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VARIATION IN LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN THE TYPES OF COMPUTER-MEDIATED ACADEMIC DISCOURSE

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Abstract. The article presents the results of empirical research investigating the specific linguistic characteristics of the types of Computer-Mediated Academic Discourse (CMAD) – the English language use by language teaching professionals in academic computer-mediated seminars (webinars), synchronous conferences (chats), asynchronous discussion fora, e-mails, weblogs and hypertexts. Six specialised corpora were complied to represent each type of CMAD. Multidimensional analysis of the variance of linguistic features (Biber, 1988) was applied as the main quantitative research method. Considerable differences have been revealed in the use of fifty-five types of linguistic features in the sub-corpora. The results of Scheffé's test show that there is a significant statistical difference between at least one pair of the mean values on each dimension. This indicates that the studied types of CMAD are rather similar on one dimension but different on another. The author demonstrates that each type of CMAD has specific linguistic characteristics distinguishing it from other types. The findings obtained in the research may be of interest to researchers investigating varieties of computer-mediated language, language educators and other specialists in applied linguistics.

Key words: applied linguistics, language in use, computer-mediated academic discourse, linguistic variation, multidimensional analysis

INTRODUCTION

The role of technology in human communication has been constantly increasing recently, which has triggered a dramatic rise in interest in the study of computer-mediated language (Shortis, 2000; Crystal, 2001; Herring and Paolillo, 2006; Grieve et al., 2011). Moreover, many scholars emphasise the growing significance of the role of computer-mediated discourse in academic communication (e.g., Stuart, 2006). However, despite the importance of this type of discourse and noticeable scholars' attention to it, the specific characteristic features of computer-mediated discourse types that occur in academic settings have not yet been systematically investigated. Therefore, the aim of this study is to distinguish and compare the characteristics of the English language use by language teaching professionals in six types of computer-mediated academic discourse and to reveal where exactly the differences between them lie.

BACKGROUND

Among many contemporary approaches to the study of linguistic variation in discourse, the presented below approach that relates the use of linguistic means to their functions and applies corpus linguistic methodology to the study of frequency of linguistic features in different text types stands out in terms of reliability and robustness of obtainable results.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the choice of linguistic means in a text depends on language functions. The functions of language are the factors that cause linguistic variation. For example, the choice of linguistic features used by a language user depends on whether the text is meant to inform or to persuade the reader, to maintain social relationship or to express disagreement or complaint. Moreover, the choice of linguistic means depends on the linguistic features already used in the text.

On the basis of the co-occurrence of linguistic features in different text types, Biber (1988) has developed a method of multidimensional factor analysis that groups the linguistic features in a text into a limited number of factors – functional dimensions – according to the functions they perform in texts. The assumption underlying the methodology is that linguistic features do not randomly co-occur in textual realisations of discourse. If persistent co-occurrence of some linguistic features is observed in a group of texts, it is reasonable to suppose that there is an underlying functional relationship between the features that makes them co-occur. Thus, the patterns of co-occurrence mark underlying functional dimensions. According to Biber, it is not possible to analyse linguistic variation in discourse along one dimension, e.g., speaking/writing. A multidimensional approach is necessary.

Having used a multivariate analysis statistical method, Biber (1988) identified which linguistic features typically co-occur in different types of texts. He selected 59 linguistic features, but reduced the number of variables to a small set of factors to find out the co-occurring linguistic features. The researcher revealed that the linguistic features that serve similar discourse functions tend to appear in similar text types. Different groups of co-occurring features constitute different dimensions. Thus, the linguistic dimensions are the continua along which register variation occurs and the types of discourse differ from one another in the English language. Biber has applied this methodology in his studies of academic discourse, e.g. to the analysis of spoken and written academic discourse in American universities (Biber et al., 2004).

Other researchers have also used Biber's method for investigating CMD. Having applied multidimensional analysis research methodology to the study of the corpus of computer-mediated language, Collot and Belmore (1993) made a distinction between the messages composed at the moment of communication and the messages that have been pre-written, carefully thought over before being sent. The different ways in which the messages are produced are now known as *synchronous* and *asynchronous* modes of CMC correspondingly. The researchers

argue that the situational constraints by which the 'electronic language' is characterised make it different from other varieties of English, the main difference being that 'electronic language displays some of the linguistic features which have been associated with certain forms of written language and others which are more usually associated with spoken language' (Collot and Belmore, 1993: 48).

Many scholars have applied Biber's methodology to investigate linguistic characteristics of popular and academic texts (Conrad, 2001; Gries, 2003). Biber and Kurjian (2007), for example, have applied the multidimensional analytic method to the study of text categorisation in Google searchers on the Web and suggested some changes and improvements in the taxonomy of texts. However, texts representing computer-mediated academic discourse have not been included in their research.

CMAD is defined as a computer-mediated process of functional language use for communicative purposes in academic contexts that is realised in semantically connected, verbal instances of spoken or written language longer than a sentence (texts), which are meaningful to the communicating language users (Cigankova, 2009). Linguistically competent communicators choose different linguistic means available in the English language in different types of CMAD. Therefore, quantitative linguistic characteristics may vary across text types. The author aims to support this claim by providing objective statistical data obtained in the corpus-based quantitative research applying Biber's multidimensional view of variation in discourse.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The CMAD corpus (60,000 words) contained computer-mediated texts representing the disciplinary domain of education, produced in 2007- 2009 by the members of three European online communities of university teachers (Online 1, 2, 3). The data comprised 1350 participants representing a wide range of the first language backgrounds (42 languages). The percentage of native speakers of English was not higher than 0.3%. The corpus was divided into six specialised sub-corpora (10,000 words each), representing the following CMAD types: computer-mediated seminars (webinars), synchronous conferences (chats), asynchronous discussion fora, e-mails, weblogs and hypertexts. Each type of CMAD is the result of a unique combination of transactional or interactional type of discourse, synchronous or asynchronous mode of interaction, spoken or written mode of discourse and the type of software used for communication.

The main quantitative research method applied in this study was the method of multidimensional analysis of variance of linguistic features (Biber, 1988). To reveal the patterns in the use of linguistic features in texts as realisations of CMAD, the author identified fifty-five linguistic features in representative samples of each CMAD type and computed the frequency of their occurrence. The system proposed by Biber (1988) for coding linguistic features in the corpus was applied.

For the comparability of the results, the frequency counts in CMAD texts were normalised to 1000 (except type/token ratio and word length) and standardised. The variation of the frequency of linguistic features in each text from the mean in the whole corpus was measured in standard deviations, applying the following formula (McEnery et al., 2006: 303):

$$k = \frac{F - \mu}{\sigma}$$

In the formula, k is the computed standard value, F stands for the frequency of the linguistic feature in the text, μ is the mean value, and σ is standard deviation (SD).

The *Factor Analysis* procedure was repeated five times, each time with a different number of extracted factors set (from 9 to 5), in order to make a decision on the optimal number of factors. The best result, in terms of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy, Chi-Square and the level of significance, was received for five extracted factors. Hence, a five-factor model was applied in the research, including the following dimensions that had been previously identified by Biber (1988: 13): Dimension 1 (*Involved/ Informational production),* Dimension 2 (*Narrative/ Non-narrative concerns*), Dimension 3 (*Explicit/ Situation-dependent reference*), Dimension 4 (*Overt expression of persuasion*), Dimension 5 (*Abstract/ Non-abstract information*).

General Linear Models (ANOVA) was applied to calculate the statistical differences between CMAD types along the textual dimensions identified in the *Factor Analysis*. The author aimed to find sufficient sample evidence to reject the null hypothesis (H0) which stated that there was no difference between CMAD types at significance level α=0.05. Essential probability statistic F ratio (Fisher's *Six Sigma data set comparison*) was calculated with the help of IBM SPSS Statistics 19 programme.

To reject the null hypothesis with a higher degree of confidence, it was necessary to prove that at least one of the mean values was not the same as the other mean values in the group. To reveal that, Scheffé's test was conducted to analyse the pairs of mean values to see if there were differences between them and reveal where exactly the differences lay. Multiple comparisons were conducted between the mean standardised frequency values for each one type of CMAD and the mean standardised frequency values for the other types along each dimension.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The standard values were calculated for each CMAD type on each dimension and compared. Table 1 presents the mean frequency counts per 1000-words and the standard values of lexico-grammatical features co-occurring together in different CMAD text types. As some linguistic features are more frequent in

English than other features, mean frequency counts may not show their actual frequency in texts in comparable values. Therefore, standard values are given to show the frequency of occurrences in the number of standard deviations from the mean in the corpus. The linguistic features are listed in the table in the descending order of their standard values.

Table 1 **Mean frequency counts and standard values of lexico-grammatical features co-occurrence in CMAD text types**

Synchronous conferences	Wh-questions (3.1*; 1.9**), present tense verbs (24.2; 1.7), time (5.2; 1.6) and place (1.2; 0.9) adverbials, amplifiers (5.1; 1.1), first- (51.1; 0.9) and second- (8.8; 0.9) person pronouns, discourse particles (4.3; 0.8), contractions (13.3; 0.6), indefinite pronouns (11.8; 0.6), final prepositions (0.1; 0.5)
Academic e-mails	Suasive verbs (0.3; 1.6), wh- relative clauses on object position (3.0; 1.5), discourse particles (11; 1.4), adverbials (5.5; 1.1), private verbs (11.1; 1.1), first- (45.1; 0.4) and second- (25.2; 1.0) person pronouns, general emphatics (13.9; 0.9), pronoun *it* (12.8; 0.7), possibility modals (11.9; 0.6), indefinite pronouns (10.7; 0.5), perfect aspect verbs (9.7; 0.5), conditionals (4.9; 0.4), time adverbials (11.5; 0.3)
Discussion fora	Infinitives (53.4; 1.6), possibility modals (15.5; 1.4), conditionals (7.7; 1.4), hedges (5.0; 1.3), gerunds (19.2; 1.2), high type/token ratio (43.97; 1.2), demonstratives (8.4; 1.1), general emphatics (14.5; 1.0), analytic negation (8.6; 0.9), phrasal coordination (25.6; 0.8), suasive verbs (0.2; 0.8), indefinite pronouns (11.8; 0.8), necessity modals (2.5; 0.6), public verbs (5.7; 0.6), prediction modals (12.5; 0.5)
Academic weblogs	past tense verbs (37.5; 2), adverbs (42.4; 2), that-deletion (10.5; 1.7), predicative adjectives (46.3; 1.4), third-person pronouns (20.7; 1.1), clausal subordination (12.9; 1.0), conjunctions (8.2; 1.0), contractions (20.1; 0.9), amplifiers (7.8; 0.9), present tense verbs (28.1; 0.9), that relatives (14.9; 0.9), sentence relatives (2.7; 0.9), perfect aspect verbs (11.1; 0.8), general emphatics (13.0; 0.8)
On-line seminars	Predictions modals (20.7; 1,7), wh- relative clauses on subject position (4.0; 1.6), public verbs (8.6; 1.4), wh-clauses (10.3; 1.2), demonstrative pronouns (12.2; 1.0), pronoun *it* (14.0; 0.9), suasive verbs (0.7; 0.8), place adverbials (5.6; 0.8), infinitives (41.4; 0.7), *that* relatives (13.6; 0.6)
Academic hypertexts	passive voice constructions (40.7; 3.4), past and present participle clauses (32.3; 3.8), attributive adjectives (103.5; 2.1), nominalisations (45.7; 1.7), nouns (239.1; 1.6), phrasal coordination (32.3; 1.6), mean syntactic length (28.8; 1.6), mean word length (5.5; 1.6), adverbials (9.6; 1.0), conjunctions (7.8; 0.9), present tense (40.9; 0.6) and perfect aspect (10.2; 0.6) verbs

* The first figure represents the mean frequency value per 1000 words

** The second figure shows the calculated standard value

For each type of CMAD a mean standard frequency value was calculated for each dimension. The results of simultaneous multiple comparisons between the means (ANOVA) revealed a significant statistical difference (F) in the

frequency of occurrence of lexico-grammatical features between CMAD types in all the dimensions. As it is evident from Table 2, the level of significance α for all cases was found to be less than 0.05; therefore, in no one of the cases the H0 hypothesis could be accepted. The results of Scheffé's test confirmed that there was a significant statistical difference between at least one pair of the mean values in each dimension. For this reason, H0 hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative statistical hypotheses in all the cases. Thus, the applied method with a 95% level of confidence provided evidence that the type of CMAD was a possible reason for the variance in the frequency of co-occurrence of linguistic features in the specialised CMAD corpora.

Table 2 **The results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) between the mean frequency values of six CMAD types on five dimensions**

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Dim 1	Between Groups	2222,995	5	445,999	28,144	,000
	Within Groups	855,752	54	15,847		
	Total	3085,747	59			
Dim 2	Between Groups	272,647	5	54,529	46,137	,000
	Within Groups	63,822	54	1,182		
	Total	336,469	59			
Dim 3	Between Groups	102,150	5	20,430	11,947	,000
	Within Groups	92,340	54	1,710		
	Total	194,491	59			
Dim 4	Between Groups	473,497	5	94,699	34,906	,000
	Within Groups	146,501	54	2,713		
	Total	619,998	59			
Dim 5	Between Groups	313,956	5	62,791	20,762	,000
	Within Groups	163,315	54	3,024		
	Total	477,271	59			

For a meaningful interpretation of the results, it was important to find out where exactly the differences lay. For this reason, the results of Scheffé's test for the mean values for all five dimensions were analysed and presented in the frequency polygons.

Fig. 1 demonstrates that the mean difference values of five out of six types of CMAD hold a high position on Dimension 1 – *Involved/ Informational Production*. The lower the position of the CMAD type in the frequency polygon, the less similarity it has with other CMAD types. The lowest position on this dimension is held by academic hypertexts, which means that they are the most informational in the type of information production of all the other types of CMAD. Other CMAD types have the degree of similarity above zero, except synchronous conferences, which are close to zero. This finding suggests that the CMAD type marked 'academic hypertext' differs significantly in the frequency of specific linguistic features from other five types of CMAD, having the highest frequency

of negative linguistic features on Dimension 1. The mean difference figures of other types of CMAD hold the position above or close to zero, implying a very small difference between them.

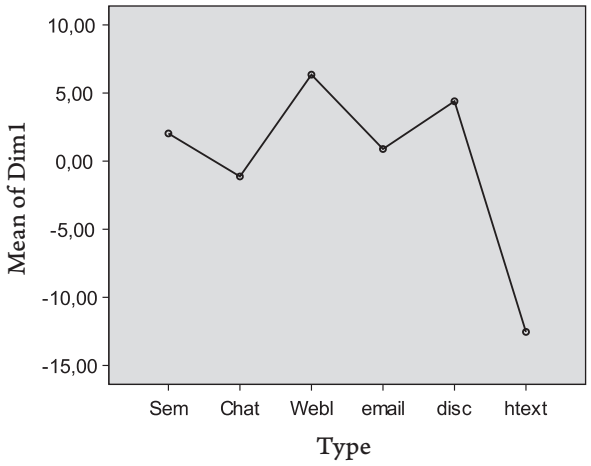

Figure 1 **Mean difference values on Dimension 1 for six types of CMAD**

The frequency polygon in Fig. 2 presents the mean difference values of CMAD types on Dimension 2 – *Narrative/ Non-narrative Concerns.*

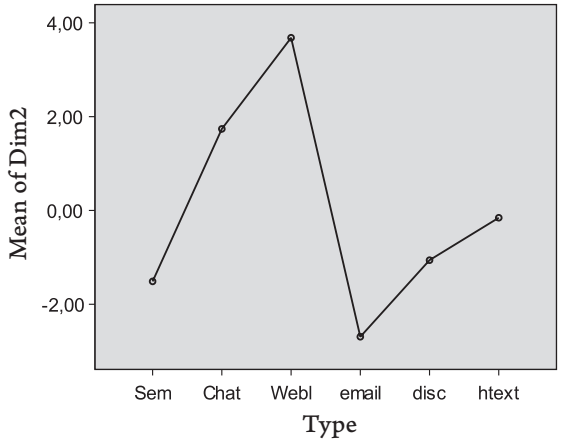

Figure 2 **Frequency polygon presenting the mean difference values for six types of CMAD on Dimension 2**

Academic weblogs show the biggest mean difference from other types of texts on this dimension, followed by synchronous conferences. E-mails show the smallest mean difference from other types of CMAD. On-line academic discussion fora hold almost the same position as academic seminars and are close to academic hypertexts. This confirms the previously made inference that these types of CMAD have similar linguistic characteristics on this dimension.

As the frequency polygon in Fig. 3 demonstrates, academic weblogs, closely followed by synchronous conferences, show the biggest mean difference from other types of texts on Dimension 3 (*Explicit versus Situation-Dependent Reference)*. On-line academic seminars (spoken mode) and academic hypertexts (written mode) hold a high position on this dimension, which signals the high degree of similarity between them. The mean values for academic e-mails and discussion fora are almost identical, which implies a high degree of similarity in linguistic characteristics between these two types of CMAD on this dimension.

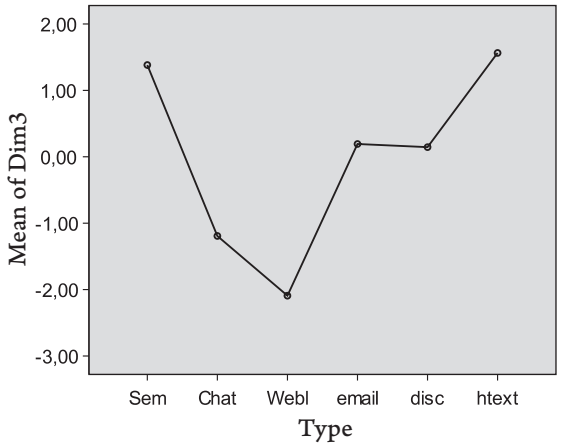

Figure 3 **Frequency polygon presenting the mean difference values for six types of CMAD on Dimension 3**

The frequency polygon in Fig. 4 shows the position of CMAD types on Dimension 4 – *Overt Expression of Persuasion.*

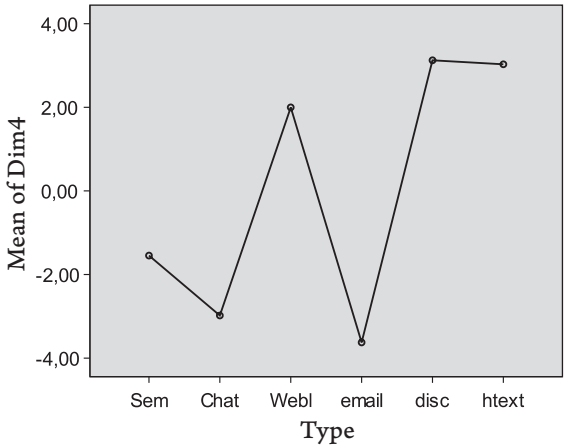

Figure 4 **Frequency polygon presenting the mean difference values for six types of CMAD on Dimension 4**

On-line seminars, e-mails and discussion fora show similar mean figures on this dimension, implying that they contain the linguistic features signalling explicitly expressed persuasion. In contrast, synchronous conferences, weblogs and academic hypertexts do not demonstrate high frequency of such linguistic features. This fact indicates that there are two distinct groups of CMAD types in respect of the explicitness of persuasion.

One more frequency polygon in Fig. 5 presents the mean difference values of CMAD types on Dimension 5 – *Abstract versus Non-abstract Style.* In respect of the abstractness of the information in the texts, the CMAD types fall into two distinct groups. Academic weblogs, discussion fora and hypertexts demonstrate a high degree of abstractness while on-line seminars, synchronous conferences and e-mails convey non-abstract information.

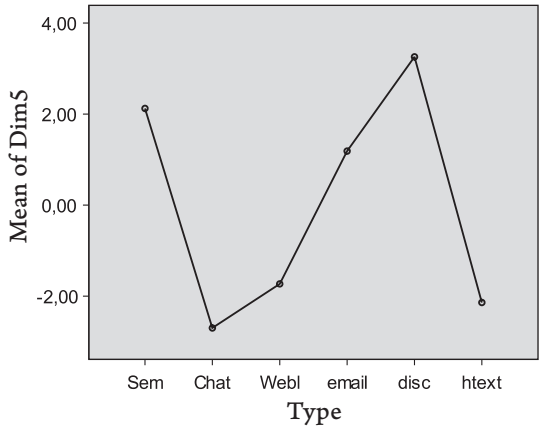

Figure 5 **Frequency polygon presenting the mean difference values for six types of CMAD on Dimension 5**

Academic discussions and hypertexts show the highest degree of similarity, as they both render the most abstract information. In contrast, e-mails and synchronous conferences are rather similar in that they both convey non-abstract information.

CONCLUSIONS

The differences along five textual dimensions in the frequency of occurrence of linguistic features among the six specialised corpora investigated in the research reveal multidimensional linguistic variation in the English language use across the investigated types of CMAD. Strong patterns of co-occurrence of linguistic features have been discovered that are regarded as different underlying functional dimensions along which the variation in CMAD occurs and the types of CMAD differ from one another. The results of Scheffé's test show that there is a significant statistical difference between at least one pair of the mean values

on each dimension. This indicates that the studied types of CMAD are rather similar on one dimension but different on another. The distinguished patterns of the co-occurrence of linguistic features are specific to each type of CMAD. Thus, each type of CMAD has been found to possess specific linguistic characteristics distinguishing it from other types.

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MODALITY OF LEXICOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE IN DICTIONARIES OF USAGE

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Abstract. Dictionaries are increasingly making use of corpus data or, at least, of secondary sources based on them. This has brought about a revision of the concept of the standard of usage and changes in modality of lexicographic discourse, first in general-purpose explanatory dictionaries and later in dictionaries of usage. The paper analyses *Oxford Fowler's Modern English Usage*, registering the markers of frequency in its entries expressing modal meanings other than "statement of fact" for epistemic modality and modal markers expressing deontic modal meanings, taking into account high and low modality in both types. The findings have revealed that the balance is decidedly in favour of epistemic modality, while in both types of modality it is in favour of low modality markers. The data show that some epistemic markers of frequency referring to high probability or likelihood of occurrence have functions opposite to those in academic discourse beyond lexicography, where they are used primarily as hedges. This allows us to conclude that genre (or type of discourse) and context are the decisive factors in establishing the meanings and functions of modality markers.

Key words: lexicographic discourse, epistemic modality, deontic modality, high and low modality, modal meanings, modality markers

INTRODUCTION

The term *modality* was used in metalexicography at least since the 1970s, first in the French tradition where attention was drawn to explanatory monolingual dictionaries as samples of "discours didactique" (didactic discourse) – metalinguistic texts of didactic nature (e.g., Dubois, 1970; Rey and Delesalle, 1979: 14).

Dictionaries of usage, traditionally focusing on difficult or debatable issues, rather than on comprehensive coverage of the word-stock, had always been even more overtly prescriptive. However, in recent decades, largely due to the use of corpora, first beyond lexicography and later within it, the prescriptive stance of explanatory dictionaries became less prominent: both the selection of headwords and recommendations on language use were increasingly based on corpus data rather than on the compilers' personal preferences or well-entrenched views of the general public. In our view, the current state of affairs involves two related kinds of changes. One concerns the nature of the author-reader relationship, the other – the very concept of the standard of usage.

Firstly, new dictionaries of usage are in a dubious position. On the one hand, they have to respond to the needs of the users who turn to them when feeling insecure about their language and, having no desire or qualifications to go into details of academic debate on language standards, expect clear, simple and explicit advice on "grey" areas of language use. The authoritative nature of dictionaries was habitually seen as natural by both their readers and writers: 'Old-time lexicographers [...] knew what was good for their public' (Bejoint, 2000: 140).

On the other hand, dictionaries of usage slowly followed the trend set by explanatory monolingual dictionaries and, having claimed that their recommendations are now partly based at least on secondary sources, e.g., grammars using corpus data, or even on corpus data directly (the first usage book based on data from large corpora of American and British English as primary sources was *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* by P. Peters published in 2004), they found themselves in the domain of academic discourse with its own established conventions and aversion to "prescriptivism" seen as an inevitable though lamentable feature of dictionaries of usage. The habitual patronizingly dismissive attitude of linguists gave way to debate on more equal footing. Academic conventions involve a different kind of relationship between the author (in this case the compilers of a dictionary) and the reader. They cannot any longer be entirely authoritative "law-givers". Their claim to truth is restricted by possible refutations of colleagues who might hold other views on a particular problem. Academic writers address the community of peers who are, at least theoretically, their equals in terms of background knowledge and qualifications. The writer has to convince the reader that the findings of the research (in this case – recommendations) based on the interpretation of the data analysed are valid and reliable. Thus, both strong assertions and modulated statements will be found in academic texts. Many propositions are formulated provisionally or tentatively rather than categorically: 'Writers will highly consider the amount of certainty they should put in a particular statement according to the amount of reliable data backing this statement' (Vazquez and Giner, 2008: 175). Thus hedging is a usual feature of scholarly communication: 'Academic discourse is a world of uncertainties, indirectness, and non-finality – in brief, a world where it is natural to cultivate hedges' (Mauranen, 1887: 115 in Vazquez and Giner, 2008: 172).

Secondly, the increasing use of corpora by grammars and general explanatory dictionaries has brought about a change in the concept of the standard of usage. This new concept accepts variation as a legitimate and acceptable feature of Standard English. The most important parameters of variation are, according to the register theory developed by M. Halliday's school of systemic functional linguistics, the three register variables: mode (written and spoken, now also electronic, combining the features of the former two in various degrees), tenor (degrees of formality stemming from the roles of participants of communication and interpersonal distance between them) and field (what is discussed) (Eggins, 2004: 52 – 67). The *Longman Guide to English Usage* proclaimed as early as 1988

that 'standards are different in different periods of time; in different places; and on different occasions' and that 'there cannot be a single standard' (1988: v). In other words, it was acknowledged that the standard of usage is 'a dynamic system capable of responding to the situation by introducing changes into the balance of parameters' (Doroshenko, 2005: 346).

These two changes allow us to hypothesize that the modality of recommendations in dictionaries of usage could have developed some features of academic discourse and that this can be traced in certain features of the texts of their entries.

Traditionally the default modality of lexicographic texts was a statement of fact. Even though '…the absence of the grammatical predicate linking the word defined and the definition […] and preference for non-finite verbal forms make the texts of definitions devoid of modality in the narrowly grammatical sense of the term, they possess modality in a broader sense' (Doroshenko, 2006: 369), e.g., in terms of the claim to reliability or truth-value of a text.

Changes in modality had certainly taken place in general-purpose explanatory dictionaries. Definitions formulated as complete sentences (the tendency steadily gaining ground since the first edition of the ground-breaking *Cobuild* (1987) made some other famous dictionary brands adopt the practice at least partly) retained the default modality in predicates (A is/means/refers to/is used to denote, etc., B). But the claim to the absolute truth-value of these statements was often moderated by certain qualifiers, making them no longer universally applicable to all levels of usage or to all communicative situations. To mention just two kinds of such qualifiers out of many:

- labels relating to one or several of the three variables (in the *Cobuild* series at first given within definitions): formal, literary, informal, spoken, written, British/American English, disapproving, derogatory, legal use, etc.;
- hedges which had formerly been exceptionally rare in dictionary definitions, but were now used not only for meanings, but also for grammar and pronunciation: "usually", "often", "some", "sometimes", "especially", etc. Both kinds of qualifiers can be used within the same entry.

Examples (with qualifiers underlined):

Honey… You call someone **honey** as a sign of affection [<u>mainly</u> AM]

Afterglow… is the glow that remains after a light has gone… [<u>LITERARY</u>].

Beatnik…people <u>sometimes</u> use the word to refer to anyone who lives in an unconventional way.

If an attack or an attempt **is beaten off**… it is stopped, <u>often</u> temporarily (*Cobuild*, 2009).

To investigate modality in the usually more conservative modern dictionaries of usage, a brief review of relevant theoretical problems is necessary.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. TYPES OF MODALITY AND MODAL MEANINGS, STRONG/HIGH AND WEAK/LOW MODALITY

The discussion of modality in contemporary lexicographic discourse requires considering both modal meanings and ways of expressing them. Research on modality cannot boast of either commonly established terminology or of clarity about the hierarchy of some key terms, e.g., *types of modality* and *modal meanings* are either interchangeable, or the latter is reserved for particular meanings within a single type of modality. Distinctions of types of modality are numerous: epistemic/extrinsic, deontic/intrinsic, dynamic (included or not in epistemic), existential, root/intrinsic (covering both deontic and dynamic), agent-oriented and speaker-oriented as two super-categories in some sources, but the latter is part of deontic modality in others, etc. (Online 1).Apart from some admittedly unresolved issues and overlaps between the types, the question of the list of modal meanings even within a single type remains open. Sources differ on their scope, number and subdivisions. The *Brief Glossary of Modality* (Online 1) lists, e.g., Coate's 12 'modalities', Leech's 11 modal meanings, Mindt's 17 'modalities', Palmer's 8 modal meanings, Quirk's 3 modal meanings, etc., to mention only some classifications.

Moreover, some means of expressing modality, especially modal verbs, can denote different meanings, depending on the context, especially within either epistemic or deontic modality, but also across their boundaries, e.g., **must** can express necessity, certainty, and obligation: 'A characteristic feature of the modals… is their semantic vagueness' (Jacobsson, 1994:168 quoted in (Online 1). The observation is echoed in the statement that some modal elements 'have ambiguous modality values' in Hodge and Cress (1999: 134) and in numerous other sources. It might be for this reason that in some classifications modal meanings are grouped in pairs; e.g., Quirk's list comprises: permission-possibility/ability; obligation – necessity; volition-prediction**,** seen as three domains of meaning. The first member of each pair represents intrinsic modality (subject to some human control), the second – extrinsic (resulting from human judgment), ability not quite fitting into this scheme (Quirk et al., 1985: 219). It is within these pairs that semantic ambiguity or indeterminacy of modal auxiliaries is particularly obvious, e.g. **shall** and **will** are used for both volition and prediction, **can** – for both permission and possibility, etc. (however, this can happen also across the three pairs: **must** – for obligation and necessity within a pair, but also for possibility or prediction, both beyond it).

Among the numerous distinctions of types of modality the most common and sufficient for our purposes is the one between epistemic and deontic modality, epistemic being concerned (summarily) with assessment of possibility, likelihood, necessity, and the truth-value of propositions; deontic – with obligation and permission. Epistemic and deontic modalities are, under a different guise,

also the core elements of the functional systemic approach to modality which distinguishes between modalization and modulation.

Modalization involves two kinds of meanings: (1) probability (the speaker expresses judgments as to the likelihood or probability of something happening or being) and (2) degrees of certainty, likelihood or usuality/frequency (the speaker expresses judgments as to the frequency with which something happens or is). Modulation involves the meanings of obligation or inclination (how willing I am to do something, want to, like to, am willing to, happy to do it) (Eggins, 2004:179-188, from Halliday, 1985a: 85-9 and 332-45).

Though *epistemic* and *deontic* will be used below as the terms for two modality types, all the three semantic domains listed under modalization and modulation are worth exploring as relevant for the analysis. Additionally, for the purposes of this paper the distinctions of modal meanings made in *The Communicative Grammar of English* by G. Leech (1994) were consulted for possibly relevant modal senses.

It should be noted that even the same modal meanings allow for indeterminacy in one more respect. Leech treats some modal meanings as different (i.e. uses different terms for them), but, at the same time, points out that the difference actually lies in the degrees of essentially the same meaning. For example, though **should** is listed by him under "advice" as in: *You should stay in bed until you start to recover* (Leech, 1994: 164), it is also listed under 'other ways of expressing obligation' together with **ought to, had better**, etc., and is said to 'express an obligation which may not be fulfilled' (Leech, 1994: 168) in contexts very similar to those of "advice". The use of terms like "weakened obligation', 'weakened prohibition" also shows that he views certain modal meanings as gradable. For our purposes, it is important that an obligation 'which may not be fulfilled' and advice both express a weakened obligation. Thus, we shall employ in the analysis the distinction between *high* (or strong) and *low* (or weak) modality used by Hodge and Kress. In their terms, modality is 'situated on a continuum between affirmation (high affinity, high modality) and negation (weak or zero affinity/modality)' (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 264). The distinction between high and low modality, formulated in the semiotic framework for both verbal and non-verbal texts, goes back to Ch. Peirce's semiotic theory. Iconic signs resembling what they signify have the highest modality, indexical signs based on inference have a high modality, but lower than icons, while symbols based on convention have the lowest modality (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 27). This view has a parallel also in many purely linguistic studies. Modality is discussed as a semantic scale or 'a gradable concept for which scalar analysis is appropriate', e.g., in Brewer, 1987; ii. In systemic functional linguistics both modalization and modulation have degrees, e.g., high – **must**, median – **should/supposed to**, low – **may, allowed to** (Eggins, 2004: 189). We shall consider modal meanings from the viewpoint of high and low modality only, leaving out the "median". We assumed that statements of fact for epistemic and obligation for deontic in lexicographic

descriptions are the default (or traditional) modalities used in dictionaries (which is not the same as "median" in Eggins' framework), contrary to the view that modalization and modulation refer only to the intermediate positions between the two extremes: 'stating that something IS or is NOT' (Eggins, 2004: 178-179). The assumption that all utterances are modalized (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 123), and not just some of them, is closer both to the approach of traditional grammar with, e.g., its indicative, imperative and subjunctive "moods" and to the distinction of three types of modality: actuality, necessity and possibility, in logic. The default modality is then seen as 'an overall modality value which acts as a base-line for the genre. This base-line can be different for different kinds of viewer/reader, and for different texts [...], but these differences themselves acquire significance from their relationship in the genre's basic modality value' (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 142).

2. EXPRESSION OF MODALITY: MODALITY MARKERS, MODALITY CUES, HEDGES

When discussing modality of lexicographic texts not often viewed from this perspective, the question of elements expressing modality comes to the foreground. According to Hodge and Cress, modality is expressed and interpreted through 'modality cues, which include both specialized modality markers and also all the other bases for modality judgments' (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 128).

The most common term applied is *hedges* or *hedging*. However, 'Hedges are still very problematic to define precisely' (Vazquez and Giner, 2008: 172). In fact, their definitions depend largely on the goals of a particular research, and thus, ultimately, on the genre investigated, e.g., for studies in modality of academic writing hedges related to epistemic modality are of prime relevance: 'Hedges in academic writing are studied as the most common realization of two rhetorical strategies [...]: the qualification of the writer's commitment (boosters) or lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition' (Vazquez and Giner, 2008: 172). Hedges are understood then as 'modifications of the commitment to the truth-value of propositions' (ibid.), which involves epistemic modality only, but examples for *hedge* in *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics* (Matthews, 2005: 161) relate hedging to both epistemic and deontic modality. Then **must** and **should**, used in deontic modal meanings, are also hedges. Since we suppose that for the entries of dictionaries of usage both epistemic and deontic modality might be relevant, it is preferable to view hedges as embracing both types.

However, this still leaves us with the term which is not sufficiently inclusive: in view of its commonly assumed functions, a *hedge* is not inclusive in terms of stronger/higher – weaker/lower modality. Namely, it is commonly reserved for elements playing modality down, both with the authors who differentiate hedges from boosters, and even with those who do not: 'A hedge is any linguistic device by which a speaker avoids being compromised by a statement that turns out to be wrong, a request that is not acceptable, and so on' (ibid.) (however, *booster*

is not in the list of entries of this dictionary). In other words, for signals of high modality the term *hedge* is not in wide currency. Given the tendency to discuss hedges mostly in terms of epistemic modality rather than deontic and the long-standing association of hedging with low modality, we shall use instead the term *modality markers* as more inclusive.

GOALS OF ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The analysis focuses on one of the dictionaries of usage in the *Fowler* series: *Fowler's Modern English Usage*, edited by R. Allen and published by Oxford University Press (1999) 2004. The parent work is the famous H.W. Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, first published in 1926, revised by E. Gowers in 1965 and by R. Burchfield in 1996 and in 1998. The 2004 version is based primarily on Burchfield's version (the number of entries was reduced to over 4000 instead of the initial 8000, but 150 entries are new). However, its database has been updated and expanded. In *Acknowledgements* it is stated that The British National Corpus comprising about 100 million words was consulted, providing 'over 800 attributed examples out of a total of about 1600 examples that are new to this edition'. While dictionaries of usage are traditionally prescriptive in nature, each new revision aimed, in line with the descriptive bent of modern linguistics, at increasing the descriptive element and avoiding subjective value judgments.

The goals of the analysis were to find out:

- how different the modality of entries in *Fowler's* dictionary is from the traditional default modality of lexicographic entries (statement of fact for epistemic and strong obligation for deontic);
- which modality markers are used to express modal meanings;
- what is the balance between high and low modality statements in texts of dictionary entries;
- whether the functions of epistemic modality markers in dictionary entries are the same as in academic writing.

The range of modality markers analysed and therefore the scope of the discussion is quite limited: for epistemic modality only the markers relating frequency of usage have been chosen, but for deontic markers only those covering the following range of meanings: obligation, prohibition, advice and permission. Thus, a wide scope of epistemic modal markers related to probability, certainty or uncertainty as regards the validity of the proposition, or degree of commitment to its truth-value, etc., has been omitted. This leaves several questions unaddressed so far, e.g., what is the balance between epistemic and deontic modality on the whole (which type dominates); what is the full range of modal meanings employed in the texts of dictionary entries and which of them dominate; what are the dominating modality markers.

DATA COLLECTION AND PROCEDURE OF ANALYSIS

The data comprised all entries for the letter E in *Oxford Fowler's Modern English Usage*: pages 192-235, the total number of entries is 206. The collection of data involved registering markers of frequency in the entries expressing modal meanings others than "statement of fact" for epistemic modality and all modal markers expressing deontic modal meanings listed above. Within each type relevant modal meanings were singled out, taking into account Quirk's, Leech's and systemic functional classifications as general guidelines for the data available. The meanings of some central modals, e.g., **can**, with ambiguous modal values (either epistemic or deontic) were identified relying on the context.

No distinctions regarding lexical-grammatical categories (word-classes) of modality markers – modal verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs or adverbial phrases – were made when grouping the data: their presence regardless of the category was important. *Possible, possibly, possibility* or *common/commonly, typical, typically* are no different as far as the modal meanings expressed by them are concerned. Thus, e.g., adjectives and adverbs of the same root were counted as one element when compiling the list of elements serving as modality markers, but tokens (number of incidences) of modality markers were also taken into account to find out the overall number of modality markers used to express particular modal meanings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. EPISTEMIC MODALITY MARKERS: FREQUENCY, PROBABILITY AND RECOMMENDED USE

The data on markers related to frequency of use are summarized in the table below.

Examples:

> **Escalate…** is now rarely used in its first meaning 'to travel on an escalator'. By the 1950s, it had come into regular use to mean 'to increase or develop rapidly by stages', chiefly in the context of military and political conflicts. Typical examples of that time are…
>
> **e-mail**… is often spelt with a hyphen…
>
> **envelop**… normally pronounced en- rather than in-.
>
> **envisage**… in its common construction followed by a verbal noun...
>
> **Epic** is a term traditionally applied (first as adjective, later as a noun) to narrative poems.

The data show that the number of tokens is more than half of the total number of entries (105 for 206 entries), i.e. markers of frequency feature quite prominently in the sample. Sometimes several are found in one entry, so their distribution across entries is far from even. The total number of elements is 26, and in the group of higher frequency markers some are obviously more prominent: *normal/*

Table 1 **High and low frequency markers.**

Frequency markers	Set of markers and number of each marker's tokens	Number of markers	Number of markers' tokens
high frequency markers	normal/normally 20 common/commonly 18 often 13 usual/usually 11 typical/typically 5 regular (use) 3 generally 2 traditionally 2 increasingly (found) 1 chiefly 1 mainly 1 (in) many (uses) 1 ordinary (usage) 1 permanent (currency) 1 prevailed over 1 (by) weight of usage 1 widely (used) 1	17	83
low frequency markers	sometimes 7 occasionally 4 rare/rarely 3 (a) few 2 from time to time 1 hardly ever 1 less usual 1 not much (used) 1 not often 1 some (currency) 1	9	22
Total		26	105

normally, common/commonly, often and usual/usually account for the majority of tokens (62 of 83). High frequency usage markers are used overwhelmingly for recommended, not prohibited use. There is only one exception in the entry where "common" use is paired with "non-standard", but "common" is restricted twice: in terms of tenor (degree of formality) and regional variation:

> **easy**… otherwise, its use as an adverb is non-standard, though common informally in BrE.

The prevalence of high over low frequency markers shows that *Fowler* tends to promote good practice, rather than advise against bad.

The examples from entries cited above show that modality markers concern frequency of usage as such ('typical examples'), spheres of use, i.e. field ('in the context of military and political conflicts'), semantics, syntax, spelling,

pronunciation. Other aspects are: word-building and inflection, style, etc. – in fact, language elements of any level.

Only five high frequency markers from Table 1 are present in Hyland's (2005) list of hedging items in academic writing (in Vazquez and Giner, 2008: 179): *generally, mainly, often, typical/typically, usually*. It should be noted, though, that in texts of dictionary entries they have the function opposite to that attributed to them in research on academic writing (where they are viewed as hedges modulating statements). As hedges in academic writing, these words modulate claims on universal truth, but in dictionary entries they are opposed to *rare* and other markers of low modality, thus acquiring the function of markers of high or strong modality.

Frequent is practically always synonymous to "recommended" by an authoritative dictionary. This could be explained by the fact that in corpus studies and corpus-based dictionaries the concept of frequency is now elevated to the status of the main argument in favour of legitimacy of a particular instance of use: 'If a pattern becomes very frequent in use across very large quantities of text, then it becomes 'entrenched' as part of the system. Frequency in text becomes probability in the system' (Stubbs, 2007: 127). The *Fowler's* dictionary echoes this stand by mostly refraining from any advice with markers of either high or low frequency referring to use and by explicitly stating at least twice in the sample that widespread use is a stronger argument than any opinion:

> **enjoin**…this construction is now too common to be objected to.
>
> **extend**…few would object to its use today, which is common.
>
> **erotica**… is a plural noun… although it is often treated as a singular mass noun…

The last example is seemingly an opposite case (recommended usage is not the form used most often), but the recommendation is immediately qualified by the subsequent statement: 'In many uses number is not explicit'.

However, when high frequency markers refer to opinions and beliefs about language use, they are often challenged:

> **equal**… is often regarded as an absolute that cannot be qualified. However, this rule does not apply to all meanings.

Thus, while 'Different genres, […] establish […] sets of specific modality markers' (Hodge and Cress, 1999: 142), they may also use the same modality markers in different meanings or functions which can be established only if markers are viewed not in isolation but in relation to other members of the whole set and to the words they qualify (i.e. in their paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations). The meanings of frequency markers fit well into the categories suggested for 'modalization' by systemic functional linguistics, namely: probability, degrees of likelihood or usuality/frequency.

Notably, *Fowler's* avoids using *frequent/frequently* in its entries, and with a good reason: frequency is a technical term in corpus linguistics where it can and should

be measured exactly, but corpus data were not the primary source of *Fowler's* – they were "consulted" for improvements. Other words relating to frequency are used instead, frequency being presented as a scalar property from *normal/ common*, etc. to *rarely, hardly ever*. The scale of frequency is further differentiated by additional markers for frequency markers: *very (common), more, most (often, usual, commonly used, etc.), about (equally common), less (usual).*

2. DEONTIC MODALITY MARKERS AND THE RANGE OF DEONTIC MODAL MEANINGS

The data on deontic modality markers are summarized in the table below.

Table 2 **Deontic modality markers.**

Modal meanings	Set of markers and number of each marker's tokens	Number of markers	Number of markers' tokens
strong obligation	has to be used 1 need to use 1 requires/is required 2	3	4
weak obligation	Should (be distinguished, followed by, pronounced, replaced, used, written, etc.) 10	1	10
obligation		4	14
strong prohibition	cannot (say, be used) 4 not possible 1 not permitted 1	3	6
weak prohibition	should not (be used) 5 should (be avoided, replaced by) 2	1	7
prohibition		4	13
permission	can (say, be used, substituted with) 3	1	3
advice, positive	(it is) useful (to) 2 (it is) advisable (to) 1 (it) is best (to) 3 better (formation) 1 prefer/(is) preferred/ (is) preferable (to)/preferably/ (with a) preference (for) 13	5	20
advice, negative	(is) best (avoided) 2	1	2
permission, advice		7	
Total		15	52

Examples:

> **enough**… cannot be used with mass nouns…
>
> **each and every**… is best reserved for special effect…
>
> **entitled**…should not be used as a synonym of *liable to*… Here should be replaced by *deserved to*.
>
> **either**… it is advisable to restrict *either* to contexts in which…
>
> **encrust**, meaning 'to cover with a crust', is preferable to *incrust*.
>
> **eventuate**… *result* or *come about*, or simply *happen*, are often preferable alternatives.

The range of modality markers used in dictionary entries for obligation comprises only four units, i.e., it is much narrower than in the list provided by Leech (**must, have to, got to, should, ought to, need to, had better, shall, require)** (1994: 163-164). Two elements are used for prohibition out of six in Leech (**cannot, may not, mustn't, shouldn't, oughtn't to, had better not)** (ibid.: 165). Notably, for either obligation or prohibition **must/must not**, carrying the strongest implications, are not used. Generally, other expressions are used about twice as often than central modals for deontic modality.

The range of deontic modality meanings in the table is: obligation, prohibition, permission and advice. For advice **prefer, preferred, preferable, preferably, preference** are listed among other modality markers. While they are described by Leech in the section *Mood, emotion and attitude* (1994:157-158) and preference does not feature in lists of deontic modal meanings, in the texts of dictionary entries this group of words certainly refers not to personal liking and disliking, but to advisability or desirability of particular use, and can therefore be viewed as belonging to specific deontic modality markers established, as suggested by Hodge and Kress, by different genres of texts (1999: 142). It should be noted, however, that in some entries **preference** and **preferred** could possibly denote also preferences of speakers:

> **eastward, eastwards…** are both used for the adverb, with a preference for *eastwards*.
>
> **eyrie**… is the preferred spelling.

In this case they would be indicators of frequency and thus epistemic rather than deontic modality markers, but the context does not allow us to disambiguate the meaning, thus indeterminacy of interpretation is inevitable.

Obligation and prohibition are each represented by 14 and 3 tokens, and weak modality prevails in both summarily over strong: 17 versus 10 tokens. Since both permission and advice (positive and negative) are weaker than obligation and prohibition, they add 25 tokens to low modality markers, i.e. low deontic modality prevails convincingly over strong: 42 to 10 tokens.

As compared to epistemic modality, even though it is represented in the data by frequency markers only, deontic modality markers have a considerably lower profile in the dictionary.

CONCLUSIONS

Within each of the two types of modality: epistemic and deontic, the scale of low and high modality in *Fowler's* dictionary entries has been identified, which means that modality of lexicographic discourse can be described as gradable.

High modality markers traditionally indicating a high degree of reliability and authority of lexicographic statements largely give way to low modality markers which dominate in terms of both the number of elements and the number of their tokens.

The domination of low modality in the texts of entries and of epistemic modality over deontic modality changes the relationship between dictionary makers and the two categories of dictionary readers: the general public and the academic community. It makes the traditionally highly prescriptive dictionary of usage part of modern academic discourse where low modality markers limiting the claim to absolute truth are common. The dictionary respects these conventions; and it also delegates part of the choice in matters of language use to the general user, acknowledging that the standard of usage is differentiated, not uniform.

Functions or meanings of modality markers may differ depending on the genre of text and can only be established by taking into account both their paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, i.e. their place in the system and the immediate context. Thus, markers of high frequency in lexicographic discourse are indicators of a high degree of probability of occurrence of a word, form, phrase, etc., and are, as in corpus studies, an argument in favour of established (and therefore acceptable) use. This results in some epistemic markers referring to probability or likelihood in the dictionary having functions opposite to those characteristic of them in academic discourse beyond lexicography.

Different genres (academic writing and dictionary entries) can use specific modality markers.

Genre (or type of discourse) and context are therefore the decisive factors in establishing the meanings and functions of modality markers.

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REGIONAL: A LOST DIMENSION?

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Abstract. Globalization is commonly discussed in terms of how it enforces language and culture monopoly in transnational social structures and practices. It is also linked to deterritorialization of contacts among individuals, groups and institutions. With the exhaustion of the nation-state, the core-periphery metaphor is used to designate new distributions of power. This view obscures, however, the complex, polyphonic and heterogeneous nature of many peripheral contexts. It is argued that the *regional* element needs revisiting its capacities to serve as an interface between the global and the local (often national). The paper construes regionalism as a valid dimension of language studies in a foreign language macro culture of the Central and Eastern European countries. Some discussion follows the ongoing marketization of universities and technologization of language and translation teaching for the pressing needs of global and local markets. A counter-balanced engagement is proposed. Alongside some flashes of the region's academic cooperation in the past, an argument is made for the development of Critical Discourse Studies, with a checklist of topics being suggested and profiled on social and linguistic issues sensitive for this region.

Key words: critical discourse studies, regionalism, globalization, Central and Eastern European countries

BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL IN LANGUAGE STUDIES: CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

It is common today to talk of globalization and link it to the ideologies sweeping across various domains and practices of social life: politics, business, the media, as well as research and education, information technologies and life styles. Even though the actual meanings of globalization vary and fluctuate, they are generally linked with the similarity of values that drive individuals, collectivities and entire nations to construe their goals and pursue them in the way they do it. This includes the resources that are striven for, as well as action scenarios that are found desirable for successful functioning in one's social spaces. Human beliefs and performance strategies are largely controlled by the market regime with its lures of competitiveness and self-promotion. Deterritorialization of human contacts and growth of information technologies partake significantly in the ongoing redefinitions of what socially valuable skills, commodities, goals and achievements are. Against all that global thinking, academic domains of research and education are not an island. On the contrary, they often tend to reproduce such ideologies, if not help to promulgate them, as it will be suggested throughout this paper.

Yet, global thinking about the modern world has many lacunas. Globalization is meaningful only in its situated readings as an outcome of the interactions of the global with the local. This is sometimes acknowledged with the use of the term *glo**c**alization* (after Phillipson, 1992). Still, it seems any delineation of locality remains arbitrary in that we have to deal with layers of contextual and discursive meanings that are always osmotic, so that flows cannot be prevented. Truly, however, these are more easily observed and controlled in a narrower field of vision. A question remains if the global-local continuum can be divided into fuzzy in-between spaces of regionally defined orientations to globalization. It concerns not only the sweeping divide between Western and Oriental spheres, all too often invoked in debating cultural issues. Other alliances and divisions are worthwhile examining especially from the position of less powerful constellations of countries, traditions and languages.

In this paper I focus on the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC), a peripheral-language macro-context, a region of potentially congruent acquisitions and adaptations of global ideologies. These are all foreign-language-teaching cultures, of late under a strong impact of English, and amidst of similar political, social and cultural transformations. With some reference to the situation in Poland, I make claims on analogies in the region considering the past and the current conditions as regards language research and education. Launching a postulate for a new agenda of regional cooperation, I underscore two issues. Firstly, down at its bottom, globalization is all about identification, which only explains the socially sensitive nature of global processes across national contexts. This means that ideologies of globalization (or glo**c**alization) need to be approached first of all in terms of identity construction among individuals, groups or entire nations. Here we invoke variation in human social positioning as nationals, research partners, scholars in an institution, or teachers of particular skills. Choices are linked to situated definitions of power. Secondly, given the present focus on the discursive construction of identities, I plead for an extension of agenda in applied linguistics so as to rank higher, if not to initiate, critical discourse analysis (CDA), i.e., interdisciplinary critical studies based on social and linguistic principles of analysis.

The historical contacts between the Central and Eastern European countries, including the Baltic States, are strong and meaningful in the context how sameness or disparity may be judged in individual nation states and how they respond to global politics and worldwide social change. The longstanding record of neighborhood is meaningful, as is the trauma of World War II, or the experience of Soviet-based communism and its contestation, not to mention the post-communist concerns coming with the economic transformations and the upheavals of the new democratic orders.

Even though we may reject globalization as a unified model of value formation, it does not mean that many globally spreading tendencies are negligible, irrelevant, or impracticable in local environs. They all have a share in construing new social and communicative values. Some signposts for orientation

have been established for general reference: a commodity view on social life in general, language as symbolic capital and the development of expert systems and technologization of communication. Crucial is the differential of symbolic power, which controls much of how the actual functioning of globalization is taking shape across territories, delimiting centers of dominance and peripherality. All such issues are of interest as far as they contribute to the evolution of academic values, and, in our context, the status of and the prospects for language studies in general and with respect to English, in particular.

The purpose of this discussion is to briefly overview the impact of globalization on the socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic change in the CEEC region, with special reference to foreign language research and education. Even though such influences are likely to vary across national contexts, similar 'globalizing effects' are predictable across national and linguistic territories considering the powerful pressures of market ideologies and promotional culture, not to mention the historical cognates in research and teaching models in the region. Elitist attitudes to research and education are possible candidates as emblematic of traditional tendencies in much of continental Europe, largely due to the German ('Teutonic') model of the university and its style of intellectual exposition. Furthermore, we need to consider the general invasion of English as a global language, strongly undermining the powers of the dominant languages of the past, specifically German or Russian.

Discussion of the topic in the present paper is based on my understanding of the changing condition of Polish (neo-) philological studies (e.g. Duszak, 2009). Even though my perception may be only partly and indirectly relevant for the understanding of the situation in the whole area, I suggest similarities, and argue for an integrative research and education agenda in the area.

MARKET IDEOLOGIES AND (FOREIGN) LANGUAGE STUDIES

It leaves no doubt that the consequences of global ideologies in language departments and related academic institutions are best analyzed through the local lens. Still, some assumptions can be made as to the general course of action and the feedback it gets in academia. In response to the processes of globalization, whether economic, cultural or social, we can talk about commodification of (language) education and, in part at least, of language research. In this view, foreign language education has to meet the pragmatic demands of a knowledge-based society (KBS), especially when it comes to the teaching of linguistic skills that are valued for professional success. In the context of foreign language teaching (FLT), this means a redefinition of educational policies, tasks and tools for (foreign) language departments. It leads to special demands being laid on the teaching of English.

The situation has consequences for educators and educational policy makers as education becomes to be viewed as a commodity, capital for investment and

profit. In many countries in the region such a commodified view of scholarship is likely to replace the traditional model of higher education: the *ivory tower* perception of an academic institution, a shrine of knowledge, for which economy or profit making are abstract qualities. As a result, schools of higher education are expected to function almost like enterprises or business, opposing the traditional concept of academia as a site of intellectual reflection and growth. In language studies, it also means a shift away from the neo-*philological* or cultural-studies tradition that was pervasive in the past. Actually, as I will venture later, applied linguistics gains, but in the long run it may lose in this race for vocation-based educational programs.

Namely, in many countries in the region, the recent escalation of the new, pragmatic or instrumental attitudes to language education became most evident with the rise of *translation studies* and *interdisciplinary specialist language programs*. Such educational profiles invite in particular a market attitude to education: academic institutions should equip the learner with a handy 'linguistic toolkit', often a 'translation kit', for future performance in various specialist professional settings. In Poland at least, this ideology encourages a *come-and-go p*olicy (or *pay and go*), with the university acting as an in-between landing place on the road to future career. Importantly, translation (or production) of texts in specialist domains, say, law and administration, business and management, requires the development of specialist discursive skills. This, in turn, calls for the introduction of some technical expertise from fields other than linguistics (e.g. law, business, political sciences). Often, this other domain is seen as more valuable for future career or professional identity of the learner. So, for instance, mastering the technical terminology is seen as more important than safeguarding text cohesion or style coherence under recommendations coming from text linguistics. Educational policies may enhance this view, as is the case with governmental recommendations and financial incentives for students choosing hard sciences rather than humanities or social sciences.

There are tasks for academics to solve. These are largely matters about identity, whether defined in terms of individual choices, structural decisions in institutions, or considering the future of the field, language studies on the principles of linguistics. One of them relates to securing more balance between the intellectual-theoretical and the vocational-practical element in language education. This is an issue I address briefly in the final section of this paper.

NATIONAL ARGUMENTS IN ACADEMIA UNDER GLOBALIZATION

Globalization coincides with a gradual exhaustion of the concept of nation-state, emblematic for the whole of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. In the European context, such tendencies receive a special meaning, given the complex and troubled history of the continent. The economic and democratic changes

in many Central and Eastern European countries were possible with the fall of communism in the 1980s, initiated by the Polish *Solidarity* movement in 1980. Building of a supranational European space is taking place against the memories of World War II and its traumatic legacy. With the ongoing enlargement of the European Union, many post-War divisions have been leveled, some are redefined and new ones emerge as a result of new alliances, contacts, interests and pressures. The redefinition of nation-states under globalization and Europeanization is part and parcel of heteroglot national discourses, resonating with liberal, conservative, as well as populist or even nationalist voices.

It leaves no doubt whatsoever that European unification processes engage matters directly relevant to research, education and academic policies, to mention the academic staff and students mobility, the construction of joint international (research and teaching) projects, and last but not least the spread of English as a leader language for disseminating and publishing research. In foreign language studies in CEEC new priorities develop, generating boom in translation, with bilingual specialists needed in European institutions and transnational businesses. Such an instrumental, if not vocational skewing of foreign language education seems to overshadow other concerns of interlingual studies and may, in the long run, critically influence their disciplinary position as well as the overall social status of meta-linguistic competence.

To raise a national argument in discussions of scholarship is a delicate matter. If educational policies are more readily accepted as sites of competing national interests, then the construction of scholarly knowledge is more likely to be seen as immune to any national ideologies, or as being *acultural* to start with. The imperative of methodological fairness is prioritized as the main evaluation criterion of scientific knowledge. Claims that there are culturally distinct cognitive styles rest on thin ice, even though ample research has shown that there are cultural patterns *for speaking* in the sense of Slobin (1996), or as amply evidenced for academic writing in a variety of research projects in the tradition of Kaplan (1972). Rather than with cognitive aspects of reasoning, we are dealing here with rhetorical variation, building up a meta-linguistic argument: there are cultural styles of research narration, as regards for instance the flow of argumentation, a global research text organization, or writer-reader interaction. Furthermore, such generalizations have been applied to abstractly construed cultural and linguistic spaces, invoking affinities between linguistic systems and intellectual styles. In principle, they are *regional* in that they presuppose linguistic and cultural proximity, or shared value orientations whether social, cultural or communicative. This applies, for instance, to the concept of Teutonic academic style postulated for much of continental Europe and Scandinavia which for long remained under the influence of the German intellectual tradition (cf. e.g. Clyne, 1981). Historically we are talking then about German, Czech, Russian, Polish, Finnish, or Ukrainian, no matter what idiosyncratic difference we could actually establish for any of those languages, at a particular point of time, for a particular genre or a specific field of research.

The choice of style or a language for scholarly ideation could be interpreted though as sensitive for a national academic community. So, for instance, the growing use of English by Polish scientists at the turn of the century went on a par with general transformations in conventions of research writing: the so called Teutonic patterns were replaced by a more relaxed mode style of communication, linked to English and described also as Saxonic (in the traditional style nomenclature, Galtung, 1971). Debating the changes in research narration at that time, Gajda (1999: 20-21) wonders whether the new style does not pose a threat to the integrity of Polish academic values because of its dependence on English as academic *lingua franca*. While entering the supranational academic community, he argues, Polish researchers may in fact alienate themselves from the Polish academic tradition.

Here, however, other arguments are to be considered, too. The new style was deemed *pathological* by some in that it should indicate a lowering of standards in how scientific knowledge was accrued and transmitted (for some discussion see esp. Gajda, 1999: 30; 2001: 194). Such judgment could not be divorced from a traditional demarcation of styles in Polish scientific writing into scientific, scientific-didactic and scientific-popular, suggesting difference of approaches, goals and audiences. Yet, there are stylistic transformations on the way. In place of the historical division between the scientific style *sensu stricto* (designating research) we were witnessing the emergence of a new scientific style *sensu largo*, a less '*intellectualized*' variant, exploiting communication patterns more appropriate for popular and didactic functions (e.g. growth of orality, interactiveness or visuality of expression).

Against such stylistic-rhetorical accounts, a topical element should not be bypassed in discussing style dynamics under globalization, Europeanization or Englishization in the last decade or so. For Polish linguistics, the income of English writing patterns was also a sign of a slow change of research paradigms in science. In language studies, the structuralist tradition was slowly combated, counter-balanced, if not replaced by the escalation of (mainly) English-based cognitive, functional and discursive approaches to language and communication. It needs to be noted, for instance, that style change went on a par with a slow removal of skepticism among Polish linguists to accept discourse analysis as a leading approach to language (and communication) studies. A part of the problem was the methodological novelty of such approaches linked to English and English-medium studies in language.

POSITIONING ON ENGLISH (AS GLOBAL LINGUA FRANCA)

English is an unquestionable "leader language" today, a tool of communication in all walks of transnational contacts, whether political, economic, scientific or cultural. Commonly linked to globalization, it has been "hailed" by many,

and denounced by others as a symbol of global monoculture and linguistic domination. There is no need or space here to recall the vast and heterogeneous literature of the topic (for some discussion, with focus on global English in CEEC and further references see, e.g. Duszak and Okulska (eds.), 2004). The tenor of such discussions may be important to recall though. As a rule, local (or national) disputes wavered between purist and liberal attitudes to Englishization of minor languages, not to mention radical attempts to control the situation by administrative measures. Against the *killer* or the *donor* metaphors popular especially in the mid-1990s, attempts were also undertaken to take off the heat of the discussions, and rationalize the position of English demonstrating its relative impact on other grammars or on selected domains of social practices. And additional perspective was emphasized with the distinction between *language for communication* and *language for identification* (esp. e.g. Joseph, 2004), suggesting that, as with any other language, in using English people may focus on its various capacities and functions. In turn, Crystal drew attention to the issue of language ownership, claiming that with *any* global language, 'no one can now claim 'sole ownership' of English' (Crystal, 1997: 130). Today, it seems, the heydays of such controversies are over, with many English loans stabilized in the receiving languages, some being adapted or replaced by local equivalents, and still others having disappeared altogether. New ideologies, styles of being, and discursive values are coming to the forefront of attention across disciplines.

The role of English today is not to be linked to any unique process, considering similar positions of other languages in the past, most notably of Latin. In the European context, for instance, linguistic asymmetry is nothing unusual with some languages being more powerful than others, to mention French, German or Russian at various stages and over various geopolitical territories. Still, a majority of the languages have always had a peripheral status, which limited, if not made impossible for their speakers, communication outside of the local communities. This applies also to the languages in the CEEC region, many of them having histories of dependence on some *lingua franca*, whether Latin, French or German. There are clearly many caveats to bilingualism (or multilingualism) of the past, as there are to its current variants. Linguistic aspirations and skills characterized only some social groups, commonly as a result of power distribution in the respective society. Selected discursive domains were more likely than others to become sites of language shifting, as with politics, scholarship, art or tourism. Traditionally, these have always been foreign language learning (and teaching) cultures (FLL/FLT).

In academia in this region some form of multilingualism was a rule, perhaps comparable to *new multilingualism* (cf. Clyne, e.g. 2003) under globalization today. It meant selective competence in a foreign language and its strategic use, as for reading and writing specialist texts. Such multilingualism manifested itself in academic networking, conferencing and publishing. In my own linguistic work starting in the 1970s, I came across a number of collections published in Poland and featuring papers written in various languages. Next to Polish, there was

Russian, Czech, German, and less often English. This linguistic pluralism was a matter of fact even though the actual comprehensibility of all texts for individual readers is hard to judge. Probably such collections were meant for selective reading only, but they served a pluralistic ideology in academic communication in the region. It needs to be remembered though that foreign-medium academic writing showed a quantitative skewing towards Russian, whose teaching was obligatory in schools, no matter how reluctantly it was received by many of the learners.

What is of interest was the thematically integrative function of such localized multilingualism. Regionally valid research foci were established and explored nationally and internationally. Among them first of all were elaborations of the Czech school of Functional Sentence Perspective, which led to the birth of text linguistics in this region. In Poland, the work here owes a lot to Warsaw-based research team headed by Maria Renata Maynowa (cf., e.g. a multilingual collection edited by Dobrzyńska and Janus, 1983). There were also explorations in Slavic stylistics, as well dialectology and ethnolinguistics, charting other micro territories for cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison (esp. at the inspiration of, respectively, Stanisław Gajda in Opole and Jerzy Bartmiński in Lublin).

Against all that, contacts with English and English-medium linguistic publications were limited and difficult for field external reasons, namely the Soviet politics in the region. Still, the development of English studies in the late 1970s slowly paved the way for making English into a popular foreign language, a tendency boosted up by strong anti-communist and pro-Western sentiments among wide sections of society, and then by a similar orientation of post-communist governments. This gradual opening to English is to be linked to the introduction of contrastive grammars and contrastive linguistics in general, based on a much wider spectrum of languages and methodologies. This was only followed by cross-cultural pragmatics and ultimately by the cognitive and discursive approaches to language. In that process, at least initially, the role of Poznań English Studies under Jacek Fisiak is not to be overestimated for how it eased exchange of ideas between linguists from the West and the CEE countries.

This is also where and when English academic "mono-culture" started in Poland, and possibly also in some of the CEEC region. Characteristically, the new linguistic publications, collections and journals were written in English (cf. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics; Studia Anglicana Posnaniensa*). To some extent this was a practical solution, considering a wide variety of languages involved for which English provided a common denominator. Yet, this may have been a well-calculated choice. For some authors at least writing in English was a way of manifestation of their Western orientation, a subversion of the privileged status of Russian. Furthermore, English would ease contact with world knowledge in many domains of academic expertise. Even periodicals with a spectrum linguistically and topically exceeding English (studies) would turn to

foreign-medium publications, the majority of which were written in English (e.g. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* [*Neophilological Quarterly*] of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

Almost three decades later, English ranks still higher in academic demand. Yet, its situation is different in that it tends to be treated as an instrument for communication, inexpedient for getting competence in other fields and skills, and less as an object of study for its own sake or part of humanistic reflection over the social nature of language. In addition, in some FLT environments the dominance of English is received as a threat to the condition of other foreign-language programs, especially in the light of a demographic slump in student population. There are pressures to publish internationally in English, endorsed by government policies of evaluation of scholars and institutions. This is however contested on various grounds. A national argument is sometimes made, as when a senior Polish historian argues that we should not only care to communicate with other scholars, but also with cultural elites of the country, for which we need to write and publish in Polish. Other constraints are also raised especially among the older generation of scholars, seeing less reason why they should publish in English on matters involving other languages and cultural environments (cf. Duszak and Lewkowicz, 2008).

What language to choose for reporting research and where to publish may be a problem, considering a variety of topics, tasks and audiences. In contrast to mathematics or physics, research in the humanities and social sciences may need the local lens to locate issues and formulate interpretations. In any case, however, what really matters is the ability to dialogize local (national) and global (international) discourses.

REGIONAL REVISITED

In the construction of scientific knowledge the epistemic criterion is crucial, hence research is often seen as transnational or, as some would argue, *acultural*. The national element may not be totally negligible though, since scholarship and education are social practices, and building up a canon of knowledge in a national language is important for the prestige and integrity of a given community. Yet regional arguments may be found superfluous or ill-conceived, considering the regime of globalization, the European unification, or even more importantly, the syndrome of deterritorialization of social spaces and human contacts due to the development of information technologies, transnational flows of capital, or the hegemonic power of English as a global medium of communication. I would argue though that regionalism should play a role regarding the issues addressed in language research and education. Viewed as an identity issue, regional thinking could provide interesting interfaces between the global and the local, the national and the transnational, the market and the ethos in approaching the university.

I shall use the term *regionalism* with reference to the territory of CEEC, allowing for historical extensions of this region in the nearby past. Some form of regional thinking is pervasive in much of the work on cross-cultural linguistic similarity and difference. Relevant here might be typologies of intellectual (academic) styles, where divisions were drawn largely between territorially established spheres of dominance, say of the Anglo-Saxon and the German (Teutonic) traditions. These were, and remain, sweeping generalizations that open themselves to scrutiny, with assumed style value distributions begging for updating in empirical studies. For instance, Kowalski (2011) documents changes that took place between 1980 and 2000 in the way Polish linguists narrated research in English and in Polish.

On the other hand, a regional argument is connoted by the division into *core* and *peripheral* countries. This metaphor uses English as an explicit point of reference, even though it goes beyond language policies and reflects inequalities in the global distribution of power as a result of the political and economic hegemony of the Western Anglophone sphere. Phillipson (1992: 17), for example, speaks about the 'core English-speaking countries' (Britain, US) and the 'periphery-English countries' where English either has the status of a second language, as in India, or is a foreign and 'international link language', which pertains for many countries today. In applied linguistics, in turn, we have the Kachruvian paradigm for modeling English worldwide ("Three Circles of English"), based on the distinction between 'genetic' versus 'functional nativeness' in that language (Kachru, 1985; c.f. Bolton, 2006). There is the Inner Circle, where English is the 'primary' language (US, UK, Australia, New Zealand), the Outer Circle, stretching over postcolonial Anglophonic contexts (e.g. Nigeria, India or Singapore), and the Expanding Circle covering those areas where English is an 'international' and a 'foreign' language, to mention here China, Korea, Israel, Greece, Poland, Latvia or Russia. It is obvious that the final circle extends over territories that differ largely in their geopolitical, social, cultural and linguistic situation. Better localized visions of 'the periphery' ('regionalized' views) seem inexpedient for researching the territories. Regionally established models may show a center-and-periphery structure in how powers are distributed.

In case of CEEC we are dealing with a territory of a 'foreign-language culture' or perhaps 'cultures' to leave space for diversity in (some) unity. Only fine-grained and clear-focused analyses can demonstrate the extent of similarity and difference, in how the global monoculture of English is received across academic environments in this region. The demand for and interest in (specialist) translation (studies) charts only one academic path, no matter how salient it may be for its strong marketing position. Still, the current emphasis in language education should not overshadow other disciplinary needs and topical fields that are relevant to linguistics and communication studies in general. Some areas of scholarly involvement remain traditionally marked for regionalism, as is the case with much of ethnolinguistic, dialectological or stylistic research that often engages pairs or groups of languages in the area and across its territorial

adjacencies. Allowing for some redefinition of the CEEC region, we can build up on the historical traditions going back to the Prague Circle, Moscow-Tartu semiotics of culture, or the Czech school of Functional Sentence Perspective. If regional multilingualism was an incentive for the growth of many of the ideas, then the peripheral status of the languages became a handicap (not to mention language external obstacles) for the dissemination of that work for wider international readership (cf. Dorodnych, 2006 for some discussion of the situation of the peripheral scholar in the past). Internationalization of many of the ideas became possible only with their mediation in English. The impact of Bakhtin on Western philosophy of language cannot be overestimated, with the number of citations, references and re-contextualizations of his ideas being enormous and still growing.

It is the Bakhtinian legacy (e.g. 1981, 1984 [65]), with its core concepts of *heteroglossia* and *dialogism*, that already supplies a solid frame of reference in international discussions over the role of language in social life. It also eases interdisciplinary connections across humanities and social sciences, readily allowing for dialogic exchanges over socially sensitive aspects of language use, such as dominance, power or social change. For linguists, Bakhtin offers ways to accommodate various sub-disciplinary voices in approaching a language, coming from the realms of semantics, grammar or textology. These are dialogized today in socio-cognitive models of discourse and genre intertextuality. Among them are critical discourse studies (CDS), a new interdisciplinary strand of research in social communication (e.g. Fairclough, 1995, 2003; Wodak and Chilton eds., 2005; van Dijk, 2009). With its programmatic eclecticism, linking methodologies of linguistics and social sciences (e.g. Wodak and Meyer eds., 2001; Wodak and Krzyżanowski eds., 2008), CDS addresses many pressing issues across diverse geopolitical, cultural and linguistic territories.

In my opinion, CDS carries means and tools for revisiting regionalism today as a potential dimension of identity building under the new conditions of globalization and Europeanization on the one hand, and national thinking, on the other. For the CEE countries, the following checklist of topics lends itself to elaboration in critical discursive terms: World War II memories and its legacy; discourses of communism and post-communist transformations; national identification and the enlargement of the European Union (EU); border discourses; new multiculturalism and global English across the professions; generational change; global and national media; standards in public communication (for some discussion see, e.g. Duszak and Okulska eds., 2004, 2011; Duszak et al. eds., 2010, Galasińska and Krzyżanowski eds., 2008; Kowalski, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2010). I realize that it is rather unconventional to self-reference a lot in proposing a research program, but my intention was to signal my own involvement, as well as the engagement of my colleagues, in particular domains of CDS. This also explains why the cited literature privileges discussions of the Polish context. I am also aware that the references given, as well as CDS publications in general, add to the English monoculture in academic publishing. Here, however, I firmly

believe that we cannot mediate our ideas internationally otherwise than with the use of a global instrument. In turn, mediation is necessary should we want to have our voices heard and *dialogized* in a truly *polyphonic* debate, to recall Bakhtin again. It is also to be expected that the development of CDS should create new incentives for the study of communication on linguistic principles, functioning as counter-balance to the heavy weight of translation studies. Last but not least, by their very nature CDS programs not only address socially relevant issues, globally and locally, but they also highlight applied concerns of communication research. Namely, one of the tasks of CDS is to contribute to language (discourse) awareness and thus to enhance critical participation in social life. I also venture that it is in the best interest of CDS to encourage regional lacunas in critical linguistic analyses. As regards the question asked in the title, the regional element *in* (and *for*) language studies is certainly not *lost*, even though it remains covert, if not silenced, under the polarized view on the *local Self* or else on the *global Other*.

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USAGE OF COMPARISON/CONTRAST PATTERN IN UNDERGRADUATE ACADEMIC ESSAYS

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Abstract. The present paper discusses undergraduate essay writing in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Latvia. The goal of the paper is to examine the basic problems in student comparison/contrast essays. The analysis of 23 essays revealed that some students had problems with determining the purpose of communication and selecting an appropriate thesis statement to fulfil the task. Moreover, another problem was linked with the choice of the topic sentences and their supports which develop the controlling idea of the thesis statement, as well as the choice of information for the concluding paragraph. The analysis of the rhetorical patterns and linguistic signals revealed that one essay might display features of several patterns: comparison/contrast, description, problem-solution, cause-effect, illustration. Thus, the research showed that structuring of the comparison/ contrast essay in the target language is one of the problematic aspects in EFL undergraduate writing in Latvia.

Key words: comparison/contrast essay, EFL undergraduate writing, rhetorical pattern, linking signals, coherence

INTRODUCTION

Several studies (e.g., Hirose, 2003; Heuboech, 2009; Bacha, 2010) have focused on the differences in the choice of schematic or rhetorical patterns in academic essays and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students' needs while learning to meet the expectancies of the reader in the target culture. Taylor points out that comparison/contrast essay writing can cause difficulties to students if they are not aware of the purpose of communication (Taylor, 2009: 207).

The previous research on essay writing in Latvia demonstrated that EFL undergraduates have several problems in argumentative type of writing. The basic errors are linked with the selection of the thesis statement (ThS) to meet the demands set by the task, the selection of appropriate topic sentences (TSs) and corresponding supports, as well as the use of an inappropriate rhetorical pattern (Farneste, 2011a; Farneste, 2011b). Thus, the *goal of the present research* is to investigate the basic problems in comparison/contrast essays that have been written by EFL undergraduates in Latvia.

PURPOSE OF COMMUNICATION IN ACADEMIC ESSAY WRITING

In academic setting, the purpose of communication is usually determined by the task, given by the teacher. The essay prompt may include a topic, the rhetorical pattern and its subtype, for example,

> Choose one of the suggested topics [e.g. 'High school and college or university'] and write an essay using comparison/contrast organization. Use either point-by-point or block style. (Oshima and Hogue, 2006: 122)

In such a situation an EFL student needs to be aware of what is understood by the terms *comparison/contrast organization* and *point-by-point* or *block style* in the target culture. This task implies a definite purpose of communication – to compare or contrast the two selected institutions. They need to be able to use the structures or schemata expected in the target culture (Tribble, 1996: 33-34). Thus, knowledge about discourse organization in a particular context and situation may help the learners discuss the theme purposefully.

SUBTYPES OF COMPARISON/CONTRAST PATTERN

Depending on the purpose of communication, academic essays are grouped into narratives, description, exposition and argumentation (Heuboech, 2009:38). Kitsch (cited in Weaver and Kitsch, 1991, discussed in Dickson, et al., 1995: 23) distinguishes three types of relations in expository writing such as *general-to-particular* (e.g., identification, definition, classification, illustration); *object-to-object* (e.g., comparison/contrast) and *object-to-part* (e.g., structural, functional or causal analysis). Taylor has pointed out that mere listing of 'descriptive characteristics' is not an appropriate approach in comparison/contrast type of writing. The writers need to find some particular criteria for the analysis of similarities and/or differences (Taylor, 2009: 208).

The comparison and contrast pattern is often employed in student writing at tertiary level, e.g., essays, term papers, bachelor papers; therefore, this rhetorical structure is commonly included in an academic writing course. The essays which help to master the appropriate rhetorical pattern have a certain purpose of communication: to tell a story (narrative), to describe a place (description), to discuss similarities (comparison), to discuss differences (contrast), etc. Moreover, each rhetorical pattern may have several varieties.

Although the terms used to name the varieties or sub-patterns of the comparison/contrast pattern differ, still the varieties have several features in common. Sorenson (1992), for example, distinguishes three sub-patterns of comparison and/or contrast essays: *part-by-part, whole-by-whole* and *likenesses-differences*. White and Govern (1994:22-24) discuss only two sub-patterns:

horizontal and *vertical*. The latter classification coincides with Oshima and Hogue's theory (2006) of two types of organization: *point-by-point* and *block*.

Thus, ideas can be discussed in a *horizontal manner* and a *vertical manner* (White and McGovern, 1994). As shown in Table 1, the first *point-by-point or part-by-part pattern* comprises three points of comparison or contrast to discuss the two selected subjects (A and B). Each point becomes the controlling idea (CI) of a TS in a paragraph.

The second *point-by-point* or *similarities-differences pattern* has a similar sequence of points, but it deals with both similarities and differences. Although a common sequence is to start with similarities and then deal with differences, still the choice may be determined by the purpose of communication. The number of paragraphs devoted to similarities and differences in such type of writing also depends on the purpose of communication or the focus of the essay. Smalley and Ruetten (1990: 239) consider that 'less obvious' similarities or differences may be focused on after the familiar have been outlined.

Similarly, the *block pattern* may have two varieties. In the *whole-by-whole pattern*, the writer deals with one subject (A) and then with the other subject (B). In the *block* or *similarities-differences pattern* the writer discusses similarities of two subjects, which is followed by the discussion of differences.

Table 1 **Varieties of sequencing information in comparison and/or contrast essays (based on Sorenson, 1992; White and McGovern, 1994; Oshima and Hogue, 2006)**

Parts of an essay	Horizontal pattern		Vertical pattern	
	Point-by-point or part-by-part organization	Point-by-point or similarities-differences organization	Block or whole-by-whole organization	Block or similarities-differences organization
Introduction	ThS: similarities or differences	ThS: similarities and differences	ThS: similarities or differences	ThS: similarities and differences
1st body para.	TS: point 1 A1-B1	TS: similarities A1-B1	TS: subject 1 A1 A2 A3	TS: similarities A 1 A 2 A 3
2nd body para.	TS: point 2 A2-B2	TS: differences A2-B2	TS: subject 2 B1 B2 B3	TS: differences B1 B 2 B 3
3rd body para.	TS: point 3 A3-B3	TS: differences A3-B3		TS: differences A 1 A 2 A 3
Conclusion	Summary and/or restatement of the ThS			

Thus, the choice of an appropriate sub-pattern depends on the purpose of communication and the focus made by the writer.

LINGUISTIC SIGNALS AS MEANS OF ACHIEVING COHERENCE

Coherence is commonly mentioned alongside with *cohesion* in writing (Tribble (1996: 30). If cohesion involves correct use of 'logical markers' (e.g., pronouns, reference words, lexical repetitions), coherence is related to logical sequencing of sentences to achieve a certain purpose of communication. Logical markers serve as signals of discourse relations (ibid.: 34). Vivanco holds the view that usually it is logical argumentation that ensures coherence, but not necessarily the use of connectives (Vivanco, 2005: 1235). However, in academic writing, connectives are important and, therefore, they are more frequently used than in some other texts, for example, technical publicity texts (ibid.: 1247).

There is no unanimous approach in the choice of terminology when discussing the linguistic signals that ensure a coherent text. When describing clause and sentence relations in a text, Winter (1974 discussed in Hoey, 2001) identifies: *sequence relations* and *matching relations*. The first type refers to time, cause-consequence, means-purpose and premise-deduction relations, while matching relations refer to contrast, similarity, exemplification, preview-detail and exception. *Matching relations signals* are subordinators (e.g., while, whereas, although), sentence conjunctions (e.g., however, moreover, nevertheless, furthermore, too, also), repetition and parallelism.

Tribble (1996: 30-34) uses the term *linking devices* and groups them into *referencing expressions* (e.g., this general rule, such over-ambition) and *discourse markers* (e.g., however, on the other hand), whereas Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (2000) use the term *discourse markers*. They distinguish between spoken or conversational and written discourse markers by pointing out that *formal discourse markers* (e.g., furthermore, on the other hand, moreover, nonetheless) are 'more common in written English' (Carter, Hughes and McCarthy, 2000: 178). However, spoken discourse markers can also appear in some written genres, such as personal letters and some cases of popular journalism (ibid.: 232). Fraser (2011) has a similar approach to *discourse markers.* His discussion about the sequencing of *contrastive discourse markers* is exemplified by a sentence that may comprise even several discourse markers of the same type, reverse order including (e.g. … *However, in comparison with* Joan, …/… *In comparison, however, with* Joan, ...).

Sorenson (1992: 21), in her turn, uses the term *transitions* and defines them as words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs, functioning as clues for the reader in understanding 'relationships like time, space, addition, emphasis, example, comparison-contrast, and cause-effect.' In a longer text, *transitional sentences* are used to 'connect major ideas between paragraphs', but *transitional paragraphs* to 'summarise the subtopics before moving to the next major point'.

Similarly, Smalley and Ruetten use the term *transitional expression* or *transition,* the function of which is to 'help move smoothly from one idea to the next'. They distinguish three types (by syntactic functions like transitions in phrases, coordinating conjunctions and transitional expressions between sentences) and several subtypes within them (by functions like comparison, contrast and addition), (Smalley and Ruetten, 1990: 246-248). They also mention that the repetition of *key words and phrases* in the next paragraphs ensure transitions in a text (ibid.: 206).

Oshima and Hogue (2006: 116-117), in their turn, use the term *signal words*. When discussing coherence in writing, they mention that *transition phrases*, conjunctive adverbs, coordinating, correlative and subordinating conjunctions as well as nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions may be used as *transition signals* (Oshima and Hogue, 2006: 25-29). In this case, *transition words and phrases* are used only as one of the types of comparison signal words: (1) transition words and phrases (e.g., similarly, likewise); subordinators (e.g., as, just as); (3) coordinators (e.g., and, both … and), and (4) others (e.g., like + noun, similar to + noun). The same refers to the contrast signal words, which are grouped into words of concession (or unexpected result) and words expressing direct opposition (Oshima and Hogue, 2006: 119-120).

Similar to Tribble (1996), Carter, Hughes and McCarthy (2000) and Fraser (2011), Kobayashi and Rinnert (2008) also use the term *discourse markers*. They define them as signals of 'the internal structures of the essays', the purpose of which is to 'provide logical connection among the parts' (Kobayashi and Rinnert, 2008: 13). Viewing the term broader, Kobayashi and Rinnert (2008: 13) distinguish three types of discourse markers in essays:

> (1) overall meta-discourse markers (essay level) such as "There are three main reasons" and "In conclusion"; (2) partial meta-discourse markers (connecting paragraphs or multi-sentential chunks of discourse within paragraphs) such as "First" and "There are several advantages"; and (3) inter-sentential markers (connecting only two sentences) such as "But," "However," and "Thus."

Moreover, Kobayashi and Rinnert (2008: 13) point out that a whole clause may also be an overall and partial meta-discourse marker. For example, when analysing a student essay (on p. 25), they mark the ThS ('Which one is more beneficial travelling alone or group travel?') as an overall meta-discourse marker.

Thus, the terminology of linguistic means for achieving text coherence may differ because of the research goals undertaken in the studies. Since the focus of this paper is not on the classification of the means used to achieve text coherence by word-class categories or syntactic functions, but on their use and functions in comparison/contrast patterns in a particular type of students' essays, the umbrella term *linguistic signals* will be employed further.

METHOD

In order to detect the basic problems in EFL student writing, 23 comparison/contrast essays (E) were chosen for the study. The essays had been written by the first-year undergraduates at one of the universities of Latvia. Before writing essays, the students had studied paragraph writing, and they had written comparison/contrast paragraphs.

After the analysis of a sample, focusing on comparison/contrast essay structure, possible varieties in patterns and corresponding linguistic signals, the students were given the task to compare or contrast two subjects of their own choice. The volume of the papers was 300-350 words. The essays under analysis were written at home and peer reviewed in the next class. After the submission of the final copies, the essays were collected and coded.

The analysis was done in three stages:

1. the analysis of the choice of the communicative purpose and the title;
2. the analysis of the macro-structure:
   a. coherence at essay level (analysis of the thesis statement),
   b. coherence at paragraph level (analysis of the topic sentences);
3. the analysis of the rhetorical patterns and linguistic signals.

Frequency counts and qualitative analysis were employed in this research. Samples from the student essays are cited in the paper without any changes, except for italics, introduced for highlighting the linguistic signals.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The title commonly includes the key idea of a text. In 21 out of 23 essays, it was easy to state that the essays discuss differences or similarities, as it had been set by the task, for example, *Two Types of Advertisements* (E 2), *Travelling and Tourism* (E 4), *Aerodium v. Latvia Bungeejumpers' Club* (E 6), *Comparison of Supermarkets* (E 14). However, in two cases, the titles were general: *Stiff Competition* (E3) or *Cosmetic Shops in Latvia* (E 13). Moreover, they could have been more appropriate for a definition or description rather than the comparison/contrast essay.

The analysis of each of the paragraphs revealed that only the writer of E3 had not fulfilled the task at all. As seen in the sample below, the ThS in the introductory paragraph proposes the discussion of a competition between many companies (e.g., 'business is stiff', 'very rival', 'there are many companies'),

> (1) Telecommunications is one of the most lucrative businesses in Europe. Our modern Latvian society is not able to live even a day without using a mobile phone. Everywhere around there can be seen people talking on telephones, writing text messages, using the Internet, or just listening to the music. However, this *business is stiff* and *very rival*, because *there are many companies*, who want to earn the money on our conversations, messages and other phone activities. (E 3)

Only in the second paragraph, which should already have been the body paragraph in a short essay, the writer introduces two companies for contrast (e.g., 'competing', 'two most popular companies', 'fighting'), but the concluding sentence of the same paragraph proposes another purpose of communication, that is, the search for reasons for the situation (e.g., Why is it so?):

> (2) In Latvia there are many telecommunication firms, which are *competing* with each other all the time. Still, there are only *two the most popular companies* among Latvians – *Tele2* and *LMT*. From the very first beginning these *competitors* have been *"fighting"* with each other in everything: low prices, practicability, comfort and services. However, the statistics show that there are much more *Tele2* users than *LMT*. There is a question: *Why is it so?* (E 3)

In the following two paragraphs, the writer returns to the enumeration of three differences (e.g., (1) less expensive; the design, the advertisements; (2) many big and memorable events; (3) tariffs or advantages of using services) rather than discusses the main reasons for the success of *Tele 2* suggested at the end of the second paragraph. Moreover, the last three sentences of the last paragraph below show that the writer has changed the theme from *success of Tele 2* to *LMT* (e.g., … LMT still has much bigger turnover. What is the secret of such success?).

> (3) Basically, sociologists say that, firstly, for many people it is habitual to think that *Tele2* is *less expensive*. *The design, the advertisements* say itself that this company is friendly.
>
> (4) Secondly, *Tele2* is involved in *many big and memorable events*, while *LMT* is not. For every company the advertising is one of the most important things, because it stays in the mind of the current clients and it influences also the future clients.
>
> (5) Thirdly, when looking at the *tariffs or advantages of using services* of both companies, it is clearly seen that *Tele2* offers also free calls and free messages to all Tele2 users, which is a very friendly clap. Although LMT tries to be at the same level with Tele2, it is not quite possible. LMT is concentrating on the high quality, design and rich clients. In fact, it is their biggest mistake. Even though Tele2 has more clients in Latvia, LMT still has much bigger turnover. What is the secret of such success? Unfortunately sociologists can not answer this question now. (E 3)

Although the writer has tried to find some differences between the companies, the concluding paragraph (Para. 6) does not summarise the main contrasting points, but focuses on similarities or common features (e.g., have developed plenty of strategies), which differs from contrast in terms of communicative purpose.

> (6) In conclusion, I would like to state that these two companies are in the market for a very long time. There are no other such strong companies, who could compete with these two. There are no doubts that *LMT* and *Tele2 have developed plenty of strategies* which help them to *manage their businesses successfully*. (E3)

All the 23 essays contained an introduction, body and concluding paragraphs. As to the discussion of similarities or differences, the majority of students dealt with differences (16 cases), similarities (1 case), differences and similarities (1 case). For example, the analysis of the CIs in the ThS and TSs showed that the purpose of communication to discuss differences or similarities of the two subjects was expanded in E 5, as it dealt with both differences and similarities:

> Cf. ThS: The *differences and similarities* of these two operators can make a choice extremely complicated.
>
> TS 1: The *most notable difference* between these two kinds of telecommunication is their signal quality.
>
> TS 2: Yet *another difference* between these two operators is the tariffs.
>
> TS 3: The *most substantial similarity* between these operators is a price. (E 5)

In three cases the students had introduced one type of CI (e.g., reasons (2 cases), advantages and disadvantages (1 case)), but in the body of the essay differences were discussed.

One of the basic problems was the choice of an appropriate ThS. Below is a sample of a ThS, proposing an analysis of reasons (e.g., to find out reasons) on the basis of comparison and contrast:

> ThS: The purpose of this essay is *to find out the reasons* why "Narvesen" is the marked leader not "Pluss punkts", *by comparing and contrasting* different characteristics of the both companies. (E 11)

Another sample shows that the writer proposes an illustration of consequences or reasons, but not comparison/contrast:

> ThS: The choice between two shops can *influence person's life significantly*. (E 1)
>
> ThS: Nowadays everyone can choose which supermarket to choose and *this choice depends on* different aspects. (E 14)

In another essay (E19), the ThS would be more appropriate for an illustration rather than for comparison/contrast:

> ThS: There is a *huge gap* between one's potential in university and in school. (E 19)

In one paper, although the writer has promised to discuss similarities in the ThS (e.g., E 6), the TSs do not develop the CI, instead, descriptive paragraphs are used:

> Cf. ThS: They are very different, but they *both deal with extreme sports and are owned by one owner.*
>
> TS 1: Latvian Bungeejumpers' Club was founded in 1994 but the first jumps were performed already in 1989. Latvian Bungeejumpers' Club was founded in 1994 but the first jumps were performed already in 1989. Bungee jumping is an activity that involves jumping from a tall structure. The tall structure in Sigulda is an air train; but it is also possible to jump from a movable object, such as a hot-air-balloon or helicopter, that has the ability to hover above the ground. When the person jumps, the cord stretches and the jumper flies upwards again as the cord snaps back, and continues to oscillate up and down until all the energy is dissipated. This can be a great fun, so it is advisable to try it by every one.
>
> TS 2: Aerodium – It's all started back in 1979. (followed by the description of aerodium), (E 6)

Only in the conclusion, the writer returns to the idea about the similarities of both activity types:

> To sum up, these two companies are united by the fact that *both belong to the extreme sports and the owner is Ivars Beitāns.* …. (E 6)

The undergraduates provide analysis not only in the body of the essay, but also in the last paragraph. As seen in the conclusion below, instead of summarising the main points, the writer continues the discussion of differences, adds less related ideas about the crisis, unemployed citizens and better management, thus ending with some elements from problem solution type of writing:

> Considering everything said it is not a mystery why "Narvesen" has been the market leader for such a long time. The company *"Narvesen" offers higher quality and it invests more in advertising then "Pluss punkts"*. On the other hand Latvia is *facing economical crisis* and there are *many unemployed citizens*. Lower prices do not seem so bad; maybe "Pluss punkts" just *needs some better managing.* (E 11)

Not only inappropriate choice of the CI and corresponding supports, but also repetition of the same ideas can be found in student writing. In two essays (E 4; E 17), the writers had discussed the same ideas twice by rewording them, as in the sample below (e.g., *discovery* in the first paragraph, and *to observe and explore something* in the second):

> Travelling is focused on exploring and participating actively in the process of *discovery*, in contrast, tourism is focused on already explored, easily accessible and polished places of interest. Compared with travelling, tourism is much easier way of getting around and doing leisure activities. Tourism is suited for people of any age and

> occupation. The places of interest are everywhere around the globe and they can be accessed with no trouble of getting the information needed in tourism information points and in the internet.
>
> However, travelling is a little more challenging and time consuming leisure activity. Travelling is usually practiced in order to *observe and explore something*, like untouched nature monuments, or collecting information about certain processes or places in the world. (E 4)

All in all, most students had chosen the point-by-point pattern (15 cases), some – block pattern (6 cases) and only two (E 3 and E 6) – mixed pattern, i.e., they used elements from different rhetorical patterns. The essays with an inappropriately verbalized thesis statement, but providing an analysis of differences or similarities, were grouped into those using the point-by-point or block pattern.

As discussed above, each essay type has its specific linguistic signals which act as clues for the reader. The most frequently used linguistic signals that indicated the rhetorical pattern in the student essays are displayed in Table 2. Words of the same root belonging to different word-class categories (e.g., similar, similarly; considering, considered) are regarded as separate occurrences. The items have been listed in decreasing occurrence order.

Table 2 **Frequency of the usage of linguistic signals in comparison/contrast essays (number of occurrences and items)**

Signal types	Most frequently used signals	Total (No. of occurrences)	Variety of signals (No. of items)
Contrast/ concession signals	but (47); different (35); however (20); differences (19); difference (18); while (14); differ (12); although (10); on the other hand (8); in contrast (7); despite, differ in, different from (5); still (4); though, unlike (3); whereas, on the contrary, differ from (2); instead, yet, nevertheless (1)	224	22
Comparison signals	both (25); the same (14); compared (with/to) (10); like (9); similar (to) (7); similarities (6); as … as (5); similarity, not only … but also (4); just as, compare (3); likewise (2); similarly (1)	89	16
Additive signals	and (289); in addition (9); furthermore (3); as well (as) (1)	303	5
Summative signals	all in all, considering… (3); to conclude, in conclusion, to sum up (2); looking back, consequently, thus (1)	15	8
Sequencing signals	second (5); first of all, first (3); firstly, secondly (2)	15	5

The table demonstrates that additive signals (303 cases) and contrast/concession signals (225 cases) dominated in the essays. The proportion of comparison/contrast signals to all the other signals is 313 to 333, which is possible in any type of writing. Summative signals were mainly used in the last paragraph to show that the conclusion is provided.

The students employed a variety of comparison (22 cases) and contrast (16 cases) signal words in their papers; however, additive and sequencing signals (5 of each case) had a smaller variation. This could be explained by the fact that the students had been given the list of comparison/contrast signals in class.

It should be noted that the additive *and* outnumbered all the other linguistic signals. Even though the use of *and* is common in any kind of writing irrespective of the purpose of communication, its abundant usage demonstrates that students rely heavily on linking patterns of spoken language, where logical links are often not specified. Moreover, some essays contained also informal signals (e.g., looking back, considering everything said), which have been borrowed from spoken language.

In some cases, the writers used sequences of two signals: one expressing addition and another – concession, thus trying to provide a more specific link between two sentences:

> *And although* these advertisement types may seem similar, there are some evident differences between them. (E 2)

The analysis of linguistic signals demonstrated that the writers had chosen both sequencing and matching relations signals in the point-by-point pattern of comparison/contrast essays, while matching relations signals, in the block pattern.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study reveals that tertiary level students have problems in verbalizing the ThS to correspond to the task and, consequently, the purpose of communication. Another problem is selecting appropriate CIs in the TSs and appropriate supports to develop the paragraphs. Sometimes students do not start paragraphs with a TS to help the readers identify the main idea of the text.

When writing comparison/contrast essays, the students mix elements from different rhetorical patterns, such as cause-effect, description, illustration or problem-solution, thus misleading the reader. As comparison/contrast essays require an analysis of similarities and/or differences, the students sometimes choose a description, which is cognitively less demanding. The students use not only comparison and contrast signals, but also sequencing, additive and summative signals in their writing. Sometimes the students choose signals that are borrowed from spoken language and are not typical of academic writing.

Although certain conclusions could be drawn, the findings should be treated cautiously because of the small number of essays. Thus, in order to generalize the findings, further research should follow with a larger number of essays.

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SUBORDINATE CLAUSES AS CRITICAL FEATURES IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH LEARNER EXAMINATION CORPORA

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Abstract. The aim of the study is to examine the syntactic pattern of the frequency of use of simple, complex and compound sentences focusing on different subordinate clauses as critical features in the written learner text corpora at different English and French language acquisition levels in the texts produced by secondary school test-takers in Latvia. The theoretical basis of the research is Pienemann's Processability theory. For the purpose of quantitative and contrastive analysis of syntactic structures written learner text corpora in English and French have been compiled, in which different clauses have been marked by manual annotation and afterwards classified according to different syntactic patterns. Subordinate clauses have been grouped applying Dik's taxonomy of embedded constructions. The preliminary research has discovered some similarities and differences between the syntactic pattern usage at the same language acquisition levels.

Key words: learner examination corpora, secondary level, syntactic patterns, subordinate clauses

INTRODUCTION

The necessity of the study is grounded in the popularity of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (the CEFR) (Online 1), which postulates that all languages are learned in a similar manner, moving from simple short texts to more complex and longer texts and from simple language structures to complex ones. This idea is eagerly adopted by educational administrators across Europe, who demand that language testers produce comparable measurement systems that would function across languages and across age groups. To answer such a demand, it is not enough to use statistical measurements that would show the difficulty levels of the items of each test. What test developers need is reliable indicators that would signal language acquisition levels across languages.

In language testing linguistic corpora enable language testers to better understand the test-takers' language proficiency level. Moreover, they provide evidence of productive language skill level and enhance structural analysis. The best known English language learner corpus is International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) (Hasselgård, Johanssen, 2011: 37) that contains three million words of essays written by advanced learners of English; the Longman Learners'

Corpus containing ten million words of texts written by students of different proficiency levels and the Cambridge Learner Corpus comprising twenty million words of texts from learners all over the world.

It is considered that the larger the corpora, the more valuable they are. However, for syntactic structure exploration in a learner corpus the size is not as important as for lexical studies, because the number of syntactic variations is rather restricted. Leech (1992) states that 'computer corpora [...] are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and are often assembled to be *representative* of some language or text type' (Leech, 1992: 116). It means that a corpus has to be maximally representative of the variables under examination, e.g. different syntactic patterns that are typical of each language acquisition level and could be used as critical features for attributing a certain level to the candidates. According to Sinclair, 'if within the dimensions of a small corpus, using corpus techniques, you can get results that you wish to get, then your methodology is above reproach' (2004: 189). Thus, in order to obtain the most relevant data, the following objectives of the present research were drawn:

a) to compile test-taker written essay corpora in English and French to ensure the representativeness of the learner used syntactic structures across different language acquisition levels;
b) to carry out the empirical investigation of syntactic structures;
c) to provide evidence that syntactic structures can be used as the discriminatory indicators of different language acquisition levels;
d) to compare the syntactic pattern use in English and French at the same language acquisition levels.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The CEFR identifies the linguistic structures that foreign language learners should know at a certain level of language proficiency. For example, at level B1 learners should be able: to understand and produce simple sentences, given that the noun and verb phrases are not overloaded; to understand and produce compound sentences. They are expected to produce complex sentences and be able to understand an embedded clause. At level B2 learners should be able to understand and produce simple, compound and complex sentences.

In Latvia students graduating from a secondary school are to take an examination in one foreign language of their own choice. The candidate performance is to be assessed according to *the same* criteria irrespective of the language. Moreover, language testers have to specify *criterial features* which are defined as 'linguistic properties that are distinctive and characteristic of each of the levels' (English Profile, 2011: 2) validated by empirical research that distinguishes and characterises each of the language acquisition levels, from A to F. In Latvia A is the highest and F – the lowest level of language proficiency. The previous test relation research (Kalnberzina, 2007) suggested that Latvian Year

12 examination level A could be related to the CEFR level C1, Latvian Year 12 levels B and C could be related to the CEFR level B2, levels D and E to levels B1 and A2.

As a theoretical basis for the research, we have chosen Pienemann's approach in analysing linguistic constructions, which is directly linked to the stages in the language acquisition process. He postulates that structural options that may be formally possible will be produced by the language learner only if the necessary processing resources are available (Pienemann, 1999: 2). It means that at a certain stage of development the learner can produce and understand only those linguistic forms which are accessible within human psychology and memory. Pienemann, by applying *processability theory*, shows the order how the main grammatical encoding procedures are activated in syntactic structures in the acquisition of English as a second language. Pienemann suggests that first we acquire a word, then the processes associated with the given word category, then we build phrases based on the categories, develop sentences and add sentence level morphology, e.g. the subject-verb agreement, and at the fifth stage we can build subordinate clauses and use appropriate relationships between the matrix and *subordinate clauses*. Jackson (2007: 54) defines a subordinate clause as 'a clause that does not normally occur on its own, but either in combination with a main clause to form a complex sentence or a part of another clause as an 'embedded' element. [...] Embedded subordinate clauses may function as subject, object or complement in another clause, or as a relative clause.'

It should be stated that Pienemann's hierarchy is implicationally ordered, i.e., every procedure is a necessary prerequisite for the next procedure and it reflects the time-course in language generation, which could be relied on when analysing syntactic patterns at different language acquisition levels. Therefore, it was decided to focus on syntax as it facilitates the understanding of how the process of communication and interaction among humans develops, how sentences are constructed because sentence structure expresses the most important grammatical relationships in all human languages.

METHODS

The present research is a corpus-based quantitative and contrastive analysis of subordinate clauses in English and French learner examination corpora. McEnery et al. consider corpus-based studies 'as a methodology with a wide range of applications across many areas and theories of linguistics' (2006: 9). Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) state the main reasons why corpus-based studies have become more common nowadays:

- they are empirical, analysing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
- they utilize a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a 'corpus', as the basis for analysis;

- they make extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
- they depend on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques (Biber et al., 1998: 4).

The quantitative analysis supplies information on *frequency* of different subordinate clauses (noun, adjectival and adverbial). Frequency 'in the text is the instantiation of probability in the system. A linguistic system is inherently probabilistic in nature. [...] to interpret language in probabilistic terms, the grammar [...] has to be able to represent language as *choice,* since probability is the probability of 'choosing'' (Halliday, 2005: 45). Moreover, having the frequency information from a corpus, we can 'establish the probability profile of any grammatical system' (ibid.: 67). The frequency is subdivided into three groups:

1) 'Raw frequency' is simply a count of how many instances of some linguistic phenomenon X occur in some corpus, text or collection of texts;
2) 'Normalized frequency' (sometimes called 'relative frequency') expresses frequency relative to a standard yardstick (e.g. 'tokens per million words');
3) 'Ordinal frequency', the frequency of X is compared with the frequencies of Y, of Z, etc. (Leech, 2011: 7-8).

When speaking about the learner corpora, *ordinal frequency* is the most important measure to be used. This is why Year 12 exam of the English and French language written examination corpora, consisting of essays, have been developed and annotated to produce empirically measurable results that are not predictable only from language learning theories. Moreover, the contrastive analysis of the obtained data has been used as it is of utmost importance to prove the assumption that *all* languages are learned in a similar manner, moving from simple short texts to more complex and longer texts, as stated by the CEFR.

PROCEDURE

The compiled English learner examination corpus consists of 44387 words; while the French learner examination corpus contains 28378 words (see Appendices 1, 2). When developing the corpus, written texts were chosen from the year 2009 centralised examination of secondary school graduates to represent all language acquisition levels, both in English and French. However, it has to be stated that texts of levels E and F in French could not be obtained as the number of test-takers per year is approximately 120 (in 2011 it was even less – 77 students) and the examination results range mainly from levels A to D. It should be specified that as the aim of the contrastive analysis is to examine syntactic patterns across different languages, we do not focus on discourse analysis in this study.

In English the test-takers had to write an essay about *'Reasons for Leaving Latvia'*:

> One of the main reasons why people left Latvia during the last few years is that they say they are better paid in other countries. Add two other reasons and discuss all of them in an argumentative essay, giving your own opinion.

The following was the theme of the essay in French:

> Pensez vous qu'il soit encore utile d'apprendre des langues étrangères alors que l'anglais est actuellement la langue de communication mondiale (échanges commerciaux, économiques, politiques...)? Présentez votre réflection de façon argumentée. (Do you think that it is still useful to learn foreign languages as nowadays English is the language of communication (in business, economics, politics…) in the world? Give your point of view by providing arguments.)

In the corpora different sentences (simple, compound and complex) were marked by manual annotation. Afterwards the complex sentences were in the focus and they were classified by using Dik's (1997) taxonomy of embedded constructions. The taxonomy could be attributed across languages, which is of major importance as there exist different ways of producing various embedded constructions. Dik distinguishes between finite and non-finite embedded constructions. All main clauses contain a finite verb, but it is not the case with all embedded clauses. They might have a non-finite verb, hence the division of the embedded constructions into finite and non-finite. According to Dik (1997: 144), finite embedded constructions are 'those […] in which the predicate can be specified for the distinctions which are also characteristic of main clause predicates.' This is very obvious in cases when a subordinate clause may appear also as an independent main clause. Another important aspect that subordinate clauses are marked by subordinating devices was taken into consideration, too. Thus, the subordinate clauses were divided into noun, adjectival and adverbial clauses. It should be noted that the first subordination that follows directly the matrix clause was chosen as the clause discriminating element.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The research results show that simple sentences have been used extensively as they appear at all levels of language proficiency both in English and French (in English their number ranges from 19 at level B to 5 at levels D and E while in French – from 10 at level B to 3 at level C). The same cannot be said about the compound sentences as the test-takers of English and French have used a limited number of compound sentences in their written production. In English the number of compound sentences at level A is only 2, at level B it reaches 15 sentences and then at levels C and D the number falls again to 2 at level D. At

levels E and F no compound sentences have been produced. In French the numbers range from 2 sentences at level A to 4 sentences at level B and then fall down to only 1 sentence at level D. When examing the complex sentences, we see that their number increases at the higher levels of language proficiency in English. Figure 1 shows that the number of complex sentences reaches 26 at level A, which is almost three times more than at level B. At level C it rises to 13, but at lower levels D-F their number is only 4 to 5. In French the number of complex sentences at level A reaches 5 sentences, which is lower than at level B where their number is 10 (Figure 2). If compared with English, their number is lower at the highest level of language proficiency (level A), but higher at level D. Thus, the sentence distribution is not the same in both languages.

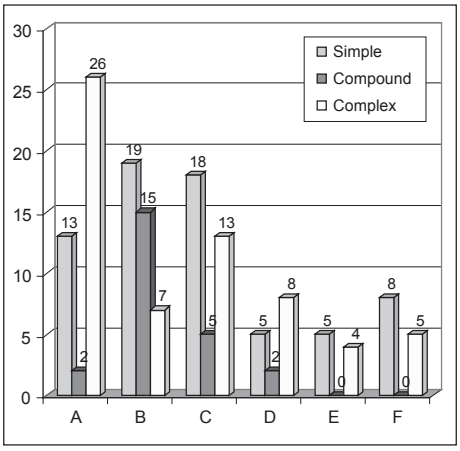

Figure 1 **Distribution of sentences in the English texts**

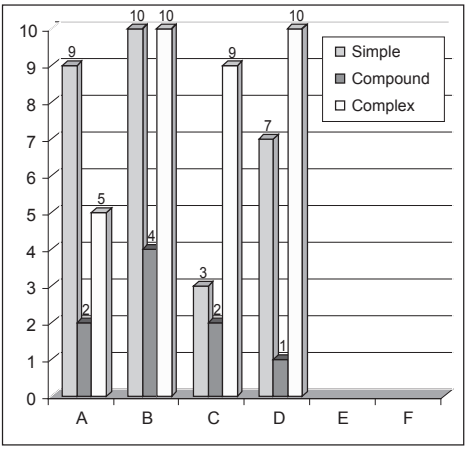

Figure 2 **Distribution of sentences in the French texts**

The complex sentences were chosen for further analysis and they were classified into three groups (noun, adjectival and adverbial clause) according to the first subordination which follows directly the main clause. Figure 3 shows that in English the number of noun clauses is surprisingly high only at level A reaching the number 11, while all the other levels comprise one, two or three cases. In French (Figure 4) the highest number of noun clauses appears at level D, which is 4, while at the higher levels A and B the number varies from 1 to 2 clauses. As for adjectival clauses, the test-takers of English have used them more at level A (6 times) while in French their number is rather limited at all difficulty levels (1 or 2). Adverbial clauses have been used most frequently both in English and French, and they predominate at all levels. In English they range from 9 at levels A and C to 4 at level D, 3 at levels B, F and 2 at level E. In French adverbial clauses reach the number 7 at level B and then fall to 5 at level C, 4 at level D and 3 at level A. According to the obtained data the adjectival clauses appear to be the most discriminating as their number compared with the other clauses is rather limited.

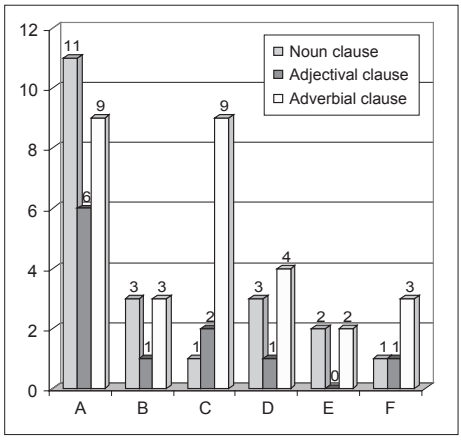

Figure 3 **Frequency of subordinate clauses in the English texts**

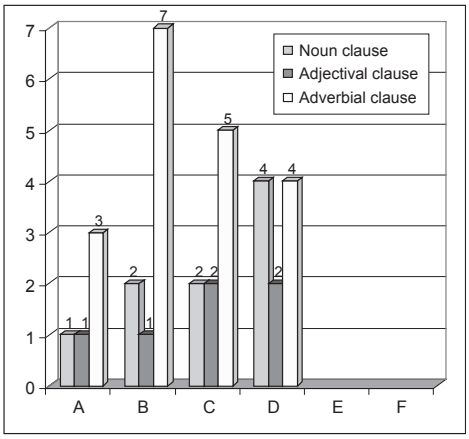

Figure 4 **Frequency of subordinate clauses in the French texts**

The results of contrastive analysis prove the assumption based on Pienemann's Processability theory that syntax is one of the parameters signalling a certain level of language acquisition, and that subordinate clauses serve as a criterial feature for attributing higher levels at the language examination. However, the obtained data of subordinate clauses differ in English and French which might signal problems in the development and interpretation of the writing assessment criteria and standardisation of markers. Therefore, further research of the frequency of noun, adjectival and adverbial clauses at different language acquisition levels both in English and French is of utmost importance.

CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary comparison of the clause profiles in the English and French written texts across the levels suggests the following:

1. at levels D and E the learners rely more on adverbial and noun clauses both in English and French;
2. at levels B and C the learners in both languages use more adverbial clauses;
3. at level A the learners of English use rather many adjectival clauses, but still noun and adverbial clauses predominate, while the learners of French use few noun and adjectival clauses at level A.

The present research has examined the role of learner corpora in test equation across the languages and has discovered some similarities and differences between the syntactic patterns used at the same language acquisition levels. Further research is necessary to examine the reasons why the number of adjectival and adverbial clauses differs – whether the variability is caused by the small size of the corpora and the lack of representativeness of the sample, the differences in the

test tasks, the learner proficiency levels, or whether it is caused by the differences in syntactic patterns in the English and French languages.

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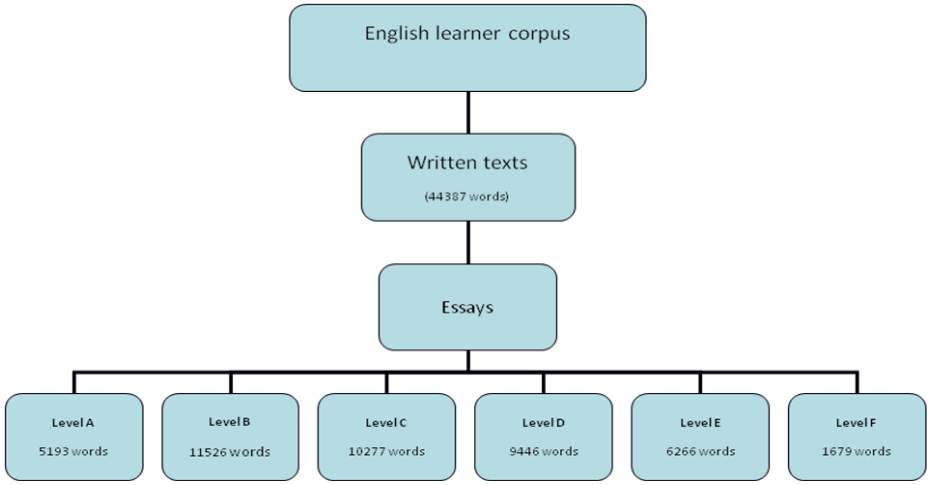
INTERNET SOURCES

1) Available from *http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf* [Accessed September 5, 2011].

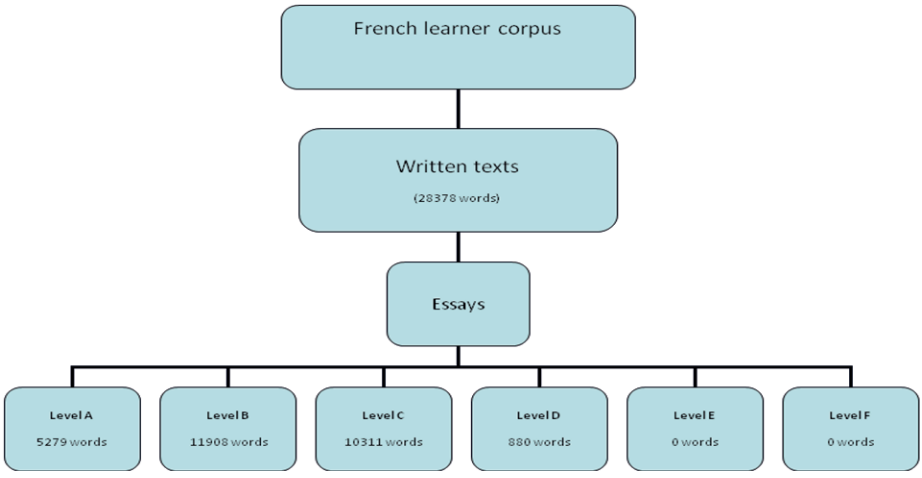
APPENDIX 1

Year 12 English learner written corpus consisting of 44387 words.



APPENDIX 2

Year 12 French learner written corpus consisting of 28378 words.



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POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION: THE SPEECH ACT OF REQUEST

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Abstract. Linguistic politeness plays an important role when establishing respectful interpersonal relationships in any communicative situation, the academic context including. The speech act of request can become a face-threatening act if language users are unable to adapt their language use to the social variables determined by the context of use. The present study aimed at establishing an understanding of the negative politeness strategies and request strategies used by tertiary level students in electronic communication in English. Schauer's (2009) request strategies and Levinson's (1987) seminal work on politeness strategies laid the foundations for the present paper. The framework by Biber and Conrad (2009) for analysing situational characteristics proved a valuable resource for the case study, which drew its data from a corpus of email messages written in the time period from August 9, 2010 to June 25, 2011. The obtained data demonstrated that the Latvian students tended to use direct and conventionally indirect request strategies at the same time employing such negative politeness strategies as being conventionally indirect, hedging, minimizing the imposition, and apologizing. The hedged performatives used in the direct requests mitigated the illocutionary force of the utterance. However, the impositive face-threatening nature of the speech act of requesting determines the necessity of raising English as a foreign language students' awareness of conventionally indirect request strategies and mitigating devices in a variety of contextual situations in order to guarantee the need of individuals to be respected and appropriately understood.

Key words: politeness strategies, speech acts, strategies of the speech act of request, electronic communication in English

INTRODUCTION

It is essential for the students majoring in English to possess the skills of linguistically polite communication in the academic context.

Recently, it has been observed that not all Latvian language users tend to exhibit social distancing in communication with the interlocutors of different age, position, and status in the Latvian language. Moreover, they seem to transfer their native language strategies onto the target language, which leads to sociopragmatic failure in professor-student interaction. This can be caused by the first-year students' inability to adjust their English as a foreign language (EFL) skills to a

novel situation which requires the use of more linguistically advanced politeness strategies in English.

The speech act of request has been widely studied (e.g. Clark and Schunk, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1985; Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989; Schauer, 2009); however, no research has been conducted on the request and politeness strategies used by EFL tertiary level learners in Latvia.

Therefore, the goal of this paper is to establish an understanding of the request and politeness strategies used by EFL tertiary level first-year students in e-mail communication in the academic context. In order to reach the goal, the following research question was addressed:

How do students realize the intended meaning, i.e., perform the speech act of request in order to maintain linguistically polite communication in the student-professor email communication?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Every language has developed its own means of polite verbal behaviour, and language users are expected to employ the language appropriate to the context and social roles following the principles of linguistic politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The participants of the interaction should coordinate their utterances in order to communicate their meanings successfully, which may be achieved if the context of a communicative situation is taken into account. Considering the importance of context in communication, linguistic politeness can be defined as 'the use of situationally appropriate language' (Thomas, 1995, in Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2011:25).

In successful polite interaction, interlocutors' mutual *face* wants are respected. *Face* is contextually situated as it depends on the social roles in the interaction, which in its turn affects the interlocutors' linguistic behaviour (ibid.), and *politeness* is 'the means employed to show awareness of another person's face' (Yule, 1996: 60). The desire for the approval and to be understood by others is referred to as *positive face* (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 62). The desire for something not to happen, not to be imposed on, and not to lose *face* is referred to as *negative face*. The language strategies that are applied in the above-mentioned cases are called *positive* and *negative politeness strategies* (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 102, 131). Negative politeness strategies such as being conventionally indirect, questioning, hedging, minimizing the imposition, and apologizing (ibid.) are of direct importance for this research since they are oriented towards people's negative face, i.e. their desire to maintain their territory and self-determination and the feeling of not being imposed on. Taking Brown and Levinson's theory as a basis, we can claim that in email communication, for example, the speech acts of orders, requests, and advice may threaten one's negative face, whereas criticism, complaints, and refusals may threaten one's positive face.

In academic context, a typical interaction takes place between the student and the professor. The use of politeness strategies in written academic communication by email is affected by such sociopragmatic variables as power, the social distance, which is the degree of closeness between the interlocutors, and the ranking of the kind of imposition involved between the addressor and the addressee. Thus, the student being in a position of lower power needs to employ appropriate linguistic strategies when performing a certain speech act, for example a request, to those of a higher position, at the same time making it less infringing, which respects the interlocutors' right to act freely.

Every utterance performs certain kinds of speech acts (Austin, 1962). Searle (1976) asserts that 'the basic unit of linguistic communication is the illocutionary act' and proposes five kinds of illocutionary acts: assertives, directives, expressives, commissives, and declaratives. Directives are 'attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something' (1976:11).

The directive speech act of requesting is defined as 'an illocutionary act whereby a speaker (requester) conveys to a hearer (requestee) that he/she wants the requestee to perform an act which is for the benefit of the speaker' (Trosborg, 1995:187). Requests may be referred to as face-threatening acts, as 'orders and requests are those acts that primarily threaten the addressee's negative face want' (Brown and Levinson, 1987:65). By performing the speech act of request, the addressor indicates that he/she wants the addressee to do or not to do something, thus interfering with the addressee's freedom of action. In fact, the speech act of request can pose a threat to both interlocutors, as the addressor's public image may be damaged due to the fact that the addressee may refuse his/her request. In order to save one's face, the addressor prefers to use an indirect request and politeness strategies instead of a direct request.

There have been numerous studies of requests in English, including a comparative analysis of requests used by English native and non-native speakers (e.g. Clark and Schunk, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1985). The most extensive study of requests has been the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). Schauer (2009), who based her taxonomy on the latter study as well as on Trosborg's (1995) and van Mulken's (1996) research (in Schauer, 2009: 123), proposes three core request categories: direct requests, conventionally indirect requests, and non-conventionally indirect requests.

Searle (1975:64) states that 'ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences or explicit performatives, and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends' (ibid.). An indirect speech act is an illocutionary act performed by way of performing another illocutionary act (Searle, 1975:59-60). Leech (1983:108) contends that indirect requests are more polite: '(a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be'.

According to Schauer (2009), direct requests are subdivided into: imperatives, unhedged performatives, hedged performatives, want statements, and locution derivable. Conventionally indirect requests are suggestory formulae, availability, prediction, permission, willingness, ability. Non-conventionally indirect requests are hints (2009: 123).

METHODS

In order to answer the research question posed at the beginning of the research and reach the goal of this paper, i.e., to establish an understanding of the request and politeness strategies used by EFL tertiary level first-year students in e-mail communication in the academic context, a case study was employed. It used the data yielded from the analysis of a corpus of 45 emails written by first-year undergraduate students majoring in English, received in the time period from August 9, 2010 to June 25, 2011 and stored on an email account. The emails were analysed using Schauer's taxonomy of request strategies (2009) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) linguistic strategies of negative politeness. The case study used the framework by Biber and Conrad (2009:40) for analysing situational characteristics of the corpus of emails.

Considering the characteristics of interlocutors, in order to minimize a negative effect, the addressors were expected to select the most appropriate strategy by taking into account the following social variables: the social distance between the addressor and the addressee; the relative power and the ranking of imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 74-75). The corpus comprised emails written within one university, and the addressor(s) were either individual students or a group of students, but since group emails were written by one student on behalf of the whole academic group, they can be considered as single addressors, too. All the addressors were first-year students, whereas the addressee of the emails was their professor and the director of their study programme. Thus, in terms of their social roles, the interlocutors were not equal. In addition, the addressee had certain authority in the specialist knowledge which the addressors were acquiring. The above mentioned factors, accordingly, had implications on the relative status and power, and on the language choices the addressors should have made. The social characteristics as well as the relations among the interlocutors, being important determinants of linguistic variation, were expected to have a major influence on the use of request and politeness strategies in the corpus.

The physical context of communication, namely its setting, was virtual communication with shared information about the time of production. The register presupposed a high degree of interactiveness in communication, as the interlocutors directly responded to one another, but the interaction could have spread over days or weeks. The mode of the register and the specific medium of electronic email communication largely determined the linguistic forms employed. The mode of the register affected the production circumstances: since

the emails were scripted, the mode permitted the written texts to be revised and edited so that they conveyed the intended meaning.

The communicative purposes of emails were established, the speech acts were specified, and the emails comprising requests were selected. The topic of email communication was identified as belonging to the general academic domain. The discussion below uses typical cases examples from the corpus in order to answer the research question.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

First-year students start communicating in English with their professors with the knowledge gained from their previous experience about the appropriateness and inappropriateness of linguistic behaviour in email communication. Their knowledge is constructed through their own personal experience both in their mother tongue and the English language in different contexts of use, but they may lack the experience of communicating in English in academic context.

Since the requests were made to an addressee with a higher status, imperatives were not observed in the corpus, which indicates that the addressors were aware of their inappropriateness in the academic context. This is in line with previous research (e.g. Clark and Schunk, 1980), which states that people generally tend to avoid imperatives. The illocutionary force of imperatives is clear enough as they possess a very high level of directness, which makes them acceptable only in a very restricted set of circumstances.

According to other studies (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Trosborg, 1995), performatives are one of the most frequent request strategies used in communication. They contain a performative verb, e.g. *ask*, *request*, *wish*, explicitly stating the purpose of the utterance and its illocutionary force. These explicit or unhedged performatives are considered impolite in academic context. However, if performative requests have a mitigating device preceding the performative verb, e.g. *want*, *I am afraid*, it decreases the force of the request and a performative becomes less explicit. (Downing and Locke, 2006: 198). Conventionally indirect requests or hedged performatives have a lesser degree of illocutionary force.

The examples in the italics below are taken from the corpus of emails to discuss the most typical cases of politeness and request strategies.

> *I just wanted to ask when the deadline is, when I should give You* [sic] *my report of presentation? Could I send it electronically?*

In the example above, the addressor uses a direct strategy, in which his/her intent is clear. The main purpose of writing the email is a request to obtain the permission to submit the report electronically, which is expressed in the last utterance using the modal verb *could* (which is a conventionally indirect request asking for permission). However, before making the actual request, the addressor uses other direct strategies related to the one expressed in the last utterance. He/

she uses the performative *ask* in the first utterance. The verb *want* preceding the performative makes the request more tentative and polite. By using the hedged performative *want*, the illocutionary force is mitigated. Moreover, the hedge *just* minimizes the imposition even more. The second person pronoun *You* is capitalized, which is an impact of the Latvian language on the target language, in which the pronoun *Jūs* is capitalized when used as a polite form of address.

In general, it has been observed that the emails contain a considerable number of hedged performatives softenening the illocutionary force.

> *Sorry for troubling you in summer. I wanted to ask you if I could count on your support as to writing a reference letter.*

The strategy employed by the addressor is based not only on a core request, but also on an external modification such as a pre-request strategy. The message starts with a politeness strategy of apologizing, at the same time using a conventionally indirect request strategy – availability, i.e. checking the addressee's availability to perform the speech act. It focuses on the addressee's temporal unavailability in summer when the staff is on summer holidays. This gives the addressee a chance to refuse the request and not perform the act. The degree of the addressee's commitment is not taken for granted, which also accounts for the use of a hedged performative *I wanted to ask you*….? The addressor is obviously aware that the request, being imposed on the addressee, is threatening to her face. The addressor is polite and lessens the threat to the addressee's face caused by the request made during holidays.

In the following example, *I am truly sorry that I had not sent You [sic.] the notes even though I did prepare and use them during the lecture in [sic.] Wednesday [...]. I would be honoured [sic.] if You exceptionally [sic.] accepted my homework [...]* the addressor uses the apology *I am sorry*, which is intensified by the adverb *truly*. The request *if You exceptionally accepted my homework* is a conventionally indirect request, which employs the willingness strategy, with the help of which the addressor acknowledges the lack of obligation on the addressee's part to accept the homework. The addressor seems to be concerned with the linguistic choices and honours the addressee's face. The request is preceded by the explanation that he/she used the notes in the lecture but failed to submit them, which proves the addressor's desire to be understood by the addressee, i.e. exhibits his/her positive face wants.

In the corpus, the illocutionary force of the utterances is often softened by the use of mitigating modifiers, most often employing the politeness strategy of being conventionally indirect. For example, the student uses the past tense modal *could* to reduce the illocutionary force in the utterance *Could you please allow me to submit the report tomorrow?* Other modifiers such as if clauses, appreciators (e.g. *That would be really kind of you*), downtoners (e.g. *maybe*) and grounders providing an explanation for the request (e.g. *I could not find any articles*) are frequently used. Many requests start with a pre-request, i.e. a short utterance that intends

to prepare the addressee for the request (e.g. *May I ask you a favour?*), which is followed by the actual request.

> *I would be happy to get at least something from you and then later I will find out the details. If you have the time, please write me back.*

In the example above, the addressor seems to acknowledge the social distance and the difference of status between the interlocutors. The email is written during summer holidays, and the student is aware that actually she/he might receive no answer at all. Nevertheless, she/he hopes *to get at least something* from the professor, which, though, is rather vague. As the rank of imposition is determined by the importance, time, and effort required for the addressee to perform the request, the more time and effort are required, the more modifiers should be used to soften the request. The student uses the internal modification *I would be happy* in the first utterance and the if clause *If you have the time*, which actually checks the addressee's availability to perform the request, and the internal politeness marker *please* before the actual request *write me back*.

> *I would be grateful if I could settle this debt tomorrow by handing in the report which I failed to do on time.*

We can see from the example above that the internal modification, i.e. the linguistic expression *I would be grateful* is used within the request proper, which is *if I could*. The basic message *I would like to hand in the report* is phrased in a polite way. In this request, the addressor is protecting his/her own face as he/she runs the risk of losing face: the request may be rejected because the deadline has been missed. The addressor's positive face is under threat. To minimize the risk, the addressor uses an indirect strategy – the modal verb *could*. He/she is offering the addressee the authority to grant him/her the permission or reject it. Finally, he/she adds an explanation *which I failed to do on time* to make the addressee see the awareness of his/her own fault. Thus, we can see that the addressor has used politeness strategies to protect his face.

> *[…] Might I ask you to extend the submission date.*

Instead of using the modal verb *may*, the addressor employs *might*, which increases the politeness of the utterance, as it makes clear that the addressee can decide whether to grant the permission or not.

The non-conventionally indirect requests or hints were not identified, which might have been conditioned by the mode of the corpus.

CONCLUSIONS

Politeness in email communication is taking into account the effect of the linguistic forms used on the addressees; it is showing respect and consideration to the addressees, acknowledging them, and not imposing unnecessarily on them.

On the basis of the yielded data, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Being conventionally indirect, hedging, minimizing the imposition, and apologizing are the negative politeness strategies employed in the corpus, apologizing being the most popular politeness strategy.
2. The students tend to be linguistically polite when they maintain relationships with their professors who enjoy social power over their students; thus, ensuring the perlucutionary success of the speech act.
3. Direct requests are employed by the students; however, they prefer hedged performatives to unhedged performatives, using the strategies with lower illocutionary force. Thus, politeness is achievable through the selection of the verb in the locution.
4. The availability strategy used in the requests shows the students' awareness of their high imposition status.
5. The use of conventionally indirect requests in the corpus is generally consistent with Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim that language users select increasingly indirect request strategies, as the perceived threat to the addressee's face increases.

In spite of the fact that the students applied both politeness and request strategies quite successfully, the impositive face-threatening nature of the speech act of requesting determines the necessity of raising EFL students' awareness of conventionally indirect request strategies and mitigating devices in different contextual situations, including e-mail communication.

Although the observed cases reflect a certain development stage of the language users' linguistic competence in English, exhibiting certain limitations in their language use, it is expected that students will exhibit a higher awareness of politeness and request strategies when exposed to specific contexts and input as their proficiency in English increases.

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THE EFFECTS OF ATTRIBUTION RETRAINING ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Abstract. This paper elaborates on the role of attribution style in successful foreign language learning. Attribution style, frequently associated with motivation, is considered to belong to individual learner factors. Its type, either external or internal, determines learners' attitudes to the reasons of their successes or failures. It is believed that appropriate attribution training may contribute to students' development of more favourable attitudes to their progress (or lack of it) in language learning. The research reported in this paper presents an example of such retraining procedure. One group of 15-year-old secondary school students (36 subjects) underwent the retraining treatment and a significant improvement could be observed both in their perceptions of achievement and their progress in English. The study proved that adolescent learners can profit from attribution training in their perception of success in foreign language learning.

Key words: foreign language learning, attribution style, attribution training, internal attribution, external attribution, success, failure

INTRODUCTION

The notion of attribution comes from Fritz Heider (1944; 1958), who observed people's beliefs about their successes or failures. People generally attribute success or failure either to external (situational or environmental) factors or to internal (personal) factors. Although Heider (ibid.) was mainly concerned with examining how we evaluate other people, not ourselves, and what traits of character we tend to attribute to others on the basis of analyzing their behaviour, his ideas were revolutionary and gave rise to many future investigations in the area of attribution. Julian Rotter (1966) was another psychologist who contributed to the development of the theory of attribution. His idea of the *locus of control* describes the degree of control people believe they have over their life events. Rotter (ibid.) places people on a continuum from very external to very internal. Those with a strong internal locus of control feel in power to control anything that happens to them, they also hold responsibility for the events. They believe that the amount of their own effort can significantly determine whether they succeed or fail. On the other hand, there are people who feel the amount of reinforcement they receive is due to chance, luck or powerful others. Therefore, they do not see any straightforward connection between the effort they put into an activity and its outcome. Most people, however, can hardly be described as strongly internal or external. Only certain tendencies may be observed in their behaviour.

The next essential contributor to the attribution theory, Bernard Weiner (1986), drew together aspects of achievement motivation and locus of control theories. He applied his findings to academic and other achievement situations. He distinguished four main elements in people's attribution styles: ability, effort, luck, and the perceived difficulty of the task. These can be grouped into external (task difficulty, luck) and internal (ability, effort). Another classification could be into stable (ability, task difficulty) and unstable factors (effort, luck). There are special tests constructed to establish to what extent a person has internal/external or stable/unstable attributional style.

More contemporary research on attributions focuses, among others, on their application in changing attitudes to stress and to interpersonal relations (Fösterling, 2005) and on attribution-related emotional profiles of students (Biedroń, 2008).

Many researchers stress the superiority of internal attributions over external. However, one of the most important specialists in this aspect, Martin Seligman (1990) claims that each dimension has its positive and negative sides. He emphasizes that people who always blame themselves for negative events in their lives (high internality) have low self-esteem, think they are worthless, untalented, and do not deserve anyone's admiration or love. On the other hand, those who blame external factors when confronted with failures or other negative events, do not lose faith in themselves, and their self-esteem remains untouched. It seems to be different as regards positive events. Seligman (ibid.) points out that those who consider themselves the cause of positive events (internality) tend to like themselves more than those who look for the cause in others or in luck. It appears, then, that it would be most convenient to have an internal attribution for successes and external – for failures. Such individuals seem to be the most optimistic in their approach to life.

Both Rotter (ibid.) and Seligman (ibid.) represent an optimistic view on personality with possibilities for changes to take place, i.e. we can change our attributions to more desirable ones as a result of training. Consequently, we may talk about chances for learners, for whom being an internal and an optimist are the most desirable features for their academic success. The following part will focus on how to change people's attributional style, i.e. on different ways of attribution retraining.

1 ATTRIBUTION RETRAINING

There has been much research concerning attribution retraining. Researchers have employed a variety of techniques to achieve a similar goal – a positive change in students' attribution styles with all its advantages. Some ideas of training are very simple, consisting of easily applicable procedures, while some are more complex creating whole separate programs. The following list presents a few most important training models.

1. *Adaptive Learning Environment Model* (Wang, 1983). The main element of this model is instruction in how to practise self-management skills, creating opportunities to actually practise them. Such skills involve:
   - planning and carrying out routine classroom management tasks rather than expecting the teacher to organize this,
   - ways of searching for ordering and organizing information to be learned and remembered,
   - breaking complex tasks into meaningful and manageable subparts,
   - setting realistic personal learning goals,
   - estimating the amount of time and effort that will be required to complete a task (Williams and Burden, 1997: 102-103).
2. *Attribution versus persuasion*. This model of attribution training consisted of short statements providing one group of students with internal explanations for their successful achievements, e.g. 'This is a very neat classroom. You must be very neat and clean students'; 'You really work hard at maths'. Another group had persuasion and argumentation instead, e.g. 'You should try to keep your classroom clean'; 'You should try to be better at maths'. The results of the experiment proved exceptional effectiveness of attribution training both in the area of maths achievement and self-esteem enhancement (Booth-Butterfield, 1996).
3. *Strategy training of students with learning disabilities*. In this training students can clearly see the connection between causality and consequence. Students are asked to observe a connection between the strategy they choose, the effort they put into the task and the outcome. They are advised to use special graphic organizers to see over a longer period of time the relationship between proper strategy use and its outcomes. This training gives students the power of control and autonomous decision-making (Fulk and Mastropieri, 1990).
4. *Attribution retraining of children with disruptive behaviour* (Nelsen, 2000). This procedure was aimed at convincing the student that his/her problems were not due to the lack of ability to behave properly, but due to the lack of effort to do so. The following series of steps were followed:
   - setting reasonable goals,
   - giving specific feedback connected with student's behaviour,
   - training student's responsibility,
   - reinforcing behaviours being trained,
   - giving the student a chance to show his new gained strengths.
5. *Seligman's ABCDE method of changing attribution styles*. The ABCDE means respectively: adversity, belief, consequence, disputation, energization. Seligman (1990) believes that pessimists can learn to

look at events in an optimistic way, improve the quality of their lives and achieve more success. The method is based on the conviction that our beliefs can be questioned by ourselves and that we can use this skill in practice. This is done along the following procedure:

- Identify the adversity that you are experiencing or have experienced, i.e. what bad event has happened to you?
- Identify the beliefs you are using to explain that bad event. What attributions do you have about the event? Frequently we use automatic explanations, which may be ruled out.
- Examine the consequences of having that belief. What do you do as a result of the belief? Do you quit? Do you try to escape instead of facing the bad feeling?
- Dispute with yourself about the belief. Are there any other explanations? What is an alternative explanation of the event? What may be its consequences?
- Changing the beliefs leads to energization, i.e. good feeling about the things we are doing, looking forward to doing them.

Seligman (ibid.) states that newly acquired optimism is not merely a simplistic positive thinking. It is rather the process of thinking non-negatively. The training procedure described above proved to be beneficial for people suffering from depression.

6. *Success training vs. attribution training* (Dweck, 2000). She worked with two groups of helplessness-oriented students. In one of the groups she introduced success training with an assumption that a series of successes would build the students' expectations of future successes and would allow them to perform better if they experienced failures. In another group attribution retraining was introduced, which consisted in teaching the students new explanations for failures (e.g. too little effort, not too little ability). The group with attribution retraining improved significantly in maths. It is clear, then, that attribution retraining is a more successful and more promising procedure in dealing with helpless students than success training.

Clearly, all different experiments described above prove that attribution training gives a lot of new opportunities to motivate students better and achieve improved learning results. The research described below will concentrate on the role of attribution retraining in foreign language learning.

2 RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF ATTRIBUTION RETRAINING IN LEARNING EFL

2.1 GROUP DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The small-scale research to be described in this part intended to examine the influence of a special kind of learner treatment (attribution retraining) on

changing their explanatory style, particularly for failures. The whole procedure aimed at learners' feeling more in control over their learning process and in consequence at increasing their motivation. The researchers (Rałowska, 2003) modelled their retraining process on the one suggested in detail by Seligman (1990), which will be presented in the next part below. Rałowska's (ibid.) research report was prepared as part of the requirement for obtaining Master's Degree in TESOL at the University of Wrocław. The research was planned and analysed under the supervision of the author of this paper.

The study was carried out in a lower secondary school in Wrocław, Poland. The research method applied could be described as quasi-experimental because the requirement of random group assignment could not be observed. The research group consisted of 36 students altogether: 20 in the quasi-experimental group and 16 in the control group. The students were 15 years old. Both groups had three lessons of English per week, and learners were at the same level of language competence, as was estimated by their English teacher. The experimental group received attribution retraining; in the control group no change in classroom instruction was introduced. Consequently, the independent variable of the research was the presence or absence of attribution retraining, whereas there were two dependent variables. The first one was the amount of optimism in learners' attribution styles measured by the test adapted from Seligman's Attribution Style Questionnaire, translated into Polish (the questionnaire and the scoring grid are included in the Appendix). The second dependent variable was the foreign language achievement, measured by classroom achievement tests, prepared by the researchers. The tests were divided into five major parts checking the students' progress in English vocabulary, grammar, writing, reading and listening. There were, in fact, two such tests: one was given to the students before the treatment and another – after the treatment. Each time the contents of the test corresponded to the language material covered in the lessons and the students had 90 minutes to complete the test.

The Attribution Style Questionnaire consists of 48 questions measuring 6 different dimensions:

Stability of failure – SF
Stability of success – SS
Range of failure – RF
Range of success – RS
Personalization of failure – PF
Personalization of success – PS

There are 8 questions referring to each dimension and the dimensions are treated separately for successes and failures.

Scoring is relatively simple. For a more stable explanation, either for a success or for failure, a student receives one point; for a more unstable explanation – no point is gained. General score is obtained by subtracting the total number of points for negative events from the total number of points for positive events. The

possible range of scores is from –24 to +24. The interpretation of the scores looks as follows:

-24 – 0 points – deep pessimism
1-2 points – moderate pessimism
3-5 points – balanced score
6-8 points – moderate optimism
8 and more points – great optimism.

Each dimension can be analysed separately for the purpose of potential retraining. It took about 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. The second distribution of the questionnaire took place after the training of the experimental group was completed, i.e. after 2.5 months.

2.2 ATTRIBUTION RETRAINING PROCEDURES IN THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

Seligman (1990) suggests that in order to make people responsible for what they do and to increase their feeling of control, first of all we need to make sure that they consider their failures as temporary, and that no matter what the causes of unsuccessful events are, they can be changed. Therefore, the focus of this research was basically on changing the attributions of failures from stable to unstable. Only then could we proceed to personalization of successes and failures and, finally, to changing their range from universal to limited or from limited to universal. The whole range of procedures, suggested by Seligman, is presented in the table below.

Table 1 **Seligman's procedures of attribution retraining (1990)**

Attribution style	Required change: from pessimistic to optimistic	Attribution training procedures
Stability of failure (SF)	From stable to unstable: 'This time I got a bad mark' instead of 'I usually get bad marks'	Getting the learner to reflect on his failures, to find unstable causes of such failures (lack of effort), finding ways to prevent or minimize such failures in the future.
Stability of success (SS)	From unstable to stable: 'I succeeded because I'm talented' instead of 'I succeeded because I was lucky'	Discovering the learners' talents and cognitive strengths and thus increasing their self-confidence and belief in the contribution of his/her own abilities to the success in learning.
Personalisation of failure (PF)	From internal to external: 'This exercise is too difficult' instead of 'I'm not good enough'	Pointing out to students the difficulty and complexity of some aspects of the language learning material and tasks instead of emphasizing the lack of learners' abilities.

Attribution style	Required change: from pessimistic to optimistic	Attribution training procedures
Personalisation of success (PS)	From external to internal: 'I did this exercise well' instead of 'This exercise was easy'	Emphasizing the contribution of the students' effort as well as abilities into each, even the smallest success; getting students to keep a record of their successes, getting them to set realistic goals in learning English.
Range of failure (RF)	From universal to limited: 'This grammar problem is difficult' instead of 'English is difficult'	Requesting learners to list the most difficult aspects of learning English and getting them to look for possible ways of making them easier and more understandable; making the learning process more pleasant.
Range of success (RS)	From limited to more universal: 'I'm good at English' instead of 'I'm good at tests'	Emphasizing that any skill the learners have is a part of their general knowledge of English; fostering in the learners a holistic perception of the learning process.

To follow the suggested procedures, the first retraining technique used in the research was asking the students to write a special kind of diary. The diary was divided into several parts, which corresponded to the attribution dimensions that were meant to be changed. This is the outline of the diary:

Part one: Successes

List of my successes in learning English. What was my personal attribution to these successes.

Part two: Talents

List of my talents. How do they help me to learn English?

Part three: Failures

List of my failures. What was the cause of the failure (emphasis on lack of effort)? What could be done to avoid such failures (emphasis on effort)?

Part four: Goals

List of realistic personal goals. Realization plan: time way, effort, strategies. Report on the realization of goals.

Part five: Difficulties

List of difficult things to learn in English. What can I do to make these things easier, what strategies can I use?

Part six: Easy things

List of pleasant and easy things to learn in English. What makes them easy (emphasis on talents and effort)?

The diary was supposed to direct the students' thinking in a specific way. Filling in each part regularly for 2 months was expected to result in a desired change in different attribution dimensions of the learners' style.

Together with the diary, a few complementary techniques were used. One of them was writing short notes on the students' tests and essays, emphasizing the role of efforts in improving scores. Another technique consisted in writing short notes to the students at the end of each piece of work, however tiny it was. In the notes, the researchers commented on the students' successes and failures in the task and at the same time suggested the attribution of that event. It was always important to attribute the learners' successes to hard work and high abilities, and failures – to the lack of effort or other changeable factors. It was essential to comment on the students' former successes, even if that time they failed, to emphasize their potential abilities, which they could use to a better effect with a little more effort and good will. After 2.5 months of such training, the Attribution Style Questionnaire (ASQ) was given to the students again and they wrote the second achievement test.

3 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

After 25 sessions of attribution retraining, positive changes in the learners' attribution style were observed in the experimental group. Generally, the students changed their attitude into more optimistic. In the experimental group, the mean value for the ASQ for success total was 12.15 before and 18.35 after the training. It means that the optimistic attribution increased significantly by 6.2 points. In the control group, the total increase for success was only 0.43. Similarly, the mean value for failure total in the experimental group decreased by 2.55 points, whereas in the control group the decrease equaled 0.53. The percentage of optimists and pessimists in the experimental group before and after the training had changed significantly as well. The percentage of optimists had increased from 49% before the training to 95% after the training. The difference was enormous. The percentage of pessimists had decreased by 25%. The students with the balanced score who constituted 30% of the group changed into optimists after the training. In the control group changes from pessimists to optimists were practically insignificant, about 6% in favour of optimists.

On the basis of the observed results of the English achievement pre-test and post-test in both groups, it can be clearly seen that there has been a remarkable increase in the test scores in the experimental group. This can be better illustrated in a table.

Table 2 **Students' language test scores**

Group	Mean pre-test	Mean post-test	Difference	SD pre-test	SD post-test	Difference
Experimental	95.9	131.22	35.32	20.61	14.43	6.18
Control	131.81	133.03	1.22	27.72	34.02	6.03

The total number of points a student could get on the test was 150. It can be noticed that the control group did significantly better on the pre-test than the experimental group. However, the increase in test scores is practically insignificant – their progress was slower. As their standard deviation shows, in two months time the control group had become even less homogeneous than 2.5 months before. Subsequently, it could have been possible to count the pre-test in order to compare the means of the control and experimental group. This, however, was not really necessary as the difference on the post-test was visibly too small to be of any statistical significance. What was essential was the enormous progress of the experimental group who was much weaker on the pre-test than the control one. The score of the experimental group increased by more than 35 points, and they became more homogeneous as their level of standard deviation decreased considerably.

CONCLUSIONS

The question remains whether the results of the experimental group will show the same significant gains several months after the treatment or perhaps the effect is only temporary. I presume that the training would have to be repeated over a longer period of time as people tend to fall back on their formerly established schemata of attitudes and behaviours.

The study presented in this paper proves that almost anyone can profit, at least temporarily, from attribution training. Students with some potential who do not use their talents fully because of certain psychological barriers can find hope in the training programme and make more progress in learning a foreign language.

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APPENDIX

The Attribution Style Questionnaire and scoring grid (based on Seligman, 1990)

Circle only one statement, A or B, as your comment to the described situation.

1. You received a very good grade from the English grammar test.
   A I am good at English.
   B I am good at grammar.
2. Your teacher gives you very little time to write a very difficult essay but you succeed nevertheless.
   A I am a good student.
   B I am good at English.
3. You have completed a group task unsuccessfully.
   A I can't work very well with these people.
   B I can't work very well in a group.
4. You have problems with correct English pronunciation.
   A I don't know pronunciation rules very well.
   B I don't know English very well.
5. You pass an important test.
   A I was well prepared for that test.
   B I am always well prepared for tests.
6. You succeed in an English oral exam.
   A I always succeed in these exams.
   B I was very confident during that exam.
7. You don't understand a grammar problem your teacher explains to the class.
   A I wasn't paying enough attention
   B I have problems with understanding English grammar.
8. You received a weak grade on the test.
   A My teacher always gives difficult tests.
   B That test was difficult.

9. You did your part of the group task best.
   A Other group members are not that good at English.
   B I am good at doing such types of tasks.
10. Your grades in English are very good.
   A I have a talent for languages.
   B English is a simple language to learn.
11. You get a bad mark in English.
   A I am stupid.
   B The teacher is unfair.
12. Some of my colleagues say that they don't like me.
   A My colleagues are not always nice to me.
   B I am not always nice to my colleagues.
13. You manage to get a better semester grade.
   A I devoted a lot of time and effort to achieve that.
   B I always try to do my best.
14. You win a competition in English.
   A Sometimes I do my best.
   B Sometimes I do my best to win.
15. The teacher shouts at you.
   A He shouted at the first person he had seen.
   B That teacher shouted at many students today.
16. You don't understand a recorded text in English.
   A I am not good at listening.
   B I am not good at English.
17. You have good relations with your English teacher.
   A It's easy to reach an agreement with me.
   B Sometimes people can reach an agreement with me.
18. Your grade in English is the best in your class at the end of the year.
   A I am a talented student.
   B I worked very hard.
19. You give a wrong answer to the teacher's question.
   A I get upset when I am to answer a question.
   B I was quite upset that day.
20. Your grades in English are weak.
   A Recently I've had problems with learning English.
   B I have problems with learning English.
21. The teacher compliments you on your written work.
   A I managed to write a good piece of work.
   B The teacher liked my work.
22. You were exceptionally praised by the teacher.
   A I managed to solve the problem nobody else could.
   B We are frequently praised by the teacher.

23. Your results in English have become worse recently.
    A The material covered recently was very difficult.
    B There has been something wrong with my English recently.
24. You can't remember long lists of English words.
    A The teacher did not teach me appropriate strategies.
    B A have weak memory.
25. You win the main prize in an English competition.
    A I am talented.
    B I have good language aptitude.
26. The teacher introduces a song of your favourite singer in the lesson.
    A There are some things the teacher does to make the lessons more pleasant.
    B The teacher likes to make our lessons more pleasant.
27. You are trying to convince your friend to have a conversation with you during the English lesson but he doesn't want to.
    A That day he just didn't want to do anything.
    B That day he just didn't want to talk in English.
28. Your teacher says that you are naughty.
    A The teacher doesn't like our group.
    B The teacher doesn't like students.
29. All your friends get a bad grade in English. You don't.
    A I was prepared for the lesson that day.
    B I am always prepared for the lesson.
30. The teacher praises your good behaviour.
    A I was a well-behaved student that day.
    B I almost always behave well.
31. You copied a text wrongly from the blackboard and then you made a mistake at the test.
    A I am careless.
    B I've been a bit careless recently.
32. The bus was late and you were late for school.
    A The buses have often been late recently.
    B Buses are always late.
33. You made friends with a colleague from your group.
    A I am nice.
    B I meet nice people.
34. You did very well at an English competition.
    A The competition was easy.
    B I am good at English.
35. You make a presentation at the English lesson but nobody listens to you.
    A I am a terrible bore.
    B They never listen when I speak.

36. Your parents are not happy about your progress in English.
    A My parents are frequently dissatisfied.
    B I haven't been studying hard recently.
37. I went on a school trip to England with my class and had a good time.
    A Everything was just perfect.
    B The weather was beautiful.
38. There was a pleasant atmosphere at the English lesson.
    A The teacher was friendly that day.
    B Both the teacher and the class were friendly towards each other.
39. You resign from the English club meetings because you can't cooperate with people there.
    A I find it difficult to communicate with people.
    B I find it difficult to communicate with people from that club.
40. The teacher gives you a bad mark which, in your opinion, you do not deserve.
    A This teacher is unfair.
    B All teachers are unfair.
41. You prepare a humorous role-play in English together and your friends are having a good time in your company.
    A I am naturally cheerful.
    B Sometimes I am cheerful.
42. Your teacher tells you that you look well.
    A The teacher just wanted to pay somebody a compliment that day.
    B This teacher usually pays compliments to students.
43. Your teacher tells you that you are naughty.
    A The teacher doesn't like us.
    B The teacher has a bad day.
44. Due to your recklessness your group loses a competition in English.
    A I didn't work hard enough that day.
    B I hardly ever work hard enough.
45. I am doing very well in English today.
    A I am trying hard today.
    B It's my lucky day.
46. Your teacher expresses his satisfaction with your progress in English.
    A The teacher likes me.
    B I am a good student.
47. You are telling a joke in English but nobody is laughing.
    A I can't really tell jokes.
    B This joke is so old that it doesn't make anybody laugh.
48. You brought a poster for the English lesson but the teacher refuses to accept it.
    A I didn't prepare this poster carefully.
    B Many students have brought their posters recently and the teacher doesn't want to take any more.

Table 3 **The ASQ scoring grid**

No	Answer	RS	RF	SS	SF	PS	PF
1.	A B	1 0					
2.	A B	1 0					
3.	A B		0 1				
4.	A B		0 1				
5.	A B			0 1			
6.	A B			1 0			
7.	A B				0 1		
8.	A B				1 0		
9.	A B					0 1	
10.	A B					1 0	
11.	A B						1 0
12.	A B						0 1
13.	A B	0 1					
14.	A B	1 0					
15.	A B		0 1				
16.	A B		0 1				
17.	A B			1 0			
18.	A B			1 0			
19.	A B				1 0		
20.	A B				0 1		
21.	A B					1 0	
22.	A B					1 0	
23.	A B						0 1
24.	A B						0 1
25.	A B	1 0					
26.	A B	0 1					
27.	A B		1 0				
28.	A B		0 1				
29.	A B			0 1			
30.	A B			0 1			
31.	A B				1 0		
32.	A B				0 1		
33.	A B					1 0	
34.	A B					0 1	
35.	A B						1 0
36.	A B						0 1
37.	A B	1 0					
38.	A B	0 1					
39.	A B		1 0				
40.	A B		0 1				
41.	A B			1 0			
42.	A B			0 1			
43.	A B				1 0		
44.	A B				0 1		
45.	A B					1 0	
46.	A B					0 1	
47.	A B						1 0
48.	A B						1 0

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IMAGINARY IRELANDS IN CIARAN CARSON'S SONNET CYCLE *THE TWELFTH OF NEVER*

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Abstract. Ciaran Carson's sonnet cycle *The Twelfth of Never* is remarkable for its dense allusive texture that is not an end in itself but a means of exploring various constructs of Ireland and its history. Viewed as a body of poems, the sonnets create a metaphorical space that erodes the difference between fact and fiction, the colonial and anti-colonial clichés of Irishness and draws the reader into a game with the established literary modes. Therefore the current paper analyses the transformations of the sonnet form and the interplay between the Irish and English poetic traditions in *The Twelfth of Never* and their implications for the revision of stereotypical concepts essential to the metanarrative of Irish history.

Key words: the Italian sonnet, *aisling*, interplay between the Irish and English poetic traditions, dismantling of the metanarrative of Irish history

In 1970 the Northern Irish poet Derek Mahon wrote that in the ideal case, 'A good poem is a paradigm of good politics – of people talking to each other, with honest subtlety, at a profound level' (Andrews (ed.), 1996:19). As he clarifies, his criterion of poetic excellence does not refer to the conflict between Protestants and Catholics, which looms over the tragic history of Northern Ireland, but rather to the war 'between the fluidity of a possible life [...] and the *rigor mortis* of archaic postures, political and cultural' (Andrews (ed.), 1996:19). Yet Mahon transcends the political and cultural dimensions, implying that poetic aesthetics is essentially dialogical. His statement suggests that a poet talks not only to his readers, but also to other poets, both his predecessors and contemporaries, re-visiting the canonical texts that have shaped the poetic tradition or traditions, to which the poet belongs, and responding to them.

This vision of poetry to some extent is shared by another Northern Irish poet Ciaran Carson. Like Derek Mahon, he often moulds into his poems references to pre-existent texts in order to establish a link between the present and the past. However, he seems to be keenly aware of the fact that the dialogue can be less straightforward and balanced than Derek Mahon suggests. Especially it concerns the texts which explore themes derived from either the private of common history, because, according to Ciaran Carson, 'Our knowledge of the past is changed each time we hear it. Our present time, imbued with yesterday comes out with bent dimensions' (Carson, 1997:90). Consequently, he often undertakes the revision of the metanarrative of Irish history, seeking alternatives in the fantastic, grotesque and surreal.

The game with distorted and distorting reflections of the past has been carried to its extreme in Ciaran Carson's sonnet sequence *The Twelfth of Never* (1998). The intention to transform poetic fictions into apocryphal history and historical facts into fantastic incidents manifests itself already in the title, which contains a reference to both history and fiction. 'The twelfth of never' is a popular phrase, synonymous to 'never' but within the context of the sonnet sequence it acquires a number of other possible interpretations. The number twelve may hint at July 12, 1690, the date of the Battle of Boynes when the troops of William III defeated the supporters of James II, destroying the hopes of the Irish Catholics to see a king sympathetic to their cause on the English throne. Or it may be a reference to Shakespeare's comedy 'Twelfth Night' and the last day of the twelve day period between Christmas and the Epiphany which marks the transition from the carnival time to the everyday.

The paradoxical nature of the title captures the spirit of the whole sequence. Historical dates and events serve as a framing device of a fantastical time-space, in which the poet freely moves from history into legend and folk tales, from the present-day Ireland to Japan or Napoleonic France. As it is impossible to discuss all the allusive implications of the sonnet sequence in one paper, I will concentrate on the representations of some of the most popular and iconic literary images of Ireland because they form the thematic centre of the whole collection, and consider how Ciaran Carson has employed poetic forms and modes of expression originating from Irish and English poetic traditions to create a highly idiosyncratic version of the sonnet.

Varied, as these images of Ireland are, it is possible to point out three popular constructs that are of particular interest to Ciaran Carson. First of all, a number of sonnets explore the colonial stereotypes of Ireland and the Irish fabricated by the English, dating back to the Elizabethan Plantation in the 16th century. Secondly, Ciaran Carson recasts the plots, derived from Irish folk tales and legends that have propagated the idea of the quaint, picaresque Ireland where one can easily stumble into pocketsize Otherworlds inhabited by pucas and leprechauns. And finally he examines the heroic and tragic vision of Ireland upheld by Irish poets since the 17th century throughout the Romantic period to the Irish War of Independence and beyond it. These three images of Ireland merge with one another and anachronistically appear in scenes derived from the 20th century Irish life.

The composite nature of the contents is underlined by the formal aspects of the poems. Throughout the collection Ciaran Carson has consistently used the Italian sonnet – a closed poetic form charged with literary and cultural overtones. Yet none of the poems is a classical, unadulterated Italian sonnet. Although Ciaran Carson has scrupulously preserved the graphic division of the lines into octaves and sestets, even down to emphasizing the individual quatrains and tercets, this visual reminder of the form cannot disguise the fact that the Italian sonnet has been a point of departure for experimenting with the Irish and English poetic canon. None of the poems functions as the reader might expect it. Ciaran Carson

has trespassed on the unwritten convention that the sonnet typically represents a concentrated, deeply personal mediation or a witty poetic argument precariously reconciling incompatible notions.

A few of the poems are actually pastiches of popular poems or even prose texts. For example, the sonnet *Spenser's Ireland* has been derived from a passage in Edmund Spenser's pamphlet *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* composed in the 1590s, where he with vitriolic eloquence describes how the rebellious Irish outlaw,

> 'being for his many crymes and villainies banished from the townes and howses of honest men, and wandring in wast places, far from danger of Lawe, maketh his mantle his howse, and under it covereth himself from the wrathe of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men' (Online 1).

Ciaran Carson borrows the image of the cloak and transforms it into a metaphor for the process of cultural stereotyping that occludes a clear and unprejudiced vision of the Irish; therefore all that the anonymous voice reflecting on Spenser's text comes up with is a set of clichéd attributes of Irishness,

> Rakehelly horseboys, kernes, gallowglasses, carrows,
> Bards, captains, rapparees, their forward womenfolk,
> Swords, dice, whiskey, chess, harps, word-hoards, bows and arrows:
> All are hid within the foldings of their Irish cloak (Carson, 1999:72).

The cloak that in Spenser's text is a hyperbolized image of the Irish rebelliousness in Ciaran Carson's sonnet becomes a sign of cultural resignation to the constrictions of superficial stereotypes. These stereotypes persist due to their convenience, for they allow an outsider to satisfy their unconscious or conscious expectations of what the Irish should be, while enabling the Irish to produce a recognizable brand of Irish identity. Not surprisingly, the sonnet concludes with an ironic reflection on the 'made' or 'constructed' nature of Irishness,

> […] Forever on the make,
> They drink and talk too much. Not all of it is gibberish (Carson, 1999:72).

However, Ciaran Carson willingly involves himself in the exploration of the meanings that are released through dismantling of the established concepts and discourses and plays with seemingly incompatible strata of Irish culture and history. In the companion piece to the above-analysed sonnet, figures from the colonial Irish past are caught up in a situation derived from the counter-colonial discourse. The title of the sonnet – *Sunderland and Spencer* – contains a misleading clue: Spencer here, judging by the spelling, is not the 16th century poet Edmund Spenser (spelled with 's', not 'c'), but Sir Charles Spencer, the third Earl of Sunderland who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the beginning of the 18th century, hence the implication that Sunderland and Spencer is one person. While behaving in a style appropriate to the 18th century rakes, they, or rather he,

encounter Ireland or Erin in the guise of a young woman. In an absurd duel for her affections which seems to be fought with words not swords Sunderland kills off or writes off a part of his own self.

> Come glim of night, they flit to rakish gambling-clubs,
> Or candle-lit bordellos, as the mood would take them,
> Rooms in private houses that were fangled pubs-
> That garter in the mirror, that uplifted hem!
>
> Then both were smitten by the lovely Erin, who'd
> Seduced them by her words or faery glamour,
> And her eyes a double-glimmer 'neath her riding-hood.
>
> There was nothing for it but a duel. Fencer
> Stuck the other with his point of Latin grammar.
> "I think," said Sunderland, "we can dispense with Spencer" (Carson, 1999:73).

The sonnet draws on the Irish poetic tradition, in which representation of Ireland as a woman has had a long and venerable history. Especially popular has been the dream-vision poem *aisling*, which was developed in the 18th century as a type of political allegory, under the guise of a love poem. The poems, belonging to this genre, follow a conventional plot: the poet falls asleep and dreams of a beautiful young woman, symbolising Ireland, who reproaches him for deserting her.

Ciaran Carson obviously alludes to the traditional *aisling*, yet he has disrupted the traditional situation. Erin is transformed into a young lady of rather dubious virtue, flirtatious and deceptive. The colonial administrator Lord Sunderland is cast in the role of a lover usually reserved for the young Irish nationalists, who are ready or unwilling, as the case may be, to shed blood for love of her. The feminine rhymes in the final tercet and puns (e.g., 'fencer-spencer,' 'stabbed with his point of Latin grammar') introduce an element of light verse, undercutting the claims of gravity of both the closed forms – the sonnet and the *aisling*.

Ciaran Carson returns to the motive of an encounter with Ireland again and again, trying out different versions of the allegory and depriving it of the elevated heroic and patriotic content. In other sonnets Erin appears as an old hag (e.g., in the sonnet *The Rising of the Moon* where the poet-dreamer responds to her overture 'you might have loved me for eternity' by formally kissing 'her grass-green lips' and shaking 'her bloodless hand' (Carson, 1999:19).) and as the President of the Republic of Ireland (e.g., in the sonnet *Wrap the Green Flag Around Me* (Carson, 1999:30) where the inauguration ceremony of the President is presented as 'ordination' to stress the quasi-religious nature of the nationalist historiography). And, most fascinatingly, she becomes also a dangerous seductress, as in the sonnet *1798*, which commemorates the 200th anniversary of the bloody rebellion organized by the United Irishmen in 1798; however, Ciaran Carson has used this occasion to question the poet's obligation to adhere to the canonical version of history.

I met her in the garden where the poppies grow,
Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine,
And her cheeks were like roses, or blood dropped on snow;
Her pallid lips were red with Papal Spanish wine.

Lulled in these wild flowers, with dance and delight,
I took my opportunity, and grasped her hand.
She then disclosed the eyelids of her second sight,
And prophesied that I'd forsake my native land.

Before I could protest, she put her mouth to mine
And sucked the broken English from my Gaelic tongue.
She wound me in her briary arms of eglantine.

Two centuries have gone, yet she and I abide
Like emblems of a rebel song no longer sung,
Or snowy blossoms drifting down the mountainside (Carson, 1999:39).

1798 is a composite and eclectic poem that still manages to create the illusion of momentary unity. The encounter between the poet and the unnamed woman occurs in a setting derived from the elegant 16th century English poetry. This layer of the English poetic tradition most clearly manifests itself in the first quatrain of the sonnet, which contains a direct quotation from William Shakespeare's comedy *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Ciaran Carson has echoed Oberon's description of Titania's resting place:

I know a bank where the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,
Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine (2.1. 254-257, Online 2).

It is noticeable that Shakespeare's text is present not only through citation but also in the repetition of syntactical structures and the approximation of the rhyme scheme. The general impression of poetic sophistication is upheld by the literariness of the diction: 'pallid', instead of 'pale', 'disclose', instead of 'open'. However, the ambience of Ciaran Carson's sonnet significantly diverges from the Shakespearian text embedded in it. The vegetation, instead of evoking idyllic sylvan scenery, gains sinister connotations. Shakespearian 'violets' in the first line are substituted by 'poppies' that in the collection symbolises the seductive power of Irish nationalist rhetoric, also stupor and false historical memories.

The allegorical figure of Ireland in the poem is as much akin to Dark Rosaleen from James Clarence Mangan's influential 19th century *aisling* with its quasi-religious language of blood sacrifice and suffering, as to the impenetrable and inaccessible ladies of the sonnet tradition. In a curiously Gothic twist, she finally acquires traits of a demonic vampire lover and deprives the poet of speech, leaving him incapable of communication. The sonnet ends with a precarious stasis – the

poet and his demonic muse are suspended in time, unable to break the web of representations, in which they are caught.

Derek Kiberd in the essay *Literature and Politics* offers the following formulation of the mission entrusted to culture in the Republic of Ireland, 'culture is often seen as healing, whereas history is viewed as divisive (Kelleher, O'Leary (eds.), 2007:9).' A considerable part of this task has been shouldered by poets and writers who have acted not only as guardians of traditional values and collective cultural/ historical memory, but also attempted to negotiate the rift between violence and peace/ the past and the present.

In this context Ciaran Carson's sonnet cycle can be seen as an attempt to escape the onerous duty of paving the way towards an acceptable version of the traumatic Irish history. The voice of the poet projected in the sonnets does not belong to a seer or an interpreter of the past and the future, but a subject intimidated by history who at most can be a passive, sometimes even uncomprehending, witness of events. The reason behind this evasion of the conventional role allocated to the poet in the Irish tradition is the realisation that the act of remembrance is often tinged with deception.

The sonnet cycle concludes with *Envoy* – a poem of sending that establishes affinity with the large scale narrative poems. Still the poet slips out of the stance of an epic poet and falls back into the poise of a raconteur. Instead of blessing his work and upholding its value, he invites other re-tellings that might modify his own texts.

> These words the ink is written in is not indelible
> And every fairy story has its variorum;
> For there are many shades of pigment in spectrum,
> And the printed news is always unreliable.
>
> Of maidens, soldiers, presidents and plants I've sung;
> Of fairies fishes, horses, and of headless men;
> Of beings from the lowest to the highest rung –
>
> With their long ladders propped against the gates of heaven,
> They're queued up to be rewarded for their grand endeavour,
> And receive the campaign haloes on the Twelfth of Never (Carson, 199:89).

By engrafting upon the Italian sonnet the elements of various incongruent genres and modes, such as, the *aisling*, light verse, and Gothic fiction, Ciaran Carson has turned it into a constituent part of a fragmented verse narrative that spins a yarn across several literary traditions and cultural backgrounds. His primary interest has been happenstance, creating a maze of re-tellings, dismantling two grand narratives: that of English cultural and literary supremacy, and the nationalist version of Irish history as a heroic struggle against the English oppressors, culminating in the liberation of Ireland.

Still the formal and stylistic aspects of the sonnet cycle foreground the issue of the cultural space in which it exists. Ciaran Carson has positioned his fantasias on the sonnet in an elaborately, almost artificially constructed in-between space that is framed by his double heritage as an Anglophone Irish poet. Furthermore he consciously foregrounds the many-layered nature of the literary traditions he has drawn upon. According to Bakhtin,

> 'Every type of intentional stylistic hybrid is more or less dialogized. This means that the languages that are crossed in it relate to each other as do rejoinders in a dialogue; there is an argument between languages, an argument between styles of language. But it is not a dialogue in the narrative sense, nor in the abstract sense; rather it is a dialogue between points of view, each with its own concrete language that cannot be translated into the other (Bakhtin, 1981:151).'

As in Ciaran Carson's sonnets the dialogue is carried out in a very compressed sonnet form, it gains additional intensity. It is impossible to claim that the elements of the Irish poetic tradition dominate over the elements of the English poetic tradition or vice versa. The examples analysed above demonstrate that an essential aspect of Ciaran Carson's aesthetics is shifting the distance between these traditions, allowing the poet to escape simplified categorizations and imbue long-established poetic forms and conventions with a new life.

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THE AUTHOR AND HIS DOUBLE IN JOHN UPDIKE'S *BECH STORIES*

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Abstract. In the foreword of *Bech: A Book*, John Updike's character Henry Bech gives his creator John Updike his blessing for fiction refuting a curse. In this 'little *jeu* of a book' and in the rest of Bech stories, fear (of alienation, oblivion, castration, the writer's block, and finally of death) is tamed through play. This paper studies the narrative games and play between character and author in their joint attempt to fight fear. Bech, the *Schauspieler* par excellence and *homo ludens*, Updike's most postmodern character, alter ego and mischievous double, although an amalgam of American writers and fitting in the American literary tradition of play, also calls forth the European play culture.

Key words: Updike, Bech, fear, double, play, *homo ludens*.

Henry Bech, John Updike's serial character, is a Manhattan Jewish writer who emerged in "The Bulgarian Poetess," a short story published in *The New Yorker* in 1965, and last appeared in "His Oeuvre," another short story collected in *Licks of Love* in 2000. Bech's life and times were developed in a trilogy, *Bech: A Book*, *Bech is Back*, which prematurely gave *The Complete Henry Bech*, and *Bech at Bay*. Although the latter was presented as a quasi-novel, a more appropriate generic term would be that of a short story cycle which, according to Forrest Ingram, denotes 'a set of stories linked to each other in such a way as to maintain a balance between the individuality of each of the stories and the necessities of the larger unit' (Ingram, 1971: 15). Thus Henry Bech became one of Updike's memorable, recurrent characters who along with Harry Angstrom in the Rabbit tetralogy define the author, albeit reductively. Bech's official position as the author's double and defiant alter ego was appointed in the foreword of *Bech: A Book,* and was confirmed in a series of interviews that expand the game between the author and his double. This playful treatment of the character is furthered by the comic-satiric mode that characterises these stories which explore the writer's condition in America, satirise the literary establishment and the book industry and dissect a writer's mind. One of its components seems to be fear. Just like Harry Angstrom who carries it in his name, Bech is plagued by angst. American critics have rightly pictured this character as 'the incarnation of the fear of impotence that any artist has' (Detweiler, 1972: 145), but did not establish the multiple link between play, the figure of the double and fear. I would like to examine this triangular relation and argue that play, framing the narrative and at constant work within it, controls and tames fear contributing to its artistic form. Before focusing on the short stories that can illustrate my argument, I will discuss the relationship between

play and art and Updike's intricate use of play which involves the complexities of the double.

Freud in his essay "Creative writers and Day-dreaming" pointed out the relationship between play and fiction contending that fiction is a continuation of children's play mediated by *ars poetica* (Freud, 1955). Moreover, Roger Caillois's concepts of controlled play, *ludus* and spontaneous play, *paidia* (from the Greek word for child) developed in *Les Jeux et les Hommes* (*Games and Men*) seem quite relevant (ibid.). Fiction is clearly an activity of controlled play. Postmodernism excels in games and play. Updike's modernist fiction abounds in games. Golf, his favourite sport, structures some of his short stories and in *Couples* the most important notorious game is the swing, the sexual practice of couple exchange. It is only in the Bech trilogy, though, that the author goes postmodern and adopts a self-reflexive strategy, the *Doppelgänger* device which monitors the narrative. (All citations from the trilogy stories will be referring to *The Complete Henry Bech*.) The play is enacted in a rich paratext, "*paratexte auctorial*," to use Gérard Genette's term, that establishes Henry Bech as a historical person. The foreword *of Bech: A Book* is a letter that Henry Bech sends to his creator where he heavily edits the book, as the editor's intrusive brackets inform the reader, gives him his blessing for fiction, and self-reflexively releases the key word in French, play, 'this little *jeu* of a book' (10). The play is not exhausted within the space of the short story collections, where Bech's historicity is also authenticated by a bibliography of Bech that mixes fictional and real critics such as George Steiner or Alfred Kazin or a French encyclopaedia entry on Henry Bech; it is also extended to four interviews given by Updike to Bech, and published as independent texts. In these dizzying reversals of who is whom, Updike, in a stubborn defiance of the critics who excoriated his verbal pyrotechnics, dazzlingly imitates his own style. Indeed, Johan Huizinga in *Homo Ludens* credited the sophists for a refining of the play through *epideixis*, exhibition, and this playful device gives Updike the licence for a free ride into a self-conscious *epideixis* of verbal skills to respond to his critics in the most sophisticated way through fiction.

However, it is the common reader that is the primary focus. The exchange between the writer and the character makes the reader all the more conscious of the illusory nature and potential of the text. The greater the effort, the more numerous the devices to make the reader believe that Bech is a historical person, the more obvious the game becomes. The Bech stories are clearly involved in a game with the reader, which is the third category of play in Robert Detweiler's typology of modern American fiction (Detweiler, 1976). This increased play, within the already given context of playfulness characteristic of all fiction, may correspond to the need of 'a constant and unpredictable renewal of the (play) situation' in Caillois's terms (Caillois, 1958: 20), but it also seems to be dictated by an even more imperious necessity, the treatment of fear which is omnipresent in the narrative. A ludic and jocular approach offers a greater degree of control, a double distancing which is symmetrical to the theme of the double that frames these stories.

There is no doubt that Henry Bech is Updike's kindred spirit. As the author says, 'I thoroughly enjoyed writing about Henry Bech. I write so often about middle-brow or low-brow people that it was fun to write about someone [...] who permits me to write without holding back, without compensating for the character's mind.' (Plath, 1994:135) Thus Bech is cast as Updike's *Doppelgänger*, the author's psychological double, and if the term evokes German romanticism, it also recalls one of the central characteristics of romantic aesthetics, namely playful irony which runs through the Bech stories. It is no surprise then that Bech reminds his creator in the foreword of *Bech: A Book*: 'Withal, something Waspish, theological, scared and insulatingly ironical that derives, my wild surmise is, from you.' (9)

However, building his character Updike creates not only a writer like himself but also his exact opposite; Bech is Jewish instead of WASP, self-educated instead of a Harvard graduate, Manhattan-lover instead of suburban, chronically blocked instead of unstoppably prolific. 'Bech was the anti-Updike as far as I could conceive of one,' the author acknowledges and thus introduces his alter ego (De Bellis, 2000: 52). Identification and projection seem to be the analytic keys of the double. Michel Morel in his article "Théories du double: du réactif au réversible," puts forward two concepts for the approach of the phenomenon that seem to originate in identification and projection: reactivity and reversibility. The former involves agonistic relations and a response to aggression, whereas the latter connotes complementarity. As we shall see, within the narrative Bech seems to act both as Updike's reactive *and* reversible double.

As a matter of fact, the dialectics of identity and difference are not foreign to the phenomenology of doubleness. Updike makes this clear while he beholds his double in his text "Updike and I," an imitation of Borges's famous text, "Borges and I" instigated by the magazine *Antaeus*. Some formulas could convey the gist of this text, J.P. Sartre's 'Je suis ce que je ne suis pas,' (I am what I am not) or Rimbaud's 'Je est un autre' (I *is* somebody else.) The American author patently makes the distinction between the man and the writer and hints at the dominant emotion that binds him to his double, 'He has become a sacred reality to me. I gaze at his worn wooden desk, his boxes of dull pencils, his blank-faced word processor, with a religious fear. Suppose, some day he fails to show up? I would attempt to do his work, but no one would be fooled.' (Updike, 1999: 758) Indeed, the character of Henry Bech seems to be the ideal container to hold the writer's fear of losing his creative gift. And along with it, a host of fears related to his vocation and trade, to *Dasein* and his social being. Bech senses danger on every side, steps on the danger line and immerses himself into fear. An overview of the stories and a closer look at some of them could give us a clearer picture of Updike's metafiction of danger and his fictional venture into fear with a double as his scout.

Fear is one of the constitutive parts of the character: 'It's becoming part of me,' Bech in "Bech Panics" confesses to the teacher who witnessed the aftermath of his anxiety attack (101). Hence the Bech stories set up a continuum of fear that spans a writer's archetypal anxieties, namely of the blank page and creative

paralysis, contamination or adulteration of his art with ambient commercialism, adverse criticism, the validity and worth of his work, its chances of survival or oblivion to mention only the capital ones. Yet these fears, specific to the creative activity and the writer's identity, cannot be dissociated from the man's, but act in coordinating conjunction. However, it is primarily the writer who offsets the attacks, the threats and throes of danger. The live exposure of the artificiality of fiction is counterbalanced by a subtle expression of fear through additional narrative strategies that amplify the initial act of play. The play outside the narrative is doubled by the play within. Bech in these stories assumes an actor's role, he is a constant *Schauspieler*, an endless performer. Bech is either a lecturer or the object of a lecture, a cultural ambassador or an interviewee, the President of an Academy and master of ceremonies or a Nobel-awarded speaker. The stage gives him the opportunity to act out and counteract his fears. From performance to performance, a permanent deferral is created, the deferment of the final showdown. Schematically, we could distinguish three sets of fear, political, existential and literary.

"Bech in Russia," "Bech in Rumania" and "The Bulgarian Poetess" feature Bech as a cultural emissary to three former communist countries in the midst of the Cold War. In "Rich in Russia," Bech's trip is presented through a professor's lecture and this performance within the performance evokes Borges's *regressus ad infinitum* universe, an infinite doubling. "The Bulgarian Poetess" starts in *media res* and thus the story relies on what Paul Ricoeur calls "*jeux avec le temps*" (games with time). The comic effect is created by Bech's lack of political savvy and his numerous gaffes. He tells the Russians that his favourite writer is Nabokov. Yet there is no laughter for Bech who only travels in the alien lands of fear. In Rumania he sees the driver's face as the epitome of evil and credits Melville for having faced courageously their native terror (35). Significantly, the story has a second title, "Bech in Rumania or The Rumanian Chauffeur." In Bulgaria he finds himself in the grip of terror while he reads Hawthorne's "Roger Malvin's Burial." These countries belong to 'the other half of the world, the hostile, mysterious half' (44) and thus native and alien never meet. The mirror imagery in "The Bulgarian Poetess" illustrates this dichotomy. Although at some point Bech feels that 'he had passed through a mirror, a dingy flecked mirror that reflected feebly the capitalist world' (46), at the end of the story 'the mirror goes opaque and gives him back only himself' (59). The split is confirmed by the dedication note he writes for the Bulgarian poetess on the copy of his book whose title, *The Chosen*, acquires here a political significance confirming the superiority of American ideology, 'you and I must live on opposites sides of the world' (59). Even love, Bech's favourite sport and potent remedy, does not mend the split. The women he encounters remain potential lovers behind the Iron Curtain. Bech pondering over his fear seeks shelter in his American identity, 'Pardon, je ne comprends pas. Je suis américain,' he answers the 'portly Slav' next to him on the plane that takes him back home. (43). The game of the double is thus multiplied through a series of mirrors. Bech, Updike's double, meets his own reactive double. These stories reflect the fear

of the other in the Cold War politics of the times which bred the threat of mass destruction and a full blown hysteria in the US.

Quite similar is the fear of the developing nations which emerges in "Bech Third-Worlds It." The fragmented structure of the story, built on 12 vignettes featuring Bech on a lecturing tour in the Third World countries, reflects Bech's disoriented and shaken-by-fear frame of mind, 'It was the fear he minded. The Third World was a vacuum that might suck him' (190). Bech's political sensibility is tested through his speeches which are out of step with the societies he is visiting just like his American humour nobody understands. He fails the test and regrets having publicly defended the Vietnam War, 'having meddled with sublime silence' (191). Updike's defensive stance towards the Vietnam War creates a sort of an insider's joke. Bech serves both as a reversible and reactive double for the author who can thus wash his dirty linen. The only shelter to be found is in the American embassies and the authorial ivory tower when he asserts the independence of art from politics. It is precisely the perception of America as a hegemon in continents where political consciousness challenges American supremacy that creates the ambient fear in the story. The final statement that he would never return unless invited increases the comic effect giving the last stroke to the portrayal of Bech as a materialistic ignoramus.

Bech's search for a safe haven orients his peregrinations towards industrialized nations and his choice of residence towards the suburbs. Authorial irony pervades the character's attempts to escape danger. The 'suburban softy' he vows to marry to find shelter from a threatening world and in a nation full of 'riots and scandals, sins and gnashing metal' (207) does not deliver her promises. Bech's suburban marriage is a brief interlude in his urban existence. It is in "The Holy Land" that the illusory nature of this haven appears but it is in "Bech Wed" that its full unholiness is revealed (12). In the former story, Bech's fear is reactivated by the history-laden tormented land which reflects Bech's own. However, this self-image is rejected and reactivity is at play: 'His marriage was like this Zionist state they were in: a mistake long deferred, a miscarriage of passé fervour and antiquated tribal righteousness, an attempt to be safe on an earth where there was no safety' (212).

"Bech Wed" develops the full implications of the mistake. Marital requirements make Bech write a low quality novel sacrificing his art on the altar of domesticity. Bech's artistic demise only matches the declining standards of the book industry which is hilariously described. The book is an artistic failure but a commercial success. Yet breaking free from his 'captivity in Sing-Sing' (278), as his suburban passage is qualified, only throws him back into an alien world. The only harbour for a writer is fiction, yet Bech is a blocked writer. The Bech stories capitalize on a writer's obsessive fear, the one of the blank page.

Bech's chronic block is like a tall tale spun into the narrative, a sort of gag for the reader to feast on. Bech is blocked at the beginning of his adventures and remains so unto the end, his mind being 'cluttered with books he had not written, cut into substantial dreams of drunkenness and love' (107). The latter takes the

form of an endless wooing and waiting, as this ladies' man unsuccessfully runs after his long-lost Lenore: 'there always lurked the hope that around the corner of some impromptu acquiescence, he would encounter in a flurry of apologies and excitedly mis-aimed kisses, his long-lost mistress, Inspiration' (138). His 'exquisitively unprolific' career (194) is crowned with the Melville Medal given every five years to the American author who has maintained the most meaningful silence"(172). Irony is multi-layered as Bech's self-irony – 'Am I blocked? I'd just thought myself as a slow typist' (82) – is doubled by constant narratorial irony and topped by authorial irony. Updike's some sixty volumes are flashed about against Bech's seven slim ones. Parodically, it is the block itself that is elevated to monument status: 'Your paralysis was so beautiful. It was […].statuesque' (260), Norma, his former mistress tells him considering the slovenliness of his new novel. In the "Three Illuminations in the Life of an American Writer," the literalisation of the writer's block doubles the comic effect. After having signed 28,500 books on a tropical island, Bech's fingers are paralysed, so he cannot sign his own name any more.

The story features another danger that recurrently comes up in the Bech stories: the writer's objectification through excessive lionisation. Bech's idle time makes him all the more vulnerable to such a danger. Having stopped being a writer, he only plays the role of one. Acerbic irony underlines this discrepancy: 'Bech realised that as his artistic powers had diminished he had come to look more and more like an artist' (196). Mimicry (simulation) is precisely one of the four basic categories of play according to Roger Caillois's typology (Caillois, 1958). Bech's block makes his performance as a writer a mere simulation. Increased play corresponds to exacerbated fears. No reassurance is granted to lessen them. In "Three Illuminations in the Life of an American Writer," whose fragmentary structure relies on a reconstructing technique Updike called 'the fugal weave,' Bech is confronted with his own maimed image when he discovers that the faithful collector of his books was a mere investor who never read them, and the mysterious, would-be woman who worshipped Bech, the writer finds the man disappointing. Conversely, Bech's drunken eyes in "White on White," a playful wink at Truman Capote's black and white party, pierce the deceptive façade of success and achievement of the New York world of art and scan the mud that lies beneath. The story, whose metaphorical network is based on colours and motifs of purity and impurity, ends with the Yiddish word for unclean, *Treyf*.

The same fearful, 'X-ray vision' (302) persists in "Bech Presides," where the competitive aspect of play, *agon*, another one of Caillois's four characteristics of play, but the sole one according to Huizinga (1955), is in full swing. The literati and their mutual envy and inner circle quarrels are the main focus. Moreover, the danger of corruption does not spare the talented and high-minded, the Academy-like group of "Forty;" they refuse to accept new members pretending that nobody is good enough and prefer to disband their organisation and sell its building, bequeathed to them by an art patron, to reap the financial benefit. Although Bech, informed of the high stakes, does not vote in favour of the dissolution, he

is pictured comically thrilled and eager to accept a bribe-like gift for his presiding services at the end of the story. Through the *Doppelgänger* who is here a reactive double, the author re-appropriates his own image satirising the New York elite. In the narrator's review of the American literary scene, Updike comes up as a 'suburbanite' along with the 'Johns,' 'Hara, Hersey, Cheever, all living safe while art's inner city disintegrated' (42). Although a writer appropriates everything as Bech's wife annoyingly tells Bech in "Macbeth," he fears the appropriation of his own image. This is shown in "Bech Swings?" where Bech finds his image perversely distorted in an interview by an interviewee who wily flattered him and stuttered the promise of a space for 'a-d-definitive t-t-testament' (111).

This death by distortion and the subsequent fear of alienation from the truth of the work and the authenticity of the man through adverse or envious criticism is brought up in "Bech Noir." Bech, is transformed into serial killer, a grim avenger of the critics who castigated his work and castrated him, 'Mishner dead put another inch on his prick' (155). "Bech Noir" plays with the conventions of a detective story and popular culture as Bech turns into a sleuth tracking down his detractors and a Zorro who black-clad re-establishes justice. Bech caught into the whirl of revenge, the vertiginous fulfilment of murderous impulses, the intoxicating sense of liberation, brings up another characteristic of the play in Caillois's typology, *illinx*, vertigo, patent in this story. Bech as Updike's Mr Hyde does the dirty job. The text is interspersed with the discourse of Updike's adverse critics including Harold Bloom's notorious phrase that the author would never attain the American sublime. As for Updike, he did not hide his exasperation over them: 'He "has nothing to say" […] it's become a kind of epitaph on my career no doubt above my deathbed some well-wisher will quote Harold Bloom' (Schiff, 2000: 27).

The fear a writer has as far as his/her place in the canon is concerned is also treated more implicitly through word-play in "Bech Takes Pot Luck." Although in the former story Bech actively takes his revenge against the critics who tried 'to eliminate him' (181) and 'refused to grant (him) a place, even a minor one in the canon,' in "Bech Takes Pot Luck," he is helpless before the terror he experiences when he pits himself against a literary giant, James Joyce: 'The stars overhead were close and ripe. What was that sentence from *Ulyssses*? […] – *The heaventree of stars hung with humid nightblue fruit.* Bech felt a sadness, a terror, that he had not written it, not ever' (77). Bech, on a fashionable vacation on Martha's Vineyard which is frequented by celebrities, looks all the more fragile and provisional next to the modern classic.

The idiomatic expression in the title, "to take pot luck," first refers to Bech's invitation of his former student, who is also vacationing in the same place, for an informal lunch, then, when Bech smokes pot offered by his student and unluckily gets sick, it becomes literal, and finally it is again turned into a pun referring to the two sisters, as Detweiler observed (Detweiler, 1984:147). When Bech's girlfriend goes away with the student, Bech turns to her sister. However, it is in the literary pantheon that Bech will take pot luck. Caillois's category, *alea*, chance seems quite

relevant. Updike picks up the gauntlet. Unlike Bech who declares in the foreword of the book that he does not like puns (10), Updike does. From *alea* we move to *agon*. The American author does compete in the story with Joyce, the greatest pun-maker in English-speaking literature.

A writer's dream of consecrated immortality is both indulged in and mocked at in "Bech in the Bounty of Sweden" and "Bech Enters Heaven." In the former story, Bech hilariously depreciates the Nobel Prize he is about to receive, while haunted by the fear of oblivion: 'Bech's seven books glimmered in his backward glance like fading trail marks in a dark wood' (217). In the latter, Bech having fulfilled his mother's dream finally enters the pantheon of immortals which turns out to be disappointing: 'When he stood, he had expected to rear into a man's height, and instead rose no taller than a child' (142). The literary idols of his youth are a group of doters sending back to him a future of senility. At the induction ceremony, Bech is lost in the apparition of his dead mother's ghost. The literary heaven looks very much like death by canonization as the story's last sentence indicates: 'He had made it, he was here, in Heaven. Now what?' (142). The ironic open-endedness of the story points to the closure of death.

The fear of death is prevalent in Updike's fiction. In the Bech stories, fiction appears as a poor guarantor of immortality, an insolvent practice. Bech constantly senses the danger of never transcending his mortal condition, aggravated by the slimness of his work and his chronic creative block. In one of Bech's interviews of Updike, published in *The New York Times*, this patronising alter ego exposes the folly of the creative enterprise: 'poor fellow hopes to keep his own skin dry in the soaking downpour of mortality' (Bech, 1971). According to Otto Rank (1989), in his essay on the double (originally appeared in 1914), the ambivalence of the double precisely stems from the ineluctability of death. The subject cannot help finding in his double the death he tried to avoid. The most dramatic showdown with death occurs in "Bech Panics," a biographical reconstruction of Bech's life through five slides, featuring the Jewish writer haunted by Locke's unease and Kierkegaard's dread. Bech's trip to the South is an initiatory one into the mysteries of death. An easy prey to an anxiety attack Bech gets close to a mental collapse and has a narrow escape. Out on a limb, he is the dangling man unable to take the leap into faith. The story dealing with the conjoined fears of sexual, spiritual and artistic impotence brings together what Updike called in his essay "The Dogwood Tree: A Boyhood," 'the three great things, sex religion and art'. Although "Bech Panics" is the most serious story in this cycle, it catches up with comedy in the ending. Bech, just out of the belly of the whale and somewhat transformed by his experience, touches his pocket to make sure the check he received from his visit to the Southern College is in it.

If fiction, then, is a letdown as a rampart against death, the reassessment of life seems legitimate. In "His Oeuvre," the last story in the Bech cycle, the fear of a wrong assessment crops up. In a series of readings attended by former lovers, Bech remembers his past exploits, compares life and fiction and questions his hierarchy of values, 'These women who showed up at his readings did it, it seemed clear, to

mock his books, empty of almost all that mattered, these women he had slept with were saying. We, we are your masterpieces' (Updike, 2000: 140). This competitive displacement of fiction, although mocked at, could be taken seriously.

Henry Bech, who unlike Harry Angstrom survived John Updike, certainly represents an expansion of the frontier between the author and his character and seems to be the verbal embodiment of all fears, even the one that may appear at the very end: ranking fiction higher than life may be a writer's fatal flaw and thus an impossible catharsis.

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SEMANTIC CHANGE IN LATVIAN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH

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Abstract. The impact of English as a global language upon Latvian has been growing exponentially in the last 20 years. It results not only in traditional borrowing and loans, but affects also the sphere of semantics – native Latvian words and earlier loans modify and change their meanings under the influence of English. Latvian linguistics for about 100 years has preferred to ignore or condone semantic change, though it has always been rife. The paper views semantic change as reflected in new meanings, broadening and narrowing of meaning, connotational change, conceptual recategorization and idiom loans. The study is based on a corpus of around 800 lexical and phraseological units that have undergone a change in the last two decades. Though some of the change may seem unnecessary, redundant and even confusing, there seems to be no way resisting, as it is the result of a massive impact of language contact which envelops all layers of lexis and styles.

Keywords: English, Latvian, semantics, borrowing, loans, change, connotation, conceptual recategorization.

INTRODUCTION

The corpus of this study consists of around 800 lexical and phraseological units of Latvian that have undergone semantic change in the last two decades – since the impact of English grew exponentially. All words under discussion have at least 5 separate source occurrences in the corpus, thus nonce use is excluded. The lexical and phraseological units were selected from mainly popular texts (magazines, newspapers, internet news texts). Overt translations were avoided (which does not exclude the possibility of covert ones). As a result the linguistic units under the study are representative of the language, they are not peripheral, or strictly terminological units, but rather central for the modern Latvian language wordstock. The meanings were compared to the traditional ones, as reflected in standard Latvian lexicographical sources – dictionaries of Modern Latvian and dictionaries of Foreign Words.

ENGLISH EXPANSION

Today the English language with its various modes of existence – as mother tongue, second language, foreign language, lingua franca, its territorial and social variants, individual variants, feeble „desperantos", etc. – is the only global

language. It naturally dominates the linguistic community of mankind which consists of numerous less advanced, less spread languages. Not being the dominant language in terms of native speakers, the power of English lies in its importance as a second language. Some describe the advance of English as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), linguistic oppression, others as a promise for the future leadership on the globe (Bennet, 2004) or as an ideal mode of communication between the more and more globalized citizens of the world where it has achieved the hegemonic critical mass. Still others view it as an inevitable, but benevolent *lingua franca*, however, influencing other languages (House, 2002, 2004). It should be noted that the spread of global English historically and comparatively has been least based on direct brutal, military or religious imposition, central decrees. It is boosted by the economic might of the native backyards (once the UK, now the US). English has spread mostly through natural agreement, and often as a result of a conflict of other languages where it has been the (seemingly neutral) third party. Thus in India, the spread of English was and is determined to a large extent by the fractious state of the local languages. Even within the EU, the crucial advent of English started not with the joining of the UK and Ireland in 1973, but with the accession of Scandinavian (1995) and the Central and East European countries (2004). The apparent consensual acceptance of English as a lingua franca (Wright, 2004: 157) makes it not only a globalized language but also a medium and channel of globalization. Also the language industry – dictionaries, textbooks, electronic tools – apart from the financial gain (in the early first decade of the 21st century amounting to 11 billion a year in the UK alone (Phillipson, 2006: 74)) – multiplies its initial power position. The global diffusion, high prestige and economic value of English make it very attractive, e.g. Latvian schoolchildren and their parents rank the usefulness of knowing English higher than that of their mother tongue (Latviešu …, 2010).

Whatever the reasons for the predominance of English, it occupies not only the central role as a means of international communication (Crystal, 2003), but also leaves an increasing effect on the other languages per se. This can take various ways, the simplest and most evident being English loanwords in different languages (see Görlach, 2001, 2002, 2003), as well as in many other less direct and obvious forms. This is fostered by a change in the type of language contacts. If formerly language contacts were either direct, where a mixing of people speaking various languages took place, or indirect – mostly through translations, which led to the borrowing of new terms, cultural or exotic words, then today the boundary between these two types has become very blurred. Even people living in relatively monolingual countries are frequently in contact with other languages through media, the internet and all- pervasive translations. While in the past translations were usually distinguishable, today most of them pass without being recognized as such. These are texts on international matters (politics, economy), texts on popular international culture (cinema, music, football, celebrities), recipes, cookbooks, travel descriptions and guides, international and European laws transposed, contracts (legal concepts and language in general for most nations are borrowed from Latin, continental or Anglo-Saxon systems), localization

of software, advertizing, films, dubbed, voice over, subtitled according to the tradition, TV dubbed and subtitled, TV shows, games franchises, usage instructions, labels (food, equipment, medicine), education books, reference books, encyclopedias, fiction translations and covert translations, to mention just a few.

In the Latvian case it has been estimated that about 70% of texts that an average Latvian consumes are translations (Ločmele and Veisbergs, 2011). This cannot but leave an imprint on the native language. The blur or fusion of translations and original texts makes it hard to delineate them, unless for specific reasons. It is not a totally new phenomenon. Koller points out that the total of written texts in German has always consisted of both original texts and translations without the two having been clearly marked off from each other. Translations always result in adaptations of the linguistic systems that either incorporate the source language features or redefine the features of TL to fit the new communicative task – and they become a norm (Koller, 2000: 113). It is the proportion, the scale and the omnipresent media that have changed.

There have been many attempts to discern and enumerate the types of motivation for using, borrowing and adopting foreign elements (Baldunčiks, 1989: 11), to differentiate between, what some call, the needed loans and meanings (filling the lacunae) and the ornamental, idiosyncratic reasons for using them, often branded as unnecessary. Meier, discussing German loans in English, suggests that

> the line between need and prestige, however, can be somewhat obscure, given the tendency for foreign words to belong to a more „educated register". Indeed I would submit that, by virtue of its foreigness, a word attains greater saliency and thus, to some extent, is imbued with greater expressive power, a power concordant with both need and prestige. (Meier, 2000: 169).

However, frequently the early and later users never think of their linguistic activity, frequently subconscious interference is at play, followed by replication on a mass scale, boosted today by the ubiquitous media.

LATVIAN AS A RECEPTOR LANGUAGE

In the last 800 years Latvian has steadily been under the influence of different dominant languages – 700 years under an increasing German influence, about 200 years under a strong Russian influence and the last 20 years under that of English. Briefer and occasional influences of Polish, Swedish and other languages have been comparatively less relevant. One lexeme exemplifies the main drift of dominant languages – **leduslācis (from German Eisbaer (ice bear)) > baltais lācis (Russian belij medved (white bear)) > polārlācis (polar bear).**

The English influence in the form of full loans (anglicisms in the narrow sense) in Latvian until the 1980s have been thoroughly studied by J. Baldunčiks (1989)

in an exhaustive monograph/dictionary. English loans for a longer time (since the first adoptions at the end of the 18th c.) were borrowed from German, later in the 20th century also from Russian. Needless to say, English often functioned as a re-exporter of loans from more exotic languages, e.g. **džungļi/dšungļi < jungle.**

In English the word had been borrowed from Hindi **jangal**, at the end of the 18th century. In Latvian the word was borrowed presumably from German **Dschungel**. The first instances are noted, according to Baldunčiks (1989), already at the end of the 19th century – **purvos un džunglājos** (Baltijas Vēstnesis, 1899: 155, 2). Soon the word appeared in dictionaries: **Džungela – silājs ar mežiem un purviem Rītindijā**. (Lībknehts, 1908: 59).

Similarly **pidžama < pyjamas,** was borrowed in English in the 1800s from Persian **pay jamah.** The word **pyjama** is noted in German in 1915 and appears in Latvian (Baldunčiks, 1989) after the First World War: **Pyjamos no mazgājama zīda** (Kurzemes Vārds, 1924. 28), **Viengabalaina pidžama** (Elegance, 1925: 26, 14), **Pidžāma –vaļīgs, viegls rīta vai vakara uzvalks** (Ozoliņš, 1926: 124).

In the 20s and 30s of the 20th century there were also direct contacts between English and Latvian resulting in the adoption of many full loans: **hīts (heat), džezs (jazz), buči (boots), stends (stand), seksapīls (sex-appeal), nokauts (knock-out), džemperis (jumper), pullovers (pullover), vīkends (week-end);** occasional calques and semicalques – **naktsklubs (nightclub), faivoklok tēja (five o'clock tea).** Semantic shifts, however, were not noticeable.

During the Soviet period most anglicisms were borrowed via Russian, occasionally carrying some elements of the latter language – **džinsi (jeans), čipsi (chips), klipši (clips), etc.**

Towards the end of the 20th century English became the main direct contact language of Latvian and accordingly the intermediary language for many, often, more exotic loans, e.g. **graffiti < Italian graffito, < graffio** [**a scratch**] borrowed in English in the middle of the 19th century. The new meaning in English, however, appears in the second half of the 20th century. The word appeared in Latvian in the 80s of the 20th century. Similarly, numerous semi-terminological words have been borrowed of late, e.g. a multitude of exotic massage types, mostly borrowed from English.

In summary, the full loan corpus from English consists mainly of neoclassical words, many exoticisms, some proper "anglicisms" and many colloquial English words, part of which can be viewed as nonce-words used to add stylistic piquancy. Semantic change under the impact of English, however, is less prominent and obvious and has hardly been studied in Latvian at all.

TERMINOLOGY: LOANS AND ANGLICISMS

Borrowing from English occurs in various shapes. One of the main drives behind language change is the change in reality that creates an onomasiological need (Geeraerts, 2010: 41): a new meaning/nuance is needed/felt as needed, and it can

be achieved by creating/borrowing a new word (onomasiological innovations provide new words together with the meanings needed/wanted), or by adapting an extant lexeme (semasiological innovations insert the new meanings in the existing words). Even when there is no change in reality that needs to be worded, but there is a wish for a new wording (prestige, vogue or other reasons), the same mechanisms apply. In the case of English induced effect the result is sometimes described as an "anglicism", but there can be a narrow, broad and very broad understanding of the term.

The narrow understanding would comprise only full loanwords with unchanged or changed spelling and/or pronunciation, as well as with a possible change of meaning in the loan. 'An anglicism is a word or an idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary if the receptor language' (Görlach, 2003:1). This would exclude code switches, quotations and similar occasional occurrences, nonce insertions as well as various semantic loans (calques in various forms), also similar occasional semantic deviations (what Paul (1920:75) described already in 1880 as *okkasionelle Bedeutung*), as well as other imported features in the receptor language (see further).

The broad understanding would go much further, e.g. Gottlieb defines an anglicism as 'any individual or systematic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English' (Gottlieb, 2002: 129). Stretched still further one can establish and view English impact on supra-lexical levels as well, e.g. English has affected Latvian word formation patterns (import of patterns (Ločmele, Veisbergs, 2011)), textual norms and conventions (use and spread of innovations, wordplay, phraseological transformations) (Veisbergs, 2007a), advertising patterns (Ločmele, 2010), the frequency and scope of colloquial and nonce use (Brēde, 2011), the "internet language" (Sīlis, 2009: 172).

Finally, there is a view that the English interference and dominance in language contacts creates semantic chaos and sets up communicative barriers within the target language community. The proponents of this view deplore English impact and try to curtail it as much as possible. Others consider that this impact leads to a general standardization/homogenization of languages with a consequent loss of cultural uniqueness (Munat, 2004:115). Still others think that the change adds stylistic enrichment, nuances, fills gaps in the receptor language. It might be worth referring here to the endless "hard word" discussions in the 16th century Britain, where the situation can be viewed as similar as to the scale of influx of foreign material. Despite the collateral estrangement of the English wordstock by the Romanic and Latin loanwords, they enriched and refined the linguistic means of expression (Scheler, 1977:104).

Thus, borrowing can be viewed as an enrichment and refinement of linguistic means of expression, an activation of linguistic potentialities of the language under the influence of another language/culture (Veisbergs, 2007a). Whatever the views, the phenomenon exists, it can hardly be controlled or affected, and deserves investigation.

As this paper is dedicated mostly to semantic change, a brief overview of the various types of English impact will follow – all of which can be viewed as anglicisms. However we will not use the term "anglicism" for semantic change as the broad meaning of the former is very blurred and might cause confusion.

ENGLISH IMPACT

English (including the so-called Neoclassical words coined in English) impact on Latvian today can be seen in the following forms and conventions:

- Traditional full loans with the usual/necessary phonetic, spelling and grammatical adaptations: **frīks (freak), fīlings (feeling), čarts (chart), meils (mail), lūzers (loser).**
- Unassimilated full loans.

The number of stable loans of this category is small, yet there are numerous nonce-use cases): **wow** (sometimes misspelt), **OK, fuck:**

Korngolds, kas kādreiz biedēja un likās "vai!", izrādās ***"wow".*** (Diena, 11.5.2011)
Reakcija ir – ***wow****, bet acīs redzēju "kāpēc..* (Diena 7.6. 2010)
Latvijas ekspozīcijā nākuši klāt un teikuši – ***vow****,…* . (Diena, 23.9.2008)

- Neoclassical borrowings

These constitute the largest share of loans: **politkorektums (political correctness), komitoloģija (commitology), interfeiss (interface), interoperabilitāte (interoperability), eksponenciāls (exponential).**

- Latvian derivations, clippings of English loans

Derivatives of loans are rife: **fakucis (fucker), fakains (fucking), kompis (computer), tīnis (teenager), fīča (feature), fanot (to be a fan), veikot (to wakeboard), snovot (to snowboard).**

- Midclippings

Loss of syllables in Latvian words (older borrowings) under the influence of English is frequent: **optimizēt < optimalizēt (optimize), minimizēt < minimalizēt (minimize), implants < implantāts (implant).**

- Morphological change

Morphological changes in older loans (usually not of English origin) that usually take the form of change of derivational suffixes aligning with the English ones: **inspicēt > inspektēt (inspect); novators > inovators (innovator), sociālekonomisks > socioekonomisks (socioeconomic), abreviatūra > abreviācija (abbreviation), homoseksuālists > homoseksuālis (homosexual), katastrofāls > katastrofisks (catastrophic**), sometimes prefixes are also affected **pirmsinsulta > preinsulta (pre-insult).**

- Ousting/replacement of older loans with new ones:

prevencija (prevention) < profilakse, audits (audit) < revīzija, urināls (urinal) < pisuārs; personāls (personnel) < kadri; animācijas (animation) < multiplikācijas; enzīms (enzyme) < ferments.

- Untraditional morphological patterns

Negative attributes formed on the basis of nouns in the genitive case (instead of the usual for Latvian negative adjective-based attributes) are now rife (the early cases came under the Russian influence in the 50s, but remained few). These are both borrowings and native words (presumably loan translations): **nerezidentu, netarifu, nefinanšu, nekapitāla, nedzīvnieku, nevaldības, nedzīvības, nepārtikas, nepiena, neslīdes, nezinātnes, netiesas, nelīguma.**

- Conversions

Cases of English-induced conversion are growing: **nekrofīls (necrophile), poligēns (polygenic), kontraceptīvs (contraceptive), kompozīts (composite), homofobs (homophobe), ambients (ambient), pedofīls (pedophile).** Conversion, though theoretically existing in Latvian (naturally limited by the flective nature of Latvian) was a rare word-formation pattern, usually applied in specific word classes or a few isolated historical cases. The new samples of conversion are generally borrowings, and all of the adjective-noun type.

- Blends

Growth in use of blends has been noted. Blending was a nonexistent word-formation pattern in Latvian in the past. A few English blends were borrowed as root words, e.g. **smogs (smog), motelis (motel).** Today, however, nonce blending is rife and affects also native words. Some of the former nonce words have gained wide usage and have entered the Standard Latvian lexicon, e.g. **nacbols (nacionālais boļševiks – National Bolshevik).** Systemic novelty has even broken into the traditionally conservative stronghold of Latvian – that of terminology. If **kaplete (kapsula tablete, capsule tablet)** can be viewed as an imported blend, then, for example, the more genuinely Latvian **mēstule (mēslu vēstule, junk e-letter), atkritne (atkritumu atvilktne, waste(recycle) bin)** serve as a proof that the expansion of new word-formation patterns has been extended to all styles and registers of the language.

- Compound phrases

Compound phrases of the occasional/nonce type: *'Izrādās, lai popularizētu Parīzes **tur-noteikti-vajag-būt** objektu…'* (Diena, 23.02.2001) *(It turns out that to popularize a Paris one-must-be-there object)* were nonexistent in Latvian before the 90s and the hyphenated compound phrase model was certainly imported. They are always of nonce-character in Latvian. The short hyphenated compounds (unusual in the past in Latvian) have become rife and are not of nonce character: **e-pasts (e-mail), e-pārvalde (E-government), i-banka, (internet bank**).

- Change of plural / singular system

This has affected nouns (internationalisms and native) that were used only in the plural or singular in Latvian (Baldunčiks, 2005), they have developed the full paradigm now. New plurals and singulars are usually connected also with shifts in meaning: **prasme/s (skill/s), tehnoloģija/s (technology/ies), politika/s (policy/ies), competence/s (competence/ies), kvalitāte/s (quality/ies),**

aktivitāte/s (activity/ies), vara/s (power/s), ekonomika/s (economy/ies), debate/s (debate/s). The phenomenon has affected even some native words **baile/s (fear/s), baža/s (concern/s).**

- Borrowing of idioms (which can include elements of semantic shift)

guļošais policists (sleeping policeman), skelets skapī (skeleton in the cupboard), iešaut sev kājā (to shoot yourself in the foot), biznesa eņģeļi (business angels), bumba ir laukuma otrā pusē (the ball is in somebody's court), justies ne savās čībās ((feel) in somebody's shoes), nākt ārā (to come out), likt/turēt visas olas vienā grozā (put all one's eggs in one basket).

- Compound calques and semicalques (which often include elements of semantic shift)

These are usually nouns of popular and terminological character: **ziepju opera (soap opera), e-pasts (e-mail), vēstuļbumba (letter bomb), viedkarte (smart card).**

- Semantic loans

Semantic loans tend to affect mostly old Latvian words (rarely) or older borrowed internationalisms aligning the new meaning with the polysemy of their English counterparts, e.g. **vīruss (virus), pele (mouse), zālīte (grass), attīstītājs (developer), laineris (liner), zaļais (green), pīlārs (pillar), arhitektūra (architecture), sūkāt (suck), rullēt (rule).**

- Meaning imposition (meaning substitution)

Change of meaning in monosemantic words – reshaping them semantically (ousting the traditional meaning) under the influence of English is as yet rare, e.g. **klasificēts (classified)** is used almost solely as *secret*.

While semantic change can be observed in a few of the above, the frequency and volume of semantic change is proportionately larger, yet these loans are less perceptible than other types of loans.

SEMANTIC CHANGE

Half a century has passed since Ullmann (1962) delved into the complicated processes of semantics and semantic change. Since then studies of semantic change have grown in size and depth branching out from the historical-philological semantics that focused on individual word change histories. Via structuralist and generativist semantics, cognitive semantics, prototype theory, conceptual metaphors and frame semantics we have come to a broader, but also somewhat diffused view that meaning is in a flux, it is renegotiated and modulated, thus continuously contributing to lexicogenesis. Many traditional categories are moot, thus broadening of the meaning often blends with new meanings (see further), change of distribution affects collocation, etc.

The difficulty of differentiating between nuance and sense (Brown, 2010) is noted by lexicographers and computer linguists. This leads some linguists to

suggest that word senses might in fact exist only relative to a task (Kilgarriff, 1997: 91). Word meanings are protean in nature; words appear to exhibit (often significant) variation in their semantic contribution across utterances (Evans, 2009: 65). This complexity can be seen in the monumental "Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary" (2009) that groups conceptually almost 800 000 words in 236 400 categories and subcategories) and diachronically creates a most complex, not to say, fantastic pattern. As Jean Aitchison phrases it, 'word meanings cannot be pinned down, as if they were dead insects. Instead, they flutter around elusively like live butterflies' (Aitchison, 1994: 39-40). But it is worth a try. Within traditional semantics broadening and narrowing, amelioration and degradation of meaning are the typical categories, as well rhetorical classifications like metaphor and metonymy, euphemism and dysphemism. Yet they do not cover all changes and often overlap as well (e.g. within euphemization generalization and metaphorization are rife).

LATVIAN SEMANTIC CHANGE CONTROVERSY

In Latvian semantic studies one can often observe a discrepancy between what happens in the language and what the linguists suggest. Semantic change as a phenomenon has been widespread, it has also been registered in Latvian since the beginnings of the written records. Its broad spread can be seen also in the wealth of Latvian folksongs (around 500 000 quadruplets) which are extremely metaphoric. When German scholars started elaborating written Old Latvian in the 17th century, translating religious texts, new terms and notions were needed. Semantic change was frequently resorted to as the means of nomination. As written/ literary Latvian in the 16th-19th century was largely formed and enhanced by non-Latvian, German-speaking elites, they consciously and subconsciously imposed German semantic structures when dealing with Latvian lexicon, adding and extending the meanings to cover the numerous new concepts. This is obvious in early grammars, dictionaries and texts/translations. The same was done since the mid 19th century by native Latvian writers, translators and lexicographers who boosted the lexis (often also with Russian as a model or source), e.g. Latvian **daba (nature).** The old meaning of the word has survived, and reflects the meaning segment of *human/animal nature/ character/behavior.* The much broader, basic meaning of today appears in G.F. Stender's use, when translating German **Natur**, having both meanings in his *Augstas gudrības/zinātnes/grāmata no pasaules un dabas* (1774):

> *Tā **daba,** ko Mācītāji (zinātnieki) NATURE sauc, ir tā iekšķīgā būšana un tie dzīvi spēki, kas iekš visām lietu lietām pēc savas kārtas (savā veidā) iraid.* (Stenders, 1796: 187)

For some time it was a bookish term/meaning until Valdemārs/ Brīvzemnieks registered it in the dictionary (Valdemārs, 1872: 457) as a translation of Russian **priroda** (having also both meanings). Thus, imposition of a new and foreign

meaning on a native word (or earlier loan) was a frequently used pattern. Similarly **balss** (**voice**) gained the meaning of *vote*,

However, at the beginning of the 20th century, as a result of the drive of some native linguists against the broad German (and Russian) element in the language, the attitude towards semantic change turned to a rather suspicious and hostile one. This attitude continued for about a century[1], though gradually changing from largely negative to regretfully accommodating – usually designated as struggle against alien calques.

The negative trend was set by the trailblazing founders of native Latvian linguistics Mīlenbahs and Endzelīns, who condemned foreign language imposed/induced semantic change. In the second part of their *Latviešu gramatika* (1907) (written by Mīlenbahs) calques are described as *Germanisms* (ģermānisms) (46), *fruit of the German language* (vācu valodas auglis) (119), *weeds* (nezāle) (126), *alien fruit* (svešauglis) (195), *stifling in the fetters of German and Russian* (smakšana vācu vai krievu valodas valgos) (95), *being in the German yoke* (atrašanās vācu jūgā (202). One could ironically observe that the harsh, dysphemic characterization is very metaphoric, in a way symbolizing the need for and power of figurative language. Yet, while it is pointed out there that the word **viduvējs** (average) is used in the wrong meaning similar to Russian *posredstvennij* and German *mittelmaessig* (Endzelins, 1907: 27), their own dictionary (ME) 30 years later suggests the following meanings for **viduvējs:**

1. *vidējais* (*the middle one*)
2. *mittelmaessig* (*average*).

Apparently the mistake had become the norm, incidentally the first meaning does not exist in Modern Latvian at all. The word had undergone extension of meaning and then narrowing, thus, undergone a full change.

Mīlenbahs did admit that 'language habits like any habits are strong, so strong that even language *mistakes* can become indispensable' (1907:115). This, however, suggests a purist and prescriptive approach to the issue of *mistakes*.

Laua located calques between native and borrowed language elements stating that the sample, according to which a calque is formed, is alien, but the language means are native (Laua, 1981: 135). Perhaps it should be noted that the language means should not be native in the etymological sense – new meanings can be formed in borrowed words as well. Laua differentiated between morphological, semantic and phraseological calques and stated that semantic loans, like morphological loans, were felt as long as they were new, then one got used to them (ibid.). Again one could point out that some semantic and morphological loans are felt as loans even after decades of intensive use.

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[1] Study of semantics and semantic change generally remained in the philological stage and new ideas, though occasionally alluded to, were mostly relegated to the individual, occasional and stylistic sphere (metaphors) (Veisbergs, 2007b,c), but not to the lexicosemantic system of the language as such. The few exceptions to this tendency related to specific domains (Trumpa, 2007, 2010; Ikere, 1992, 2010).

Laua did concede that calques enrich the semantic structure of the word, yet also pointed out that loans could be troublesome/disturbing (*traucējoši*), not every loan was welcome and only those could be "recognized" for which there was a need. She admitted that there were many controversies, as it was not always easy to determine the language development tendencies (ibid.: 138). One could comment that it is perhaps the borrowing and the loans themselves that determine these tendencies and developments.

Freimane (1993: 371-372) insists that new meanings can either enrich the language or pollute it (*piesārņot*) depending on their conformity to the semantic system which is most difficult to establish. She concedes that many loans criticized by Endzelīns are being used today, have entered the dictionaries; this inflicts a great responsibility on lexicographers, a moral duty (?A.V) to do the utmost in order to check the usage. She provides long lists of both old and new calques that are undesirable.

Finally, Ščucka (2009: 121) in a more conciliatory and realistic mood, points out that many unliterary calques have with time been recognized as literary, this is the result of respecting language use; such change of norms can be seen in the case of semantic and derivative loans.

As it can be seen, semantic loans have been viewed as dangerous (in a way worse than the obvious full loans), subversive elements undermining the "spirit" and natural tendencies of the language. Of course, these prescriptive views did not translate seriously into the language development and affect the process of borrowing (especially in colloquial language) as such, but to some extent limited the reflection of semantic change in dictionaries.

Nevertheless, a glimpse at the real language situation shows that even in the most regulated sphere of Latvian – terminology, semantic shifts are rife: numerous simple Latvian words have various terminological meanings: **acs (eye)** is widely used in anatomy, zoology, agriculture, textiles, archeology, physics, construction, etc. Also terms are recognized to have been created as a result of broadening, e.g. **nokrišņi (precipitation)** was attributed not only to *liquid particles but also solid (dust)* (http://www.vvk.lv/print.php?id=709).

TYPES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

1. NEW MEANINGS

When viewing the new or changed meanings one can see several types of meaning change. The first is the most straightforward case when a word develops a new meaning under the effect of another language – in our case English. The Latvian word can be a native Latvian word, an established early borrowing from another language, or an earlier loan from English, e.g. **pele (datorpele) < (computer) mouse.** These calques are usually terms and the change affects the denotative meaning of the words. Usually it can be clearly discerned as a different

meaning and would be clearly marked in dictionaries as a new meaning. Semantic borrowing of this type is especially rife in those spheres of Latvian which undergo fast development, e.g. computer science: **pasts (mail), vēstule (letter/mail), sērfot (to surf), atslēga (key), irbulis (stylus), tīmeklis (web), ikona (icon), trojas zirgs (Trojan horse), tārps (worm), vīruss (virus), ugunsmūris (firewall), aplikācija (application);**

economics, politics, social domains: **pārkarst (to overheat), sadegt/izdegt (to burn out), klasificēts (classified/secret), akadēmiķis (academic), shēma ((criminal) scheme), nopludināt (to leak (information)), vabole (bug, VW beetle), regulators (regulator), ēna (shadow), retorika (rhetoric);**

food **pasta (pasta), starteris (starter),** etc. *Ēdienkartes mazāk interesantā daļa šķita **starteri** – dominē pazīstami Vidusjūras salāti.* (Diena, 14.01.2005)

Retorika (rhetoric)

The traditional Latvian meanings were 1. *"the art of speech, science of art of speech* and 2. *use of language for effect"* (Svešvārdu…, 1999: 683). The new and broad meaning is *"discourse, talk, the style of speaking, tonality".*

*Arābu **retorikā** bieži tiek minēta Alžīrijas un Dienvidāfrikas koloniālā pieredze..* (Diena, 02.05.2003)

*Visticamāk ECB nepārsteigs. Iespējams, ka **retorika** pagaidām nemainīsies.* (Dienas Bizness, 01.03.211)

Rullēt (to rule)

The new meaning of **rullēt** (to roll), is the result of a stranger development. The English colloquial **to rule** (to be excellent, superior) was transferred to Latvian not as a full loan (**rūlēt**, some samples of early loans), but superimposed on an old Latvian loan from German **rullēt (to roll).** As such it quickly passed from slang into colloquial.

*pēdējā all star spēlē tie liela daļa old'u pārnāca mūsu tīma. īst neatceros kapēc..ā. tapēc, ka mēs **rūlējam** ...jap. thats it.*(Online 1)

*Lidojošo dunču nams (2004) jau **rullēja** kā Viņa Majestātes Kases grāvējs.* (Klubs Exclusive, Winter, 2005: 44)

***Rullē**, Latvija, paģiras būs svētdien!* (Sestdiena, 07.10.2006)

*Jaunā hokeja komanda īsti **nerullē**.* (Privātā Dzīve, 18.04.2006)

Pūderis/pulveris (powder (snow)).

Two loans are competing for this meaning: **pūderis** from English, **pulveris** from German. In fact, also **pūderis** in Latvian is a German loan, yet this meaning is borrowed from English.

*Pārsteidzoši, bet ir ļoti daudz vietu, kur **pūderis** ir fantastisks, – Japānā, Vaiomingā, Kalifornijā, Aļaskā.* (Klubs, 9, 2004:33)

*..nav sniega, un man patīk pa labu **pulveri** vizināties.* (Online 2)

A real change of meaning (loan-shifts, meaning imposition) in monosemantic words under the influence of English is relatively rare: **klasificēts (classified)** is used almost solely as *secret*. The word **drastisks (drastic),** formerly meaning *rough, playful, carefree* tends to be used more and more in the English meaning of *radical, sharp*. **Kritisks (critical, difficult)** is now frequently used for *very important*. **Dramatisks (dramatic, drama)** – *connected with plays, emotional* stands to be used in the English meaning of *sudden, striking*.

*Darba režīms – visai **drastisks*** (Diena, 01.03.2011)
*..lai kāpums nebūtu tik **drastisks*** (Diena, 10.12.2007)
*.. seko **dramatisks** nozares kritums* (Diena, 07.09.2011)
*Nākotnē gaidāms **dramatisks** saslimstības pieaugums* (Diena, 09.03.2011)
***Kritisks** darbaroku trūkums* (Diena, 14.09.2011)

2. BROADENING/NARROWING

Broadening/narrowing of meaning is more difficult to pinpoint, as the first often tends border on a new meaning (the lexicographer would a have a problem deciding (Brown, 2010), sometimes the change involves elements of conceptual change, sometimes the shift is barely perceptible.

Zaudētājs (looser)

The Latvian word initially tended to have the meaning of a *particular loser in a game, debt, transaction*. Under the general and broader meaning of the English word – initially and still today carried by the full loan – **lūzeris (looser)** which has only the meaning of a *looser in life/dropout, failure,* the Latvian word has extended its meaning to a somewhat specific but also general *failure*.

Impotence (impotence)

The medical term formerly designating the *erectile dysfunction*, has adopted under English influence the general meaning of *impotence:*

*Izrādi raksturo vecišķums, amatieriskums un radoša **impotence*** (Diena, 04.06.2002)

The secondary meaning of **spekulācija (speculation)** which was a philosophical term has broadened to a general *"reasoning based on inconclusive evidence; conjecture or supposition"*.

*Tas veicināja **spekulācijas**, ka inflācija Vācijā un eirozonā kopumā pašlaik ir sasniegusi savu maksimumu....* (Dienas Bizness, 26.06.2001).

Instruments (instrument)

The first meaning (*"manual" tool*) has become more generalized and broad, including *law, decree, means, tool* – anything that would achieve the intended result. The meaning of *"the EU legal instrument"*, however, may be viewed as a separate meaning. Meanwhile the word **rīks (tool, instrument)** which used to be a synonym, has developed a new narrower, computer-related meaning which tends to override all others.

*Integrētais CASE **rīks** GRADE. 2005, (www.zb.rtu.lv)*

Analysing similar cases of broadening, Baldunčiks talks of semantic hypertrophy of the basic equivalent (pamatekvivalenta semantiskā hipertrofija) (Baldunčiks, 2010: 69), meaning that the Latvian equivalent to the basic meaning of English assumes the other meaning/s of the English equivalent. There is a substantial number of such cases: **administrēt (to administrate, to arrange, to rule, to conduct), attīstība (development, construction, design, planning), izaicinājums (challenge), pieredze (experience, feelings, participation, knowledge):**

***administrēs** .. finansējumu..* (Diena, 2002, 294, 5)

Sekmēt vecpilsētas iekšpagalmu labiekārtošanu un attīstību. (2005, www.cesis.lv)

*..viena no astoņām sadaļām ir veltīta tieši parka **attīstībai**.* (30.06.2003. www.politika.lv)/)

*Saules aptumsums dod neticamu **pieredzi.*** (LTV1)

A subgroup generally featuring broadening of meaning comprises words that have undergone ideological change. The change of the political system lead to the normalization of some Soviet, ideologically narrowed terms, e.g. **oportūnists (opportunist)**, where the meaning of *political (allegedly anticommunist deviation) opportunism* dominated. This change includes also certain amelioration of the formerly ideologically pejorative meaning. Similarly distorted terms, like **internacionālists, nacionālists, kosmopolīts, revizionists** have undergone the same change. **Pagrīdnieks** (**underground-er**) which had associations with *political underground activist* only, now has broadened to denote generally clandestine, sometimes avant-garde activities.

*..noteikti ir dažas labas **pagrīdnieces**, kas pelna, bet tik un tā saglabā savu vietu pagrīdē.* (Veto Magazine, 2009, No. 12: 12)

3. CONNOTATIONAL CHANGE.

There are elements of connotational change also in the previous group – leading towards broadening and neutralization of previously ideologically negatively intoned words. Yet the standard cases of connotational change are usually those of degradation or amelioration, mostly caused by sociopolitical change of the system, e.g. after the political change at the end of the 20th century, many prewar words regained their old connotations, like **kungs (Mr)** and **kundze (Mrs)**. The Soviet system imposed its ideological stereotypes (one can of course speculate whether everybody accepted them, but the official media of course did impose and propagate them): **kosmopolītisks (cosmopolitan), pilsonisks (civic** was **bourgeois), spekulācija (speculation), tirgus (market).** A connotational, partly denotative change has affected the synonymic subset **brīvības cīnītājs (freedom fighter), mežabrālis (forestbrother), partizāns (partisan), terrorists (terrorist), bandīts (bandit).**

Also similarly to the way the Soviets decreed that **žīds (Jew)** in Latvian is an abusive term (as in Russian it had a negative connotation) and substituted it

by **ebrejs (Hebrew),** the euphemistic, politically correct influence from English (and the EU) has substituted in official texts **čigāns (Gypsy)** for **Roma. Čigāns** has been officially degraded.

The formerly negatively intoned word **militārists** has changed to a neutral connotation, because of the English meaning of the noun **military.**

*..bijis arī personālais **militārists** Jānis Ločmelis* (Diena, 23.08.2011)

*22 gadus jauns students, **militārists**, kura hobijs ir sports un dejošana* (Diena, 25.08.2009)

*Bija ieradies Hamlets, kura tēvs bijis **militārists**, un vāra lielus sūdus* (Diena, 03.04.2008).

4. CONCEPTUAL RECATEGORIZATION

Strictly speaking, conceptual recategorization is not just a lexical phenomenon, but predominantly—as the term says—a conceptual one. This means that because a referent or a set of referents is given the membership of another category, it naturally also receives its designation.

For example, the notion of town and city may vary in countries of different size and at different times (see Goerlach, 1997: 135). Of course, one can view re-categorization in a very broad sense, e.g. **kopija (paper copy)** since the invention of a photo-copier has partly changed its category from a manual work to an automatic process. **Tuša (ink)** now would be mostly associated with its new dominant meaning **skropstu tuša** (**mascara**) though the old meaning is still extant. Similarly, **tampons (tampon)** now would carry the meaning of *hygienic tampon* as the first one (no doubt imposed by active advertising). **Telefons (phone)** has mostly changed its category since the invention and predominance of mobile phones, it is fast approaching that of a computer, though the more modern ones tend to have other names – **i-pods, androids.** Many things normally considered inedible in the past now have moved to the category of edible in Latvian: **kreses (cress), sparģeļi (asperagus), bambuss (bamboo).**

Tracing the use of **happy** has shown us a shift from *'under conditions to be valued'* and *'creating conditions to be valued'* through *'under conditions actually valued'* to *'valuing the conditions one is under'.* The conditions themselves have changed, too: from success to lasting harmonious human relations and enjoyable moments (Diller, 2008a, b).

An interesting case is **burbulis (bubble).** Since the crisis/recession the dominant meaning seems to be of the borrowed image: *the bubble has burst* (banking, real estate, speculation). The English **bubble** could have been **pūslis (buble)** and **balons (balloon)** in Latvian, the latter would actually correspond more to the metaphoric image, yet, perhaps, because of the first dictionary meaning for **bubble** it assumed the Latvian equivalent **burbulis**.

*Neticu, ka nekustamo īpašumu biznesa **burbulis** pārplīsis.* (Klubs, October, 2005: 57)

5. IDIOMS

Finally, as stated above, semantic borrowing affects also idiom stock. Many English idioms have been assimilated in the last two decades and are part and parcel of the idiom stock of Modern Latvian appearing both in translated and original texts (see above). Many other idioms are often used as occasional insertions, frequently set apart by inverted commas or italics, e.g.

Gulošais policists (sleeping policeman)

*Proti, 2002.gadā līdzekļus tam diezin vai izdošoties atrast, tāpēc maz ticams, ka «**guļošais policists**» pie skolas tiks ieviests agrāk par 2003.gadu.* (Diena, 21.03.2002)

Nākt ārā (to come out)

*Prieks arī, ka elektroniskajā mūzikā cilvēki vairs neslēpjas tikai savos datoros – viņi paceļ galvas un **„nāk ārā“.*** (Veto Magazine, 2009, No. 12: 36)

Biznesa eņģelis (business angel)

*Paredzēts, ka pasākumā piedalīsies privātie investori, riska kapitāla investori, sēklas kapitāla investori, **biznesa eņģeļi** u.c.* (Diena, 29.10.2009)

*Taču ir vērts mēģināt ar savu **biznesa** plānu pārliecināt arī kādu **biznesa eņģeli** vai riska kapitāla fondu.* (Diena, 04.08.2009)

*Šie speciālisti var būt gan mentori, gan sweat equity investori, gan **biznesa eņģeļi** – LIAA ir pieņemamas dažādas sadarbības formas.* (Diena, 18.07.2008)

*Tie parasti ir investīciju fondi, brīvie investori jeb tā dēvētie **biznesa eņģeli** , kuri vēlas atbalstīt kādu jaunu biznesu un gūt peļņu.. – "**Biznesa eņģeļi** " – uzņēmēji, kuriem ir brīvie līdzekļi investīcijām.* (Diena, 15.11.2004)

These idiom loans affect the traditional meanings of the Latvian components (**policists, eņģelis,** etc.)

An interesting case is presented by the connotational change in the translation loan **butterflies in one's stomach,** a rather neutral idiom in English. While in English the meaning is *a nervous feeling in one's stomach. (*Typically: get ~; have ~; give someone~.) Whenever I have to speak in public, I get butterflies in my stomach. She always has butterflies in her stomach before a test. It was not frightening enough to give me butterflies in my stomach, but it made me a little apprehensive,* e.g.

*This week's mystery comes courtesy of Mrs MD, from Hertfordshire, who reports that recurrent episodes of diarrhea (attributed in the past to an irritable bowel) are invariably preceded by a strong tingling sensation on the inside of her left wrist, along with "a feeling of **butterflies in the stomach** and a general lowering of the spirits".* (Daily Telegraph, 03. 03.2006)

*Nick is now in a state of panic over what is meant to form a substantial part of his retirement fund. "I am very, very worried about my money," he says. "I have **butterflies in my stomach** when I think about it."* (The Guardian, 07.10. 2008)

In Latvian, however, the translation loan has established a most positive connotation and is associated solely with the state of being in love, e.g.

taureņi vēderā

*Viņi viens otram iepatikās. Vai sajūtas ir tādas pašas kā sievietei, iemīloties vīrietī, – **tauriņi vēderā,** trīsas, nespēja domāt ne par ko citu, lūpas nemitīgi viegli smaida. "Jā. Un arī siltums ķermeni pārņem," Dzintars ironiski nosmej.* (Sestdiena, 02.06.2007)

*Es domāju, īstā mīlestība ir tad, kad **tauriņi vēderā** un liekas – ja sāksi elpot, viņi aizlidos uz visām pusēm!* (Diena, 31.03.2010)

CONCLUSIONS

The impact of English results not only in traditional borrowing and loans, but affects also the sphere of semantics – native Latvian words and earlier loans modify and change their meanings under the influence of English. The paper views the change from a novel point of view as reflected in new meanings, broadening and narrowing of meaning, connotational change and conceptual recategorization, idiom loans.

Though some of the change may seem unnecessary, redundant and even confusing and testifying to the erosion of language stability, there seems to be no way of resisting it, as it is the result of a massive impact of language contact which envelops all layers of lexis and styles. The fact that Latvian linguistics for about 100 years has preferred to ignore or condone semantic change (though it has always been rife) does not contribute to understanding the change either. Many changes are characteristic of the traditional meaning development of Latvian lexis, some of the changes are of nonce character and transitory. Finally, these processes depend not so much on the linguistic particularities of the languages involved, they reflect the change of the modern society and its cultural paradigms. The postmodern fragmentation, haste, sloppiness and clichés inevitably penetrate also the seemingly stable and logical link between the word form and meaning.

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