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EMERGENCE OF NEW PREDICTORS PROJECTING THE DEFINITE ARTICLE VARIABILITY: EVIDENCE FROM NIGERIAN ENGLISH

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Abstract. An important syntactic system in the noun phrase (NP) is the definite article system. The definite article system in emerging varieties of English, such as Nigerian and Indian, have been shown to manifest varying degrees of variability in their usages, given different contexts (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984; Wahid, 2013; Akinlotan, 2016b; Akinlotan 2017). In addition to the fact that little has been done in quantifying this phenomenon, too little number of predictors explicating the scenarios where we might find certain definite article usages in different but specific contexts in emerging varieties has also been put forward. Following Wahid (2013), a revision of Hawkins's (1978) theoretical framework for the definite article usages, together with test statistic, the present study investigated 19276 tokens of *the*, spread across seven text types of academic, media, learner, interactional, popular, literary, and administrative. The study which Akinlotan expands (2017) shows that previously untested predictors of presence/absence of premodification and determiner structure, animacy and class of the head noun, and syntactic function of the NP, account for variability in the definite article usage in our corpus. In fact, these newly tested predictors show stronger influence than a well-known predictor of register (Biber et al., 1999; Wahid, 2013).

Key words: definite article usage, variability, register, Nigerian English, linguistic predictors, New Englishes, corpus linguistics

INTRODUCTION

Investigating variability in various linguistic choices has received some attention in the literature of non-native varieties of English. Results from different studies have shown evidence of idiosyncrasies in the various syntactic structures/systems studied. For instance, variability has been established in the use of the definite article in both the established and emerging varieties of English. Variability of the definite article system in Nigerian English has received no attention in literature. In the light of Wahid's (2013) and Akinlotan's (2017) important work on the variability of the definite article usages across eight different varieties of English, it is important to provide insights into Nigerian variety, at the same time testing more than two predictors of register and variety.

Until Wahid, many studies have either provided small datasets from which generalisations are made (see Lamidi, 2007, for the definite article in Nigerian English; Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984, for Singaporean and other Asian Englishes) or have focused on issues of omission, underuse, overuse, and misuse (Ionin, 2003; Lamidi 2007). Having provided some evidence from emerging varieties (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2005; Kortmann, 2006; Wahid, 2013; Akinlotan, 2016a; Akinlotan, 2017), identifying factors which influence the choices should suffice. In other words, apart from the established factors representing register and variety, which Wahid (2013) further attests to, it is important to find out whether the definite article usage relate to factors other than the often-tested ones.

On the basis that more specific explanations viz-a-viz predictors are required for clearer understanding of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic idiosyncrasies characterising every variety, the present study shows the extent to which the definite article usages can be explained in terms of predictors which have never been tested before. In other words, in addition to register and syntactic functions, which have been found to be well-known factors motivating linguistic choices including the definite article usage, the following predictors representing (1) animacy of the head noun in the NP (2) noun class of the head noun in the NP (3) number of the head noun (4) presence or absence of a premodifier, and (5) presence or absence of any other determiner, are studied.

The choices of these factors are motivated by the reports of strong influences they have on linguistic choices involving alternation (see strong influence of animacy on genitive alternation in Nigerian English, the relationship between number disagreement and determiner structure in Akinlotan, 2016b, the relationship between presence or/and absence of a premodifier and other syntactic elements within the NP in Akinlotan and Housen, 2017). The hypothesis is that these factors, given their prior demonstration of a positive relationship with linguistic choices/alternation in the same variety, would shed light on the variability of the definite article usages in our variety, and can indeed be generalizable to similar varieties. In this way, it will be shown how previously known and unknown predictors compare in motivating choices, showing the extent to which our new candidate predictors explain the choices. Consequentially, it would then emerge whether Wahid's hypothesis about the strength of register as a good predictor is manifested in our corpus or whether syntactic function once again outweighs register, as Akinlotan and Housen (2017) found.

HAWKINS' DEFINITE ARTICLE FRAMEWORK

Hawkins (1978) provided a theoretical framework of the definite article usage, which is described in this section, following a further revision from Akinlotan (2017). First is the definite article use in the anaphoric sense, which points back to the referent which had been mentioned earlier in the text. For instance, 'the book' refers to 'an interesting book' in: *Fred was discussing an interesting book in his class. I went to discuss the book with him afterwards*.

The second type of use is the associative anaphoric usage. As it suggests, it is about inductive meaning processing, associating with the referent mentioned earlier. In the example, *Bill drove past our house in a car. The exhaust fumes were terrible,* 'fumes' is associated with 'car'; therefore, associative anaphoric use has occurred.

The third use is what Hawkins (1978) termed the 'Immediate situation use', which has two sub-levels (1) the visible situation use and (2) the immediate situation use. In the visible situation use, what is being referred to is immediately present/visible, for instance, *'Pass me the bucket'*. On the other hand, what is being referred to in the immediate situation use is not immediately present/visible (e.g. *Beware of the dog.*). These subcategories overlap, and can be collapsed into as contextual.

The next use is the 'larger situation use', which, in the present study, is still part of the contextual use as it deals with context, just as the visible, and the immediate situation use. The larger situation use, in the sense of Hawkins (ibid.: 115), requires the speaker's and listener's knowledge of larger context than it is in the case of visible and immediate situation uses which require knowledge of small context. Furthermore, this use also has two sub-levels; the specific knowledge use and the general knowledge use. In the specific knowledge use, some sort of specific knowledge about the larger situation is shared by the speaker and the hearer. For instance, the shared knowledge of a particular *Gibbet* is expressed in the following example, *The Gibbet no longer stands*. Whereas the general knowledge use, according to Hawkins (ibid.), refers to 'a general knowledge of the existence of certain types of objects in certain types of situation'. General knowledge about the on-going event suggests that the hearer can correctly identify *the bridesmaids* in *Have you seen the bridesmaids?* Again, in the framework for this study, we collapse all of these uses into the contextual use, since they still require matching the referent to context in the world.

The fifth usage type is unfamiliar uses in a noun phrase with explanatory modifiers. As it suggests, it means this use refers to NPs containing modifiers that identify the referent in the applicable context. According to Hawkins (ibid.: 137), there are four structural types of modifiers that can explain the referent: (1) establishing relative clauses for example, *what's wrong with Bill? Oh, the woman he went out with last night was nasty to him*. The argument ('the woman') in the clause, 'The woman he (Bill) went out with last night was nasty to him' makes the clause establishing 'what's wrong with Bill?'; (2) associative clause; which is a clause that contains the associates of the referent, in the example *I remember the beginning of the war very well;* (3) NP complements; in this case the NP is complemented by a clause that links the referent in the NP to a particular context, for example, 'the fact' in Bill's amazement is linked to 'there is so much life on Earth', in *Bill is amazed by the fact that there is so much life on Earth* and (4) nominal modifiers; the presence of modifier aiding the identification of referent, for example, 'red' functions as a modifier, shedding light on the type of colour, in *I don't like the colour red*. The sixth definite article usage by Hawkins is unfamiliar

uses with unexplanatory modifiers. As it suggests, the modifier does not explain the referent, for example, *My wife and I share the same secret*. The premodifier *same* does not explain 'the secret'. As the fifth and sixth usage shows, they can be collapsed into one category of structural use, which is proposed in the present study. Although Prince (1981, 1992), Wahid (2013), Akinlotan and Housen (2017) recategorized Hawkins' classification, their points of difference are not relevant to the objectives of the present study. In the methods section, a tabular presentation of the re-conceptualisation is presented.

Hawkins (1978) only provided us with a detailed yet overlapping classification of the definite article usage but with very little information as to which specific situations we expect to find certain uses. So far in the literature of New Englishes, the definite article usage has only been investigated in the contexts of register and variety as determinants (Wahid, 2013). Comparing different varieties of English, Wahid's expectation of variety emerging a better predictor than register was not clearly borne out. In other words, Wahid found register, rather than variety, a stronger predictor explicating uses in eight varieties of English. The fact that register outweighs variety validates Biber et al.'s (1999) claim that register is a very strong determinant constraining variation. On the basis of Wahid and Biber et al., we expect text type/register to emerge as a strong predictor constraining the choice of the definite article. It will be shown that certain text types/register prefers certain usage of the definite article to other. Akinlotan (2017) and Akinlotan and Housen (2017) have shown stiff competition between syntactic function and register. For instance, Akinlotan (2017) found variety, rather than register, asserting stronger predictive strength. In addition to these two known predictors representing (1) syntactic function, and (2) register, the present study proposes and engages now candidate predictors representing (3) animacy, (4) class, (5) number of the head noun, (6) presence or absence of a premodifier, and (7) presence or absence of another determiner. Only their independent effects will be shown in this study, leaving a multivariate analysis for future endeavor.

Determiners, including the definite article, have a strong semantic relationship with nouns or any other lexical items with which they appear (Akinlotan, 2016a). In other words, their syntactic and semantic processing is largely dependent on co-occurring elements. Given that the definite article could not be correctly identified or processed without recourse to the other occurring structural components in the entire NP which bears the morpheme, it is important to find out to which extent these structural and semantic elements assert the influence on choices of the definite article. For example, the NP, *the slow-moving car* consists of premodification and a noun, both of which are partly responsible for the classification of the definiteness manifested. Also, since Hawkins' classification can be distinguished on the basis of structure (see usage type 5 and 6) and of meaning (see usage types 1, 2, 3, and 4), then the syntactic position of the NP and the presence/absence of a premodifier and other determiner elements become important. Evidence for these expectations

has been provided in Schilk and Schaub (2016), Akinlotan and Housen (2017), and Akinlotan (2017). These works showed that the syntactic position of the NP can determine the presence or absence of a certain structural element, such as a premodifier, the definite or indefinite article. On the basis of these findings, we expect syntactic function that NP performs to influence preference for certain definite article usage, such that the definite article choices can be explained in terms of the grammatical position of the NP.

According to Hawkins' process of identifying different usages of the definite article, the presence and/or absence of a premodifier may impact on the easy identification of the referent in an NP. Relatedly, Wahid (2013: 33) also found that certain structural elements, such as a prepositional phrase, influence the usage choices of the definite article. Wahid also found that the syntactic usage of the definite article reflects some marked uses in which definiteness is marked on the postmodification. Therefore, on the basis of Akinlotan's (2017), Wahid's (2013) and Hawkins' (1978) argument that modifier is crucial to interpreting the definite article usage, we expect to find a positive relationship between the premodifier and the definite article usage in our corpus. More specifically, since certain uses (e.g. syntactic usage) are structurally more associated with the presence of a premodifier, we expect a premodified NP to significantly associate with syntactic usage.

Given the semantic import/feature of animacy, and on the basis of its asserted influence on structural choices in previous studies, it is also expected that some kind of relationship with usage type will suffice. The relationship between animacy and noun class implies that animate proper nouns are less likely to require the definite article for their identification. In other words, it is expected that certain usage types, such as contextual use and syntactic use, will have a negative relationship with NPs consisting of such animate nouns as the head noun. Also, on the basis of the fact that animacy has been shown to influence constructional choices in genitive alternation in our corpus, it is expected that animacy will relate with choices, alternating between one to the other. More specifically, we expect anaphoric use to associate with inanimate head noun and to disassociate with animate head noun.

The class of the head noun is also expected to assert some sort of relationship. Given that certain definite article usage, as shown in Hawkins' framework, is highly dependent on whether the referent is visible or not immediately visible, it is expected that the class of the head noun (concrete or abstract) will influence the definite article choices, such that a preferential pattern emerges. The expectation is also supported by Butler (2002) who showed that Japanese speakers considered the status of the head noun before using the definite article. What Butler has shown is the influence of mother tongues on the acquisition and use of the definite article. It is also expected that some transfer influences of the definite article system operating local Nigerian languages will suffice, such that the status of the head noun in an NP is considered before choosing the definite article usage. More specifically, it is thus expected that NPs

consisting of concrete head nouns will associate more with contextual use than with an abstract head noun.

Furthermore, the noun number, i.e. whether the head noun is singular or plural, has been shown to have influence on the determiner structure in Nigerian English NPs (Akinlotan, 2016b). Hence, it is expected that the number of the head noun will influence the definite article choices. Akinlotan (2016a) has also shown that combining determiners in the Nigerian English determiner system is rare, and when it occurs, the number of the head noun is likely to disagree. Lamidi (2007) has also shown that unconventional determiner combination (for instance, see 'this' and 'your' in 'I like this your shoe') in Nigerian English inhibits easy accessibility to and processing of the referent in the NP. Tagliamonte et al. (1997), who tested how different types of determiner influenced plural marking in Nigerian Pidgin English, also suggests that the number relates to determiner choice in Nigerian Pidgin. They found that a certain type of determiner associated with the nominal referent in plural marking. If this is the case in Nigerian Pidgin English, we can also expect a relationship between the number of the head noun and the definite article choices on the one hand, and that the determiner structure will show a positive relationship with the usage type on the other hand. Following Tagliamonte et al. (1997), Lamidi (2007) and Akinlotan (2016a), we hope to show the extent to which the definite article is combined with other determiner structures, and how this combination influences choices of the definite article usage.

Following the previous findings in text type, it is predicted that text type will assert the strongest influence of all the predictors. According to the previous findings in Akinlotan and Housen (2017) and Akinlotan (2017), it is expected that syntactic function will strongly compete with text type for influence. In the light of Fraurud's (1990) claim that 'the definite article is not most prominently used for its textual function', it is expected that contextual use will emerge the most commonly used in our corpus.

DATA AND ANNOTATION PROCEDURES

Expanding significantly the datasets (and the hypotheses) from Akinlotan (2017), noun phrases appearing with the definite article were extracted from 15 text types (excluding academic, technical and social science) in the written component of the Nigerian section of the International Corpus of English. Antconc Tools (Anthony, 2014) were used for the extraction of a definite noun phrase (e.g. *the men that I saw yesterday*) from the text types. For the purpose of the present study, the 15 texts are reclassified. The reclassification is necessary for a clearer register classification, which Nigeria-ICE lacks (see Akinlotan and Housen, 2017, for Nigeria-ICE reclassification, and Akinlotan, 2017, for different conceptualisations of the definite article). Table 1 shows the reclassification of the text types, together with the frequencies of the token *the*.

Table 1 **Text type classification and the token extracted from them***

Text type in this study	Text type in the corpus	Tokens
Academic	Academic humanities (11) and social science (11)	2693
Administrative	Administrative (11) and business (18)	2632
Media	Reportage (26) and editorial (28)	2792
Learner	Student essay (12) and examinations (49)	2724
Literary	Novel	2929
Popular	Popular humanities (11), social science (11), natural science (11), and technology (14)	2747
Interactional	Social letter (48) and skill hobbies (25)	2759
7 categories	**15 categories**	**19276**

* In the brackets is given the number of texts used in each textual category. For instance, 11 texts (all of which were used in the present study) make up the academic textual categories. Examination category consists of 54 texts but only 49 were used in the extraction process.

For the purpose of a relatively balanced corpus, additional texts matching the ICE criteria for inclusion were accessed. The text types representing novel, skills and hobbies, and social letters did not return sufficient tokens. For the literary category, additional tokens were extracted from an online published literary work entitled 'Cupid Risk Series' (Whitman (ed.), 2000). This text publishes a number of Nigerian short stories from different backgrounds. For the interactional category, additional tokens were extracted from similar texts which have similar themes with those of ICE, and are addressed to similar audience on an online forum *Nairaland*. The same comment as above. The 19276 tokens were then coded for six usage types shown in Table 2. The six usage types used in this study emanate from Hawkins (1978), Prince (1981), Wahid (2013), and Akinlotan (2017).

Furthermore, these six choices of usage are analysed in the context of six variables discussed above. Following the ideas of Schilk and Schaub (2016), and Akinlotan and Housen (2017), two syntactic functions, subject and non-subject, are accounted for in the present study, though eight syntactic functions were completed in the actual coding. For example, the NP 'the brilliant Hausa politician' in the clause *the brilliant Hausa politician has promised to restructure the entire country* functions as the subject of the clause, whereas 'the entire country' functions as the direct object (non-subject) of the verb *restructure*. In other words, syntactic functions other than subject positions (e.g. direct object, prepositional phrase, apposition, subject complement, indirect object), are collapsed into a category called the non-subject syntactic function. For the animacy of the head noun, a binary scheme of animate or inanimate is applied.

Table 2 **Comparison of the classification of the definite article usage in the study** (based on Hawkins, 1978; Prince, 1981; Wahid, 2013 and Akinlotan, 2017)

HAWKINS (1978)	WAHID (2013)	PRESENT STUDY
Anaphoric use	Textual	Anaphoric
Immediate situation i. Visible situation use ii. Immediate situation use	Situational	Contextual
i. Visible Situation Use		Contextual
Larger situation use i. specific knowledge in the larger situation ii. general knowledge in the larger situation		Contextual
Associative anaphoric use	Associative anaphoric use	Inductive
'Unfamiliar' uses in NPs with explanatory modifiers i. Establishing relative clauses ii. Associative clauses iii. NP complement iv. Iv. Nominal modifiers v. 'unexplanatory' modifiers	Structural	Structural
'Unfamiliar' uses in NPs with unexplanatory modifiers		Structural
	Non-referential e.g. He is the leader	Stylistic
	Generic e.g. The computer is a wonderful thing	Stylistic
	Idiomatic e.g. Grab the bull by its horns.	Stylistic
	Repair e.g. The, er, the project is useless.	Contextual
	Repeat e.g. The, the man came early today.	Contextual
	Unknown e.g. the guy (with insufficient context for identification)	Unfamiliar

Following Zaenen et al.'s (2004) animacy encoding, company, organisation and geographical names (e.g. NNPC, WHO, Lagos), and proper nouns that identify humans, animals, and supernatural beings are classified as animate, while all other entities are classified as inanimate.

Next is the number of the head noun, which is a two-way distinction of singular or plural. When a collective noun is used in the sense of a singular noun (e.g. *The President's team is poor* versus *The President's team are professionals*), such syntactic status is coded accordingly. The class of the head noun is coded as either abstract or concrete. In other words, the referent in the NP is taken to be physically identifiable (concrete) or not (abstract). Akinlotan and Housen (2017) have shown that the presence/absence of certain NP element (e.g. premodifier) influences the presence/absence of another element (e.g. postmodifier). Such a finding suggests that the presence/absence of certain NP element will indeed influence the choice of the definite article usage. More specifically, Akinlotan (2016b), Akinlotan and Housen (2017) show that structural components of the NP in Nigerian English are well predicted on the basis of their relations to one another. For modification as a variable, the presence or absence of a premodifier within the whole NP is coded for. Though not reported here, but in the actual coding the length of the premodifier is measured in 1, 2, 3, 4 or more words. In future research, it might be worthwhile to show whether the weight/length of a premodifier influences the choice of the definite article. In the present study, only the presence (premodified, i.e., a premodifier of any length) and absence (non-premodified) of premodification is reported. Another factor accounted for is the definite article combination with other determiner; thus, whether the definite article is used independently or cooperatively with another determiner of any sort, is annotated for.

RESULTS

In this section, the results of the variables tested are presented. While the definite article choices can be explained as a semantic/pragmatic category, the present study treats these choices as categorical; such that a token/usage analysed as anaphoric could not be further analysed as contextual. Such analysis is essential in the semantic/pragmatic approach, even though there are clear cases of the definite article usage that could not be analysed both ways. Using a cross tabulation, the preferential patterns are shown. These distributions are tested by means of chi squares test of independence showing whether there is a significant underlying relationship between the choices and the predictors. Given the focus of the study, which is to show the independent effect of different variables on the definite article choice, the chi square test of independence is able to provide insights into the underlying pattern. Each analysis is related to the hypothesis being tested, and followed by the test statistic result of the hypothesis, using the chi square test of independence. All analyses were carried out using SPSS.

1 ANIMACY

The distributions of usage types in relation to the animacy of the head noun in the NP are provided in Table 3 below.

Table 3 **Article usage by animacy**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Inanimate Head	3269	20	6730	42	1607	10	3807	24	467	3	162	1	16042	100
Animate Head	1277	34	1120	35	327	10	350	11	120	4	40	1	3234	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

Since there is no prior evidence as to whether the animacy of the head noun in a noun phrase relates to the definite article usage type, we conducted a chi square test of independence to show what kind of relationship exists between the head animacy and usage type. The result (χ^2 (5) =667.099 $p<0.0000$) shows that there is indeed a relationship between the animacy of the head noun in the definite NP and usage type. In other words, as the table shows, there is some kind of relationship between the head animacy and usage type: when the head in the NP is inanimate, the definite article is likely to function as contextual use (42%), which is not the case when the head is animate. When the head is animate, the article usage is likely to function as anaphoric (34%) or as contextual (35%). While contextual use (42%) is more likely to occur with inanimate head than with animate head (35%), anaphoric use (34%) is more likely to occur with animate head than with inanimate head (20%). A similar preferential pattern is found in the use of syntactic definite article which is more likely to occur in an NP with inanimate head (24%) than with an NP with animate head (11%). Furthermore, syntactic use is more likely to occur (24%) with inanimate head than with animate head (11%), whereas no pattern is found in inductive, stylistic, and unfamiliar uses, irrespective of the animacy status of the head in the NP. Our expectation of anaphoric use to associate with an inanimate head noun is not borne out. Rather, anaphoric use prefers animate head to inanimate head at 34 per cent versus 20 per cent respectively.

2 CLASS

Table 4 shows the relationship between the article usage and class of the noun – either concrete or abstract.

Table 4 **Article usage by class**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Concrete Head	2970	36	3110	38	854	10	863	11	231	3	109	1	8137	100
Abstract Head	1576	14	4740	43	1080	10	3294	30	356	3	93	1	11139	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

As with the animacy of the head noun and article usage type, the relationship between the class of the head noun and the article usage type is also statistically significant $\{\chi^2 (5) = 1818.435\ p<0.0000\}$. It reveals that some positive relationship exists between the class of the head noun and choice of the definite article usage. While contextual use is strongly preferred when the head is abstract (43%), the case is the opposite for a concrete head, which is closely distributed between anaphoric (36%) and contextual (38%) uses. While the competition for the most preferred article usage is between contextual and anaphoric (38% versus 36% respectively) when the head noun is concrete, the competition for the most preferred article usage when the head noun is abstract is found with contextual and syntactic (43% versus 30% respectively).

Similarly, while anaphoric use is more likely to occur with concrete head than with abstract head (36% versus 14% respectively), a clear preferential pattern is not found with the contextual use, though there is a very slight preferential pattern for concrete head. Furthermore, it is found that syntactic definite article usage associates more with abstract head (30%) than with concrete head (11%). In other words, abstract head syntactic use is more likely to be used than concrete head syntactic use (30% versus 11% respectively). As with animacy, there is no trend found in inductive, stylistic, and unfamiliar uses. The absence of a pattern suggests that whether the head noun is abstract or concrete is almost completely unrelated to the choice of the definite article usage. Again, our expectation that a concrete head noun rather than an abstract head noun is to attract contextual use is not borne out. Rather, abstract head noun contextual usage (43%) is more likely to be used than concrete head noun contextual usage (38%). One explanation of this result could stem from the fact that abstract head nouns may not be as easily identifiable in other usage types as it is the case with contextual use, where more information about the context/ referent is supplied.

3 NUMBER

Table 5 shows the number of a noun, singular or plural, relating to the choice of article usage.

Table 5 **Article usage by number**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Singular Head	3708	24	6509	41	1412	9	3478	22	494	3	151	1	15752	100
Plural Head	838	24	1341	38	522	15	679	19	93	3	51	1	3524	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	2	587	3	202	1	19276	100

As with animacy and class, there is no prior evidence suggesting that a positive relationship exists between the number of the head noun in the NP and the definite article usage type. In order to find out the kind of relationship that exists between the number and article usage, the chi square test was conducted on the above observed distribution. The result is statistically significant {χ^2 (5) =125.264 $p<0.0000$}, showing that choices of the definite article usages are related to the number of the head noun in the NP. In other words, whether the head noun is singular or plural is a variable capable of explaining the definite article usage types, at least in our corpus. This result confirms the expectation (a similar finding by Tagliamonte et al. (1997) in Nigerian Pidgin English) that the number of the head noun would associate with certain choices of the definite article and some specific statements could be made. Specifically, contextual use is the most likely usage type to occur, irrespective of the number of the head noun of the NP. In other words, whether the head noun is in the plural or singular (41% and 38%), the contextual usage type is likely to be used. The inductive usage type is more likely to be used when the head noun is in the plural (15%) than when the head noun is in the singular (9%). At a very small degree, the contextual usage type is more likely to be used when the head noun is in the singular (41%) than when the head noun is in the plural (38%). This pattern is also the case of the syntactic usage type. As can be seen, a singular head noun associates with the syntactic usage type more than a plural head noun does (22% versus 19%). In addition, the anaphoric usage type is likely to be used, irrespective of the number of the head noun (24%).

4 PREMODIFICATION

The influence of occurrence or non-occurrence of a premodifier on the choice of the article usage is presented below.

Table 6 **Article usage by premodification**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Un-Premodified	3113	25	4851	38	953	8	3248	26	364	3	118	1	12647	100
Premodified	1433	22	2999	45	981	15	909	14	223	3	84	1	6629	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

As we can see from the table, the choice of the definite article usage is related to the presence/absence of NP modification {χ^2 (5) =592.806 p<0.0000}. In other words, the usage type can be explained in terms of premodification occurrence (i.e. whether a premodifier does or does not co-occur with the definite article). Since the presence of (pre)modification contributes to the real-world processing of the referent in an NP, the positive relationship shows that certain definite article usage types associate with a premodifier, while certain usage types dissociate with a premodifier.

Furthermore, it is very likely for the inductive usage to co-occur with a premodifier (15%) than not (8%), whereas the syntactic usage follows the opposite pattern. That is, it is more likely for the syntactic usage to disassociate with a premodifier (26%) than to associate with a premodifier (14%). On the other hand, this clear preferential pattern is not found with the anaphoric and contextual usage types, even though these usage types are the most used choices. For instance, it is found that the contextual usage is more likely to co-occur with a premodifier (45%) than not (38%). This pattern is different from what is found with the anaphoric usage. While the anaphoric usage is more likely to co-occur with a premodifier (22%), it is not likely to co-occur (25%). According to our expectation that the syntactic usage will significantly relate with a premodified NP, the table shows this not to be the case. Rather, it is more likely for a non-premodified NP to associate with the syntactic usage (26%) than with premodified NPs (14%). Akinlotan and Housen (2017) have shown that a premodifier within the NP in Nigerian English is more likely to be omitted because Nigerian NP is generally typical of simple structures transferred from the structures of local Nigerian languages.

5 DETERMINER STRUCTURE

The relationship between the determiner structure and article usage is given below.

Table 7 **Article usage by determiner structure**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single	4421	24	7501	41	1839	10	3993	22	533	3	177	1	18464	100
Combined	125	15	349	43	95	12	164	20	54	7	25	3	812	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

On the basis of Tagliamonte et al.'s (1997) finding that there is a relationship between the determiner type and NP structure in Nigerian Pidgin English, it is expected that the determiner structure will have some influence on the choice of the definite article usage. A test statistic shows that the determiner structure has a relationship with the definite article usage $\{\chi^2 (5) = 97.792\ p<0.0000\}$. In other words, the definite article usage can be predicted or explained on the basis of the definite article co-occurrence with another determiner. As can be seen, there are clear preferential patterns found in stylistic and unfamiliar usages, while this is not the case with the anaphoric and contextual usages. The table shows that the stylistic definite article usage is more likely to occur when the definite article co-occurs with another determiner (7%) than when the definite article does not co-occur with another determiner (3%). A similar scenario is found with the unfamiliar definite article usage, which is very likely to be used when the definite article does not co-occur with another determiner (3%) than when it does combine with another determiner (1%). Also similar is the anaphoric usage, which is more likely to be used when the definite article is not combined with another determiner (24%) than when the definite article is combined with another determiner (15%).

Small preferential difference is found in the contextual and inductive usages. Both usage types are more likely to be used when the definite article is combined with another determiner (43% and 12% respectively). Unlike other predictors tested so far, it is only this determiner-occurrence variable that really explains the stylistic and unfamiliar definite article usages. Our specific expectation that a combined determiner would strongly associate with the contextual usage is slightly borne out at a percentage difference of 2%. This sparse variation correlates with Akinlotan (2016b) and Lamidi (2007) that determiners are rarely combined in the Nigerian NP.

6 SYNTACTIC FUNCTION

The extent to which a syntactic function relates to the article usage is presented in Table 8.

Table 8 **Article usage by syntactic function**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Subject	1289	27	1909	40	495	10	889	19	118	2	38	1	4738	100
Non-subj	3257	22	5941	41	1439	10	3268	22	469	3	164	1	14538	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

The syntactic function performed by the NP in which the definite article appears is associated with the choice of the definite article usage {χ^2 (5) =69.158 p<0.0000}; when the NP functions as the subject of a clause, the anaphoric usage is likely to be used (27% versus 22%). Meanwhile, the contextual usage is less likely to associate with an NP that functions as the subject of a clause. No preferential pattern is found with the inductive usage, while it is found that the syntactic usage is more likely to be used when the NP functions as the non-subject of a clause structure (22% versus 19%). As with the determiner predictor, the syntactic function of an NP shows that some explanation can be made about the usage choice of the stylistic definite article. That is, the stylistic definite article usage is more likely to be used when the NP functions as the non-subject of a clause structure (3%) than when the NP is positioned at the subject position (2%). In other words, the stylistic usage correlates with non-subject NPs.

Unlike a premodifier and the number predictors, the inductive definite article usage is not found showing preference or having a strong relationship with the syntactic function. As can be seen, the inductive article usage is likely to be used irrespective of the syntactic functions of the NP. In other words, whether the NP is positioned at the subject or non-subject positions has no influence on the choice of the inductive usage whereas influences of the premodifier and the number on the inductive usage are found. Also, it can be seen that the syntactic function has no relationship with the unfamiliar usage. On the basis of the previous findings (e.g. Akinlotan, 2016b; Akinlotan and Housen, 2017), which reported a strong influence of the syntactic function on structural choices, our expectation of a similar strong influence is not met. It is expected that the syntactic position of the overarching NP will influence the choice of the definite article usage, namely, the definite article choices can be explained in terms of the grammatical position of the NP that bear the morpheme. As it can be seen, this is not clearly borne out, though the anaphoric usage is more likely

to associate with the subject NP than with a non-subject NP. On the other hand, a non-subject NP is more likely to associate with both contextual and syntactic usages than any other usages.

7 TEXT TYPE

Text type which has been found to influence syntactic choices is presented in relation to the choice of the definite article.

Table 9 **Article usage by text type**

	Anaphoric		Contextual		Inductive		Syntactic		Stylistic		Unfamiliar		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Academic	736	27	896	33	391	15	544	20	94	3	32	1	2693	100
Administrative	745	28	912	35	255	10	618	23	63	2	39	1	2632	100
Media	677	24	1013	36	333	12	632	23	107	4	30	1	2792	100
Learner	769	28	979	36	228	8	665	24	47	2	36	1	2724	100
Literary	477	16	1485	51	199	7	677	23	72	2	19	1	2929	100
Popular	660	24	1036	38	381	14	554	20	90	3	26	1	2747	100
Interactional	482	17	1529	55	147	5	467	17	114	4	20	1	2759	100
Total	4546	24	7850	41	1934	10	4157	22	587	3	202	1	19276	100

There is prior evidence suggesting that there is a strong relationship between the definite article usage and the text type that produces them (Biber et al., 1999; Wahid 2013). On the basis of these previous findings (Biber et al., 1999; Wahid, 2013), the chi square test of independence was carried out to show the extent to which this hypothesis is manifested in the definite article usage alternation. The result shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the text type and the definite article usage $\{\chi^2 (30) = 801\ p<0.0000\}$. In other words, there are some indicators that the text type determining the definite article usage can explain their distributions and preferential patterns. Noticeable and strong indicators emerge in the literary and interactional text types in which the contextual usage is very much the preferred choice (51% and 55% respectively). Unlike other predictors/context, the text type does not clearly explain the distribution of contextual usage to the extent that specific statements can be made.

This lack of a clear pattern is also reflected in the inductive usage, which is the least used choice at 7 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. The patterning of the inductive usage in a learner text type, which is the third least preferred at 8 per cent is related to anaphoric and contextual distributions. Apart from these two text types which clearly demonstrate the preferential pattern in the contextual and inductive usages, no other text type shows a strong relationship with

the definite article usages, so that the expected strong effect of text type could be ascertained. In other words, there is no significant preferential pattern which allows making specific statements. As it can be seen, the stylistic and unfamiliar usages show a similar trend irrespective of the text type which determines them. Similarly, the same trend, a sparse variation and obscure patterning, can also be seen with the anaphoric and syntactic usages, which are distributed irrespective of the text types that produce them. For instance, we can observe the significant explanatory power of the determiner predictor on the stylistic and unfamiliar usages, a scenario that is missing in the text type, a well-known variable of language use/constructional choices. In other words, the expectation that the text type will reveal much about variability in the definite article usage in our corpus is not met.

8 SYNTHESIS OF THE INDEPENDENT EFFECTS OF PREDICTORS TESTED

In this section, an analysis showing the aggregate effects of all predictors analysed is presented, allowing for a quick comparison among the effects.

Table 10 shows that some expectations are borne out, while some are not. There are clearly some divergences and convergences with the findings in the previous study by Akinlotan (2017). What the present study has added to the previous study is that there are more predictors than the common ones found in the literature that can shed light on the predictability of the definite article usage in different varieties of English. However, the emergence of these predictors, since they have not been tested and found in the article system of other varieties, could only be attested in Nigerian English variety, in the least. Therefore, this study has not only brought forward new predictors adding to the commonly tested ones but has also highlighted that the commonly tested ones such as the syntactic function and register can vary in their influences, given different scenarios that include datasets, idiosyncrasies of the variety in question, operationalization of the predictors (e.g. we have operationalized the register in a different way from the previous study). For instance, until now, the extent to which the aspect of the NP complexity influences the choice of the definite article usage has not been clear.

As the Table shows, there is a relationship between the definite article usage and (1) presence/absence of premodification, and (2) the syntactic functions of the NPs bearing the definite article. On the other hand, the expectation of a very strong relationship between the text type/ register and article usage is not met (Biber et al. 1999; Akinlotan and Housen, 2017). The re-classification of the text type may have impacted the desired results. Nevertheless, the register/text type still provides insights into where we are likely to find certain uses, and where we should least expect certain uses. At any rate, we have shown that the definite article usage may not only be predicted, but also that such prediction might be more insightful than others, depending on what variables are considered.

Table 10 **Summary of effects of independent variables tested**

	Anaphoric	Contextual	Inductive	Syntactic	Stylistic	Unfamiliar
Inanimate head	–	+ (7%)		+ (13%)	–	
Animate head	+ (14%)	–		–	+ (1%)	
Concrete head	+ (22%)	–		–		
Abstract head	–	+ (5%)		+ (19%)		
Singular head		+ (3%)	–	+ (2%)		
Plural head		–	+ (6%)	–		
Unpremodified	+ (3%)	–	–	+ (12%)		
Premodified	–	+ (7%)	+ (7%)	–		
Single	+ (9%)	–	–	+ (2%)	–	–
Combined	–	+ (2%)	+ (2%)	–	+ (4%)	+ (2%)
Subject	+ (5%)	–		–	–	
Non-subject	–	+ (1%)		+ (3%)	+ (1%)	
Literary	–	+ (18%)	–	–	–	
Interactional	–	+ (22%)	–	–	–	

The study further shows that certain usage choices are more likely to occur than others. The interplay of two systems (i.e. the definite system in English and that of Nigerian local languages) might partly influence the high preference of contextual uses, which demonstrate an intersection of meaning and interpretation in language use. Lamidi (2007) has argued that the use of the definite article in places where standard variety, such as British English, would omit it is traceable to the influence of the system in the mother tongue. As Table 10 shows, we can infer that the contextual use is the most diversify choices (preferential pattern in all variables are decided), followed by the syntactic, then anaphoric use.

Table 10 details conclusions that can be made from our univariate analysis by providing a summary of the predictors in relation to the choice of the definite

article. The sign + denotes a preference for a choice, while – shows a disfavor (or less preferred in relation to the corresponding variable). An empty cell shows that no preference is found (e.g. 10% versus 10% in the subject versus non-subject position in the inductive use). The extent of preference is calculated using higher percentages, irrespective of the gap. For instance, the difference between the contextual use in a syntactic function is one percent (1%) (41% favours the non-subject position, whereas 40% favours the subject position). The percentage difference (see also Akinlotan and Housen, 2017) is given in the brackets (e.g. 1%). Meanwhile, the difference between premodified and unpremodified choices in inductive use (15% versus 8% respectively) is 7%, which is higher than 1% in the syntactic function. This difference shows the extent of influence, some sort of relative strength that can only be best captured with a further multifactorial regression analysis. However, we can still infer the scale of relative strength on the basis of percentage difference vis-à-vis the clearest predictive strength.

As can be seen, the highest difference is found in the class of the head noun (22% in the anaphoric use, and 19% in the syntactic use). Next is predictor animacy with 14 per cent and 13 per cent for the same choice of the definite article in the anaphoric and syntactic usage respectively. Third on the scale is a modification predictor with 12 per cent for the syntactic use, and 7 per cent each for the inductive and contextual uses. In the text type, we can see that two text types stand out: literary and interactional. The interactional text type has the highest percentage for the contextual use (55%), which, when deducted from the least percentage in the academic text type (33%), returns a very high preferential rate (22%). A similar situation is found in the literary text type (18%). Unlike other predictors, the variability in the text type is not spread across the choice of the definite article, as Akinlotan (2016a, 2016b) found in the study of the determiner structure in the same variety. Akinlotan (2016b) found that the text type provided in-depth insights into the variability of determiner choices. To sum up, it can be observed that the most predictable choice of the definite article is the anaphoric, syntactic, and contextual usage.

CONCLUSION

The present study has expanded the literature on the definite articles usages in Nigerian English, and in new varieties of English at large. Many previous studies have shown the tendency to omit, overuse, and underuse the definite article in Nigerian English (Lamidi, 2007; Akinlotan, 2016b), but none has ever shown the predictability of their usages. The study shows that the usage of the definite article in Nigerian English can indeed be predicted, and the hypothesis of omission, underuse and overuse is more likely traceable to contextual uses than other usage of the definite article. In other words, if contextual uses are highly interpretative, linking the meaning (semantics), context (pragmatics) and grammar (syntax), then influences from local Nigerian languages are very

much likely to be responsible for these patterns. This pattern appears to correlate with Lamidi (2007), who provided similar evidence in the interpretative sense of the definite article in Nigerian English variety. If Gut (2005) could find that speech rhythm in Nigerian English variety is distinctly different from the speech rhythm of Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba (the three major languages in Nigeria), then the motivations for the patterns that emerged may not be completely ascribed to cross-linguistic influences.

No matter how small they might appear, according to Gries and Mukherjee (2010: 28), the speakers' other language will likely play a role in L2 construction choices. Although Wahid (2013) did not stress such influence, the significant preference for contextual uses in our corpus suggests that the different definite article systems of meaning and interpretation in Nigerian local languages are transferred, to some varying degree, into the Nigerian variety of English. Such interference is plausible given that Ionin (2003) has shown the existence of a strong relationship between the definite article acquisition and processing. In another perspective, the usage pattern might perhaps reflect the process of fossilization, including those temporary and permanent instances. Although it is difficult to measure, it can be argued that certain usages, such as unfamiliar or syntactic uses in 'older' varieties such as British English variety, may have been retained as contextual uses in the Nigerian English variety. Apart from the influences of transfer from local languages, other motivations, according to Mair (2002), may emanate from tendencies to hypercorrect and/or avoid certain usages/constructions.

Furthermore, the paper has shown the extent to which the choice of the definite article is projected by a number of previously tested and untested predictors. The effects of animacy, presence or absence of premodification, and the number of the choice of the definite article have been shown along the effect of a well-known predictor register (Biber et al., 1999). The hypothesis by Biber et al. that register is the most potent predictor of variation is not clearly found in our data. Perhaps this is due to the difference in datasets, which invariably shows that there are indeed structural differences between the Nigerian and British varieties of English. Biber et al.'s findings have resulted from the established varieties, especially American and British varieties of English. The stiff competition between the register and syntactic functions predicting choices corroborates Akinlotan and Housen's statement (2017) who, also, have shown the competition between the syntactic function and register predicting NP complexity. In other words, the hypothesis that register is a universal potent predictor of variation may well be rephrased as a regional potent predictor of construction choices. The limitations of the present study imply that these new predictors motivating the choice of the definite article may not be generalized onto other similar new varieties or established ones until they are tested, given that different varieties, old and new, are inherently peculiar (Akinlotan 2017). Also, a regression analysis of the predictors found significant in the present study is required in a further study, so that the extent of interaction among these predictors can be found.

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ERROR ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF LINKING WORDS AND PHRASES IN TERTIARY LEVEL ESSAYS

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Abstract. Over the last decade, there has been an increased interest in analysing writing skills of students studying English as a Foreign Language both at secondary and tertiary level, including the essay writing skills of non-language students. The aim of the present study is to analyse the types of errors in the use of linking words and phrases in student examination essays in a tertiary level academic writing course and state the probable causes of these errors. The research method is a case study. The empirical research is based on Corder's (1967), Reid's (1998, mentioned in Yates and Kenkel, 2002) and Ngadda and Nwoke's (2014) theories on the classification of errors and Biber et al.'s (2002) classification of linking adverbials as well as presents the frequency of the types of errors. The research object is academic illustration essays of 18 students studying in Latvia. The main findings of the research indicate that proficient users of a language tend to use linking words and phrases appropriately. The main type of errors found in the essays is intralingual errors caused by faulty learning or teaching, forgetfulness or overexposure to informal use of the target language.

Key words: linking words and phrases, error analysis, intralingual error, academic essay, register, tertiary level

INTRODUCTION

The use of connectors has been in the centre of research interest recently. It has been studied in editorials (Kim and Ahn, 2012), native speakers' and language learners' produced texts (e.g. Bikeliene, 2013; Vincela, 2013), and more specifically, also in academic essays (e.g. Januliene and Dziedravicius, 2015; Don and Sriniwass, 2017). The research interest has been determined by the increased number of study programmes offered in English. Moreover, the labour market requires professionals of different fields who could communicate in writing in English because multinational and international enterprises become more common in the global market.

At C1 level, students as proficient users should demonstrate 'controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices' as well as 'consistent and helpful' use of punctuation marks in their essays (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, n.d.: 24).

Research (e.g. Henry and Roseberry, 2007; Heydari and Bagheri, 2012; Ngadda and Nwoke, 2014; Phuket and Othman, 2015) shows that L2 (second language) and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners commit both intralingual and interlingual errors in their written texts. Learners' errors, their number and classification have also been of continuous interest since 1967 when Corder published his paper 'The significance of learner's errors'.

Plakans and Gebril (2017: 98) have researched TOEFEL essays for 'type and appropriateness of organization and coherence quality' and concluded that 'the cohesion markers analyzed in their study yielded no statistical differences across the score levels'. '[...] Crossley and McNamara (2012) found that more advanced L2 writers use fewer cohesive devices' (mentioned in Plakans and Gebril, 2017: 109). 'Research has suggested that many cohesion devices decrease with level of text complexity because higher level texts have more inferred, rather than explicit, cohesion (Graesser et al., 2004)' (in Plakans and Gebril, 2017: 109). This observation correlates with the one made by Ngadda and Nwoke's (2014: 13) research. However, other research demonstrates that linking adverbials are frequently used in research articles in different disciplines (Peacock, 2010) and editorials (Kim and Ahn, 2012).

A number of studies emphasize the quantitative aspect of errors in student writing, which has been criticised by di Gennaro (2016). She has elaborated the criteria for the assessment of student writing by separating *cohesive* from *rhetorical control*. According to di Gennaro, the main characteristics of cohesive control are:

> [I]deas are overtly linked throughout the essay. Use of cohesive devices (logical connectors, repetition, synonyms) is always accurate. Compound and complex sentences are used accurately to create clear connections across sentences and paragraphs. (2016: 13)

She has emphasized that 'the use of automated essay scoring programs, which also reduce writing to observable and measurable units, has been met with widespread criticism and resistance by composition and writing assessment scholars precisely for this reason (cf. Condon, 2013)' (ibid.: 2). Thus, she emphasizes the need for contextual treatment of errors instead of mere quantitative approach.

Therefore, the research method chosen for the present paper is a case study. The paper aims at analysing the types of errors in the use of linking words and phrases in student examination essays in a tertiary level academic writing course and stating the probable causes of the errors, irrespective of the total number of errors found in the analysed essays.

During the research the following research questions were posed:

1. What linking words and phrases (LWPs) do students use in illustration essays?
2. What type of errors do students commit when using LWPs and what are the probable causes of these errors?

The appropriate use of particular linking words depends on the organization of the essay. There are several classifications available, for example, Oshima and Hogue (2006) distinguish four patterns of essay organization: chronological order, logical division of ideas, comparison and contrast, and cause and effect. Anker (2009) presents narration, illustration, description, process, classification, cause and effect, comparison and contrast, and argument essays. Fawset (2018) mentions illustration, classification, narration, persuasion, description, process, cause and effect essays. Considering the LWPs these authors recommend to be used in each type of essays and organizational patterns, it can be observed that the same groups of linking adverbials are common for several essay types and organizational patterns, for example, to illustrate, to persuade and to argue enumeration linking adverbials (Biber et al., 2002) are used, and all essays are recommended to be finished with the summation LWPs. In the present case study, we will look only at the illustration essays and the LWPs used in them. According to Sprangler and Werner (1986: 111), an illustration essay provides specific, interesting and concrete examples to support a general statement, and examples 'represent the chief characteristics of the class'.

To attain the research aim, the paper starts with presenting the notion of error and the classification of errors and their probable causes in language learners' texts, then clarifies how and why we use the term 'linking words and phrases' before presenting the results of the empirical study.

THE NOTION OF AN ERROR

Already 50 years ago, Corder (1967: 161) stated that learners' errors need to be analysed because they provide significant information to the researcher about the language acquisition process, to the teacher – 'how far towards the goal the learner has progressed', and the learner can also learn from them. He emphasized the difference between systematic and non-systematic errors as even native speakers in normal everyday speech commit both types due to 'memory lapses, physical states, such as tiredness and psychological conditions such as strong emotion' (Corder, 1967: 166). In this case, speakers immediately realize they have made an error. Corder mentioned that the same reasons also affected a second language learner's errors. Therefore, Corder (1967: 166–167) introduced the term *the error of performance* for unsystematic errors and *the error of competence* for systematic errors, which indicates insufficiencies in the learner's knowledge about the correct language use. Corder suggested differentiating them into mistakes and errors respectively.

Richards and Schmidt (2010: 201) define an error as 'the use of a linguistic item (e.g., a word, a grammatical item, a speech act, etc.) in a way which a fluent or native speaker of the language regards as showing faulty or incomplete learning'. Richards (1971) distinguishes three sources of errors: interference errors (based on the impact of the rules of the native language while speaking or writing in

another), intralingual errors (occurring due to faulty learning and application of language rules) and developmental errors (occurring due to the learner's limited experience with the target language).

The classification of errors has been addressed a lot since then, for example, by Richards (1974), Schacheter and Celce-Murcia (1977), Brown (1980), James (1998) and in some more recent empirical studies, by Heydari and Bagheri (2012), Ngadda and Nwoke (2014); however, most of them apply Richards' distinction between interlingual and intralingual errors. Yates and Kenkel (2002: 29) refer to Reid (1998) who admits that 'student errors in writing reflect the student's underlying system' and mentions the following causes for writing errors: '1) first language interference; 2) overgeneralization of English language rules, 3) high level of difficulty of the language structure, 4) production errors (which are labelled "mistakes").'

Ngadda and Nwoke (2014: 13) in their research of texts written by undergraduate engineering students state that the basic causes of errors in novice writers' papers are: '(i) Interlingual difficulties, (ii) Intralingual difficulties, (iii) Lack of exposure to the target language, (iv) Faulty teaching and learning, (v) Forgetfulness.'

Their research also indicates that errors in the use of connectives appear to be the least frequent ones.

Heydari and Bagheri (2012: 1588) conclude that 'as learners progress in acquiring the norms of the target language, more and more intralingual errors are manifested'.

THE NOTION OF LINKING WORDS

There are different ways how to name and classify text linkers. According to Swales and Feak (1994: 22), '[l]inking words and phrases can help a writer to maintain flow and establish relationships between ideas'. Their taxonomy of linking words is based on 'their function and grammatical use' (ibid.). Swales and Feak (ibid.) distinguish: subordinators (e.g. although, even though, because), sentence connectors (e.g. furthermore, in addition, moreover) and phrase linkers (e.g. in addition to, despite, in spite of).

Biber et al. (2002: 356) distinguish linking adverbials (LAs) that perform a connecting function, showing 'the relationship between two units of discourse', which may be sentences, units larger than a sentence and also units smaller than a sentence.

Chalker (1996: 1) mentions two types of 'grammatical ways of joining clauses' – by using co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions and connectors. If a conjunction 'normally combines two (or more) clauses into one sentence' and is part of a clause (ibid.: 2), a connector refers to 'the preceding sentence' and thus 'does not grammatically belong so closely to its clause' (ibid.: 3).

Those linguists who use the term *discourse markers* may distinguish: overall meta-discourse markers, partial meta-discourse markers and inter-sentential markers emphasizing that even a clause (e.g. a thesis statement) may function as a discourse marker (Kobayashi and Rinnert, 2008: 13).

Oshima and Hogue (2006: 27) use the terms: transition signals: transition phrases (e.g. in addition, on the other hand, in contrast), conjunctive adverbs (furthermore, moreover, still, otherwise), coordinating conjunctions (and, but, yet), subordinating conjunctions (although, though, if), others (another (+ noun), an additional (+ noun), in spite of (+ noun), despite (+ noun).

Other scholars also mention three groups of linking words: '(a) coordinating conjunctions, (b) subordinating conjunctions, (c) linking adverbs' (Leech, 1989: 241).

Bikeliene (2013) mainly uses the term *linking words* when describing the research on the use of 'moreover, in addition, also, besides, furthermore, what is more' in a subcorpus of Lithuanian learners of English and several British corpuses, but she also refers to them as 'connectors' at the beginning of the paper.

As the discussion above reveals, borderlines between different groups of linkers are blurred; therefore, the term *linking words and phrases* (LWPs) will be used as an umbrella term in the analysis of the selected tertiary level academic essays.

REGISTER

Not to break the unity of a written text, the selected linking words and phrases should match the register of the written text. However, only a few scholars indicate the differences in register, mentioning which linking words are more formal or informal than the rest of the words. Moreover, the lists are not complete, and not all course books on academic writing consistently reveal the difference in register, for example, only some information is available in Oshima and Hogue's (2006) book. Therefore, we have made an attempt to create a more comprehensive list, combining information from available sources. Table 1 presents a list of common linking words and phrases that, according to several researchers (Leech, 1989; Chalker, 1996; Biber et al., 2002; Oshima and Hogue, 2006; Carter and McCarthy, 2006), would be found in either formal or informal register.

The information from the table will be used in further research to check whether research participants commit register errors when writing an academic essay.

METHOD AND MATERIALS

The corpus of the present research comprises 18 illustration essays (7000 words in total) – 12 written by local students and 6 written by international students

Table 1. **Common linking words and phrases used in formal and informal register** (modified from Leech, 1989; Chalker, 1996; Biber et al., 2002; Oshima and Hogue, 2006; Carter and McCarthy, 2006)

Formal	Informal
accordingly, albeit (*rare*), although, as a consequence, as a result of, because (of), consequently, despite (the fact that), duly, e.g., even though, first, finally, for example, for fear that, for instance, further(more), hence, hitherto, however, i.e., in addition (to), in order that, in that, insofar as (in so far as), in spite of, in the event, in order that, in other words, lest, moreover, nevertheless, nonetheless, on the contrary, on the other hand, on top of that, rather, simultaneously, so, that is, then, therefore, though, thus, to conclude, to summarise, to the extent that, whereas, whether, with reference to, who(m), yet	all the same, and, anyway, as I say, because of that, but, in the end, or, so (*without 'that'*), so then, still, such (*without 'that'*), that (*referring to people*), though, what's more

coming from Italy (3 students), France (1 student), Russia (1 student) and Nigeria (1 student). The small size of the research object is explained by the fact that only illustration essays were selected for the analysis as this type dominated among the examination essays and was also selected by the international students. Language learner groups in the chosen study programme and university are small (30–40 students per year) because students pay the tuition fee as opposed to many other study programmes where state funded budget places are available.

The local students have studied essay writing in both their native language and English as a foreign language, so they are already supposed to have C1 level knowledge on essay writing even before starting the tertiary level course. The international students have various background knowledge on writing academic essays in English. However, at the end of the course the knowledge level should be the same for all students; thus, the results are supposed to be comparable. The analysed essay was written as an examination essay at the end of a university course in academic writing.

The research was a case study. To attain the research aim, that is, to analyse the types of errors in the use of linking words and phrases in student examination essays in a tertiary level academic writing course and state their probable causes, the above discussed conclusions on the types of errors (interlingual or intralingual) and their probable causes as suggested by Corder (1967), Reid (1998, mentioned in Yates and Kenkel, 2002) and Ngadda and Nwoke (2014) were considered and compared. In addition, Biber et al.'s (2002) classification of LAs was applied to state whether the LWPs used by students belong to the ones that appear in illustration essays (see Table 2).

Table 2. **Typical linking adverbials for enumeration, addition and summation** (based on Biber et al., 2002: 389–391)

Semantic categories	Use	Linking adverbials
enumeration and addition	(a) 'to enumerate (list) pieces of information' [p. 389] (b) 'to signal the addition of items to a list' [p. 389]	(a) first(ly), second(ly), thirdly, finally, lastly, in the first/second place, first of all, for one thing … for another, to begin with, next (b) in addition, similarly, also, by the same token, further, furthermore, likewise, moreover
summation	to indicate 'that a unit of discourse concludes or sums up points made in the preceding discourse' [p. 389]	in sum, to conclude, all in all, in conclusion, overall, to summarise.

The samples from students' essays provided in the next section of the paper will not be edited.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As no significant differences in the misuse of LWPs by local and international students were found, all 18 essays will be analysed together.

Table 3. **Linking words and phrases used in the essays**

Semantic category	LWP	No. of use
Enumeration and addition	first, firstly, first of all, in the first place, second, secondly, third, thirdly, fourth, lastly, moreover, furthermore, in addition, also, similarly	40
Contrast/ concession	but, in contrast, on the other hand, on the contrary, on the other side, other than, despite, nevertheless, however, otherwise, although	29
Summation	in conclusion, concluding, to summarize, to sum up, overall, all in all	10
Apposition	for example, in other words	10
Results/inference	therefore, thus	8
Other LWPs	and, in fact, indeed, or, mainly, as a result, in comparison with, in the case of men, of course	15
TOTAL		**112**

The total number of linking words and phrases found in the analysed essays was 112 or 1.6 per cent of all the words the students had used. Table 3 presents a list of all LWPs the students had used in the essays and the total frequency of LWPs in the particular semantic category. The total number of LWPs used in the essays allows us to assume that our results correlate with the research observations mentioned in Ngadda and Nwoke's (2014) and Plakans and Gebril's (2017) studies that 'higher level texts have more inferred, rather than explicit, cohesion (Graesser et al., 2004)' (in Plakans and Gebril, 2017: 109).

Overall, the students tend to use linking words and phrases typical for illustration essays appropriately. The students use LAs of enumeration (*first of all, first(ly), secondly, thirdly, lastly*), addition (*in addition, similarly, also, furthermore, moreover*) and summation (*in conclusion, concluding, to summarise, to sum up, all in all*) to introduce paragraphs. However, not all body paragraphs start with LWPs:

> First body paragraph: **Firstly,** to notice a university, it needs to have eye-catching advertisements on the Internet, on the TV, on the radio and also on billboards. […]
>
> Second body paragraph: Not only colourful commercials will lead to a choice. It is necessary for the school or university to have wide information about its programmes, the environment, possibilities, etc.
>
> Third body paragraph: **Lastly,** attractive offers are important in the choice of studying.

As seen in the sample above, only the first and the third body paragraph contain LWPs. This is another indication of what has been observed in previous studies (Ngadda and Nwoke's, 2014; Plakans and Gebril's, 2017) that students try to apply different means (not only LWPs) to make texts coherent. The second body paragraph, however, needs elaboration concerning its sentence structure; namely, the student has misused the linking phrase of addition (not only…, but also…).

In the essays the students also use LAs of concession (*although, nevertheless, despite*), apposition (*in other words, for example*), contrast (*in contrast, on the contrary*), and result/inference (*thus, therefore*). The latter four groups are mainly used to link sentences not paragraphs; thus, they can be considered to be used appropriately for the context.

Enumeration LWPs are sometimes used interchangeably with LWPs of addition to introduce a paragraph, but it is not a mistake:

> **Firstly,** Latvia was one of the fastest growing economies in all of Europe, until the economic crisis put an unfortunate stop to it.
>
> **Moreover,** based on the Constitution and democracy, the citizens of Latvia live in a free country, where they are not pressured into doing what they do not want to.

The students introduce the concluding paragraph by using the LWPs *in conclusion, concluding, to summarise, to sum up, all in all, overall*:

> **In conclusion,** employees can be motivated in different ways; however, as majority of people in Latvia are not as rich as they would like to be, salary and bonuses could be the major motivator.
>
> **To sum up,** salary and bonuses are not only motivators for staff in Latvia.
>
> **All in all,** great salaries and bonuses work as a brilliant motivator to increase the efficiency and quality of the work.
>
> **Overall,** every part of an advertising campaign affects the choice of a person.

Nevertheless, some errors in the use of both inter-paragraph and inter-sentential LWPs are observed. Figure 1 illustrates the proportion of properly used LWPs and errors regarding the use of LWPs.

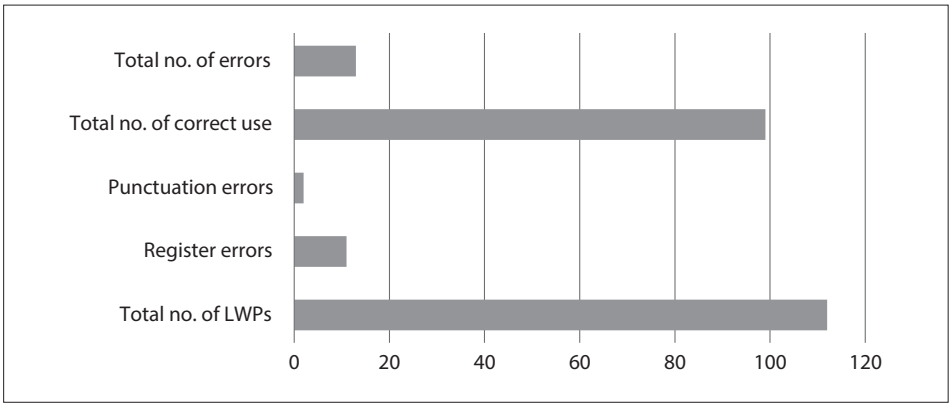

Figure 1. **Proportion and type of errors found in the analysed essays**

As Figure 1 illustrates, there were only 13 errors found in the use of the total 112 LWPs found in the analysed essays. Essays of 2 international students and 4 local students contained errors, while 12 essays were without any errors regarding the use of LWPs. 3 out of the 6 essays with errors contained only 1 error.

The most consistent error (11 out of 13) is the use of LWPs that do not suit the essay register. The students had to write an academic essay, but they started sentences with *and, but, or*, which, according to the list presented in Table 1 of this paper, were informal LWPs. For example, when discussing the need for knowing the local language to get a job in Latvia, a student has written:

> Probably you do not know Latvian very good, or do not know it at all. **But** you need to live somehow.

Another student even starts a paragraph with *but*:

> **But** the real alarming fact concerns the unemployment rate for age categories: Italian people between 15 and 29 years are shown to have a 40% rate, almost double than the EU average.

One more example:

> **That's** why we are all in a race against time and thus motivated to achieve faster than ever before.

Here the student has also used an informal way of linking sentences, which indicates forgetfulness, faulty learning or no teaching that contracted forms are not used in the formal register. A probable cause of these errors seems to be the impact of the context the students are familiar with, namely, newspaper and magazine articles they read and where coordinating conjunctions starting a sentence and even a paragraph are acceptable and rather frequently applied, as the authors' observations when using articles for teaching show. Another cause might be the impact of the informal register. Leech et al. (1989: 398) mention that coordinating conjunctions such as *and, but, or* are used to start a sentence in informal written English. Thus, these could be considered intralingual errors.

Another example illustrates the misuse of the coordinating conjunction *or*:

> They will help you to decide what kind of job you need to look for, and then some of your friends may help you to get the job. **Or** your family can advice you to work with them. [...] **Or** if your friend is hiring you then it means that probably you will have better conditions.

The example also indicates that the student might have some word choice problems as the spelling difference between the verb *advise* and the noun *advice* seems to be neglected. In other words, it is possible to assume that the misuse of the coordinating conjunction *or* may be classified as an intralingual error because the other errors in the presented sample may also be considered intralingual.

Starting a sentence with a coordinating conjunction could also be a grammatical or a punctuation error, like in the following example:

> Ideally you should have a good command of the language – listening ability, writing and speaking. **And** should be willing to improve upon these skills once found a place.

The student uses an incomplete sentence. It has to be admitted that the discussed essay demonstrated a number of errors in sentence structures, related punctuation and capitalization; thus, this is just one more example of the overall problems of the particular student's academic writing skills and intralingual errors.

In 2 cases students do not punctuate LWPs properly. For example:

> **Also** your friends or family might know people who are looking for a new workers, without putting an offer in the internet.

The sentence demonstrates other grammatical errors, which may lead to a conclusion that it is the overall students' competence in English that might have affected proper punctuation after the LWP, which is another intralingual error.

In one case a student had selected a linking phrase of comparison when discussing contrast:

> Secondly, the study process at the school provides with basic information about the subject. It includes an overview of economics and introduces its biggest concerns. It includes an overview of economics and introduces about its biggest concerns. **In comparison with** the school, professors at the University of Latvia provide with more detailed knowledge, which helps to understand microeconomical and macroeconomical processes and allows giving a constructed opinion about discussed issues.

In the following example, it can be observed that the student knows how to use the LWP properly, but the misuse of articles, word choice and an incomplete sentence in the LWP part make the sentences difficult to comprehend:

> Despite the low presence of graduated, most of them will have to choose an different sector of employment. **On the contrary**, less educated candidates might have easier access to careers such as waitress, electrician and day labourer.

This example and also a number of others above justify di Gennaro's (2016) approach that it is not so important to study and analyse the quantity of errors students commit, but it is more important to consider the entire context for the errors, and in this particular case, the context makes us assume that the student is still on the way to achieving a proficient user's level.

CONCLUSIONS AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The research results demonstrate that:

- At a proficient user's level, linking words and phrases are not among very frequently used discourse markers to keep the written text coherent and unified.
- Overall, the students demonstrate good knowledge and skills of the use of appropriate linking words and phrases in illustration essays as there are rather few errors observed (13 cases out of total 112 LWPs used).
- In illustration essays the students use LAs of enumeration, addition, summation, concession, apposition, contrast and result/inference. LAs of enumeration, addition, apposition and summation are used as inter-paragraph LAs.

- All of the observed errors may be classified as intralingual errors, which coincides with Heydari and Bagheri's (2012) conclusion that more advanced learners mainly demonstrate intralingual errors.
- The majority of the observed LWP errors were register errors, that is, the students used LWPs appropriate for the informal register. The probable causes of these errors are faulty learning or teaching, forgetfulness and likely overexposure to the informal register.
- Knowledge and skills of how to use LWPs properly do not result in the overall correctness of a written text and the students' ability to express themselves comprehensively and without errors.

Based on the above mentioned conclusions, the following teaching implications may be derived:

- Special emphasis should be placed on making students aware of the differences between the LWPs used in the formal and the informal register. The analysis of different types of written texts and their register and its characteristics might be very helpful to attain this goal.
- Additional tasks on training students' skills to distinguish between registers need to be designed, as well as lists of LWPs appropriate for the informal and the formal register need to be prepared. That will allow also students whose overall language proficiency is lower not to misuse LWPs.

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INTERCULTURAL/PLURICULTURAL COMMUNICATION CONSTRUCT AND ITS LEVELS

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Abstract. The aim of this article is to explore the intercultural component (IC) in the English language curricula for the secondary and tertiary education in Latvia in the light of the new edition of *Common European Framework of Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment Companion Volume with New Descriptors* (CEFR, 2017) and compare it with the previous intercultural communication competence. The research method is documentary analysis of the three documents as regards their approach to intercultural communication. The analysis found that the documents were compatible, in spite of the difference of terminology, although CEFR (2017) aims at language users' sensitivity and awareness in action, the secondary school proposes tolerance and following the rules, the tertiary education curriculum suggests critical thinking and analysis of the cultural phenomena. The roles of the three documents and their development contexts explain these differences and allow each one of the documents to give their own contribution to IC, as long as the users of the documents understand their differences and shortcomings.

Key words: intercultural communication, cross-cultural communication, socio-cultural competence, pluricultural repertoire, curriculum, language proficiency levels.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of intercultural communication is growing in the time of the expanding role of social and mass media as a result it is increasingly researched and taught at schools and universities, therefore increasingly present in education documents. This has produced a variety of theoretical approaches, different classifications of the intercultural phenomena and different ways of action. As a result, the teachers and the lecturers responsible for the development of documents are often at a loss at the variety of terminology and approaches. Therefore this article firstly compares the terms used to research the different kinds of intercultural communication in different contexts, secondly it compares the curricula of the secondary and tertiary education in language teaching and intercultural communication in Latvia to the levels of plurilingual repertoire as described in *Common European Framework of Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment Companion Volume with New Descriptors* (CEFR, 2017).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Intercultural communication has long been part of the foreign language curriculum. One of the authors of the intercultural component of the framework, Byram, sees the role of intercultural competence as integral part of language teaching:

> language teaching with an intercultural dimension continues to help learners to acquire the linguistic competence needed to communicate in speaking or writing, to formulate what they want to say/write in correct and appropriate ways. But it also develops their intercultural competence, that is their ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities, and their ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality. (Byram et al., 2002)

The European Language Portfolio (ELP, 2001b) also contains the intercultural framework, which proposes the steps how intercultural competence is to be acquired: ELP should stimulate learners to think about cultural differences, reflecting on their experiences in terms of location and intensity. The location factors are: work, study and travel (whether experienced at first hand or mediated through other people and/or the media); intensity factors have to do with frequency, duration, degree of involvement and significance for one's life history and identity. ELP pages designed to record and encourage reflection on intercultural experiences should take account of the following:

1) Where, with whom and in what context did the experience take place?
2) What kind of experience was it in terms of the intensity factors listed above?
3) What was my response? Did I merely reflect on the experience, or
4) Did it prompt me to some kind of action?
5) Why did I respond in the way I did? (2001b)

As we can see from the above, the presumption behind these questions is that it is the learner of the language who has to observe, record and analyse their experiences in the new cultural context, thus intercultural dimension of the ELP is explicitly associated with 'respect for diversity of cultures and ways of life' (2001b) while travelling abroad for study or work purposes and observing the cultures from outside.

Now that the reality has changed and there are many exchange students at schools and universities, it is not enough to observe and respect other cultures, it is necessary to work together with people of different cultures. The latest CEFR (2001a) project of the Council of Europe that Latvian experts were involved in, which was headed by Brian North elaborated the version of the descriptors for mediation in plurilingual and pluricultural environment.

This framework presents the language learner as an active participant of the situation, who not only participates in interaction, but also mediates IC situations for others. Mediation activities that were used as the basis for the new companion volume of CEFR (2017) by North and Panthier (2016: 21) were as follows:

1. *Relational mediation:* establishing a positive atmosphere, creating pluricultural space, facilitating collaborative interaction, managing interaction, resolving delicate situations and disputes,
2. *Cognitive mediation: Constructing meaning: c*ollaborating to construct meaning, generating conceptual talk,
3. *Cognitive mediation: Conveying received meaning (spoken):* relaying specific information, explaining data (e.g. in graphs, diagrams, charts etc.), processing text, interpreting, spoken translation of written text (Sight translation),
4. *Cognitive mediation: Conveying received meaning (written):* relaying specific information, explaining data (e.g. in graphs, diagrams, charts etc.), processing text, translating, streamlining text, breaking down complicated information, visually representing information, adjusting language.

Here, North and Panthier use the term *plurilingualism*, which is defined by Coste et al. (2009: 11) as follows:

> Plurilingual and pluricultural competences refer to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw.

This definition implies that pluricultural competence is used in intercultural interaction.

Sociocultural elements have also been part of the intercultural construct and as such it has been considered important for language learning, see, for example, Coste, Moore and Zarate (2009: 51):

> For L2 particular emphasis could be placed on the sociocultural and sociolinguistic elements as perceived through increasing familiarity with the media (the popular press, radio and television) and possibly linked with the native language course and benefiting from what has been covered in L1.

Just as the foreign language studies, the social sciences seem to have given up on essentialism (the belief that we can study culture by understanding the essence of the groups of people), and supplanted the research of large groups of people

with studying the critical role of the individual in the world, see, for example, the concept of cosmopolitanism in Delanty (2012: 38):

> cosmopolitanism suggests a critical attitude which can be contrasted to an interpretive or descriptive approach to the social world and which is also more than normative critique. The notion of critical cosmopolitanism that I argue for aims to retain the notion of normative critique, but to extend it in the direction of a deeper notion of critique as world disclosure.

Delanty's distinction between critical versus descriptive approach could be useful for this study as it suggests a hypothesis that the distinction between the secondary and tertiary education lies not in the types of topics to be studied, but in the descriptive versus critical approach to the topics aiming at the 'world disclosure'.

Holliday (2016: 4) uses the term 'cultural grammar' as consisting of threads (personal and professional experience; national profile: the upbringing, the food, clothing, cultural resources; small culture development, fluidity and conventions) and blocks of global position and cultural discourses

> that are potentially quite destructive. Global position and politics – the way in which we set ourselves against other societies, people, 'races', civilizations, 'big cultures' and so on – also come from the ways in which we are brought up in our respective national structures, through the historical narratives that often underpin our sense of nationhood, and the ideologies that go with them, fed by our national media, and perhaps by the big 'C' icons of civilization.

The way round these blocks can be found in Rehbein's (2006) Cultural apparatus (see Figure 1), where he argues that the misunderstandings are a sign of a gap of cultural knowledge, the filling of which depends on our cultural apparatus with

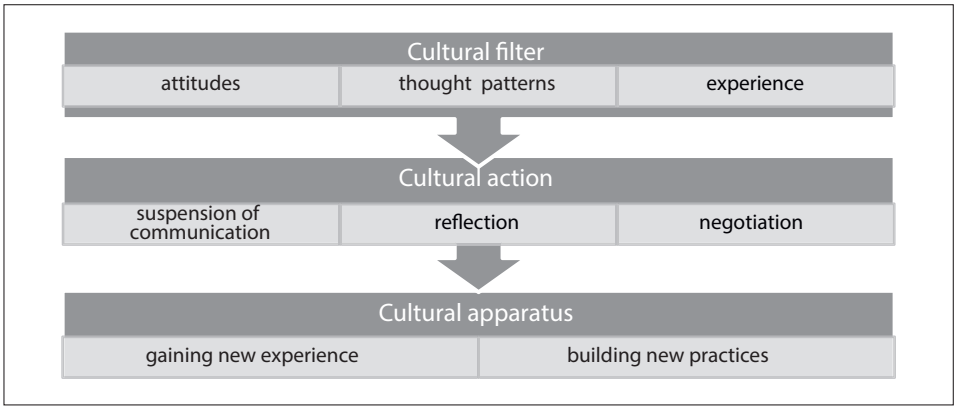

Figure 1. **Rehbein's (2006: 51–53) Cultural apparatus**

the help of which we observe misunderstandings and conflicts, hypothesise the reasons for problems and experiment with the solutions, thus developing new meanings, using repairs, redraftings; we can also react to a misunderstanding as a failure, which means that we stop and build a block in the form of a new stereotype, or enhance our old stereotypes, develop discourses (in the forms of rules and restrictions) that otherize (or 'reduce individuals to simplified exotic references' (Holliday 2016: 9)) whole groups of people and separate them with the help of cultural actions and regulations.

Although the theoretical overview of the field has discovered a plethora of terms, this article will use the term 'intercultural communication' to cover general aspects of human interaction taking place in various cultural contexts.

METHOD OF RESEARCH

The three documents chosen for the analysis of the role of intercultural elements and levels in language education are taken from three different contexts: international, national and academic contexts, they represent three different levels of education: secondary, tertiary and adult education, thus the documents themselves represent different cultures. The uniting element here is the fact that all the three belong to the same text type: all three are documents, therefore, the method of research here will be documentary analysis.

Bowen (2009: 27) advocates documentary analysis for the following reasons:

> documents provide background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources.

Powell (2013) suggests a framework for the analysis of the documents describing their creation, availability and use (see Table 1 below) which will be used to compare the three documents of a very different size, context and status.

As we can see Powell's (2013) framework clearly reveals the different status of the documents, CEFR Companion (2017) has been developed collectively, adopted by an international organisation (the Council of Europe), the Secondary school curriculum has been developed by a state legislative organisation and implemented by the whole country while the third is developed by an individual, and adopted for implementation by one organisation (university). Nevertheless, they are part of the process, as the developers of the state and the university curriculum were also involved in the development of the Council of Europe documents. The students who study at the secondary level will study at the university, therefore it is important to ensure a systemic approach and common understanding of the study process, whose first step is comparison of the documents.

Table 1 **Comparison of the documents defining the aims of intercultural education**

Powell (2013)	CEFR Companion volume with new descriptors (2017)	Curriculum of the foreign languages for the secondary schools of Latvia (2014)	University of Latvia Intercultural communication course description
1. What type of document is it?	This is a follow-up to CEFR (2001a), prepared by Education Policy Division Education Department Council of Europe.	The documents is part of the regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers.	The document is prescriptive and binding to all lecturers teaching and students taking the course.
2. What are the physical characteristics of the document?	The document is published online in the Council of Europe website.	The document is published online on the website reserved for the rules and laws of the country.	The document is published online on the inner MOODLE platform of the University of Latvia.
3. Who was the author or creator of the document?	Brian North and Tim Goodier (Eurocentres Foundation) and Enrica Piccardo (University of Toronto / Université Grenoble-Alpes.	Specially appointed expert groups from every foreign language worked 2008–2012.	The course description was created by the lecturers of English and French and vetted by the Study Council of the programme.
4. For what purpose was the record created?	To highlight innovative areas of the CEFR, e.g. mediation and plurilingual / pluricultural competence.	The aim of the state curriculum is to regulate the subject matter taught at the schools of Latvia.	The aim of the course description is to provide a framework for the subject matter taught in the BA programme.
5. When was the record created?	The descriptors have been collected, calibrated and pretested since 2014, its provisional edition published in 2017.	The document was created over several years, the latest version was signed by the Minister of Education in 2013.	The course curriculum was approved in the English studies departmental meeting in 2012.
6. How has the document or record series been maintained?	The document is available to anyone interested in the subject.	The document is available to anyone interested in the subject.	The document is available only to the lecturers teaching the subject and the students studying the subject.
7. Were there other individuals involved?	The list of contributors from across the globe is available in the document (see CEFR Companion volume, 2017: 12–20).	The layout of the document was converted from table to text without consulting the authors, as a result the document is very difficult to read.	All the course descriptions have to be approved by a specially appointed academic committee of experts of the University of Latvia.

COMPANION VOLUME OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK

The European Framework of Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment Companion Volume with New Descriptors (2017) was developed by the Education Policy Division (Language Policy Programme) as 'an extended version of the illustrative descriptors that complements the original ones contained in the body of the CEFR text' (Council of Europe, 2017: 22) . The new companion volume of CEFR builds on the earlier version of *Common European Framework of Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment* (Council of Europe 2001a) and keeps the same approach, not only describing the different competences, but also scaling them:

> descriptor scales are provided for mediating a text, for mediating concepts, for mediating communication, as well as for the related mediation strategies and plurilingual/pluricultural competences (Council of Europe, 2017: 22).

This approach makes the different theories used in the development of the document applicable in scaling student performance. Table 2 below presents a short sample from a longer description of pluricultural repertoire levels.

Table 2 **Building on plurilingual repertoire descriptors from CEFR Companion volume** (2017: 143)

C2	Can initiate and control his/her actions and forms of expression according to context, showing awareness of cultural differences and making subtle adjustments in order to prevent and/or repair misunderstandings and cultural incidents.
C1	Can deal with ambiguity in **cross-cultural communication** and express his/her reactions constructively and culturally appropriately in order to bring clarity
B2	Can, in an **intercultural encounter**, recognise that what one normally takes for granted in a particular situation is not necessarily shared by others, and can react and express him/herself appropriately.
B1	Can discuss in simple terms the way in which things that may look 'strange' to him/her in another **sociocultural context** may well be 'normal' for the other people concerned.
A2	Can recognise and apply basic cultural conventions associated with everyday social exchanges (for example different greetings rituals).
A1	Can recognise differing ways of numbering, measuring distance, telling the time, etc. even though he/she may have difficulty applying this in even simple everyday transactions of a concrete type.

As we can see from the extracted descriptors above, the CEFR Companion volume (2017: 143) considers that our pluricultural repertoire is developed in cross-cultural communication during intercultural encounters in sociocultural

context (the words bolded in Table 2, thus within the description of three levels of competence we have three different types of terms.

CURRICULUM OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF LATVIA (2014)

Intercultural secondary education curricula have already been compared by Puzič (2008) by contrasting the curricula of England, Scotland, Austria, Finland and Norway. His main finding was the impact of the context that dictates the content of the intercultural curriculum: the countries with historic, traditional and geographic resemblance are rather similar in their treatment of cultural diversity and demonstrate clear distinction from the 'more distant' countries. He discovered three groups of countries with similar contexts and hence different curricula:

1) the Irish curriculum (Scotland and England are in the same group), treating cultural diversity primarily as an individual right,
2) the Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian curricula emphasise the protection of minority languages and cultures and the multicultural affirmation of diversity,
3) the Austrian and German region Nordrhein-Westfalen curricula incorporating the guidelines of the European Council for intercultural education (the exchange of cultural values between pupils from various cultural groups; intercultural competences for all pupils).

Curriculum of the Foreign Languages for the Secondary Schools of Latvia (*Valsts vispārējās vidējās izglītības mācību priekšmetu standarts*; translated by the author) (*CFLSSL*, n.d.: Online) defines the compulsory content of the foreign language subject to be taught to 16 to 18 year olds across the country. The CFLSSL was adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers, it is compulsory to all secondary schools of Latvia, it states that the main aim of the subject is the development of students' functional and sociocultural competence. The sociocultural competence is seen as

a) language for research and cooperation (e.g. applies the foreign language for acquisition of other subjects),
b) language as a part of culture (e.g. applies to literature and arts for the perception of other cultures, creates literary texts),
c) language for integration and interaction in cultural context (e.g. plans, manages and evaluates projects complying with the norms of cooperation),
d) intercultural communication process (e.g. adheres to the norms of communication in multicultural society),
e) the peculiarities of language use in multilingual discourses (e.g. appreciates the importance of multicultural environment). (CFLSSL, 2016: Online)

As we can see from the above, the multicultural and the intercultural elements are regarded as part of sociocultural competence and not the other way round. On the one hand, it could be interpreted as a misuse of the terms, but on the other hand, it can also be seen as prioritising of the smaller socio-culture over the larger, multicultural and intercultural contexts. It is, however, the socioculture, which Holliday (2016) holds responsible for providing threads of cultural grammar versus the multicultural contexts and political discourses that provide the blocks in the intercultural communication.

Another observation that can be made is that the language learner is active only in two parameters: that of creating their own literary texts and planning and managing projects, in the other cases they mostly 'perceive', 'understand ', 'comply' and 'appreciate' the cultural resources and activities of others (13 cases in the full text).

There are also three cases of applying the previous knowledge or norms in new situations. If we compare this list to the verbs used in the mediation framework by North and Panthier (2016) discussed above, namely: *establishing, creating, facilitating, managing, resolving, constructing, collaborating, generating conceptual talk*, we can see the difference of the conceptualisation of the person as a passive and compliant perceiver versus the active constructor, creator and resolver of conflicts. Thus our preliminary hypothesis, based on Delanty's distinction between the descriptive versus critical approach seems to hold the ground, even worse, the secondary school curriculum does not require to describe or interpret the norms, it asks the students to comply and appreciate the norms of other cultures instead of providing the tools for developing their own judgement and their own cultural solutions.

ANALYSIS OF THE LEVELS OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIOCULTURAL COMPETENCE AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF LATVIA

The Year 12 examination tests the student competence according to the CFLSSL (2016) and CEFR (2001a), not differentiating language competence from sociocultural competence. The integration of the two aspects of students' performance during the state examinations was discussed by Kalnberzina (2015). In the histogram below we can see the distribution of the results of the English language examination in 2017.

The Year 12 English language examination testing the attainment of the secondary school curriculum in 2017 was taken by 11967 students, 1.4 per cent of the students received level C1, 36.69 per cent received level B2, 40.26 per cent received level B1, but 21.58 per cent did not reach any of the levels tested by the secondary school examination and did not receive a CEFR level certificate.

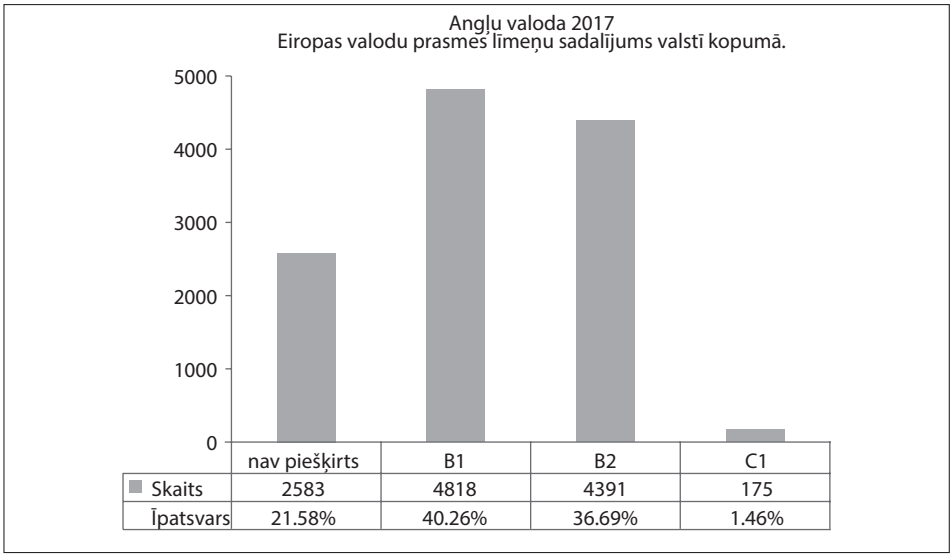

Figure 2 **Year 12 examination results for students who have failed the exam, B1, B2 and C1 (2017)**

The levels used in the assessment of Year 12 examination performance are the so called Global proficiency levels in CFLSSL, see the comparison of the official level descriptors used for the examination certificates with the new CEFR (2017) Pluricultural repertoire level descriptors in Table 3.

Table 3 **Comparison of the global proficiency levels of CEFR (2001a) with the Pluricultural repertoire levels in CEFR Companion Volume (2017)**

Level	CEFR Global scale (2001) as used by CFLSS	CEFR pluricultural repertoire (2017: 143)
C1	Can use language **flexibly and effectively** for social, academic and professional purposes.	Can **deal with ambiguity** in cross-cultural communication and express his/her reactions constructively and culturally appropriately in order to bring clarity.
B2	Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible **without strain for either party**.	Can, in an intercultural encounter, recognise that what one normally takes for granted in a particular situation is not necessarily shared by others, and **can react and express him-/herself appropriately.**
B1	Can deal with **most situations** likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken.	Can discuss in simple terms the way in which things that may look 'strange' to him/her in another sociocultural context may well be **'normal'** for the other people concerned.

As it can be seen from the comparison in *Table 3,* although the terminology differs, the descriptors are systematically presenting the same idea: level C1 expects effective language use and flexibility which will be called upon in a cross-cultural communication creating ambiguity in meanings at academic and professional levels (level C1), while level B1 expects the language user to deal with most situations while travelling. This agrees with the *CEFR Companion volume* (2017: 50) statement:

> The scale *Building on pluricultural repertoire* describes the use of pluricultural competences in a communicative situation. Thus, it is skills rather than knowledge or attitudes that are the focus. The scale shows a high degree of coherence with the existing CEFR scale Sociolinguistic appropriateness, although it was developed independently.

The fact that the scales agree does not ensure, however, that the contents of the tasks and the performance agree with the level descriptors; thus, it is necessary to examine the student performance to see if the Curriculum and the tasks of the Year 12 examination contain the skills described in the scales.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Intercultural Communication course description (2014) meant for the bachelor in Modern languages and business studies programme was chosen to represent the tertiary level curriculum because it is a popular course chosen by many students. The students are 19–21 years of age, coming from different schools of Latvia as well as international students. The course is taught in English, although the language proficiency of the students can vary from B1 to C1. The course consists of 50 per cent lectures and 50 per cent seminars, which suggests that students will not only study theories, but will also work in groups, produce a paper discussing an intercultural communication problem from the theoretical and empirical point of view and present their own solution to the problem. The course description is provided in Table 4.

Table 4 **Intercultural Communication (IC) Course description (2014)**

Course abstract
The aim of the course is to introduce the students to the basic notions of intercultural communication. It envisages offering knowledge and skills in verbal and non-verbal communication with people of another nationality. The course will examine different cultural communication and integration problems as well as look for their solutions using different aspects of text analysis.
Learning outcomes
The course will allow the students to discover the importance of intercultural communication in the modern world, to develop their ability to evaluate intercultural phenomena and problems of intercultural communication. The students will develop the following competences: 1. Intellectual competence: develop new ideas, understand new cultures, do research, adapt to new situations and understand different cultures. 2. Academic competence: analyse information from different sources, resolve intercultural problems and express their own thoughts in English and/or French. 3. Interdisciplinary competences: work in groups, create positive attitude to different cultures, work in intercultural context and develop tolerance to different cultural phenomena.

In the table above we can see that the university level course curriculum asks the students to be analytical and problem solution oriented to develop students' intellectual, academic and interdisciplinary competences. Interestingly enough it does not claim to develop intercultural competence or intercultural mediation competences, although one can see a certain similarity with North and Panthier's (2016: 21) Relational mediation, for example, Facilitating collaborative interaction, Managing interaction, Resolving delicate situations and disputes, in the parameters of interdisciplinary and academic competences, while some elements of Cognitive mediation (Constructing meaning, namely Collaborating to construct meaning and Generating conceptual talk) can be seen in the intellectual competence development, although the word 'understand' is not the same as construct meaning. As to the CEFR Companion (2017) level descriptors, here we will compare the course description with levels B2 to C2, since the students come to the university after the secondary schools with this language level range and should be aiming at increased competence in language and intercultural communication.

Table 5 **Comparison of CEFR levels with IC course description**

	CEFR Pluricultural repertoire level descriptors	IC course description (2014)
C2	Can initiate and control his/her actions and forms of expression according to the context, showing awareness of cultural differences and making subtle adjustments in order to prevent and/or **repair misunderstanding**s and cultural incidents.	The course will allow the students to discover the importance of intercultural communication in the modern world, develop their ability to evaluate intercultural phenomena and problems of intercultural communication, analyse information from different sources, **resolve intercultural problems,**
C1	Can deal with ambiguity in cross-cultural communication and **express his/her reactions** constructively and culturally appropriately in order to bring clarity.	develop new ideas, understand new cultures, do research, adapt to new situations and understand different cultures, **express their own thoughts** in English and/or French,
B2	Can, in an **intercultural encounter**, recognise that what one normally takes for granted in a particular situation is not necessarily shared by others, and **can react and express him/herself appropriately.**	work in groups, create positive attitude to different cultures, **work in intercultural context and develop tolerance to different cultural phenomena.**

Although the course description does not contain level description, we can see that the different competences in the course description can be related to the phrases from the *CEFR Companion volume* (2017): the misunderstandings that appear in IC course description as Intercultural problems, expression of reactions in CEFR parallel expression of thoughts in the IC course description.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Having described and compared the aims and objectives of the CEFR Companion Volume with CFLSSL and the course curriculum for the *Intercultural Communication* of the university course, one has to conclude that:

1) There are similarities:
   a. All three documents aim at teaching and learning of cultural communication.
   b. All three documents have singled out the elements that form the cultural communication.
2) There are differences:
   a. In terminology: CEFR Companion Volume (2017) prefers using Pluricultural repertoire, although uses also intercultural encounters, sociocultural competences and cross-cultural communication, while

CFLSSL (secondary school curriculum) aims at teaching sociocultural and multicultural competences, but IC course sees it as consisting of intellectual, academic and interactional competences.

b. In the context: the CFLSSL (secondary school) sees intercultural communication as part of language teaching course, while the tertiary school curriculum presupposes as separate course.
c. In the level of impact: CEFR was developed by the institutions across the globe, the secondary school curriculum is compulsory to all students across the country who are studying, which is approximately 12 thousand a year (see the statistics of the Ministry of Education of Latvia at www.visc.gov.lv), while the tertiary school *Intercultural Communication* is taken as a subject of choice for students of one study programme (30 students per year).
d. In the approach: judging by the verbs used in the description of the objectives, the course description of the university proposes a more proactive problem solving and critical approach, while the secondary course curriculum sees the sociocultural, multicultural and intercultural competences as a need to apply the existing knowledge and comply with the pre-established norms.
e. In the levels: the only document that contains explicit IC level descriptors is *CEFR Companion Volume* (2017), although the university course implicitly aims for an intercultural competence level, where students can not only participate in intercultural encounters, but also research the causes of intercultural communication problems/misunderstandings, and repair the misunderstandings.

CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical analysis of the concept of intercultural competence in the theoretical studies discussed seems to be converging on a common view that communication problems and misunderstandings in intercultural communication is just a means of building new understanding, hard as that may be. The analysis of the documents, however, does not provide a clear view of how to reach the understanding: if the CEFR Companion volume (Council of Europe, 2017) advocates for sensibility and awareness and the ability to adapt one's expression to the changing cultural context, the CFLSSL aims at producing a perceptive, adaptable and compliant participant of cultural communication, while the tertiary level course curriculum aims at an intellectual and academic competence development via intercultural situations and problem examination. These could be considered as tools for the development of the intercultural competence, however, neither of the curricula offers a critical cosmopolitan approach that would provide the learners with the capacity to locate the threads

in their personal and professional experiences and navigate the blocks of political discourses (Holliday, 2016). Nevertheless, the university course curriculum does aim to equip the students with analytical thinking and problem solving skills for intercultural contexts, which could suggest that the graduates would be better equipped to take more informed decisions.

One could argue that there is the age difference, the secondary school curriculum is meant for 16 to 18 year olds, but there is also the counterargument that the training of intercultural communication competence the students have obtained in the upper secondary level will remain for many as the only one in their lifetime, where they will have to make important choices in elections, deciding, for example, on the acceptance or rejection of the refugees, therefore we should consider the possibility of including the possibility of changing the secondary school curriculum to include at least mediation skills proposed by the Council of Europe documents.

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THE IMPACT OF IMPLICIT INSTRUCTION UPON THE USE OF ENGLISH DISCOURSE MARKERS IN WRITTEN TASKS AT THE ADVANCED BEGINNERS' LEVEL OF EFL PROFICIENCY

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Abstract. This article aims at examining the impact of implicit instruction upon the use of English discourse markers (further – DMs) in written tasks at the advanced beginners' level of proficiency in English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The theoretical premises of the present research are based upon the role of implicit instruction associated with pragmatic competence, conceptualised as a fundamental dimension of language ability (Laughlin et al., 2015). The research further described in the article involves a quantitative computer-assisted methodology of computing the frequency of DMs in the written tasks by a group of EFL learners at the advanced beginners' level of EFL proficiency (further referred to as participants). The frequency of DMs calculated by the computer program WordSmith (Scott, 2012) revealed that implicit instruction in EFL settings had no positive effects on the participants' use of English DMs in the written tasks. These findings are further discussed in the article.

Key words: advanced beginners' level, discourse markers, EFL learners, written tasks

INTRODUCTION

The article addresses the impact of implicit instruction upon the use of English DMs in written tasks at the advanced beginners' level of EFL proficiency. Research further described in this article is set against a broader theoretical framework associated with the role of instruction, explicit and implicit, in the teaching of a foreign language, in particular EFL (Howatt, 1984; Krashen, 1985; Wildner-Bassett, 1986; Long, 1996; Martinez-Flor and Soler, 2007; Andrews, 2007; Bell, 2017). Traditionally, implicit instruction in EFL settings is thought to involve no overt references to the rules and/or forms of the language (Doughty, 2003: 265). In contrast to implicit instruction, explicit teaching involves 'directing learners' attention towards the target forms with the aims of discussing those forms.' (Martinez-Flor and Soler, 2007: 50).

There exists a substantial body of research comparing the effectiveness of explicit and implicit teaching and learning (Bell, 2017). To emphasise the notion of explicit and implicit instruction, it seems relevant to refer to the working

definition of these two approaches proposed by Andrews (2007: 2). In particular, it is posited by Andrews (ibid.) that in explicit instruction

> a proactively selected form is intensely taught – either by the presentation of the rules and then the giving of examples (deductive reasoning) or by giving examples and then eliciting the rules (inductive reasoning) from the students.

As far as the implicit instruction is concerned, it is indicated that in implicit instruction 'the learners may infer 'rules' from the examples with or without awareness that they are doing so' (ibid.). It is further posited by Andrews that the implicit mode of instruction is typically associated with sentence structures taken from authentic texts that are presented as input tasks, whereby 'the input is done not so much by the teacher but by the task …' (ibid.).

Given that the teaching and learning of DMs explicitly appears to be common (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007), the present study focuses upon an implicit context of EFL learning. Specifically, this study is based upon the contention that DMs constitute a feature that is not readily noticeable by EFL learners (Schmidt, 1993; Rose, 2005). Consequently, EFL learners seem to possess a limited repertoire of DMs compared to those of native speakers (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007). Following Rose (1997; 1999; 2005), implicit instruction associated with the teaching and learning of DMs in EFL is deemed to be insufficient at the advanced beginners' level of EFL proficiency. The research further presented in the article seeks to verify Rose's (2005) contention by means of examining the use of DMs in a written task at the beginning of the semester and the use of DMs in another written task at the end of the semester. The written tasks are executed by a group of participants whose first language (L1) is Ukrainian. All the participants are adult university educated EFL learners enrolled in an optional stand-alone EFL course designed for advanced beginners.

The relevance of this research involves a number of considerations: First, it seeks to ascertain whether or not implicit instruction involving DMs leads to positive gains in the participants' use of English DMs. It is assumed that the findings of this research would lend further support to previous literature (Rose, 2005; Soler, 2005) that is suggestive of the importance of explicit learning strategies in the teaching and learning of DMs in EFL settings. Second, another focal point of this research rests with a specific group of participants comprised of speakers of Ukrainian as their L1. Given that more Ukrainians study abroad nowadays (Rebisz and Sikora, 2015), this research is deemed to be relevant to the educators and educational establishments providing EFL courses and/or instruction in EFL to Ukrainian L1 speakers at the advanced beginners' level of EFL proficiency. Third, following Polat (2011), it is assumed that a longitudinal study of the use of English DMs has important implications for EFL teaching and learning.

Further, this article is structured as follows: First, an overview of previous research literature involving DMs will be presented. Second, previous studies associated with the teaching and learning of DMs in EFL will be outlined. Third,

this quantitative computer-assisted research will be introduced and discussed. Fourth, conclusions will be presented in conjunction with didactic implications for the EFL instruction involving DMs.

1 AN OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH LITERATURE INVOLVING DMS

There is a wealth of previous research literature dealing with DMs from the perspectives of linguistics, applied linguistics, and EFL studies (Schiffrin, 1987; Kyratzis and Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Fox Tree and Schrock, 1999, 2002; Andersen, 2001; Iglesias Moreno, 2001; Morell, 2004; Hellermann and Vergun, 2007; Buysse, 2010, 2012; Polat, 2011; Liu, 2013; Babanoğlu, 2014; Fox Tree, 2015). Judging from the literature it is possible to distinguish two broad approaches towards the definition of DMs depending on whether or not DMs are viewed as a phenomenon associated with oral discourse or both oral and written discourse. The approach to DMs as a feature of oral discourse is foregrounded in Schiffrin (1987), Kyratzis and Ervin-Tripp (1999), Andersen (2001), Iglesias Moreno (2001), Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) and Fuller (2003). Regarded from the vantage point of the role of DMs in oral discourse, DMs are defined as

> linguistic, paralinguistic, or nonverbal elements that signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their syntactic and semantic properties and by virtue of their sequential relations as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units. (Schiffrin, 1987: 40)

Similar definition is found in Andersen (2001: 39), who indicates that DMs are 'a class of short, recurrent linguistic items that generally have little lexical import but serve significant pragmatic functions in conversation.' Fox Tree and Schrock (2002: 728) argue that DMs serve a wide range of functions in language production or comprehension, especially in turn-taking. The aforementioned views of DMs are echoed by Fuller (2003: 24), who suggests that DMs negotiate the speakers' roles in oral discourse. Similarly, the interactive functions of DMs in oral discourse are emphasised by Kyratzis and Ervin-Tripp (1999:1322) and Iglesias Moreno (2001: 29). These scholars suggest that DMs are indicative of the interlocutors' discursive strategies and social behaviour.

Another approach towards the classification and definition of DMs involves the consideration that DMs constitute a feature of oral as well as written discourse (Fraser, 1990; Morell, 2004; Hellermann and Vergun, 2007; Alba-Juez, 2009; Fox Tree, 2015). For instance, Morell (2004: 324) considers DMs to be textual units that facilitate comprehension of an oral and/or written text. DMs establish relationships between discursive topics and grammatical units in discourse (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007: 158), signal the information structure of oral and written discourse (Eslami and Eslami-Rasekh, 2007: 26), and play an important role in the parsing of natural language discourse (Hutchinson, 2004). Similarly, Buysse (2012: 1764) posits that DMs are 'optional linguistic

items that fulfil an indexical function, in that they connect an utterance to its co-text and/or the context'.

Alba-Juez (2009) indicates that DMs are associated with different communicative registers in oral and written discourse. Specifically, some DMs are associated with the written register and others with the spoken one (Alba-Juez, 2009: 172). Following the line of argument involving the register and usage, Fox Tree (2015) posits that whilst DMs may be infrequent in prepared manuscripts and speeches, DMs are more frequent in spontaneous speech. Based upon whether or not DMs occur in spontaneous or prepared written and/or oral settings, Fox Tree (2015) classifies DMs into attitudinal (e.g., *actually*, *really*, *oh*), tailored and temporally sensitive (e.g., *like*, *you know*, the fillers *um* and *uh*), and *cohesive* (e.g., *so, therefore*). Arguably, a definition of DMs which is equally applicable to both oral and written discourse is provided by Fraser (2015), who regards DMs as typically occurring in S2 sentence-initial position in a S1-S2 combination, and signaling a semantic relationship between the two sentences.

As seen in the above-mentioned approaches, DMs are referred to as a pragmatic phenomenon that is categorised differently by various authors (Polat, 2011: 3746). The ambiguity of DMs is associated with a variety of linguistic levels marked by the presence of DMs in oral and written modes of communication (Babanoğlu, 2014). Following this line of argument (Polat, 2011; Babanoğlu, 2014), it can be claimed that DMs by virtue of being ambiguous are multifunctional, since they are problematic to be associated with only one linguistic level or a semantic category (Sprott, 1992: 424; Brinton, 1996).

2 AN OUTLINE OF PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF DMS IN EFL

Previous literature on the teaching and learning of DMs in EFL settings appears to be well-represented (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007; Polat, 2011; Kapranov, 2017b; Buysse, 2012; Liu, 2013). A cornucopia of research publications in the field of EFL and ESL studies seems to share a common focus on the functions and use of DMs in the light of the pedagogical significance of DMs in the teaching of pragmatic and communicative competence to EFL/ESL learners (Aşık and Cephe, 2013). Within the field of EFL studies, the acquisition of DMs is investigated from the perspectives of a developmental EFL learner corpus (Polat, 2011), relative effects of explicit and implicit form-focused instruction on the development of EFL pragmatic competence (Nguyen et al., 2012), the effects of explicit instruction on the development of genre-appropriate DMs usage in academic writing by secondary school teacher candidates (Kapranov, 2017b) and by the primary school teacher candidates (Kapranov, 2017a), the usage of DMs by adult EFL learners in the implicit educational settings (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007), and the extent to which DMs are used by advanced EFL learners in formal instruction of English (Buysse, 2012).

Prior to providing an outline of the above-mentioned studies, it seems relevant to specify the notion of pragmatic competence. Judging from the literature, this notion is an important construct in Second Language Studies (SLA), and in EFL, respectively (Wildner-Bassett, 1984; Kasper and Rose, 1999; Chen, 2010). In general terms, pragmatic competence is regarded as the 'knowledge of communicative action and how to carry it out (illocutionary competence) ...' (Kasper, 1996: 145). On the mico-level, however, pragmatic competence is viewed as

> the knowledge that enables a speaker to express his/her meanings and intentions via speech acts (e.g. requests, invitations, disagreements and so on) appropriately within a particular social and cultural context of communication'. (Nguyen, 2011: 17)

As indicated by Ifantidou (2013), there are multiple definitions of the term *pragmatic competence*. Whilst it is beyond the scope of the present article to provide a meta-analysis of previous pubications on pragmatic competence, it should be, nevertheless, noted that traditionally this competence is defined as the choices the speakers make, the contrains the speakers encounter 'in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication' (Crystal, 1997: 301). The present research is informed by the definition of pragmatic competence formulated by Laughlin et al. (2015: 19):

> pragmatic competence is viewed as mastery of strategically relating linguistic and nonlinguistic contextual information in order to generate meaning beyond the grammatical level in oral, written, or a hybrid mode of communication.

Having specified pragmatic competence, it appears possible to generalise that the studies by Polat (2011), Buysse (2012), Liu (2013), as well as Hellermann and Vergun (2007) address the issue of the use of English DMs within the tenets of the learners' pragmatic competence in oral discourse. In particular, Polat (2011) examines the development of DMs by an adult immigrant ESL learner in the USA in a longitudinal case study. Polat (2011: 3754) reports that the untutored ESL learner exhibits notable patterns of DMs use and development over one year period. Specifically, Polat (2011) indicates that the participant's excessive use of *you know* has declined, while the use of *like* has increased. Polat (2011: 3754) notes that unsupervised ESL learning results in an uneven distribution of DMs in speech. Similar to Polat (2011), the usage of English DMs is analysed in a study by Liu (2013), who seeks to contrast DMs in oral narratives by the group of Chinese L1 participants after their sojourn in the USA with those of the English L1 speakers. Liu (2013) concludes that even though the Chinese L1 participants have experienced a period of residence in the US, they encounter difficulties associated with English DMs in oral narratives compared to the English L1 control group (Liu, 2013: 169). Hellermann and Vergun (2007) aim at elucidating the impact of implicit learning of DMs on adult EFL learners, who have not studied English

previously and who have not been explicitly taught the use of DMs. The focus of the investigation is on the participants' usage of the DMs *you know, like*, and *well* in oral speech. The findings presented by Hellermann and Vergun (2007) indicate that EFL learners use *you know, like*, and *well* less frequently than English L1 speakers. Analogous to Hellermann and Vergun (2007), Buysse (2012) examines the use of the DM *so* by adult EFL students in oral communication. Buysse's (2012) findings demonstrate that adult EFL learners use the DM *so* more often in comparison with their English L1 peers.

Explicit instruction of DMs in EFL university settings is addressed in Nguyen et al. (2012), Kapranov (2017a) and Kapranov (2017b), who focus on EFL written tasks. In particular, in a quantitative study by Kapranov (2017b), DMs are identified in EFL academic writing by pre-service secondary school teachers of English whose L1 is Swedish. The focus of the study involves the role of DMs in the use of genre-appropriate conventions of academic writing in English by the pre-service secondary school teachers. Guided by the view of genre as a set of constraints to be met by a novice EFL writer, the study examines a learning curve undertaken by the participants in mastering the genre-appropriate use of DMs in their academic essays (Kapranov, 2017b). The use of DMs by the participants has been contrasted across the corpus of essay drafts and the corpus of the final essays. It has been found that explicit instruction taken in conjunction with the pedagogical interventions by the course teacher and the peer-review student groups have led to positive gains in genre-appropriate use of DMs by the participants manifested by a tendency to employ the formal register DMs in the final essays (e.g., *however, furthermore, therefore, while*). That tendency has been found to be concurrent with the decline in informal DMs (e.g., *like, just*).

In another quantitative study by Kapranov (2017a), the explicit instructional approach to DMs in the English language is analysed in academic writing in EFL by primary school teacher candidates. The study has revealed a wider repertoire of DMs in the final course essays contrasted with the mid-course essays written by the primary school teacher candidates. Specifically, the following DMs have been identified only in the corpus of the final course essays, e.g. *also, basically, concerning, first, firstly, generally, hence, hopefully, indeed, initially, in particular, it follows, just, later, next, otherwise, such, thereafter, thereby*. The use of informal DMs *basically, hopefully* and *indeed*, identified in the study, seems to support the findings by Šimčikaitė (2012), who indicates that EFL learners tend to use stylistically inappropriate DMs that are more typical of informal spoken discourse than of academic writing. However, the presence of DMs *hence, in particular, it follows, otherwise, thereafter*, and *thereby* in the corpus is suggestive of the choice of DMs that are stylistically appropriate in academic writing.

EFL written discourse is examined in a study by Nguyen et al. (2012), who analyse the EFL students' pragmatic competence associated with modifiers, hedges, and DMs in explicit and implicit instructional settings. It should be noted, however, that the study does not specifically address the use of DMs. The study is embedded into an EFL writing programme, 'where students were taught how to

write paragraphs and different types of academic essays in English.' (ibid.: 420). The findings reported by Nguyen et al. (2012) are suggestive of positive effects of both types of instruction (explicit and implicit) in developing learners' pragmatic performance. However, as indicated by the authors, explicit instruction tended to produce a larger magnitude of effects (ibid.: 427).

The above-mentioned studies appear to focus upon the teaching and learning of DMs in instructed settings (Buysse, 2012; Liu, 2013; Kapranov, 2017a) and on the juxtaposition of explicit and implicit instructional settings (Nguyen et al., 2012), whereas previous research involving implicit instructional settings seems to be underrepresented in the current literature (see Hellermann and Vergun, 2007; Polat, 2011). This observation is supported by Fukuya and Zhang (2002), who indicate that implicit instruction of pragmatics is an underdeveloped area, both conceptually and methodologically. Further, this article introduces the present research that aims at exploring the effect of implicit instructional settings on the teaching and learning of English DMs in order to generate new knowledge about this underrepresented research area.

3 THE PRESENT RESEARCH. HYPOTHESIS AND SPECIFIC RESEARCH AIMS

As indicated in the introduction, implicit EFL instruction is not sufficient at the advanced beginners' level of EFL proficiency as far as the teaching and learning of English DMs is concerned (Rose, 2005). To verify this assumption, the present research is conducted with a group of participants whose L1 is Ukrainian. Based upon previous findings (Hellermann and Vergun, 2007), the hypothesis involves an assumption that the absence of explicit instruction associated with the usage of English DMs in written texts would result in the participants' limited repertoire of English DMs evident from a series of written tasks, such as a one-paragraph essay *My Usual Day* written by the participants at the start of the semester and in another one-paragraph essay *My Unusual Day* written at the end of the semester. Hence, the specific aims of this research are to (1) establish the frequency of DMs in these written tasks and (2) to juxtapose the frequencies in order to explore whether or not there would be quantitative changes involving DMs in the tasks.

3.1 CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The research was carried out with a group of adult EFL learners enrolled in an optional stand-alone EFL course designed for advanced beginners at a university in Central Ukraine. The course was offered to those learners who had previous experience of EFL learning from their respective secondary school studies. The EFL course involved two weekly study sessions (two contact hours each), thus making it four contact hours per week in five months during the spring semester of 2017. The book that was used during the course was titled *Real Life* (Hobbs and Keddle, 2010), which was communicatively oriented and contained

authentic texts in the forms of dialogues and monologues. It was accompanied by a CD with the texts narrated by the L1 speakers of British English. In total, there were 18 DMs in the book, summarised in alphabetical order in Table 1 below.

Table 1 **DMs in the course book *Real Life***

No.	DMs	Units and pages of the course book introducing DMs
1	Also	Unit 1, p. 12
2	And	Unit 1, p. 8
3	Anyway	Unit 7, p. 57
4	As	Unit 1, p. 9
5	Because	Unit 2, p. 22
6	But	Unit 2, p.16
7	Finally	Unit 8, p. 64
8	Luckily	Unit 11, p.88
9	Oh	Unit 1, p.8
10	OK	Unit 4, p.34
11	Or	Unit 1, p.14
12	Possibly	Unit 7, p.61
13	Probably	Unit 6, p. 50
14	Quite	Unit 3, p.27
15	Right	Unit 1, p. 14
16	So	Unit 1, p. 8
17	Still	Unit 7, p. 56
18	Then	Unit 4, p. 36

The participants were exposed to the implicit mode of instruction as far as the teaching of DMs was concerned, whilst the controls were exposed to an explicit mode of instruction. In this research, both the implicit and explicit modes of instruction followed the approach formulated by Andrews (2007). In accordance with this approach, the implicit instruction involved the understanding of the meaning of the DMs that were presented in the course book. The DMs from the course book (see Table 1 above) were introduced in the texts and other course book-related activities (e.g., oral and written exercises) to ensure that the participants were provided with an adequate translation of the DMs from English into Ukrainian. However, no specific information regarding the pragmatic functions of DMs in discourse and their use was given. The course teacher did not introduce any additional materials associated with the DMs. Additionally, it was ensured that throughout the entire duration of the course the teacher (who is the author of the present article) did not use any DMs which were not identified in the course book. In contrast, the control group was exposed to the explicit mode to the teaching of DMs. Following Anderson (2007: 2), that mode consisted in 'the presentation of the rules and then the giving of examples (deductive reasoning)'. The controls were taught by another EFL

teacher, who followed the same course book as the participants did. The controls were exposed to the protocol that involved (1) the translation of the DMs from English into Ukrainian; (2) specific information about the function of DMs in oral and written discourse in the English language; and (3) the focus on the DMs used in the course book both in oral and written exercises.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

The participants were 9 students (2 males and 7 females, mean age = 30 years) enrolled in the same EFL course at a university in a city in Central Ukraine. They indicated that Ukrainian was their L1, and English was their foreign language. Whilst all the participants had studied English at secondary school and were university educated (see Table 2), they reported that their level of EFL proficiency was at the advanced beginners' level (i.e., A 2 level in the common EU framework). The participants signed the Consent Form allowing the author of this article to use their written data for scientific purposes in the anonymised form (the codes P1 – P9 were used by the author to ensure the participants' confidentiality). The participants' socio-linguistic background was summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2 **The Participants' Socio-Linguistic Background***

No.	Participants	Gender	Age	Education	Employment	L1	L2	EFL level
1	P1	Male	26	Tertiary	IT	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
2	P2	Female	25	Tertiary	doctor-intern	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
3	P3	Female	25	Tertiary	doctor-intern	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
4	P4	Female	34	Tertiary	Doctor	Ukr	Rus (fluent)	Adv Beginner
5	P5	Female	25	Tertiary	IT	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
6	P6	Female	26	Tertiary	government official	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
7	P7	Female	26	Tertiary	government official	Ukr	Rus (limited)	Adv Beginner
8	P8	Male	35	Tertiary	government official	Ukr	Rus (fluent)	Adv Beginner
9	P9	Female	52	PhD	university lecturer	Ukr	Rus (fluent)	Adv Beginner

* Abbreviations: Ukr = Ukrainian; Rus = Russian; AdvBeginner = an advanced beginner level of EFL proficiency

The participants were matched with a respective control group. Initially, the control group consisted of 12 (4 males and 8 females) students on the A 2 level of EFL proficiency. However, given that gender and age could be potential variables, the number of controls was reduced by factoring out 2 males and 1 female, so that the control group was matched in the number, gender, and age variables with the group of participants (total 9, 2 males and 7 females). The controls' mean age was 28 years. The controls were enrolled in the identical EFL course taught by another EFL teacher.

3.3 PROCEDURE AND METHOD

The procedure involved the following steps: First, one month after the start of the semester the participants were asked to write a one-paragraph descriptive essay between 200 and 250 words *My Usual Day* in English and send it electronically to the course teacher's email. Second, at the end of the semester, the participants were instructed to write a one-paragraph descriptive essay titled *My Unusual Day* in English of the same length as the first essay and send it electronically to the course teacher. The participants were given one week for the execution of each written task. The controls received the identical set of tasks and instructions.

Given that DMs were usually studied from the vantage point of corpora analysis (Fox Tree and Schrock, 1999: 280), quantitative methodology was employed in the present research. The methodology involved the computer-assisted calculations of word frequencies by the software program WordSmith (Scott, 2012). Based upon previous research on DMs in EFL written tasks (Povolna, 2012; Kapranov, 2017a), the software program WordSmith was considered to be reliable and suitable for the purposes of the present investigation. The participants' essays were collapsed into two files, *My Usual Day* and *My Unusual Day*, and analysed quantitatively in WordSmith (Scott, 2012). Similarly, the controls' essays were collapsed into two files and analysed in WordSmith (ibid.).

3.4 CORPUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The corpus of the study involved two sets of data, the essays *My Usual Day* and *My Unusual Day*, respectively. It should be reiterated that the participants' essays were collapsed into one file and subsequently analysed in WordSmith (2012), hence the descriptive statistics summarised in Table 3 below involved the group means rather than individual values associated with each task written by an individual participant (the same procedure was used with the essays written by the control group):

Table 3 **Descriptive Statistics of the Corpus**

No.	Descriptive statistics	Participants	Controls
1	Mean number of words in Task 1	219	213
2	Mean number of sentences in Task 2	24	21
3	Mean number of words in Task 2	237	230
4	Mean number of sentences in Task 2	25	24

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The application of WordSmith (2012) to the corpus has yielded the frequency and occurrence of DMs per 1000 words. The results of the quantitative computer-assisted analysis of the corpus are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4 **DMs in the Participants' and Controls' Written Tasks 1 (*My Usual Day*) and 2 (*My Unusual Day*)**

DM	Frequency/ Occurrence in Task 1 by Participants	Frequency/ Occurrence in Task 2 by Participants	Frequency/ Occurrence in Task 1 by Controls	Frequency/ Occurrence in Task 2 by Controls
Also	5 (0.3%)	3 (0.1%)	0	6 (0.3%)
And	87 (43%)	94 (4.4%)	14 (1%)	72 (3.8%)
As	0	0	0	12 (0.6%)
Because	2 (01%)	7 (0.3%)	3 (0.3%)	7 (0.3%)
But	5 (03%)	11 (0.5%)	9 (0.8%)	6 (0.3%)
OK	0	0	3 (0.3%)	0
Or	22 (1%)	10 (0.5%)	3 (0.3)	5 (0.3%)
Possibly	0	0	0	5 (0.3%)
Quite	1 (0.05%)	0	0	0
So	2 (0.1%)	0	0	0
Still	1 (0.05%)	0	0	3 (0.3%)
Then	10 (0.5%)	8 (0.4%)	9 (0.5%)	15 (1.3%)

It has been assumed in the hypothesis that implicit instruction associated with the teaching of English DMs entails a limited repertoire of DMs used by the participants. Following the results presented in Table 4, it can be argued that the hypothesis is supported by the present data. Specifically, out of 18 DMs introduced in the course book (e.g., *also, and, anyway, as, because, but, finally, luckily, oh, OK, or, possibly, probably, quite, right, so, still, then*) the participants use 10 DMs (e.g., *also, and, because, but, or, quite, so, still, then*) in Task 1 (*My Usual Day*) executed at the start of the semester, and 6 DMs (e.g., *also, and, because, but, or, then*) in Task 2 (*My Unusual Day*) written at the end of the semester. Arguably, if the implicit

mode of instruction was successful, the use of the DMs by the participants would be, ideally, equal to the DMs introduced in the course book.

However, it is observed in the data that apart from the qualitative changes in the repertoire of DMs, the implicit mode of instruction has resulted in quantitative changes. For instance, in contrast to Task 1, there is a quantitative decrease of the DMs in Task 2, e.g. the usage of *also, or,* and *then* decreases, whilst the following DMs have disappeared from the participants' repertoire of DMs in Task 2, namely *quite, so,* and *still*. To reiterate, the DMs *quite, so, and still* are present in Task 1 and are absent from Task 2 written at the end of the semester. These findings are suggestive of the impoverishment of the participants' repertoire of DMs, which eventuated in the context of the implicit mode of instruction.

At the same time, the control group tends to exhibit a qualitative increase in terms of their usage of English DMs. As evident from Table 4, the controls' repertoire of DMs appears to involve a number of DMs that have been identified in Task 2, not being present in Task 1, specifically *also, as, possibly, quite, so,* and *still*. It is observed in the data that the informal DM *OK* disappears from the controls' repertoire of DMs in Task 2. This finding could be taken to indicate that the controls, who enjoyed the explicit mode of instruction, have increased their repertoire of DMs concurrently with the understanding of the usage of English DMs in the written tasks. Specifically, the absence of the DM *OK* in Task 2 is suggestive of the controls' awareness of the usage of the DM *OK* that is predominantly employed in oral communication in English and less so in written discourse.

Whilst the control group demonstrates a tendency to widen their repertoire of DMs in Task 2, the participants appear to establish a certain preference for several DMs that the participants readily use in Task 1 and Task 2. For instance, it is evident from Table 4 that the DM *and* (introduced in Unit 1 in the course book) is amply used in Task 1 and even more so in Task 2. Similarly, the DM *or* (introduced in Unit 1 of the course book) is employed in Task 1, as well as in Task 2. The DM *then* (introduced in Unit 4 of the course book) is found in the both tasks, but its use decreases in Task 2. The DM *but* (introduced in Unit 2) is characterised by the increased use in Task 2. The DM *also* (introduced in Unit 1 of the course book) appears to be used in Task 1 and in Task 2. Notably, the usage of *also* decreases in Task 2.

Judging from the data, it can be observed that the participants underutilise the DMs provided in the course book (see Table 1). The scarcity of the DMs in the tasks is exemplified by the following excerpts which involve Task 1 (*My Usual Day*) and Task 2 (*My Unusual Day*) written by the participant whose name has been coded as P7:

> (1) My usual day. I want to tell you about my usual day. I wake up at 7:20 a.m. **and** get up at 7:40 a.m. After that, I have a shower **and** have a light breakfast. I go to work by bus. I come in at half past eight. I work hard **but** sometimes I have free time. At work we wear special

uniform. Next time I'm waiting for my lunch. At one p.m. our workers **and** I go to the canteen. I eat a soup, macaroni with meat **and** two pieces of white bread. After lunch I work. Sometimes I drink tea or coffee **and** eat snacks with girls from my work **and** we are talking about our guys. I finish work at quarter past five p.m. I play volleyball. Our team's name is "WINNER". At 6 p.m. I get dressed in sportswear **and** go to gym. There is a T-shirt, there is a sport shorts, there are trainers and there are knee pads in my bag. After that, we hang out in the bar. It is called "TIGA". **Also** we play cards, drink beer or juice **and** smoke. In the evening I prepare dinner with my sister. After we have dinner, we drink tea **and** watch films. **And** after bathroom we go to sleep.

(2) My unusual day. I had many unusual days in my life **and** I want to tell you about one of them. My family **and** I spent holidays in the Crimea four years ago. Every day we went to the beach. There we sunbathed, swam, drank beer with snacks **and** sometimes I played volleyball. **But** we didn't think to sit in one place. Next day we left our beach **and** rode by car to look for something new. At first, we saw a waterfall. It's called Jur-Jur **and** it's one of the highest waterfalls in Ukraine. We went into the water. The water was cold (8°C) **because** it flows from mountains. After that, we rode to the famous city of Yalta. We wanted to visit the Swallow's Nest Castle, **but** it was closed. **Then**, we went to the Vorontsov Palace **and** to the Livadia Palace. These palaces have a lot of beautiful sculptures, fantastic gardens **and** exciting fountains. There are many exhibitions of plants, animals **and** butterflies. After that, we went to mountain Ay Petri. It is 1234.2 metres high **and** we climbed to the top. At the top we could to see our beach, the Yalta city **and** the Ayu-Dag or other name is the Bear Mountain. We were very tired, **but** our journey wasn't over. My father always wanted to visit one cave. It's the Marble Cave. It's one of the most amazing places. When we came back we saw many interesting museums, **but** we didn't want to go to them **because** we were hungry **and** wanted to go to bed. It's a fantastic day **and** I will remember it all my life. (Participant P 7)

It is seen in Excerpts 1 and 2 that Participant P 7 predominantly employs the DM *and, because, but,* and, less frequently, *then*. A plausible explanation of the impoverished repertoire of DMs evident from Excerpts 1 and 2 may eventuate from the implicit mode of instruction involving DMs. In the implicit instructional context, no opportunity for drawing attention to the usage and function of DMs in EFL writing appears to compromise pragmatic learning. The present data seem to lend further support to similar findings described by Rose (1997; 1999; 2005), who posits that implicit instruction is not sufficient in terms of the pragmatic learning and that explicit instruction in different aspects of pragmatics is both

necessary and effective. The present findings, as well as those of Rose (ibid.), are in contrast to the assumption by Bell (2017), who argues that both types of instruction, implicit and explicit, are equally effective.

Presumably, this line of argument is further supported by the previously introduced contention about the scarcity of the participants' repertoire of the DMs in the implicit mode of instruction. The limited repertoire of DMs is further illustrated by Excerpts 3 and 4, where the Participant consistently makes use of the following set of DMs, namely *and, by,* and *then*, e.g.

> (3) My Usual Day. I wake up at six or seven o'clock. I love mornings. It is my time of the day. I have a shower, I get dressed. I have a breakfast. I drink coffee during my breakfast. I tidy up **and** cook food in the morning. I like to cook healthy food. **Then** I go to work by bus or by car. My work starts at 9.30 am. I listen to English news on the bus **or** in the car. I study English at work. After lunch I go home. Sometimes I put sandwiches **and** apples **and** bananas in my bag. I do not have much time. I am very busy. After lunch, I meet my daughter when she is at home. We walk to the city centre. There is a fantastic park **but** we never walk there to enjoy it. We do not have much free time. There are a lot of brilliant great clothes shops **and** cafes around. We go to a café, talk **and** eat. I often work from home. I work **and** study English after work. I like studying **but** it is hard. I surf the net a lot to study English. I never rest during the day. It is not an easy life. My dinner is a soup **or** a cake **and** tea. In the evening I study English **and** watch TV with my husband. (Participant P9)

> (4) My unusual day. I wake up at eleven o'clock. I have a shower. I get dressed. I am ready for my journey. I have got a big suitcase with a lot of clothes. **And** I have got all my favourite stuff, my camera **and** my mobile phone. I travel to Manchester. There are a lot of things to do there. It is an exciting multicultural city. There are interesting museums **and** art galleries. It is the Urbis Museum of City Life which is interesting. This Museum is the place to be. There are also two football teams there. **And** Manchester has got a lot of parks. There are a lot of beautiful buildings. There are exciting restaurants with food from all over the world. There are hundreds of clubs **and** bars with fantastic live music. It is near the beautiful countryside **but** the weather on this unusual day is terrible. It is cold **and** wet. Manchester has got fantastic shopping malls. Shopping malls have everything. I am walking to the station. I am waiting for a bus. I am going to the airport and listening to my MP3 player. I have to meet my best friend at the airport. My friend is Natasha **and** she lives in England **but** she was born in Ukraine. I want to meet her **and** have a coffee with her **and** spend some time with her. **Then** we fly on the plane together. This is a fantastic **and** unusual day. (Participant P9)

Similarly, Excerpts 3 and 4 exhibit the presence of an impoverished repertoire of DMs. It should be emphasised that the impoverishment associated with the usage of the DMs by the participants is present in Task 2 not only in Participant's 9 writing, but in Task 2 executed by the whole group. To illustrate the point, it is pertinent to refer to the data again, for instance, the DMs *quite, so*, and *still* are absent in Task 2, whilst being present in Task 1. The absence of these DMs taken in conjunction with the decrease in the usage of other DMs in Task 2 is indicative of the negative impact of implicit instruction upon the participants' pragmatic competencies associated with the role and usage of DMs in EFL writing. The present findings are in unison with previous research (Kapranov, 2017a) that suggests that EFL learners should be taught English DMs in written tasks explicitly.

Obviously, a cautious approach should be taken as far as the present findings are concerned. Given that the group of participants consists of 9 EFL students, it is logical to assume that further studies with more participants are needed to offer a robust generalisation. However, as indicated by Povolna (2012), it seems relevant to test, examine and analyse a realistic set of data involving the number of participants at hand. I concur with Povolna (2012) in this respect, especially in the circumstances of EFL teaching in Eastern Europe. Due to the negative demographic growth and emigration, typical EFL classes in several Eastern European countries, such as Ukraine and the Baltic states, have only a limited number of EFL students. Currently in Ukraine, small EFL classes are a typical feature of the tertiary landscape (*osvita.ua*, 2015: Online). Given a small group of participants, the present study has provided only a limited insight into the dynamics of teaching and learning of English DMs in the implicit mode of instruction. However, even with a limited number of participants, this research has offered further support to the previous studies by Buysse (2012), Kapranov (2017a), and Kapranov (2017b), who suggest that the teaching and learning of English DMs explicitly is more beneficial in contrast to the implicit mode of instruction.

CONCLUSIONS AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This article was aimed at elucidating how implicit teaching of English DMs influences the participants' pragmatic competence in terms of their use of DMs in a set of two written tasks. The results of the quantitative analysis revealed a certain impoverishment of the repertoire of the DMs used by the participants in Task 1 (*My Usual Day*) contrasted with Task 2 (*My Unusual Day*). In particular, the impoverished and limited repertoire of DM was evident from the juxtaposition of the DMs identified in the participants' essays with those of the controls'.

The present findings were assumed to bear the following implications relevant to EFL didactics. First, implicit teaching of English DMs at the advanced

beginners' level of EFL proficiency appeared to be inadequate in terms of the participants' pragmatic competencies associated with the use of DMs in the written tasks. Specifically, an implicit mode of teaching resulted in the quantitative decline of English DMs by the EFL learners. The quantitative decline eventuated in conjunction with a qualitative impoverishment of English DMs over time. Second, the teaching and learning of English DMs at the advanced beginners' level should involve an explicit mode of instruction to ensure positive gains in pragmatic competencies involving the use of English DMs.

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DEVELOPMENT OF LATVIAN-ENGLISH-LATVIAN DICTIONARIES OF LEGAL TERMS (1991–2017)

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Abstract. The study presents an insight into the development of the Latvian-English and English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms published in Latvia since regaining of independence in 1991 when the need of the English language grew dramatically in comparison with the Soviet period. Bilingual dictionaries of legal terms help to establish terminological equivalents, but this task is more difficult if both languages are linked to different legal systems, for instance, the common law and civil law system as it is in the case of English and Latvian. The aim of this study is to give an insight into the development of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms published in Latvia since regaining of independence. The lexicographic material selected for analysis comprises the five dictionaries of legal terms published in this period. The analysis focuses on such aspects of the dictionaries as their volume, target user group, complexity of entry structure and uniformity of dictionary structure. The analysis reveals some typical features of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms as well as their development that is related to increase in the number of headwords, complexity of the microstructure and lexicographic solutions applied in order to tackle the problem of non-equivalence.

Key words: bilingual dictionary of legal terms, monofunctional dictionary, mono-/bidirectional dictionary, target user group, headword, macrostructure, microstructure

INTRODUCTION

Bilingual dictionaries of legal terms play an important role in the process of establishing terminological equivalents but it is a challenging task to compile these dictionaries in situations when both languages of the bilingual dictionary represent different legal systems. In the case of Latvian-English and English-Latvian (Latvian-English-Latvian) dictionaries these are the common law and civil law systems.

Even though many monolingual, bilingual and multilingual specialized dictionaries have been published since the beginning of the 1990s, Tarp (2012: 118–119) describes the situation in this branch of lexicography as 'rather disappointing' emphasizing the fact that despite the significant number of dictionaries published during this period, their quality is often far from satisfactory since there is very little improvement, especially in the printed

dictionaries. Many of the specialized bilingual dictionaries are characterized by Tarp (ibid.: 119) as 'virtually word lists with equivalents and almost nothing else', namely, the entries of these dictionaries do not include relevant additional (also extralinguistic) information necessary for selection of the most appropriate equivalent that is vital for both text comprehension and production purposes, thus, the genuine needs of the users are often overlooked or even ignored. Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 64) note that bilingual dictionaries of legal terms can vary considerably in their quality and amount of information provided. If the user is less experienced in the field of law, the compilers should provide more information on the differences between the legal systems.

The aim of this study is to give an insight into the development of the Latvian-English and English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms published in Latvia since regaining of independence in 1991 up to the present day. Thus, the lexicographic material selected for this analysis comprises all the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms published since 1991, namely, two English-Latvian dictionaries and three dictionaries combining both directions (English-Latvian and Latvian-English) in one volume.

Since the first Latvian-English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms was published only after the regaining of independence in 1991, a brief review of the dictionaries of legal terms published in Latvia before this period, will be provided. The first Latvian dictionary of legal terms (*Civīltiesību terminoloģijas vārdnīca*) was compiled in 1937 by Būmanis who was a lawyer and translator. This small multilingual dictionary, which comprised terms of The Civil Law of Latvia supplied with equivalents in Latin, German and Russian, started the tradition of Latvian legal lexicography that from then on has been predominantly multi- and bilingual. It was followed by another multilingual bidirectional dictionary (*Juridiskās terminoloģijas vārdnīca*) published in Riga in 1942. This wartime dictionary, compiled by Lauva and Blēse, was characterized by an unbalanced macrostructure (its one part was Latvian-German-Russian but the other German-Latvian). During the period of Soviet occupation, a bilingual Latvian-Russian-Latvian dictionary of legal terms (*Juridisko terminu vārdnīca*), edited by Grīnbergs, was published in Riga in 1970. It should be noted that all these dictionaries are rather small (ranging from nearly 1200 headwords in Būmanis' dictionary up to slightly over 8000 Latvian headwords in Grīnbergs' dictionary) and have somewhat overgeneralized titles that do not reveal their multilingual content. Due to the considerable time gap and changes in the political system, these dictionaries could not have served as relevant lexicographic sources of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms, however, as their predecessors, they may have had at least some impact on the structure and content of these dictionaries.

When the statehood of the Republic of Latvia was restored in 1991, the principle of continuity stipulated that the Republic of Latvia established in 1918 had been restored, accordingly, also its legal system and the Constitution of 1922 were reinstated. Thus, it was necessary to re-structure or establish new state

institutions and adopt new laws to update the legal system. It was attempted to eliminate the Soviet heritage as soon as possible and speed up the transition to the renewed legal system, however, the reform process was impeded by various obstacles. For instance, Balodis et al. (2013: 51) observe that the reorganization of the court system took a considerable amount of time 'since it was impossible to create judiciary appropriate for a democratic state overnight'. It is also important to note that already at the beginning of the 1990s Latvia had acceded to various instruments of international law but, since many of them had not been translated in Latvian, there was an urgent need for translation of these and many other international documents that increased the demand for Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms.

The first Latvian-English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms (*A dictionary of legal synonyms: Latvian-English-Latvian*) was published in 1993. The rest of the dictionaries, which differ considerably in size as well as macro- and micro-structural complexity, have been published since the year 2000 (in 2000, 2001, 2006 and 2008). Legal terms, alongside with terms from other fields, can also be found in some online multilingual lexical databases, for example, *AkadTerm* and *EuroTermBank*. However, since these are not dictionaries, and their treatment of the headwords is usually limited to the provision of TL equivalents, they will not be analysed in this study.

In order to describe the typical features of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms, compare them and trace the development of this lexicographic branch in Latvia, the analysis will be performed according to a uniform set of criteria that focuses on such issues as the basic publishing details of the dictionaries, their volume, the target user group, the type of bilingual dictionary, entry structure, and a comparison of both parts of the bidirectional dictionaries.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical background of the study comprises a review of several metalexicographic issues relevant for the analysis of the selected lexicographic material.

The size of a dictionary can be expressed in quantitative terms, namely, it is often linked to the number of headwords the dictionary contains, but it should be noted that the compilers or publishers of the dictionary may have different approaches to entry counting that can lead to indication of different number of entries in dictionaries of similar volume. Svensén (2009: 25–26) observes that sometimes deliberately vague terms like *words, references* or *words and phrases* can be used instead of the more typical and transparent *entries, lemmas* or *headwords*. It is also possible that derivatives and compounds are counted as entries even though they are presented as secondary headwords or even run-on derivatives without a proper lexicographic treatment. Landau (2001: 109) describes entry

counting in dictionaries as 'clouded by the deliberately confusing nomenclature used by many dictionary publishers, eager to tout their books as bigger than their competitors', however, he also notes (ibid.: 110) that this problem is more widespread in American lexicographic tradition. Another possible way of describing a dictionary from a quantitative point of view is to attempt to determine the density of dictionary that can be achieved by dividing the number of lines in each entry by the number of headwords (Svensén, 2009: 27), but it appears to be less convincing than a comprehensive description of the entry structure. Thus, it can be inferred that the number of entries, which is related to the macrostructure of the dictionary, can be considered while describing the size of the dictionary but it has to be approached with caution and should be combined with a deeper insight into the microstructural peculiarities of the dictionary.

Dictionaries are usually compiled to meet the needs of a particular user group, but often the group is quite varied and comprises experts and semi-experts in the concrete field – students, translators, etc. Specialized bilingual dictionaries mostly try to cater for the needs of a wider group of potential users with quite varied levels of competences. Two types of competences should be taken into account when compiling specialized bilingual dictionaries – the intended user competence of the concrete LSP and their foreign-language competence. The competence of the users in both cases may vary from low to high level, thus, the users require different kind of encyclopaedic and linguistic information that should be provided in the dictionary entries (Bergenholtz and Tarp, 1995: 20–21). To serve its purpose, a bilingual dictionary of legal terms 'should provide a minimum of encyclopaedic information to enable the user to compare the legal systems of the countries in question and to choose the correct equivalent' (ibid.: 64). It is also suggested that additional encyclopaedic notes (supplemented with the necessary cross-references) should be provided to present 'a systematic, comprehensive description of the legal systems involved', for instance, figures presenting the court systems of the relevant countries (ibid.: 65).

Specialized dictionaries can be divided in culture-dependent and culture-independent since the subject matter that is treated in these dictionaries can be either culture-dependent (it has developed differently in various geographical areas, countries and the related languages) or culture-independent (there are no relevant differences determined by the geographical location of the country). The field of law is a typical example of culture-dependent subject matter due to the variety of the legal systems and their distinct development in various geographical areas and countries. The specialized dictionaries dealing with the field of law ask for a culture-dependent treatment of the presented information, for instance, a description of the field-related cross-cultural differences in the front matter of the dictionary. The cross-cultural differences in culture-dependent bilingual dictionaries are related to difficulties in the selection of equivalents, namely, full correspondence of the meaning of the headword and equivalent is very rare; often the apparent similarity of meaning may turn out to be misleading; a complete lack of TL equivalent is often encountered; due to cross-cultural

differences, several equivalents are necessary to reveal the use of the term in both legal cultures. The existence of multiple equivalents determines the difficulty or even impossibility of the use of word-list reversal as the means of headword list building for a culture-dependant specialized bilingual dictionary (Bergenholtz and Tarp, 1995: 60–63).

The functions of the bilingual dictionary are largely determined by the intended users of these dictionaries and their needs. The major functions of a specialized bilingual dictionary are related to foreign-language text reception (or translation from L2 to L1) and production (or translation from L1 to L2) that are linked to the encoding and decoding needs of the users (Bergenholtz and Tarp, 1995: 23–24). Kromann et al. (1991: 2713) provide a brief insight into the distinction between monofunctional and bifunctional bilingual dictionaries. A monofunctional bilingual dictionary compiled for some language pair is compiled to cater for the needs of the speakers of one of these languages, while a bifunctional bilingual dictionary attempts to cater for the needs of the speakers of both languages. The distinction between monofunctional and bifunctional dictionaries is also closely linked to the active-passive dichotomy of the bilingual dictionaries that has been discussed by various scholars (e.g. Ščerba, [1940] 2003: 42; Zgusta, 1971: 299; Adamska-Sałaciak, 2006: 30; Svensén, 2009: 16), though the terminology applied in these studies varies. The discussions of the active-passive dichotomy of bilingual dictionaries highlight the fact that two active (or encoding) dictionaries and two passive (or decoding) dictionaries are necessary for each language pair to meet the needs of both speech communities, but in most cases only two dictionaries are compiled, and they usually focus only on one of the two speech communities.

The intended user group is often indicated in the front matter of the dictionary, thus, implicitly referring also to the type of bilingual dictionary. However, only a careful analysis of the microstructure of the dictionary (paying special attention to the metalanguage used and whether information is provided on the headword or the equivalents) helps to detect if the bilingual dictionary is mono- or bifunctional, namely, it is targeted at the users of only one or both speech communities (Karpinska, 2015: 179–180). Atkins and Rundell (2008: 41–43) note that the easiest task for lexicographers is to compile a decoding dictionary that is targeted at one speech community, a somewhat more difficult task is to compile an encoding dictionary for one speech community, but the possibility of a successful combination of a decoding and encoding dictionary for two speech communities is highly improbable. To illustrate the point, it is mentioned that such elements of the microstructure of an encoding dictionary (where information is provided primarily on the equivalents) as the part of speech label, information that helps to select the right equivalent and the contextual use of the equivalents, is not necessary for a user who might use it for decoding purposes.

Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995: 25–28) review the problems related to the attempts to produce specialized bilingual dictionaries that try to combine

several functions. As one of the obstacles for production of a dictionary targeted at two speech communities is mentioned the metalanguage that in the ideal variant should be L1 for each of the user groups. It is suggested that such longer texts as the user's guides and encyclopaedic notes can be provided in both languages, and some standardised international abbreviations can be used for labels. Though, it is also emphasized that a combination of several functions is more difficult for dictionaries of such culture-dependent subject fields as law, especially if each language is linked to a different legal system.

METHODOLOGY

The lexicographic material selected for analysis comprises all the printed Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms published since 1991, namely, two English-Latvian dictionaries and three bidirectional dictionaries combining both directions (Latvian-English and English-Latvian) in one volume. The full title of each dictionary (if the title is provided only in Latvian, its English version will be presented in square brackets) and its abbreviated form will be presented on the first mention of the dictionary, further on abbreviations will be used to refer to the dictionaries.

The selected dictionaries will be reviewed in chronological order and described according to the following set of criteria:

- the title, publisher, author(s), year and place of publication,
- the approximate number of headwords,
- the intended user group and the type of bilingual dictionary,
- description of various macro- and microstructural aspects of the dictionaries (sample entries will be presented for illustration),
- comparison of both parts of the bidirectional dictionaries.

The framework of analysis is based on the research conducted by such scholars as Ščerba (2003 [1940]), Zgusta (1971), Kromann et al. (1991), Bergenholtz and Tarp (1995), Hartmann (2001), Adamska-Sałaciak (2006), Atkins and Rundell (2008) and Svensén (2009). The set of criteria for analysis is partly based on the lists of criteria for dictionary analysis presented and applied in Svensén (2009: 483–484) and Karpinska (2015: 105ff.).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The first Latvian-English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms published after regaining of independence was entitled *A dictionary of legal synonyms: Latvian-English-Latvian / Latviešu-angļu-latviešu juridisko terminu vārdnīca* (LELD1). It was published by 'American Bar Association' in Riga in 1993, but it is claimed that it was edited in the USA, Chicago. This lexicographic project was initiated by the representatives of American Bar Association who were working in Latvia

shortly after it had regained independence. The dictionary was edited by Stacie O. Condrell and William K. Condrell, assisted by a group of translators and lawyers.

The number of headwords is not indicated. Thus, the entries were counted using a method that is quite often used in lexicography: a set of pages with various density of main entries is selected; the average number of entries per page is calculated and then multiplied by the number of pages in the main body of the dictionary. It revealed that there are approximately 4000 headwords in each part of this bidirectional dictionary.

Since translators of legal texts are mentioned as the target user group of the dictionary and such front matter components as the contents, introduction and list of abbreviations are presented in Latvian and English, at least in theory, it might have been intended as a bifunctional dictionary targeted at both speech communities. Therefore, a closer inspection of the entries is necessary to determine the type of this bilingual dictionary. The following entries from both parts (Latvian-English and English-Latvian) of the dictionary illustrate its entry structure:

apvainot valsts noziegumā, dienesta pilnvaru pārsniegšanā	• impeach *(to)*
arbitrs	• arbitrator
atteikties no *(tiesībām, prasībām, utt.)*	• waive *(to)*
abduction	• aizvešana • nolaupīšana *(sievietes, bērna)*
abolish *(to)*	• atcelt *(ar normatīvu aktu)* • likvidēt
adverse witness	• liecinieks, kura labās attiecības ar pretējo pusi liek apšaubīt liecības patiesumu
court; federal –	• tiesa; federālā *(ASV)* –

The study of the entries reveals that the microstructure of this dictionary comprises very few components – the Latvian headwords and equivalents in both parts of the dictionary are occasionally supplied with labels (mostly regional, e.g. *ASV*) as well as specifiers and collocators (e.g. *ar varu, sievietes, bērna*), the grammatical information that is provided for the English headwords and equivalents is limited to the indication of the infinitive marker *to*. The fact that specifiers and collocators are given in Latvian and the scanty grammatical information found in the dictionary is provided only for the English headwords and equivalents, reveals that despite the bilingual front matter, the dictionary is monofunctional and intended to meet the needs of Latvian users only.

Both parts of this bidirectional dictionary are similarly structured, however, even a quick look at the entries reveals that there are many explanatory equivalents in the English-Latvian part of the dictionary and, accordingly, occasional *explanatory headwords* in its Latvian-English part. It discloses that the list of headwords in the Latvian-English part of the dictionary is the result of word-list reversal. The fact that this method of macrostructure building has been applied, at least to some extent explains why specifiers and collocators are occasionally provided not only for the equivalents but also for the headwords (e.g. **atteikties no** *(tiesībām, prasībām, utt.)*). This approach reminds of insufficient editorial control rather than a carefully considered lexicographic solution.

[*Latvian-English, English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms] / Latviešu-angļu, angļu-latviešu juridisko terminu vārdnīca* (LELD2) was published by 'Kamene' in Riga in 2000, its second edition in 2009 by 'Multineo'.

The dictionary comprises approximately 2300 headwords (3200 in the 2nd edition) in each part. Latvian users (entrepreneurs, lawyers, students) are mentioned as the intended user group of this dictionary. The title of the dictionary is provided only in Latvian, thus, it is obvious that it has been intended as a monofunctional dictionary.

The analysis of the microstructure of the dictionary reveals that in the Latvian-English part of the dictionary all the headwords are supplied with equivalent(s) and a definition in Latvian:

> **advokāts** (attorney, barrister, solicitor, advocate) – jurists, profesionāls un neatkarīgs advokatūras pārstāvis, kas, sniedzot personām juridisko palīdzību, to uzdevumā piedalās lietu izskatīšanā tiesā un pirmstiesas izmeklēšanā kā aizstāvis un pārstāvis, kā arī veic citas juridiskas darbības

This microstructural feature, apart from underlining the fact that the dictionary is intended to meet the needs of Latvian users, also places it in a special subcategory of bilingual dictionaries that combine the features of both translation and explanatory dictionaries (a bilingualized or semi-bilingual dictionary). However, in the English-Latvian part only equivalents are provided:

> **attorney, barrister, solicitor, advocate** – advokāts

No grammatical description has been given for the English headwords and equivalents that might confuse the user. What is more, an occasional lack of correspondence in word class can be observed between the headword and its equivalent(s), for instance, in this entry the headword is a noun, the equivalent a verb, but the analytical definition starts with a noun phrase:

> **apsūdzības celšana** (to bring a charge) – kriminālprocesuāla darbība, kas izpaužas lēmuma par saukšanu pie kriminālatbildības sastādīšanā un uzturēšanā personai, par kuru savākti pietiekami pierādījumi […]

Often more than one TL equivalent is provided in this dictionary, but they are not supplied with specifiers, collocators or usage labels, which could help the user to choose the right equivalent:

> **apsūdzētais** (accused, appellee, culprit, defendant) – procesa dalībnieks, pret kuru pirmstiesas izmeklēšanā prokurors pieņēmis lēmumu par saukšanu pie kriminālatbildības

The English-Latvian part of this dictionary also contains entries which reveal that the headword list in this part of the dictionary most likely is the result of word-list reversal, for example:

> **claim, declaration, demand, bill** – prasība

A typical feature of this dictionary is that both its parts are structured differently with a focus on the Latvian-English part (the active part of the dictionary for the intended user group) where a definition of the headword has been provided. However, it should be noted that the definition offers only encyclopaedic information that is not likely to help the user to select the most appropriate TL equivalent.

The Civil Law of Latvia – glossary of terms: Latvian-English, English-Latvian / Latvijas Republikas Civillikuma terminu vārdnīca: latviešu-angļu, angļu-latviešu (LELD3) was published in Riga in 2001 by the Translation and Terminology Centre.

Each part of this bidirectional dictionary contains approximately 900 headwords. The headwords and their equivalents in this dictionary (glossary) are limited to the terms found in the Civil Law of Latvia and its English translation, which distinguishes it from the other dictionaries discussed in this study.

The dictionary is presented as a study aid for Latvian students of law and social sciences. However, even though it is intended as a monofunctional dictionary catering for the needs of one speech community, its preface and user's guide are provided in both languages.

The basic entry structure of this dictionary is mostly limited to the headword and one or two equivalents. The English headwords and equivalents are not supplied with any grammatical description. Since the dictionary is intended for Latvian audience, at least some basic information (e.g. an indication of the part of speech) might have been provided to avoid confusion, especially when the headwords have homonyms that belong to different parts of speech, for instance in these cases both headwords are nouns, but verbs would have the same form:

> **auction** – izsole
>
> **delay** – nokavējums, novilcinājums

A specific microstructural feature of this dictionary is the fact that in both parts of the dictionary some of the headwords (the important terms used in

the Civil Law of Latvia) have been supplied with definitions and references to the corresponding sections of the law:

> **darba līgums** (2178.p.) – *Ar darba līgumu viena puse uzņemas strādāt otrai darbu par atlīdzību.* – employment contract
>
> **affinity** (§ 215) – *The relationship of one spouse to the kin of the other spouse is called affinity.* – svainība

On the whole, both parts of the dictionary are similarly structured, only the inclusion of some longer phrases in the word list of the English-Latvian part of the dictionary (e.g. **agent for an undisclosed principal, at the proper time**, **conduct court proceedings**) reveal that the word-list reversal has been applied to build the headword list in this part of the dictionary.

[English-Latvian dictionary for translators of legal terms] / Angļu-latviešu vārdnīca juridisko tekstu tulkotājiem (ELD4) was compiled by Oļģerts Eglītis and published in Riga by Eglītis un Partneri (a company offering translation services) in 2006.

This is the first monodirectional dictionary of legal terms published during this period. Latvian users (translators of legal texts and lawyers) are mentioned as the target user group of the dictionary and it is obviously intended as a monofunctional dictionary compiled to meet the needs of this user group. The choice of Latvian as the metalanguage and the fact that the title, preface and list of abbreviations are provided in Latvian underline the monofunctionality of this dictionary.

The number of headwords is not indicated but the entry counting reveals that the dictionary comprises about 2000 headwords. However, the dictionary excels with a broad scope of microstructural elements and rich entry contents. The English headword can be supplied with one or several Latvian equivalents, specifiers, collocators, labels, examples, cross-references and various explanatory notes (often providing useful encyclopaedic information):

> **arbitration board** – šķīrējinstitūcija; šķīrējtiesa; šķīrējtiesas kolēģija: Termins *arbitration board* apzīmē nevis šķīrējtiesu kā institūciju (sk. *arbitration court*), bet gan konkrēto attiecīgās šķīrējtiesas izveidoto sastāvu […]
>
> **barrister** (pamatā AK) zvērināts advokāts (=attorney-at-law). *Barrister* pamatā tiek lietots AK. Sal. solicitor – zemāka līmeņa advokāti/juristi
>
> **blue chip** – "blue chip"; augstākās kategorijas- (visbiežāk par vērtspapīriem/ akcijām/ uzņēmumiem): visbiežāk lietots frāzēs "blue chip shares", "blue chip stocks", "blue chip equities", "blue chip companies". "Blue Chip (zilais kauliņš) Termins, kas apzīmē prestižas ražotāja akcijas. Amerikāņu termins, kas radies no zilās krāsas uz pokera kauliņa ar vislielāko nominālu." […]

Even though the metalanguage of the dictionary is Latvian, the author has chosen to present some of the definitions and explanatory glosses in English. This approach seems to have been based on the assumption that the occasional use of English as the metalanguage will not cause any difficulties to the intended user. What is more, these shifts of metalanguage seem to be determined by the source of information (e.g. *Black's Law Dictionary* in the second sample entry) rather than some well-founded editorial decision:

> **budget forecast** – budžeta prognoze; Ar aprēķiniem noteikts uz faktiem pamatots budžeta posteņu kopsummu un tā izpildes paredzējums

> **buy out** – atpirkt; pārpirkt; izpirkt (visbiežāk par akcijām, daļām, uzņēmumiem) – The purchase of all or a controlling percentage of the assets or shares of a business (BLD)

The sources of the English terms and their Latvian equivalents included in the dictionary are indicated using different colours, for instance, the terms confirmed by the Terminology Commission are presented in green, but the ones suggested by the author of the dictionary in black. Occasionally, some translations that are viewed as wrong and could cause confusion are presented in red, crossed out and commented on to warn the user:

> **certificate of good standing** – izziņa par uzņēmuma likumīgu reģistrāciju un darbību; izziņa par sabiedrības likumīgu pastāvēšanu (...) Tulkojuma variants "~~labas reputācijas apliecība~~", kas nereti parādās dokumentu tulkojumos latviešu valodā, ir nepareizs. […]

Even though comparatively few headwords have been included in this dictionary, the lexicographic treatment of these terms is thorough – this dictionary, apart from the Latvian equivalents, provides much more detailed information about the meaning and usage of the selected terms than any other dictionary published in this period.

[English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms] / Angļu-latviešu juridisko terminu vārdnīca (ELD5) was compiled by Aldis Daugavvanags and Nadežda Kļimoviča and published by Avots in Riga in 2008.

It contains approximately 40 000 headwords and phrases (most likely the secondary headwords have also been counted), thus being the most recent and the largest English-Latvian dictionary of legal terms. It is intended as a monofunctional dictionary since Latvian users (students, translators and entrepreneurs) are indicated as its target group.

Many entries in this dictionary have a tiered structure containing secondary headwords that are presented in a condensed form. This dictionary also has numbered senses. The headword or secondary headword is supplied with one or

several equivalents, occasionally also specifiers, collocators, labels, collocations and explanatory notes. The metalanguage of the dictionary is Latvian, revealing that this dictionary is compiled to meet the needs of Latvian users only. The following entry presents a typical set of microstructural components found in this dictionary:

> **abolition 1.** atcelšana; likvidēšana; **2.** *amer.* verdzības atcelšana; **3.** abolīcija, kriminālvajāšanas pārtraukšana tiesā (*līdz sprieduma pasludināšanai*)
> ~ **of checks** kontroles atcelšana
> ~ **of discrimination** diskriminācijas likvidēšana
> ~ **of restrictions** ierobežojumu atcelšana
> **progressive** ~ pakāpeniska atcelšana

Various types of equivalents have been applied in this dictionary. One or several semantic or cognitive equivalents (often partial) are provided if available:

> **admeasure** iemērīt, sadalīt, izdalīt (*zemes gabalu*)

To overcome the problem of non-equivalence, explanatory equivalents (sample entry 1) and translational equivalents, that are related to contextual use of the SL item (sample entry 2), have been used:

> (1) **capias ad satisfaciendum** lat. […] 2. tiesas pavēle par parādnieka arestu un ieslodzīšanu cietumā pēc tiesas lēmuma un līdz pat brīdim, kad tiks apmierināta pret viņu iesniegtā prasība
> (2) **body 1.** iestāde; organizācija; **2.** grupa; kolēģija; […]
> ~ **of an instrument** dokumenta pamatdaļa, dokumenta pamatteksts
> ~ **of justice** justīcijas pamatprincipi
> ~ **of laws** tiesību normu kopums

Encyclopaedic information is provided infrequently and only in a form of short glosses, for example:

> **Bench**:
> **Common** ~ vispārīgo prāvu tiesa (*Anglijā līdz 1873. g.*)
> **Upper** ~ Augšējais sols (*karaļa sola tiesas nosaukums (Anglijas republikas laikā (1649–1660))*

The microstructure of this dictionary is complex and uniform, resembling the one of a general bilingual dictionary; however, a more insightful presentation of encyclopaedic information might have been expected in a dictionary of this volume and microstructural complexity.

Table 1 presents the summary of findings structured according to the main criteria of analysis of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms.

Table 1 **Summary of findings**

Criteria of analysis / dictionaries	**LELD1**	**LELD2**	**LELD3**	**ELD4**	**ELD5**
Mono- or bidirectional	bidirectional	bidirectional	bidirectional	mono-directional (E-L)	mono-directional (E-L)
Number of headwords	[~ 4000 in each part]	~ 3200 in each part	~ 900 in each part	[~ 2000]	~ 40 000
Target user group	Latvian and English translators of legal texts	Latvian users: entrepreneurs, lawyers, students	Latvian users: students	Latvian users: translators of legal texts, lawyers	Latvian users: students, translators, entrepreneurs
Entry structure	headword, equivalent(s)	headword, equivalent(s), (definition)	headword, equivalent(s), (definition)	complex	complex
Structure of both parts of dictionary	similar	considerable differences	similar	-	-

The findings reveal that the first three dictionaries compiled during this period were bidirectional, their both parts were similarly structured (apart from LELD2), but the more recently published dictionaries are monodirectional (ELD4 and ELD5), being also passive dictionaries for the inteded user group. The approximate number of headwords is indicated only in three dictionaries, but it tends to increase in the latter part of the period.

Only the compilers of the first dictionary (LELD1) claim that it has been intended as a bifunctional dictionary that would meet the needs of both user groups, however, a closer inspection of the entries reveals that it caters for the needs of Latvian users only. All the other dictionaries are intended as monofunctional and targeted only at Latvian users; there is only some slight variation in the specific subgroups of users: students, lawyers, translators and entrepreneurs are mentioned in various dictionaries.

At the beginning of the period the entry structure of the dictionaries was very limited – it mostly consisted of a headword and one or several equivalent(s); in two dictionaries (LELD2 and LELD3) it was supplied with a definition of the headword in the source language of the dictionary but later in the period (in ELD4 and ELD5) it has become considerably more complex and apart from the equivalents it may contain specifiers, collocators, labels, collocations and various explanatory notes. Only in two dictionaries (ELD4 and ELD5) the entries have numbered senses, but only one dictionary (ELD5) has tiered entries with secondary headwords. Many explanatory equivalents and explanatory notes are used in order to overcome non-equivalence. The grammatical description of the headwords and equivalents is scanty in all the dictionaries, but in some cases (LELD2 and LELD3) it might even confuse and mislead

the user. The encyclopedic information, being of immense importance if both languages of the dictionary represent different legal systems, can be found in all the dictionaries apart from LELD1 but most frequently and efficiently this information is presented in ELD4.

Word-list reversal method has been used while compiling the headword lists of the bidirectional dictionaries but since these dictionaries often provide several partial equivalents, its application is not always successful.

CONCLUSIONS

A gradual development of various aspects of the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms can be observed during the selected period. The small bidirectional dictionaries have a very scanty microstructure, but the microstructure of the dictionaries becomes more complex in the monodirectional dictionaries published in the latter part of the period, while a considerable increase in the number of headwords can be observed only in the largest monodirectional dictionary of the period. The grammatical description of the headwords or equivalents provided in the dictionaries is mostly insufficient. The extensive use of explanatory equivalents and encyclopaedic notes in the English-Latvian dictionaries reveals that the compilers have attempted to solve the problem of non-equivalence which is related to the fact that Latvian and English represent two different legal systems. Since 1993 all the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms have been compiled to meet the needs of Latvian users since the bilingual dictionaries compiled in Latvia are mostly used by Latvian rather than English audience. There is also a distinct tendency towards monodirectionality of the dictionaries of legal terms, namely, the more recently compiled dictionaries are monodirectional (English-Latvian) which serve as passive dictionaries for Latvian users.

Even though the application of corpus evidence has become a must in the modern lexicography, unfortunately, so far corpus data have not been used while compiling the Latvian-English-Latvian dictionaries of legal terms. It is also evident that the future of these dictionaries should not be linked only to the somewhat traditional paper medium since the electronic medium, if applied wisely, offers great advantages which have been convincingly demonstrated by the English advanced learner's dictionaries.

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'A GHASTLY AND BLASPHEMOUS NIGHTMARE': ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS IN DICKENS'S JOURNALISM

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Abstract. In the article ironically entitled *A Monument of French Folly*, published in *Household Words*, 8th of March, 1851, Charles Dickens targeted a number of civic reforms in municipal abattoirs located within the city walls of London as well as the English arrogant reluctance to adopt the hygienic measures practiced in French slaughterhouses. Dickens's article was part of the foregoing struggle to relocate the Smithfield livestock market and surrounding slaughterhouses from the City of London in the city outskirts, so as to prevent ventilation problems and the risk of miasmic infection. The aim of this paper is to examine Dickens's article in the light of contemporary environmental concerns. I will particularly focus on his journalism as a token of modern social-ecology and environmental ethics, as shown by the administration and government policies he suggests to be implemented.

Key words: Charles Dickens, Victorian journalism, ecocriticism, environmental ethics, Francophilia

Dickens's well-known passion for France has been profusely documented in his fiction, journalism and correspondence. The French revolution centres *A Tale of Two Cities*, and French eminent characters pepper *Little Dorrit*, *Nicholas Nickleby,* and *Our Mutual Friend*. Similarly, a myriad of newspaper articles published in *Household Words*, *All the Year Around*, *The Examiner* and *The Daily News* revolve around French customs in contrast with his homeland's, and his correspondence details with visual precision travel experiences and personal impressions in France that constructed a cultural, Francomaniac persona of which Dickens was fully aware, as proved by the words with which he defined himself to his friend and biographer John Foster in the letter 'Charles Dickens, Français naturalisé et Citoyen de Paris' (Forster, 1873, II: 330). This profound interest in France and the French was also remarked by his son, Henry Fielding Dickens, who noted that although his father had a very 'strong love of his country', he used to say, laughingly, 'that his sympathies were so much with the French that he ought to have been born a Frenchman' (Dickens, 1928: 28). In anticipation of the elite of English-speaking nineteenth-century authors who would constantly oscillate between their Irish, English or American national identities and their French cultural credentials, Dickens created a multiple self encompassing the cultural

attributes of both countries. More than a specific location, Paris and France represented in Dickens's work an idealistic aspiration the aim of which was to attack his compatriots' insularity, or, in Edmonson's words, 'to highlight what is wrong with the British system' and to ridicule 'the dismissive and xenophobic assumption of British superiority' (2007: 268).

This is particularly noticeable when Dickens attempts to redefine English nationhood in terms of urban sanitation and public health security. The article ironically entitled *A Monument of French Folly* which appeared in *Household Words* on the 8th of March, 1851, targeted a number of civic reforms in municipal abattoirs located within the city walls of London and the English arrogant reluctance to adopt the hygienic measures practiced in French slaughterhouses. The largest wholesale market in the United Kingdom at the time, the Smithfield market, based in the City of London since the Middle Ages, was the focus of his contempt. The market was originally built in the outskirts of London, yet the massive growth of the city's population steadily modified its first emplacement until it eventually came to occupy a nuclear position in the capital. As a result, the animals were brutally driven through the narrow and heaving streets crammed with local trades and industries associated with the market, hence becoming a hazard to public health and security. Ironically enough, as Dickens wrote in 'The Heart of Mid-London' (*Household Words*, 4 May 1850), the market stood close to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whose gate was 'in the midst of this devilry' (Dickens, 1850: 122). Such physical proximity made him wonder about the tragic conjunction of human and animal pain, turning the 'Market of the Capital of the World' into a 'ghastly and blasphemous Nightmare' (Dickens, 1850: 123).

Dickens's reflections were triggered by his first-hand experience of abattoirs on both sides of the Channel. As a result of a trip to Paris in February 1851 to conduct research on municipal markets and slaughterhouses, he visited the cattle market at Poissy and the abattoirs at Montmartre and Grenelle. His conclusion was as emphatic as categorical: in France, 'of a great Institution like Smithfield, they are unable to form the least conception. A Beast Market in the heart of Paris would be regarded as an impossible nuisance. Nor have they any notion of slaughter-houses in the midst of a city' (Dickens, 1851: 427). Dickens was particularly astounded by ventilation problems and animal-welfare issues, and his article aimed at proposing a myriad of amendments to improve the living conditions of citizens and animals surrounding these areas. As will be shown, his statements may be reconciled with current environmental concerns, inasmuch as his urban environmental descriptions manifested his commitment with the preservation of nature, both from a legal and a philosophic standpoint. Thus, *A Monument of French Folly*, stands for the deep ecological preoccupations underlying his conceptualization of modern civilization as well as for his belief in a pioneering yet controversial recuperation of the natural world.

1 DICKENS'S PROTO-ENVIRONMENTAL THINKING: THE AUTHOR AS A SOCIAL-ECOLOGIST

Dickens's pioneering ecological sensibility has been traced in many of his novels mostly as a result of what John Parham terms, quoting Paul de Man, 'a return to a certain form of naturalism after the forced abstraction of the Enlightenment' (De Man, 1989: 198, quoted by Parham, 2010: 1). According to Parham, Dickens was an heir to the Romantic age, and his love of nature originates in the cultural climate that preceded him and that appeared in the works of many Romantic writers of the mid-nineteenth century.

However, whether the author was a lover himself of nature as an abstract, supra-human entity is a much more complex question, which inevitably connects with Dickens's understanding of urbanism and modern civilisation. In John Parham's words, what can be found in Dickens's proto-ecological thinking is the axiom by which 'a degraded physical environment equates to a hazardous human one' or what he terms a 'Victorian risk society' (2010: 2). In other words, Dickens's preoccupations focus on the human side of the equation. Preserving nature is just a means of preserving mankind, for it is mankind that occupies his social reflections. This is why most critics coincide in stating that Dickens was *not* necessarily a nature-lover. 'Rather', Hugh Cunningham argues, 'his responses to particular issues were shaped by his abiding concern for decency and humanity' (2008: 159). Being more of a resolute urbanite, his views on nature actually resemble Baudelaire's dislike of the wild in favour of the city. As Andrew Sanders notes, 'the more placid rhythms of rural life elude him as much as does an ability to observe and record the delicacies of a flower or the contours of a working landscape' and although he 'readily recognised the Romantic conventions of seeing nature as the inspirer and the regenerator, few of Nature's voices echo directly in his novels'. The critic concludes that 'as a writer of fiction, Dickens generally remained distinctly unawed by its phenomena' (2003: 91). On a similar note, Scott Russell Sanders observes that in Dickens, 'the social realm – the human mortality play – is a far more powerful presence than nature' (1996: 183). Man, rather than nature, or nature *through* man, is therefore the object of his anthropocentric thoughts. This would rally with a brand new concept inaugurated by ecocritical thinkers that transcends the classic divides between man and nature to coin a fresh ontological description of their symbiotic reconciliation, termed *urbanature*. For Ashton Nichols, the tangled relationship between man and the natural environment is much more complex than what the traditional Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment binary split has mistakenly argued, for 'nature and urban life are not as distinct as human beings have long supposed' (2011: xiii). Consequently, the so-called 'return to nature' is but a 'category mistake' as the borders of both have been made obsolete by modern technologies, namely nanotechnology and genetic manipulation (Nichols, 2011: xiii, xiv).

That 'urban culture and wild nature come to much the same thing' (Nichols, 2011: xiv) in the works of Dickens can be observed in his enthusiasm

in the integration of science as a mediator of the cosmic reconciliation between man and nature. In this sense, Parham reads Dickens as a forerunner of Murray Bookchin's social ecology thesis stating that, more than focusing on the literary recuperation of nature, this branch of ecocriticism aims at establishing 'a deep-seated continuity between nature and society' (Bookchin, 1987: 59) mostly consolidated by new technology. According to Parham, scientific knowledge aims at unveiling the secret of nature in order to respect its basic organic principles (2010). Dickens's well-known allusions to scientific subjects and characters in his fiction and journalism have been thoroughly studied (Levine, 2006; Winyard and Furneaux, 2010; Parham, 2010). Similarly, in *A Monument of French Folly* he refers in many an occasion to the statement proffered by the Head of the Natural History Section of the British Museum, Professor Sir Richard Owen. According to Owen, mistreatment and abuse of animals backfires in the form of fatal meat consumption for men, for after being brutally hastened and beaten, the cattle is 'in a most unfit state to be killed, according to microscopic examinations made of their fevered blood' (Dickens, 1851: 428). As will be shown, scientific instruments are not only vindicated but also *imitated*. In his detailed portrayal of abattoirs' putrefaction, Dickens's eye incarnates the microscopic accuracy of the eminent physiologist. In the article, optic technology acts as a scientific and literary guardian of both men and animals, and so, in spite of the fact that Dickens's main interest are humans, his discourse reveals a concern for animals as rightful beneficiaries of the alternative procedures he proposes. Such a stance reflects the 'ecological interdependence' of society and nature characteristic of many of Dickens's works (Parham, 2010: 9).

2 VENTILATION ISSUES AND THE POLITICS OF RECYCLING

Just as much as his novel *Our Mutual Friend* is permeated by the idea of matter recycling and waste renewal, Dickens's views on improving markets' and slaughterhouses' sanitary conditions reveal a deep belief in air circulation and ventilation that strictly follows classic Darwinistic ideas of substance re-use and state regeneration, or what Joe Amato terms 'the popular mid-century belief in the cyclical quality of all natural things' (Amato, 1998: 45, quoted by Macfarlane, 2007: 54). In the novel, Mr. Venus's taxidermist skills lie in 'creating an integrity for that which has been disintegrated, and in procuring value from that which has been used' (Marcfarlane, 2007: 50). The recurrent metaphor of recycling and renewal pervades the novel, and erases the traditional Romantic hierarchy inherent to the notion of artistic, ex nihilo *origin* in favour of that of derivative *conversion*. In *A Monument of French Folly*, Dickens enthusiastically endorses a similar argument when advocating for ventilation and air renewal as a healthy source of life and urban progression. As Robert MacFarlane observes, Dickens was mostly influenced by contemporary medical science's 'miasmic theories of

infection, which attributed not just the spread but also the generation of disease to the accumulation of waste matter,' that had come to be perceived 'as a symptom of societal disorganization and ill-health' (2007: 52).

Much has been written on Dickens's involvement in the mid-Victorian sanitation movement, as shown from his early interest in the Metropolitan Improvement Society and the Metropolitan Sanitary Association. Furthermore, Dickens's brother-in-law, Henry Austin, was the chief inspector to the General Board of Health, and was 'influential in forming the novelist's interest in these issues' (Smith, 2008: 63). An *avant-la-lettre* advocate of air purification, Dickens contended that ventilation problems both within over-populated markets and inside the slaughterhouses caused diseases for humans:

> Into the imperfect sewers of this overgrown city, you shall have the immense mass of corruption, engendered by these practices, lazily thrown out of sight, to rise, in poisonous gases, into your house at night, when your sleeping children will most readily absorb them, and to find its languid way, at last, into the river that you drink. (1851: 429)

The domestic threat that the author addresses derives from the inexorable cycle of decomposition and composition, the menace of metamorphosing diseases which engenders a discourse of urban hazard in which clean and fresh air acts as a revitalising element. From a metaphoric perspective, Macfarlane argues that in Dickens's work, 'circulation plainly emerges as a desideratum' while

> Circulation's obverse, blockage, is figured as hateful: the images of grease, fat, ooze, and miasma [...] are the physical consequences of congestion, all designate moral or metaphysical stagnancy or some sort. (2007: 55)

Unopened spaces, such as English markets and slaughterhouses, are 'victims of their own stasis' (Macfarlane, 2007: 61). They emerge as specific places where concentrated gases saturate the regeneration process: 'the slaughter-houses, in the large towns of England, are always [...] most numerous in the most densely crowded places, where there is least circulation of air. They are often underground, in cellars; they are sometimes in close back yards; sometimes (as in Spitalfields) in the very shops where the meat is sold. Occasionally, under good private management, they are ventilated and clean' (Dickens, 1851: 428).

Clean air and the recycling of oxygen turned out to be one of Dickens's foremost interests in his article, to the extent that the whole narrative on English hermetic markets and slaughterhouses tends to penetrate his actual writing style, which becomes spirally asphyxiating as it condenses images and ideas within the insulating syntax:

> The busiest slaughter-houses in London are in the neighbourhood of Smithfield, in Newgate Market, in Whitechapel, in Newport Market, in Leadenhall Market, in Clare Market. All these places

> are surrounded by houses of a poor description, swarming with inhabitants. (Dickens, 1851: 428)

His claustrophobic account of an area densely infested with dwellings, inhabitants and slaughterhouses takes on his description, which becomes as circular, accumulative and suffocating as the locations appearing in it. Verb tenses and syntactic profusion of nouns, adjectives and compounds act as intensifying vehicles of sweltering condensation:

> Prosperity to cattle-driving, cattle-slaughtering, bone-crushing, blood-boiling, trotter-scraping, tripe-dressing, paunch-cleaning, gut-spinning, hide-preparing, tallow-melting, and other salubrious proceedings, in the midst of hospitals, churchyards, workhouses, schools, infirmaries, refuges, dwellings, provision-shops, nurseries, sick-beds, every stage and baiting place in the journey from birth to death. (Dickens, 1851: 429)

This nauseating piling of men, pestiferous animal corpses and remains, and live animals in a deplorable state suggests a significant correlation between humans and nonhuman others: Dickens's animalisation portrays humans incarcerated within the walls of oppressive areas, thus recreating an incestuous atmosphere of a deterministic nature. Within the limits of such specific urban arrangements, men's death sentence is comparable to that of beasts about to be slaughtered in the abattoir, and the apocalyptic link with an imminent death is even made more explicit by the author when disclosing that some of these slaughterhouses are 'close to the worst burial-grounds in London' (1851: 428).

According to Dickens's personal experience, French abattoirs proved to be the exact opposite of their English counterparts. Despite being built within the city walls, they stood in the borders: the Abattoir of Montmartre was located 'in a sufficiently dismantled space' which covered 'nearly nine acres of ground' (1851: 434). Full ventilation was then assured for buildings of magnificent dimensions standing 'in open places in the suburbs, removed from the press and bustle of the city'. Contrary to the 'unventilated and dirty' London slaughterhouses with 'reeking walls, putrid fat and other offensive animal matter clings with a tenacious hold' (1851: 428), the interior design of the French abattoir, made up of a number of opposite doors and windows, helped air circulation, preventing aerial corruption: 'there may be a thorough current of air from opposite windows in the side walls, and from doors to the slaughter-houses' (1851: 435). Corollary to his extensive animalisation of humans in his novels, the French abattoir's airing system seems to imitate a human organism. Dickens's personification of the slaughterhouse shows it as a breathing space, a physical location endowed with autonomous respiration and, therefore, with life. Unlike English abattoirs and markets, defined by their insulation and claustrophobic close-mindedness, their French counterparts were breathing edifices, 'open on all sides' (1851: 432), inhaling new fresh air and exhaling corrupted winds.

3 *ANIMA MUNDI* AND POETIC ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Dickens's organicist metaphor of markets and slaughterhouses as fully ventilated, 'lunged' bodies preventing aerial corruption and putrefaction may have been ignited by the reading of Poor Law Commissioner Edwin Chadwick's 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, and the 'exposure to the socio-political discourse of circularity and circulation' prominent during the 1840s (Macfarlane, 2007: 54). Slow as political action was to follow, the politics of public health inevitably 'began to shape his imagining of the disposition and regulation of society' (Trotter, 1988: 104). *A Monument of French Folly* credits this defence of motion and change as natural life renewal when the author endorses professor Owen's ideas on chemical conversions and transcendental biology, demonstrating that

> Nothing in Nature is intended to be wasted, and that besides the waste which such abuses occasion in the articles of health and life [...] they lead to a prodigious waste of changing matters, which might, with proper preparation, and under scientific direction, be safely applied to the increase of the fertility of the land. Thus [...] does Nature ever avenge infractions of her beneficent laws, and so surely as Man is determined to warp any of her blessings into curses, shall they become curses. (Dickens, 1851: 279)

It is easy to deduce that Dickens's understanding of the circular essence of nature seems to be impregnated with a peculiar sense of poetic justice associated with the divine character of nature itself and the devilish portrayal of the city as an 'unnatural [...] perverted and perverting environment' (Andrews, 1979: 78). His biblical personification of Nature as an entity deemed to 'avenge infractions of her beneficent laws' on those who 'determined to warp her blessings into curses', for they shall 'become curses' (Dickens, 1851: 430), reveals a religious style that goes deeper than a mere neo-platonic conceptualization of Nature frequently observed in the German Romantic revival of the *anima mundi* myth. George Levine contends that Dickens yokes together the axioms of natural theology and Darwin's sense of scientific progression. As Levine puts it, 'he yearns for a "nature" that is indeed God's second book, as in the tradition of natural theology. But, like Darwin, he describes a world that resists such ordering' (Levine 2006: 159). In *Dombey and Son* (1848), an analogous metaphorical image of London as the source of corrupted nature is provided, and dirt is interpreted as man's interruption of the natural cycles designed by God: 'Vainly attempt to think of any simple plant, or flower, or wholesome weed, that, set in this foetid bed, could have its natural growth, or put its little leaves forth to the sun as God designed it'. The product of filth, Dickens narrates, is 'the ghastly child, with stunted form and wicked face' (1848: 684). The effects of human corrupting nature cyclically attain man himself. Nature being construed as a god-like force

capable of chastising those contravening its original godsends, its main role is that of imposing divine order upon the earth. The natural cycles lose their original Rousseauian benignity – the gracious attributes of 'morality and good health' Smith finds in nature in *Dombey and Son* as the inverse of city's dirt (1848: 66) – to become an ominous presence menacing mankind and foreshadowing a natural catastrophe.

The world soul theory permeates his reading of Nature, yet he tends to define man's relationship with it as one that has diverted from its natural origins due to its cultural state. That is why, when arguing in his article that 'it is quite a mistake [...] to suppose that there is any natural antagonism between putrefaction and health' (1851: 429), Dickens perpetuates the classic Romantic schism between nature and culture messianically contending that 'you may talk about Nature, in her wisdom, always warning man through his sense of smell, when he draws near to something dangerous; but that won't go down in the city. Nature very often don't mean anything' (1851: 429). Dickens's prophetic tone unveils a fate-like retaliation from Nature on Man that openly contrasts with his scientific style and establishes a sort of poetic 'environmental justice' that has been deemed essential in social ecology thinking. In his article, Levine states, 'material reality corresponds meaningfully to moral reality' (2006: 173). Dickens's apocalyptic views on nature foreshadow the destruction of man as a consequence of its own devastation, establishing a sort of deterministic fatality between man's irresponsibility towards nature and the results of his acts, where scientific discourse alternates with prophetic, religious rant in an attempt to reconcile social reforms with natural theology's anthropocentrism.

4 DICKENS AS A SOCIAL REFORMER: ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Dickens's was 'a world in transition' (Baumgarten, 2001: 111) and, as noted above, many of his reflections on nature derive from his conceptualisation of modern civilisation. His agenda of reforms deals with urban and sanitary amendments that tend to implement a more active presence of the government bodies within the meat industry. According to Dickens, the state needs to interfere directly in the physical and economic arrangement of the meat business in order to guarantee efficiency and productivity. Social economy principles lead his thoughts, as stated by James Edwin Thorold Rogers in 1872 as the number of laws and regulations 'which are needful for the security of society', so that 'the largest of persons can live in the greatest plenty, can look forward to the greatest regularity, and can do their work in the greatest safety' (1872: 14). In line with modern social economists, Dickens contends a firmer administrative organization of the meat industries analogous to that seen in France to increase social benefits and objectives. Throughout his article, his interest in a number of measures and regulations to be implemented by the governing

body (namely an effective time arrangement for cattle trading, a geographic readjustment of markets and slaughterhouses in the city outskirts, a quasi-Keynesian distribution of tasks amongst workers leading to an industrial chain implying a major productivity, a deeper sensitizing of individual responsibility towards institutions and animals, and a stricter enforcement of regulations and surveillance) aim at implementing a state-like organization within markets and slaughterhouses which is construed as 'natural' for mankind. In other words, following the theses of classic British rational materialism, *order* (in any field of human co-habitation) is inexorably required for the prevention of the disintegration, either by cause of disease or social chaos, of the community bond. Such a state-like organization of the meat industries as micro-societies needs to be interpreted as an unavoidable, inner disposition of humans similar to human nature. 'The drovers can no more choose their road, nor their time, nor the numbers they shall drive, than they can choose their hour for dying in the course of nature' (1851: 434). The State must replace Nature and provide for men. Nature, in its State-like form, was conceived as an inner progression, a goal of improvement in itself that needs to be struggled for.

However difficult it may be to discern whether Dickens was really a nature-lover – a statement rendered much more obscure when bearing in mind that Dickens, 'although opposed to animal experiments, never became actively involved with the RSPCA' (Ryder, 1989: 100) – his arguments may be rallied to a number of contemporary environmental issues. Nonetheless, the originality of his remarks is a controversial matter. Rather than fresh, new-fangled claims, Dickens's petitions for improving abattoirs and urban markets in London took after the general opinion of his time, as summarized in Reach's conclusion to his 1847 essay, written four years earlier than Dickens's newspaper article:

> Establish abattoirs in the outskirts of London. Place them under strict rule. Take care that the animals to be slaughtered are – until the last moment – furnished with all which can be demanded by their natural wants, and which is necessary to make their flesh wholesome. Introduce the method of killing which physiological science demonstrates to be the quickest and the most painless. Suppress private killing-places as you would suppress private stills. The public health requires it – the public safety calls for it – common humanity demands it. (Reach, 1847: 122)

Reach accurately stated Dickens's claims, and it seems that the latter's contribution to the anti-Smithfield campaign was but following the general civic-minded opinions of his epoch, rather than updating the previous tone of sanitary reformers. In this sense, Dickens's role in the anti-Smithfield campaign seemed to be that of a social catalyser and amplifier, whose claims helped popularise and spread prior theoretical standpoints.

Nevertheless, although his originality may not lie in his reflections as a forerunner of 21st-century environmental issues, he certainly achieves a highly

creative brilliance when supporting his arguments through ironic journalism. By comparing English with French abattoirs, the novelist aimed at enriching his reasoning with a contrast provided by his continental experience in France, 'Britain's direct comparator and erstwhile rival' (Clemm, 2009: 103), and thus attack John Bull's insularity. In other words, on a literary level, Dickens's article gives away more about the author's praise of France as an idyllic, eco-friendly country than about the actual reforms he meant to implement.

It is noteworthy to observe that Dickens's considerations seem to contradict contemporary research on abattoir history, contending that, far from proving to be such 'roomy, commodious buildings' (Dickens 1851: 436), if not blatantly utopian spaces, French slaughterhouses in the second part of the nineteenth century were actually killing factories infested with disease and corruption. Kyri Claflin describes the brand new Paris abattoir La Villette in the late 1860 as a 'city of blood' the design of which was, more than traditional, 'irrational' (2008: 27). Claflin's portrayal of French abattoirs matches exactly Zola's photographic sketches of the boulevard Rochechouart in his novel *L'Assommoir* (1877), where Gervaise remarks the presence of 'groups of butchers, in aprons smeared with blood' hanging about in front of the slaughterhouses, 'and the fresh breeze wafted occasionally a stench of slaughtered beasts' (Zola, 1877: 2). In both cases, French slaughterhouses proved to be galaxies away from the Arcadian killing places depicted by Dickens, not only in the mid-nineteenth-century, but also at the turn of the century, thus evincing that France was far from leading the Continental public health policies. In 1906, an observer claimed that La Villette had 'no unity of design'; rather, there were 'groups of pavilions [...] crowded together, separated by streets where animals, vehicles, meat, manure, all mix and mingle' and where 'surveillance is impossible, sanitary inspection is insufficient, and filthiness is the rule' (quoted by Claflin, 2008: 27).

5 CONCLUSION: DICKENS'S ECO-COSMOPOLITANISM

To conclude, Dickens's urban environmental descriptions cannot therefore be detached from his fiction outtake. Cosmopolitanism went hand in hand with proto-ecology founding what could be termed 'eco-cosmopolitanism' or, most specifically, 'eco-Francomania'. As contended at the beginning of this paper, France was a narrative space intensifying his Englishness. Yet such Englishness was a composite instance made up with a myriad of foreign qualities. In his appropriation of French surroundings and customs, Dickens seems to be, eventually, 'an Englishman for whom France is not really very foreign – or, perhaps, for whom France is no more foreign than England' (Rainsford, 1999: 12). Dickens would emphasise himself the relative and elusive notion of Englishness in his article *Why*, published on 1st March 1856 in *Household Words*:

> Why does that word 'un-English' always act as a spell upon me [...] A hundred years ago, it was un-English not to love cock-fighting,

> prize-fighting, dog-fighting, bull-baiting, and other savageries. Why do I submit to the word as a clincher, without asking myself whether it has any meaning? (1856b: 147)

As Clemm argues, beyond its arbitrary, fluid nature, the term 'un-English' encapsulates 'the importance of contrast – of "others" – in the formation of a national character: what is English is most easily expressed in terms of what is *not* English' (2009: 8). Such an assumption should also contemplate its exact opposite: for Dickens, as seen above, rather than 'a static fact determined by geographical origin or parentage' (Clemm, 2009: 48) being English was a dynamic goal incorporating utopian, teleological aspirations aiming to inculcate concern amongst his compatriots about how to make England a better place to live in. Francomania and environmentalism thus yoked together in his journalism so as to dismantle the 'insular', cultural association of his time equating 'that what is not English is not natural' (Dickens, 1856b: 2).

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INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT *GENDER* IN LEGAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract. It is commonly accepted that the language of law is often considered to be a highly traditional and, to a certain extent, a conservative means of professional communication, which tends to be stereotypically viewed impenetrable by the layman. Various peculiarities of the language of law and the fact that many legal systems differ all over the world in terms of their origins and frameworks often make legal discourse difficult to comprehend. To communicate professionally, the English language for instrumental purposes is increasingly employed at international level. Considering the above stated, the present study aims at analysing selected areas of the language of law. More specifically, using a case study, it finds its research interest in revealing the many-faceted nature of the concept *gender* within the framework of its contextual meaning established in specialist discourse. It has been concluded that due to the fact that *gender* is a polysemic concept in English, the translation in Latvian has more than three possible variants: *dzimums*, *sociālais dzimums*, *dzimte*, *sociālā dzimte* and *dženders*, depending on the context of use in the respective normative legal act. Moreover, within the context of the social theory of *gender*, the proposed translations in Latvian could be either the neologism *sociālā dzimte* or *dženders*.

Key words: applied linguistics, interdisciplinarity, legal discourse, social context, interpretation, gender

INTRODUCTION: INTERDISCIPLINARY NATURE OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Nowadays applied linguistics has proved its many-faceted and interdisciplinary nature and comprises such fields as the teaching and learning of second and foreign languages, translation, language assessment, language for special purposes, language policy and planning, psycholinguistics and other fields (e.g. Cook, 2003; Widdowson, 2005).

It is argued that applied linguistics is firstly motivated by real-world problems rather than theories (e.g. Corder in Cook, 2011: 47; Grabe, 2002). However, it would be wrong to claim that applied linguistics does not deal with theories; for example, Baynham (in Davies, 2007: 5) argues that applied linguistics 'now contributes its theoretical perspectives to a range of areas'. Due to its

interdisciplinary nature, applied linguistics is a somewhat eclectic field that draws insights from various theoretical and methodological approaches in a wide range of scholarly disciplines, such as the humanities, natural and social sciences to study language-related aspects in various fields, including law. Besides, applied linguists develop and implement original theories and models in such areas as genre analysis, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and pragmatics.

It is maintained that applied linguistics 'is using what we know about (a) language, (b) how it is learned, and (c) how it is used, to achieve some purpose or solve some problem in the real world' (Schmitt and Celce-Murcia, 2002:1). Similarly, Grabe claims that the focus of applied linguistics is on trying to resolve language-based problems that people encounter in the real world, whether they are language learners or language users for professional purposes (Grabe, 2002: 9). Thus, applied linguistics is concerned with solving or at least improving social problems involving the research on language use for professional purposes.

Over the last two decades, the concept *gender* has been studied by different academic disciplines in Latvia, such as linguistics, law, psychology and pedagogy. As regards linguistics, for example, Veisbergs (1999a) has researched the concept as a linguistic category within the framework of the Latvian language use. Strelevica-Osina (2004) has approached the study of grammatical genders in Latvian based on the analysis of selected extralinguistic aspects of the language use, such as gender equality, political correctness, gender neutrality and sexism. Veisbergs (1999b) has revealed the linguistic nature of *gender* as it pertains to monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. Kalnača (2008) has determined the stylistic functions of gender as a linguistic category in the Latvian language. Pokrotniece (2008) has distinguished common gender nouns in Latvian.

With globalization processes and considering the interdisciplinary nature of the English language used for instrumental purposes, the current research on the concept *gender* in Latvia emphasises absolute necessity for differentiating the meaning between the concepts *sex* and *gender*. Moreover, it sees a strong diversity in the way how different academic disciplines interpret the meaning of the concept *gender*. Its current use in a wide range of contexts has demonstrated that some academic disciplines, for instance, medicine and psychology, use the concept *sex* when they refer to a biological belongingness of someone. When a social belongingness is considered, the concept *gender* is applied by such academic disciplines as law, communication sciences, psychology, pedagogy, and social and linguistic anthropology.

An interdisciplinary academic debate on gender (*Dzimte? Dzimums? Starpdisciplīnu akadēmiskā diskusija,* n.d.: Online) held by the University of Latvia in March 2016 and an interdisciplinary-interinstitutional conference organized by the Gender Studies Centre at the University of Latvia in September 2016 evidenced a growing research interest in the use of the concept *gender* nowadays. Professor Cimdiņa, professor Baltiņš and other presenters stated that, in general, the interpretation of *gender* appears to be loose. Its literal meaning cannot be often assigned precisely; the concept can have shades of meaning depending on

its contextual use. As a result of the academic debate in March 2016, professor Cimdiņa proposed a new translation for the concept *gender* in the Latvian language, which is *dzimumsocialitāte.* It was emphasized that further academic research should be undertaken to specify the differences between the semantic and contextual meanings of the concept.

The present study aims at revealing the interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics by exploring the language of law, manifesting the multi-faceted nature of the concept *gender* in legal discourse and identifying some of the challenges that specialists in the humanities (e.g. applied linguists) and in social sciences (e.g. lawyers) face when determining the scope of the meaning *gender,* which is a socially, socio-culturally and socio-politically constructed concept.

It should be stated that the opinions expressed in the article are those of the authors and do not reflect the ideas or the opinions of the institutions involved.

METHODOLOGY

The present study has employed a case study as an interdisciplinary research method conducted from the qualitative perspective. Legal discursive practices have adopted a comparative law approach and the methods of legal interpretation such as grammatical (literal) as well as historical and systemic interpretation methods of legal norms. The use of the concept *gender* in normative legal texts, such as English translation of Annex IV of the *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*(1995), the *Rome Statute* in English and French (*Rome Statute …*, 1998: Online), the *Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence* (hereinafter *Istanbul Convention*) in English and French (*Istanbul Convention*, 2011: Online), the *Explanatory Report of the Istanbul Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence* in English (2011: Online), is viewed as a case to analyse its meaning in authentic contexts. The theories of translation models under analysis have been applied to the study of the concept *gender* to justify its meaning in the target language. This, in turn, has contributed to rendering the meaning of the concept into Latvian. Herbots rightly states that 'the translator who is not a lawyer must take into consideration that while translating he or she is also interpreting the text […]' (Herbots, 1987: 831). In other words, interpretation and translation are linked with each other, and as such they should be applied to legal discourse.

LEGAL INTERPRETATION, MEANING AND GENDER

It is commonly accepted that legal interpretation sees legislative texts as clearly, concisely and appropriately constructed documents that display the legislature's communicative intentions fully. Yet, specific forms of reasoning related to

legal rules often have word meanings that vary significantly depending on the communicative and/or social context of their use. From the perspective of linguistic semantics, the legal meaning of words that is associated with their semantic dimensions is concerned with the denotational meaning(s) of the words and depends on the syntactic relations established between words in the way they are used in sentences.

According to the theories of meaning (e.g. Grice, 1989) and relevance theory (e.g. Sperber and Wilson, 1995), word meanings can be widened, narrowed, approximated or adjusted depending on the context of their use. To perceive and understand the *intended* meaning, known as *inferential meaning*, a language user is faced with discoursal interpretation of the given meaning of the statement or utterance, which is related to text external factors, such as a target audience, a communicative purpose, background knowledge and alike. From the perspective of cognitive pragmatics, the *intended meaning* of a statement or utterance is concerned with both text internal dimensions, such as co-textual features, and text external dimensions, such as a context of language use, a target audience, a communicative event, a communicative purpose and a communicative situation.

To interpret the meaning of words, several approaches are usually applied in legal interpretation. Historically, it was *literal interpretation* that flourished in the second half of the twentieth century. Until quite recently, it was assumed (e.g. Durant et al., 2016) that the focus on a communicative purpose and the communicative intention of a statement should be considered to ensure the linguistic appropriacy and pragmatic adequacy of its meaning considering its co-textual and contextual dimensions. Today, it is the *purposive interpretation* that is preferred as an approach in the interpretation of legal discourses (ibid.: 79–91).

In sum, *literal interpretation*, also known as *the plain meaning rule* is currently still employed in legal discourses to ensure precise word-for-word meaning of statements when words are applied in their denotational meanings in the legal context. However, to express a legislative purpose or to ensure that a language user makes appropriate inferences from the conveyed idea, and, what is more important, arrives at the relevant meaning of a statement, it is vital to know that the linguistic inferences are combined with external contextual inferences at the co-textual level. As a rule, this enhances the language user's processing effort and thus signals the relevant meaning of the communicative intention.

Undoubtedly, laws and legal enactments are seen not only as semantically literal statements, but also as rules expressed in legal language. Laws and legal enactments have definite aims. Legislative systems create the words in their new meanings that result from new socio-political frameworks, unique normative regulations and legal standards that respond to new tendencies in legislative discoursal practices.

The above-stated might be referred to the interpretation and perception of a new meaning that has been created for the concept *gender* in view of the present socio-political conditions.

As regards the manifestation of the concept *gender* in different discoursal contexts and practices, it should be mentioned that a rapid research interest in exploring the relationship established between gender and language has been observed since the mid-1970s.

Over the past two decades, the concept *gender* has drawn close research attention in the areas of literature, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. It is generally known that the earlier contributions to gender studies focused on male and female gender differences (e.g. Lakoff, 1971; Tannen, 1990) in language use. This specified them as a 'fixed gender-specific universal phenomenon that juxtaposes men and women' (Kubota et al., 2013: 482).

The present-time research focuses on postmodern, poststructuralist and constructive approaches. They examine gender differences (e.g. Cameron, 2005; Higgins, 2010) and characterize the current conceptual understanding of *gender* as a social product of practice that is governed by new socio-cultural and socio-political aspects. The concept *gender* has broadened its meaning today: it is not only directly related to the study of gender dominance or diversity. Moreover, because of new ethno-cultural and socio-economic contacts between countries, the 21st century poses significant challenges. The understanding of the concept viewed as the category relating to other social categories, such as race, social class, and sexual identity has been enhanced. It should be noted that a relatively marginal attention has been drawn to the study of the concept *gender* considering its current meaning in other discursive practices so far. On the other hand, it is evident that the present situation has posed real-life challenges to the new understanding of the concept *gender*, and, thus, it is vital to highlight the role of applied linguistics to bridge the widening gaps between linguistics and law.

In genre-related discourses, the interpretation of the concept *gender* is often largely a listener or a reader based and bears a multi-sided nature. Besides, it is based on the principle of its relevance in a specified situational, communicative or social context. By and large, if legal discourse can be characterized by the features that specify its genre-based precision, clarity, unambiguity and inclusiveness, then it can be assumed that the interpretation of the concept *gender* largely depends on two significant aspects, such as (a) contextual factors that show how this concept is to be understood and, thus, interpreted, and (b) sources of the relevant ordinances (statuses) and cases that reveal the use of the concept in relevant communicative and/or social situations.

UNDERSTANDING PARTICULARITIES OF INTERPRETATION OF LEGAL CONCEPTS

It is very important to point out that legal language cannot be separated from law studies as such. Lawyers use specific professional language, which law students acquire during their academic studies. The acquisition of a genuine in-depth knowledge of legal language and terminology is time- and effort-consuming

endeavour. Therefore, one can say that 'when ordinary events, objects, and concepts enter the realm of the legal world, they often undergo significant transformations' (Rotman, 1995: 195). Moreover, one cannot understand properly legal terminology without comprehending legal matters and theories. As Beaupré states, 'one is required to be familiar with judicial methods of legal interpretation as well as with the general law behind the source and target texts' (1987: 740). In legal translation, as de Groot (1987) emphasises, one must have a good knowledge of legal terminology of the language in which the information was originally given and of the language into which the information must be transferred. It means that 'the translator must possess the skill to compare the legal content of terms in one language (one legal system) with the legal content of terms in another legal language (the other legal system)' (De Groot, 1987: 794). Therefore, comparative law with its own methods and techniques forms the basis for translating legal texts (ibid.: 797). Lawyers not only use a specific language, called *legal language*, but they also have a particular style of reasoning, called *legal reasoning*.

Different types of legal texts with various degrees of complexity and formalism exist, and they have an influence on the degree of precision of their translation. The first group of legal texts to be translated is scholarly texts (e.g. law review articles, monographs, and research) (Rotman, 1995: 190). The second group, comprising judgments and court decisions, contains judicial language. The third one covers legal norms, for example, regulations, codes, statutes, laws and international treaties, which use a very formal normative language. International treaties are of great interest to this study, as they are the ones that contain the legal concept of *gender*. Therefore, in the present article, only the third group of legal texts, namely, normative legal texts are analysed and their characteristics are discussed.

The main characteristics of legal texts that contain legal norms are:

1) *a great degree of precision* (Beaupré, 1987: 739; Rotman, 1995: 189). In normative legal texts, words are used to explain legal realities which are social realities at the same time. Normative language is very practical, even technical, and it serves only for a normative or judicial purpose. Therefore, the language may seem 'unpoetical' and very technical because normative texts do not convey human emotions like novels and poetry. Normative legal texts contain precepts and orders, and the translator should understand and accept this particularity to retain the meaning of the normative document. The translator is not expected to change, to delete, or to add any new words to the text only because it could sound more elegant to him or her; thus, considerable precision is required.

2) *use of words of positive, obligatory law* (Rotman, 1995: 190). In normative legal texts, legal terminology is used in a very concentrated manner. The application of the legal norm to individuals in the real life, for example, a judicial act which applies legal norms is a court judgment or a decision of the administrative authority, depends on the use of precise terminology.

3) *legal terminology used in legal texts deviates from the colloquial speech* (Beaupré, 1987: 739; De Groot, 1987: 796; Koziol, 2008: 231). Translating normative documents, the translator is supposed to bear in mind that the intended/inferential meaning of a word or a term used in such texts may have a different or specific meaning compared to the literal meaning of the word. For example, the term *child* in legal discourse usually means every person who has not reached the age of eighteen. In this context, Article 1 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) states that 'for the purposes of the present Convention, a "child" means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier' (1990: 46). Thus, the same word or term in normative legal texts may contain a wider or a narrower meaning, or may add some additional sense to the colloquial context (Koziol, 2008: 231). This can be called the *legal meaning of a word.*

4) *the words used in legal texts are not only simple words but they are also (and first of all) instruments of human actions* (Rotman, 1995: 191). The normative uses of language in legal discourse is not merely a denotation of objects, but it is the language of future actions, which permits one to anticipate and predict human behaviour with the degree of certainty necessary for social life (ibid.). Legal norms determine the rights and duties, and even prescribe sanctions.

To illustrate this, a very simple structure of a legal norm can be demonstrated: *If person 'X' does something 'Y', then there will be a right/a duty/a sanction 'Z'*. For example, 'If the marriage has ended in divorce, the former spouses shall not inherit from each other' (Article 397 of the *Civil Code of the Republic of Latvia*, 1937: Online). One can transform this legal norm according to the aforementioned pattern: *If the husband and wife ('X') divorce or declare their marriage annulled ('Y'), then they do not inherit from each other ('Z').*

When rendering legal norms, the translator has to translate precisely: *who* this person 'X' (nouns, pronouns) is, *what* ('Y') this person 'X' shall do or not do (e.g. verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals), and *what kind of rights, duties or sanctions* ('Z') will be imposed (e.g. nouns, verbs, and numerals).

If the translator changes or omits some words in the legal norm, he or she changes this legal norm automatically, which is strictly forbidden by the legislator: only the legislator can change a legal norm. In other words, the translator is not authorised to usurp the functions of the legislator.

5) *polysemic terms can be found in legal texts* (Cornu, 2005: 88). In normative legal texts, polysemy can often be observed. It means that one legal term can have at least two (or more) meanings in the legal context. Polysemy is an inevitable phenomenon (ibid.: 102) that can have an influence on the quality of the translation.

When a lawyer and/or a translator works with international treaties, there are some particularities that should be taken into consideration; namely, international treaties are always authentic texts and almost always have some official translations (which are not authentic) into different languages. The notion

authentic text being a legal category has an influence on the texts chosen as a basis for translation. According to Article 33(1) of the *Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties* (1989) (hereinafter the *Vienna Convention*), 'when a treaty having been authenticated in two or more languages, the text is equally authoritative in each language unless the treaty provides or the parties agree that, in case of divergence, a particular text shall prevail'. Thus, authentic texts are always equally authoritative from the legal point of view, and the terms of the international 'treaty are presumed to have the same meaning in each authentic text' (see Article 33(3) of the *Vienna Convention*, 1989: Online). It follows that first and foremost the translator should use the authentic text of the international treaty as the basis for the translation. A lawyer should also use these authentic texts in order to find the purpose of the treaty or the legislator (see Article 33(4) of the *Vienna Convention*, 1989: Online). All the authentic versions constitute the basis of the legal interpretation as well.

For example, the *Istanbul Convention* (2011) has two authentic versions – in English and in French (see Article 81 of the *Istanbul Convention*). Therefore, in order to translate and to interpret the terms used in this Convention, both authentic versions have to be used. In other words, they form the text of the Convention which is also the basis for legal interpretation (Herbots, 1987: 831, 833).

The texts of international treaties usually have one or more official translations which are not authentic. Official translations have only informative value (ibid.: 839). For example, the official translation of the *Istanbul Convention* into Latvian is not an authentic text. For this reason, if this official translation contains some doubtful terms, phrases or words, both authentic texts must be used for their clarification and interpretation.

GENDER AS A LEGAL CONCEPT: EXPANSION OF THE MEANING

The meaning of the concept *gender* in legal discourse is not clear and unequivocal at all. In the Latvian legal system, it is rather new and comes from international law, where authentic texts are usually written in English. Since it has appeared in the field of international law, it also exerts influence on the national law.

It has already been mentioned that a term or a word in legal contexts can have a different meaning in everyday language. Indeed, the concept *gender* has a specific and different sense in legal discourse.

It is well known that the concept *gender* is used in linguistics to designate primarily a class of nouns based either on an animate/inanimate or a male/female distinction, or both. Thus, genders can be masculine and feminine (e.g. in Latvian, French, Arabic and Hebrew), masculine, feminine and neuter (e.g. in Latin, Greek, Russian and German), common and neuter (e.g. in Swedish), or, according to a more ancient scheme, animate and inanimate (e.g. in ancient Hittite). The Latvian word *dzimte* designates *gender* in the sense of a male/female distinction.

In legal discourse, one can distinguish three principal stages of the development of the meaning of the concept *gender*. At the same time, it is possible to observe a certain expansion of the meaning of the concept *gender* through these three stages: a synonym, the biological (natural) theory of gender, and the social theory of gender.

In the first stage, the concept *gender* was understood as a polite form of the English word *sex* (in Latvian – *dzimums*) and was also used to avoid confusion between the English words *sex* (i.e. male and female) and *sex* (i.e. *intercourse*; in Latvian – *dzimumakts*). So far, the Latvian language has employed different words to designate these two realities: *sex* (i.e. male or female) – *dzimums* and *sex* (i.e. intercourse) – *dzimumakts*. Consequently, any confusion is hardly possible in the use of these concepts in Latvian, the same refers to German (*sex* – *Geschlecht* and *sex* – *Geschlechtsverkehr*), for example.

In legal English, the concept *gender-neutral* was first explained as 'that which makes no differentiation based on sex' (Rossini, 1999: 86). The same can be said about the concept *gender discrimination* which has been used as a synonym of 'sex discrimination' (ibid.: 80).

Another example of a synonymic meaning was *gender* as a synonym for *women*, especially within the gender mainstreaming policy documents of the United Nations (hereinafter U.N.) in the late 1990s (Charlesworth, 2005: 14; D'Aoust and Saris, 2016: 160). The Report of the Economic and Social Council for the Year 1997 can be mentioned as an example. Such use of the concept *gender* was criticized by some representatives of the feminist legal theory, namely: '*gender* as a synonym of "women" links gender with biology, implying that gender is a fixed objective fact about a person' (Charlesworth, 2005:15), 'it reaffirms the "naturalness" of female/male identities and bypasses the performative aspects of gender' (ibid.), 'it requires women to change, but not men and leaves both the roles of men and male gender identities unexamined' (ibid.: 15)), 'the term *gender* is more neutral than the term "women" or "sex"' (ibid.).

In the late 1990s, there was a first attempt to adopt a definition of the concept *gender* in legal discourse during the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. The final document of this conference containing the following definition of *gender* was adopted:

> 2. Having considered the issue thoroughly, the contact group noted that: (1) the word gender had been commonly used and understood in its ordinary, generally accepted usage in numerous other United Nations forums and conferences; (2) there was no indication that any new meaning or connotation of the term, different from accepted prior usage, was intended in the Platform of Action 3. Accordingly, the contact group reaffirmed that the word gender as used in the Platform of Action was intended to be interpreted and understood as it was in ordinary, generally accepted usage. (*Report of the Fourth …*, 1995: 218)

The 'ordinary, generally accepted usage' means that *gender* was understood as a synonym for *women* and/or *sex*, as it has already been mentioned in the present article.

It is very important to emphasize that the *Beijing Declaration* is not a legally binding document. Besides, as it has already been stressed in this article, feminist legal theory criticizes and even rejects the concept *gender* as a synonym of *women*.

Therefore, we can read in the *Explanatory Report to the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence* (hereinafter the *Explanatory Report*) that the concept *gender* under the definition laid down in Article 3 of the *Istanbul Convention* is not intended as a replacement for the terms *women* and *men* used in the Convention.

The second phase of the understanding of the concept *gender* in legal discourse was the stage of the biological (natural) theory of gender. According to this theory, *gender* is intimately and bi-univocally linked to *sex*. Agnello points out that, as a consequence, there are only two *genders* – masculine and feminine – corresponding respectively to male and female sex. Therefore, the biological theory argues that *gender* is given in nature, together with sex (Agnello, 2013–2014: 92). In the feminist legal theory, this concept of *gender* allows one to study all inequalities of power between men and women better (Charlesworth, 2013: 161). In this way, gender permits one to separate the term *sexual equality* from the term *gender equality* and to establish a link between the definitions of masculinity and femininity. In other words, *sex* pays attention to the nature of human body, while *gender* deals with the spirit and culture of both sexes (ibid.: 163).

The biological theory of gender as a correspondence between the biological sex and *gender* can be illustrated as follows: masculine (gender) ⇔ male (sex) and feminine (gender) ⇔ female (sex). Thus, it is self-evident that women represent the feminine gender and men – the masculine gender.

The *Rome Statute of International Criminal Court*, 1998 (hereinafter the *Rome Statute*) is the first international treaty which contains a legally binding definition of the concept *gender* (Agnello, 2013–2014: 99). Pursuant to Article 7(3) of the Rome Statute: 'For the purpose of this Statute, it is understood that the term "gender" refers to two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term "gender" does not indicate any meaning different from the above' (*Rome Statute …*, 1998: 6).

This is a closed definition which not only defines what the concept *gender* is, but also sets the limits of its meaning. Therefore, it is difficult to enlarge it in the future despite the fact that some feminist legal theorists propose to adapt this definition to the social theory of gender (e.g. Oosterveld, 2005: 73–75).

From the point of view of linguistics, it could be interesting to compare some authentic texts (in French and in English) with the Latvian official translation (which is not authentic) of the *Rome Statute* (1998: 6 (French), 6 (English) regarding this definition of *gender* (Article 7(3)):

Table 1 **Definition of gender in French and in English** (*Rome Statute …*, 1998: 6)

French	English
'Aux fins du présent Statut, le terme "**sexe**" s'entend de l'un et l'autre sexes, masculine et féminin, suivant le contexte de la société. Il n'implique aucun autre sens'. (emphasis added)	'For the purpose of this Statute, it is understood that the term "**gender**" refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term "gender" does not indicate any meaning different from the above'. (emphasis added)

Table 2 **Official translation of the definition of gender in Latvian** (*Civil Code…,* 1937: Online)

Latvian (non-authentic text)
'Šo Statūtu mērķiem termins "**dzimums**" ir attiecināms uz diviem dzimumiem, vīriešu un sieviešu, kas sastopami sabiedrībā. Termins "**dzimums**" neietver sevī nevienu citu nozīmi, kā vien iepriekš definēto'. (emphasis added)

As it can be seen from Table 1 and Table 2 above, the concept *sex* has been used in French and in Latvian instead of the concept *gender*. It does not reflect the biological theory of gender, while the English authentic text does so.

From the abovementioned legal definition of *gender,* one can infer the following tendencies: (1) the concept *gender* is not a synonym of *sex* or *women*; (2) *gender* corresponds to two sexes – male and female. It follows that there can be only two genders; (3) *gender* relates to the context of society, namely, with the social and cultural roles of women and men in society; (4) the definition recognizes the social dimension of *gender* and strongly reconnects *gender* to *sex*, explicitly affirming the existence of 'two sexes, male and female' at the same time (Agnello, 2013–2014: 99).

We can conclude that consensus on the definition of the concept *gender* has been reached in international law, and that it is based on the biological theory.

The third phase of the development of the meaning of *gender* in legal discourse is related to the latest tendencies in social sciences. It is argued that *gender* is totally split and independent from biology, thus making it absolutely irrelevant for a person to be born male or female (Oosterveld, 2005: 73, 82; Agnello, 2013–2014: 91). Agnello writes that

> the social theory denies any difference of any nature between men and women, affirming that such difference is only of a social nature. If gender is conceived as a social construct, then a social evolution of it is legitimate. Splitting 'sex' and 'gender' and redefining the latter as a social construct means to accept theoretical constructions – such as 'multigender', 'postgender', 'transgender'. (Agnello, 2013–2014: 91)

Disconnecting *gender* from biological *sex* allows the construction of an unlimited number of different *genders,* while biological *sexes* remain only two. In 2002, the U.N. Refugee Agency adopted a legally non-binding document – *Guidelines*

on International Protection: Gender-Related Persecution Within the Context of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Convention and/or Its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (UN) (2002: Online) – where the Agency gives the following explanation:

> In order to understand the nature of gender-related persecution, it is essential to define and distinguish between the terms 'gender' and 'sex'. Gender refers to the relationship between women and men based on socially or culturally constructed and defined identities, status, roles and responsibilities that are assigned to one sex or another, while sex is a biological determination. Gender is not static or innate but acquires socially and culturally constructed meaning over time. (2002: 2)

This can be illustrated as follows:

Table 3 **Social view of gender**

Male (sex) ⇒ Female (sex) ⇒	Both biological sexes can choose one or even more socially constructed genders they prefer. The chosen gender(s) can also be changed.

The second legally binding definition (after the *Rome Statute*, 1998: Online) of *gender* is given in Article 3(c) of the *Istanbul Convention*:

> '**Gender** shall mean the socially **constructed** roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men' (*Istanbul Convention*, 2011: Online; emphasis added).

At the same time, Article 4(3) of the *Istanbul Convention* shows that *gender* and *sex* are separated from each other:

> The implementation of the provisions of this Convention by the Parties, in particular measures to protect the rights of victims, shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as **sex, gender**, [...] or other status. (ibid.; emphasis added)

The *Explanatory Report of the Istanbul Convention* sheds more light on the understanding of the term *gender*, namely:

> [...] gender identity, which in simple terms means that the gender they identify with, is not in conformity with the sex assigned to them at birth. This includes categories of individuals such as transgender or transsexual persons, cross-dressers, transvestites and other groups of persons that do not correspond to what society has established as belonging to 'male' or 'female' categories. (2011: 10)

It follows from the interpretation of the *Istanbul Convention* (2011: Online) and its *Explanatory Report* (2011: Online) that the social theory of gender is represented in this international treaty, and it means that: (1) *gender* and *sex* are separate

concepts; (2) *gender* shall mean the socially constructed roles; (3) the concept *gender* also includes such categories of individuals as *transgender, transsexual persons, cross-dressers, transvestites* and *other groups of persons*.

After this short overview of the social theory of gender and the contents of the definition included in the *Istanbul Convention*, it is necessary to analyse the translation of *gender* in the same Convention. As it has already been said, this Convention has two authentic texts – in English and in French. All other textual versions are official or unofficial translations.

Table 4 **Authentic texts of the *Istanbul Convention*** (2011: Online)

Article	English	French
3(c)	'"**gender**" shall mean the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men'. (emphasis added)	'le terme "**genre**" désigne les rôles, les comportements, les activités et les attributions socialement construits, qu'une société donnée considère comme appropriés pour les femmes et les hommes'. (emphasis added)
4(3)	'The implementation of the provisions of this Convention by the Parties, in particular measures to protect the rights of victims, shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as **sex, gender**, [...] or other status'. (emphasis added)	'La mise en œuvre des dispositions de la présente Convention par les Parties, en particulier les mesures visant à protéger les droits des victimes, doit être assurée sans discrimination aucune, fondée notamment sur **le sexe, le genre,** […] ou toute autre situation'. (emphasis added)

Table 5 **Official translations of the *Istanbul Convention* in German, and Latvian (2011: Online)**

Article	German	Latvian
3(c)	'bezeichnet der Begriff "**Geschlecht**" die gesellschaftlich geprägten Rollen, Verhaltensweisen, Tätigkeiten und Merkmale, die eine bestimmte Gesellschaft als für Frauen und Männer angemessen ansieht.' (emphasis added)	'ar terminu "**dzimums**" tiek saprastas sociālās (had to be correctly translated "**sociāli konstruētas**" – the authors' note) lomas, uzvedība, nodarbošanās un īpašības, ko konkrēta sabiedrība uzskata par atbilstošām sievietēm un vīriešiem.' (emphasis added)
4(3)	'Die Durchführung dieses Übereinkommens durch die Vertragsparteien, insbesondere von Maßnahmen zum Schutz der Rechte der Opfer, ist ohne Diskriminierung insbesondere wegen des **biologischen** oder **sozialen Geschlechts**, [...] oder des sonstigen Status sicherzustellen'. (emphasis added)	'Konvencijas dalībvalstis garantē to, ka, īstenojot šīs Konvencijas noteikumus, [...]nenotiek nekāda diskriminācija neatkarīgi no tā, vai šādas diskriminācijas pamatā ir **dzimums**, (lack of the translated word "gender" – the authors' note), [...] vai cits statuss'. (emphasis added)

On the basis of this short comparison, we can conclude that:

- in the French authentic text, the English concept *gender* is translated as *genre* (and not as *sexe,* as it is in the Rome Statute). It is indeed very interesting because in 2005 the General Commission of Terminology and Neology of France (*Commission générale de terminologie et de néologie*, 2005: Online) recommended translating the English concept *gender* as '*hommes et femmes'* (in English – *men and women*) or '*masculin et féminin'* (in English – *masculine* and *feminine*) regarding the context of the text to be translated (2005: 12000). In French legal discourse, this new legal concept *genre* is still under discussion (e.g. Charruau, 2015: 127–136);
- in the Latvian translation of the *Istanbul Convention*, there are some significant errors which, from the legal point of view, change the whole content of Article 3(c) and 4(3) of the Convention. These errors are: (1) in Article 3(c), the term *gender* has been translated as *sex* (in Latvian – *dzimums*); (2) in Article 3(c), the phrase *socially constructed roles* has been translated as *social roles* (in Latvian – *sociālās lomas*). Thus, in the Latvian translation, the word *constructed* has been omitted; (3) in Article 4(3), only the word *sex* has been translated (in Latvian – *dzimums*), and *gender* has been omitted (*Istanbul Convention*, 2011: 5).

In the Latvian official translation, these errors should be corrected in order not to create a situation where the Convention would be interpreted in a completely different way than in the other Contracting States.

CONCEPT *GENDER* IN THE LATVIAN LEGAL TERMINOLOGY: TRANSLATION VARIANTS

The analysis of the expansion of meaning of the concept *gender* in English shows that it is a polysemic term with at least three different meanings in legal discourse: (1) *gender* = *sex* or *woman/women*. In Latvian – *dzimums*, *sieviete/sievietes*; (2) *gender* as in the biological theory. In Latvian – *sociālais dzimums*; (3) *gender* as in the social theory. In Latvian, an appropriate term has to be found.

> Even within a single legal culture, the same legal term may express several concepts depending on the context in which it is used. The frequency of polysemy can be explained by the fact that legal systems are in a constant state of change, and they also influence each other. (Mattila, 2012: 30)

Therefore, even from the legal point of view, polysemic legal terms make difficulties for the interpretation of legal norms. There are at least three ways how the legislator can avoid or solve the problem of polysemy:

1) in a normative legal text, the legislator gives a definition of the polysemic term, limiting it to one meaning. By using this method, the content of the term can be made more or less clear and unambiguous (Cornu, 2005:

104; Koziol, 2008: 236). It is claimed that 'once defined, a legal term is intended to have the same meaning each and every time it is used' (Daigneault, 2005: 85);

2) the legislator respects only one style of legal writing, that is, he uses the term only in one precise sense throughout the legal act (Cornu, 2005: 105). In this situation, a legal definition of the term is not necessary. Butt and Castle point out that a definition of the term is unnecessary 'if the meaning of the word or phrase is clear or can be readily ascertained from the context' (Butt and Castle, 2001: 119);

3) the legislator uses a neologism, that is, invents a new legal term/word. It can be a completely new one (for example, it could be a new word *dženders* in Latvian), or it can also be created as a composed word (syntagma) (for example, it could be *sociālais dzimums*, *sociālā dzimte* in Latvian). Neologisms are useful when new legal concepts are created and do not have any designation in the language concerned (Cornu, 2005: 108–111; Koziol, 2008: 236).

If the legislator does not use any of these methods, then the lawyer interpreting and applying the legal norm has to find a solution for the right interpretation of this norm and legal concepts integrated therein. The situation is more complicated if the legal norm and legal concepts are included in an international treaty. Therefore, a correct translation of the text and legal concepts is of a great importance for lawyers.

In legal linguistics, Beaupré proposes four most important methods for the reception of legal terms into the target language (Beaupré, 1987: 739): (1) formal equivalence (or literal translation); (2) functional equivalence (or non-literal translation); (3) borrowing or transcription; (4) neologism.

It would be useful to provide some illustration of how these four methods could be used to translate the English concept *gender* into Latvian. For this reason, each method will be applied and the translation results will be compared.

A **literal translation** of the concept *gender* into Latvian gives only one possibility – it will be understood and translated in the same way as in grammar: *dzimte*. As to the term *sex*, it will be translated as *dzimums*.

A **functional equivalence** of the concept *gender* in Latvian legal discourse, both gender theories – biological and social theory – must be taken into account. As a result of the translation, there can be two possibilities: *sociālais dzimums* and/or *sociālā dzimte.* Conversely, the term *sex* could be translated as *bioloģiskais dzimums*. In this way, functional equivalence takes into consideration the biological sex and gender as a social and cultural phenomenon.

Borrowing or transcription of the concept *gender* into Latvian legal terminology gives the same result as the English legal concept *trust* (in Latvian – *trasts*). Therefore, the English concept *gender* must not be translated but only transcribed into Latvian. It gives the Latvian concept *dženders,* which makes it

easier to borrow into Latvian such English terms as *agender* (*adženders*), *bigender* (*bidženders*), *pangender* (*pandženders*) and so on. The term *sex* will be translated as *dzimums* without an explanation that this is a biological sex.

Finally, in order to create a **neologism,** some special new term must be found in Latvian legal terminology, at the same time bearing in mind that 'the ultimate goal of legal translation is to be as precise as possible in meaning' (Beaupré, 1987: 739). Therefore, in various international treaties, the same legal concept *gender* can have a different or modified meaning which influences the correct translation. As it has been already analysed in the present article, the concept *gender* in the *Rome Statute* does not have the same meaning as in the *Istanbul Convention*. *Gender* within the meaning of the *Rome Statute* can be translated into Latvian as *sociālais dzimums*, whereas the same concept *gender* must be translated as *sociālā dzimte* or *dženders* in the *Istanbul Convention*.

A neologism can sometimes coincide with borrowing and/or functional equivalence. In the same case of *gender,* the borrowing *dženders* would also be a neologism in Latvian legal terminology. The functional equivalent *sociālā dzimte* is a neologism as well. A neologism means that not only a new legal term has been elaborated but also that there is a new conceptual content in this term. A neologism has also a negative aspect, for a person who reads this new term it is unknown and even foreign (Koziol, 2008: 236). Thus, a new legal concept can create a new legal term.

CONCLUSIONS

The study has drawn two types of conclusions, which refer to the interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics and its relation to social sciences as well as the understanding of the many-sided nature of the concept *gender.*

Applied linguistics is a theoretical and practice-driven discipline that addresses solving language-related phenomena in a variety of general, academic, occupational and professional contexts in which the language in use is a core issue of investigation.

Interdisciplinary nature of applied linguistics testifies to the fact that applied linguistics lies at the intersection of different disciplines; its interdisciplinary nature can be appropriately evaluated if it is considered within the scope of other fields such as law, in which the language serves as an instrument of communication.

Understanding of the interdisciplinary relationship and nature of law and language can significantly broaden the scope of legal translation practices.

Based on textual precision and accuracy, legal translation 'is bound to use abstractions, whose meanings derive from particular changing in cultural and social contexts' (Rotman, 1995: 189).

In the beginning, the concept *gender* was used as a synonym of the term *sex* and *women*. Now, there are two gender theories – the biological theory and the social theory of gender in legal discourse.

In English, the concept *gender* is a polysemic term and has at least three possible meanings. It follows that the translation of the concept into Latvian has more than three possible translation variants: *dzimums*, *sociālais dzimums*, *dzimte*, *sociālā dzimte* and *dženders*. The correct translation of this concept depends on the context in which it is used in the respective normative legal act. In other words, its translation is connected to an appropriate interpretation of the concept *gender*.

Within the context of the social theory of gender, the proposed translations in Latvian could be either the neologism *sociālā dzimte* or *dženders*.

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THE TRIBULATIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN PHILIP ROTH'S *THE PLOT AGAINST AMERICA*

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Abstract. Since its establishment American democracy has always been challenged to a greater or lesser extent. If neoliberalism and the reign of finance constitute democracy's major contemporary challenge, in his 2004 alternate history novel, *The Plot Against America*, Philip Roth ostentatiously chooses to set his narrative in the 1940s and explore democracy in the 'what-if' mode, which gives him extra breadth allowing for extravagant flights of fancy. In the tradition of Sinclair Lewis's 1935 novel, *It Can't Happen Here*, Roth's novel juxtaposes an innocent America with an evil one. The latter renders the former heroic, and this brief interlude of a relatively mild form of fascism that takes hold of America ends with the triumph of democracy. Roth seems to imply that American exceptionalism, a safeguard and *Deus ex machina* in the narrative, appears to be at work sheltering the US from any totalitarian excess. This paper examines the narrative's political agenda which turns out to be the assertion of American democracy that can only triumph over a brief suspension of civil rights during a politically dark era for the Western world. Roth's imaginative inquiry into the past can be read as an attempt to reconcile himself with those who had felt offended by his work. The political novel, conspiracy theories, concepts such as 'democratic patriotism' and the work of Seymour Lipset provide the theoretical framework of this article.

Key words: democracy, American exceptionalism, alternate history, novel of American Fascism, conspiracies, democratic patriotism

The Plot Against America, Philip Roth's 2004 novel, is certainly the American author's most political one as it deals with the perils and imperishability of American democracy in a period when the US found itself at the crossroads just before its interventionist turn once again. Roth, a master in blurring the boundary between fact and fiction, seems keen on blurring the frontier between history and fantasy in *The Plot Against America,* an alternate history novel. This genre explores how the course of history might have been altered, if particular events had had a different outcome. In Roth's counterfactual narrative, set in the early 1940s, the US's entry into 'the American Century,' to use Henry Luce's term (see Note 1), is marked by the necessity to secure first its democratic values at home jeopardized by American Fascism. Roth operating on the 'what-if-mode' imagines the American hero and Nazi sympathizer, Charles Lindbergh as President of the US instead of F. D. Roosevelt and a host of forced assimilation policies aimed at American Jews. In this romance-with-fascism American interlude,

anti-democratic forces gain momentum and anti-Semitic sentiment runs loose incrementally for almost two years before the reestablishment of democracy with the re-election of Roosevelt.

The narrative actualizes the 'what-if-it-happened' mode that Roth announced in his *New York Times* article, 'The Story Behind *The Plot Against America,'* which preceded the novel (Roth, 2004a). Then it moves from the 'it-is-happening,' in the US to 'it-has-happened' and finally 'it-is-well over' with some after-effects. Thus, Roth's thinking about American democracy takes the form of a 'thought experiment,' as he put it in his above-mentioned *New York Times* article. The latter provides useful paratext for the reader to understand the author's flight of frightful fancy in this novel that relies on realism. Just like Günter Grass's 1959 novel, *The Tin Drum*, Roth's narrative puts centre stage a child, whose voice is coloured by adult maturity, to recount the turbulent times that involve a thorough politicization of private lives and in particular those of a Jewish-American family, the Roths from Newark, New Jersey. Therefore, inconspicuous Newark is once again Roth's milieu 'for exploring American character in conjunction with American history [...] on a national scale,' as Michael Kimmage contends for Roth's Newark trilogy (Kimmage, 2012: 4).

Likewise, Roth puts back on the literary map a sub-category of the political novel, the 'novel of American Fascism,' which 'appeared in the mid-1930s and continued for almost exactly the same time-span as that of Hitler's Third Reich,' according to Joseph Blotner's study of the political novel (Blotner, 1966: 241). This time lag greatly perplexed reviewers and critics who, dissatisfied with Roth's claim that he simply wanted to illuminate the past, read the novel as an allegory for the Bush-era (Kellman, 2008; Schiffman, 2009). Naturally, the multiplicity and diversity of readings that Roth's fiction permit can only be to the credit of the work of art. However, in spite of the legitimacy of these readings, Roth needed no allegory to talk about Bush, highly criticized by the American author, all the more so that American Jews were not Bush's target. Similarly, Roth needed no displacing strategy to talk about African Americans, who, as it has been suggested (Michaels, 2006: 289), precisely suffered the lot the author describes for the Jewish Americans, all the more so that he dealt with this issue in an infinitely subtle way in his 2000 novel *The Human Stain*.

Therefore, the reader may wonder what Roth's political agenda is. Blotner observes that in 'reading these novels [dealing with American Fascism] one speculates about still another kind of motivation – that of the author' (Blotner, 1966: 261). It seems that with this generally well-received, rather consensual, best-selling novel, the controversial author manages to make everyone happy. In his previous work, the author had appeared as an undignified son, a traitor to his community, a misogynist, and a severe critic of America and hence angered different groups of readers. However, in this novel, he seems to pay tribute to his parental figures, to his ethnic affiliation, to women and finally to his country; the narrative appears to assert American exceptionalism which could account for the restoration of American democracy that put an end to the Fascist nightmare

experienced by the Roths. The family's name constitutes the author's wink at autofiction, a genre that mixes fiction and autobiography.

Thus, Roth's fictional family goes through the tribulations of alternate history when their hero, Lindbergh, the man who made the first solo transatlantic flight in 1927 and then earned huge sympathy because his baby son was kidnapped and murdered five years later, emerges as an anti-Semitic leader. Lindbergh uses his charisma and the isolationist sentiment to sign a pact with Hitler and implement anti-Semitic policies, accepted by the mass of ordinary citizens and even by some prominent members of the Jewish community, such as conservative Rabbi Bengelsdorf. The family's unity also falls apart as the elder brother, Sandy is co-opted by a federal agency designed to erase ethnicity, the *Office of American Absorption*, to encourage other Jewish city boys to follow his enthusiastic example. In addition, through his aunt, Evelyn whose boyfriend is Bengelsdorf, he is invited to a reception at the White House. Moreover, the family, under the new Homestead 42 scheme, are 'selected' for relocation to Kentucky, while Philip is running away in the middle of the night to avoid exile. With Lindbergh's disappearance, which gives rise to another conspiracy theory in the narrative that presents the anti-Semitic President as a victim of the Nazis, the ultimate catastrophe is avoided, but Philip's life is marked by fear.

Though the novel is set in the 1940s, it is a narrative of our times if we take into account that the twenty-first century is undergoing a period of 'fashionable conspiracism', as some scholars observe (Keely, 1999; Byford, 2011: 6). Jovan Byford notes that 'there is a market' for books that deal with conspiracies along with 'an increased interest in "speculative history"' (Byford, 2011: 8). The novel draws heavily on this culture announced by its polysemic, somewhat sensational title which points for the general reader to a conspiracy against the most powerful country to boot. Because 'conspiracy theorising is perceived [...] as *politically* suspect and antithetical to "proper democratic politics"' (Byford, 2011: 23), American democracy appears *a priori* compromised. Indeed, the narrative plot relies on a juxtaposition of various political plots vying for dominance – a conspiracy against an American minority group, an internal conspiracy against American Democracy as well as an external conspiracy against it. Moreover, at the centre of these conspiracies American Jews are the ideal 'more visible target group associated with the cabal,' necessary to create the appeal of a conspiracy theory as Seymour Lipset and Earl Raab rightly point out (Lipset and Raab, 1978: 221). In fact, before WWII 'for a substantial proportion of its history the conspiracy tradition was dominated by the idea of a Jewish plot to take over the world' (Byford, 2011: 95). Therefore, the narrative capitalizes not only on the general interest in conspiracy theories but also on conflicting conspiracy theories concerning American Jews.

Moreover, the narrative's use of conspiracies multiplies the pervading fear due to the experience of the 'occult force operating behind the seemingly real, outward forms of political life,' which is the main tenet of a conspiracy theory (Roberts, 1974: 29). The first term of the narrative is fear and the title of the last

chapter is 'Perpetual Fear' which seems to linger after the democratic order has been regained. However, the expression of fear that predominates in the narrative as genuinely heartfelt and traumatic is the narrator's; his victimization as a child growing up in a country threatened by a relatively mild form of fascism points to the necessity to distinguish between real and bogus, authentic and spurious conspiracies in the narrative. The narrative plot guides the reader to make the right choice among the political plots. By the end of the narrative, the reader has no doubt that the isolationists led by Lindbergh and Burton K. Wheeler capitalized on conspiracy theories that targeted Jews to advance their anti-war agenda. Conversely, the resistance led by the journalist, Walter Winchell, who is assassinated when he runs for President, turns the tables by denouncing a conspiracy, the so-called 'plot against America' (260). Precisely, it is the plot against American Democracy, seriously undermined by social engineering that aimed at exterminating Jewish culture and encouraging the expression of anti-Semitic sentiment. As for the external conspiracy, which makes the Lindbergh government a puppet in the hands of Nazi Germany, the narrative maintains some seemingly purposeful neutrality. Nevertheless, while the internal and external plots have in common the destabilization of democracy, the main narrative plot has the mission of denouncing the other plots and thus works towards the restoration of democracy.

The novel draws not only on conspiracy culture but also on the history of American Fascism to build an alternate history as the 27-page postscript, which is fairly informative for the reader, makes clear. Roth harks back to history to assess the weight of those undemocratic forces which attempted to oppress freedom in the name of patriotism. Seymour Lipset underlines that

> The seemingly philo-Jewish behavior on the part of nineteenth- and early twentieth century American elites did not imply the absence of hostile attitudes and behavior. Anti-Semitism of course existed in America, sometimes on a large scale [...] The United States has not been an exception, even if the anti-Jewish outbreaks have been much less virulent than in other countries. (Lipset, 1978: 160)

Lipset's balanced assessment provided Roth with the subscript for his novel. The American novelist's historical imagination was greatly stimulated by these elements. Unlike Sinclair Lewis, who in his 1935 classic novel *It Can't Happen Here* did not differentiate American Fascism from the German one and was blamed by the reviewers for it, Roth did. In his moderate form of tyranny, the constitutional separation of authorities is never cancelled; it is just undermined though seriously enough to thwart the civil liberties and terrorize the 'relative few' (Roth, 2015), which is not so unbelievable after all, given the fact that the US originally operated on two value systems. His extreme version of American history appears, then, as an appropriate frame for the sort of atavistic, memorial fear that seems to preoccupy the narrator in this novel. *The Plot Against America* takes the form of a 'fictionalized memoir' (Gross, 2010: 409) and

a political *Bildungsroman* – the adult Philip Roth remembers those frightful years that transformed his parents from ordinary citizens into exceptional ones.

Indeed, the parental portraits in *The Plot Against America* could not be further away from previous ones, such as in *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969) or *Patrimony* (1991), thus constituting Roth's late tribute to those treated harshly by the laws of fiction. In this narrative, the father, though not a great achiever, is a staunch democrat, a firm educator and an intrepid dissident. In the juxtaposition of an innocent with a guilty America, a good with an evil one, the father is on the side of innocence and goodness. First, he does not hesitate to protest against the violation of civil rights that victimizes the Roth family on their trip to Washington D. C. This trip is meant to be a pilgrimage to the temple of American democracy, the Lincoln memorial. It is here that the father publicly denounces America's undemocratic drift, which incurs the wrath of Lindberg's supporters and the racist insult of 'loudmouth Jew.' Then, he undertakes the political socialization of his children, which turns out to be a tougher task for his elder son. In fact, Sanford's admiration for Lindbergh makes him a young collaborator of the government, an active member of the *Just Folks* program. The latter aims at breaking the Jewish community and is directed by Sanford's aunt who is at the head of the *Office of American Absorption* (*OAA*).

The abrupt awaking of Philip's and Sanford's political consciousness is mediated through what they most cherish, stamp collecting for the former, drawing for the latter, because Lindbergh's icon is involved in their hobbies. While the latter continues to worship his American hero still untainted for him, Philip's nightmare of a huge swastika over his stamps testifies to the corruption of their icon. The absurdity and instrumentalization of governmental policies are shown by the very fact that there is no need for such an assimilation as the very beginning of the narrative highlights. On the contrary, they can only be counter-productive for they awaken the parents to the consciousness of their trampled ethnicity, which entails a struggle to save their country and their ethnicity. Thus Herman Roth finally resigns from his job rather than participate in the *Homestead 42* program that relocates Jews, a reminder of Japanese Americans' lot during WWII. Likewise, from passive resistance he moves to active resistance saving his son's orphaned friend whose mother was killed in anti-Semitic riots. The father, remaining true and loyal to the principles which underlie democracy until the end, rises above the image that his elder son may have of him after his experience in a farm in Kentucky, where just like Lindbergh, Mr Mawhinney becomes another substitute father for him. Interestingly, the latter is thus described by Philip,

> a Christian, a long-standing member of the great overpowering majority that fought the Revolution and founded the nation and conquered the wilderness and subjugated the Indian and enslaved the Negro and emancipated the Negro and segregated the Negro, [...] one of those unassailable Nordic and Anglo-Saxon Protestants who ran America and would always run it— [...] the men who laid down the law and called the shots and read the riot act when they chose to — while my father, of course, was only a Jew. (93)

The narrative counters this 'only a Jew' disparaging portrait of Herman Roth whose actions are guided by what Joel Westheimer calls 'democratic patriotism.' This sort of patriotism 'reflects the love that brings a people together rather than the misguided love of institutions that dominate them' (Westheimer, 2006: 610). The father's alert democratic consciousness, necessary to maintain democracy, makes him a true American.

Furthermore, the category of democratic patriotism is contrasted with 'authoritarian patriotism [...] a resigning of one's will, right of choice, and need to understand the authority; its emotional base is gratitude for having been liberated from the burden of democratic responsibility.' (Westheimer, 2006: 5). Authoritarian patriotism is exemplified by Rabbi Bengelsdorf and his crew of collaborators; contrary to the apolitical uncle Monty who does business as usual, this group is finally persecuted and thus also victimized.

However, Samuel G. Freedman's contention that 'with his grimly brilliant reimagination of America in the early 1940s, Roth has supplied an irresistible victim fantasy' (Freedman, 2005) should be qualified since the narrative equally supplies a stronger resistance fantasy also historically inspired. As Lipset puts it, 'Though extraordinarily successful in the meritocratic competition, they [Jewish Americans] resemble Blacks in their commitment to liberal social reform and in their concern over discrimination against minorities' (Lipset, 1996: 151). Precisely, Roth's depiction of heroism and devotion to democratic values is not only reserved to parental figures but also embraces the Jewish community. If Herman Roth exemplifies resistance at the ordinary citizen's level, Walter Winchell does so at a national level. While Bengelsdorf is unwise enough to support the conspirators, Winchell is clairvoyant and brave enough to denounce them. His radio programs counter Lindbergh's public utterances on the radio that vilify Jewish Americans as alien warmongers indifferent to America's interests. He takes up the gauntlet standing up to Lindbergh, the American icon *par excellence* and master of political marketing, who in his aviator gear and speaking in a plain style seems to mesmerize America. Outspoken in his condemnation, Winchell is the redemptive voice of dissent that means to represent not only the relative few but the whole country and thus his assassination transforms him into a martyr, offering the Jewish community a national hero.

Being at the very heart of resistance, Winchell is the pure Democrat who legitimizes the Jewish claim to Americanness. Critics who expected a complete picture of antifascist resistance in that period were naturally perplexed. As Christopher Vials puts it, 'In making Walter Winchell the locus of resistance, Roth in particular omitted the range of insurgent political forces that ensured that "it" didn't happen here, paradoxically (and perhaps consciously) effacing a cultural history of which his work is a part' (Vials, 2011: 23). Yet, there is no paradox since the novel is a counterfactual one giving Roth the freedom to be highly selective. Moreover, Vials does not develop his parenthetical remark, 'and perhaps consciously,' which points to Roth's (unstated by the critic) intention of highlighting Jewish democratic action above all. If the novel is

about American fascism, it is also about American anti-fascism exemplified by American Jews. Whether Roth consciously intended it or not, the narrative does depict 'a unique people in an exceptional country' (Lipset's title of his chapter dealing with Jewish Americans) and how 'American and Jewish exceptionalism [...are] closely intertwined' (Lipset, 1996: 175). American Jews hone in on their democratic credentials during this period of crisis and prove themselves part and parcel of America. The resilience of the American political system is indicated by the restoration of democracy thanks to the *Deus ex-machina* intervention of Lindbergh's wife, Anne Lindbergh.

Though this intervention is problematic, and Richard Lebow rightly observes that 'Roth's return to history is less credible and developed than his departure from it' (Lebow, 2010: 255), this narrative development offering a rather prestigious role to a woman could have an appeasing effect upon those feminists who had previously objected to Roth's work (see Note 2). Moreover, it does give some credit to the conspiracy theory (part of the narrative plot), according to which the Lindberghs, blackmailed by the Nazis who had kidnapped their son, had to obey fascist orders. Thus, laundering them, to some extent, reestablishes their martyr image and, to a lesser extent, American innocence; as Carl Boggs remarks, 'After all, is it not a matter of common knowledge that the great evils of militarism, war, dictatorship, and political violence emanate from *elsewhere,* from strange lands and even stranger leaders?' (Boggs, 2011: 228).

Furthermore, the twisted Christian imagery that Steven Sampson noted in Roth's earlier novels (Sampson, 2011) persists as Anne Lindbergh acquires a Virgin Mary aura sacrificing her son on the altar of democracy, while Bess Roth shelters the orphaned Wishnow boy. Making the country safe, Anne Lindbergh becomes a substitute mother for fearful little Phil who had attempted to find refuge in a Christian orphanage in the course of the narrative. Thus, Philip Roth's motherland is both Jewish and Christian just like his fatherland since Roosevelt is Phil's 'surrogate father' as Lebow observes (Lebow, 2010: 246). Phil's passion for his stamp collection was inspired by 'the country's foremost philatelist' (1) and 'President Roosevelt was the first famous living American whom [... Phil] was taught to love' (7). Therefore, the narrative defuses tensions between ethnic and mainstream America 'reinforcing an idealized view' of the country, as Timothy Parrish contends (Parrish, 2011: 146). Indeed, the novel exposes the vulnerability of American democracy only to show it triumphant over the pitfalls of history. The country's exceptional resilience is built in the narrative on a politically-conscious anti-fascism that prevented a nascent anti-Semitism from changing America's essentially democratic nature. In his conclusion to the chapter on American Jews, Lipset asserts, 'Can we still speak of American exceptionalism with respect to the position of the Jews? The answer would appear to be yes' (174). *The Plot Against America* exemplifies this view.

In this fable on American Democracy, could the reader finally wonder whether Roth displaces its problem which is not blatant racism but a blatant plutocracy that disregards economic inequalities as Walter Benn Michaels

argues in 'Plots Against America: Neoliberalism and Antiracism'? It seems unlikely for Roth's focus is, indeed, the past which provided him the right frame for reconciliation with parental figures, ethnic affiliation and women. And reconciliation seems to be a political act, but it is ultimately reconciliation with life as the author moves away from fiction and closer to life. Roth's public image, as it appears in his interview to Alison Flood titled, 'Roth Philip insists "I have no desire to write fiction",' is that of a happy retiree in spite of 'a very anxious and a very pessimistic' view of America (Freeman, 2004) he still seems to voice, left now to others to be plotted in fiction.

NOTES

1. The term 'American century' was coined by the press magnate, Henry Luce who in a February 17, 1941 *Life* magazine editorial urged the US to forsake isolationism, enter the WWII and spread its democratic values.
2. Philip Roth is generally perceived as a misogynist and a sexist by feminists: 'Feminists have argued that his female characters are portrayed as less than human' (Roberts, 2011). Interviewing Philip Roth, Hermione Lee uses phrases such as 'the feminist attack on you' or refers to his 'limited view of women' (Roth and Lee, 1984).

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WORD-FORMATION PATTERN BORROWING IN LATVIAN

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Abstract. English as the main contact language during the last three decades has affected Latvian word-formation patterns, patterns of use and patterns of convention. This is pattern borrowing, in addition to phonological borrowing which is also rife. Part of this contact-induced change can be viewed as structural impact, part as a shift in conventions. Previously rare stylistic means – idiom transformations, nonce compounding, conversion, derivative adjectives and new linguo-stylistic devices, such as native blends or compound phrases – have proliferated. These imported patterns have found a niche in the Latvian linguistic system and are now used in various speech domains. They have become part of the Latvian language and usage. In general we can view these shifts as an enhancement of Latvian's inherent linguistic potential rather than the contact-induced change of traditional patterns.

Key words: Latvian, English, pattern, borrowing, contact-induced

INTRODUCTION

'Traditional histories present the language as changing largely in response to internal linguistic pressures' (Romaine, 1999: 4), but today we often observe that the prime mover of change is a language contact. Code-mixing and code-switching take many forms, affecting individuals (Muysken, 2000), nations and languages in general. Language change proceeds at various speeds and on various levels, driven by both internal and external factors. Ignoring some, while discussing others, is not logical. Often the two processes are complementary and a clear delineation of the two causes seems impossible, but it remains worth looking at. The heterogeneity (Muehleisen, 2010) of change should be recognised. Contact may spark off developments that then acquire their own momentum.

As English began to replace Russian as the main contact and intermediary language for Latvian, it brought not only direct linguistic influence in the form of various types of loans, but also certain readjustments in the linguistic patterns and conventions of Latvian itself. The agent of this change seems to have been English, and the primary vehicle was translations from English. Since these shifts were rapid and relatively recent it is possible to track them with some precision.

1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LATVIAN

Throughout the last 800 years, Latvian has been under the influence of various dominant languages: 700 years under increasing German influence, about 200 years under strong Russian influence and the last 30 years under that of English. This last period actually started as early as the 1970s, during Soviet times, and was noted early by the Latvian linguist Rūķe-Draviņa (1977: 93). Briefer and occasional influence from Polish, Swedish and other languages has been less relevant. Some English words were borrowed via German and Russian in earlier centuries, but towards the end of the 20th century we saw a huge impact affecting various subsystems of Latvian, stimulated by globalisation, media developments and certain backwardness in Latvian itself (the result of 50 years of partial isolation under Soviet occupation).

German contributed the most to the development of Latvian for centuries, as both dominant contact and intermediary language. Indeed, it was German pastors and gentlemen scholars who determined how Latvian should be written, transferring many German language patterns, and who did most translations until the 19th century. However, German influence ended abruptly after the Second World War. Although a large number of mostly elderly Latvians speak German, it has practically no direct or indirect influence upon Latvian today. The only renaissance of German loans occurred in the media, where a considerable number of loans, e.g. *zapte [Saft (jam)], tante [Tante (aunt)], ome [Oma (granny)], veša [Wäsche (linen)], riktīgs (richtig (real)], bišķi* [bisschen (a bit)] resurfaced in the face of official condemnation. They had survived in colloquial Latvian through a century of linguistic ostracism, testifying to the fact that prescriptivism is not omnipotent even under a totalitarian system.

When Latvia was step by step annexed into the Russian Empire (the 18th and 19th centuries) Russian gradually became a language of administration on a par with the traditional German. After Latvian independence in 1918, Russian and German were the main minority languages among the population. After the Soviet occupation of 1949, Russian became the *de facto* primary official language alongside Latvian and increasingly ousted Latvian from various spheres of use. Deliberate Russification brought the percentage of Latvians in the population down from the traditional 80to 52 per cent in 1988 (*Latviešu…*, 2007: 125). Russian influence on Latvian was powerful as it was in fact the only direct and indirect contact language, taught heavily in schools and dominating the official media, the administration and a range of other fields. Russian lost its position as the dominant contact language around 1990 with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Latvia's reorientation towards the West. However, it still has an effect. Most Latvian speakers know Russian, and it is still the main live-contact language in most Latvian towns, where Russian-speakers constitute about half of the population. Access to the Russian media, and to Russian-language Latvian media, contribute to its influence. Accordingly Russian mostly affects Latvian vocabulary at the colloquial and substandard levels where loans

are common, but its influence on literary and written Latvian is less pronounced today. Though the position of Latvian has gradually improved, the language hierarchy has changed and asymmetric bilingualism is precluded to a great extent (Hogan-Brun, 2005: 273–282), many Latvians still feel wary of Russian. This has strengthened English (as the third language is usually a winner).

The change of the main contact language from Russian to English happened very fast in the early 1990s, and is clearly visible from the proportion of books translated into Latvian. After the swift change in early 1990s, the new balance has been relatively stable.

1985: 209 books translated; 140 from Russian, 9 from English (proportion 15:1),
1995: 598 books translated; 61 from Russian, 293 from English (proportion 1:5),
2000: 653 books translated; 68 from Russian, 392 from English, (proportion 1:6),
2005: 679 books translated; 68 from Russian, 359 from English (proportion 1:5),
2010: 638 books translated; 55 from Russian, 390 from English (proportion 1:7),
2015: 742 books translated; 68 from Russian, 391 from English (proportion 1:6).

The share of general translation volume from English would seem to be similar.

2 REVITALISATION OF LATVIAN

There are many processes affecting the development of Latvian today, among them its status as an official language, which strengthens its position and revitalises many domains, such as the linguistic landscape (outdoor signage, titles, advertisements), education, product descriptions, instruction manuals, etc. Latvian has reconquered a large number of areas where it had all but disappeared: military, maritime, legal, foreign affairs, etc. Its use has expanded fast in many fields, such as administration, medical treatment, pharmacology (medicine inserts are now in Latvian), information science and EU matters. Latvian is one of the EU's official languages. Latvia's accession to the European Union required the translation of all EU law, and the translation process made a significant contribution to the general development of the language and the spread of terminology. Terminology development and extensive borrowing in these areas therefore advanced rapidly. New language professions have matured: interpretation (restricted to tour guides and foreigners prior to independence), computer linguistics, human language technologies, sociolinguistics and lawyer-linguists.

Openness and democracy brought about a noticeable change in language-use norms and conventions: a more colloquial style of language (Nītiņa, 2004) in most media and a freer use of substandard lexis in print (formerly taboo). It would be impossible to say whether this is a transfer of English conventions and thus a contact-induced change (Thomason, 2007:41), or the result of what could be called the democratisation of language and naturally more democratic speech conventions. There is a confusion or blend of styles in many media. This shift applies to both written and oral language and across all classes and levels of education.

3 GLOBALISATION AND TRANSLATION

In a globalised world a growing proportion of information originates outside the country, and is consequently received and exchanged directly from a different language or through translation. Thus globalisation (Wright, 2004) leads to a huge growth in translation volumes in countries where the local language is buoyant, legally promoted and considered intrinsically valuable. These processes presume both direct and translated contact encompassing texts on international matters (politics, economics), texts on popular international culture (cinema, music, football, celebrities), recipes, cookbooks, travel descriptions and guides, international and European laws transposed, contracts (most countries borrow legal concepts and language from Latin, or from the continental and Common-Law systems), software localisation, advertising, films (dubbing, voice-over or subtitled), TV (dubbed and subtitled), TV shows, game franchises, instruction manuals, labelling (food, equipment, medicine), education books, reference books, encyclopaedias, fiction translations and covert translations, to mention just a few. In the case of Latvian it has been estimated that about 70 per cent of the texts 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. Translations always result in adaptations of the linguistic systems, which either incorporate source language features or redefine features of the target language to fit the new communicative task, and become the norm. It is the volume and proportion, the scale and the omnipresence of the media that have changed (Koller, 2000). Most modern texts are characterised by a hybridity which extends in the global village not only to translations and translated texts but also to most original and natural texts. We live in a translated world where international mass culture competes and interacts with local forms. While stressing the hybrid character of modern media and intercourse, we by no means seek to suggest this is something new. Borrowing linguistic elements, ideas and memes has a long history in Latvian, suffice it to mention the Bible translation, which had a profound impact on the word-stock, idiom stock and metaphoric thinking of the people (the Bible translation of 1689 was the first long text in Latvian, and codified its written norms). These are complemented by direct contact with another language. Companies and their branches operating in another language, pop music, the internet, satellite TV, original soundtracks in subtitled films, broadcasts, sports, etc. all increase linguistic interference and mentally affect the natural norms and conventions of speech and text. English is today the dominant language in all spheres affecting the development of Latvian.

4 LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Change is a normal phenomenon in a living language. However, it is usually difficult to distinguish between internal development and contact-induced

change in a developed language functioning in a variety of spheres and registers, and to measure them. Even clearly contact-induced change can be the result of massive foreign-language pressure, but may also be a response to a language's need to fill some gaps and lacunae. Some changes, characteristic of Latvian today, are outlined further below.

4.1 PRONUNCIATION

No specific phonetic transformations have been observed in Latvian in the last decades, although the influence of English had led to some international abbreviations being pronounced as in English: GPS [dzhi: – pi: – es], CV [si: – vi:] instead of using the Latvian letter-names. No doubt this is the result of oral language contact. Anglicisation has even extended to some purely Latvian acronyms: *OCTA* is usually pronounced [okta], not [otsta].

4.2 RESPELLING OF PROPER NAMES

In Latvian, foreign proper names are normally transcribed so as to render the original pronunciation as closely as possible in Latvian spelling. The rules of transcription have been changed many times, the latest changes being mainly due to the arrival of a new main contact language. Some proper names have been respelled, as they were previously distorted by Russian as an intermediary language, thus the German general *Hoth* was *Gots* (transcription of the Russian *Got*) all through the Soviet years, even in native Latvian texts. Some respelling is due to changes of form in the source language *Kalkuta (Calcutta)* > *Kolkata (Kolkata), Ļvova (Lvov)* > *Ļviva (Lviv).* Some spelling has changed because the source language is better-known, whereas Russian used to be relied on, e.g. the American state of *Maine* used to be *Mena* in Latvian but is now *Meina*. English as the main intermediary language now also dictates the spelling of proper names of exotic languages in Latvian.

4.3 DEVELOPING FULL PARADIGMS

Many native Latvian words, especially metaphoric transfer nouns tend to develop short verb forms: *nūjot* (to do Nordic walking, from *nūja*, stick), *diegot* (to floss teeth with a thread, from *diegs*, thread), *ēnot* (to shadow a person, from *ēna*, shadow), *pūķot* (to fly a kite, from *pūķis*, kite). Both older and newer borrowings demonstrate the same tendency, even full paradigms: *nostaļģija* (nostalgia) – *nostaļģēt* (to be nostalgic); *prezidents* (president) – *prezidentūra* (presidency) – *prezidentāls* (presidential) – *prezidēt* (to preside); *prezentācija* (presentation) – *prezentēt* (to present); *žūrija* (jury) – *žūrēt* (to judge); *komunikācija* (communication) – *komunikators* (communicator) – *komunikatīvs* (communicative) – *komunicēt(ies)* (to communicate). This tendency conforms to the norms of Latvian but it can seem unusual at first sight. In some cases English conversion may have sparked a need for a new part of speech in Latvian, and in some cases the new form is a loan of the international word used in English.

4.4 NEOLOGISMS

There are numerous neologisms in Latvian and much discussion about them. Their formation is mainly evaluated retrospectively (Skujiņa, 1999) and the discussion is usually held within the traditional dichotomy of foreign (implicitly undesirable) versus native formation. Latvian terminology tends to produce nonce-words: long, transparent, definition-like compounds that are unwieldy in everyday use (Veisbergs, 2007b). Tauli's fundamental principle (Tauli, 1968) that the length of the word should be in inverse proportion to its frequency of use is recognised in theory: 'preference is given to a shorter variant of a term' (Skujiņa, 2005: 129), but in practice new terms are frequently long compounds. They come into competition with the direct loans that they were supposed to replace, and often lose the battle, unless they have been incorporated into Latvian legislation and thus forced upon the official media, such as *noziedzīgi iegūtu līdzekļu (nelikumīga) legalizācija* (legalisation of illegally obtained assets, i.e. money laundering), *plašsaziņas līdzekļi* (broad communication means, i.e. the mass media). The short loan translations of these coexist in informal speech: *naudas atmazgāšana* (literally: money laundering), *mēdiji*. Experience shows that successful native coinages are short: *ietvars* (framing), *saziņa* (media, communication), *aprūpe* (care, maintenance), *pieeja* (access, approach), *aprite* (circulation), *zīmols* (brand), *dators* (computer) while the long ones never really catch on: *koku gāšanas, atzarošanas un sagarumošanas mašīna* (tree felling, branch cutting and sawing machine, i.e. *harvester*), *krāslodīšu šaušanas sacensība* (coloured-ball shooting competition, i.e. *paintball*), *elektroniskais surogātpasts* (electronic surrogate mail, i.e. *spam*), *ieiet sistēmā, izmantojot paroli* (to enter the system using a password, i.e. *to log in*). Often these overlong counterparts are spurned and borrowings or loan translations preferred: *harvesters, peintbols, spams, ielogoties*.

4.5 CONNOTATIVE CHANGES

Some words have undergone denotational, connotational or frequency and paradigm change, mostly for sociopolitical reasons. Towards the end of the 20th century, for example, many pre-war words regained their old connotations, thus *kungs* and *kundze* (Mr and Mrs) replaced the Soviet *biedrs* (comrade). Today *biedrs* has acquired an ironical tinge. The Soviet system used the state media to impose a negative ideological slant on many words (it is of course open to speculation whether everybody accepted them): *kosmopolītisks* (cosmopolitan), *pilsonisks* (civic, i.e. bourgeois), *spekulācija* (speculation), *militārists* (military). This is largely gone. Some words have changed their meaning in the new political order: *brīvības cīnītājs* (freedom fighter), *mežabrālis* (forest brother), *partizāns* (partisan), *bandīts* (bandit), *atbrīvotājs* (liberator). Just as the Soviets decreed that Latvian *žīds* (Jew) was a term to be avoided because of its negative connotations in Russian and substituted *ebrejs* (Hebrew), the EU's politically correct influence has replaced *čigāns* (gypsy) with *Roma* in official texts. Connotational change, though contact-induced, can be viewed as less linguistic than ideological or cultural.

4.6 DIRECT ENGLISH IMPACT

Not only is English now the primary means of international communication (Crystal, 2003), but it also has an increasing effect on other languages *per se*. The influence of English in the form of around 2000 full loans (Anglicisms in the narrow sense) in Latvian until the 1980s has been thoroughly covered by J. Baldunčiks's (1989) exhaustive monograph and dictionary. Today English, with its various modes of existence (as mother tongue, second language, foreign language, lingua franca), is the only global language. Some describe the advance of English as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) or oppression, others as a portent of future global leadership (Bennet, 2004) or as an ideal mode of communication between the ever more globalised citizens of a world where it has achieved hegemonic critical mass. Still others view it as an inevitable but benevolent *lingua franca*, influencing other languages asymmetrically (House, 2002, 2004). The global diffusion, high prestige and economic value of English make it very attractive: Latvian schoolchildren and their parents rank English as more useful than their mother tongue (*Latviešu…*, 2010).

In addition to being a source of loans (full loans, semi-loans, loan translations, calques) and some other changes on an individual basis, English affects Latvian patterns of word formation (Ločmele and Veisbergs, 2011), textual norms and conventions (the use and spread of innovations, wordplay, phraseological transformations) (Veisbergs, 2007a), and changes in the frequency and scope of nonce use (see next section).

Direct English impact on Latvian wordstock today can be seen in the following forms:

- traditional loans (with the usual phonetic, spelling and grammatical adaptations): *kūls* (cool), *fīlings* (feeling), *čarts* (chart), *meils* (mail), *lūzers* (loser), *feiss* (face), *tops* (top), *čats* (chat). These tend to be used in colloquial use. Their frequency of use is very high in colloquial language although their number is not huge. They are mostly short words of Germanic origin.
- Some unassimilated colloquial loans, e.g. exclamations: *kamon* (come on), *kūl* (cool), *vau/vow* (wow?), *okei* (OK), *bla bla bla*, *kreizī* (crazy).
- Thousands of neoclassical borrowings, in fact internationalisms, are often attributed to English: *politkorektums* (political correctness), *komitoloģija* (comitology), *interfeiss* (interface), *interoperabilitāte* (interoperability), *eksponenciāls* (exponential), *reciklēt* (to recycle).
- Latvian derivations or clippings of English loans: *kompis* (computer), *tīnis* (teenager), *fīča* (feature), *fīls* (feeling), *topiņš* (top), *čiksa* (chick), *superīgs* (super).
- 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*. The new ones are always English, the older ones were generally internationalisms borrowed from Russian, occasionally from German.

- English semantic loans tend to affect old Latvian words or older borrowed internationalisms, aligning the new meaning with the polysemy of their English counterparts, e.g. *vīruss* (virus), *pele* (computer mouse), *zālīte* (grass, marijuana), *attīstītājs* (developer), *laineris* (liner), *zaļais* (green in the political sense). These calques are usually terms and are widespread where Latvian is undergoing rapid development, e.g. computer science: *aplikācija* (application); economics and politics: *iesaldēt* (freeze), *pārkarst* (overheat), *klasificēts* (classified, secret), *shēma* (criminal scheming). Some words have also broadened their scope: *pieredze* from *past experience / knowledge* to *present experience / feelings / living through / participation*; *izaicinājums* from *direct challenge* to *challenge* in the English sense; *produkts* from *farming produce* to *anything produced*. In some cases this has led to undesirable semantic hypertrophy (Baldunčiks, 2015). Similarly many formerly abstract words have developed new broad and multifaceted direct meanings: *autoritāte* (authority), *aktivitāte* (activity), *prasmes* (skill), *varas* (power), and have become countable nouns (see section 5.6).
- Compound calques and semi-calques: *eksvīrs* (ex-husband), *ugunsmūris* (firewall), *sierburgers* (cheeseburger), *vēstuļbumba* (letter bomb), *viedkarte* (smart card).
- Meaning imposition and change; change of meaning in monosemantic words: reshaping them semantically (ousting the traditional meaning) under the influence of English is as yet rare. The word *drastisks* (drastic), formerly meaning *rough, playful, carefree* tends to be used more and more with the English meaning of *radical, sharp*. *Kritisks* (critical, difficult) is now frequently used for *very important*. *Dramatisks* (dramatic, drama) formerly *connected with plays, emotional* is now used in its English sense of *sudden, striking*. *Klasificēts* (classified) is used almost solely as *secret*.
- Borrowing of idioms: 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: *ziepju opera* (soap opera), *skelets skapī* (skeleton in the cupboard), *iešaut sev kājā* (to shoot yourself in the foot), *bumba ir laukuma otrā pusē* (the ball is in the other court), *nākt ārā* (to come out), *likt/turēt visas olas vienā grozā* (to put all your eggs in one basket). Many other idioms are often used as occasional insertions, some English phrases replace formerly stable Latvian ones: *vienas nakts sakars* (one-night stand) tends to oust *gadījuma sakars* (random relation).
- Midclippings: loss of syllables in Latvian words (older borrowings) under the influence of English: *optimalizēt* > *optimizēt* (to optimise), *aktivizēt* > *aktivēt* (to activate), *minimalizēt* > *minimizēt* (to minimise), *implantāts* > *implants* (implant). These midclippings can also be viewed as re-borrowed shorter forms.

- Morphological changes in older loans (usually not of English origin), usually taking the form of changed derivational suffixes to align with the English ones: *sociālekonomisks* > *socioekonomisks* (socioeconomic), *homoseksuālists* > *homoseksuālis* (homosexual), *katastrofāls* > *katastrofisks* (catastrophic); sometimes prefixes are also affected *pirmsinsulta* > *preinsulta* (pre-insult), *novators* > *inovators* (innovator).

Though the above occasionally acquire systemic character (such as the last two cases), these changes mostly occur on an individual lexeme basis.

5 PATTERNS AND CONVENTIONS

Studies of contact-induced changes generally focus on lexis, rather than morphology, syntax and conventions. However, some studies have shown that high-intensity contact can affect not only word-formation morphology but also inflectional morphology (Gardani, 2015). The term *patterns* needs some explanation (*Latviešu…*, 2013; Navickaite-Klišauskiene, 2016). Nowadays, linguistic patterns are mostly discussed with regard to computational linguistics-pattern recognition. However, patterns can also be viewed in a broader sense as productive paradigms of word-formation, structures and use, as common and reproducible rules of use with formal and semantic features. "Pattern borrowing" can be opposed to phonological borrowing: 'MAT-borrowing involves replication of morphological material and its phonological shape from one language to another. PAT-borrowing includes replication of patterns only, not the form, to another language' (Sakel, 2007: 15). PAT borrowing therefore means loan translations and calques. Replication of patterns, shifts of patterns, transfer of patterns thus illustrate the impact of a contact language. Apart from singular (though very numerous) effects, the impact of English on Latvian extends far beyond separate words. These deeper changes are often less noticeable but also more comprehensive, encompassing new patterns and new Latvian norms. We can distinguish between various types of norms, among them conventions and expectation norms. For example, if there are two second-person forms of address (the polite and the informal one) and one of them gains in popularity while the other recedes, we can talk of a change of convention, or expectancy norm. Using the language in either the old or new way does not breach the actual language norm, but does breach the dominant conventions. Similarly, the use of a plural for a noun formerly used only in the singular would be a breach of convention or expectancy norm, even if the language has both numbers and any noun can theoretically be used in both. When such changes of convention occur under the influence of another language we can speak of a foreign-induced shift in conventions.

5.1 CONVERSION

Latvian word classes are formally distinguishable, as each of them has a distinct set of inflectional markers (endings). Thus, when a lexeme is shifted to another

part of speech, it also changes from one inflectional paradigm to another: *melns* (*adj*. black), *melni* (*adv*. blackly), *melnis* (*n*. a black horse), *melnot* (*v*. to blacken). Conversion (Nītiņa, 1985) is thus limited by the flective nature of the language. Full conversion is thus rare, mostly affecting isolated historical cases in peripheral word classes: some nouns and some verbal forms have been adverbialised, e.g. *augšā* (in the upper part > up), *pilnā* (in the full > full), *laukā* (in the field > outside). These are stable historical conversions in Latvian. A more frequent pattern is the use of the definite ending to nominalise adjectives and participles: *labais* (the good), *vecāki* (older > parents), *nelabais* (the ungood > the Devil), *kaulainā* (the bony one > Death), *lielie (the big > the rich, the grown-ups)*, *baltais* (the white > vodka), *mīļākais* (the most loved > lover), *ievainotais (wounded > the wounded), sabiedrotais (allied > ally), dzeramais (drinkable > drink),* etc. No particular changes have been noticed in these groups. Theoretically there are also wide possibilities for contextual nominalisation, but this is rare. However, there has of late been an increase in contextual nominalisation, e.g.

> *– Bet mēs... Valters Krūms centās iebilst. – Nekādi* ***mēs*** *vai* ***beti.*** *(Aleksandrs. Neredzamā divīzija. Riga, 1993: 288)*
>
> *Gloss: – But we... Valters Krūms wanted to object. – No* ***we's*** *or* ***buts.***

It seems impossible to quantify the spread of conversion, especially in informal texts and speech. It is also not clear whether it is the result of a general relaxation of conventions, a more colloquial style in standard language, or the subtle influence of English, where conversion is widespread.

Formerly there used to be a group of adjectives of international origin (Skujiņa, 1993:99) that were used also as nouns (or vice versa): *aktīvs, kolektīvs, reljefs, analogs, hibrīds, deficīts, kolorīts, potenciāls, memoriāls, veterinārs, kuriozs, normatīvs.* Most of these homonyms had parallels in the foreign source languages (Russian, German), and thus could be viewed as a result of borrowing.

In the last few decades, numerous conversions of this kind have arisen or expanded their usage based on the English model: English-induced conversion: *nekrofīls* (necrophile), *homofobs* (homophobe), *rusofobs* (rusophobe), *ambients* (ambient), *pedofīls* (paedophile), *kontraceptīvs* (contraceptive), *kompozīts* (composite), *veterinārs* (veterinary), *normatīvs* (normative). These cases of conversion can, of course, be viewed as borrowings of individual nouns or as adjectives parallel to already existing forms.

5.2 DERIVATIVE ADJECTIVES

Another pattern that has spread under the influence of English is non-declinable derivative adjectives formed from the genitive of a noun (Latvian *ģenitīveņi* (*Latviešu…*, 2013: 214)). Normally a prefix is used for derivation: *aiz-, bez-, pēc-, priekš-, pirms-,* etc. A high share of these today are negative attributes formed on the basis of nouns in the genitive case, by applying prefixes *ne-* (non) or *bez-* (without). Traditionally, Latvian formed negative adjectives by means of

the prefix *ne-* plus an adjective. The new coinages rarely have the nominative form (e.g. *nediskriminācija, nerezidents*), so in a way they are circumfixed derivations. The pattern existed earlier, under Russian influence, and was considered unwelcome. Now, however, there has been an avalanche of them, both borrowings and loan translations: *nedzīvnieku* (non-animal), *nedzīvības* (non-life), *nepiena* (non-milk), *nepārtikas* (non-food), *netarifu* (non-tariff), *nefinanšu* (non-finance), *nekapitāla* (non-capital), *nediskriminācijas* (non-discriminatory), *neslīdes* (non-glide), *nerezidentu* (non-resident), *nezinātnes* (non-science), *netiesas* (non-court), *nelīguma* (non-agreement). The latest edition of the Latvian-English dictionary (Veisbergs, 2016), compiled on the basis of parallel corpora, includes around a hundred of these, although hundreds of such formations with high usage frequencies were found. This seems to be the result of the widespread English pattern and is common in technical, legal and EU texts. Similar patterns can be seen in loans with English affixes *-less* (usually Latvian prefix *bez-* 'without'), extra- (Latvian prefix *ārpus-* 'outside'), *-free* and *non-* (Latvian prefix *bez-* 'without': *ārpusbudžeta* (extrabudgetary), *ārpuszemes* (extraterrestial), *ārpusdzemdes* (in vitro, extra-uterine), *ārpusšūnu* (extra-cellular), *ārpusskolas* (extracurricular), *ārpusģimenes* (extra-familial), *ārpustiesas* (extra-judicial); *bezkvotu* (quota-free), *bezprocentu* (interest-free), *beznodokļu* (duty-free), *bezoglekļa* (carbon-free), *bezsēklu* (seedless), *bezlietus* (rainless), *bezdimensiju* (non-dimensional), *bezkaulu* (boneless), *bezmērķa* (aimless), *bezsatura* (without content, vacuous). It is interesting to note that the last two words are gradually ousting the traditional standard adjectives of the same meaning *(bezmērķīgs, bezsaturīgs).*

5.3 BLENDING

Blending as a pattern used not to exist in Latvian, although a few English blends were borrowed as root words, e.g. *smogs (smog), motelis (motel).* Blending became more common in the 1990s with the importation of semi-transparent English blends containing well-known international elements: *bolivuda* (Bollywood), *vidiots* (vidiot), *lukanomika* (Lukashenko economics), *seksperts* (sexpert), *kokakolonizācija* (Cocacolonisation). It is characteristic that they mostly contain proper names, which facilitates understanding. Local nonce blends have proliferated in parallel with them.

More Latvian blends gradually appeared, usually containing proper-name components: *ļeņineklis [Ļeņins piemineklis]* (Lenin monument), *Latvegasa [Latvijas Lasvegasa]* (Latvia's Las Vegas], *Zaķutēka [Zaķusalas diskotēka]* (Zaķu island discotheque), *ceļarāma [Latvijas ceļa panorāma]* (the Panorama of the Latvian Way Party); *Putinočets [Putins Pinočets]* (Putin Pinochet), *Putlers [Putins Hitlers]* (Putin Hitler). The last two examples are often used in Russian as well. These blends are not in frequent use, but were not unique nonce uses either.

These were followed by even more unique and genuinely Latvian blends:

sliktenis [slikts liktenis] (bad fate),

satīstība [satīties attīstība] (wrapping/inward development),

taksobuss [taksometrs autobuss] (taxi bus),
Ģimnastrāde [ģimnāzija estrāde] (grammar-school podium),
ekomobilis [ekoloģisks automobilis] (ecocar),
Gastronauts [gastronomija astronauts] (gastronomy astronaut),
Šķirolucionārs [šķirot revolucuionārs] (waste-sorting revolutionary),
Sekretūta [sekretāre prostitūta] (secretary prostitute) [might have been affected by Russian *sekretutka*].

Gradually some of the more frequently used blends entered what could be called standard stock, e.g. *cūkmens [cūka betmens]* (pig Batman) [a media image of a nature polluter], with a high frequency of use. This systemic novelty has even broken into the traditionally conservative stronghold of Latvian terminology. If *kaplete* (*kapsula tablete,* capsule tablet) can be viewed as a semi-transparent imported blend, then, for example, the genuinely Latvian blends *mēstule (mēslu vēstule*, junk email*), atkritne (atkritumu atvilktne*, recycle bin*)* serves as proof that this new word-formation pattern has expanded into all styles and registers of the language.

There are also some semi-affixes frequently used in coining new blends and compounds. While most Latvians have forgotten *Watergate* or have never heard of it, various *-gates* are widely used for instances of corruption in Latvia, and so *-geita* has become a semi-affix: *Jūrmalgeita* (Jūrmala = seaside town), *digitālgeita* (digital-gate), *pedofīlgeita* (paedophile-gate). No doubt the process is enhanced by the frequent foreign *-gates* encountered in English.

Similarly various *-holics* are popular: *darbaholiķis (workaholic), karjerholiķis (careeraholic), seksaholiķis (sexaholic), sniegaholiķis (snowaholic), saulesholiķis (sunaholic)*. While some could be viewed as semicalques of English partial blends (*workaholic*), others are obviously native. And so is *-krātija* (-cracy): *bandokrātija* (gangocracy), *ētokrātija* (ethicocracy), *netokrātija* (netocracy). Thus blends in Latvian demonstrate a cline of linguistic items from phonological loans to pattern-induced native creations.

5.4 SHORT, HYPHENATED ABBREVIATED COMPOUNDS

Hyphenation is rarely used in Latvian, and the pattern of *initial letter plus hyphen plus full word* is a novel phenomenon. For a long time the borrowing *T-shirt* was avoided for purely this reason: there was no precedent. Finally a semiloan of *T-shirt (T-krekls)* was accepted, promptly followed by the Latvian loan translation of *e-mail*: *e-pasts*. The next was *i-banka* (internet bank) but this was monopolised in a non-hyphenated form by one of the leading banks of the time for its internet domain (www.ibanka.lv). Thus *i-banka* had a barrier to its spread because of the possible ambiguity and a full compound *internetbanka* is normally used. But some years later native formations started to proliferate, dominated by *e*-coinages (electronic-), e.g. *e-aptieka (e-chemist), e-aukle (e-nurse), e-baznīca (e-church).*

Some of these were naturally loan-translations, e.g. *e-cigarete (e-cigarette)*, but the majority are native formations using the imported pattern. Today there are more than 100 Latvian formations of this type in frequent use.

Coinages with *i-* are less popular, perhaps because *i-* can confusingly signify both *internet* and *information*: *i-deja* (i-dance), *i-grāmata* (i-book), *i-karte* (i-map), *i-mode* (i-fashion), *i-veikals* (i-shop), *i-sabiedrība* (i-society).

Other letters in such constructions are rarer: *t-krekls/T-krekls* (T-shirt), *t-bode (t-shop* making T-shirts), *p-serviss* (fast-food outlet serving pasta).

5.5 COMPOUND PHRASES

Compound phrases and phrasal compounds of the occasional or nonce type (*on-the-spot creations, will-she-or-won't-she-get-the-guy comedy*), which are quite popular in English, were most unusual in Latvian before the 1990s, and this model is imported. There are a few unique cases of use of such formations dating back to the 19th century, no doubt influenced by a language contact (Bergmane, Blinkena, 1986). It is interesting to note that English translations into Latvian do not normally retain this pattern. The author of this paper has not encountered a single use of this pattern in serious Latvian translations of fiction (even if the source texts have them) while it is quite frequent in original writings. The reason might be that translators have been taught that the pattern is not a Latvian norm. In this way, this innovation bypassed the usual first stage (translation), and was simply borrowed as a technique for native Latvian material.

There were probably several reasons why this pattern was borrowed: novelty and imitation of course, but also the possibility of condensing meaning into a brief attention-grabbing expression, as in English. It usually, but not exclusively, uses attributive phrases, which provide the writer with an almost unlimited stock of novel and graphically obtrusive expressive modifiers. These expressions appear mainly in newspapers and magazines.

> *Rūdītais* ***lai-ar-kādi-vēji-pūš*** *politiķis Nikolajs …* (*Diena,* 1994)
>
> *Gloss: The weathered, let-any-winds-blow politician Nikolajs*

> *tā sniedz cilvēkiem priekšstatu par* ***realitāti-aiz-realitātes****.* (*Grāmatu Apskats,* 1994)
>
> *Gloss: It gives people an idea of the reality-behind-reality.*

> *Ar demokrātisko* ***divtūkstoš-un-cik-tur-balsošanu*** *izšķirtos …* (*Diena Izklaidei,* 1999)
>
> *Gloss: With democratic two-thousand-and-what-not-voting it would come to*

> *Izrādās, lai popularizētu Parīzes* ***tur-noteikti-vajag-būt*** *objektu.* (*Diena*, 2001)
>
> *Gloss: In order to popularise the must-be-there sight of Paris.*

Cars bija tikai peška, ***te-viņš-bija-te-viņš-zuda*** *cars.* (*Una*, 2005)

Gloss: The tsar was just a pawn, a now-you-see-him-now-you-don't tsar.

Reikjavīka ir arī pretstats ierasti idilliskajam ***ai-cik-sireāli-pasakaina-šī-Islande*** *redzējumam.* (*Kultūras Diena*, 2007.)

Gloss: Reykjavik is also a contrast to the idyllic-oh-how-surreal-and-fairylike-Iceland-is vision.

5.6 CHANGE OF PLURAL / SINGULAR SYSTEM

As regards the typology of morphological borrowing, words borrowed in several paradigmatic forms are rare, a coexistence of borrowed and native paradigms in the receptor language is strange from the point of view of language economy. This type of borrowing is called Parallel System Borrowing (PSB) (Kosmann, 2010). The Latvian case is simpler: the English singular/plural pattern is imposed on Latvian nouns in a pattern move. This has affected nouns (internationalisms and native) that Latvian used only in the plural or singular (*plurale, singulare tantum*). Many have now developed full paradigms. This started under the influence of English with some specific international and EU terms, reflecting English meaning and English grammar, e.g. *prasme* (skill, ability) was used only in singular denoting an abstract quality. The plural form arrived with the EU educational translations which talk about various skills. An identical process happened later with the term *kompetence* (competence), which also developed plural forms. *Aktivitāte* (activity) underwent an identical process. These were followed by *debates* (singular added), *risks* (plural added), *autoritāte* (plural added), *kvalitāte* (plural added), *tehnoloģija* (plural added), *politika* (plural added), *efekts* (plural added), *taktika* (plural added), *stratēģija* (plural added), *emocijas* (singular added), *ekonomika* (plural added). The pattern change then spread to purely Latvian words (and ancient borrowings). Some were definitely loan-translation transfers, e.g. *vara/s* (power/s), but many do not seem to have a link to English, e.g. *baile/s* (fear/s), *baža/s* (concern/s), *sacīkste/s* (competition/s), *dusma/s* (anger), *brille/s* (spectacles). It seems English influence has sparked off a general trend of standardising Latvian number categories. Generally the old meaning is retained in both numbers, but occasionally the new form (sg. or pl.) comes with a new meaning, e.g. *autoritāte* used to mean the abstract quality of *authority*. The new sense refers to a *person with authority, a boss,* and this can be used in the plural as well. Some of the above examples can also be explained by extralinguistic processes, e.g. the growing frequency of one-parent families necessitates a singular noun: from standard Latvian *vecāki* (parents) to *vecāks* (parent). The process is somewhat obstructed by the polysemy of the converted form *vecāks* = older).

5.7 EXTENSIVE USE OF WORDPLAY

Changes of textual convention constitute an even broader understanding of pattern, in fact a mega-pattern. Wordplay involves various means and patterns

with the aim of language play, its degree is a subjective issue and frequency is impossible to calculate. However, its volume has increased many times over.

Changes of textual conventions (going far beyond mere wordplay; the standard CV format has changed, as has the style used for cookbook recipes) can be viewed in terms of discussions between minor and major cultures and languages in translation theory, where an asymmetrical cultural exchange takes place. As suggested by Toury (1995), dominant cultures tend to impose their own linguistic and cultural conventions when translated into minor language cultures. Minor cultures willingly or unwillingly absorb the dictum of the more pervasive or prestigious cultures, modifying their conventions according to the changing situation, the hegemonistic pressure from the prestigious languages, etc. As linguistic processes are less consciously rationalised than many others, they reflect the essence of the cultural processes more clearly (Hymes, 1983:24).

English speech conventions presume a much more frequent use of idiomatic transformations in certain text types than in Latvian (e.g. newspaper and magazine headlines). In this sense, conventions would come very close to what can be called expectancy norms, the breaking of which would create a certain unease. Expectancy norms and conventions, however, are not set in stone; they are flexible and depend not only on tradition and popular perceptions, but also on cultural evolution, on the effect of contact with other languages and the sociolinguistic situation. Wordplay, though occasionally used during the Soviet period, was generally not frequent and censors viewed it with suspicion. The watchful eye of state censorship suspected any innovations and even metaphors without prior approval, branding them dangerous and reactionary, as can be seen in a prominent East German textbook on style:

> Heute, wo die Lehren von Marx und Lenin der Menscheit den Weg in die Zukunft weisen, ist eine dem Expressionismus ähnliche Behandlung des Wortmaterials als reaktionär einsuschätzen
>
> (Faulseit and Kuehn 1975:174). Today when the teachings of Marx and Lenin show mankind the road to the future, such Expressionism-like treatment of word material is to be evaluated as reactionary (Translation mine A.V.)

They are now commonplace and it is hard to state whether the growth is an imported feature or a native, natural development due to more relaxed conventions and a more playful attitude to language.

Latvian has enormously increased its occasional, contextual (Veisbergs, 1997) and instantial (Naciscione, 2010) use of idioms to create wordplay, both in translated and native texts. This can be viewed as a serious shift in idiom usage conventions. Phraseology is no longer a stock of hackneyed phrases but a great source of innovation.

Graphic nonce wordplay has become commonplace, including paronymic substitution of letters or sounds, e.g. *migrorajons*: substitution of a letter

in *mikrorajons* 'micro-district', which results in a blend, *migrants' district*; *valdības sastārdīšana* 'government de/composition', from *valdības sastādīšana* 'composition of the government' and *saārdīšana* 'destroying'. Graphic wordplay is common in advertising. This playful use of nonce words and the nonce use of idioms and wordplay at least partly reflect their spread in English and the general liberalisation of norms and conventions as well as a more playful attitude towards language.

Nonce use at the word level (usually compounds or derivatives) has undergone a similar expansion. Originally, practically all nonce formations could be traced back to their English counterparts, thus they were semi-transparent loans, e.g. *kleptokrātija* (kleptocracy), *eksvīrs* (ex-husband), *jāļautiņi* (yes-men), *rašisti* (Russian fascists). But today these are predominantly original coinages, e.g. *smalkaprindisks* (smart-circle), *kultūrdubļi* (culturemud), *kinoštrunts* (cinemarubbish). Some have developed wide currency: *bučmūles* (kiss babes), *smukbučmūlīši* (kiss-babes). Thus, the stagnation of the media language characteristic of the totalitarian period has come to an end (Liepa, 2011). Much play with word-formation devices occurs on the internet (including chat rooms), where its full potential, as well as the resourcefulness of amateurs, can be seen. Thus we have seen how foreign-induced patterns have activated the latent structural and semantic features of the Latvian language: usually by first affecting translations (both acknowledged and unacknowledged) and ultimately affecting even original texts (in the media, the electronic media, chat rooms), thereby breaking away from the conservative and rigid use of lexical and idiomatic material that pertained before.

CONCLUSIONS

Apart from various other direct influences, English as the main contact language has affected Latvian patterns: word-formation patterns, and patterns of use and patterns of convention. Part of this contact-induced change can be viewed as structural impact, part as a shift in conventions. The growth in the scope of creativity is evidenced both by the increased use of previously rare stylistic means (idiom transformations, nonce compounding), and by the appearance of new linguo-stylistic devices such as native blends or compound phrases. The latter linguistic patterns, though imported, have found a niche in the Latvian linguistic system and are now used in various speech domains. They have become part of the Latvian language and usage. In general we can view these shifts as an enhancement of Latvian's inherent linguistic potential rather than the contact-induced change of traditional patterns. Language change is not a sign of decay (Aitchison, 1998:221), it is natural for a living language to accommodate the needs of its users while retaining its core heritage.

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO HOW B2-C2 LEVEL ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE (EFL) LEARNERS DISPLAY THEIR PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE IN SPEAKING

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Abstract. The importance of testing second language (L2) learners' pragmatic competence is becoming evident following increasing research (e.g. Ross and Kasper, 2013). Current pragmatic tests mainly use the Speech Act Theory as a theoretical framework and discourse completion tasks (DCTs) as test instruments. However, these have been criticized lately for overlooking the importance of the *discursive* side of pragmatics. The main objective of this research was to contribute towards the assessment of B2-C2 level EFL learners' pragmatic competence by experimenting with task formats that allow the examination of extended oral discourse. The empirical study examined how two speaking task formats allowed test takers to display their pragmatic competence. It also aimed to identify some criterial features defining the level of EFL learners' pragmatic competence. Six university students took part in this mixed-method study, which included four monologic and two dialogic tasks, followed by a semi-structured interview. Performance of the tasks was video recorded, transcribed and analyzed quantitatively as well as qualitatively using a Conversation Analytic framework. It was concluded that both task formats allow learners to display their pragmatic competence in terms of the sequential organization of speech and selection/use of pragmalinguistic devices. Results also showed that with increasing proficiency the number and range of pragmalinguistic devices seemed to increase and the sequential organization of speech tended to become somewhat more natural.

Key words: EFL, pragmatic competence, assessment, task formats, oral discourse

INTRODUCTION

As the number of overseas students and employees in English-speaking countries has increased exponentially over the last decades, the importance of pragmatic competence for L2 speakers to be successful in social integration has been highlighted, and the need for assessing it has become more pressing (e.g. Ross and Kasper, 2013). The aim of the present study is to contribute towards such assessment by examining CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) B2-C2 level EFL learners' pragmatic competence in speaking.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1 DEFINING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

One of the early models that include the notion of pragmatics is Canale's (1983), who identifies 'sociolinguistic competence' as the combination of 'appropriateness of *form'* and 'appropriateness of *meaning'*. Leech (1983), somewhat similarly, distinguishes between *pragmalinguistic* knowledge (i.e. awareness of linguistic choices available) and *sociopragmatic* knowledge (i.e. awareness of contextual factors influencing the use of such choices in communication), but calls it pragmatic competence. Bachman (1990), building on this earlier research, developed a model for communicative language ability, within which he includes pragmatic competence as a branch of language competence. He, in line with Leech (1983), also distinguishes between speakers' ability to consider *contextual factors* when attempting to produce socially appropriate utterances in communication (i.e. sociolinguistic competence) and speakers' knowledge of *language functions* (i.e. functional knowledge). Research, thus, seems to indicate that pragmatic competence combines *social awareness* and *linguistic ability*, which allows speakers to produce socially and linguistically appropriate utterances in a given context in order to conduct social interaction successfully.

Social interaction, however, also includes the hearer. Speakers are unable to achieve their communicative goals without considering their relationship to the hearer, and without evaluating the hearer's utterances before formulating their own response. It would thus indicate, as Faerch and Kasper (1983) argue, that speakers, as well as possessing linguistic and social knowledge, also need to be able to formulate their communicative goals, plan their speech accordingly and constantly *monitor their own performance on-line* in communication. Communication generally includes extended discourse during which participants take several turns, thereby gradually sequencing speech to achieve their communicative goal. It is, therefore, argued here that on-line processing skill, alongside contextual and language knowledge, is also essential when defining pragmatic competence.

Consequently, the following definition of pragmatic competence was adopted for assessing EFL learners' competence in the present study:

- ability to organise speech *sequentially* in extended discourse;
- ability to use *pragmatic functions* (i.e. requests and apology) appropriately;
- ability to select/use *linguistic devices* in English to achieve communicative goal;
- ability to respond to *interlocutor* appropriately taking contextual factors (e.g. power) into consideration.

2 ANALYZING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

2.1 ORGANIZING SPEECH SEQUENTIALLY AND USING PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS APPROPRIATELY

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a sociologically-based approach which, according to Levinson (1983: 286), focuses on 'how coherence and sequential organisation in discourse are produced and understood'. In other words, CA analyses how speakers structure their speech in order to achieve their communicative goals in social interaction, whilst also evaluating the hearer's responses and forming their own response accordingly. Gonzalez-Lloret (2010) argues that CA could be used effectively to analyze speech acts (SA) in interaction since it investigates action as and when action *emerges* during the talk without predetermining the speaker's intentions. CA, thus, would not only allow the analysis of the *sequential* development of SAs but also of the speaker's *online processing* skills.

As the present research investigates EFL speakers' performance at three different proficiency levels, *developmental issues in the sequential organization of speech* will also need to be considered. Al-Gahtani and Roever's (2012) research, using CA to analyze speech production in interaction, indicates that pragmatic competence manifests itself in the way learners organize their speech *sequentially* by employing more *elaboration* at higher levels. Their findings indicate that higher proficiency level learners tend to use more supportive moves (e.g. pre-/post-expansion) and control the conversation by not relying only on the interlocutor to initiate. This might perhaps result from their increased linguistic ability, which in turn leads to increased *cognitive capacity* to display this knowledge in real-life discourse. Al-Gahtani and Roever's (2012) research led Hassall (2013) to re-examine some previous research results (Trosborg, 1995) and found that using CA for analyzing the same data would support their findings. This might indicate that there is, indeed, development in EFL learners' sequential organization of speech, and that a CA framework would best allow the examination of such development.

2.2 SELECTING AND USING LINGUISTIC DEVICES TO ACHIEVE COMMUNICATIVE GOALS

As highlighted in 1.1 the sequential organization of discourse is only one aspect of EFL learners' pragmatic competence and the analysis of *pragmalinguistic resources* used in their speech is also required to make inferences about their pragmatic competence. An extensive coding scheme has been developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in order to identify linguistic devices used in requests and apologies. Using this scheme requests can be analyzed according to the degree of directness and the type of modification used. Although this scheme is not complete or finite, since language changes might alter existing linguistic devices, it contains a range of *lexical/phrasal modifiers* (e.g. intensifiers) that can aid the analysis of EFL learners' pragmatic competence in oral discourse.

It is argued here that as well as lexical/phrasal modifiers, *conversational routines* (CR) can also be considered pragmalinguistic devices since in EFL classrooms they are learned and utilized as chunks of language used in particular social situations (e.g. Would you mind X?). Although no agreed definition for CRs exists amongst linguists, the name is still used interchangeably with formulaic expressions, conventional expressions, and formulas, their importance when analyzing pragmatic competence cannot be ignored. Using CRs gives EFL speech a more proficient feel and also indicates pragmatic knowledge and awareness. For the purposes of the present research the following definition of CRs (Myles et al., 1998: 325) has been adopted:

- used repeatedly and always in the same form;
- situationally dependent;
- community-wide in use.

Regarding the *developmental* sequence of pragmalinguistic resources, there is no general consensus amongst academics. However, it is believed that some development occurs with increasing proficiency. Barron (2003) argues that grammatical competence frees up cognitive capacity at higher levels, which enables learners to attend to pragmalinguistic features in communication. Dittmar and Trosborg (1991, in Barron, 2003), for example, found that *downtoners* (e.g. Could I perhaps…?) were acquired later and appeared only in higher proficiency learners' performance. Moreover, Barron (2003) found that there was a development in the quantity and complexity of lexical/phrasal *downgraders* (i.e. linguistic devices which are used to soften the force of requests) in more proficient learners' requests, while Bardovi-Harlig (2009) noticed that higher proficiency learners used more intensification. Thus, it seems that there is some improvement in the use of pragmalinguistic devices in EFL learners' speech.

3 ASSESSING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

Current pragmatic tests are mainly based on the *framework* adopted by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) and use discourse completion tasks (DCTs) as *test instruments*. Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (1992, 1995), for example, designed a test for L1 Japanese learners of English using the aforementioned framework and methodology. Their test instrument mainly focused on politeness and directness levels in three different speech acts (SA) (i.e. request, apology and refusal), and consisted of five task types (discourse completion tasks, role plays and a self-assessment). Liu (2006) also used the same framework when designing a test, consisting of multiple-choice DCTs (MDCT) and self-assessment, for Chinese learners of English. Speech acts, however, are not the only pragmatic features that have been tested. Roever's (2005, 2006) test instrument (i.e. MDCTs), for example, included items that elicited knowledge of implicature and routine formulae. His study also differed from the previously described tests in that he targeted different

L1 speakers (i.e. European, Asian). The SA theory, as an underlying framework, and DCTs, as task formats, thus, seem to be commonly used when assessing pragmatic competence.

However, using *SA theory as a theoretical framework* has been criticized lately for overlooking the importance of the *discursive* side of pragmatics (Kasper, 2006; Roever, 2011). In SA theory, it is the speaker who is in focus and the listener tends to be regarded as passive, which is likely to prevent researchers from noticing the effect listeners' responses have on speakers' verbal behaviour. Walters (2007) attempted to rectify this issue when utilizing a CA framework in his research. His listening comprehension tasks consisted of role-play and DCTs, and measured ESL learners' understanding of a previous turn and their ability to respond to it. Roever's (2011) criticism of the way he used the CA framework is valid since he only analyzed isolated utterances instead of examining the sequential organisation in extended discourse

As well as the SA framework, *DCTs as test instruments* have also been criticized for not allowing examination of the *discursive* side of pragmatics. Kasper (2006) claims that they can be unreliable and do not allow the examination of the sequential organization of speech, while Kane (2006) points out that they can only elicit a part of the target domain. Their inability to elicit online processing which, as pointed out earlier, is a crucial skill in social interaction, also makes their use questionable. As more effective alternatives, role-plays and/or monologic tasks have been suggested (e.g. Kasper and Rose, 2002; Roever, 2011). These would better allow for examining L2 test takers' pragmatic competence in organising discourse and would also provide an insight into test takers' online processing skills.

It would, thus, appear that the use of DCTs as task types and SA theory as a theoretical framework might be questionable when assessing EFL learners' pragmatic competence. They only allow for the analysis of isolated utterances and not for the analysis of extended social interaction; yet this is exactly how pragmatic knowledge manifests itself in practice. For the above mentioned reasons the present research used monologic and dialogic tasks as task instruments and CA as theoretical framework.

Overall, it has been argued that pragmatic competence consists of *social knowledge* and *linguistic knowledge*, manifested in the way speakers *organize their speech* in communication and in the way they *select/use linguistic resources* taking *contextual factors* into consideration. This competence is essential in social interaction and, as such, should be included when assessing EFL learners' communicative competence. It has also been stated previously that in order to assess this competence the analysis of both, *sequential organization of discourse* and *pragmalinguistic resources* used in speech, are required. The use of *monologic/dialogic task types* as research instruments and a *conversation analytic framework* for analysis has also been advocated.

Therefore, the research questions of this paper are:

- What features of pragmatic competence, *in terms of sequential organisation and pragmalinguistic devices*, are elicited by monologic and dialogic tasks?
- In what ways are these pragmatic features utilised differently by B2-C2 level learners?

METHODOLOGY

1 PARTICIPANTS

Data was collected from 6 international university students all having a different L1. All participants were studying at a UK university at the time of the study. Their proficiency levels ranged from B2 to C2 (two students at each level), and the levels were based on their IELTS and TOEFL scores using the Cambridge English conversion table to correlate IELTS to CEFR and the TOEFL conversion table to correlate TOEFL to CEFR.

The average age was 25.5 with only one participant being slightly older (34). The gender division was equal (3 males and 3 females), however, there was no equality of genders at the different levels, with 2 female participants at B2 and two male participants at C1 levels. This gender difference at the two levels clearly presented a limitation in the study and has also possibly affected the results. Therefore, the equality of genders at each level will need to be rectified in a future study.

All L1s were different, however, at B2 level both participants were from Asian and both C2 level participants were from European countries. This could have also had an effect on the results and will need to be rectified in a future study.

2 DATA COLLECTION

The instrument in this study consisted of:

- a speaking task: 4 monologic and 2 dialogic tasks;
- a semi-structured interview.

After an initial explanation of the task requirements participants performed the monologic task alone, with a few seconds preparation time given, and the dialogic task with the researcher. This was followed by a semi-structured interview with each participant. Monologic tasks were audio recorded and the dialogic tasks and interviews were audio and video recorded.

2.1 THE SPEAKING TASKS

The research instrument consisted of four monologic tasks (leaving a message on an answerphone) and two dialogic tasks (having a conversation with the interlocutor in an assumed role). All the tasks were based on students'

suggestions regarding commonly encountered situations in academic life and elicited two types of speech act, request and apology. The tasks were put together to reflect real situations, the most common power constellations (i.e. hearer has more power: professor-student; both interactants have the same level of power: flatmates, classmates) and degree of imposition in the participants' university life.

The task requirements for the two task types were designed to be as comparable as possible, apart from the interactive aspect of the dialogic task, and the order of task prompts were counter-balanced to avoid potential order effect. Task instructions were recorded on cards as well as orally explained by the interlocutor. The interlocutor did not use scripts in the dialogic tasks but adapted to the participants as needed, while following some principles and guidelines to offer flexible, but standardized interlocutor input.

2.2 THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

All test-takers were asked to take part in a retrospective verbal interview immediately after they finished the tasks in order to explore participants' perception of task situations.

The outline for the interview used a Likert-scale and consisted of:

- demographic information;
- pragmatic information (power, imposition);
- task content (familiarity, difficulty);
- cultural notes (comments on L1 and L2 cultural, linguistic similarities/differences).

3 DATA ANALYSIS

The research investigated the following pragmatic features of speech: appropriacy, elaboration (pre- and post-expansion), linguistic devices (intensifiers, hedges, downtoners, understaters and conversational routines) employed to carry out speech acts. Conversational routines were identified as a type of linguistic device since they are often learned as chunks in and outside EFL classrooms.

All recordings were transcribed following CA conventions (Heritage, 1984). Data was analyzed first qualitatively using CA to examine pragmatic speech events as a whole and then quantitatively, to identify linguistic devices to perform them. The following presents the different stages of the data analysis.

Firstly, in terms of appropriacy the sequence openings/greetings and closings were examined in particular. Secondly, Schegloff's (2007) categories of pre- and post-expansion for CA were used to analyze the sequential organization of speech. This was followed by the quantitative analysis of linguistic devices using the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) and House and Kasper's (1981) coding categories, namely intensifiers, hedges, understaters and downtoners.

For the purposes of this research only those categories that corresponded to the linguistic devices employed by the majority of the participants were selected. Finally, the semi-structured interview data was analyzed in order to gain an insight into the participants' speech productions. It was also used to triangulate the results of the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Likert-scales (1–5) were used to elicit how they evaluated power, social distance, imposition in the task situations and to understand how difficult/familiar these situations were to them. Subsequently notes were taken of the comments participants made and coded regarding whether task situations, task types or cultural issues were referred to.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

It should be noted that due to the limited number of participants (N=6) the results described below are only suggestive.

1 MONOLOGIC TASKS

1.1 APPROPRIACY

Participants generally displayed appropriacy at all levels. It was interesting to note, however, that C2 participants tended to adjust addressing the hearer slightly more in line with the power constellation (e.g. equal power constellation: 'Hey Jane… Thanks'; unequal power constellation: 'Good evening Professor Wilson … Thank you.') whilst also using a more elaborate closing formula (e.g. 'I'm very sorry for the inconvenience.'). This might result from the formality of the relationship with their professors but could also indicate more familiarity with the conventions and/or more cognitive capacity to attend to such detail.

1.2 ELABORATION

Participants at all three levels used elaboration to a lesser or greater degree in both power constellation tasks (S<H, S=H). It is worth noting that B2 participants tended to use more repetition (Excerpt 1: lines 3–5), perhaps to buy time to formulate their thoughts or search for language options.

Excerpt 1: Late essay submission, B2, S<H

1. opening:	Good afternoon professor Willson. This is (first name).
2. apology:	I'm calling you to (0.3) e::rm to apologize↑
3. → problem statement:	that I haven't submitted the the (0.3) report (0.3) on <u>Mon</u>day (0.3)
4. → account:	because I'm (0.3) quite (.) I'm quite <u>busy</u> to do <u>other</u> presentations and↑ we have a lot of <u>work</u>↑ (.) I have a lot of <u>work</u> to finish (.)

5. → problem statement:	a:nd I forgot to (0.2) to submit the report.
6. **REQUEST**	E::rm I just called you to (0.3) to () Is it possible if I submit (0.3) today?
7. closing:	Thank you.

1.3 LINGUISTIC DEVICES

Overall, all participants used some linguistic devices to a greater or lesser degree. However, the number and range of these devices tended to increase with proficiency with C2 learners employing the most and widest range. Trosborg (1995) also found that with increased language control more modification (e.g. intensifiers, hedges) was used in L2 learners' speech.

The types of intensifiers did not differ very much across levels, the most frequent ones were: *so/really/very*. C2 level participants used a slightly wider range including 'extremely', 'terribly' and they also used them in a variety of ways (e.g. *extremely/terribly sorry*), whereas B2 level participants had a narrower range of usage. This is consistent with Bardovi-Harlig's (2009) findings; however, it should be noted that C2 learners in this study tended to use not only more but also a somewhat wider range of intensifiers (type/token ratio B2: 0.3; type/token ratio C2: 0.35). Interestingly, C1 level participants did not use any intensifiers, which could be due to personal or cultural reasons.

There was very little hedging observable but the use of hedges seemed to increase slightly with proficiency. The only type of hedge commonly used was 'just'; one other type (i.e. 'perhaps') was employed only once by a C2 learner. However, the amount of data gathered here is insufficient to generalize.

Conversational routines differed in terms of grammatical complexity. C2 level participants tended to use grammatically more complex forms in terms of tense and modality (e.g. 'I was wondering if ...'). C1 level participants also used some slightly more complex forms (e.g. 'I would like to know if I …'), whereas B2 participants used somewhat simpler ones (e.g. 'Is it possible…?'). This is in line with Barron's (2003) and Bardovi-Harlig's (2009) findings, namely that grammatical complexity in pragmalinguistic features increases with proficiency. However, it should also be noted that, as Roever (2012) argues, learners' length of stay in the target language community also plays a part in producing routine formulas with more accuracy.

2 DIALOGIC TASKS

2.1 APPROPRIACY

Appropriacy was generally displayed in both tasks at all levels. However, similarly to the monologic tasks with unequal power constellation, C2 participants tended to be consistently more formal in Task 5 than B2 and C1 participants. The following is an example of language use produced for Task 5.

2.2 TASK 5 – S<H (student – professor)

2.2.1 Elaboration

There were three discernible parts to all the conversations produced for this task, namely: the actual request part followed by a phase of clarifying the problem and the final phase of trying to find a solution. C1 participants produced the shortest conversation, which could be due to the fact that culturally they would not elaborate so much in the given power constellation (S<H), as one of them indicated in the semi-structured interview. In terms of speech produced (Figure 1), B2 level participants spoke more and produced slightly longer turns, whereas, C1 and C2 level participants spoke less, thus letting the interlocutor respond more. This is probably expected in this type of power constellation (S<H) that the hearer produces more speech. However, it should also be taken into consideration that both B2 participants were female, whereas three out of the four C1/C2 participants were male; gender or personality difference might have also affected the amount of speech produced. The vital phase pragmatically was the request phase and it was mainly here that pragmalinguistic devices became more apparent and played a greater role. It is this phase that is discussed in more detail below.

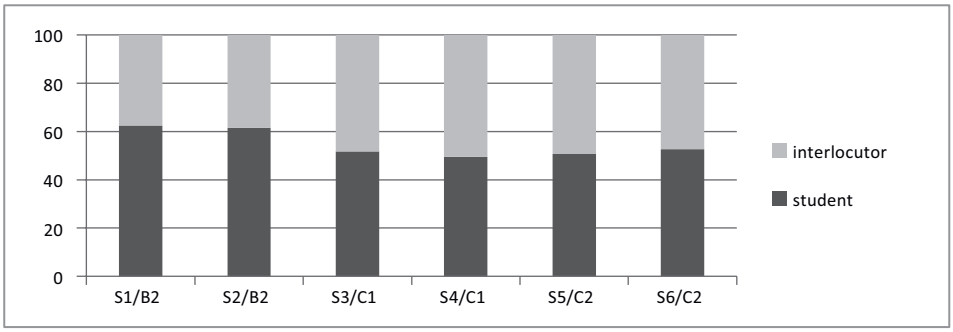

Figure 1 **Speech division (%) in Task 5 (S<H)**

B2

Participants included pre-expansion, request and post-expansion in the request phase of their conversation. One Japanese participant produced a longer request phase including an initial request. This might have been due to cultural issues since this type of speech act with this power constellation may well be considered a potential 'face-threat' in Japanese culture. Despite this difference, the way both participants structured the request phase of their speech was generally similar. It is also worth noting that repetition (similarly to monologic tasks) was apparent in their speech.

Excerpt 2

1. **S1:** Professor (first name). Do you have a few minutes?
2. **I:** Yes?
3. **S1:** Because I want to ask you about my score↑ we have done (.) last week?
4. **I:** Mmm.
5. **S1:**→ Because I thought I did (0.3) quite well↑ and I quite <u>sure</u> that my answer (0.3)
6. → it's correct (.) it's good, but however my score is quite <u>low</u>↑
7. **I:** Mmm.
8. **S1:** >**Could you please< explain↑ or give me feedback about the question**?
9. → Because I want to improve (.) if my idea (.) my answer about the question is not
10. → correct (.) yes (.) I want to correct it. It's good for me to improve and for the next
11. (.) exam↑

In Excerpt 2, the participant opens with a greeting and then produces a 'preliminaries to preliminaries' or pre-pre (Schegloff, 2007) in line 1 to preface the request and after this is acknowledged continues with pre-expansion to project the upcoming request in line 3 and to state the problem and explain the reason for the request in lines 5–6. It is here, as well as in lines 9–10, where repetition is noticeable. Once the actual request is produced in line 7 there is post-expansion to provide another reason for the request perhaps to minimize face-threat and imply that it is not a complaint.

C1

Neither C1 participants employed any post expansion and produced only pre-expansion and the actual request. However, cultural or personality traits might have influenced their speech production.

Excerpt 3

1. **S4:** Hi (first name). >I'd like to talk to you< about (.) like my <u>di</u>ssertation?
2. **I:** Ye::s?
3. **S4:** In English literature? Like (.) I got a really <u>low</u> mark? And I (0.2) >kind of thought<
4. I was doing really <u>well</u> (.) so:: (.) I'm kind of (.) <u>surprised</u>. >**Can we <u>talk</u> about it<**
5. **please?**

In Excerpt 3, the participant produces a greeting in line 1 followed by an initial request and after the go-ahead response produces a problem statement in line 3 and provides a reason for the request that follows. The sequence leading up to the request is brief compared to the B2 sample in Excerpt 2 but it does contain the basic information necessary before the verbalization of the request.

C2

Both participants used pre-expansion followed by the actual request and finished with post-expansion. This post-expansion provided specific facts (line 10) to make the argument more valid; this was absent at the other two levels.

Excerpt 4

1. **S5:** Professor (surname)↑
2. **I:** Yes, how can I help you?
3. **S5:** The last assignment↑ (.) I was looking at it (.) and e::rm (0.3). Thank you very
4. much for giving me the feedback (.) a::nd erm (0.3) >**I was just wondering< (.) if**
5. **I could learn a little bit more about why (0.3) >you know< (0.2) the grading**
6. **was (0.3) so low?**
7. **I:** M:::
8. **S5:** I was little surprised I must (.) I must [say↑
9. **I:** M:::]
10. **S5:** I thought that I::: hit on the on the important areas of the assignment so:::↑ >**it**
11. **would be great< if you could explain (.) perhaps why the grade was (0.3) as**
12. **[low**=
13. **I:** yeah]
14. **S5:** =as it was?

In Excerpt 4 the participant opens the conversation with a greeting and after the go-ahead response uses pre-expansion to preface the request in line 3. Interestingly, at this point there is a longish pause, possibly to determine how to best express his intention. This is followed by another pre-expansion (thanking) in lines 3–4, before the actual request is made with the problem embedded in the language. Post-expansion includes an expression of surprise and specific/factual support (lines 8, 10–11) for why the request was made. This phase of

building up to the actual request seems very natural in terms of both sequential organization and pauses, which allow the interlocutor to signal comprehension.

2.2.2 Linguistic devices

All students used a variety of *intensifiers*, *hedges* and *conversational routines*. In addition, the appearance of *understaters* and *downtoners* in the speech of C2 participants is also worth noting.

Similarly to the monologic tasks, *the types of intensifiers* did not differ very much across levels the most frequent ones being *really* and *very*. Interestingly, intensifiers did appear in C1 learners' speech, and as mentioned earlier their absence was noticeable in the monologic tasks they produced. C2 participants used the largest variety but the least number of intensifiers (type/token ratio: 0.75). This might have resulted from the fact that when taking the power constellation (S<H) and high imposition into consideration C2 participants decided against their extensive use. They also stated in the semi-structured interview later on that they 'had to be careful not to sound pushy'.

Hedges were used almost to the same small extent at all levels. The most commonly employed was still *just*; however, *kind of* also appeared in participants' speech with similar frequency. The main difference in the use of *just* was grammatical accuracy across the levels. B2 participants tended to struggle with its accurate use (e.g. 'Just I visit you in tutor time?'), whereas C1 and C2 participants seemed to use them with relative ease and accuracy (e.g. C2 participant: 'I was just wondering if I could…').

Conversational routines were used extensively at all levels with C2 participants using the most and widest variety (type/token ratio: 0.9). Grammatical complexity in these routines also seemed to increase with proficiency. For example, one of the B2 participants chose this generally simple interrogative form to verbalize their request 'Could you please explain…?' whilst a C2 participant opted for a much more elaborate conditional clause 'It would be great if you could explain **perhaps**…'.

As mentioned previously, *understaters and downtoners* appeared in C2 participants' speech. Both participants seemed to use these pragmalinguistic devices consciously and confidently, which might perhaps suggest that this task format (i.e. involving an interlocutor in an unequal power constellation) prompts more proficient learners to attend more to the interlocutor's 'face'.

2.3 TASK 6 (S=H)

2.3.1 Elaboration

There were again three discernible parts in all the conversations produced for this task: the actual request followed by a phase of disagreement and finally a phase of finding a solution. The conversations were generally similar in length

and the number of turns produced in task 5. However, there was a difference in C1 participants' production, namely that they produced a lot more short turns compared to task 5. Speech division (Figure 2) was also very similar to task 5 with B2 participants speaking the most and C1/C2 participants allowing the interlocutor to contribute slightly more. The amount of speech produced by participants was on average 10 per cent more than in task 5, probably due to the power constellation difference, which participants identified to be S>/=H. This may perhaps explain why they felt more in control of the conversation. Another interesting observation was that all the participants used implicature in the request phase and generally used a lot more short turns to get to the actual request, the reason probably being that, as one participant stated, their flatmate had to be told that 'they are dirty', which might be considered rather 'face' threatening.

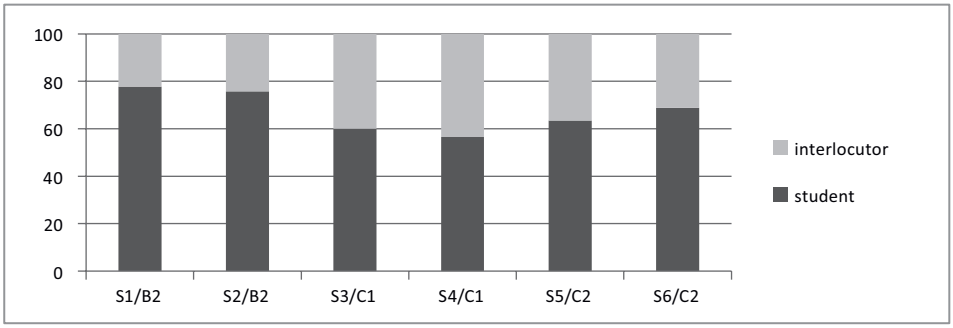

Figure 2: **Speech division (%) in Task 6 (S=H)**

2.3.2 Linguistic devices

Similar linguistic devices were used as in Task 5. *Conversation routines* were employed extensively at all levels although there was a gradual increase in number and type as the proficiency level increased (type token ratio B2: 0.76, C1: 0.91, C2: 0.97). The number of *intensifiers* used was somewhat lower compared to Task 5. Interestingly C2 participants employed the most, as opposed to Task 5 where they used the least, which may be the result of considering the power constellation (S=H) and the imposition (high). *Hedges* again were used to a similarly small extent at all levels. It was also observed that in this task C1 participants used more understaters and downtoners than their C2 counterparts. The reason for this was that their evaluation of the imposition was fairly high, as indicated in the subsequent semi-structured interview.

3 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Overall, the interviews contributed to interpreting some of the data, in that they helped to gain an insight into some cultural issues behind language use. They also

provided an opportunity for feedback on the task specifications. For instance, participants commented that in the two monologic tasks with S<H power constellation one was easier because there was 'an excuse' given for the request. They also indicated that in a S=H power constellation knowing how close a friend they are talking to makes a difference or that more prompts would make them 'argue more'. When comparing the two types of tasks generally they were of the opinion that monologic tasks allowed them to think more about language use. This is surprising since the quantitative analysis of their speech production has indicated otherwise.

CONCLUSIONS AND DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS A FURTHER STUDY

Generally, this study has given evidence that both task formats allow test takers to display their pragmatic competence in terms of sequential organization of speech and pragmalinguistic devices. The mixed method approach has also proven to provide ample data for the analysis of pragmatic competence. However, it is acknowledged here that in order to gain a deeper understanding of speakers' pragmatic competence, the quantitative analysis of pragmalinguistic devices should also be complemented by the qualitative analysis of the context within which they are used.

In a further study, a revised version of the two task formats could be administered to a higher number of EFL learners (CEFR B2-C2 levels). The higher number of *participants* would ensure validity; however, they would need to be carefully selected. Firstly, gender/nationality groups should have equal representation at each level to avoid generalizations regarding proficiency when perhaps the language difference results from gender/cultural differences. Secondly, participants' proficiency scores need careful monitoring in order to obtain reliable data to provide proof of proficiency specific pragmatic competence. The task instructions should also include more contextual information thus ensuring that participants make informed choices regarding language use. The findings of such study would be likely to have the potential to inform the task selection for pragmatic competence in English.

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