paid less attention. The last to be triggered, as these characteristics of discourse are closing their list.

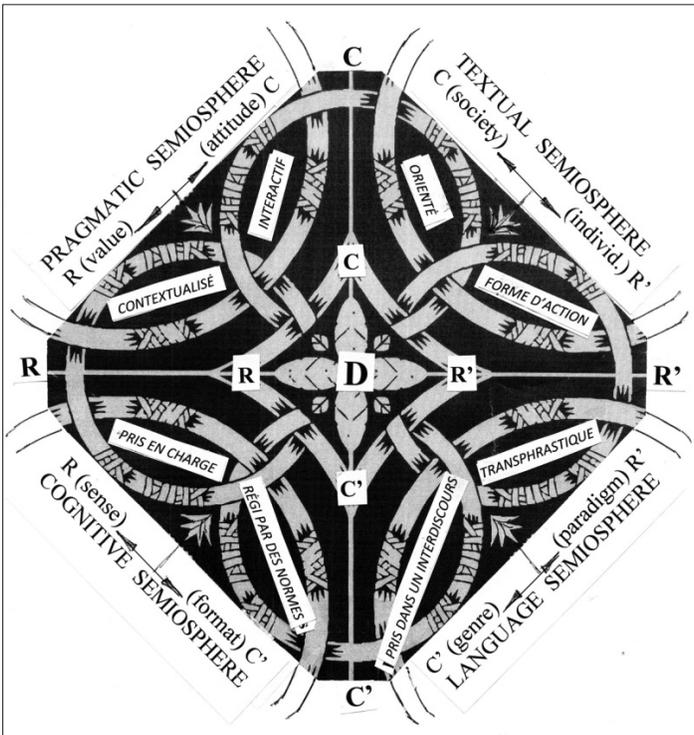


Figure 3. Discourse production and discourse thinking model in its multiplied semiosphere context: compatibility of three theoretical approaches. (The picture applied for this joint model has been inspired by one of Portuguese street-artists (Online 1)).

There are four more remarks to finalise the theoretical discussion presented:

- 1) The given model represents the holistic nature of discourse in spite of its complex polyfunctional interdisciplinary revealed mental structure open to transformations.
- 2) Discourse faces 4 closed mentally processed phenomenological realities (see 4 inner circles on the axes R – R', C – C'), which are doubled by 4 open ideational realities (see 4 outer circles of the neighbouring segments of the semiosphere). The atomic elements of discourse are within the overlapping of these phenomenological and ideational realities. Each has its own niche, but all are a part of a bigger design.
- 3) The higher is abstract thinking, the closer is the element to the semiosphere. In the joint model the elements developed by CGA are on a more abstract position, which is natural because of its deductive

logics of presentation. But the tendency of correlating the elements of CGA and the French school of Discourse Linguistics is stronger than the differentiation of the functional levels of discourse. For example, if such discourse characteristics as interaction and contextualisation seem quite close, the others like *valued referent* and *cortège actualised by the attitudes of the communicants to each other* seem, at first, not compatible. But being aware that these elements differ exclusively by the level of abstraction, we are not to accept this *it-seems* logics. Of course, if one is out of the social context of communication, it is so easy to form a negative attitude towards the speaker or writer blaming one for your problems of misunderstanding. On the other hand, having a positive attitude to the speaker/ writer it is so easy to misinterpret the context of the message. In discourse analysis taking one element for the other should be treated as not professional.

- 4) The CGA model adding the expertise of Lotman's and Maingueneau's theories gets additional arguments for its usefulness in an applied research.

As the joint model of discourse atomic elements is finally presented and discussed, it is time to have a look on its application value.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS: APPLYING DISCOURSE THINKING IN THE CLASSROOM

While reading the courses on discourse analysis and discourse theory and running seminars on research for bachelor, master, and doctoral level students, different problems in information grasping by the students can be observed (Oukhvanova, 2014: 153-168). Accepting the problems as natural and focusing on how they are to be addressed, it is helpful to read the article by Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk *Partial perception and approximate understanding* (2017: 129-152). The author opens up a discussion on the operational categories to be processed to overcome vagueness in objectivized information processing (interpretive multiplicity, affability, ability, etc.) and misunderstanding in subjectivized information processing (resemblance, reconceptualization, cross-linguistic displacement of senses and tolerance spaces, thresholds in-between the meanings actualized by interlocutors etc.). As it turns out, both realities of academic discourse (informative/ referential and interactive/ cortegeous) are equally important in the classroom to prevent a revealed habit of floating on the surface of understanding.

A problem of a different kind can be observed in the classroom focused on research. Young researchers being overwhelmed with perfectionism can block their progress by mere dissatisfaction with terminological definitions found or suggested. Instead of delving into the material for the analysis chosen that gives a chance to see this or that research category and judge its value/

contextualisation in practice, precious time could be wasted on reading endless theoretical debates on what the term could mean with a further failure to apply a finally chosen as-if-balanced definition for a particular case study.

The first set of conclusions that can be drawn, while studying the problems young researchers confront, is evidently connected with the necessity to train their applied skills of flexibility in thinking, ability in changing the focus of attention and sensitivity in the methods to be applied. A variety of methods and techniques trained for further application permits to grasp the research problem wider. However, synthesis goes together with analysis. Both research practices (analysis and synthesis) need equal attention, but at the stage of database collection, analytical practices are of more value. Without performing focused loading, coding, verifying and organizing analytically relevant data, a further qualitative synthesis-bound work is impossible.

My recent teaching experience at the Jan Kochanowski University (Kielce, Poland) and the Belarusian State University (Minsk, Belarus) has revealed that the present generation of researchers, having accepted the complexity of the world, experiences more problems in applying analysis-bound research forms than synthesis-bound ones, which is somewhat contrary to the previous generation of young researchers. To make their research skills balanced, I reconsider the priority of teaching and accept a bare necessity of focusing on developing students' analytical skills. As a result, to see the specific value of what one sees in each layer of discourse representation raised (rather than combining the layers for a holistic product to process and produce).

What else can be added in connection with what has been said above?

Partial understanding of messages (and thus, discourse) goes, as it seems, not so much from approximate vision as it is but rather from a general satisfaction with this approximation. Thus, the first point to consider (if to apply the joint discourse model for solving this research problem) appears to be lack of critical thinking. Students should train the skill of being focused on evaluation processing and activity (contextual and interactive realities processed). Together with this, the problem of partial understanding is directly connected with the lack of textualising skill. The latter permits one actualising normative (which means oriented) syntagmatic thinking and the accuracy in the action performed via textualising. These steps considered, worked out and synthesised, an effective actualisation of messages gets at least half of its success.

Approximate vision, in its turn, may come from overdosing image-represented information with no reflection whether the cognitive and language conceptualisation and representation of a message is worked out enough. Thus, the second point to consider (as our critical teaching experience and the joint model suggests), appears to be lack of conceptualised thinking. Students should train the skill of focusing on the field of epistemic processing and activity (sense and format realities processed). The problem of approximate vision is directly connected with the lack of experience in focusing on language representation

practices and thus skills of working with a particular domain terminology. The latter gives one flexibility in actualising paradigmatic thinking and the accuracy in interdiscursive practices (genre processing). Both steps considered, worked out, and synthesised, an effective actualisation of messages provides the other half of success.

Collecting bit by bit the skills of working with all 8 elements of discourse organisation separately and in clustering, makes it appreciate as productive the common skill of balance and refuse the very idea of following rigid rules in any of the discourse representation fields.

Let us include into our discussion on applying the joint model another group of issues.

Misunderstanding of messages may also come from misbalance of teaching discourse practices experienced before, e.g. the overdosing of the form-focused teaching practices of communication, language and research, while the content-focused one is as if hidden being considered as irrelevant due to the established vision that it cannot be formalised accordingly. Thus, the point to consider appears to be lack of *cortège* experience, which produces ‘*intolerance to the alien*’ topics for discussion and methods for research introduced (e.g. a conflict of qualitative-quantitative research paradigms). A closer diagnosis of the problem shows lack of students’ experience in knowledge storing and retrieving practices and so in processing research formats and genres.

Finally, lack of effective communication in the class on theory and research may come from the absence of self-identification practices in one’s research community and, as a result, lack of practice in target-group-oriented interpreting. Thus, the point to consider appears to be lack of cross-cultural research thinking with a focus on research intercommunity communication, which makes researchers rigid in their textual action. If so, the necessity to train researchers to see, understand, and master the performative action in their research textual production, which, to be successful, presupposes the unity of analytic and synthesis-bound thinking within all inherent elements of discourse organization, seems especially important in research processing and activity.

The so called *therapeutic students-oriented practical steps* can be presented with the slogan *Complexity via simplicity*, which is borrowed from an interdisciplinary conference in La Laguna University in May 2017. My learning critical experience in participating in one of its workshops aimed to train young researchers to visualise their research messages gave me an idea to suggest something similar in my teaching classes on research. Two of stop-motion films produced (producer – Vitali Oukhvanov, conceptual director – Irina Oukhvanova) were approbated in the classroom. Their brief descriptions and supportive tasks for the classwork are given below.

Stop-motion film 1. This 3-minute picture-bound narration contains images of the planet from its birth to our time. Students can see the stones falling down forming the earth (where animals and people appear engaged in their activities)

and leaving the space for seas and oceans (also enriched with their habitants). Trees and bushes, birds and mythological creatures can be recognized further as the film continues. When the overall picture of reality seems to be built, its elements start disappearing bit by bit. That is the story narrated in pictures, which is presented at first with no comments. Then during the second acquaintance with the film the narrator's text is added. In it she suggests the talk on the terminology of discourse analysis, specifically on the referential reality and the specifics of its processing and on the sign-referential reality, which produces a kind of a virtual reality as it depends on the context and the discourse community involved. It aims to stress how the content depends on discourse markers.

The tasks suggested to the students are: (1) to reconstruct *referential reality* with no reference to the text presented by the narrator (what the film with no narrator is about); (2) to listen to the supportive text to the picturing narration and discuss how verbal (sign-referential) reality influences the understanding of pure referential reality; (3) to suggest their own film scripts, which will actualise other research or professional domains and roles of the narrator and audience; and (4) to discuss the changes to the film's content that were a result of each new script added.

The goal of the tasks is to teach students the terminology of the field of Discourse Linguistics as well as to give them experience in discussing research issues by applying the relevant terminology. To specify the didactic aim, the focus here is on training a young researcher to be flexible in actualising, conceptualising, and textualising different visual realities, e.g. to cope with the relativity of the referential content layer and, within it, to appreciate the significance of the context while loading the referential sense of the research.

Stop-motion film 2. This 3-minute narration develops around a map of the planet and, because of this, it gives a lay-out of *sign-referential reality* (or symbolic professional reality of a cartographer, a virtual reality). In the film, the map is being assembled and disassembled, constructed and deconstructed.

The order of the tasks is the same: (1) to reconstruct the animated story without any wording; (2) to follow the film and the script and reconstruct reality via both codes interconnected; (3) to suggest other scripts making the film plot different without changing its visual representation; and (4) to discuss the changes to the film's content that were a result of each new script added.

Giving students experience in accepting a dialectic relationship of confronting and still coordinated realities in-between the discourse community (academic or professional) and its representational code, the film teaches both flexibility (while dealing with the issue of contextualisation) and concentration (while dealing with the issue of content particularisation in discourse production).

The tasks were met with enthusiasm by those open to creativity and ready to meet complexity. The inclusion of formats and genres into the research scope of vision of linguists brought with itself a touch of macrolinguistics, e.g. a specific vision and understanding how context and content interplay. The idea of interplay

was accepted willingly by those specialised in research on foreign language teaching, as they saw the opportunity of applying it in their teaching practice.

The work on a further production of similar films together with collecting a variety of scripts for each content layer representation continues.

How well do we understand those whom we teach? How effectively do we establish relationship with them? Do we concord in any way our types of thinking? All such and similar questions are on the agenda when we are building proper communicative corteges with young researchers.

Those who teach at university are also researchers, but teaching and research engagement are different professions. Should we share the specifics of our double profession-bias life? W. John Hutchins does as he writes that it is accepted as a truism that scientific knowledge exists primarily in the documentation of science (journal articles, dissertations, etc.) and only secondary in the 'fable memories of individual scientists'. He agrees that it is true to say that scientists and scholars exist professionally (i.e. as researchers and thinkers) by and through their contributions to the literature of their subject and by influence of their publications on other scientists and scholars. 'The maintenance of this system requires effective ways and means of gaining access to and finding out about what has been published, i.e. effective 'information retrieval' (Hutchins, 1985: 106). Researchers in applied linguistics, including W. J. Hutchins, a representative of the scientific school of hard science linguistics (Yngve and Wasik, 2004), do a lot to ease researchers' work in different scientific domains. We all enjoy different software programs that help us in retrieving the necessary data while processing research. Apart from software, there are numerous books, lectures and insights, also available on the Internet, on how to effectively collect and cope with the data for research writing and how to perform research writing effectively. We do know that the machine cannot be responsible for the quality of research, as a lot depends on the skills one is forming and the attitude one is developing in the course of learning and applying research practices. Thus, as our American colleague mentions (ibid.) '*the information retrieval is human work not less than machine work*'.

CONCLUSIONS

Discourse is the universe processed. We get understanding of ourselves and the world we live in by different types of inherited factor-*factum* produced inner qualities of discourse. In discourse we are revealed as interactive and oriented, formatted and intergene-bound. In discourse we reveal our world as open to us due to its loading and contextualizing, just as due to transfrastic nature of language units and action-bound nature of textual production.

Discourse is the research processed and we in research. In a way we all are researchers searching for our path in life. The way we do it depends on numerous techniques of data collection. Here we suggested one of them based on the fact

that, whatever we do, we cognize and socialize, just as text and language-bound and together with this we interact and experience, do whatever and communicate. Such simple elements build quite a complex product – discourse. At the same time, its multidimension-bound and function-applied structure forms a somewhat balanced activity opening the opportunities for each of us to find our own balance by filling the matrix to our liking and aims, motives and possibilities.

In the same way, discourse is the community and society processed, which are also revealing themselves within its inherent qualities.

Treating discourse as such can bring a new agenda to the practice of training researchers in arts and humanities making them responsible for what they are processing and constructing, and specifically for balancing the data collected for research.

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HARMONIZATION OF COMMUNICATION IN PROFESSIONAL SETTING

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Abstract. The 21st century has introduced many changes in modern workplaces which have become multilingual and multicultural. The present paper sheds light on selected aspects of workplace discourse, revealing that backstage communication in a professional setting plays a very significant role in establishing and maintaining effective subject-bound transaction and/or interaction between the partners involved in communication. The theoretical framework of the paper is designed to consider recent contributions in professional communication research supported by some seminal theoretical writings on linguistic ecology that explore the role of language in natural interactions that occur among people working for multinational companies. The linguistic politeness theories are taken into account when cases of communication harmonization in a professional setting are examined. The empirical part of the paper deals with a qualitative discourse analysis of authentic electronic data collected in a multilingual company in Riga, Latvia. The study concludes that a present-time multilingual workplace exhibits a direct relationship between the use of language and power equilibrium, which vividly characterises contemporary communication in a professional setting. Pragmatic strategies employed can enhance the harmonization of communication in order to avoid the risk of miscommunication.

Key words: harmonization of communication, professional setting, linguistic ecology, pragmatic strategies

INTRODUCTION

For national and multinational economy growth, the European society puts forward three mutually related priorities (Barroso, 2010). They are *smart growth*, i.e. economy development based on knowledge and innovation, *sustainable growth*, i.e. more competitive economy development, and *inclusive growth*, which is based on high level employment that fosters social and territorial cohesion (ibid.). Now, businesses tend to move from a top-down structure to a horizontal structure of organization, which means that emphasis is placed on both performance and communication, because ‘new communication contexts and needs emerge, and language moves away from the language as a static entity’ (Agnouri, 2013: 564-581). Besides, the concept *job of life* has changed completely, as employees prioritize different values, such as flexibility, job security, and strict boundaries that are set to establish work-home balance.

Workplace has become 'commodified, where commodification attributes commercial (economic) channels of communication' (Appadurai, 1986: 13). Moreover, communication has played one of the most significant roles in company performance. Particular workplaces establish their discourses, which build on the relationship between languages, culture, and identity established in a professional setting. *Workplace discourse* is understood as an umbrella concept for professional, institutional, organizational and business discourses, and 'it can be used to encompass their tasks' (Koester, 2010: 7). In line with the recent developments of new institutional and business contexts, research conducted on workplace discourse is concerned with examining not only the professional activities of individuals but it also deals with the analysis of linguistic and social contexts in which professional performance is accomplished. Many monolingual companies shift to multilingual companies, and the notion of culture becomes 'fluid, contextually dependent, and created by actors within a group who may hold conflicting assumptions and world-views' (Weislinger and Trauth, 2002: 309). Besides, it is assumed that workplace discourse is based on in-house rules and regulations set for profession-related interaction/transaction; it has job-related goals to be attained in communication. If so, then seemingly, commodified workplace attributes value not only to the goods produced and services provided but also to the language used for instrumental purposes, which means that the contemporary demands formulated for the language used in professional contexts shift the emphasis from language for general purposes to specialist language acquisition (COM, 116, 2005: 5).

We can state that professional language awareness is one of the dominant requirements on the employability agenda. Today, workplace demands both job-related subject skills, known as hard skills, and interpersonal skills, known as soft skills. New skills are expected to be adapted to new professional settings where people are used both to work collaboratively and be flexible in order to adapt to ongoing demands of workplaces. In this context, it can be argued that professional language knowledge 'is understood as a series of skills and competences that carry specific economic capital' (Wodak and Krzyanowski, 2011: 621-639).

In view of the significance of professional language mastery, which is expected to be applied in the workplace, the present paper deals with selected aspects of workplace discourse examining some pragmatic strategies that can be considered to enhance harmonization of communication in a professional setting in order to avoid the risk of miscommunication in a multilingual company.

It is generally known that such factors as social categorization and othering, ethnocentrism, stereotyping, biases and prejudice can cause miscommunication and/or misunderstanding and might result in communicative conflicts in multilingual professional settings. For the purposes of this study, selected theoretical contributions which pertain to the domain of linguistic ecology and workplace discourse analysis are taken into account. Besides, the study tests some aspects found in several seminal theories in pragmatics to formulate the pragmatic strategies that can be applied to harmonize communication in the workplace.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1 LINGUISTIC ECOLOGY: INTEGRATIONALIST APPROACH TO LANGUAGE USE

Linguistic ecology roots in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Its theoretical foundations build on the research conducted in the areas of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (e.g. Trim, 1959; Haugen, 1972). The early contributions in the areas mentioned developed research interest in exploring language application in societal contexts and settings rather than language being de-contextualized. Thus, they indicated to a multidisciplinary nature of language use in language setting and referred to it as *language ecology*. In the 1990s, the concept *ecolinguistics* appeared as a synonym for the concept *linguistic ecology*, and currently both concepts are used in theoretical writings (Rozina and Karapetjana, 2018: 279-295).

Considering recent theoretical and empirical contributions in linguistic ecology (e.g. Stibbe, 2015), it can serve as a new *paradigm* in the linguistic research when both the language applied in social contexts and the ecological contexts in which societies live are examined. Taking into account the core underlying principles of the linguistic ecology paradigm, we can assume that it can be employed to explore the role of language in natural interactions occurring among people working for multinational companies. Blommaert states that linguistic ecology focuses on the study of language use in the globalized world of 'changing language in a changing society' (cited by Solly, 2016: 21).

Recent writings on linguistic ecology (e.g. Stevens, 2012; Cox, 2012; Stibbe, 2015) acknowledge that it 'is about the language that influences how we think about the world; how we think about the world has an influence on how we act' (Stibbe, 2015: 1). The scholar argues that 'people are inspired through the language to be more than to have more' (ibid.: 2). It should be added that it is the language which is used for instrumental purposes to shape an individual's mind, and it is the language that helps people to construct 'the stories we live by' (ibid.). Thus, we can presuppose that linguistic ecology is concerned with the study of how language is referred to the environmental objects and how it is used to relate to the actions people take when they function in multicultural environments.

Being a linguistic paradigm, linguistic ecology highlights the role of language in human interaction and applies an *integrationalist approach* (Derni, 2008) to the language study. It is concerned with the analysis of features that represent different disciplines and explains the linguistic findings both qualitatively and quantitatively. Being a socio-linguistic paradigm, linguistic ecology relates the study of language to the environmental context in which it is used. It determines the relations between *what* is said or written and the *circumstances* under which the linguistic forms are used in sociological, ideological and biological dimensional relationships. This paradigm allows defining three types of communicative relations at the intra-, inter- and extra- interactional

levels. Finally, the above discussion allows us to claim that the concept *linguistic ecology* can be related to the concept *linguistic environment* and, consequently, to the concept *professional setting* when tackling language-related issues in social sciences, such as economics and politics, for example.

Considering the above-stated, it should be emphasized that professional communication discourse is established in a specific linguistic and professional environment. Koester (2010) notes that workplace contexts determine interactional and transactional performance held between professionals and laypeople. Thus, in professional communication, doing work means establishing and maintaining good relationships with clients and colleagues to have work-related tasks accomplished. *Professional communication* can perform a variety of functions. Being 'more or less transactionally and relationally oriented, it can have orientation to transactional objectives or work-related outcomes' (Schnuer, 2013: 3). To characterize social life and language used in professional communication, Goffman (1969) employs the theatrical metaphors *frontstage* and *backstage*. He claims that professional communication features are present in the place where the performance is given, i.e. at the frontstage or in 'the areas where the impression is fostered by the performance', i.e. at the backstage (Goffman, 1969: 93-97). According to Koester (2010), frontstage performances include an audience, while backstage interactions are not accessible for an audience. The scholar notes that workplace contexts determine interactional performance held between professionals and lay people, for example, employer-employee communication. Backstage encounters relate to communication that is held between colleagues.

However, Goffman (1969) acknowledges that a marked distinction between front- and backstage communication cannot always be observed since workplace discourse often demonstrates an overlap between the two stages of professional communication. For example, the discussion of financial forecasts held between professionals reveal backstage features. The backstage communication mode between employers-employees might take place before frontstage communication when employers analyse a particular job-related case with an employee. As a result, mixing backstage and frontstage communication at a workplace may result in communication problems since the backstage language 'consists of reciprocal first-naming, cooperative decision making, profanity [...], the use of dialect or substandard language; the frontstage language can be taken as the absence of this' (ibid.: 111).

2 HARMONIZATION OF COMMUNICATION AND FACEWORK

Drawing on Kant's four logical functions of reason, the linguistic philosopher Grice postulated the *cooperative principle*, which formulates (idealistically enough) good standards for communication. In this context, Grice (1975) proposed four categories of the cooperative principle, known as maxims, such as: *maxim of quantity* (make your contribution as informative as necessary for the current purposes); *maxim of quality* (make your contribution that is true); *maxim of relevance* (make your contribution relevant); *maxim of manner* (be clear,

brief, and orderly; avoid ambiguity). It should be stressed that communication is hardly ever homogenous and/or direct, because much depends on how information communicated is interpreted by the hearer. Thus, the Gricean cooperative principle can be considered only as a mechanism that explains how communication is organized, how/if interlocutors' communicative purposes are achieved, what the contribution of each interlocutor is and if there is enough evidence for the facts mentioned to be true, what the manner of communication is: whether it is brief and orderly or ambiguous and obscure; how relevantly the information has been communicated. Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that 'Grice's ideas [...] can be seen as an attempt to build on a common-sense view of verbal communication by making it more explicit and exploring its implications' (cited by Cutting, 2006: 131).

In line with the above discussion, the present paper presupposes that the presence of the *harmonization* aspect in communication can be explained by taking into account the existence or violation of the Gricean principle even if 'a linguistic utterance is generally full of semantic ambiguities, and is open to a wide range of figurative interpretations' (ibid.). As a result, the paper adopts the cooperative principle which constructs a theoretical basis to examine communicators' informative intentions; the effect of communicative behaviour in a professional setting in order to understand how/if accepted general standards of communication in the workplace are satisfied.

It should be taken into account that the cooperative principle by Grice and the politeness principle by Lakoff (1973) 'operate variably in different cultures, in different language communities, among different social classes' (Leech, 1983: 10). The Lakoffian *politeness principle* 'contends that interactional partners carry a wide descriptive power of language in use if they follow politeness principles, known as Rule 1: *don't impose*, Rule 2: *offer options*, Rule 3: *encourage feelings of camaraderie*' (cited by Rozina and Karapetjana, 2011: 30-32). As the research interest of the present study is in the analysis of communication that occurs in professional settings, the above-mentioned principles by Grice and Lakoff are considered when analysing naturally occurring exchanges in a professional context for the communicative consensus reaching purposes. It is not arguable that consensus reaching is one of the central goals in professional communication and 'to attain this goal, communicators are expected to use certain linguistic politeness strategies and obey specific terms and conditions, which according to Grice 'account for cooperativeness and mutual attention to meet the needs of other people' (ibid.: 28). Drew and Heritage (1992) emphasise that professional communication is efficient if it presents such constituents as specified goal orientation, allowable contributions, the use of professional language, and asymmetry, i.e. power, status and knowledge differences.

On the other hand, harmonization of communication in the workplace can be viewed from the perspective of the face theory by Brown and Levinson (1987), which explains that 'any linguistic action performed by the speaker simultaneously reflects the speaker's *own face* [...]; similarly, any linguistic action

performed by the speaker reflects on the hearer's face so that it either upholds or undermines the *other's face*' (ibid.: 41). Brown and Levinson state that 'every member of a society has face, which refers to one's public self-image, and when the speaker decides to commit an act which potentially causes the hearer (or the speaker) to lose face, the speaker will tend to use a politeness strategy in order to mitigate the risk' (ibid.: 59-60). The scholars offer *face* varieties, such as *positive face* and *negative face* and comment that certain speech acts can pose a threat to one's face. According to Friedrich (2016: 22), 'positive face, shows solidarity, and a common goal, negative face is related to emphasizing the importance of other's time, apologizing in expressing oppositional views' and alike. Friedrich marks that face-threatening acts perform two main language functions, namely, 'negative face tries to minimize the potential face threats, while positive politeness tries to reach commonality between interlocutors' (ibid.). Thus, Facework may be related to the speaker's self-confidence with 'the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions and to be approved' (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 13). The factors mentioned constitute the subject of sociological dimension analysis if the concepts of *power*, *distance* and *status*, known as factors of *power-distance-imposition*, are examined to observe general standards of communication and the context of interaction in order to infer the communicator's particular informative intentions.

To consolidate, the paper argues that harmonization of communication in a professional setting should be viewed considering the perspective of the cooperative principle because professional discourse is much based on such features as factuality, informativeness, relevance and precision of interlocutors' communicative behaviour. On the other hand, Facework and the linguistic politeness principle are significant in professional communication because they explain the *social factors* of communication (distance-power) and reveal the *context factors* of a communicative situation that can act as constraints on message interpretation.

3 PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION CHALLENGES IN MULTILINGUAL INTERACTION

The present-time professional communication makes an essential part of everyday business environment, which is established on a very broad scale due to globalization processes. This has resulted in numerous shifts in technologies applied for communication and norms observed in communication. It is argued that 'the concepts, such as *network*, *making connections* have become highly valued and are common forms of understanding the world, society and social relations' (Bouvier, 2016: 6).

Besides, non-native professional language users have to be aware that native professional language users do not always *implicitly* mean what they *explicitly* say. Therefore, those who perform in multilingual settings are expected to know the language strategies that pertain not only to the English language as a *lingua franca*, but they also have to be aware of the impact of the communicator's

mother tongue on the use of the English language for instrumental purposes in the workplace. Consequently, communication in multilingual context demands the linguistic strategies that are applied in different language functions, such as checking, confirming, denying, and rejecting, e.g. delivery dates, contractual involvement, orders, and money transfers with accuracy, especially when the stakes are high.

Furthermore, there always remain the linguistic aspects that cannot be translated. When communicating in multilingual environments, interlocutors are expected to apply specified linguistic strategies in appropriate situational contexts. However, it often happens that target language users translate a message from the source language, i.e. mother tongue, into the target language without paying attention to the fact that the communicative conventions of the latter are quite different, which might result in communication failure, known as pragmalinguistic failure.

Spencer-Oatey (2000), for example, claims that pragmalinguistic failure can be produced across at least three often intersecting pragmatic domains, such as *illocution* when an utterance is perceived as face threatening due to the strategy the language user employs, which might be either too direct or too indirect, *style*, which means that an utterance is perceived as inappropriate due to an inappropriate choice of lexis, syntax, terms of address, ritualised formulae, and honorific language (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 19-20). Thomas (1983) notes that pragmalinguistic failures are likely to occur if non-native language users transfer speech acts, linguistic strategies or utterances from their native language directly to the target language. She claims that 'an inappropriate transfer of a direct speech act in which a native speaker would use an off-record strategy or indirect assessment of the linguistic statement (cited by Brown and Levinson, 1987: 216) might cause communication failure. According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1990), pragmalinguistic failures in multilingual communication in a globalized and diverse workplace can be a result of conflicting communication styles, because people working for multinational businesses differ in terms of culture, language used for instrumental purposes, age and alike. This indicates that multilingual communication should be based on a synergy of different linguistic and paralinguistic communication styles, degrees of register not to hinder communication in the workplace. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1990: 6-24) contend that 'a mismatch of communication styles may also lead to poor outcomes in [...] intercultural organizational settings'.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Taking into account the linguistic ecology perspective, methodology of the study was developed. Raw data were collected by Karimova (2018) and their descriptive analysis was carried out to examine the underlying mechanisms

that govern written communication and illustrate the use of the English language as a lingua franca in written communication for professional purposes in the selected multilingual professional setting. An *integrationalist approach* (Derni, 2008) to the professional language study was applied to examine how the language is employed in the relevant environmental context. To test how the harmonization process can be established and how definite informative intentions of communicators are met in the professional setting, the study was guided by the *cooperative principle*. To understand factors governing professional communication (e.g. *social factors* of communication, i.e. distance-power, or/and the *context factors* of communicative situation that might act as constraints on the interpretation of an informative message), selected aspects of *face theory* were taken into account. The primary research interest concerned the study of external text features; thus, a meta-level analysis was conducted. To illustrate the use of selected linguistic features in the social context of language use, the study was also concerned with a linguistic analysis at a micro-level.

A corpus of authentic materials developed in a professional setting was collected in 2018; it consists of 55 electronic messages (about 5000 words) written by a Riga-situated company that employs native language speakers (Latvian) and Lithuanian- Russian- and Norwegian-language speakers. To comply with the paper volume restrictions, this study has limited itself to examining only three written communication cases from a qualitative study perspective. No text editing was done, only the names of the interactants were changed.

DISCUSSION

Case 1 presented below demonstrates how ambiguity in interaction may be created, i.e. specific information is requested, but an irrelevant answer to the request is provided. The sender asks to improve the report and supply it with specified information. In general, the answer received relates to the main topic of the email, but it does not provide the factual information requested. Following the *cooperative principle*, maxims of relevance and quality are not observed in the message written by the information receiver. In his turn, the receiver provides the sender with the information that might hardly meet the expectations of the communication partner. Besides, the case under analysis demonstrates that maxim of manner is violated, because ‘if the speaker gives the [...] required units of information, but they are either too curt or long-winded in conveying them to the listener, then maxim of manner is broken’ (Grice, 1975).

Case 1

Dana’s message:

Good afternoon.

The report for 01.01.2018 contains more than 12540 PNRs. Would it be possible to regenerate this report and get the updated version?

Dana

Din's response:

Hi Dana,

Reports usually come at 3 pm Oslo time. I will resend the report asap.

Today I am out of the office.

Best,

Din

From the perspective of face theory, Din's response to Dana's message demonstrates that he imposes certain power on Dana; he emphasizes how important time is for him but does not consider the value of the interlocutor's, i.e. Dana's time: 'today I am out of the office'. Thus, Din upholds his *own face* and undermines the *other's*, i.e. Dana's *face*. Considering the rules of the Lakoffian *politeness principle*, Rule 1 (*don't impose*) and Rule 2 (*give options*) are not observed, thus, a consensus is put at risk.

In the above-referred case, to avoid potential miscommunication, several linguistic strategies should be applied to mitigate the negative effect of interaction, for example, more accurate and precise information about Din's absenteeism could be provided or options offered concerning Dana's request (Rule 2, *politeness principle*) might solve the situation arisen, for example, 'Today I am out of office, however, I will look into this matter tomorrow morning and will come back to you as soon as possible and provide you with the information requested'.

As regards the illocutionary effect created in Case 1, Dana uses a too direct communicative strategy and, thus, the whole utterance in the text can be perceived as a face threatening act. The utterance can be seen as an inappropriate one as well due to its ambiguous statements, for example, 'the report for 01.01.2018'. Register-wise, it seems to be a mix between the use of formal modal auxiliary 'would' vs the informal verb 'to get', the formal verb 'to regenerate' vs the informal verb 'to get'. Besides, addressing the interactant in a written mode of communication by 'good afternoon' testifies to inaccurate use of ritualised linguistic formula to start written interaction. From the perspective of linguistic politeness, the function of a polite request, expressed through the use of 'would it be possible to regenerate this report and get the updated version' is performed.

Considering the use of language forms and structures applied by the message sender Dana, it can be presupposed that the language structures in English were generated by a Latvian-origin interactant. Besides, it can be seen from the examined transaction that such social factors as power-distance relationship govern the professional communication in the company under analysis.

Regarding the pragmatic analysis of the sender's message at a meta-level, it shows that the created business-related discourse presents the message as informative as requested (the maxim of quantity). The professional domain-related requests are offered in a relevant way and benefit the purpose of communication participants (maxim of relevance). Although much of business discourse follows standard formats and phrases, a high quality text (maxim

of quality) is ensured due to observing such discourse features as: a clear communicative focus, concise and relevant information forwarded to the information recipient, sufficiently accurate and coherent information organization, professionally appropriate style of instruction (maxim of manner). However, the study shows that the lexical and stylistic level units and linguistic expressions that have ambiguous meanings or that are used in a too formal register in the text under analysis might result in misunderstanding and, thus, should be avoided. For example, the request ‘would it be possible to regenerate this report?’ could be expressed in a more mitigated form, such as ‘could you kindly revise the report, please’.

The text analysed illustrates that a non-native English language speaker has transferred the relevant linguistic strategy from the source language (Latvian) indirectly to the target language; thus, an appropriate use of indirectness ‘would it be possible to...?’ has worked in favour of saving the interactant’s face.

At the pragmatic level, Case 2 examines the linguistic strategies applied in the interaction at a workplace. The analysis demonstrates that *maxim of quantity* can be observed only partly in the text constructed by the information recipient Alexander, who, in fact, provides the message sender Anita with the information concerning the amount and ticket number, but the request for assistance is left without any attention. Thus, *maxim of quantity* is partly violated.

Case 2

Anita’s message:

Hello.

Could you help us to fix these bookings (PPDCZL; YJLNCQ) please? The amount and ticket number is missing.
Thank you!

Alexander’s response:

Hello!

The amount and ticket number should be added via GAS tool.
Alexander

Examination of the text constructed by the message sender Anita reveals that the text breaches the expected norms of business correspondence etiquette: no proper salutation, no farewell, and no name written at the end of the message. Besides, the sender’s impatience to have the task done in the shortest possible time can be inferred from the exclamation mark at the end of ‘thank you’. On a linguistic level, the inaccuracies in the use of vocabulary and punctuation might result in communication failure. The irrelevant reply to the message by Alexander demonstrates that the obscurity of expressions, ambiguity, and irrelevance may result in time- and cost- ineffective communication in a professional setting. Thus, inability to understand ‘what is meant by what is said’ (Grice, 1975) causes

not only the semi-violation of *maxim of quantity* because the contribution has not been as informative as required but also of *maxim of relevance*, which, in their turn, can result in communication failure.

Concerning Case 3, it should be admitted that the texts produced by the Latvian origin language users Inga and Marta demonstrate language imperfections, such as direct translation from the Latvian language into English without observing the rules and conventions for writing in the target language (e.g. 'I cannot wait to visit the other offices; I do not see the benefit of continuing to include all groups in this communication for now; I am disappointed to read that questions, expectations and suggestions are received in this way; you will understand why I sent the advice'), direct translation from the Norwegian language into English without observing fixed rules of word order in English, e.g. 'I will be happy to clarify further next week with you'. The above-referred examples demonstrate that the language used for instrumental purposes does not observe the strict normative rules of the target language. Consequently, the indicated cases and the ones that can be observed in the email sequences seen above may result in different interpretation of the intended message; thus, there is a possibility that the communicated information can be perceived differently by different representatives working for this multinational company.

Case 3

Marta's message:

Hi again Inga,

I have read below message from Karina and still believe that the tone of your message to the booking agents was not adequate. However, I do not see the benefit of continuing to include all groups in this communication for now. I will be happy to clarify further next week with you, your STL and Mindaugas when I am back in the office.

*Thanks,
Marta*

Inta's response:

Hello All,

Thank you Marta. I am disappointed to read that questions, expectations and suggestions are received in this way. I also support a constructive and mutually respectful communication, especially when it is based on facts, not emotions.

As to your example about my e-mail, I do not have the authority to completely override the email sent by Karina Brodahl from TOS (i.e. from Norwegian). Please have a look at the email below, so you will understand why I sent the advice and why it wasn't a must-do instruction. Who am I to override Karina?

Inta (IN)

Inta's follow-up response:

Hello All,
Mindaugas,

Many thanks for your thorough and accurate response. I fully support and agree with all your comments and particularly appreciate your appeal for understanding with regards to the fact that QCs are also in the process of learning on the job. All possible issues (i.e. the need to be accurate and grammatically correct in the comments) have already been addressed with the QA team so they are aware and currently working on it. [...]

I cannot wait to visit the other offices (will let you know ASAP when this can be done).

Inta,

Office manager's Miriam's response:

Hello All,
Mindaugas,

Many thanks for your thorough and accurate response. I fully support and agree with all your comments and particularly appreciate your appeal for understanding with regards to the fact that QCs are also in the process of learning on the job. All possible issues (i.e. the need to be accurate and grammatically correct in the comments) have already been addressed with the QA team so they are aware and currently working on it [...]. In line with Mindaugas's input about the need to support the new QA process, I must express my concern about messages like the outlined below. The tone of this message is not acceptable [...]. Let me assure you that all procedure requirements come directly from Norwegian. QA team is simply delivering our expectations (not always an easy task). We rely on RW management to help supporting Norwegian's values and procedures in a constructive and effective fashion. The below message does not accomplish such expectation [...]. Once again, I would like to thank you all for the great work that you do every day and for all your efforts to support Norwegian's goals.

Krgds, Miriam

At the pragmatic level, Case 3 demonstrates several instances of the Gricean maxim violation, e.g., the office manager Miriam's response 'the below message does not accomplish such expectation' hardly displays the use of *maxim of quality*, i.e. it does not specify what exactly was not accomplished, or what the expectations of the top management have been; thus, it lacks adequate evidence to meet the goals or requirements, consequently, can be misinterpreted. On the other hand, the instance observed in Inta's response to Mindaugas reveals an accurate message communicated; the contribution is made as informative as required; it is relevant and meets the receiver's expectations, it avoids obscurity

of expression and is brief and orderly. In other words, *maxims of quantity, relation and manner* have been fully observed in this instance of communication.

Taking into consideration face theory, it should be admitted that several instances of upholding *one's own face* and undermining *the other's face* can be observed, e.g. 'Let me assure you that all procedure requirements come directly from Norwegian. QA team is simply delivering our expectations (not always an easy task). We rely on RW management to help supporting Norwegian's values and procedures in a constructive and effective fashion'.

The statement 'I would like to thank you all for the great work that you do every day and for all your efforts to support Norwegian's goals.' demonstrates that only the Norwegian company's values should be supported and encouraged, but nothing is said about uplifting, e.g. the Latvian or Lithuanian values.

Summing up the analysis of the above extracts, the paper has attempted to demonstrate that both text-internal (linguistic) and text-external (pragmatic) factors constitute a solid ground for harmonizing communication in the workplace. At a meta-level, several aspects of the collected research data were examined to explore how communication harmonization in the workplace can be promoted considering the theoretical writings formulated by the cooperative principle, face theory and the politeness principle.

CONCLUSIONS

The study reveals that the linguistic ecology perspective concerned with the analysis of professional communication established in the workplace goes beyond the study of purely linguistic structures at the semantic level. The paper has demonstrated that understanding the pragmatic meanings of utterances in the social context means avoiding potential for miscommunication, if a) the information communicated is as informative as required, i.e., the professional domain-related interaction is carried out in a relevant way and is performed for the benefit of the communication participants, b) a profession-related business discourse follows standard formats and phrases, i.e., a high quality text observes such discourse features as: a clear communicative focus, concise information delivered to the information recipients, sufficiently accurate and coherent information organization, professionally appropriate style of interaction.

The circumstances, in which language users establish their linguistic behaviour in such a way that the language is perceived only as a conventional grammatical construction, seemingly do not ensure harmonious information flow. At a micro-level analysis, communication in a professional setting requires precision and accuracy in the use of the linguistic strategies and forms to create the interaction as informative as required. On the other hand, considering the mechanisms underlying the cooperative principle, the politeness principle and Facework can result in a positive collaboration between interactants, thus, resulting in the harmonization of communication.

As a result, it can be concluded that harmonization of communication in a professional setting takes place if interactional partners' face is upheld, if the information communicated is as informative as required, if it is professional domain-relevant, and conducted so that it meets the purpose of the communication participants.

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GOOD BREXIT, BAD BREXIT: EVALUATION THROUGH METAPHORIC CONCEPTUALIZATIONS IN BRITISH MEDIA

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Abstract. Brexit, i.e. the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, is a major event in European and global politics. It has been debated from a multitude of social, economic, and cultural angles. This paper offers a cognitive linguistic perspective on Brexit, and investigates its metaphoric conceptualization on the first days after the 2016 referendum. That period seems especially important as, arguably, it was then that for many UK citizens, Brexit suddenly became more than just a hypothetical possibility.

The investigation is quantitative and follows Socio-cognitive discourse studies principles. It registers frequencies of source-domain use in UK online media, and traces preferences as to general source-domain semantics. The findings strongly suggest the presence of negative source-domain preferences. This negative metaphoric construal comes in stark contrast with the 3-year par between the Leave and Remain stances in the UK.

To explain that discrepancy, the paper argues in support of the importance of 'levels' in source-domain use. Admittedly, throughout Lakovian works (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999), conceptual metaphoric transfer has been argued to take place at what Rosch et al. postulate as basic-level categorization (1973). However, as the present paper suggests, Rosch's 'levels' in prototypology can be seen as functioning through conceptual metonymy. That, in its turn, combined with the all-pervasive cognitive mechanism of spreading activation (first introduced into linguistics by de Beaugrande and Dressler in 1981) suggests all semantic levels can be co-activated in the process of metaphORIZATION, regardless of which level is currently being highlighted and drawn on. As a consequence, different semantic levels are believed here to have the potential to co-influence inferences and connotations resulting from conceptual metaphORIZATION. Thus, the approach adopted in the present study also has the potential to explain why it has been so difficult for scholars to pinpoint and formulate metaphoric transfers. Importantly, the 'levels' proposed here should be differentiated from, although not interpreted as contradicting, the metaphor-relevant levels specified in Kövecses (2010).

Key words: Brexit, referendum, conceptualization, metaphor, media, evaluation

INTRODUCTION

On June 23, at the 2016 referendum, the United Kingdom decided to terminate its membership in the European Union. The decision, however, did not enjoy

substantial domestic agreement. The referendum results revealed only a 51.9 per cent pro-Leave vs. 48.1 per cent pro-Remain difference between the two stances represented at the poll. In reality, that difference stands for less than 2 per cent of the votes cast.

In confirmation of how small the gap between Leave and Remain was, in the first post-referendum days, numerous media (e.g. *the BBC*, *CNN*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *The Independent*) carried interviews and Twitter messages by 'Leave' voters who had not believed their vote 'would actually count' and were subsequently worried by the unexpected success of the contributions they had made. Voices in the media would also propose the way the public voted at the referendum did not actually reflect a lasting political and social preference; instead, there was the possibility that the referendum results were only an anti-system declaration not intended to lead to an actual 'Brexit' (the morphologically-blended word for 'British exit').

Whether or not those media accounts were truly representative of the social situation, more than three years later, the desire to reverse the Brexit decision still thrives. Any review of the British media from November 2017 to May 2019 will register an increase of opinions trying to propel a reversal. What is more, 2017, 2018 and 2019 opinion polls claim that 'up until May 2017, Remain had never been ahead of Leave. However, subsequently, Remain have never been behind. That would seem to suggest there might well have been a small swing in favour of Remain' (Online 1). In other words, for more than three years, Remain refused to accept defeat and Leave did not manage to consolidate its lead.

What is in focus here is that, regardless of which of the two alternatives prevails currently, from mid-2016 to mid-2019, polls consistently registered a less than 2 per cent difference between the two Brexit stances (*ibid.*). Based on the evidence, it seems safe to generalize that the pro- and against-Brexit UK opinions were on a relative par for almost four years.

Against the background of this sustained social division, a Brexit-related conceptual peculiarity seems to need special attention. That peculiarity concerns the fact that the very notion of Brexit represents a (relatively) newly-emergent social concept. Leaving an international union of this scale and leaving the EU specifically are seen as first-time occurrences in political history. Thus, asking how the public actually 'make sense' of Brexit (i.e. how they conceptualize it), and how the process of conceptualization was reflected in the sustained three-year social tie would seem rather relevant questions.

The present study addresses the issue of how the newly-emergent notion of Brexit is conceptualized. To try and contribute to the understanding of the social peculiarity of an enduring tie between two socio-political stances, the present investigation traces the origins of the BREXIT concept back to the very day of the referendum. The investigation takes special interest in how Brexit was conceptualized metaphorically on the first 4 days after the referendum. That period seems of special significance as, arguably, it was then that for many UK

citizens Brexit suddenly became part of their future reality (Tincheva, 2019a, 2019b). As confirmed by the sudden spike in Google searches from the UK (Online 2), it was on those first post-referendum days that the need to ‘make sense of’ – i.e. to conceptualize – Brexit became suddenly prominent to the British population.

The specific focus of the present paper falls on UK online media-advocated metaphoric conceptualizations of Brexit on the first 4 days after the referendum (i.e. June 24, 2016, on which the Brexit referendum results were announced, and the following 3 days). The research questions this paper addresses are:

- Which are the metaphoric source domains most frequently employed by UK media in the conceptualization of Brexit on the first post-referendum days?
- Are there any pronounced tendencies as to negative, neutral, or positive connotations of the most frequently used source domains?

As answering the research questions depends on frequencies of uses, the analysis conducted here is quantitative. The relation of the quantitative method to the general theoretical framework adopted is discussed in the Section below. The quantitative data reported in this paper are obtained through analysis of a dataset specifically compiled for the purposes of the study, as discussed in the relevant Section. The fourth Section specifies the analysis procedures; the last one systematizes and discusses the results obtained.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

As already suggested in the formulation of the research questions, the present paper relies on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) for its theoretical foundations. More specifically, the paper tackles BREXIT through the notion of ‘metaphoric conceptualization’ (Glucksberg, 2008) and interprets linguistic expressions as an access point to how BREXIT is constructed conceptually. As Charteris-Black and Ennis argue (2001), some CMT-related research may focus on the conceptual facet of the *metaphor – linguistic expression* interconnection, while other research may prefer the linguistic facet of that interconnection. The present viewpoint targets an understanding of BREXIT metaphoric conceptualizations via the linguistic expressions used to refer to Brexit.

As far as the present choice of specific CMT approach is concerned, it has to be duly noted that the ‘pervasive’ and ‘irreducible’ nature (Johnson, 1987: xii) of CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR has opened a vast field of research, which has branched into a number of directions: Lakoff’s Neural theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Núñez, 2000; Lakoff, 2009); the methodology-oriented and data-conscious perspectives deriving from the Pragglejaz group’s investigations (see, e.g., Deignan, 2005; Cameron and Deignan, 2006; Pragglejaz group, 2007; Semino, 2008; Steen et al., 2010; Kövecses, 2010, 2018); the Cognitive Poetics

text-world-based viewpoint (Semino, 2008); Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2011, 2017; Kövecses, 2017); the Critical Metaphor Theory perspective (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2005, 2014; Musolff, 2006, 2012); the Career of metaphor theory (e.g., Bowdle and Gentner, 2005; Gentner and Bowdle, 2008); the pool of research addressing the (possible) need for a conceptual-metaphor-vs-simile distinction (see, e.g., Coulson and Oakley, 2005; Glucksberg, 2008; Dulcinati et al., 2014), etc. In many aspects, these conceptual-metaphor-centered approaches diverge from each other. In other aspects, however, they do overlap and share both theoretical and analysis-directed viewpoints. It seems safe to argue that, as a typical prototype-like (see below) academic concept, CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY exists as a conceptual center surrounded by a broad-ranging periphery, along which many approaches overlap and share properties.

Thus, this paper combines theoretically principles of conceptual metaphor operation with principles of prototypology. The latter are prominent for refuting classical-typology and dichotomy-based assumptions on (a) how a category is formed internally, and (b) how a category relates externally to other categories. As research in prototypology has conclusively demonstrated (Rosch, 1973; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Taylor, 2003; Ungerer and Schmid, 2006; Hyvärinen, 2012), classical typology, which postulates every category as disparate from others, rarely holds when language is concerned. Language use, according to prototypologists, does not fit within clear-cut category boundaries; instead, fuzzy boundaries between overlapping categories are the norm. Furthermore, in deciding which category member functions as central, which – as peripheral, and which – as a borderline case, prototypology relies on the presence of numerical data from actual language uses and users. The present investigation follows these principles and (a) aims to supply numerical data on actual uses of the prototypically-functioning concept of BREXIT, (b) views CMT branches (as category members) as overlapping and sharing conceptual structure, and (c) interprets the (possibly) negative, neutral or positive connotations of source domains as existing through conceptual overlappings (see the Section below).

Going back to the significance of CMT to the present investigation, it needs to be clarified that the investigation does not seek to advance any of the existing conceptual-metaphor-centered theories, nor further any specific premise(s) of theirs. The on-focus objective of this paper is, first, to provide data concerning the conceptual structure of the politically, socially and culturally significant notion of BREXIT. Second, the present endeavor will try and argue in support of the existence of yet another ‘level’ of source domain employment, which – on the basis of the general semantics of the domains – can also function evaluatively.

Thus, a cornerstone for the present paper is a central precept upholding all of the approaches above, a precept undisputed by any of them. According to that tenet, metaphor exists as conceptual transfer from one conceptual – ‘source’ – domain to another conceptual – ‘target’ – domain. The objective of the study reported here is to provide data on the source domains used in UK online media texts.

The CMT branch the present investigation gravitates closest to is the Socio-cognitive branch of CDA. The present investigation follows van Dijk in his preference for the term of ‘Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies’ (SCDS) over ‘Socio-cognitive Discourse Analysis’, a preference based on the fact that SCDS is not a unified method but, rather, a diverse research area (van Dijk, 2018: 28), which allows SCDS to harmonize freely with both quantitative and qualitative analyses (*ibid.*). Hence the choice of SCDS for the present investigation, which opts for the less frequent, quantitative type of conceptual metaphor analysis.

This choice of theoretical viewpoint and analysis method aims to enhance the perception of conceptual metaphor as a major enabler and perpetuator of socio-political reasoning, beliefs, plans, actions, attitudes, etc. As SCDS research has demonstrated, such interpretations, beliefs, plans, actions and attitudes can be themselves seen as mental representations (van Dijk, 2015, 2018). Importantly, through the crucial role of the human mind functioning as both an information processor and a mediator, those representations can be interpreted as an interface between discourse structures and social structures (*ibid.*). The present study of the metaphoric conceptualization of BREXIT similarly focuses on BREXIT-related cognitive structures as an interface between social and discursive practices.

On the issue of whether the BREXIT concept and, more specifically, metaphoric Brexit conceptualizations have already been objects of research, a number of analyses of Brexit-related conceptual metaphors need to be singled out: Morozova (2017); Musolff (2017); Đurović and Silaški (2018). However, what those studies have in common is that they opt for qualitative analysis: they investigate the various ways a specific source domain presents itself through particular conceptual metaphoric transfers. Quite dissimilarly, the present study will try and offer quantitative analysis of metaphoric BREXIT conceptualizations.

Another difference between the investigations cited above and the one presented here is the period of social dynamics selected for analysis. Đurović and Silaški (2018), for instance, focus on BREXIT IS DIVORCE metaphors appearing in the media throughout 2016. Morozova (2017) chooses the first year and a half after the referendum for her analysis of Brexit metaphorizations of different modalities. Musolff (2017) prefers the much broader perspective of the 25-year period leading up to the Brexit referendum. As argued in Introduction above, the present investigation focuses exclusively on the first post-referendum days and bases that choice on socio-cognitive reasons.

DATASET

The results reported here derive from a dataset which had to be compiled specifically for the purposes of the study. True to fact, there exist numerous statistics-based extensive reports and analyses on how UK media covered the Brexit referendum both prior to the vote and succeeding it (see, e.g., Loughborough University Centre for Research in Communication and Culture’s

report and the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism's report [Online 7 and 8 respectively]). Moreover, such statistical reports provide wide-ranging information along parameters such as printed vs. online editions, desktop vs. mobile readership, general Brexit stances and media ownership, etc. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is no statistical information available on the top online media preferred by UK audiences specifically on the topic of Brexit around the referendum period. To obtain data which are well-focused on that specific audience preference, the present investigation had to cross-check information from two different types of sources.

The first type of information source further required data from four statistical sources be correlated. That statistical data concern the readership of major online media (i.e. both desktop and mobile outlets) around the referendum period. Four separate sources of different social background were selected for the purpose (Online 3, 4, 5 and 6) in order to avoid possible biases in the reports themselves. The second type of information source was a survey I conducted within the first two weeks after the Brexit referendum. That survey probes 60 respondents (see also Tincheva, 2019a) on the online media outlets they used most frequently around the referendum period specifically on the topic of Brexit. In the survey, the respondents declared they typically would use more than a single media outlet to keep informed on Brexit. None of the respondents reported they used more than 5 outlets on the topic over the period.

Thus, the present dataset is abstracted from five major UK online media. The outcome of the classification procedure led to the selection of the online editions of the following media outlets: *The Guardian*; *the BBC*; *The Independent*; *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail* (rated here from predominantly pro-Remain to predominantly pro-Leave). Following Krzyżanowski (2019), 64 relevant and not genre-specific, full texts were abstracted and selected for inclusion and analysis, i.e. both news reports and editorial genres were included (see Tincheva, 2019a).

ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The first step of the present investigation had the selected media sources' sites searched for all texts containing the word *Brexit*. Texts of a total size of roughly 23,000 words were retrieved. Each text was subsequently analyzed for content, which led to the isolation of linguistic expressions referring to BREXIT. Linguistic expressions were included in the analysis as long as they (a) referred to BREXIT, and (b) characterized one or more aspects of the concept (as in Musolff, 2006). This two-stage procedure follows studies where the search term stands for the target domain, while a subsequent manual search in the texts locates metaphoric linguistic expressions or ones occurring in proximity to non-literal uses (as in, e.g., Deignan, 2005; Stefanowitsch, 2006). This in-text search for (possibly) metaphoric segments was conducted with the full realization that any manual annotation bears a risk of error. To narrow the margin of error, a re-scan of the dataset was conducted about three months after the original metaphor

identification. The re-scan was intended as a verification of the first scan's accuracy.

The next procedural step was to test each extracted text segment for metaphorization. The notion of 'metaphoric segment' was employed here to help account systematically for (a) instances of a single metaphor use, (b) instances of extended metaphors, and (c) instances of the so-called mixed metaphors. The testing procedure applied to any of those types of (potentially) metaphoric segments followed the basic analysis principle of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), or MIP. That principle requires a metaphorically used linguistic structure to display a non-literal use. The decision of whether the use was literal or not was based on the linguistic unit's contextual sense in contrast/ comparison to its dictionary meaning (following the MIP, *Macmillan Dictionary* was selected for reference purposes).

Unlike the MIP, however, the present analysis accepts the possibility for the conceptual process of metaphorization to be evident in linguistic segments longer than a single word. Such a choice allows us not to focus disproportionately on issues concerning, for instance, uncertainties in the classification of (a) linguistic units such as phrasal verbs, (b) examples deriving diachronically from conceptual metaphorization, or (c) examples associating with what Cameron terms 'nesting of groups within groups' (1999). Admittedly, on the surface, such a treatment of metaphor may seem less rigorous. Nevertheless, it is the one allowing for the principles of prototypology (Rosch, 1973; Taylor 2003) to be fully operative in conceptual metaphor use the same way they are in research in, practically, all of the humanities (for a discussion see, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Ungerer and Schmid, 2006). In brief, it is my conviction that accepting the principles of prototypology into CMT analysis reflects more adequately the existence not only of typical, unambiguous uses, but also of borderline cases.

The next step in the present investigation had each metaphoric expression classified in accordance with the source domain its underlying conceptual transfer employed. On that basis, in the following procedural step, the total number of uses of each source domain was calculated. In terms of the type-token distinction (Charteris-Black, 2005), what was counted was each time a source domain was revealed to be used regardless of whether a linguistic expression revealing that particular conceptual transfer appeared for the first time or not. Thus, within a metaphoric segment, each overt linguistic expression of a metaphorization processes was counted separately.

For instance, in the metaphoric segment from our dataset stating that '*As the dust settles on the EU referendum war, some 33 million voters await with bated breath to see what the victors will do*', both *war* and *victors* register as separate manifestations of conceptual transfer from the domain of BATTLE. This principle is also applied in accounting for dataset metaphoric segments such as the one stating that Brexit is '*...an amputation, not a death blow*', in which there are also two metaphoric uses registered. Both the uses of *amputation* and *death blow* can be argued to derive from a broader domain such as A (KILLING) BLOW

(TO EUROPE), although the transfer may be less evident than the transfer from the BATTLE domain in our previous example. In a similar vein, in the metaphoric segment from our dataset which states that *'Brexit will be either a wake-up call or the beginning of a dangerous path for European people'*, there are two metaphors and two metaphor sources registered: A WAKE-UP CALL and PART OF A JOURNEY.

The logic behind this analytical choice rests on the premise that frequency of a text receiver's encountering a metaphor is crucial for the manipulative, subconscious and – what Lakoff and Turner call – 'automatic' operation of the respective metaphor (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 129). As it is the major objective of the present analysis to provide a snapshot of the BREXIT metaphors UK media users were exposed to, the analysis conducted here registers any metaphoric instance in circulation on the first post-referendum days. How many of the metaphors encountered were actually absorbed and socially acted upon by the public are issues which, regrettably, lie beyond the verification potential of the present paper. However, as argued above, the present dataset is meant to enable an analysis from the viewpoint of the text receiver, and, consequently, frequency of metaphor reinforcement through recurrence is a crucial analytical issue here.

The last point that may need procedural clarification concerns the paper's objective of establishing the evaluative (i.e. positive, neutral or negative) characterization of Brexit. The present criteria for rating a source domain as negative, neutral or positive associate with the general semantics of each source domain – a principle which, basically, suggests the importance of semantic connotations in our analysis. At present, however, to the best of my knowledge, academically accepted connotation reference sources are hardly available. One option of coping with that absence would suggest the use of concordancers, which display examples of a word in varied linguistic co-textual environments. Through a concordancer, a linguistic structure could be positioned along a scale between a positive and a negative opposite, based on the structure's frequency of occurrence near prototypically positive and prototypically negative lexical units. However, two factors impede the use of such a technique here.

The first one is the fact of BREXIT being a newly-emergent notion, on the variety of whose environments concordancers could not offer sufficient information. This impediment is additionally amplified by the current lack of information about different culture's connotation-related interpretations of the Brexit phenomenon, cultural variation being, to my mind, a major obstacle to the creation of valid connotation dictionaries in general. Furthermore, bearing in mind the two-year sustained social division on the issue of Brexit (discussed in Introduction above), there exists the very likely possibility for no total sum of individual interpretations of Brexit to exceed 50 per cent of the general UK opinion (i.e. the amount of personal interpretations prototypically required (see, e.g., Ungerer and Schmid, 2006) for an opinion trend to become a norm).

Thus, the present investigation resorts to a technique which only derives from principles of concordancing, without using an actual concordancer. As already stated above, the analysis of the dataset employed for present purposes

does not limit itself to the occurrence of a single metaphoric unit. It broadens its scope to encompass ‘metaphoric segment’ language stretches. In terms of connotation-relevant language stretches, the analysis broadens its scope even further to encompass language segments which would, generally, abide by the norms of a concordancer (such as *Collins COBUILD English Collocations*). In doing that, a particular segment’s evaluation of Brexit is seen as dependent on two parallel and correlated factors: (a) the possible positive or negative semantics of the central source domain concept, and (b) the occurrence of prototypically positive or negative concepts in concordance-relevant proximity.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were extracted 189 BREXIT-related metaphoric samples from the dataset. The distribution of net totals of metaphoric uses per each day of the period studied as to the number of metaphoric samples is as follows: 15 – for Day 1; 39 – for Day 2; 64 – for Day 3; 71 – for Day 4.

It should be duly noted that these data include quotations from original sources such as, for instance, an address delivered by the UK Prime Minister David Cameron on the day of the referendum. In other words, what is registered here can be the metaphors used by Cameron and cited by journalists a number of times without any alterations. As already argued here, recurrence is a prominent factor in the conventionalization and perpetuation of a metaphor. Hence all the data-set uses of a metaphor are counted here separately.

A first observation on the day-by-day data is that the distribution of metaphoric segments over the four days is rather uneven. What is evident is an increase in the number of metaphors used from Day 1 to Day 4, at that the increase is steep and uninterrupted. A likely explanation of that fact is that the number of metaphors used increases in parallel with the general public’s acceptance of BREXIT as part of reality and the consequent need for the public to ‘make sense of’, i.e. to conceptualize, BREXIT.

Another hypothetical explanation, which does not run counter to the first one, is that the referendum results may have been unexpected to the data-set text producers (i.e. to politicians and journalists, with the latter both citing politicians as well as providing their own commentaries). Support to such an interpretation could be the fact that Day 1, on which the referendum results were announced, not only displays the lowest number of metaphoric BREXIT-related expressions used but the number is several times lower than that on the following days. Arguably, the unexpectedness of the referendum outcome is reflected in the predominantly factual and literal uses on Day 1. That factuality could be seen as avoidance of (early) interpretations and (personal) comments. Once the reality of Brexit becomes indisputable and the unexpectedness is overcome, the number of metaphoric interpretations rises sharply.

The data obtained concerning Day 1 are systematized in Table 1 below. The data are listed in terms of frequency of appearance.

Table 1 Day 1 results

NET TOTAL OF USES	SOURCE DOMAIN	DATASET SAMPLE
11	(PART OF A) JOURNEY	<i>I do not think it would be right for me to try to be the <u>captain</u> that <u>steers</u> our country to its <u>next destination</u>.</i>
2	WAR	<i>I <u>fought</u> this in the only way...</i>
2	DIVORCE	<i>... it feels just as much like a <u>divorce</u> between one Britain and another.</i>

The most frequently used source domain on Day 1 is the one constructing BREXIT as a part of UK JOURNEY. Moreover, this source domain is employed several times more frequently than the other two source domains (i.e. WAR and DIVORCE). This domain can be seen as deriving from the LIFE IS A JOURNEY complex metaphor (originally discussed by Grady et al. (1996) and later by Lakoff and Johnson (1999)).

In general semantic terms, the JOURNEY domain could not be argued to be characterized either positively or negatively. Its neutral connotations, however, may be overridden in this specific case as all the 11 registered metaphoric instances in the dataset occur in proximity to the text producer expressing regret, uncertainty and a desire to dissociate from the Brexit situation. In other words, in the present dataset, the generally neutral semantics of the JOURNEY source domain can be argued to carry a degree of negative characterization. What is more, the other two source domains employed for BREXIT metaphoric conceptualization on Day 1 also carry negative connotations.

The DIVORCE source domain in particular controls only 3 sample segments on Day 1. Crucially, on Day 1, unlike on the rest of the days in the period under scrutiny, BREXIT is conceptualized as a DIVORCE between ‘two Britains’, i.e. a divorce ‘internal’ to the UK ‘family’. In other words, it is internal UK socio-political processes which are seen as, or presented as, of greatest concern on Day 1.

Overall, Day 1 is characterized by few metaphoric and few strongly evaluative uses. The number and connotations of the actual uses could be summarized to present a rather cautious metaphoric characterization of the emerging realities as well as a predominant strive for non-metaphorized, connotatively-neutral facts. Such a conclusion seems rather surprising as it appears in stark contrast to the predominant pro-Brexit media bias in the pre-referendum period (Online 8; see also Krzyżanowski, 2019). The existence of that general pro-Leave pre-referendum media dominance has been unanimously verified by a multitude of sources (see, e.g., Online 3 for a summary). With the success of the Leave vote at the polls, the expectation would be for the general media tone on the first

post-referendum days to be positive, if not victorious. Our data on Day 1 after the referendum, however, strongly suggest otherwise.

The data obtained concerning Day 2 are systematized in Table 2 below. The data are listed in terms of frequency of appearance.

Table 2 Day 2 results

NET TOTAL OF USES	SOURCE DOMAIN	DATASET SAMPLE
18	DIVORCE	<i>... political and economic <u>divorce</u> from the EU is negotiated.</i>
11	(PART OF A) JOURNEY	<i>... the first <u>steps</u> of the UK withdrawal from the EU.</i>
6	WAR	<i>As the dust settles on the EU referendum <u>war</u>, some 33 million voters await with bated breath to see what the <u>victors</u> will do.</i>
3	NATURAL DISASTER	<i>...if it <u>erodes</u> EU unity.</i>

In comparison to Day 1, on Day 2, the total number of source domains employed for BREXIT metaphorization increases. It has to be noted, however, that in terms of their net total of uses, 2 out of the 4 source domains (i.e. DIVORCE and JOURNEY) seem pronouncedly more significant. Moreover, the source domain of JOURNEY is the same source domain which proved most salient on Day 1.

On Day 2, the number of metaphorizations of BREXIT as a DIVORCE is not only considerably higher than it was on Day 1. On Day 2, DIVORCE is the most prominent source domain, at that it holds a substantial lead before the second most prominent source domain for the day. Importantly, in contrast to Day 1, the DIVORCE that BREXIT represents now is not between ‘two Britains’. The DIVORCE on Day 2 is seen as taking place between the UK and the EU. This specific mapping was also present on Day 1, but on that day it accounted for only 1 of the 3 uses. It could be argued that the trend is for the DIVORCE structural transfer to be profiled against two different domains: the domain of HOME POLITICS and the domain of the UK FOREIGN POLICY.

The second most significant source domain on Day 2 is the one of JOURNEY. Although still prominent, this domain moves from 1st into 2nd place as a consequence to the abrupt increase of uses of DIVORCE. This trend, combined with the shift in the DIVORCE metaphor from HOME POLITICS to INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, is, arguably, proof of the shift from conceptualizing BREXIT as an internal problem of the UK to a more general EU context as a background domain.

Such an assumption is further supported by the slide of the WAR source domain into 3rd place. In a way, internal British considerations – especially those from before Day 1 – can be claimed to be gradually subsiding on Day 2; the place of Britain on the international map can be claimed to be gradually gaining pace.

One new source domain not present on Day 1 appears on Day 2. It evokes a conceptualization of BREXIT as a NATURAL DISASTER, and, relates semantically to life-threatening events. Thus, it can be argued to carry a strong negative connotation, and to contribute to the overall negative construal of BREXIT on Day 2.

The data obtained concerning Day 3 are systematized in Table 3 below. The data are listed in terms of frequency of appearance.

Table 3 Day 3 results

NET TOTAL OF USES	SOURCE DOMAIN	DATASET SAMPLE
21	NATURAL DISASTER	<i>... the <u>seismic</u> event of... ... sends <u>shockwaves</u>...</i>
14	(KILLING) BLOW	<i>... an <u>amputation</u>, not a <u>death blow</u>. ... will <u>kill</u> off the EU.</i>
11	DIVORCE	<i>If you are going to <u>divorce</u>, it is better to get it over and done with, ... European leaders are divided over a quickie <u>divorce</u>.</i>
6	MECHANICAL FAILURE	<i>... may result in the <u>disintegration</u> of the EU.</i>
5	(PART OF A) JOURNEY	<i>... as the UK is <u>heading</u> for the door...</i>
5	LIFE-THREATENING EVENT	<i>... the Brexit <u>fallout</u> will take hold. How horrific the <u>fallout</u> will be ...</i>
1	ENEMY	<i>... Parliamentary <u>fightback</u> against Brexit ...</i>
1	WAKE-UP CALL	<i>Brexit will be either a <u>wake-up call</u> or the beginning of a dangerous path for European people.</i>

Day 3 confirms the trend for increase in the number of source domains used in the metaphoric conceptualization of BREXIT. In contrast to Day 1, on which only 3 source domains were employed, Day 3 uses 8 source domains for the metaphoric conceptualization of BREXIT.

The most prominent source domain on Day 3 is the one of NATURAL DISASTER, which did not appear on Day 1, and which registered a rather humble number of uses on Day 2. The growing importance of this domain can be argued to be even greater as NATURAL DISASTER can be seen as related to (and overlapping with) the domain of A LIFE-THREATENING EVENT which in its turn appears for the first time on Day 3. If added, the uses of these two related source domains would amount to a total of 36 per cent of all metaphorizations on Day 3. Both metaphorizations, by being related semantically to life-threatening events, can be argued to carry strong negative connotations. Both contribute to the predominantly negative construal of BREXIT on Day 3.

Two source domains share the second place on Day 3: the domain characterizing BREXIT as A (KILLING) BLOW to Europe, and the domain

structuring BREXIT as a DIVORCE from Europe. While the DIVORCE source domain remains strong for yet another day, the (KILLING) BLOW appears for the first time on Day 3, which makes its prominence even more pronounced. Moreover, both domains share the same point of orientation (or deictic center) and that is EUROPE.

The 4th place on Day 3 is again occupied by a metaphor relating to Europe or, rather, to its MECHANICAL FAILURE (it can be seen as a result of chain metaphorization in which EUROPE is construed as a MACHINE). Additionally, the most frequently used source domain on Day 1 (i.e. the one of the UK's JOURNEY) continues to lose its significance. This general trend, arguably, is proof of the shift from conceptualizing BREXIT as merely an internal problem of the UK to a broader EU context. In other words, on Day 3, BREXIT tends to be defined through its influence on Europe and not that much through its impact on the UK alone.

Overall, the top three source domains used on Day 3 have strongly negative general connotations. Day 3 can be argued to continue the negative-connotations trend, which already started to gain prominence on the previous two days.

The data obtained concerning Day 4 are systematized in Table 4 below. The data are listed in terms of frequency of appearance.

Table 4 Day 4 results

NET TOTAL OF USES	SOURCE DOMAIN	DATASET SAMPLE
20	LIFE-THREATENING EVENT	... the <u>fallout</u> for EU citizens living in the UK...
16	DIVORCE	Last Thursday's momentous vote was a vote to begin <u>divorce</u> proceedings. Or, if you like, to <u>move out of the house</u> we share with 27 other countries.
13	NATURAL DISASTER	the <u>aftershock</u> of an epoch-defining referendum <u>reverberates</u> in every corner of the land.
9	(PART OF A) JOURNEY	... tortuous <u>path</u> towards a bright utopia.
4	(KILLING) BLOW	... a <u>blow</u> to Europe and to the European unification process.
4	EXAMINATION/ TEST	... is a tough <u>test</u> for Europe. Both face the <u>test</u> of...
2	MECHANICAL FAILURE	... whether it will mean an EU <u>break-down</u> .
2	RUIN OF THE UK'S HOUSE	... that the <u>pillars</u> of the British <u>establishment</u> have been damaged.
1	FOOD	... <u>digesting</u> the UK's choice to leave the EU.
1	DIVIDING LINE	Brexit is a difficult <u>watershed</u> with many consequences.

Day 4 confirms the trend for increase in the number of source domains used in the metaphoric conceptualization of BREXIT: the source domains employed now amount to 10 versus the 3 source domains evident on Day 1. On Day 4:

- a) The most prominent source domain from Day 3 (i.e. A NATURAL DISASTER) drops to 4th position.
- b) The most prominent source domain for Day 4 is the FALLOUT one, which originally appeared on Day 3. However, on Day 3, it registered considerably fewer uses.
- c) The JOURNEY-related conceptual metaphorizations also register an increase on Day 4.
- d) Due to the co-textual environments in which they appeared, the top two metaphor source domains for this day (i.e. DIVORCE and FALLOUT) can be argued not to be as strongly negative as the top-most ones on Day 3.
- e) Day 3 can be seen as focusing on a NATURAL DISASTER in its progress, while Day 4 focuses on the RESULT from the DISASTER and/ or turns to the future of Brexit.

Overall, the top three source domains on Day 4 (i.e. A LIFE-THREATENING EVENT, DIVORCE, and A NATURAL DISASTER) carry negative connotations. The three metaphoric conceptualizations account for approximately 69 per cent of all uses on that day.

Out of the 10 source domains on Day 4, only 2 are semantically neutral (i.e. (PART OF A) JOURNEY and DIVIDING LINE) and 2 could be argued to rate as neutral to negative (i.e. EXAMINATION/ TEST and (HARD TO DIGEST) FOOD). None of those source domains, however, classifies among the top three for the day. Furthermore, the total number of uses of the 4 semantically neutral source domains amounts only to 21 per cent. The remaining 79 per cent of the source domains used for metaphoric conceptualizations on Day 4 carry negative connotations.

In conclusion, the data in Tables 1 – 4 reveal that on the first days after the referendum in the online versions of the top 5 UK media preferred by UK users, there appear a total of 13 BREXIT-related metaphor source domains.

The source domains employed for the 13 metaphoric conceptualizations rank as follows in accordance with the net totals of their uses over the period analyzed:

1. DIVORCE (47)
2. NATURAL DISASTER (37)
3. (PART OF A) JOURNEY (36)
4. LIFE-THREATENING EVENT (25)
5. (KILLING) BLOW (18)
6. MECHANICAL FAILURE (8)
WAR (8)
7. EXAMINATION/ TEST (4)

8. RUIN OF THE UK'S HOUSE (2)
9. ENEMY (1)
 - WAKE-UP CALL (1)
 - FOOD (1)
 - DIVIDING LINE (1)

The data obtained demonstrate that the most prominent BREXIT-related source domains UK online readers were exposed to on the first post-referendum days are those of DIVORCE, A NATURAL DISASTER and (PART OF A) JOURNEY. These source domains display the greatest numbers of total uses over the period analyzed.

The DIVORCE and (PART OF A) JOURNEY conceptual metaphorizations of BREXIT are present on all of the 4 days analyzed. The NATURAL DISASTER metaphorization appears on 3 out of the 4 days in the period. Thus, it could be argued that the two most significant BREXIT source domains on the first post-referendum days are those of DIVORCE and (PART OF A) JOURNEY.

Out of the remaining 10 source domains, 4 appear on 2 days in the period analyzed: A LIFE-THREATENING EVENT, A (KILLING) BLOW, MECHANICAL FAILURE and WAR. The remaining 6 source domains appear on a single day and with a frequency of less than half a percent, which could not be considered significant.

It should be noted that the LIFE-THREATENING EVENT source domain stands out in the list, as on the two days it appeared, it accumulated a number of uses comparable to the number of the uses of the top metaphorizations over the whole four-day period. Moreover, A LIFE-THREATENING EVENT displays the highest average frequency of uses per day, although it does not appear on all four days but only on the last two days of the period.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study has offered, first, a snapshot of media-advocated conceptual metaphorizations of BREXIT to which UK online media users were exposed during the first days after the 2016 referendum. The data demonstrate that there are three top source domains most frequently used for metaphoric conceptualization purposes in that period: DIVORCE, NATURAL DISASTER and (PART OF A) JOURNEY.

As far as achieving the second main objective of this investigation is concerned (i.e. the objective concerning the possible presence of evaluation-relating general connotative regularities in the source domains used), the analysis of the dataset reveals a preference for negative source domain general semantics. It is not only that the source domain uses over the whole period rate from strongly negative to neutral, with the 'neutral' part of the scale displaying considerably fewer uses than the 'strongly negative' one. Each of the days in the period separately also rates

from strongly negative to neutral, with the ‘neutral’ part of the scale displaying considerably fewer uses than the ‘strongly negative’ one. Furthermore, none of the days displays metaphorization from prototypically positively characterized source domains. The most positively tinged neutral source-domain general semantics for the whole period would be the WAKE-UP CALL ones. However, that source domain appears only once over the whole period and, consequently, could not be considered prominent.

This predominantly negative evaluative potential of the connotative aspects of the BREXIT source domains used on the first post-referendum days proves in stark contrast to the near-par between Leave and Remain at the referendum. Crucially, the negative slant runs against the overwhelming pro-Leave media bias registered in the pre-referendum period. That bias would have suggested a generally victorious (or at least emphatically positive) post-referendum source domain choices.

Truly, employing a negative source domain does not necessarily lead to an overall negative interpretation of the metaphorized phenomenon. On the contrary, positioned within the context of the whole text, the use can support a rather positive attitude on the part of the text producer. For instance, in our dataset, BREXIT as a DISASTER tends to be represented positively, as happening to the hateful (to the author) EU (e.g. ...*erodes EU unity*). Similarly, BREXIT can be a KILLING BLOW to the author’s ENEMIES (e.g. *a death blow to Europe*), or a most-welcome AMPUTATION to the EU BODY. Analysis of such metaphoric ‘scenarios’ and their evaluative power have been long established in CMT and CDA literature (see Musolff, 2006, 2017). The present endeavor, however, argues in support of the existence of yet another ‘level’ of source domain employment, which – on the basis of the general semantics of the domains – can also function evaluatively. This premise is crucial to fulfilling our second objective.

Thus, the negative Brexit source-domain characterization, however sub-consciously enacted, could be seen as a factor enabling the thriving desire to reverse the Brexit decision. It could also be related to the fact that, for the last three years, Remain have not been behind Leave in the social opinion polls.

Admittedly, as the present study focuses only on the first four days after the referendum, claiming general validity of the data would be somewhat farfetched. However, the end results of the present investigation are so definitive that it seems safe to argue that, even if they do not represent generally valid and precise statistical data, they do represent strongly-pronounced general trends.

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