Functional Plurality of Language in Contextualised Discourse

**Eighth Brno Conference
on Linguistics Studies in English
Brno, 12–13 September 2019**

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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INTRODUCTION

The current volume presents a selection of articles written by participants of the Eighth Brno Conference on Linguistics Studies in English entitled *Functional Plurality of Language in Contextualised Discourse*. The conference was organised by the Department of English Language and Literature of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University, Brno, and was held on 12–13 September 2019. The event hosted more than 40 attendees from eleven countries (apart from Central Europe there were colleagues from as far afield as Macedonia, Georgia or Japan) and it focused on communication across various genres and discourses.

The papers contained in this book include two of the three plenary speeches (delivered by Prof. Julia Hüttner from University of Vienna, and Assoc. Prof. Markéta Malá from Charles University, Prague), which together with another nine contributions offer a range of linguistic topics, covering media discourse, learner discourse, literary genre, and the interdisciplinary approach to language and international relations, to name just a few.

Learner discourse is the common ground for research of the largest section of papers presented here. Hüttner describes the results of her research into Content-and-Language-Integrated Learning (CLIL) and its role as a means to help students acquire disciplinary language (in this case related to the school subjects of economics and politics at a secondary level), while Twardzisz shares his experience with teaching a university course combining English and international relations to students of various L1 backgrounds and points out the benefits of such an interdisciplinary approach. Lahodová Vališová and Huschová both investigate the area of speech acts as performed by target groups of Czech university students; the former analyses the use of request and apology strategies in written discourse as well as oral production tasks, while the latter studies the syntactic and lexical devices used by the students in directive speech acts of request. Finally, Sládková provides a frequency analysis of the usage of modal verbs as demonstrated by Czech students in their English essays at the school-leaving exam in 2017.

Another issue addressed by the contributors is the use of English in media discourse. In her article, Gumbaridze portrays the current language situation in four Georgian electronic journals, characterised by frequent occurrences of various Anglicisms; Gvarishvili presents a comparative study of the linguistic devices used in beauty product advertising in Georgian and English, and Peldová explores the differences in lexicogrammatical patterns in the journalese of selected British online tabloid

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and broadsheet newspapers. The language of computer-mediated communication is examined by Hastrdlová, who focuses on the phenomenon of power and the ways it is maintained in anonymous Internet chat rooms.

Last but not least, the language of literary discourse provides research material for Malá, whose paper brings the results of a contrastive analysis of certain linguistic patterns in English and Czech children's narrative fiction, as well as for Lapina and her study of gender representations in English, Russian and Turkish folklore narratives.

We would like to express our gratitude to all contributors for their articles, the reviewers for their valuable comments, and we sincerely hope that you, the readers, will find this volume instructive as well as enjoyable.

The Editors

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE INFLUX OF ANGLICISMS IN THE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE

Zhuzhuna Gumbaridze

Abstract: The article explores the use of English lexemes in Georgian informational-analytical electronic journals and discusses different approaches to the influx of Anglicisms. The paper highlights the fact that attention-drawing strands through intensive use of English vocabulary in journalists' speech leads to an encounter with a number of English terms that do not fit the current standard of normative speech in Georgian. Nevertheless, the paper asserts that the influx of English lexemes in the Georgian language is predominantly caused by speakers' desire for economy of form. Instead of providing a partial semantic or explanatory equivalent in their native language, speakers attempt to cover a complex or abstract notion by a straightforward, laconic English lexeme. The study maintains the idea that such non-native units appear to be more cognitively secure and semantically valid. They operate from the solid foundation of the source language and contribute mainly to the formation of syntagmatic units with strong predictability of a new flow of loanword integration into Georgian.

Keywords: equivalence, Anglicism, loan, meaning, influx, borrowing, barbarism

1   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the paper is to address several approaches to the influx of Anglicisms in the Georgian language and present an alternative standpoint concerning the traditional treatment of the issue. The paper investigates lexicographic data from a sample list of Anglicisms retrieved from Georgian electronic journals and sets forth explicitly some of the constructive parameters for observing the effects of the imported English lexis.

In order to define to what extent the imported vocabulary from English has become institutionalized, the research takes a primarily descriptive approach to a lexicographic analysis of English words captured in the extracts from the following informational-analytical electronic journals: "ტაბულა" (tabula/Table), "მედია მედიისთვის" (media mediistvis/Media for Media), "კვირა" (kvira /The Week) and "პირველი არხი" (Pirveli Arkhi/The First Channel) of 2017–2019. The lexicographical study of the targeted vocabulary is based on The Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language (KEGL) and A Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary (CEGD).

2   THE ISSUE OF EQUIVALENCE AND TRADITIONAL CRITICISMS OF IMPORTED ENGLISH LEXIS

Imported vocabulary has always been an intensively debated issue among Georgian linguists. Over the past decades, the proportion of borrowed words from English has increased considerably in the Georgian language. The 21st century brought new administrative, legal, medical, economic, military, cultural, social and political lexemes of non-native origin which have been adopted as terms and borrowings in modern Georgian. A substantial number of borrowed words from various spheres such as technologies, economics, business, tourism, sciences and education emerged as specialized words and have gradually been absorbed into the Georgian lexicon. This is a natural process of a language response to communication needs. However, an interlingual means of communication might lead to fear of unconstructive foreign influence on national language purity. A good deal of the research on the use of English in electronic media has focused on the effects of L2 interference and the influx of Anglicisms in the media domain. Burchuladze (2018), Labartkava (2018), Margalitadze (2016), Arabuli (2008) and Karosanidze (2013), among others, claim that modern Georgian language is undergoing interference errors from English.

Furthermore, a growing number of studies are attempting to envisage the linguistic process of code-switching in the media domain. Kilanava (2014), Kvasxvadze (2013) et al. emphasize the necessity of language policy makers taking every precaution in the context of language purity to ensure that foreign lexemes emerging in Georgian media obey state language laws and do not impede the process of standardizing and codifying a language. Mosahvili (2017) states that journalists tend to be socially noticeable, recognizable and persuasive with their Anglicized speech. What needs to be emphasized here is that the journalists who actually code-switch have proficient mastery of foreign languages. They have developed a speech style that is commonly unique to bilinguals. Nonetheless,

while they make strong claims of English proficiency when communicating with an audience, they remain inconsiderate towards those believing that not only language purity might be under threat, but also that the audience's rate of acquisition of English lexemes could potentially decrease. According to Langer and Nesse (2012: 610–611) "The *pedagogical discourse* argues that the use of foreign words leads to social division within a society, since the less-educated and the elderly might not understand new borrowings introduced into specific domains such as youth language or technical registers". Langer and Nesse show strong arguments against using foreign words and claim that, "The use of foreign words is scorned as chasing fashionable trends and giving the impression of being intellectual and modern, so is seen as superficial and pretentious behavior which should be rejected" (ibid.).

It is evident that journalists are regarded not as people whose speech is normative and standardized but as producers of malformed, imperfect language patterns replete with linguistic mistakes. Surprisingly, instead of demonstrating an idealized model of standard language, they replace native elements with English equivalents. One critical issue that arises in the process of trial here relates to the fact that journalists make mistakes in this process of constructing a new language environment. They lack a proper command of the standard language which must be a social requirement for participating in the public domain. They are either reluctant to or incapable of recognizing the existence of the norms defining which foreign elements pose a threat to language. Presumably, such foreign words are not included in dictionaries and no matter how common their use is in journalists' speech, they are devoid of their speculative status of borrowings.

To start with, the use of an English lexeme may appear to be rather a sample of terminology on the surface until that sample is considered in comparison with its Georgian equivalent. Yet the problem of semantic equivalence remains one of the factors for the rising influx of Anglicisms into the Georgian language. Within the fields of lexicology and lexicography, many questions can arise with regard to the nature of words, but among the most persistent issues we aim to examine the following one: to what extent is adoption of the selected English lexemes (from our database) reflected in two dictionaries: the Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language (the so-called KEGL and Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary (the so-called CEGD)?

The cause of adoption of English lexemes into the Georgian language can be viewed not just as a potentially predictable developmental process but also as the creation of new meanings through syntagmatic units. This viewpoint can be supported by the fact that languages, Georgian among them, face the problem of providing adequate, semantic, native counterparts for foreign words. There are logical and methodological arguments regarding the treatment of semantic equivalence in a series of research studies by Margalitadze. Margalitadze and Meladze (2016) share Gouws' (2008) opinion on description and classification of equivalence and draw our attention to three types of equivalence between and among interlingual synonyms. "Three major types of equivalent relations prevail, i.e. full equivalence, partial equivalence and zero equivalence. These different relations of equivalence confront lexicographers with different challenges to ensure that the users will be able to achieve an optimal retrieval of information from a given dictionary article" (Gouws

& Prinsloo 2008 as quoted in Margalitdaze & Meladze 2016: 788). Margalitadze and Meladze confirm that

> statistically, the instances of complete equivalence between interlingual synonyms are fairly rare. Conversely, zero equivalence, in cases of culture-specific or other concepts/lexical units having a markedly unique semantic profile, is encountered very frequently. Cases of zero equivalence, however, do not pose any insurmountable problems for lexicographers – their meanings can be expressed in target language by means of the combined use of explanatory and translational/insertable equivalents (ibid.: 791).

It can be noted that Georgian lexicographers have major difficulties in tackling cases of partial equivalence and providing accurate matches in a target language for the words in a source language, "as far as multiple shades of meanings of relatively but not fully synonymous lexical units are making the task of finding the exact and most suitable correspondence invariably complicated" (ibid.: 791).

The phenomenon of language change is an inevitable process and explicit accounts of linguistic analysis on various language levels (phonological, morphological, syntactical, super-syntactical) confirm that no language can stay the same permanently over time. Sophistication of linguistic analysis involves "a complex journey through a labyrinth of linguistic science – maze that continues to be negotiated" (Brown 2007: 7). Any language is a set of arbitrary symbols and is liable to changes. For the most part, language changes occur with society changes. Crystal (1989: 5) claims that any attempt to stop and control the process will succeed only to a very limited extent: "Language change is inevitable and rarely predictable, and those who try to plan a language's future waste their time if they think otherwise – time which would be better spent in devising fresh ways of enabling society to cope with the new linguistic forms that accompany each generation." in order to capture the language change, we can observe the process of new words being adopted in a language. One of the most obvious ways that languages change is through monitoring the process of addition of new words. To describe changes in technology, sport, entertainment, industries, etc., languages invent and accommodate new words whereas other languages borrow and adopt them from the source languages. Apart from a derivational process, which is the most widely-spread way to build new vocabulary, borrowing is a means that brings new words to the word-stock of a language.

What exactly does borrowing denote? Fischer (2008: 6) defines it as 'the form and/or the meaning of the item that was not part of the vocabulary of the recipient language originally but was adopted from some other language and made part of the borrowing language's vocabulary'. Borrowings (loan translations or calques) proceed in all languages, forming the vast majority of new words of the lexicon. Georgian is not an exception in this respect.

Because of the increasing international influence of English, English borrowings, so-called Anglicisms, are indeed on the rise in the Georgian language. Gorlach (2003: 1) defines an Anglicism as 'a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language'. Fischer (2008: 2) notes that "preoccupation

with Anglicisms always involves the consideration of English in a global context, which, at least indirectly, influences the borrowing of English words or word elements into other languages". According to Kirvalidze (2017), growing familiarity with the English language has a positive effect on the spread and integration of English words into the receiver language and she interprets the phenomenon of Anglicization in Georgia mainly as a matter of a multifaceted global process, motivated by a number of socio-cultural and linguo-pragmatic factors. She welcomes the process of Anglicization in Georgia and lists a few advantageous consequences as follows: vocabulary extension, increased knowledge and interest in Anglophone culture, flexibility of Anglicisms to denote new objects and concepts, the use of the economy principle transferring more information in a smaller unit and extra-linguistic factors which serve as the socio-cultural context for their use (Kirvalidze 2017: 279).

As the above discussion shows, some strands of research suggest that the language can be contaminated because of erroneous communicative behaviour from those journalists who are largely influenced by English while other papers consider the process of Anglicization to be natural, constructive and acceptable. Thus, attitudes towards the above issue differ and opinions range from open criticism of Anglicization to constructive assessment of the facts as such.

3   THE USE OF ANGLICISMS IN GEORGIAN AND LINGUISTIC FACTORS BEHIND THE IMPORTED VOCABULARY

Like other languages, borrowings are an important source for the lexicon of Georgian. This language has traced numerous borrowings from different languages such as Arabic: ბარაქა *Baraka (Abundance),* ფიქრი *pikri (thought),* ნამუსი *namusi (conscience),* ხაბაზი *khabazi (baker);* Persian: განძი *gandzi (treasure),* მასპინძელი *maspindzeli (host),* ეშმაკი *ehsmaki (evil);* Turkish: ოჯახი *ojakhi (family),* ფარდა *farda (curtain),* წესი *tsesi (custom);* English: აუდიტი *auditi (audit),* ფასილიტატორი *fasilitatori (facilitator),* ბროკერი *brokeri (broker),* ლიდერი *lideri (leader),* მარკეტინგი *marketing (marketing),* etc. Borrowing is a natural process and the role of it can simply be interpreted as an ability to extend the word stock leading to creation of new meanings and words in a language. However, very few research studies have been able to determine the primary factor in identifying a new flow of non-native lexemes (mainly of English origin) as borrowings or barbarisms in the present-day Georgian language. What is the criterion for making a distinction between an English borrowing and a barbarism? We are still left with few means to attribute some of the imported English lexis to linguistically deviant forms and consider them as barbarisms. For example, it is quite difficult to determine whether გაჯეტი *gajeti (gadget)* should be treated as an Anglicism or a barbarism. The method of singling out some English imported lexemes as barbarisms is dubious for us. Accordingly, placing judgment and providing arguments on the issue of widely-spread English vocabulary in Georgian is based on our personal attitude and intuitive feel for the native language in the discussion below.

What is a barbarism? We share Boletsi's (2013: 6) definition of a barbarism as "an element that deviates from (linguistic or other) norms and conventions; it is

an insertion of 'foreign terms' and elements that do not fit or are 'not accepted as part of the current standard'; it can be an element that strikes a discordant note in conventions of 'good taste'". Part of our discussion has merit in that we commonly predict the drawbacks attributable to uncontrolled use of English lexemes in the Georgian media which might lead to emergence of barbarisms in the language. Nonetheless, we are left with no standardized or valid means of identifying the status of a word that might prove to be a valuable tool for distinguishing a borrowing from a barbarism. Through a very careful descriptive analysis of the semantic properties of Georgian words in reference to their English equivalents, we derived a reasonably accurate list of English words that are regularly encountered in a media setting.

To reflect the issue, we sorted out some of the most frequently used English lexemes from our data base: *ფეშენ ვიკი feshen wiki (fashion week)*, *ბაიერი baieri (buyer)*, *გაიდლაინი gaidlaini (guideline)*, *კონტენტი kontenti (contents)*, *ჩელინხი chelinji (challenge)*, *საიტი saiti (site)*, *ტრენდი trendi (trend)*, *აფდეიტი apdeiti (update)*, *ედიტორი editori (editor)*, *ევიდენსი evidensi (evidence)*, *თიმი timi (team)*, *დედლაინი dedlaini (deadline)*, *აქტორი aktori (actor)*, *ბექგრაუნდი bekgraundi (background)*, *ივენტი iventi (event)*, *ისტებლიშმენტი isteblishmenti (establishment)*, *კილერი kileri (killer)* and checked the presence of a dictionary entry concerning each word. We found out that all the above terms are recorded in the Dictionary of Barbarisms. While these words have been commonly interpreted as barbarisms in Georgian research studies so far, it is important to remember that the criterion for identifying the words as barbarisms is not very convincing or straightforward for us. Research findings on the influx of English vocabulary underscore the importance of establishing a mechanism for recognizing the word as a barbarism. Such uncertainty enables us to propose the terms *a prospective Anglicism* and a *non-prospective Anglicism* rather than a barbarism in our study.

Herewith, we highlight the necessity of language policy makers taking every precaution in the context of language purity to ensure that Anglicisms emerging in the Georgian media do not impede the process of standardizing and codifying a language. To make our discussion more concrete, we will resort to a concrete example of the frequently used Anglicism *ბორდი bordi (board)*. What is the correlation between the English word *board* (n) and its Georgian equivalent მმართველობა mmartveloba (group of people who have power to make decisions and control a company or other organization)? The Cambridge International Dictionary of English (CIDE) defines *board* as a group of people who are responsible for controlling and organizing a company or organization. Let us look at how CEGD translates the word *board* and what shades of meanings are illustrated there.

(1) *ბორდი Board (n) მმართველობა mmartveloba (authorities; government); საბჭო sabcho (council); გამგეობა gamgeoba (administration); განყოფილება gankopileba (section); დეპარტამენტი departamenti (department); კომისია komisia (commission); კოლეგია kolegia (collegiums); კომიტეტი komiteti (committee).*

The given example demonstrates that the Georgian language offers a number of lexically synonymous meanings for the English word *board* showing the contextual

specificities the English *board* implies. It suggests multiple equivalents corresponding to the English *board* with various shades of meaning determining their specific application in various contexts. We point to the fact that ორგანიზაციის ბორდი *organizaciis bordi (organization board)* is an inapplicable expression and urge that it is to be replaced by the correct semantic equivalent ორგანიზაციის მმართველი საბჭო *organizatsiis mmartveli sabcho (the governing council of the organization)*. This being so, we can say that speakers are given a wide variety of equivalents to choose from for the English *board*. Therefore, journalists' attempt to import the English "board" into Georgian needs more critique and reflection than the research warrants at the present time. We might generalize our discussion at this point in the following terms: the *word ბორდი bordi (board)* is a non-prospective Anglicism in the Georgian language whose use is inadmissible according to the regulations of normative speech. It is exceedingly important to note that *a non-prospective Anglicism* is used by us as an umbrella term to refer to those English words that are traditionally treated as barbarisms by Georgian linguists (cf. Margalitadze 2017 or Kilanava 2014.).

Each English word in the above list was analyzed by us with considerable forethought, expertise and double checking using CEGD and KEGL as the main sources. Although there is no valid criterion to support the exclusion of these items from active use, we assume that the above English lexemes are more or less inapplicable in the Georgian language. We suppose that most of them do not refer to the type of relexicalization standards and should not be treated as borrowings or loan words. Natural questions to ask at this point are as follows: What does it serve to opt for English words that are barbarisms rather than borrowings? to what extent have Anglicized electronic media discourse experiences focused on first language interference? How fundamentally has it been accounted for so far? These are all issues for further study. Moreover, it is no surprise to find a paradigm that will predict the linguistic difficulty that an adult audience would encounter when being exposed to Anglicized speech. We outline the concern and claim that the use of English lexemes in the Georgian media introduces a set of so-called barbarisms leading to their unconscious assimilation in journalists' minds. Meanwhile, we suggest that more input on a critical approach to this issue is to be provided. For the sake of language purity, it follows that language policy makers should put more emphasis on language control in media discourse. This certainly creates demands for immediate interference aiming at the maintenance, revitalization and promotion of a native language on an institutional and legal basis to help increase the status and prestige of the Georgian language in a media setting.

Due to increased contact with English and its global spread, Georgian media language has been dominated by English in recent years. Media language, which is expected to be a manifestation of standardized and idealized speech, has revealed a deviation from language norms ranging from linguistic mistakes to stylistic ones. If our reasoning here is along the right lines, then it leads us to the following view that each case demands a close and careful study. We believe that speaking standard language is a social requirement in the media domain and failure to have a good command of standard language equates to weakening the importance of a native language. The state language department is able to set regulations for codification, standardization, unification, normalization

and realization of the language throughout the country. Experience has shown that even though language purity as a construct has been a topic of interest for decades, recent research trends are less directed to analyzing the potential consequences of using English in languages. This being so, we assert that interference of English with Georgian might yield a linguistic conflict between the norm sensitivity of Georgian and the global spread of English.

English as the major worldwide "lingua franca" has become the subject of international controversy. Brown (2007: 2013) argues that "some strands of research even suggest that English teaching worldwide threatens to form an elitist cultural hegemony". Indeed, the rapid growth and spread of English as an international language has led to its intuitive penetration into all spheres of the country's life including media. Media discourse implies everything from a simple utterance to lengthy verbal texts which are supposed to be linguistically competent. In our case study, Georgian journalists tend to become so-called speaker models who believe that journalists will serve their profession and establish themselves better by exemplifying Anglicized speech in the process of communication.

The issue of linguistic purism has been widely discussed by Langer and Nesse (2012), who note that "The use of foreign words and constructions represents an interference that damages the system and can lead to a breakdown of the language; adherents of this view suggest replacing foreign with autochthonous elements, using archaic or dialectal forms or creating neologisms based on indigenous morphology" (ibid.: 610–611). They see foreign elements in the language "as a corruption of cultural purity" (ibid.). What is important for our purposes is to link the concept of linguistic purism to codification and standardization of the language. Perhaps one of the principal aspects to understand what is meant by standardization is to decide which foreign lexemes may facilitate or interfere with the inclusion of new words into a dictionary.

It is not difficult, on some reflection, to recognize the importance of changes. We come to realize that semantic changes are profoundly connected with the life, culture, art and literature of society. With regard to technological terminology, it seems reasonable to suppose that some lexemes tend to become obsolete from time to time but those ones whose semantic representation is still efficient should not be substituted or deactivated. What we are learning from studies is that introduction of foreign terms can lead to formation of malformed patterns and linguistic irregularities. Let us consider the following example: in Georgian, the word *მართვა martva* means *management*. When we borrowed the English word *management*, we started to use the word *მენეჯერი menejeri (manager)* inadmissibly in various syntagmatic combinations. e.g. *პროექტის მენეჯერი* proeqtis menejeri (*project manager*), *კომპანიის მენეჯერი kompaniis menejeri (company manager)*, *სამუშაო ჯგუფის მენეჯერი samushao jgufis menejeri (working group manager)*, *სახლის მენეჯერი sakhlis menejeri (house manager)* instead of *პროექტის ხელმძღვანელი, კომპანიის მმართველი, სამუშაო ჯგუფის ხელმძღვანელი, ოჯახის უფროსი*. The term *მენეჯერი (menejeri) manager* has come into active use in the Georgian language although the latter offers a number of autochthonous equivalents for all semantic accuracies that might be reflected in each meaningful context.

Now let us analyze a contrasting case which might show a constructive impact of English on the Georgian language. *ისტებლიშმენტი isteblishmenti (establishment)* and *დედლაინი dedlaini (deadline)* need to be singled out for explanation. The extent to which these imported lexemes may facilitate or interfere with strategy use among speakers is of particular interest here. The expression *პოლიტიკური ისტებლიშმენტი politikuri isteblishmenti (political establishment)* might be interpretable by virtue of having different semantic content to a headword in Georgian.

(2) **establishment (n)** *1. დაარსება, დაფუძნება; შექმნა; დამკვიდრება, შემოღება daarseba, dapudzneba; shekmna; damkvidreba, shemogeba (foundation, establishment, creation, inculcation, introduction); the ~ of Christianity; 2. სახელმწიფო, კერძო, სამხედრო და ა.შ. დაწესებულება sakhelmtsipo, kerdzo, samkhedro da a.sh. datsesebuleba (state, provate, military, etc. institution; 3.1 მყარი მდგომარეობა საზოგადოებაში ან ბიზნესში mkari mdgomareoba sazogadoebashi an biznesshi (a stable position in society or business); 3.2. არქ. მუდმივი შემოსავალი ark. mudmivi shemosavali (arc. stable income) he has in view an ~ for his daughter; 4.1. კანონი; წესი; დეკრეტი kanoni; tsesi; dekreti (law; rule; decree); 4.2. კანონთა კრებული, კოდექსი kanonta krebuli, kodeksi (code of laws, code); 5. ოჯახი (სახლით, ეზოთი, ავეჯით, მობინადრეებით და ა.შ. ojakhi (family with a house, yard, furniture, lodgers, etc. to keep a splendid ~); 6. ოფიციალური, სახელმწიფო ეკლესია ofitsialuri, sakhelmtsipo eklesia (official, state church); 7.1. ისტებლიშმენტი, მმართველი, პრივილეგირებული ჯგუფები isteblishmenti, mmartveli privilegirebuli jgufebi (establishment, governing privileged groups); ხელისუფლებისა და მმართველობის მთელი სისტემ khelisuplebisa da mmartvelobis mteli sistema (the whole system of the authorities and government); 7.2. გავლენიანი პირები (მეცნიერების ამა თუ იმ დარგში და ა.შ.), gavleniani pirebi, (influential, powerful individual people (in different fields of science), მესვეურნი mesveurni (leaders) health ~ გავლენიანი სამედიცინო წრეები; 8. მცენარის ან/და ცხოველის მოშენება, ნატურალიზაცია; mtsenaris an tskhovelis mosheneba, naturalizatsia (cultivation or breeding, naturalization), etc.*

It is clear that the entry includes polysemantic meanings of a lexeme in a fixed sequence. The etymon as a headword is followed by a native equivalent, a number of meanings, illustrative phrases and sentences in some cases. The entry *establishment* provides an equivalent of meaning as well as translational / contextual equivalents. We should also note that the equivalent of *establishment* expresses the meaning of an English lexeme on a more general, systemic basis of the two languages, whereas translational equivalents manifest accurate, literary translations of English phrases and sentences into Georgian in specific contexts. Even in light of an appropriate Georgian counterpart of *establishment*, it is nevertheless conceivable to us that *პოლიტიკური მესვეურნი politikuri mesveurni (political leaders)* is the only acceptable equivalent of *political establishment*. A tacit assumption made in our analysis here is that *მესვეურნი mesveurni (leaders)* does not cover the abstract notion of 'establishment'. We argue that a more adequate, acceptable and efficient alternative would be a direct borrowing in terms

of პოლიტიკური ისტებლიშმენტი *politikuri isteblishmenti (political establishment)*. It serves to create a new syntagmatic meaning in Georgian and appears to be attested and operated from a solid foundation of English.

Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that a syntagmatic unit პოლიტიკური ისტებლიშმენტი *politikuri isteblishmenti (political establishment)* must be recognized as a *prospective Anglicism* that tends to be adopted as a potential borrowing, rather than a barbarism in Georgian. Such syntagmatic units are likely to spread further in the language. Their role might be interpreted as an ability to create identical lexical copies of the respective model syntagmas of the source language in the receptor language.

Another analysis and more findings can be related to the expression აპლიკაციის დედლაინი *aplikaciis dedlaini (application deadline)*. According to the normative speech and language conventions, a speaker is expected to say აპლიკაციის წარდგენის უკანასკნელი ვადა *Aplikaciis wardgenis ukanaskneli vada (the last date for application submission)*. Apparently, the Georgian equivalent is considerably longer than its analogical meaning in the source language. The factor of brevity of a phrase is crucial here. We hypothesize that აპლიკაციის დედლაინი *aplikaciis dedlaini (application deadline)* should not be recognized as a barbarism. It does not diverge from normative speech and succeeds in obtaining a good deal of economy of form. An advantage of this imported expression is its relative shortness and straightforwardness in meaning compared to its analogical word forms in Georgian. Therefore, this aspect seems to introduce definite innovations and have constructive consequences.

Certainly, a study of similar cases made evident that brevity of form is the main factor in a promotional choice of prospective Anglicisms. Led by these insights, we have come up with a rationale for using such linguistic innovations and a tentative suggestion for incorporating such syntagmas in further editions of CEGD and KEGL.

Our analysis concerning the issue builds on anticipated constructive consequences of use of prospective Anglicisms by journalists. To reflect our hypothesis, we highlight the standpoint that unless bilingual dictionaries provide the exact Georgian counterparts, a number of imported English lexemes should not be treated unconstructively. Our statement undermines the efficiency of explanatory equivalents for such vocabulary and highlights that absence of exact matches is one of the linguistic factors for the influx of potential Anglicisms from electronic media. Herewith, we argue that all the examples taken from electronic journals are the result of a reanalysis procedure of each targeted entry based on a CEGD dictionary study. We postulate that Georgian journalists' use of English lexemes rarely reveals an indifferent attitude to language purity. The overall conclusion to be drawn from our discussion is that linguists' (cf. Burchuladze 2018, Karosanidze 2013, Mosahvili 2013) traditional treatment of imported vocabulary from media discourse does not show a negative influence of imported vocabulary on the language convincingly. The two more important linguistic factors which explain the phenomenon of the influx of English lexis in the Georgian language are brevity of form and the accuracy of an expression.

4   CONCLUSION

The conclusion suggested by the material examined here is that linguistic attitudes to the influx of English vocabulary in the Georgian language differ and opinions range from open criticism of Anglicization to constructive assessment of facts as such. Some strands of research suggest that the language can be contaminated because of erroneous communicative behaviour on the part of those journalists who are largely influenced by English, whereas other papers consider the process of Anglicization as a natural, constructive and acceptable phenomenon. Nonetheless, negative arguments have mostly dominated. In such disapproving approaches, the imported English vocabulary has mostly been considered in terms of 'barbarism', with clear negative connotations. We assume that interference of English with Georgian might result in the emergence of the so-called barbarisms. It follows that use of English lexemes which have exact Georgian counterparts are included in the connotative range of barbarisms. Yet until the criterion of defining an imported word as a "barbarism" remains less convincing and straightforward, it is advisable to use the term ***non-prospective Anglicism*** for words of uncertain status rather than "barbarisms". We argue that the use of English words and word-combinations does not necessarily represent an interference that damages the system and leads to a breakdown of the language. The pervasive use of English lexemes in Georgian electronic media is explainable: the factors of form brevity and meaning accuracy. Thus, it seems rather implausible to claim that journalists are showing linguistic apathy towards their mother tongue.

Linguistic approaches toward imported English vocabulary in modern Georgian diverge. Furthermore, it has been observed that traditional arguments neither provide a persuasive basis for judging the influx of Anglicisms nor specify valid linguistic criteria which could be applied for distinguishing a borrowing from a barbarism. Therefore, a related issue which needs to be investigated in more detail is evaluation of the imported vocabulary and the factors that are accorded priority for treating imported English lexis as prospective and non-prospective Anglicisms.

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ON THE CONTENT

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF SKINCARE PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS IN GEORGIAN AND ENGLISH

Zeinab Gvarishvili

Abstract: Across the gamut of media formats – from television to the Internet – beauty product advertising influences consumers on a daily basis. Each advertisement seeks to persuade potential buyers of the product's value, or even its necessity for the buyer's well-being and self-image. These techniques, sometimes manipulative in nature, affect consumers' self-concepts. One of the signature strengths of the beauty advertisement lies in its ability to transform seemingly mundane objects into highly desirable products. In some cases, the beauty industry uses buzzwords and scientific words to convince consumers of a product's value; these linguistic devices describe the product's apparent capabilities and appeal to the consumer's ego by suggesting that the product will enhance the assets the consumer already possesses. All things considered, the present paper deals with a comparative study of skincare product advertisements in English and Georgian and focuses on the use of persuasive strategies, buzzwords and scientific terminology in the advertisements that manipulate and influence potential consumers.

Keywords: skincare advertisement, manipulation and suggestion, buzzwords, scientific words/terminology, conceptual metaphor, implied metaphor

ON THE CONTENT

1   ADVERTISEMENT AND MANIPULATION – LITERATURE REVIEW

Advertisements are one of the human activities that affect the human subconscious. New trends in fashion and technology, first conveyed through advertising, establish new attitudes to various objects. We are exposed to different types of commercials and no matter whether we like it or not we readily absorb them. Moreover, advertising not only influences our purchasing behaviour, social beliefs, attitudes, lifestyle, values and emotions but also leads to their change. Besides, advertisers use many different strategies to intrude into customers' mental privacy and use their subconscious mind.

The study of the language of printed advertising has attracted the scientific interests of many scholars. Thus, there are a number of studies analyzing advertisements from the linguistic perspective (cf. Crystal & Davy 1983, Vestergaard & SchrØder 1985, Goddard 1998, Hermeren 1999, Tanaka 1999, Cook 2001, Dahl 2007, MacRury 2009 and Kalame 2012). Despite the fact that some of these analyses explicitly recognize the role of information in advertising or make concessions to other functions, such as amusing, worrying or warning, all of them admit that the ultimate aim of commercials is persuasion and manipulation.

The issue of manipulation in beauty product advertisements is widely discussed among current scholars and researchers analyzing the topic from the perspectives of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics and applied linguistics (cf. Meilhac 2010, Karpenko 2016, Zirka 2015, Popova 2010, Searing & Zeilig 2017, Mara-Georgia Lixandru 2017, Ligo Koshy 2011, Greenfield 2018, etc.)

According to the overall assumption, an advertisement is launched into the market with the intention to sell the promoted product. Thus, persuasion and in certain cases even manipulative tactics are widely used to influence or modify a potential consumer's choice in order to make him/her buy a specific item and increase profits.

Copywriters hold the power to manipulate the people whom the advertised products have been intended for. It is widely known that the main purpose of manipulation in advertising is to create an impulse for humans to commit certain actions, whether the purchase of a product or a choice of service, a change of attitudes, opinions, etc.

Certainly, advertisers tend to hide their true intentions, creating the illusion of a person of confidence and independence in customers' decisions and actions. Manipulative influence is based on the association of words and images, as they both have an inspiring influence and cause a particular reaction in the imagination. The manipulator tries to encode the message in the advertisement so that the recipient can decode it in the way that makes him/her believe s/he really needs the product (by creating desire) and will get real benefits from it (getting the utmost profits). As Kara-Mursa (2001) states, the aim of manipulation is not only to make a person take some action, but do it the way they want to. The main aspect of advertising communication is to analyse the dynamics of consumers' needs and to give them a ready-made analysis so that they can believe that everything was done by themselves, in their interest.

One more feature of an advertisement manipulation tactic is "wearing masks", i.e. advertisers eliminate customers from the advertising text, appearing as communicants, advisors, interlocutors and emotional leaders.

1.1 Manipulative and non-manipulative persuasion in advertisements

Persuasive advertising is divided into two types: manipulative and non-manipulative. Thus, we should accurately discern the difference between the two. For this purpose, it is essential to understand the ethics that undergird persuasion. Some communication theorists have declared that persuasion is "ethically neutral." That is to say, persuasion is neither good nor bad, but merely an impartial process. However, according to the Aristotelian viewpoint, persuasion is not neutral: it is inherently good because it is one of the primary means through which the truth becomes known. Through the persuasive method, an idea is put forth with evidence and a person is allowed to choose freely to either accept or reject that persuasive appeal. As Conger (1998: 88–90) states in his article "*The Necessary Art of Persuasion*", "Persuasion does indeed involve moving people to a position they don't currently hold, but not by begging or cajoling. Instead, it involves careful preparation, the proper framing of arguments, the presentation of vivid supporting evidence, and the effort to find the correct emotional match with your audience." Hence, non-manipulative persuasion through advertising intends to present the product or service in the best possible light. This type of advertising is truthful, i.e. the facts presented are real, and the information is given in a clear, logical manner in order to convince by informing.

Manipulative persuasion used in advertisements is based on an exaggeration of the quality of the product, fallacious arguments and emotional appeals. As Teves (2009) claims, *Exaggeration of quality can* be merely false information about the product, but it can also be a form of puffery. A *fallacy* is any error in reasoning that occurs with some frequency. The advertising fallacy consists of using reasoning errors when creating, displaying or transmitting messages to the consumers. *Emotional appeals* are claims playing with consumers' emotions both at conscious and unconscious levels. The advertisers can speculate on consumer emotions and the advertisements work out the advertisements in such a manner that seems to promise or imply a possible connection between a product and happiness, social acceptance, a good family and so on. Danciu (2014) suggests that advertisements comprising confusing, misleading or blatantly untrue statements when promoting a product can be labelled as *deceitful advertising* as the facts presented in the advertisement are either false, hidden or are not mentioned at all.

The ultimate goal of advertisements, including skincare product advertisements, is to meet the customers' needs. According to Maslow (2009), apart from biological, safety, social and self-actualization needs, a person has one more need – the need for a positive estimation that comprises respect from others, need for status and achievements. Modern society places a high value on being attractive. Hence, being good-looking can mean tremendous social advantages. Over the years, human beings have been conditioned to believe that achieving a certain level of social success is only possible if you also attain a certain level of beauty and physical attractiveness. The social myth that attractive people are supposed to be smarter, more likely to marry successfully, and earn more money has resulted in establishing a general belief that if they are not beautiful, they will not be able to succeed. As Lévi-Strauss stated, "not how men think in myths, but how myths operate in men's minds without their being aware of the fact" (1969: 12). Thus, having in mind both

the social and the psychological needs of an average consumer to be accepted in society and enhance their self-esteem, copywriters try to manipulate them by offering a product that will enable them to gain all the benefits of being beautiful, attractive and appealing. This tactic of manipulation in skincare advertising proves successful if it enthuses the customers to perform certain behaviour, in particular, to prefer, purchase and stay loyal.

2   LINGUISTIC MEANS OF MANIPULATION

2.1   The scope of the paper

In spite of the vast amount of studies on the linguistic peculiarities of skincare advertisements in the English language, there is a considerable lack of comparative linguistic studies on the peculiarities of skincare product advertisements in the Georgian language.

As the present paper deals with the two issues: i. to define which manipulative verbal strategies are commonly used in skincare advertisements and ii. to analyze and define the linguistic peculiarities of Georgian language skincare product advertisements, it aims at: 1. defining the overall linguistic features of present-day English and Georgian skincare advertisements focusing on manipulative linguistic means, and 2. to conduct a comparative analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of the Georgian and English skin care advertisements.

The linguistic analyses presented in the paper are based on a thorough study of the advertisements of the largest cosmetics companies and top beauty brands such as Lancôme; Estée Lauder; Oley; L'Oreal; Elizabeth Arden; CLINIQUE and Shiseido (20 advertisements in total). The advertisements were chosen deliberately, as the paper focuses only on the linguistic analysis of skincare products and not on other beauty products advertised by these companies. Due to the fact that there is a considerable lack of beauty product manufacturers in Georgia, the data for analysis were collected mainly from advertisements of the above-mentioned foreign brands translated into Georgian. The only exception is the advertisements of the currently established Georgian cosmetic brands "OYO" and "Neopharm" that have recently launched their skincare products (20 advertisements in total).

2.2   Linguistic analysis of the selected lexical units in skincare product advertisements

In today's fast-moving, time- and labour-saving era, it is very important to create advertisements containing short, informative and impressive massages that will easily reach the target consumers' emotions and needs. Copywriters try to make their messages as intense and effective as possible. For the most part, advertisements no longer force information about or rational reasons for purchasing a product on consumers. In the information society, almost all prospective buyers are already well informed about what to expect from the merchandise. Hence, advertisers try to squeeze as many powerful appeals into an advertisement as possible to grab the hearts of consumers, hold their attention for as long as possible, and make them buy their products on a regular basis.

From a syntactical point of view, skincare product advertisements are characterized by the use of simple sentences rather than complex structures to make information easy to read and remember. The main emphasis is placed on the usage of the present simple tense to underline the scientific truth of the statement. In certain cases, there are instances of passive constructions first, to give the claim a more solemn style, and secondly, impersonal statements enable copywriters to depersonalize the message by putting emphasis on the overall advantages and benefits of the product.

Advertising makes extensive use of the connotative meaning of words in order to achieve its main goal and make people purchase particular goods mostly by manipulating their emotions. It is assumed that the main target group of skincare products is women whose main characteristic features are emotionality, receptivity and sensitivity. Hence, the advertisements are focused on exploiting lexis connected with senses and emotions that leads to frequent use of synesthetic adjectives evoking feelings of pleasure and satisfaction: *air-soft, aromatic, fresh, cooling, creamy, delicate, gentle, illuminating, velvet, fragrant, sweet,* etc.

As the advertised product should be in accordance with the needs of a modern woman, copywriters try to use appropriate adjectives that implicitly evoke positive emotions. For example, presenting and offering a product that will provide peace and relaxation and positively affect the subconscious of a customer who leads a stressful, busy life. Adjectives used for the purpose are as follows: *renewal, refreshing, nourishing, invigorating, effortless, rejuvenating,* etc.

Consumers seek a results-driven miracle product. Thus, advertisers use adjectives connoting magic: *dramatic, exponentially, spectacular, results within minutes/hours/days*, etc. The purchased product should sound like it is "good value for money" so the following adjectives are exploited for the purpose: *valuable, versatile, blend of function & fashion, functional,* etc. Consumers derive their sense of status from the high-end products they purchase. Hence, adjectives conveying this idea of luxury are frequently used e.g. *premium, luxury, chic, opulent, premiere, an exclusive,* etc.

Consumers do not buy so much the product as the benefits and results it can provide. Thus, verbs and verbal adjectives are extensively used in skincare product advertisements to underline the benefits of the product. The verbs used in skincare advertisements can be grouped according to movement directions into: "up", down" and "reverse" types. They implicitly indicate notions of reduction, elimination of skin problems and regeneration of a new, all glowing skin texture. For instance: *eliminate, reduce, diminish, minimize, remove, correct, soften, relax* express "down" movement, while *boost, enhance, stimulate, invigorate, optimize, energize, and brighten* express "up" movements. As for "reverse" type verbs, (with the meaning of repetition, modification and producing a better result) they are derived by the prefix re-, e.g. **rebuild** the cutaneous barrier, **restore** elasticity, **restructure** cellular cement, **replenish** moisture reserves, **renew** the skin's youthfulness, **rejuvenate, reactivate** the night-time **repair** process, **retexturize, refinish,** and **refine** the skin's surface, **regenerate** damaged cells, **rebalance** the skin's deep hydration, **redesign** facial contours, etc.

Skincare product advertisements are overloaded with jargon, neologisms, and coinages. All of these lexical items can be grouped under the umbrella term "buzzwords".

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines a buzzword as: a "slogan, or a fashionable piece of jargon, a chic, fashionable, voguish, trendy word that often originates in jargon, acronyms, or neologisms and derives from technical terms. Yet often much of the original technical meaning is removed through fashionable use, being simply used to impress others". From the morphological point of view buzzwords used in skincare product advertisements include: **1. simple and compound neologisms**: *crepiness, cosmeceuticals, nanoparticulate, skin restorer, crow's feet wrinkles, worry lines, laugh lines, marionette lines, oral commissures extrinsic/ intrinsic aging, photoaging, premature aging, chronological aging, biological aging, genetic aging, myoaging,* etc.; **2. hyphenated compound neologisms**: *skin-tensing, lipids-replenishing, radiance-boosting, pore-clarifying, acne-prone, botox-like,* etc.; **3. abbreviated neologisms**: *AHA (alpha hydroxy acid), BHA (beta hydroxy acid), BB CREAM (blemish balm cream), DD Creams (disguise and diminish), CC Creams (correct and cover), EE cream (even effect), RC (rejuvenating complex), DR (Derma Rolling), SPF (sun protection factor), TCA (TriCholoro Acetic peel), Pro-Hyp (prolylhydroxyproline),* etc.

An increasing number of beauty product advertisements employ scientific/ medical-sounding buzzwords whose meaning may be lost on consumers. For decades, cosmetics companies have coined their own multisyllabic pharmacological-sounding words for proprietary ingredients used in skincare formulae but market researchers are reporting a spate of face-cream labels that borrow terminology from popular science with medical-sounding affixes. e.g. **biomolecular** *eye cream,* **microtechnology bioactive** *foundation,* **pro-collagen** *serum,* **microsmoothing** *face serum,* **phyto-vitalising** *Factor and a bio-**stimulating** night cream with microlift.*

2.3 Science and advertisement

The use of scientific language in a non-scientific domain like advertising lends skincare products the air of high technology, helps to differentiate one product from the myriad of others, justifies the price tag and eventually increases credibility. According to lexicographer Erin McKean, (the editor of the second edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary) words and phrases like *cellular*, *regeneration, bio-stimulating and cell-strengthening* connote health. If you pull out any single word, you do not know what it means but taken as a whole, the overall effect is youth, beauty, science, positivity and renewal. Thus, the idea behind the usage of scientific words in advertisements is to ensure consumers that by applying this product, they are not just going to look great, but what they are really doing is helping their skin on the inside. According to Harris (1990) linguistic manipulation means that a small idea or object will undergo some enhancement, change, transformation, mutilation, or mutation that is relatively unexpected by the reader/viewer. The manipulation usually stands out of the ordinary to grab the attention of potential purchaser, which increases the purchasing consideration of the advertised product to the exclusion of all other similar products or services. One of the common ways of doing so is the usage of pseudo-technical lexis or scientific terms for everyday things. This technique is widely used by manufacturers of cosmetic products and advertisers, to suggest the efficacy and credibility of the product.

Advertising is a certain kind of communication between the merchandiser, the copywriter and the target consumer. As the main idea behind the communication

of an advertisement is at first to state the claim and then transmit it to the addressee, the statement/claim should be clear and perceptible. However, a thorough analysis of skincare advertisements demonstrates more implicitness than explicitness, which makes the information given in the advertisement ambiguous. What is the idea behind the vagueness of the advertisement? Based on Sperber and Wilson's theory, Tanaka (1999) distinguishes two types of communication: covert and ostensive. The main peculiarity of covert communication is that despite the low degree of reliability shown by the addressee towards the addresser (a situation that easily compares with the relationship held between consumer and advertiser), they engage in a successful communicative act. This is rendered possible thanks to cooperation not so much at the social level as at the cognitive one. As Cánovas (2005) argues, advertisers appeal to specific stimuli in order to catch the target group's attention and once this is achieved, cognitive cooperation starts operating. In covert communication, the receiver takes more responsibility in deriving the sender's meaning than in ostensive communication, because the addressers rely more often on implicatures than explicatures in such a way that they cannot be blamed for backing the assumptions derived from them. Consequently, we can argue that the wide usage of scientific/medical terms in skincare advertisements is intended to lead the addressee towards the cognition process. Once the addressee hears/reads the words that are associated with science the credibility of the information is ultimately raised as it implies that the product is the result of scientific research and its outcomes. For instance, words like "bio" in *bio-stimulating technology*, "science" in *aquacurrent science*, "neuro" in *neuro-cosmetic technology,* "immunity" in *virtual immunity* are associated with credibility and though they are not fully perceived due to the ambiguity of the compound terms they are used in, the consumer comes to a conclusion that the product is medically/scientifically proven, and thus reliable.

2.4   Anti-aging – conceptual metaphor in advertisements

As has been stated above, skincare advertisements are aimed at evoking certain feelings, needs, and values of the audience. The claim that comes along with skin-care products is that they are essential not only to help women look more beautiful but rather to maintain their skin's natural properties. Therefore, advertisers play with the audience's emotions to make them aware of the dangers around their skin, engaging in a war-like process of attack and defense reflected in the vocabulary, and more specifically, in the exploitation of the metaphorical value of the phraseological units (Arroyo 2009). The whole process of metaphorically translated "warfare" includes three components: "attacker", "defender" and the "tool" for defense, creating the conceptual metaphors "aging is a battle" and "skincare is a battle".

Almost all anti-aging product advertisements are construed according to the following scenario: first, a customer is informed about the possible threats from the outer world and the inner physiological/biological changes connected with aging. The possible "attackers" are all the more dangerous as they appear in the shape of stress, the sun, pollution, UV rays, biological/hormonal changes, loss of collagen, dehydration, etc. Linguistically this process is transmitted via the verbs *to lose*: "*skin **loses** its optimum level of moisturization*" and *assault*: "*your skin is **assaulted** by stresses from the environment*", the nouns *strain, stress*: "*skin that needs intensive care due to environmental*

strain and **stress**", and the adjective *environmental* giving way to new collocations with *damage*: "*helps to protect skin from **environmental damage**".

The second phase of the process is "defense" or actions that should be taken. This process is manifested metaphorically through the following verbs: *to combat*: "*this skincare product **combats** the harmful effects of external stress factors*", *to fight*: "*It effectively **fights** wrinkles and fine lines*", *to defy*: "*don't deny the age, **defy** it*", and *to resist*: "*firmly **resists** the look of aging*". Some nouns connected with "warfare" are, for instance, *battle*: "*prepare yourself for the beauty **battle**" or "*join me in the **battle** against aging*", *defense*: "*the serum is a perfect way for cellular **defense**" or "the best **defense** against climate change, air travel, and hormonal shifts that all create dryness*".

The third phase is a triumphal victory. What is the tool of the victory? of course, the multifunctional product that is offered by the advertiser and which is able to "protect", "help", "correct", "reduce", "replenish" "restore", and "recreate" the customer's skin.

3 LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF GEORGIAN SKINCARE PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS

Like many consumer products, cosmetic products have undergone an important phase of globalization, transitioning from the domestic market, to stand next to the global brands marketed worldwide by a number of large international corporations. Today there are many small and big companies selling beauty products throughout Georgia. Advertisement of the products is of crucial importance for merchandisers. Copywriters, hand in hand with merchandisers, are sparing no effort to persuade Georgian purchasers to buy their products. As the present study focuses on a comparative study of skincare products, data collected from Georgian skincare advertisements are analyzed according to the criteria presented in the previous section i.e. linguistic peculiarities of lexical items used in the advertisements and their manipulative use.

It should be noted that production, merchandising and advertising of skincare products are comparatively new in Georgia, therefore copywriters mainly follow the technique and strategies already existing and tried out in leading European countries. The majority of skincare product advertisements are translated copies of the original advertisements, so consequently, it is no surprise that they demonstrate similarities from the point of view of structuring, choice of lexical items and manipulative strategies.

Georgian skincare product advertisements, like English ones, are characterized by wide use of adjectives to create an idea of uniqueness and to persuade purchasers that the product holds superb and essential qualities. Adjectives that are used in Georgian skincare advertisements can be divided into synesthetic and evaluative adjectives. Synesthetic adjectives are used as follows: გასხივოსნებული *[gasx'hivosnebuli] illuminating*, გლუვი *[gluvi] smooth*, ჰაეროვანი *[haerovani] light*, რბილი *[rbili] soft*, ნაზი *[nazi] tender*. Evaluative adjectives emphasize the excellence of the product: საოცნებო *[saot'snebo] marvellous*, ჯადოსნური *[j'hadosnuri] magic*, ძვირფასი *[dzvirp'hasi] precious/valuable*, სრულყოფილი *[srulk'hop'hili] perfect*, ელეგანტური *[eleganturi] elegant*, ჯანმრთელი *[j'hanmrt'heli] healthy*, ახალგაზრდული *[ax'halgazrduli] juvenile/youthful*, 100% ნატურალური *[100% naturaluri] 100% natural*, სუპერდამატებიანებელი

[superdamatenianebeli] super moisturizing, etc. All of the mentioned adjectives are connected connotatively with positive concepts of health, youth and safety.

Verbs are the main actors in skincare product advertisements as they convey the meaning of the action the advertised product is supposed to commit, for magical transformations and a perfect result. They are intended to convey the idea that the product reduces and even eliminates skin problems and as a result "pushes" the button of rejuvenation. The verbs that are intensively used in Georgian skincare product advertisements are as follows: ასხივოსნებს [asx'hivosnebs] illuminates, ასწორებს [ast'sorebs] improves, ეხმარება [ex'hmareba] assists, აჯანსაღებს [aj'hansag'hebs] gets healthier, იცავს [it'savs] protects, აფერხებს [ap'herx'hebs] halts, აუმჯობესებს [aumj'hobesebs] ameliorates, ამდიერებს [adzlierebs] enhances, აუფერულებს [aup'herulebs] discolours, ამცირებს [amt'sirebs] diminishes, აქრობს [aqrobs] eliminates, თრგუნავს [trgunavs] represses, უზრუნველყოფს [uzrunvelk'hobs] ensures, დაჰყავს მინიმუმამდე [dahk'havs minimumade] minimizes, ზრდის [zrdis] increases, ებრძვის [ebrdzvis] fights, წმენდს [t'smends] purifies, არბილებს [arbilebs] softens, კვებავს [kvebavs] nourishes, აღადგენს [ag'hadgens] restores. The impact of the verbs is intensified by the use of adverbs and adverbial constructions, for instance: მაშინვე [mashinve] immediately, სწრაფად [st'srafad] in no time, საოცრად [saot'srad] miraculously, ინტენსიურად [intensiurad]] intensively, etc.

Nouns used in the advertisements can be grouped as compound and simple. Compound nouns are represented by e.g. ამქერცლავი ნიღაბი [amqertslavi nig'habi] exfoliating mask, აღმდგენი შრატი [ag'jmdgeni shrati] restoration serum, მკვებავი ბალზამი [mkvebavi balzami] nourishing balm, დამატენიანებელი საცხი [damatenianebeli sat'sx'hi] moisturizing cream, ასაკის საწინააღმდეგო შრატი [asakis sat'simaag'hmdego shrati] anti-age serum, მკვებავი კრემი [mkvebavi kremi] nutritive cream, etc.

It is obvious that the usage of the words nourishing, nutritive, moisturizing, restoring evokes the associations of taking care of the skin as something fragile and unprotected. Thus, we can conclude that skincare discourse is based on the structural metaphor "skin is a baby". Skin as a fragile and unprotected being should be protected, nourished and watered just like a baby. The following diagram can demonstrate this assumption:
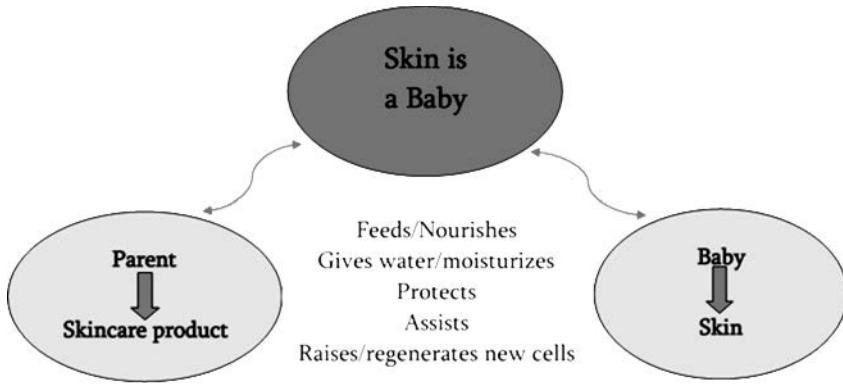
Figure 1: Example of a structural metaphor

As for the second element of the compounds *balm, serum, mask,* they evoke the association of some mystical substance that can halt the negative outer and inner forces and their impact. Advertisers artistically use implied metaphors to appeal to positive emotions. Implied metaphors are defined as a literary device that is used to compare two unlikely things with common characteristics without mentioning one of the objects of comparison. This type of metaphor slightly differs from regular metaphors in the sense that it does not specifically state what it is comparing; the information is implied and decoded and grasped by the addressee with the help of background information stored in cognitive knowledge. e.g. *the cream nourishes the skin* (cream is compared to food); *the serum moisturizes the skin* (serum is compared with water); *the balm protects the skin from the Sun's harmful rays* (the balm is compared to a shield).

Simple nouns like: მელონოგენეზი [melonogenezi] *melanogenesis,* კოლაგენი [kolageni] *collagen,* ელასტინი [elastini] *elastin,* სილიონის მჟავა [silonis mj'hava] *linan acid,* კერამიდები [keramidebi] *ceramides,* ფიტოსტეროლი [p'hitosteroli] *phytosterol,* რეტინოლი [retinoli] *retinol,* ჰიალურონის მჟავა [hailuronis mj'hava] *hyaluronic acid,* ოქსიდატური სტრესი [oqsidaturi stresi] *oxidant stress,* პოლიპეპტიდი [polipepditi] *polypeptide,* ფიბრობლასტები [p'hibroblastebi] *fibroblasts,* ფიბროგენეზი [p'hibrogenezi] *fibrogenesis,* პროვიტამინი B5 [provitamini be 5] *provitamin B5,* ჰამამელისის ექსტრაქტს [hamamelesis eqstraqti] *extract of hamamelis,* etc. are mainly represented by scientific terms that are transliterated. As it was stated in the previous section, usage of scientific lexis burdens the advertisement with ambiguity, but on the other hand, it endows it with credibility and helps advertisers to overcome the social feeling of distrust advertising is often faced with. The feeling of trust in the advertised product is reinforced by the insertion of the information about the ingredients used in the product. The parceled list of ingredients with a detailed description of its positive effects ensures the customers of their right choice and makes them believe that the product will guarantee the best result without any harm to their health as it is 100% natural and dermatologically tested. The phrases that are used for the purpose are as follows: შედეგები დამყარებულია მეცნიერულ

კვლევებზე [shedegebi damk'harebulia met'snierul kvlevebze] *the results are based on scientific studies;* გავლილი აქვს დერმატოლოგიური კონტროლი [gavlili aqvs dermatologiuri kontroli] *dermatologically tested;* ეკოლოგიურად სუფთა ნედლეული [ekologiurad sup'hta nedleuli] *ecologically pure materials/raw materials;* ორგანული ზეთები [organuli zet'hi] *organic oil;* 100% მცენარეულია [100 procentit mt'senareulia] *100% herbal/natural;* ნატურალური კერამიდები [naturaluri keramidebi] *natural ceramides;* მაღალტექნოლოგიური ფორმულა [mag'halteqnologiuri f'hormula] *high technological formula,* etc.

From the syntactical standpoint, the sentences are simple and short for easy comprehension. The most noticeable peculiarity of Georgian skincare advertisements is the usage of parallel constructions presented as a list and conveying the information about the outcomes and ingredients of the product (as demonstrated in the example of the advertisement for the face nutritive cream produced by Georgian dermatological company "Neopharm"). By parceling the information into separate, short sentences, advertisers make it easy to read and persuade the customer to purchase the superb, natural, multifunctional product that deals with the solution to many problems altogether.

One more noticeable feature of Georgian skincare advertisement practice is to put emphasis on the natural ingredients of the product. The sentence "*and no chemical addition*" together with the list of biologically sound, natural ingredients (cocoa oil, rose, olive oil, beeswax oil, spermaceti) is a way to persuade the customers that the product is chemical-free and harmless for them. The advertisers' use of green colour as the colour of nature for the background as well as floral print supports and reinforces this idea. The manipulative strategy draws the purchaser's attention and persuades him/her to decide on the product out of an abundant number of skincare products offered by merchandisers.

There are a large number of anti-age skincare products on the Georgian market. Advertisers try to persuade customers to be ready and well-equipped in the battle against aging. A lot of different creams, serums, peelers and balms are advertised that fight, defeat, and halt the signs of aging. However, the social discourse of aging in Georgia is defensive rather than offensive. Defensive positioning relies on the assumption that aging is a natural process that you can protect against. Offensive positioning, on the other hand, suggests a battle to eradicate signs of aging, with promises of rejuvenation. The below demonstrated advertisement starts with the unveiled, scary claim: "time flow causes unpleasant changes to women's appearance". However, a supportive statement follows the claim: "It is never late to take care of beauty," encouraging women and offering the solution: to get – magical cream that can deal with all mentioned problems. Comparing the verbs employed in the advertisement, it is easy to detect the use of contradictive verbs: *skin loses elasticity, blood supply decrease, deep wrinkles, and fine lines appear* vs. *reduce the wrinkle, prolong the appearance of fine lines, moisturize/nourish the skin, protect from sunrays, and ameliorate skin colour.* As is known, striking fear into the addressee and immediate suggestion of a solution to the problem afterwards is one of the strategies of manipulation. The advertisement depicts a woman who is in her fifties but looks much younger. Her relieved, calm look demonstrates that she is happy with her age because she feels safe and protected as she can postpone the appearance of wrinkles and fine lines

(as the advertisement claims). The discourse of the advertisement is rather defensive than offensive. The usage of the verbs: *protect, reduce, help, nourish, and ameliorate* proves the above-mentioned cultural assumption: "aging is a natural process that you can halt, but not fight against".

4   CONCLUSION

Summing up, we can conclude that for the most part Georgian skincare product advertisements reveal similarity in lexical and syntactic structuring due to the fact that the majority of the advertisements are translated copies of the existing advertisements. Manipulative strategies in both language advertisements are arranged to alarm consumers about the inferiority caused by age-related changes or imperfect, flawed skin, and offer an all-in-one solution to the problem.

Returning to the idea of manipulative strategies stated above, it is obvious that by providing convincing and seducing medical information, advertisers easily manipulate potential consumers struggling for agelessness and a flawless appearance. On the other hand, couching advertisement claims in scientific language helps advertisers to overcome social distrust. Copywriters artistically manipulate customers to purchase the advertised product, using science as a source of credibility, taking advantage of the opacity of specialized terms and deploying specific language that connotes with pleasure, luxury, protection and satisfaction,

Modern women are experiencing incredible pressure from social demands. The stereotype of a beautiful woman with flawless skin and no signs of fine lines is modelled and transmitted by the media on a daily basis and channelled through advertisements. Advertising can debatably be seen as a 'reflection' of social values, at least to the extent that we collectively and commercially endorse messages, images, and values that resonate. Thus, customers are assured that by purchasing the cream, serum or any other ordinary skincare product, they magically acquire the substance that make them well-equipped in the "everlasting battle" for beauty and youth.

The data drawn from the analysis of Georgian skincare product advertisements have revealed the following differentiating features: 1. In the majority of cases advertisers stress the natural ingredients of the products and veil other ingredients to promote the product on the competitive Georgian market and persuade the customer to choose their product; 2. due to the cultural peculiarities, Georgian aging social discourse is less offensive, as the aging process is perceived as a natural cycle of a human being. This socio-cultural attitude is vividly manifested in Georgian anti-age skincare advertisements as the majority of advertisements are based on more defensive than offensive positioning.

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THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Šárka Hastrdlová

Abstract: There has been a recent increase of interest in the phenomenon of power amongst linguists and also philosophers. The presented article attempts to consider power and ways in which it is exercised through language of computer-mediated communication (further CMC). This unique environment is determined by the specific conditions of an Internet chat room, such as anonymity and no audio-visual cues. In the theoretical part, Watts's and Diamond's investigations of power in various open and closed groups in oral communication are discussed and the notion of status is presented. The author divides the chat group corpus into individual sub-groups and tries to draw a graphical presentation, a sociogram, to show their complexity and distribution of power. However, the question remains how tight the sub-groups in CMC are or how interrelated they are with one another. In this respect, it is noteworthy to observe how a selected chat participant develops her status in various sub-groups and to analyze the means by which this possible status is achieved. The corpus was collected by the author herself. The main hypothesis is that the status of power changes quickly throughout chatting and it depends to a great extent on other cues such as address, non-verbal action displays, punctuation marks and so on. In other words, there are very few means by which to exercise power and hold it in this continuously changing and anonymous environment.

Keywords: computer-mediated communication, sub-group, chat participant, active, non-active, power, status, language in use, address, non-verbal action displays, sociogram

1 INTRODUCTION

Synchronous computer-mediated communication (further CMC) has been attracting the attention of various scientists in the fields of linguistics, sociology, sociolinguistics, psychology and other areas (Condon & Cech 1996, Werry 1996, Baron 1998, Jones (ed.) 1998, Crystal 2001, Herring 2001, Yus 2001, Quero 2003) for several decades now. The proliferation of virtual communities in recent years has resulted in the creation of not only new social spaces but also in new forms of interaction, identity formation and new means of expression. The article draws on my previous research where discourse and conversation analysis of synchronous CMC were carried out. The main emphasis was laid on addressing, opening, turn-taking and closing strategies. However, many other queries have still remained unanswered and therefore, I humbly attempt to reveal and investigate some of them. The focus of my investigation here lies mainly in a chat group analysis from the point of view of sub-group division and structure, changing significance of individual chat participants, then topic control, observation of power construction and ways in which it is exercised through language in use, in other words through ongoing discourse represented by synchronous CMC chatting. To the best of my knowledge, so far there has been very limited research into how power is constructed and exercised through discourse in a synchronous CMC chat group, so the purpose of this article is to gain some insight into this topic. The hypothesis going beyond the whole analysis is as follows: the specific conditions of CMC mentioned above alter the techniques of power holding and power construction. At the same time, the different kind of status and power change quickly throughout CMC chatting and it depends on other cues such as address, non-verbal action displays, punctuation marks and so on.

It must be stressed that the above hypothesis is naturally interwoven with and discussed in connection with other findings throughout the article. The research is based on a corpus containing transcripts of chatting from one specific chatroom. First, I will briefly present the corpus. After that, the chat group will be described. The question may arise as to what kind of communication system it presents, i.e. whether it is an open communication system with no common interests and assumptions or whether it may be considered a closed communication system played out against a backdrop of common assumptions, history and interests (Bernstein 1971). Section 3 makes a theoretical insight into language and power, mainly how participants of a discourse negotiate the distribution of power and what the notion of status means in power construction (Diamond, 1996). Section 4 gives a brief analysis of three sub-groups selected from the whole CMC corpus. The sub-groups have one particular chat participant in common and we can see her peripeteia in power and status through chatting from the beginning to the end. A sociogram is also drawn to show her relationship with the other chat participants. Finally, various possibilities are considered and the hypothesis set above is discussed. I mainly draw on the studies of Watts (1991) and Diamond (1996); however, I also take into account other studies such as Ng and Bradac (1993) and Fairclough (1989).

2   CORPUS

In this section I briefly describe the corpus I gathered for the purposes of my CMC research from the chatting service provided by hotmail.com. It contains 793 Internet Relay Chat (further IRC) messages from one chatroom with no specific topic name. A room without any subject-matter specification was intentionally selected so that it would simulate a real face-to-face conversation with no determined topic. I define a message as instantly communicated written information sent by one chat participant and delimited by the moment when the text is conveyed to the monitors of the other chat participants. The data are in the form of a numbered transcript of the conversation as can be seen in the following example from the corpus. Each number represents one message:

(1)

158.	*Tweakdup1: dont know why i could be sleeping*
159.	*482TARADO69 has JOINED the conversation.*
160.	*Tweakdup1: instead of this bullshit*
161.	*Ralph has LEFT the conversation.*
162.	*FatalisticHomeRun: mmmm sleep*
163.	*malone21139 has JOINED the conversation.*
164.	*482TARADO69 has LEFT the conversation.*
165.	*Chief3212: there's some life. hello fatal*
166.	*pavinjohn11 has LEFT the conversation.*
167.	*FatalisticHomeRun: hey chief*
168.	*Chief3212: how are you today*
169.	*malone21139 has LEFT the conversation.*
170.	*jrbudman08 has LEFT the conversation.*
171.	*FatalisticHomeRun: are you the same chief i was giving a hard time to a while back?*
172.	*olivia354 has LEFT the conversation.*
173.	*Chief3212: yeah, I'm over it though. big shoulders….*
174.	*manwidaplan45 has JOINED the conversation.*
175.	*FatalisticHomeRun: good man*
176.	*dolphinsneedaqb has LEFT the conversation.*
177.	*Chief3212: how are you today???*
178.	*FatalisticHomeRun: some people in chat tend to be grudge holders*
179.	*Chief3212: not me*
180.	*FatalisticHomeRun: i'm having one of those days*
181.	*Guest_coxjames has JOINED the conversation.*
182.	*Guest_coxjames: gm*
183.	*FatalisticHomeRun: my clothes are buggin me*
184.	*Tweakdup1 has LEFT the conversation.*
185.	*Chief3212: too bad….clothes are bugging you??*
186.	*FatalisticHomeRun: yeah*
187.	*FatalisticHomeRun: uncomfortable*
188.	*Chief3212: change*
189.	*FatalisticHomeRun: i'm at work already*
190.	*Chief3212: ooh…that stinks*

The aim was to capture the speech situation in the chatroom as naturally as possible. No grammar or other corrections were made. Arranging this corpus, ethical issues were also taken into consideration. To respect the privacy, all the nicknames in the chatroom were modified. For the purposes of the present research, the corpus was also divided into several groups according to the conversation topics and chat participants involved in it. There are six core chat sub-groups that either interrelate and overlap or chat separately. In the corpus, 14 topics can be traced in which chat participants are continuously involved, withdrawn or to which they go back, and which also constantly change and overlap. Apart from real and common topics such as job, cooking, the private lives of actors or cosmetic issues, there are numerous small or social talks/exchanges and individual exclamations that have no reference to the ongoing conversation. It must be noted that a majority of sub-groups found in the corpus are not even groups in the real sense of the word. They are rather gatherings of various individuals who appear to have only one thing in common – they are chatting in the same room at the same time. Nevertheless, it will be demonstrated later in the article that there might be some common ground for those gatherings. So, for the purposes of this research they are called sub-groups. Last but not least, three network sociograms were drawn below to show the interconnection of individual chat participants in the three sub-groups. The sub-groups overlap as do the communication channels of the individual chat participants (Diamond 1996). It is also necessary to mention that in the article the tools of discourse analysis are used. Together with pragmatics and sociolinguistics discourse analysis is concerned with language in use and, more specifically, with the study of the structure of spoken discourse and interactions of individual chat participants. More thorough analysis of the three sub-groups is given in Section 4 below.

3   POWER IN LANGUAGE

As Watts (1991) points out no language in use can ever be "neutral" or "objective". There will always be a point of view, a stance, a hidden or open agenda of assumptions according to which participants will interact verbally. By the same token, therefore, no discourse can ever be free of power and the exercise of power. Diamond (1996) stresses that power is not merely a quality that is assigned or earned, but it is also an interactional skill and process. All discourse members have to contest roles, dispute or disagree on the interpretation of events. A powerful member of a community is not the one who plays the game and wins but the one who sets the rules of the game. As she notes power is never finally or ultimately acquired, but is contested, vied for and negotiated throughout an interaction. Therefore, power is not only a commodity which can be taken by force, but also a role which needs ratification. It is obvious that we must distinguish between the language in use in institutionalized settings, where it tends to be more open to public inspection and highly conventionalized, and the language of a close-knit social network where the questions of status and the exercise of power are more covert.

According to Watts (1991) a close-knit social network is described as a group with a high density of interconnections between the members, a common stock of assumptions

and a higher frequency of social interaction, like a family, workmates or a group of intimate friends. On the other hand, an open-knit social network lacks this common background. The initial question, therefore, arises as to which setting a CMC chat group inclines to more. Leaving aside the obvious features of CMC distinguishing it from face-to-face communication and discussed by many linguists, that is anonymity, exclusively text-based interaction, lack of audio-visual cues and isolation (Spears and Lea 1994), it might seem that an Internet chat group with its loose structure and many participants joining and leaving a chatroom does not have anything in common or does not constitute a unified group. These constraints, nevertheless, do not necessarily limit the functioning of a group as a socially close-knit group. Constraints, according to Diamond (1996) are limitations on behaviour, and form unwritten rules that ensure that an interaction is coherent, appropriate and so, successful. They are the framework of the interaction, providing a structure within which speakers construct meanings. When analyzing the CMC corpus I gathered, it was noteworthy to observe ways of communicating and development of relationships among chat participants that implied they may even know each other from previous chatting or even in person. The following example from the corpus may serve as evidence:

(2)

165.	*Chief3212: there's some life. hello fatal*
166.	*pavinjohn11 has LEFT the conversation.*
167.	*FatalisticHomeRun: hey chief*
168.	*Chief3212: how are you today*
169.	*malone21139 has LEFT the conversation.*
170.	*jrbudman08 has LEFT the conversation.*
171.	*FatalisticHomeRun:* **are you the same chief i was giving a hard time to a while back?**
172.	*olivia354 has LEFT the conversation.*
173.	*Chief3212:* **yeah, I'm over it though**. *big shoulders.*
174.	*manwidaplan45 has JOINED the conversation.*
175.	*FatalisticHomeRun:* **good man**
176.	*dolphinsneedaqb has LEFT the conversation.*
177.	*Chief3212: how are you today???*
178.	*FatalisticHomeRun: some people in chat tend to be grudge holders*
179.	*Chief3212: not me*
180.	*FatalisticHomeRun: i'm having one of those days*

To conclude the theoretical part, the notion of *status* must be explained and clarified. Diamond (1996: 9) distinguishes between *status* and *rank*. She claims that *status* implies social stratification on a vertical scale. *Institutional status* includes among others sex, age, marital status or education and is more or less fixed. Diamond stresses that an individual cannot do much to change these external variables, as she calls them. However, the system does not take into consideration contextual dependency. So when we examine this phenomenon more closely, it is clear that contextually dependent *status* and the fixed *institutional status* are not the same.

Therefore, she proposes another term to highlight these differences, *rank*. On the other hand, Watts (1991), in his study of power in family discourse, works solely with the term *status* without any differentiation or categorization. He notes that certain members of a group will have greater *status* than others. The *status* is always measured, or valued, by group members. It may be said that the participants of CMC discourse negotiate the distribution of power through *status*, which an individual is able to establish during the interaction. For the purpose of this article, I will also use the term *status* in the same way as Watts.

4   CHAT GROUP RESEARCH

In the following section, the participants in the chatting interaction are described and investigated in more detail from different points of view. First, the terms *active and non-active participant* must be clarified. After that, the definition of the CMC chat groups is given in order to observe whether the chat group is latent or emergent (Watts 1991). Finally, a sociogram of the three consecutive sub-groups is presented when considering the structure of the network and relationship including status and power inside the sub-groups.

4.1   Active and non-active chat participants

In the corpus, there are 19 *active chat participants* out of 108 participants that joined the chatroom through the Automated Joining Signal (further AJS). The following sequence may serve as an example of active participation – *AJS → opening address → reply to the opening from another participant or other participants → further exchanges of opinion or thoughts → possible Automated Leaving Signal (ALS)*, although not necessarily; see the following example from the corpus:

(3)
198. *LINDSAY has JOINED the conversation.* **(AJS)**
199. *LINDSAY: Mornin'* **(opening address – greeting)**
200. *FatalisticHomeRun: and i HATE these freakin people calling my office this morning*
201. *CHAZ4u2c2: hi lidsey* **(a reply to a greeting)**
202. *LINDSAY: hey chaz* **(a reply to a greeting)**
203. *Chief3212: sounds like fun. I hate f*
204. *Chief3212: i hate phone calls too*
205. *Teacher_guy5 has JOINED the conversation.*
206. *FatalisticHomeRun: people!*
207. *CHAZ4u2c2: how r u today lidsay?* **(phatic question – an invitation to a further talk)**
208. *FatalisticHomeRun: this guy just ticked me off*
209. *LINDSAY: Lindsay* **(correction)**
210. *LINDSAY: and im fine thanks and you?* **(response to a phatic question)**
211. *Chief3212: how so*
212. *Guest_coxjames has LEFT the conversation.*
213. *CHAZ4u2c2: doing great. just a day off from work to have some work done at my house* **(developing a further topic)**
214. *LINDSAY: cool*

LINDSAY and *CHAZ4u2c2* are both examples of *active chat participants*. They follow a similar pattern of active chatting and attempt to develop further talk up to line 257. Interestingly, IRC with its absence of audio-visual means operates in comparable dimensions to a face-to-face interaction. It is observed that in the majority of cases greetings on IRC serve either as an invitation for further talk or only as a phatic element fulfilling a social function.

However, *non-active participants*, in the present research, are participants that either join the chatroom and after a short time leave using an Automated Leaving Signal (further ALS) as we can see in Example 4, do not contribute to the ongoing discussion, or only use an opening strategy that is not efficient, Example 5. The following sequence, thus, can be seen: *AJS → ALS* or *AJS → opening address/phatic question/contact advertisement/ → ALS*. It means their opening strategy does not gain any response in the chat room, like in Example 4.

(4)

21. *dolphinsneedaqb has JOINED the conversation.* **(AJS)**
22. *woogywoogywoo has LEFT the conversation.*
23. *Im Trendy: hop!*
24. *woogywoogywoo has JOINED the conversation.*
25. *Im Trendy: hop!*
26. *woogywoogywoo has LEFT the conversation.*
27. *woogywoogywoo has JOINED the conversation.*
28. *dolphinsneedaqb has LEFT the conversation.* **(ALS)**

(5)

494. *Bonafide410 has JOINED the conversation.* **(AJS)**
495. *CLS2007 has JOINED the conversation.*
496. *james6: so any sane ladies in here?*
497. *watcher_of_souls: no fluffer nutter is instant death*
498. *WretchedRapunzel has LEFT the conversation.*
499. *SpecialED: fluffer nutter?*
500. *watcher_of_souls: yeah*
501. *SpecialED: im not sane?*
502. *SpecialED: james how old are you?*
503. *Bonafide410: hi room* **(opening question)**
504. *KingKaosh: Could we have a moment for children…who got raped and murdered or trapped in the system who never knew they father never learned to dream…but was guided by drugdealaz killaz an crackpheins, for single mothers who are forced to play mom and dad*
505. *KingKaosh: bustin there ass to give there kids what they never had*
506. *Boyfromdaburbz has LEFT the conversation.*
507. *watcher_of_souls: marshmellow fluff and peanut butter* **(an attempt to establish another topic)**
508. *SpecialED: nice depressing song jay*
509. *watcher_of_souls has LEFT the conversation.*
510. *USARMY7568 has JOINED the conversation.*
511. *blueeyez has JOINED the conversation.*
512. *Bonafide410 has LEFT the conversation.* **(ALS)**

There, *Dolphinsneedaqb* joined the chatroom by an AJS and after seven lines *Dolphinsneedaqb* left by an ALS. The participant did not attempt to open any conversation or address any chat participant. On the contrary, in Example 5, after joining the chatroom *Bonafide410* tried to open a conversation with a salutation, but did not receive any response and left the chat room after several lines.

4.2   What kind of network does a CMC chat group represent?

As it was mentioned above, the issue that also needs to be clarified here is what kind of communication system a synchronous CMC chat group presents, i.e. whether it is more an open communication system with no common interests and assumptions or whether it may be considered a closed communication system where chat participants display common assumptions, history and interests (Bernstein 1971). Different views can be found in the literature such as Bernstein's; however, I incline toward the concept introduced by Watts (1991, 2003). He makes use of the concept of social network, where *network* is not understood merely as a potential relationship between the members of a social group, in this case a CMC chat group, which means an abstract social structure, but rather as actual relationships emerging in the socio-communicative verbal interaction. It is a constantly changing social configuration, a dynamic process that Watts (1991: 154) calls an *emergent network*. I will also use this notion in my research for the following reason: it can be observed that one part of the presented CMC chat participants, namely sub-groups 5 and 6 show signs of common ties and experience from either previous chat rooms or even from previous personal contacts.

It follows that a CMC chat group is a continuously changing network: there are constant shifts in the structure of participants, one participant being at the centre of attention and then another being the central focus of other participants. In this respect, Watts (1991: 163–169) works with the terms *resource person*, *peripheral member* and *member as competitor*. *Resource person* refers to one member of a group "from whom relevant information regarding the topic may be sought or who is invested… with the authority to provide relevant information." *The peripheral member* is a participant of a conversation not in control of events occurring during the chat conversation and who is also denied the position of a powerful and influential chat group participant. In CMC, this is either by not being known to anybody in the chat room, not being so visible, or producing inefficient, unattractive contributions. We will see how chat participants in this position solve this situation in CMC chatting. The *members as competitors* may be considered members that occupy a more central position in the emergent network and it is also likely that there is evidence of a certain amount of competition between them, which can sometimes threaten to develop into open conflict. The three sociograms that I present in the following section may, among other facts, indicate whether or not such types of persons are existent in the corpus.

4.3   Sociograms and their use to describe CMC chat group networks

A sociogram entails a graphic representation of social links that a person has. Sociograms were developed by Jacob L. Moreno (1934, 2014) a Romanian-American psychiatrist, psycho-sociologist, to analyze choices or preferences within a group. They

can diagram the structure and patterns of group interactions. A sociogram can be drawn on the basis of many different criteria such as social relations, channels of influence, lines of communication and so on.

In the article, I use the term *network sociogram* in the way Julia Diamond works with this term in her work (Diamond, 1996). In his research on family discourse Watts (1991: 149) utilizes the expression *interaction format*. He defines it as "the combination of factors within which socio-communicative verbal interaction occurs". For the current research, however, *network sociogram* seems to embrace the whole set of factors influencing social interaction within the CMC environment. These are mainly observations of how participants relate to one another, how important the position they display within the interaction is, what status they hold and how this factor changes throughout chatting. It may also reveal the distribution of power of individual chat participants, which is directly related to status. The arrows signify the direction of the response: either one way, which means no response, or reciprocal, which signifies various ways the participant interacts. They have different thicknesses signifying the intensity of individual interactions. The thicker the arrow is, the more intensive the interaction between participants. The size of the circles represents the significance of the participants´ roles within the network, which may fluctuate as the network changes, so the size of the circles either increase or decrease in individual sub-groups. I present three network sociograms and their thorough analysis, which reflect the first three sub-groups within the corpus. One of the reasons why I have selected the three consecutive sub-groups is the fact that I attempt to analyze the role of one chat participant called *FatalisticHomeRun* who takes part in all three sub-groups. This chat participant seems to display quite different forms of behaviour and interaction in accordance with the personal composition of the chat group and the tabled topic. *FatalisticHomeRun* is not the only participant in the corpus to display variant patterns of chatting and conduct; however, she actively participates in the three different types of situations and also in three consecutive sub-groups.

4.3.1 Sub-group 1

Sub-group 1 ranging from lines 1 to 100 is dominated by one of the strongest, longest and the most meaningful interactions between *Im Trendy* and *volkswagenracing (VWR)* in the whole corpus.
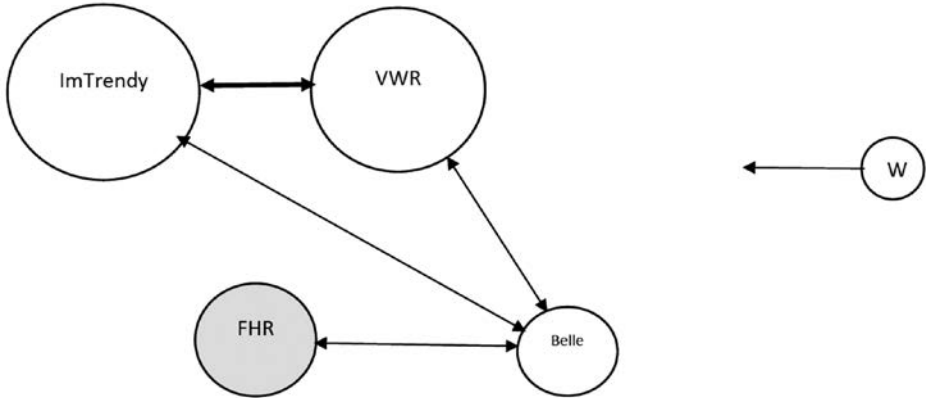

Figure 1: Sociogram – Sub-group 1

They have twelve exchanges in total and their status in the group is equally significant. It seems they know each other from previous chat room interactions. This is the reason why they can control the topic choice and hold the conversation floor. They are, therefore, in a position of power and are able to maintain their conversation topic despite several off-topic interruptions by other participants *Wiky (W), Belle* and *FatalisticHomeRun (FHR)*. *Belle* is trying to "break" the room with another topic of a "booty call" and is quite successful as it gains the attention of every active participant of this sub-group apart from *Wiky*. The whole interaction can be followed in Example 6. A booty call is a slang expression the purpose of which is to arrange a meeting to have casual sex via a phone call or a text message. Not surprisingly then, *Belle* receives seven responses in total to the booty call offer as can be seen from three reciprocal interactions (arrows). Interestingly, *Wiky's* six contributions, lines 6, 7, 20, 29, 37 and 42, stay in fact unresponded to with the exception of *FatalisticHomeRun's* one-word reactions, or shout-outs to *Wiky's* statement in line 20. However, it remains only one-way interaction with a very thin arrow. Looking at the structure of Sub-group 1 interactions in the sociogram, *Wiky* and *FatalisticHomeRun* play the role of peripheral members who do not control the main topic and make irrelevant contributions to the ongoing interaction. *Belle* is trying to change the topic, "break" the room, albeit unsuccessfully. So for a short time *Belle* stands in a central position holding the floor and being a dominant chat participant between lines 38 and 52 and moreover, attracting others to respond, which is quite challenging in CMC.

(6)

38. *Belle: do you ppl want a booty call*
39. *Belle: there aint nothin wrong with a booty call*
40. *volkswagenracing: lmfao ali g: ^)*
41. *Tonybx2 has LEFT the conversation.*
42. *Wiky: i foolishly took exception to it rather than walking on*
43. *FatalisticHomeRun: i love the booty call song*
44. *Im Trendy: ok*
45. *volkswagenracing: yeah belle i want a booty call*
46. *FatalisticHomeRun: i can't help it*
47. *Im Trendy: as inspiring as this room is*
48. *volkswagenracing: send the airplane*
49. *woogywoogywoo: I'm going to leave you bitches now*
50. *Belle: everybody needs a booty call*
51. *FatalisticHomeRun: airborne booty call*
52. *Belle: lol*

4.3.2 Sub-group 2

Before approaching the analysis of the second sub-group, it is necessary to note that the first and the second sub-groups overlap. The first sub-group ranges from line 1 to 100, the second sub-group begins on line 93 when Tweakdup1 joins the conversation and finishes on line 184 when Tweakdup1 leaves the chatroom. In Sub-group 2, there are only the three following active participants: Tweakdup1, FatalisticHomeRun (FHR) and Chief3212. As it can be noted from the sociogram of Sub-group 2 above, the dominant position is held by Tweakdup1. To describe the status of Tweakdup1, we can use the expression used by Watts (1991), dramatizing the self. Thanks to Tweakdup1's confrontational attitude and lack of interest in maintaining a state of equilibrium in the interpersonal relationships, there are very few attempts by other participants to „break" the room or change the topic. As we can see from Example 7, during the course of the interaction or better said, monologue exclamations going beyond the appropriate conduct, Tweakdup1 controls access to the conversational floor and does not let anyone take over the dominant status, see the size of the circle in the sociogram. S/he violates the netiquette by using multiple exclamation marks, repetition of words and letters and bad language, as Example 7 indicates. The question may arise as to whether this is a sign of power acceptable in CMC, or only a sign of impoliteness and aggressive behaviour. The arrows are thin in both cases indicating that the interaction is quite weak, not intensive and contains only one meaningless exchange with FatalisticHomeRun and six exchanges concerning work with Chief3212. The chat participant FatalisticHomeRun is in the peripheral position again and rather withdraws from the conversation with Tweakdup1 in line 108 to come back again in line 162. In CMC, it is hard to estimate whether she was escaping from the unpleasant interaction or really had a lot of work. *Chief3212* has more exchanges with *Tweakdup1*, attempting to engage in small talk, but
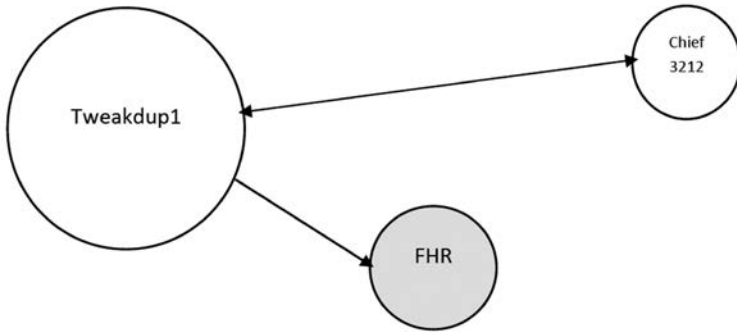
Figure 2: Sociogram – Sub-group 2

eventually stayed in the peripheral position as well. The final part of Sub-group 2, lines 162 to 184, belongs to *FatalisticHomeRun* and *Chief3212* in the dominant position establishing the topic and leaving *Tweakdup1* in a peripheral position until s/he left the chatroom in line 184.

Finally, in Sub-group 3, the position of *FatalisticHomeRun* changes to dominant together with *Chief3212*.

(7)
110. *Tweakdup1: nooooooooooooo*
111. *Tweakdup1: really i dont care*
112. *mustiakkaya_2 has LEFT the conversation.*
113. *Tweakdup1: go work*
114. *Tweakdup1: all day*
115. *Tweakdup1: and night*
116. *Tweakdup1: have fun*
117. *Tweakdup1: peace out hommie*
118. *Tweakdup1: gets to stepp'n*
119. *LeeLee5009 has LEFT the conversation.*
120. *Tweakdup1: your still here why*
121. *pavinjohn11 has JOINED the conversation*
122. *PLAYGENE21 has LEFT the conversation.*
123. *Leidel1 has LEFT the conversation.*
124. *Tweakdup1: go work*
125. *Tweakdup1: now*
126. *Tweakdup1: now*
127. *Tweakdup1: now*
128. *Tweakdup1: !!!!!!!*
129. *Tweakdup1: this room is deader than hell*
130. *Tweakdup1: this sucks*
131. *Chief3212: anything interesting in here today*
132. *Tweakdup1: no*
133. *Debby34c-25yrold has LEFT the conversation.*

134. *VenomousCheetah has LEFT the conversation.*
135. *pavinjohn11 has LEFT the conversation.*
136. *Tweakdup1: noone in here talking but me*
137. *mustiakkaya_2 has JOINED the conversation.*
138. *CHAZ4u2c2 has returned.*
139. *HARDBODIEDJOHNNY1 has LEFT the conversation.*
140. *mustiakkaya_2 has LEFT the conversation.*
141. *Chief3212: I see…..I guess I'll get back to working then*
142. *Tweakdup1: back to work*
143. *Tweakdup1: now*
144. *Tweakdup1: !!!!!!!!!!!!*
145. *dolphinsneedaqb has JOINED the conversation.*
146. *Chief3212: kind of boring though*
147. *pavinjohn11 has JOINED the conversation.*
148. *Tweakdup1: suck it up*

4.3.3 Sub-group 3

The last sub-group that is presented within this section overlaps with Sub-groups 2 and 4. It begins in line 162 and continues until line 267 when it mingles with Sub-group 4 from line 198. The two dominating or resource chat participants *FatalisticHomeRun* and *Chief3212* hold the floor and control the topic.
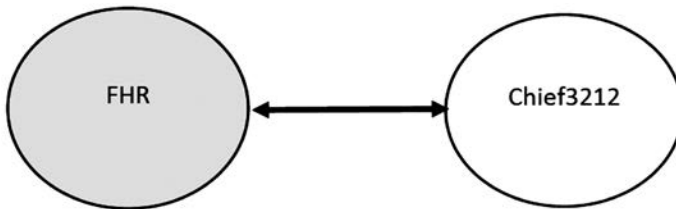

Figure 3: Sociogram – Sub-group 3

It appears from their initial conversation that they had already met before, see Example 8. We can also draw from this extract that there was a conflict or exercise of power of *FatalisticHomeRun* over *Chief3212* before and in this interaction it was remedied verbally by the supportive language of *FatalisticHomeRun*. The topic, or series of interactions that develop after that are made up of small talk known from face-to-face exchanges such as job, troubles at work, appearance and so on.

(8)
167. *FatalisticHomeRun:* **hey chief**
168. *Chief3212:* **how are you today**
169. *malone21139 has LEFT the conversation.*
170. *jrbudman08 has LEFT the conversation.*
171. *FatalisticHomeRun:* **are you the same chief i was giving a hard time to a while back?**

172. *olivia354 has LEFT the conversation.*
173. *Chief3212:* **yeah, I'm over it though. big shoulders….**
174. *manwidaplan45 has JOINED the conversation.*
175. *FatalisticHomeRun:* **good man**

…

217. **FatalisticHomeRun calms herself (non-action verbal display)**

A noteworthy conversation method used only in CMC synchronous chatting called non-verbal action display can be found in line 217 indicating present tense actions that are performative in nature and count as acts solely by virtue of having been typed. It also interestingly reveals the gender of *FatalisticHomeRun* which, otherwise, in most cases remains hidden or unknown. It thus explains the use of the feminine gender for this participant above. After a short "pause" between lines 221 to 233 the second series of turns occurs, initiated by *Chief3212*. The topic is as follows; how they look in their picture and their nickname. Suddenly, their conversation finishes, without any obvious cause, when *FatalisticHomeRun* leaves the chatroom. We can only speculate about the reasons why she had to leave as there is no obligation to continue discussing in CMC; however, it may be seen as inappropriate in this particular ongoing interaction. The size of the circles is the same signifying the same effort placed in the ongoing interaction: *Chief3212* made 17 responses and *FatalisticHomeRun* replied 15 times. The topics are controlled by both. The thickness of the arrow suggests a strong and intensive interaction. It can be noted from the whole interaction that there is no struggle for power from either chat participant.

5 CONCLUSION

The central idea behind the presented research is that language is not only used to convey information, but it is utilized as an interactional device and it can also shed light on interpersonal and social relations. The main hypothesis set above claimed that status and power change quickly throughout chatting and are highly dependent on other cues such as address, non-verbal action displays, punctuation marks and so on. In other words, there are very few means of exercising power and holding it in this continuously changing and anonymous environment. The analysis of the three consecutive sub-groups in the corpus confirmed the above assumptions. One particular chat participant called *FatalisticHomeRun (FHR)* is traced throughout chatting to show how her status and power may change. As we could see in Sub-group 1, *FatalisticHomeRun* is only a peripheral member making irrelevant statements trying to contribute to an interaction, repeating what other chat participants say to gain attention, albeit unsuccessfully. Her status within the group is thus very low and the circle is also small. In Sub-group 2, which overlaps with Sub-group 1, a kind of tension generated from the inappropriate conduct of *Tweakdup1 is noted*. *FatalisticHomeRun* starts some social talk but gets inappropriate responses from *Tweakdup1* and after a few exchanges stops chatting without actually leaving the chatroom. She becomes a mere peripheral member; the circle is smaller than in the previous sub-group. It must be stressed that this interaction is only one-way, from *Tweakdup1* to *FatalisticHomeRun*. The power displayed by *Tweakdup1* involves multiple

exclamation marks, repetitions of letters and words. The arrows in the sociogram are weak, signifying a low intensity of exchanges.

Sub-group 3 overlapping with Sub-group 2 is dominated by two chat participants, *FatalisticHomeRun* and *Chief3212*. Both seem to have equal status. Nevertheless, as the initial conversation opens it is noteworthy to observe the suggestion that *FatalisticHomeRun* and *Chief3212* knew each other from previous interactions under possibly unpleasant circumstances – for *Chief3212*, at least. They clarify their positions and then have similarly strong status. The topic is controlled by both chat participants equally. The thickness of the arrows and the size of the circles signify strong and intensive interaction. It must be noted that there is no competition for power. It can be gathered from these observations that status and power in the interaction are also influenced by the organizational structure of individual sub-groups and its composition as we can see in the example of *FatalisticHomeRun,* our research chat participant. To conclude, it must be stressed that this article was able to uncover only a small part of the findings related to power and status in the CMC environment. The way individual chat participants behave and gain various degrees of status and power throughout chatting is remarkable and would deserve further detailed research.

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ON THE CONTENT

MITIGATED REQUEST SPEECH ACTS IN LEARNER DISCOURSE

Petra Huschová

Abstract: This paper is concerned with the usage of directive speech acts in the Czech Students' Spoken English (CSSE) corpus, particularly with requests produced by Czech EFL undergraduate learners in role-play tasks. It aims to investigate request modifications, focusing primarily on identifying syntactic and lexical devices within the request head act that mitigate the imposition of requests. The findings indicate that Czech learners prefer syntactic mitigating devices, whereas the range of lexical internal modifiers employed is limited. Finally, the paper briefly comments on the students' linguistic and pragmatic competence in producing requests for information.

Keywords: request, internal modifier, external modifier, downgrader, non-native speakers

1   INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to investigate EFL students' request performance by examining request modifiers in their utterances as "the ability to use these elements appropriately is one aspect of pragmatic proficiency" (Soler et al. 2005: 4). If learners of English are to employ requests appropriately, they need, as Halupka-Rešetar (2014: 33) stresses, to acquire both sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge; the former including the relative degree of imposition of a request in the target language, the latter the degree of politeness to avoid being perceived as rude by native speakers. Therefore, when producing requests, students should be aware of modifications affecting the degree of politeness and imposition.

First, the paper describes requests as directive face-threatening speech acts and defines their structure. Then it introduces the corpus data and aims of the analysis. Its main section focuses on identifying and classifying request modifications, both external and internal, and attempts to explain their function. Finally, the paper briefly comments on the learners' interlanguage pragmatic competence in asking for information.

It should be noted that this paper does not deal with requests from the viewpoint of cross-cultural linguistics; the major question it addresses is related exclusively to types of modification devices Czech learners employ to affect the degree of imposition and politeness of their requests. Since it is concerned with mitigating the force of requests, *upgraders*, i.e. means increasing the force of speech acts (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 204), are beyond the scope of the paper.

2   REQUESTS

2.1   Requests as directive face-threatening speech acts

Requests, a subcategory of directive speech acts, are addressee-oriented speech acts, specifically "attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something" (Levinson 1983: 240). In Huang's (2014: 133) words, "the speaker intends to elicit some future course of action on the part of the addressee, thus making the world match the words via the addressee". In short, when a request is conveyed, the addressee is supposed to perform an action that is beneficial to the speaker.

Regarding Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory (1987), requests are perceived as inherently face-threatening speech acts which could damage the addressee's negative face, i.e. "the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 13). Therefore, to avoid or lessen the face threat, speakers often employ indirect speech acts, i.e. utterances in which there is no direct match between a sentence type and its illocutionary force (cf. Huang 2014: 137). Considering requests, imperatives can be replaced by interrogative or declarative structures; in such cases, it is the contextual setting that helps us understand the illocutionary force of indirect requests (Siemund 2018: 54). Levinson (2017: 214) adds that indirect speech acts can include surface elements that narrow down their illocutionary force, e.g. the adverb *please* marking requests. Lastly, Brown and Levinson (1987: 74) emphasise that the choice of indirect strategies varies in relation to three social variables: the social distance between interlocutors, the relative

power of speaker and hearer and the degree of imposition in a particular culture (cf. Reiter 2000: 55).

2.2 Structure of requests

Based on sequential and functional criteria, requests consist of a head act (core request) and adjuncts (peripheral elements) to the head act. Reiter (2000: 127) defines the head act as "the minimal unit which can realise a request", meaning it is the core of the request that can stand on its own, as is shown in example (1), in which *tell me something about it* is an independent head act.

(1)   *I want to apply for ISIC and I don't know how to do it so can you please* **tell me something about it?**

This example also demonstrates that requests do not consist of the head act only: they often contain peripheral elements, labelled request modifiers, which either precede or follow the head act. Thus, in (1), *can you, please, I don't know how to do it* and *I want to apply for ISIC* are peripheral elements accompanying the head act in bold. Soler et al. (2005: 3) claim that modifiers do not affect the propositional content of the head act but mitigate its force. Leech (2014: 160) calls these lexicogrammatical devices pragmatic modifiers, stating that they increase the complexity and optionality factor of requesting speech acts.

Request modifiers accompanying the head act are classified into two main categories, namely internal and external modifiers. Leech (ibid.) explains that internal modifiers "are syntactically included in the same utterance as the head act", whereas external modifiers "occur in the immediate linguistic context surrounding the request head act" (Soler et al. 2005: 3). In example (1) above, *can you* and *please* are internal modifiers because they are syntactically included in the utterance *can you please tell me something about it,* while *I want to apply for ISIC* and *I don't know how to do it* are external modifiers which precede the utterance with the head act (in bold).

3   DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The analysis of requests in this paper has been inspired by Blum-Kulka et al.'s study from the 1980s titled *Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP), which examined cross-cultural, sociopragmatic and interlanguage variation in requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984, Blum-Kulka 1987). The present analysis is based on a modified version of the CCSARP typology, focusing on lexical and syntactic considerations, but it also takes into account interactional and contextual factors, as proposed by more recent approaches, for example, Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006).

As a source of data I used *the Czech Students' Spoken English (CSSE) corpus* compiled at the Department of English and American studies of the University of Pardubice. The CSSE corpus represents the language of Czech learners' spoken English (153,295 words) recorded in monologues and dialogues performed by 228 students at three Czech universities. The participants form a rather homogenous group: they are all first-year university students of a TEFL programme, aged 19 to 22 years, the majority had studied

English for from 10 to 12 years before commencing their studies at the university, and the average level of their English language communicative competence is B2 according to CEFR (Ježková 2015).

To collect requesting speech acts, 228 student-student dialogues (each 3–4 minutes long) have been analysed. The dialogues were designed as an information gap task: one student was given specific information related to a particular topic and the other student was supposed to elicit the required information, then they had a minute for preparation and after performing a dialogue they exchanged roles with a new task. The dialogues cover eleven scenarios, namely Cambridge Advanced Certificate, an English course abroad, what to do in the town, ISIC at our university, applying for an Erasmus study visit, summer camps in the USA, part-time jobs, sports events at the university, registering for a Reader's Pass at the British Library, looking for accommodation, and joining the Buddy System. The dialogues may be characterised as open role-plays because the participants engaged in the interaction actively and needed to negotiate, which allowed me to examine requests in their natural discourse context (in comparison to a discourse completion test, which was the main tool in a number of studies on requests, e.g. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008, Halupka-Rešetar 2014).

All the request moves collected and analysed aim at eliciting a verbal response, i.e. giving information. Since the setting is informal and the participants know each other, the majority of their utterances seeking information are expected to be direct questions. Nevertheless, as has been stated, the analysis focuses on modified requests, specifically on devices employed to mitigate their illocutionary force. Such request production of Czech learners is assumed to show a noticeable prevalence of conventionalised structures and a limited variation with respect to the type of modifications and the frequency of their usage.

4   DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In the previous paragraph, it has been suggested that the participating learners are expected to employ mainly direct questions when asking for information because the variables of social distance, power, and degree of imposition do not vary; the relationship between the students is symmetrical and close. Thus, as shown in Graph 1, the dominant means of asking for information in the CSSE corpus is naturally a direct question (1072 out of 1367 utterances), which is in line with Reiter's (2000: 103) conclusion "the more familiar the participants the more direct the strategy". Graph 1 demonstrates that modified request moves are not, as expected, that widespread (295 instances); however, they include 178 external and 356 internal modifiers which will be discussed in 4.1 and 4.2 respectively.

requests for information (asks)
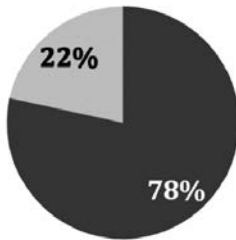
- direct questions - modified request moves

Graph 1: The frequency of occurrence of modified request moves

4.1   External modifiers

As has been illustrated in 2.2, external modifiers (also called supportive moves) are additional statements supporting the request proper. Leech (2014: 171) explains that speakers employ them to make a request more polite, friendly, or persuasive. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2008: 115–116) adds that they do not affect the act itself "but rather the context in which it is embedded". In other words, external modifiers help redress the imposition of requests by modifying their illocutionary force indirectly.

There are different taxonomies classifying external modifiers according to their functions. For example, Reiter (2000: 92–93) lists grounders, preparators, disarmers, getting precommitments and promises of reward as the most frequent categories found in her data. Halupka-Rešetar (2014: 34) and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2008: 116) recognise identical categories and add imposition minimisers and apologies. The categories identified in the CSSE corpus are listed and exemplified in Table 1; 178 external modifiers have been identified in 295 modified request moves.

Type of modifier	Example	No	%
grounder	***I want to prepare for it***, *could you recommend me some book?*	117	66
preparator (pre-commitment)	***I would like to ask you some questions about the camp.*** *Could you tell me what type of camp is it?*	37	21
disarmer	***I know that that's not a good question*** *but could you tell me some something about salary?*	14	8
appreciative opener	***It sounds very good*** *and can I ask you about the price?*	4	2
imposition minimiser	*I would like to know what kind of jobs can I choose, **if you know***	6	3
Total		**178**	**100**

Table 1: Classification and occurrence of external modification

The findings presented in Table 1 indicate that grounders are the only prominent category employed regularly by Czech learners. Grounders, as defined by Leech (2014: 175), are "explanatory moves that can either precede or follow the head act." in the CSSE corpus, the majority (82% instances) precede the request head, as in examples (1) or (2), in which the participants try to explain that they have a reason to impose before producing the request itself.

(2)   ***I want to prepare for it,*** *could you recommend me some book?*

Reiter (2000: 129) perceives the use of grounders as a co-operative strategy, meaning that by justifying the request the speaker expects the addressee to be more willing to cooperate, as shown in (2) above. Therefore, grounders could be labelled 'supportive reasons' (Martínez-Flor 2003).

Another quite common external modifier in the data is a preparator, exemplified in the following utterance:

(3)   ***I would like to ask you some questions about the camp.*** *Could you tell me what type of camp is it?*

This example illustrates that the preparator (in bold) functions as a signal that the head act follows, and thus, as Leech (2014: 175) states, informs the addressee about the intention to make a request.

The remaining categories of external modification are infrequent due to the relatively low degree of imposition and informal context of the exchanges analysed. The learners do not often employ disarmers which "aim at disarming the addressee from the possibility of a refusal" (Soler et al. 2005: 25), do not express their appreciation, nor indicate their awareness of imposition, which is in line with Leech (2014: 163–164), who claims that these devices are viewed as formal and occur mainly in formal settings.

4.2   Internal modifiers

Internal modification is the prevalent type of modification in the data, specifically 356 internal modifiers have been identified in 295 modified request moves. Internal modifications consist of syntactic as well as lexical devices. The former include interrogative and declarative structures, *if*-clauses, negated structures or past and progressive verb forms; the latter softeners, the politeness marker *please* or fillers. Syntactic and lexical downgraders, their categories and uses are discussed thoroughly in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Syntactic downgraders

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 203) introduce four categories of syntactic downgraders, namely interrogative, negation, past tense and embedded *if*-clause, claiming that they are used to convey hesitation about making the request or pessimism regarding the outcome of the request, or as distancing and hedging devices. Halupka-Rešetar (2014: 36) and Leech (2014: 165, 170–171) add conditional forms of modals, the use of progressive aspect, hedged performative openings or tag questions after imperatives. The taxonomy of syntactic downgraders identified in the CSSE corpus, based

on adapting the categories mentioned above (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984, Halupka-Rešetar 2014, Leech 2014), is presented in Table 2.

Category of downgrader	Example	No	%
interrogative structure	***Can you/could you*** *tell me…?*	185	72
declarative "want" statement	***I would like to ask you*** *er what I have to do to obtain this card.*	54	21
if-clause indicating request	*And now **if you could give** me some advices where to go for sports activities*	11	4.3
past tense	*I wanted to ask you about some sports events, something about sport*	5	2
progressive aspect	*I was wondering if there's any interesting … sports event in…*	2	0.7
Total		**257**	**100**

Table 2: Classification and occurrence of syntactic downgraders

4.2.1.1 Interrogative structure

As was explained at the beginning of section 4, the prevalent structure to ask for information is a direct question (cf. Hassall 1999: 595). Nevertheless, Table 2 indicates that Czech learners also ask for information indirectly, mainly by employing an interrogative structure including a modal verb, typically *can* (92 instances) or *could* (79 instances), as shown in examples (2), (3) or (4).

(4)   ***Can you tell me*** *where I can sign in?*

Example (4) illustrates that the interrogative structure consists of a question about unknown information (*where I can sign in*) and a request to be told that information (*can you tell me*). Since the modal verbs *can* and *could* can be interpreted as asking about the hearer's ability, there might be potential pragmatic ambiguity between ability (literal) and requestive (non-literal) meaning. Blum-Kulka (1987: 141), however, argues that normally the ability meaning is disregarded and the utterance is interpreted as a request. Similarly, Siemund (2018: 165) concludes that "the degree of conventionalisation between interrogative structure and request force appears to be relatively strong" and consequently labels such structures "polar interrogatives with non-question force", which is in line with Levinson (1983: 268), who perceives these interrogatives as idioms equivalent to the explicit structure *I (hereby) request you to ….*

Considering the difference between the modal verbs *can* and *could, could* is generally viewed as less certain and more tentative (Coates 1983), which implies that it might be expected in contexts with more remoteness in social relationship. The number of requests with *can* and *could* in the CSSE corpus is comparable and the two verbs seem to be used interchangeably (there are 48 requests beginning with *Can you tell me* and 55 with *Could*

you tell me). Nevertheless, the learners may perceive *could* as more polite in that it occurs more often with the marker *please*.

As for the perspective of requests (cf. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 203), the examples above illustrate that requests are predominantly hearer-oriented (156 requests out of 185), stressing the role of and delegating the task to the addressee (cf. Martinéz-Flor 2003: 173). Only 29 requests in the data are speaker-oriented, emphasising the role of the speaker:

(5)   And **can I ask** you where could I go if I get to Erasmus?

Although the utterance in (5) formally asks for permission (*am I allowed to ask*), the speaker in fact announces that the act of asking is about to be performed.

In summary, an interrogative structure with a modal verb, mainly *can* and *could*, is viewed as a conventional request asking for an activity that is beneficial to the speaker. In Blum-Kulka's opinion (1987: 143), conventional indirect structures are the most polite way to make a request. Hassall (1999: 594) argues that although these structures most often occur in face-threatening situations, they can be perceived as unmarked formulaic requests that can be employed in almost every situation, which has been confirmed by the outcomes presented above. Additionally, Hassall (ibid.: 600) and Reiter (2000: 104) conclude that conventional interrogative requests are the most common type of request across cultures.

4.2.1.2 Declarative structure

Another common conventional form of requests in the CSSE corpus, as shown in Table 2, is a declarative statement usually consisting of *I would like to ask* (76% declarative structures):

(6)   **I would like to ask you** er what I have to do to obtain this card.

(7)   **I would like to ask you** if there is some part-time job in Oxxx.

The directive illocutionary force of (6) and (7) is inferred due to *would like*. In addition, the use of *would* makes the request "semantically distanced from reality" (Leech 2014: 150) and consequently it is seen as non-imposing or less impositive (Reiter 2000: 85). Such structures are labelled declarative "want statements" (Blum-Kulka 1987) or "hedged performatives" (Halupka-Rešetar 2014) including the naming of the illocutionary force, i.e. *ask* in (6) and (7).

The structure *I would like to ask you* is not, however, always used as an internal downgrader, illustrated in (6) or (7). It has been demonstrated in 4.1 that it is also employed as an external modifier, particularly a preparator, if it functions as a pre-sequence of the actual request, which is shown in (3) or (8).

(8)   **I would like to ask you about possibilities of doing sports at our university**... Could you tell me what sports I can do here?

4.2.1.3 Other categories of syntactic downgraders

Table 2 (above) shows that the remaining categories of syntactic downgraders are infrequent in that the situational context does not require the use of devices

signalling distancing or pessimism, for example, the use of negation, which implies that the requested action is not expected to be performed (Leech 2014: 166). The participants only occasionally employ the past tense "as a device of distancing" (ibid.: 169) or progressive aspect with mental verbs (see sample utterances in Table 2). Similarly, the occurrence of *if*-clauses indicating requests (cf. Levinson 1983: 266) is negligible because this category does not comprise embedded questions; these have been analysed as part of interrogative indirect requests or declarative want statements, see example (7).

4.2.2 Lexical downgraders

With regard to the data analysed, the taxonomy of internal modifiers presented in Table 3 is based on Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1987), Economidou-Kogetsidis (2008) and Soler et al. (2005).

Category of internal lexical modifier		Example	No
marker please		*Once again, **please**.* *Could you tell me conditions **please**?*	40
softener	downtoner	*Okay, so **maybe** can you tell me something about the expensive one?*	7
	understatement	*Can you give me **just** the basic info to start with?*	3
	hedge		-
filler (hesitator)		***And can, er, could you some**, tell me something. . . .*	42
subjectiviser		***I guess** can you give me some information?*	3
Total			**99**

Table 3: Classification and occurrence of lexical downgraders

The outcomes in Table 3 indicate that lexical downgraders are in comparison with syntactic downgraders a minor type of internal modification in the CSSE corpus. Although there is a wide range of possibilities for modifying a request, only two types of lexical internal modifiers are employed regularly in the exchanges analysed. One of the most frequently used lexical modifiers is the marker *please*, which can be found mainly in conventional interrogative requests (26 instances), particularly those including *could* (16 cases):

(9)   *Ok and **could you tell me please**, how can I do a registration?*

Leech (2014: 162) argues that *please* may be seen as an illocutionary marker rather than a politeness marker, mainly in non-sentence directives where it marks an utterance as a request:

(10)   *Once again, **please**.*

Similarly, Soler et al. (2005: 27) claim that "It is the only modifying device, either internal or external, which can substitute a whole utterance." in summary, when we use this marker, we perform the act of a request, expressing "polite request force" (Siemund 2018: 32).

Another widespread category identified was that of fillers, i.e. "optional lexical items used by the speaker to fill in the gaps that occur during an interaction" (Soler et al. 2005: 21). Although Soler et al. (2005) categorise fillers in four subgroups, namely hesitators, appealers, cajolers and attention-getters, only hesitators are included in the taxonomy of lexical downgraders. The other categories did not appear in the dialogues analysed, which seems to be in line with findings of other studies; for example, Reiter (2000: 138) talks about a very low incidence of cajolers, whereas Martínez-Flor and Úso-Juan's study (2006: 32) reports hesitators as the most frequent type of modifier. Obviously, hesitators represent a natural part of spontaneous face-to-face interaction in that they "elicit the speakers' request use" (Soler et al. 2005: 21). They have been identified mainly in more elaborate request moves, including two or more request modifiers:

(11)   *May I start?* **Well er** *I would like to ask what and* **er** *where* **er** *can I* **er** *get it?*

Example (11) illustrates that, when producing more elaborate requests, Czech learners also seem to employ hesitators as a signal that it is difficult for them to create a complex structure; particularly embedded questions appear to be problematic because 39 per cent (44 out of 113) embedded questions are not well-formed and would be considered incorrect, as is shown in examples (9) or (11).

Table 3 demonstrates that Czech learners tend to underuse softeners, i.e. lexical devices that serve to soften the requestive illocutionary force and thus make the request more tentative. The outcomes indicate that the learners favour downtoners which signal possibility and make the request more uncertain (cf. Leech 2014: 160), but, although downtoners include various modal adverbs related to possibility, only *maybe* (exemplified in Table 3) has been recorded. Similarly, the occurrence of understaters minimising parts of a proposition (e.g. *a bit, a little, just*) and subjectivisers explicitly expressing the speaker's subjective opinion (e.g. *I think, I suppose*) is negligible. As for hedges, viewed as means of avoiding "a precise propositional content" (Reiter 2000: 94) (e.g. *kind of, sort of)*, they have not been identified in the request moves analysed even though they represent commonly used markers that make utterances appear vague in spoken interaction (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 146).

5   CONCLUSION

The analysis of request moves in 228 dialogues from the Czech Students' Spoken English (CSSE) corpus indicates that, when modifying their requests for information, Czech learners favour syntactic downgraders, particularly conventional indirect requests in the form of an interrogative structure. The preference of the structure *Can/could you (tell me)* might be, as Halupka-Rešetar (2014) and Martinéz-Flor (2003) suggest, the result of instruction; conventionalised requests are used by teachers as well as in textbooks,

meaning that students are exposed to them extensively and consequently tend to rely on familiar structures in their own production.

On the other hand, the repertoire of lexical internal modifying devices is, as expected, rather limited. The learners use just a few expressions (*please, maybe, just*) although there is a wide range of lexical items mitigating the force of requests available. The underuse of softeners may stem from the nature of the role-plays analysed, particularly the informal context and relatively low degree of imposition, which implies that politeness and informality play a role when choosing an appropriate strategy. The rare occurrence of softeners may also be the result of the fact that their appropriate use requires more pragmatic competence than, for example, the politeness marker *please*, which was employed frequently. Another widespread category of internal modification is that of hesitators, which represent an indispensable part of spontaneous interaction but often signal a struggle with forming more advanced structures properly. It is embedded indirect questions that seem to be most problematic in elaborate request moves.

As for external modification, grounders are the category most frequently employed by Czech learners. The preference for grounders may be due to the fact that they are explicit when expressing politeness (cf. Martinéz-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006) and thus reduce the threat to the addressee's face. On the other hand, this outcome could be influenced by the procedure of data elicitation, which the participating students may have perceived as similar to an exam situation and as a result they focused on elaborating their structures by explaining their reasons to convey requests.

In conclusion, the analysis showed a lack of variety in Czech undergraduate learners' request production, which might indicate their limited interlanguage competence with respect to the range of request modifiers. Non-native learners of English at B2 level might struggle when selecting appropriate request modification devices and thus their performance may show pragmalinguistic deviations from that of native speakers (cf. Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008). Nevertheless, the outcomes of the analysis indicate that the functional competence of first-year university Czech learners of English seems to be satisfactory in that their requests for verbal response seem to be well managed and are not misinterpreted even if there are a number of mistakes in the form.

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DISCIPLINARY LANGUAGE AT SCHOOL: SITES OF INTEGRATION IN CONTENT-AND-LANGUAGE-INTEGRATED LEARNING (CLIL)

Julia Hüttner

Abstract: The teaching of languages in Europe emphasises the learning of English, increasingly with a view towards using it in a professional and academic environment. One development over the last few decades in response to this demand for more specialised English proficiency has been the introduction of Content-and-Language-Integrated Learning (CLIL). One of the major benefits of CLIL lies in its potential in fostering language abilities that relate directly to the school subjects taught through the integrated learning of new content and new aspects of the foreign language. I aim to contribute here to our conceptualisation of this nexus by positing and presenting evidence for a dual perspective of disciplinary language. This definition embraces both the production of lexico-grammatical and discursive patterns appropriate to the subject being taught *and* the verbal and multimodal practices associated with acquiring them.

Keywords: CLIL, English Language Teaching, disciplinary language, classroom discourse

ON THE CONTENT

1 INTRODUCTION

The position of English as a global language is the prime motor behind its ubiquitous role as a target language in schools across the world. The European educational landscape is no different from the rest of the world and shows English as the most frequently taught foreign language and the one in which most adults feel comfortable conversing (European Commission 2014). As some proficiency in using EFL has become standard, mainstream English language teaching (ELT) continues to extend to ever-growing populations and to diversify in its goals. One such development has been the introduction of teaching non-language subjects through English, which in Europe mostly takes the form of Content-and-Language-Integrated Learning (CLIL). Although CLIL was previously viewed as an extension of ELT, recently the focus has shifted to the complementary and unique potentials that it offers. One of these lies in developing "discipline- or subject-specific language and genre proficiency" (Hüttner & Smit 2014: 165), which lies at the interface between academic knowledge and language.

A growing body of research addresses precisely this integration of language and content in CLIL (cf. Nikula et al. 2016), but an understanding of its precise nature and especially the characteristics of the type of English produced as specific to certain school subjects is still in progress. Developing a better understanding of such discipline- or subject-specific English is, however, crucial if we wish to make best use of the potential of CLIL to address the need for more school-leavers being able to use English in professional or academic settings.

In this paper, I aim to contribute to our understanding of such language use, which I shall refer to as disciplinary language, envisaged as a helpful umbrella term for all types of (foreign) language use related to school subjects or academic disciplines. I shall first present a brief outline of the origins and a working definition of disciplinary language and provide examples from oral classroom discourse to illustrate my understanding of the key duality within disciplinary language.

2 DISCIPLINARY LANGUAGE IN CLIL

2.1 Defining CLIL

CLIL has been programmatically defined as "a dual"focussed educational approach in which an additional language [..] is used as a medium in the teaching and learning of non"language content" (Coyle et al. 2010: 1), but the current, and extremely varied, practice in Europe makes further specifications necessary. Thus, the foreign language referred to is in most cases English, making CLIL a locally diverse response to the global status of English. Secondly, the established medium of education, frequently the L1 of teachers and most learners, maintains a role in CLIL programmes, so that English becomes an additional, rather than the sole, medium of instruction. Finally, the dual focus on content and language is present in participants' perspectives and expectations, but not often reflected in overt (foreign)-language-related curricular goals or educational practices. CLIL teachers are qualified in terms of content, but not usually in terms of English language, and overtly tend to consider any foreign language teaching to be outside their

educational remit. Thus, the perceived benefit for English language proficiency is located in general, sometimes quite covert, content-related objectives which need language, regardless of whether this is the first or foreign language, for their realisation.

2.2   Language at school: origins and influence on disciplinary language

This common CLIL reality might foster a conceptualisation of 'language' and 'content' as monolithic and distinct entities. In line with a considerable body of educational and applied linguistics research, the view presented here, in contrast, focuses on language and content at school being a fused entity, or a "functioning whole" (Collins & O'Brien 2011: 241). Lorenzo and Trujillo (2017: 181) summarise this by saying that

> education in either a first, second, or nth language share[s] the same foundational principle: the fact that language does not occur in a vacuum, and [its] natural occurrence in education is *vis a vis* the content areas.

Prolific research in general education and applied linguistics has provided insights into the role of language in education, but limited space does not allow for a full discussion here of their influence on the research into language-and-content integration in CLIL. Nevertheless, some brief observations are called for. Thus, within education, reference is often made to Schleppegrell's (2004: 1) observation that "[i]t is through language that school subjects are taught and through language that students' understanding of concepts is displayed and evaluated in school contexts".

In addition to drawing educators' attention towards the importance of making the academic or school-specific use of language accessible to all learners, research into both academic and disciplinary literacies has added considerably to our understanding of the specific features and requirement of the language use within disciplines and/or groups of school subjects (cf., e.g., Snow & Uccelli 2009, Lea & Street 2007). Innovative and helpful suggestions for including the learning of academic language at secondary levels of education have developed from this body of research with growing influence on content curricula (Lorenzo & Trujillo 2017).

There is some debate whether the educational focus should lie on general academic language patterns, and especially reading strategies, or the specific patterns of each discipline or group of school subjects, and I would argue that factors like age and level of specialisation of learners are crucial considerations here. Shanahan and Shanahan (2012: 8) have highlighted that disciplinary literacy "emphasizes the unique tools that the experts in a discipline use to engage in the work of that discipline", which I would argue holds true also in the context of CLIL language use. Despite its many contributions to my and others' thinking about the integration of language and content learning, the focus of this research cluster on L1 or minority language learners in an immersion context leads to what seems to me to be an important gap in addressing the specific issues surrounding an essentially bilingual programme like CLIL, where both teachers and learners are acting in a foreign language.

The specificity of academic or disciplinary language in English as a foreign language has been the focus of studies in the tradition of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP). This area has focused on linguistic patterns

especially in expert, professional and academic discourse, drawing particularly on corpus linguistic studies (cf. Biber 2006) and on discourse and genre analysis (cf., e.g., Bhatia 2004, Swales 2004). However, attention towards the learner reality at school has been limited within EAP/ESP and we find that the route and process of learning the language of the disciplines is not that clearly conceptualised, especially for those who are not (yet) knowledgeable in their discipline. Taken primarily from the teaching reality at tertiary level, the notion persists that the learning of content happens in a separate sphere, for instance in the science class at university, to the learning of the relevant disciplinary language, which is located in the ESP/EAP classroom.

2.3 Disciplinary language: a concept for CLIL

The section above has shown how some adaptations in our thinking are necessary to fully capture the nexus of language and content in CLIL, realised through the language of the subjects or disciplines. The requirements are, to my mind, twofold. Firstly, we need to find systematic and comparable means of describing the English used within school subjects in CLIL. This needs to view such discourse as legitimate, rather than a weak copy of expert discourse, taking into account the different communicative purposes of content learners rather than experts. Secondly, such a conceptualisation needs to address the entire gamut of verbal and multimodal practices engaged in by teachers and learners to engage in content learning and access the required practices.

Several suggestions have been made with regard to structuring the investigations into the nature of the learning discourse within the disciplines (or school subjects) in CLIL, although Nikula (2012: 137) notes that "defining subject specific language is not an easy task" and Meyer and Coyle (2017: 218) reiterate the need for clear definitions of language, content and integration in order to make convincing arguments for the potential of CLIL.

As far as the description of language in CLIL is concerned, Llinares et al. (2012) and Dalton-Puffer (2007) present overviews and detailed insights into the relevant discursive patterns. Probably the most fruitful and influential conceptualisation to date is Dalton-Puffer's (2016) comprehensive account of the means of externalising academic thought processes through discourse in her construct of Cognitive Discourse Functions (CDF). She describes CDFs as "patterns which emerge from the needs humans have when they deal with cognitive content for the purposes of learning, representing and exchanging knowledge" (Dalton-Puffer 2016: 31) and groups them into seven basic types, i.e. classify, define, describe, evaluate, explain, explore and report. Each of these elements comprises a number of members, for instance, "describe, label, identify name, specify" for the CDF *describe*. These members are combined under one CDF as they share a communicative intention, which in the case of the CDF *describe* is paraphrased as "I tell you details of what can be seen (also metaphorically)" (ibid: 32–33).

The construct of CDF is proving influential within CLIL research, shown, for instance, in its integration in the 'Pluriliteracies Teaching for Learning Model' (Meyer & Coyle 2017). This model posits disciplinary literacies at the core of subject content learning and aims to show how students can internalise subject specific literacies through "mak[ing] connections between the conceptualizing continuum and the communicating continuum of learning" (ibid: 201). The 'Pluriliteracies Model' offers tantalising potentials

for developing truly integrating CLIL curricula and teaching activities, which also take into account the bilingual nature of most CLIL practices.

What these approaches share and what to my mind needs a diverse conceptualisation is a conflation of the verbal process associated with displaying subject-specific knowledge and competence in the associated literacy and the processes (both verbal and multi-modal) required to access content knowledge and an understanding of the subject-specific literacies involved. Thus, I propose defining disciplinary language, as a cover term for both disciplinary and subject-specific literacy, as containing two core elements, i.e.:

– Expertise-oriented disciplinary language: the ability to appropriately participate in the communicative practices of a discipline or school subject;

– Learning-oriented disciplinary language: the verbal and multimodal practices associated with acquiring this ability.

Underlying this dual conceptualisation is a view of content and language learning (both in the L1 and the L2) happening simultaneously and in an inter-related manner, making the boundaries between 'content' and 'language' fuzzy and to a certain extent meaningless.

3 SUPPORTING EVIDENCE FOR A DUAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF DISCIPLINARY LANGUAGE

This section will present illustrative data to show how my dual conceptualisation of disciplinary language pans out in reality from Austrian CLIL classrooms. Data are drawn from the project "Learning to communicate in English in subject-specific ways (AME)[1], undertaken in collaboration with Ute Smit and Angelika Rieder-Bünemann. At a professional college of business and tourism studies, a group of 36 students (aged 17 to 18) and their two teachers were observed and recorded during students' penultimate year of schooling. The school subjects under investigation combine Economics and Politics in a European context (cf. Hüttner & Smit 2017).

3.1 Terminology in context

Arguably the most apparent access point of disciplinary language relates to the lexicon; knowledge of technical and semi-technical terms and phrases is a hallmark of membership in the relevant discourse communities (Swales 2004). However, in the context of upper secondary schooling, two aspects need to be considered: firstly, membership of the discipline and its associated discourse community are located (if at all) in students' imagined future, as their immediate community is that of school. Secondly, the learning of the lexis specific to a school subject frequently involves the concurrent learning of a new concept and a new term or phrase, often in both the L1 and the L2, to describe it, rather than a mere translation of a lexical item known in the L1 for a concept already understood. This circumscribes typically learning-oriented disciplinary language use. Taking account of the need to capture both the product and the process in the development of disciplinary language, the AME project investigated the spontaneous production of subject-specific vocabulary by students as

well as the discursive creation and display of their learning process.

The identification of subject-specific or disciplinary lexical items draws on the holistic methodology specifically developed for this project, which incorporates both corpus linguistic and qualitative data of (content) teacher perceptions (Rieder-Bünemann et al. 2019). Findings regarding the expertise-focused disciplinary language use show the ability of students to spontaneously produce terms and phrases related to the subject in oral classroom interactions; in a sample of 13 hours and 20 minutes of recorded classroom observation, the CLIL students overall produced 52 phrases and 70 distinct words (270 and 720 occurrences respectively) that were deemed technical or semi-technical for the school subjects of economics and politics. This finding is of interest in that it shows the ability of CLIL learners to actively and spontaneously produce the lexicon of the school subject (which is broader than the feeder academic disciplines). This already constitutes a learning affordance of CLIL classrooms, which cannot be replicated in a regular EFL classroom given the content-learning involved in the correct usage of these technical and semi-technical terms and phrases.

What is of equal interest from an educational point of view is finding and analysing evidence of the learning-oriented disciplinary language use involved here, shown in the associated verbal and multi-modal practices of the subject-specific lexicon and phraseology. The extract below shows the discourse surrounding the use of the technical term 'subsidiarity' within a group work setting (Rieder-Bünemann et al. forthcoming).

(1)	1	S1fem:	*maybe there should be like a common law for like drinking or something*
	2		*because in Austria and Germany (at) sixteen but in: the UK it's eighteen*
	3		*so it really like differs from each country what you: are allowed to do so*
	4		*maybe we should do that more (.) commonly*
	5	S2fem:	*but on the other side it's also good that we have that (..) that <careful>*
	6		*subsidiarity </careful>*
	7	S1m:	*Subsidiarity*
	8	S2fem:	*=and so that some law are regulated by the EU and some from the national*
	9		*Governments*

This extract shows nicely how the students engage with the concept of subsidiarity and their understanding of it becomes apparent in the paraphrase offered in lines 2 to 4 by S1fem, when she outlines the autonomy in certain legal aspects of member states of the European Union. S2fem then brings in 'subsidiarity' as the correct technical term for this (l. 6), which is immediately taken up by the third student in this group, S1m, in line 7. We can see how tentatively S2fem introduces the term with both hesitations and careful pronunciation at play, which I would argue are indications of the term and its meaning being known, but the students still showing awareness of its novelty. It is worth noting that the German term *Subsidiarität* is a cognate, but probably as much a technical term to be learnt in the context of the CLIL class as the English one.

3.2. DISCOURSE PATTERNS

The previous example is a good indication of the intricacies of discourse patterns

that are produced within CLIL classrooms in relation to the requirements of the school subject. Again, we find that the two sides of the disciplinary language 'coin', i.e. the expertise-focused display of patterns conforming to disciplinary expectations and the process of learning these patterns, are at play.

Applying the construct of CDF to these data, we can observe how their realisation takes the form of either an expertise-focused production conforming to disciplinary expectations or a learning-focused process engaging in the appropriation of both the expected discursive patterns and the associated content. Examples (2) and (3) serve to illustrate the CDF *describe*, which proto-typically serves to inform interlocutors (cf., section 2.3).

(2)   1   T: *so sole proprietors and partnerships they have to pay income tax on the profits they*
        2   *make and corporations like <L1de> GMBH {limited company) </L1de> and <L1de>*
        3   *AG {public limited company} </L1de> they have to pay corporation tax okay2*

(3)   1   T: *what about the ECB you've been speaking about the euro*
        2   Sm1: *the ECB is located in Frankfurt in Germany*
        3   T: *this is all this is all you know you just know that ECB is headquartered in Frankfurt*
        4   *and that's it I just wanna know because I wasn't here yeah right*
        5   Sm2: *it's a bank without without vault so there is no money at this bank*
        6   T: *so you can't rob the ECB in Frankfurt*
        7   Sm2: *yeah and it's now Austr- now we also <L1de> die europäische Zentralbank is ja jetzt*
        8   *auch für die Banken hier in Österreich zuständig {well the ECB is now also responsible*
        9   *for the banks here in Austria} </L1de> they are responsible for the banks in Austria*
        10   *not only the national bank of Austria*

The teacher-performed extract in (2) shows the type of functional information that is deemed appropriate in a description of diverse legal entities in business, here the type of tax payable. We find here the integration of technical terms, such as 'sole proprietor', 'corporation tax' and also the activation of the L1 in the use of German acronyms for the types of legal entity. Such translanguaging is seen as an attempt to support students in their learning through English while ensuring that L1 technical terms and disciplinary discourse patterns maintain a presence in the Austrian classroom.

The much more overtly collaborative example (3) is taken from an interaction where the teacher elicits the themes covered during the previous lesson, which had been taught by a substitute teacher. Although typically such a communicative intention might trigger a CDF report, the interlocutors are, in fact, collecting relevant aspects of a CDF description of the European Central Bank (ECB). This extract clearly shows the orientation towards the process of learning, possibly here with an emphasis on content- rather than language-related knowledge. The collection of facts by the students commences with the location of the ECB, the specific feature of this 'bank' of having no physical money

with the final contribution by Sm2 outlining (part of) its function within the European banking structure. The teacher in line 3 acknowledges the contribution, and does so somewhat jokingly in line 6; nevertheless, we might view her statements in lines 3–4 as an implicit request for more details when she says 'this is all you know' and 'that's it'. There is thus an implicit indication of which elements are needed to provide a successful description of the ECB in accordance with the discipline of economics, although the precise formulation, such as might be required for instance in a written exam, is not produced in this extract.

While CDFs might be viewed as "micro-genres" (Meyer & Coyle 2017: 211), more intricate combinations of CDFs also come into play in the development and use of disciplinary language. Among these, the ability to argue in an appropriate manner has been highlighted as key, also to the overarching goal of fostering critical thinking (Jimenez & Erduran 2008). While the overarching discourse function of producing oppositional talk is present in all types of settings, the more precise notion of argumentation "refers to a [...] process in which claims are made, supported, and evaluated by reasons and evidence" (Nussbaum & Edwards 2011). The type of claim and support that is seen as appropriate varies from discipline to discipline. There are two basic types in which a supported claim can be countered in an argumentation; firstly, a direct counter-claim positing an alternative or opposing statement and secondly a rebuttal, i.e. a challenge to the validity of the support offered. The challenge for CLIL students lies in learning which types of (counter-)claims and supporting evidence are acceptable within the subject they are studying, and also the discursive means of presenting these.

As part of the AME project, we could identify a typical structure of argumentation in education, which includes the explicit resolution of an argument through the final restated or refined claim. This is mostly produced by teachers and appears to ensure that students' attention is directed towards the 'correct', i.e. the disciplinarily accepted or appropriate proposition. The overall argumentation structure thus follows two basic routes with several variations, often in the form of repetition loops of the first two elements (cf. Hüttner & Smit 2017).

A: CLAIM (plus SUPPORT) followed by COUNTER-CLAIM (plus SUPPORT) followed by RESTATED / REFINED CLAIM

B: CLAIM (plus SUPPORT) followed by REBUTTAL followed by RESTATED/ REFINED CLAIM

Again, the argumentation patterns observed in these formats address both aspects of disciplinary language at school, i.e. its learning and its production. Example (4) below shows how in a teacher-led discussion argumentation patterns allow access to (more refined) knowledge of the subject.

(4)   1   Teacher: *do we still have a say in the monetary policy in the euro area what do you think*
      2   S1fem: *No*
      3   Teacher: *no not at all nothing zero*
      4   SX-f: *Maybe*
      5   Teacher: *Maybe*

6	S2fem:	in Brussels <soft> we can say something</soft>
7	Teacher:	n:o not quite alright uh every member of the euro area is of course represented
8		in uh the European central bank right so you have a president who is Mario
9		Draghi there is a vice president and then there are four other members of the
10		executive board and then there is one board where each member of the euro
11		area has a representative and these are the national governors so the governor of
12		the national banks sorry the governors of the eighteen or seventeen or seventeen
13		national banks are represented in the European central bank in Frankfurt and
14		they make the decisions right so it's one country one vote so yes Austria still
15		has a certain influence because the governor of the Austrian national bank
16		Mister Novotny travels to Frankfurt regularly and he can vote right but he
17		shouldn't vote in favour of the Austrian interests he should uhm defend the
18		European interest so the monetary policy is made for the entire euro area and
19		not for a single country so Austria still has a say in the monetary policy but not
20		as much as it used to be

Line 1 shows an example of the frequent pattern that claims made by students are triggered by teacher questions. Lines 2 to 3 then present the first claim, i.e. that Austria has no say in the monetary policy of the Euro area, which is answered with a counterclaim in lines 4 to 6 highlighting the influence of Austria, like each member state, in the European Commission in a somewhat hesitant statement by S2fem. The teacher echoes her students' statement in lines 3 and 5, again showing that especially learning-focused disciplinary language frequently involves overt co-construction of individual elements. Line 7 starts with a slightly hedged disagreement token and then provides the teacher's refined statement clarifying the role of Austria in the monetary policy of the Euro zone. Especially lines 17 and 18 provide the crux of the matter in clarifying that the Austrian representative in the board of the governors of National Banks should not defend Austrian, but common European, interests in monetary policy.

The following example is taken from a group-work activity, where students develop an understanding of diverse national positions on common European political or economic issues. Lines 1 and 2 present the first claim in this argumentation, i.e. that the Euro is not essential for a country's economy. The counter-claim is developed by S2fem stating that life with several currencies in Europe would be 'complicated'. The support for this counter-claim is only provided after a trigger (line 6) and encompasses lines 7 to 14, jointly produced by S2fem and S4fem, based on the perceived disadvantage of having to juggle several currencies on travel.

(5)	1	S3fem.:	it's just a commo-it's just a it's just curren- common currency to make
	2		everything easier but it's not <9>necessary</9> to have the euro
	3	S2fem:	<9>yes</9> but if you think now back when nobody has uhm the euro

4		*everyone has uhm their own traditional currency like Schilling Deutsche Mark*
5		*and Swedish Krona everything ja that would be really complicated no*
6	S3fem:	*why @*
7	S2fem:	*because if you if you travel a lot through I don't know through Middle Europe*
8		*<1>and then you'd</1>*
9	S3fem.:	*<1>yeah but what if i</1>*
10	S2fem:	*go from one day to another day maybe you are not doing that because you*
11		*always say the Krona is the best but if you're no <2>if you're really travelling*
12		*everywhere</2>*
13	S4fem:	*<2> in my case when you</2> work or you travel every day you always have*
14		*to to <3>change your money</3>*

This pattern of claim and counterclaim is continued for a further 49 utterances involving all three students, until they explicitly note the need to "come to a conclusion", stated with laughter by S4fem. This perceived 'conclusion' consists of several restated and refined claims; the one corresponding to example (5) is as follows:

(6)	1	S3fem.:	*I I'm not totally against the Euro it also has advantages but I don't think*
	2		*that we need it it's not necessary to have it and so we don't want*
	3		*to change our traditions because it's for hundred years ago we also have the*
	4		*Swedish krona and will it will always stay the same because we don't have*
	5		*a problem with it maybe if the Swedish Krona would be a problem for us the*
	6		*we would think about joining the euro zone but at the moment we don't have*
	7		*a really a real reason for it*

While example (6) is still clearly quite very different from an expert statement on the Swedish position towards joining the Euro, we can note that some elements were added (e.g. traditions in line 3, the lack of difficulties with the Euro in lines 4 and 5) and the possibility that this position might change given different circumstances (lines 6 and 7). These learning-focused argumentations show the overtly joint construction of subject knowledge at play and these types feature predominantly in the interactions of the teacher with the whole class and in non-assessed group-work activities. Mostly, they are concerned with the development of acceptable elements in terms of the information given, which is most noticeable when the teacher participates. However, the need to react to counter-claims or rebuttals also fosters the development of refined claims, offering more subject-relevant detail, in student groups. An overt focus on the use of the lexical and phraseological range of the school subject is rare, but the teacher frequently models expected language use in her frequent production of the final element in an argumentation, i.e. in the refined/restated claim.

In addition to these learning-focused examples and in line with the dual nature of disciplinary language, there are also instances of expertise-focused argumentations. These display students' subject knowledge and their ability to appropriately participate in the communicative practices of a school subject.

Example (7) below is taken from an assessed role-play task, where the students were taking on the roles of politicians in the European Parliament and journalists, respectively. Of most interest here is the first claim-*plus*-support produced by S1m

in lines 1 and 2. This regards the aims of the EAF, which is strengthened by a supporting statement that cites an authority in the form of the EAF vice-president's statement, and also an explicit evaluation of that source. This is followed by S2m's counter-claim in lines 7 to 9 (Hüttner & Smit 2017: 10).

(7) 1 S1m: *the only possibility I can see here is that you try to sabotage the EU from*
     2   *the core so as an example uhm two weeks ago we had uhm Marine Le Pen*
     3   *which is president of the Front National and she said to a German uh newsletter*
     4   *that she'll try to get France out of the Eurozone and out of the European Union*
     5   *and at least she is the vice president of the EAF so that can't just be her point of*
     6   *View*
     7 S2m: *what so I first wanna say we don't want to sabotage the European Union but what*
     8   *we try to do is uh to form a trade union which consists out of different coun-*
     9   *different countries*

All the data presented here were taken from oral classroom interactions and thus features of orality, e.g. lack of subordination, use of vague lexis, are more present than would be expected in subject-specific writing, for instance. Nevertheless, these data suggest that the duality of disciplinary language in CLIL classrooms, i.e. of including elements focused on learning and those focused on production of subject-appropriate language patterns, can be maintained. I would argue that the explicit and overt inclusion of learning-focused disciplinary language in its overall definition is an important addition to our understanding of the development of the potential of CLIL.

4   DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Several implications arise from the discussion and evidence presented so far: firstly, we can see support for distinct patterns of disciplinary language focused on displaying expertise on the one hand, and on learning on the other.

Secondly, there is comparatively little overt attention paid to disciplinary language beyond lexical and terminological matters, although teachers do seem to model and recast more discipline-appropriate discursive patterns, whether at the level of CDF or argumentation. The focus of teachers appears to remain, however, on disciplinary appropriacy with regard to content knowledge and terminology.

For CLIL to answer its potential for developing disciplinary language to the full, I concur with Dalton-Puffer (2016: 52) that explicit teaching of discourse patterns is as important as that of terminology. Several areas will need to be addressed within CLIL teacher education, and possibly within subject teacher education more generally, to enable such a change in CLIL practice. Primarily, this will need to ensure that subject teachers are fully aware of the role of language in their subjects, more precisely, its role both in terms of shaping discourse conventions of the subject, such as 'the right way of writing a Chemistry lab report' and in terms of a prime locus of learning and accessing new content knowledge. Despite many promising inroads in this area (e.g. Meyer & Coyle 2017), more consistent

work is needed here, also including the provision of in-service education. The second group of teachers whose role in CLIL needs to be considered is English language teachers; their education will need to focus more on enabling an analysis of diverse disciplinary languages and of working in collaboration with content teachers. The 21st century English teacher will, to my mind, no longer be confined to the English classroom, but will need to expand their expertise to become a professional language advisor for a range of subject specialists.

Fully developing these proposals will take time and coordination, but most importantly a move towards more integrated and interdisciplinary teaching and teacher education; it is, however, vital if we want a modern and sustainable CLIL practice to fulfil its learning potential.

Notes

1 I gratefully acknowledge funding granted for this project by the Austrian Ministry of Education, Culture and the Arts in 2013/14

2 Transcription conventions can be found at https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information

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SPEECH ACTS OF REQUEST AND APOLOGY REALISED BY CZECH STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: SELECTED FINDINGS OF A PILOT STUDY

Marie Lahodová Vališová

Abstract: During the second half of the 20th century, there was a shift in focus in second-language-acquisition research from linguistic competence to communicative and pragmatic competence (Hymes 1972, Canale & Swain 1980, Bachman 1990, Bachman & Palmer 1996, Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006). This resulted in a growing number of studies on speech acts in general. Motivated by a lack of studies on the speech acts of apology in conversations of Czech learners of English as a foreign language, my study aims to shed light on request and apology strategies used by Czech university students. The aim of this paper is to present the findings of a pilot investigation into the speech acts of apology and request. The first aim of the study is to compare two data collection techniques: the open-ended written discourse completion task (DCT) and the oral production task (OPT). The second aim is to investigate the use of request and apology strategies by Czech learners of English. The findings suggest that both of the data collection techniques produced very similar data. In terms of requests, most respondents opted for a conventional indirect strategy. In terms of apologies, respondents opted for statements of remorse, offers of repair and account.

Keywords: pragmatic competence, speech acts, requests, apologies, written discourse completion task, oral production task

1   INTRODUCTION

The development of the pragmatic competence of Czech university students in terms of linguistic politeness is a topic which has not been sufficiently addressed in English-language courses and textbooks. Specifically, I investigate one aspect of pragmatic competence: the development of linguistic politeness norms in English as a second language (L2). Through a comparative study of linguistic politeness, I want to establish the level of pragmatic competence of Czech students of English; whether they are able to use the various English linguistic devices appropriately when communicating in various situations, and what phrases they do and do not know. The study compares speech acts of request and apology, and the strategies deployed in using them, performed by Czech native speakers using English as L2, with the strategies of native English speakers (English as first language or L1). The findings could be used in teaching, and for devising various methods for developing pragmatic competence while teaching English as a foreign language to university students.

This paper presents selected results of my pilot study into the speech acts of apology and request and addresses the following research question: what are the strategies of speech acts of request and apology used by Czech students using English as L2? In what follows I first describe the theoretical background and previous studies of the speech acts of request and apology. Then I introduce the methods and procedures used. The last section describes the course of the pilot study, reports the results of the analysis and discusses the implications of my research.

2   THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1   Pragmatic competence and the theory of politeness

These days, communicative competence is the chief concept that defines the content and goal of foreign language teaching. Knowledge of language continues to be considered important; however, the ability to use it in context is coming to the fore.

The term 'communicative competence' was first used by Hymes (1972: 281–286) in his critical response to Chomsky's (1965: 4) separation of language into competence and performance. Hymes's concept includes not just the knowledge of grammar and ability to use it, but also the ability to communicate appropriately in various social environments. The concept was then developed further (Canale & Swain 1980, Thomas 1983, Bachman 1990, Bachman & Palmer 1996, Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006). There are many definitions of communicative competence and there is some overlap between them. The development of communicative competence in a foreign language continues to be a focus of teaching, where the emphasis is on the efficient use of language in a social context. This then implies the need to develop pragmatic competence and awareness of politeness norms in the teaching of foreign languages.

Interlanguage pragmatics is the study of the pragmatic competence of foreign language students, focusing in particular on interaction and speech acts: it examines students' ability to use various linguistic means in the target language when interacting in various contexts, and looks at how they are able to devise and appropriately use

speech acts, such as compliments, apologies, requests and complaints. The discipline also examines how their interlanguage pragmatic competence improves alongside their general advancement in the language.

Requests and apologies are among the most commonly studied speech acts, because they are frequently used. They are also acts that tend to be examined in terms not just of pragmatic competence but also politeness theory. Apologies, which are examples of expressive speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1979), are difficult for foreign language students to grasp, as they are culturally specific expressions.

One area that falls under the heading of pragmatic competence is politeness. Politeness is understood to consist of ways of behaving and acting that are based on the values and norms of a society. By linguistic politeness, we mean verbal communication that reflects the speakers' relations with, and their positions relative to, their communication partners in mutual interactions.

The study of linguistic politeness is relatively new, starting in the 1960s. This study draws on Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), according to which people cooperate in their interactions in order to perform face-saving activities (1987: 61). The authors adopted Goffman's concept of face and linked it with the idiom 'to lose face'. All members of society have a face – it is their public display of themselves, how they want to be seen by others. Brown and Levinson developed a model of politeness, in which each speaker has several options or strategies to choose from, and they argue that these strategies are universal. During interaction, face-threatening acts (FTA) may appear. Any speech act may be an FTA, threatening the face of the speaker, the addressee or both. The measure of the threat depends on three factors: the social distance of the speaker and addressee; the relative power of the speaker over the addressee; and the degree of threat to the addressee's face in the given culture.

Although Brown and Levinson's theory has been widely criticised (Wierzbicka 1991, Eelen 2001), and for example, experts on Asian cultures do not consider their theory universal, as it is incompatible with Asian notions of politeness – most studies of linguistic politeness continue to refer to, and work with, this theory.

2.2   Speech acts of request

Requests are examples of directive speech acts (Searle 1979), in which the speaker asks the hearer to perform an action which is often for the exclusive benefit of the speaker (Trosborg 1995). That is why requests are considered to be face-threatening acts.

Requests can be more or less direct. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Sifianou (1992) and Trosborg (1995), requests usually consist of two main parts: the head act (which is an obligatory part of the request, or the request itself; it can stand on its own) and other modification devices. There are two types of modification device: internal (which appear within the head act) and external (they appear in the immediate context of the head act). They are optional and their role is to mitigate the illocutionary force of the request.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 202) identified three main types of head act: direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect. These can be further divided into nine types of strategy, which are ordered according to the level of directness (see Table 1).

Main category	Types	Examples
Direct	1 Mood derivable	*Clean up this mess, please.*
	2 Explicit performative	*I'm asking you not to park the car here.*
	3 Hedged performative	*I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier.*
	4 Locution derivable	*Madam, you'll have to move your car.*
	5 Scope stating	*I really wish you'd stop bothering me.*
Conventionally indirect	6 Language specific suggestory formula	*How about cleaning up?*
	7 Reference to preparatory conditions	*Could you clear up the kitchen, please?*
Non-conventionally indirect	8 Strong hints	*You've left the kitchen in a right mess.*
	9 Mild hints	*You've been busy here, haven't you?*

Table 1: Request strategy types – coding categories and examples
(Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 202)

This study is focused solely on request strategies, not on request modification devices. For that reason, I have employed the categorical system of requests according to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984).

2.3 Speech acts of apology

Apologies are examples of expressive speech acts (Searle 1979). Goffman defines an apology as a remedial utterance, pronounced in an effort to re-establish social harmony after an actual or virtual transgression (1971: 109). Thus, if one of the communicants offers an apology, they show their willingness to demean themselves. This makes an apology a face-saving act for the hearer, and, concurrently, a face-threatening act for the speaker.

According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 206–207) an apology can take one of two basic forms, or a combination of the two. An apology is performed using an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). These are utterances commonly used to express apology, such as the verbs (*be*) *sorry*, *excuse*, *apologise*, *forgive*, *regret* and *pardon*. Another option for performing an apology (with or without an IFID) is to make an utterance involving one of four apology strategies: account, assumption of responsibility, offer of repair and promise not to repeat the offence (there are multiple taxonomies and the wording of the categories differs slightly among the authors).

Fraser enumerated apology strategies in 1981, citing nine of them. Olshtain and Cohen (1983) then reduced the number of strategies to five; Trosborg (1987) first proposed six strategies, but later reduced the number to two main strategies and two sub-strategies (1995).

For my study, I adopted the classification of strategy types according to Sugimoto (1997), who distinguishes primary, secondary and seldom used strategies. She then divides these three categories into eleven subcategories (see Table 2).

Main category	Subcategories
I. Primary strategies	Statement of remorse
	Accounts
	Description of damage
	Reparation
II. Secondary strategies	Compensation
	Promise not to repeat offence
III. Seldom used strategies	Explicit assessment of responsibility
	Contextualization
	Self-castigation
	Request for forgiveness
	Gratitude

Table 2: Apology strategy types – coding categories
(Sugimoto 1997: 356)

In the next section, I give an overview of existing research into requests and apologies in interlanguage pragmatics and in foreign language learning.

3   SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.1   Foreign studies

3.1.1 Requests

The study of requests within interlanguage pragmatics research has received considerable attention. The main reasons for the interest might be the importance and frequent use of requests in social life, and their face-threatening nature. Despite the fact that they may be realised using clearly identifiable formulae, requests differ cross-linguistically and they place considerable demands on L2 learners.

Most relevant studies on the speech acts of request have focused on the strategies language learners opt for including the modification devices and whether and how the requesting behaviour differs from native-speakers' norms (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010, Márquez-Reiter 2000, Trosborg 1995). Others have investigated the development of requests in learners' interlanguage (Bella 2012, Flores Salgado 2011, Woodfield 2012). Most studies are cross-sectional; only a few are longitudinal. Most frequent data collection techniques were written discourse completion tasks, sometimes complemented with a questionnaire, cartoon oral production tasks, role-plays or interviews.

A discourse-completion task (DCT) is a research instrument used in linguistics. Originally it was used in the study of speech acts by native speakers and students of Hebrew (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). It consists of descriptions of various social situations placed in a certain context, from which one can glean the background of the dialogue and the mutual social positions of the communicants. Respondents are asked for their

reactions, i.e. speech acts expressing how they think they would respond in an actual situation.

Perhaps the most often cited work is Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) *Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP), which studied requests and apologies in a large range of languages, aiming to uncover possible pragmatic principles at work when speech acts of request and apology are performed. This project has been crucial for the study of speech acts in several respects: it created the DCT, now in widespread use, and led to a system of categories for analysing requests and apologies.

The studies cited suggest that as learners' L2 language proficiency improves, so does their ability to formulate requests as well as the breadth of their repertoires (a pragma-linguistic development is apparent). However, no evidence has yet been found that their ability to choose an appropriate strategy with respect to the social variables also improves (socio-pragmatic development).

3.1.2 Apologies

There are many studies of apologies in various languages. Some researchers have investigated politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987, García 1989, Márquez-Reiter 2000), the factors influencing the choice of a particular strategy (Cohen & Olshtain 1981, Fraser 1981, Olshtain & Cohen 1983), intercultural variations in expressing apologies (García 1989, Trosborg 1987, Sugimoto 1997, Márquez-Reiter 2000, Bataineh & Bataineh 2008), negative transfers from the native language (Olshtain & Cohen 1983) and gender differences (Márquez-Reiter 2000, Bataineh & Bataineh 2008). These studies were all cross-sectional, with a discourse completion task or test, cartoon oral production task, or role-playing as the main data collection methods.

Studies of apologies found the following: there are substantial similarities in the performance of an apology across cultures, but there are also differences: the choice of apology strategy is often informed by social and situational factors and the sociocultural norms of the native language influence the manner of apology in a foreign language.

3.2   Czech studies

Little attention has been given to studying the development of pragmatic competence and linguistic politeness. Two monographs, by Grepl and Karlík (1998) and Hirschová (2013), examined pragmatics and the theory of speech acts in the Czech language. Chejnová published an article on requests in Czech institutional correspondence (2014) and Válková investigated speech acts of apology in Czech (2004, 2008 and 2014). There has been no specific study of how native Czech speakers formulate speech acts of request and apology in English.

4   PILOT STUDY METHODS

4.1   Goals of the pilot study

The pilot study had three main goals.
1.   Test the main research instrument, the DCT, and its reliability and validity.

2. Establish what strategies native Czech speakers use in English in various situations that necessitate them making requests and apologies (a DCT in English, in two parts).

3. Establish whether social variables (formal and informal situations) influence the choice of their request and apology strategies.

4.2   Pilot study research questions

1. What are the similarities and differences in apology and request strategies, when gathered by two different data collection techniques, DCT and OPT?

2. What strategies and means of expression do Czech students use in English in various situations that necessitate them making requests and apologies?

3. What is the influence of social variables (in formal and informal situations) on their choice of request and apology strategies?

4.3   Research design

One of the aims of the pilot study was to verify the reliability and validity of the data-collection technique, DCT. To this end, I compared the outcomes of DCT and OPT, i.e. the written and oral responses to an identical set of situations, necessitating expressions of request and apology, gathered using the two techniques.

The DCT was divided into two sections, each containing a description of 10 situations, to which students were expected to respond with a request (five) and an apology (another five). There were five formal and five informal situations. The situations were mixed together in the sample, so that the questionnaire did not contain any distractors (for the DCT No. 1 questionnaire, see Appendix 1).

The description of each situation in the DCT indicates the social distance and relative power between the participants. All situations are drawn from the daily lives of university students, be it communication with teachers or fellow students, working at a coffee shop or parking their car. Thus, the situations should be intelligible and familiar to the students.

There was a delay before students completed the second questionnaire, with the aim of making them forget what they had said in their answers to the first questionnaire. The descriptions of the situations are identical in the second questionnaire, but the social power relations and distance between the actors are different. For instance, in the first DCT, the subjects ask their tutor to lend them a book and in the second they ask the same from a fellow student. This was designed to answer research question number three.

The OPT was likewise divided into two parts, with the same aim.

4.4   The sample

The respondents for the pilot study were drawn from Czech students of the first and second years at the Faculty of Business and Economics, Mendel University in Brno. This was an available, selected sample of the population (cf. Hendl & Remr 2017: 138).

All of the students met the same set of initial parameters: their secondary education had been completed by a school-leaving exam ('maturita' in Czech); they had

been accepted for study at university; they had completed a written English-language test at admission; and they were aged 19–25. Students admitted to the Business English course, who formed my sample, had to have B1 proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

4.5 Data processing procedure

All data obtained through DCT and OPT were transcribed and coded. For the request strategies, the Blum-Kulka and Olshtain coding system was used (see Table 1). For apology strategies, I devised my own system, following Sugimoto's (1997) model. Having obtained the data, I excluded some of Sugimoto's categories, simply because they did not appear in my sample at all (*promise not to repeat offence* and *gratitude*). Owing to their incidence in my data set, I added certain categories, bringing the total number to 14 – see Table 3 (the strategies are ordered by first occurrence in my data, not according to frequency).

Apology strategy types	Examples
Statement of remorse	*I'm sorry. / I apologize.*
Account	*I've lost the book.*
Description of damage	*It's only a small crash.*
Offer of repair	*The coffee is on the house. / I'll pay for the repair.*
Explicit assumption of responsibility	*That was my fault. / I know it was my mistake.*
Self-criticism	*It was my stupid mistake. / I'm so clumsy.*
Request not to get angry	*Please don't kill me.*
Showing lack of intent to do harm	*I didn't want to.*
Thanking	*I appreciate you've come but . . .*
Reassuring the injured party, downplaying	*Don't worry. / It will be OK. / I believe it will be OK.*
Finding out the consequences	*Are you OK? / How serious is it?*
Being at a loss for words	*I don't know what to say.*
Blaming external circumstances	*I have a bad day today.*
Cautious response	*How much did the phone cost?*

Table 3: Apology strategy types – coding categories (adapted and extended based on pilot study data sets)

4.6 Reliability and validity

The DCT is "perhaps the most widely used methodology in interlanguage pragmatics" (Gass & Neu 2006: 46). Evidently, DCT data cannot be considered authentic utterances obtained in a natural conversation. They are what students indicated they would say in a given situation.

There are numerous studies that have compared DCT data with data from observations or recordings of authentic discourse (e.g. Wolfson, Marmor & Jones 1989, Gollato 2003, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2013). Similarities as well as differences were found. Yet as far as similarities are concerned, it was shown that the same strategies were used by respondents with both research methods.

Despite certain limitations, DCT can serve as an instrument for obtaining a large amount of data under the same set of conditions and concurrently, hence it is valid and reliable. The authors of the cited comparative studies nonetheless note that DCT should be complemented with another research instrument in order to triangulate data (Golato 2003, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2013).

In order to verify the reliability and validity of DCT, I decided to use both DCT and OPT in my pilot study.

5   THE PILOT STUDY

5.1   The course of the pilot study

I collected my DCT data in the spring semester of 2017/2018 at the Business English tutorial at the Faculty of Business and Economics, Mendel University Brno, from ten students.

I collected my OPT data in the spring semester of 2018/2019 from a sample of three Czech students who met the same prerequisites. The recordings were made in separate sittings. The students were informed about the purpose of the study and the procedure. However, the topic of the study was not disclosed to them, in order to avoid influencing their oral utterances and their choice of strategy. The students received cards describing the situations (the same situations, in the same order, as in the DCT). They read the card, and responded orally, in English. I recorded this on a Dictaphone. Two such sessions were held with every student, four weeks apart.

5.2   Pilot study results

Here I present the results of my analysis of Czech students of English, focusing on the strategies they used and on whether there was a difference between formal and informal situations.

5.2.1 Requests

For DCT, I obtained 100 requests, 50 each in formal and informal situations. For OPT, I obtained 30 requests, 15 formal and 15 informal. Looking at Tables 4 and 5, which show the frequency of request strategies in DCT and OPT, it is apparent that the *conventionally indirect strategy*, more specifically *reference to preparatory conditions*, is the most commonly used (90.0% and 93.4% respectively).

DPT					OPT			
Formal and informal situations					**Formal and informal situations**			
Strategies	**Number of strategies**	**Frequency [%]**	**Total number of strategies used**		**Strategies**	**Number of strategies**	**Frequency [%]**	**Total number of strategies used**
1 Mood derivable	2	2	100		1 Mood derivable	1	3.3	30
2 Explicit performative	1	1			2 Explicit performative	0	0	
3 Hedged performative	0	0			3 Hedged performative	1	3.3	
4 Locution derivable	0	0			4 Locution derivable	0	0	
5 Scope stating	0	0			5 Scope stating	0	0	
6 Suggestory formula	0	0			6 Suggestory formula	0	0	
7 Reference to preparatory conditions	90	90			7 Reference to preparatory conditions	28	93.4	
8 Strong hints	7	7			8 Strong hints	0	0	
9 Mild hints	0	0			9 Mild hints	0	0	

Tables 4 and 5: A comparison of the frequency of request strategies in DCT and OPT

If we compare the frequency of request strategies between formal and informal situations (see Figure 1), we see that with DCT the frequency of *reference to preparatory conditions* was 90 per cent in both formal and informal situations. Students opted for *strong hints* as the second most frequent strategy (8% in formal situations and 6% in informal). With OPT in formal situations, the frequency of *reference to preparatory conditions* was 100 per cent, while in informal situations, the figure stood at 86.8 per cent, followed by *mood derivable* and *hedged performative* strategies (both occurring in 6.6% cases; see Figure 1).
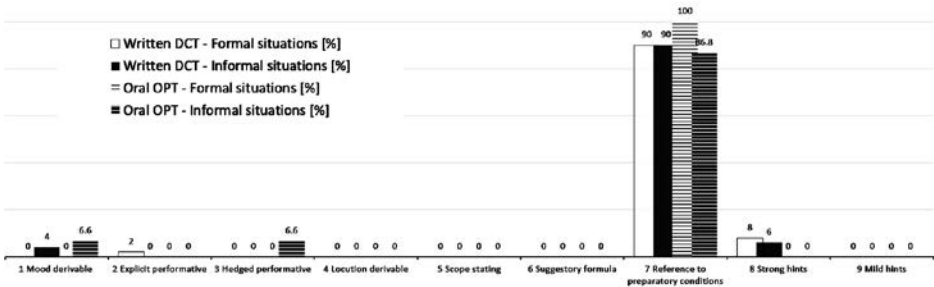

Figure 1: Request strategies, DCT and OPT (in formal and informal situations)

5.2.2 Apologies

For DCT, I obtained 100 apologetic responses, involving 266 individual strategies, thus each apology involved 2.66 strategies on average. Thirty responses were recorded as part of OPT, with 89 individual strategies (an average of 2.97 strategies per apology). Tables 6 and 7 compare the frequency of occurrence of strategy categories across DCT and OPT. In what follows I limit myself to those strategies whose incidence was above ten per cent.

DCT				OPT			
Formal and informal situations				**Formal and informal situations**			
Strategies	**Number of strategies**	**Frequency %**	**Total number of strategies**	**Strategies**	**Number of strategies**	**Frequency %**	**Total number of strategies**
Statement of remorse	82	30.8	266	Statement of remorse	25	28.1	89
Offer of repair	46	17.3		Account	22	24.7	
Account	44	16.5		Offer of repair	19	21.3	
Description of damage	19	7.1		Finding out the consequences	6	6.7	
Explicit assumption of responsibility	15	5.6		Description of damage	3	3.4	
Finding out the consequences	12	4.5		Thanking	3	3.4	
Being at a loss for words	11	4.1		Reassuring the injured party, downplaying	3	3.4	
Reassuring the injured party, downplaying	8	3.0		Explicit assumption of responsibility	2	2.2	
Showing lack of intent to do harm	7	2.6		Self-criticism	2	2.2	
Blaming external circumstances	7	2.6		Showing lack of intent to do harm	2	2.2	
Thanking	5	1.9		Being at a loss for words	1	1.1	
Self-criticism	4	1.5		Cautious response	1	1.1	
Cautious response	4	1.5		Request not to get angry	0	0.0	
Request not to get angry	2	0.8		Blaming external circumstances	0	0.0	

Tables 6 and 7: A comparison of the frequency of apology strategies in DCT and OPT

The DCT questionnaires involved 14 categories of apology strategy, ordered by frequency of occurrence: *statement of remorse, offer of repair* and *account*.

Statements of remorse were clearly the most prevalent, appearing in 30.8 per cent of apologies. The incidence of the following two categories was nearly half that of *statements of remorse*. Still, the data indicate that both *offers of repair* and *accounts* appeared in nearly half of the sample of apologies obtained (17.3% and 16.5%

respectively). There was a large gap between the incidence of the third and fourth most often used strategies: strategy no. 3 (*account*) was nearly twice as prevalent as strategy no. 4 (*description of damage*).

If we divide these apologetic reactions (100) into formal (50) and informal (50), the order of the three most frequently used categories does not change (see Figure 2). Thus the in/formality of the situation did not influence the frequency of the most commonly employed strategies in DCT.

In OPT, respondents used twelve strategy categories. Unlike in DCT, the strategies of *blaming external circumstances* and *request not to get angry* did not appear here at all. The most frequently employed strategies in OPT were as follows: *statements of remorse, accounts* and *offers of repair.*

Thus, again, *statement of remorse* was the most frequent strategy. However, in OPT the frequency of occurrence of the top three categories was more uniform than in DCT. The order remained the same in formal and informal situations (see Figure 2).
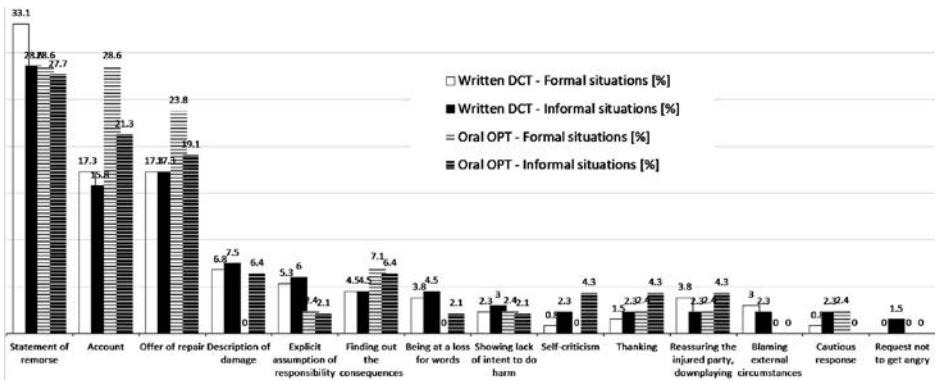

Figure 2: Most frequently used apology strategies in DCT and OPT – a comparison of formal and informal situations

5.3 Discussion

My analysis of data obtained from DCT and OPT indicates that Czech students of English in expressing their requests clearly opted for a *conventionally indirect strategy*, namely a *reference to preparatory conditions*. This is in line with the outcomes of previous studies of acts of request. The social variable (formal or informal situation) did not seem to play a role in the selection of the strategy.

The analysis indicates that the three most frequently used categories of apology strategy remained the same across formal and informal settings, in DCT and OPT. The other categories of strategy appeared less often, their incidence being under ten per cent. For DCT, there were 14 strategy categories, and for OPT, twelve. Of these, the incidence of strategies nos. 4-12 was very small (one to three instances out of 30). Since the sample of apologies was very small, every instance could change the order and frequency.

Respondents filling out the written DCT had more time to consider their response and strategy than those in the oral OPT setting. Despite this, as far as requests were concerned, the choice of reference to preparatory conditions clearly dominated; with apologies, the three most commonly used strategies were the same across DCT and OPT. In their oral utterances, respondents evidently limited themselves to the main strategy for requests: a conventionally indirect strategy, i.e. conventional phrases, which they had acquainted themselves with during their studies. As far as apologies are concerned, these are the three main categories cited above. The other strategies can be considered specific to the situation to which they responded.

The results obtained from DCT and OPT of respondents expressing requests and apologies were very similar. Thus, since the results are equivalent, it can be said that the DCT method is more suitable for my study of linguistic politeness than OPT. In recordings, the respondents limited themselves to a narrower gamut of linguistic expressions and strategies, but their written responses indicate they knew a broader spectrum of apology strategies. Given that my study is focused on neither suprasegmental phenomena nor interaction competence, but merely on the linguistic expressions of politeness, there is no need to record the student responses. A written DCT, by contrast, is able to record a broader spectrum of their knowledge of linguistic devices.

My pilot study also aimed to ascertain whether social variables influenced the selection of request and apology strategies in expressing politeness. I have presented here a comparison of requests and apologies in both formal and informal situations. The data obtained from DCT and OPT show that Czech students used the same strategies, whether the context was formal or informal. Here the results of my research could suggest a practical application, by designing recommendations, in teaching materials and in teaching itself, to develop the pragmatic competence of students of English as a foreign language, so that they are more aware of the difference between formal and informal situations, and subsequently more able to use linguistic devices in English appropriate to the context.

6   CONCLUSION

This paper has presented the results of the pilot study for my dissertation, focused on the development of pragmatic competence in Czech university students learning English. The pilot study showed that the DCT questionnaire is reliable, valid and suitable for collecting data for my dissertation project itself. Hence I have decided to abandon the idea of using OPT and will use only DCT. I also found that, in expressing their requests in English, the Czech students overwhelmingly used *reference to preparatory conditions*. In making apologies, they most often used the following three strategies: *statement of remorse, offer of repair* and *account*. Among my sample of Czech students the social variable – the formality or informality of the situation – seemed to have no influence on their choice of strategy.

In this country no comparative study of the speech acts of request and apology has yet been done. The aim of my dissertation project is to shed light on the intercultural

differences that influence Czech native speakers when using English. The development of communicative competence in a foreign language must not be focused solely on organisational competence, but above all on pragmatic competence. The various linguistic expressions which students of foreign languages use in performing their speech acts are variously socio-linguistically appropriate to the socio-cultural context in which they are being used. Thus, students need to know when to say what to whom (Larsen-Freeman 2000: 121). Hence, in teaching, we need to emphasise the selection of the correct linguistic expression, and its use in a specific speech act, so that it corresponds to the social meaning. Findings obtained by analysing the corpus of student utterances, created for comparative purposes, can enrich our knowledge of how foreign languages are acquired, and pragmatic competence developed, among Czech university students. I believe the results of my study will help when developing new textbooks and teaching methods of English as L2, in approaches that will place greater emphasis on developing pragmatic competence.

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APPENDIX 1:   DCT NO. 1

Situation 1: A Phone Call
You are at the faculty.
You need to make an urgent phone call but you have left your mobile at home. Ask your

classmate to lend you his/her phone to make a short call.
You say:

Situation 2: A Broken Mobile
You are at the faculty.
You need to make an urgent phone call but you have left your mobile at home. You ask your classmate to lend you his/her phone to make a short call. Unfortunately, the mobile slips out of your hands and breaks into three pieces. What do you say?
You say:

Situation 3: A Book
You have been working on your master's thesis and you need a book that a professor borrowed from the library six months ago but has not yet returned. You have never met the professor but you urgently need the book. Go and ask the professor if he/she can lend it to you.
You say:

Situation 4: A Lost Book
You borrow a book from one of your teachers at university because you need it for your term paper. The term is over and you realize you have lost the book. What do you say to the teacher?
You say:

Situation 5: Switching off the light
You are about to give a PowerPoint presentation in one of your classes at university. The light switch is at the far end of the room and one of your classmates is standing by it. Ask him/her to turn the light off.
You say:

Situation 6: Coffee Spilt on a Friend
You work in a café. You are serving your friends who have dropped in. You trip over your own feet and spill some coffee on one of your friends. What do you say?
You say:

Situation 7: A Car
You are walking to your car and you can see somebody you do not know parking in such a way that his/her car is blocking your way out of the parking space. Go and ask him/her to move his/her car.
You say:

Situation 8: A Crashed Car
You are parking your car and bump into another, stationary, car. The driver of the car gets out and starts to approach you. What do you say to him/her?
You say:

Situation 9: A Questionnaire
You need to do research for your thesis, and this means getting a sample of twenty people to fill in a questionnaire five pages long. You have decided to ask your classmates to fill it in for you. You come to the classroom and ask them for it.
You say:

Situation 10: A Lost USB Flash Drive
You need to do research for your thesis and this means getting a sample of twenty people to fill in a questionnaire five pages long. Your classmates agree to come to the faculty on Friday afternoon to fill it in, but you lose your USB flash drive with the questionnaire and cannot print it out. What do you tell them?
You say:

WOMEN IN LOVE AGAINST THE UNDERWORLD: "FEMALE SAVIOR" SCENARIO IN ENGLISH, RUSSIAN AND TURKISH FOLKLORE NARRATIVES

Evgeniia Lapina

Abstract: The main idea of this work was to study gender representations in the English "Ballad of Tam Lin", the Russian fairy tale "Finist the Bright Falcon" and the Turkish tale "Patience-Stone" through the analysis of language units with implicit gender semantics. These folklore narratives have important similarities featuring the female protagonist as the main plot driver and possessor of cultural wisdom. They follow the "female savior" scenario, depicting women as decisive and challenging the traditional role of a decorative victim.

Keywords: gender, female representation, folklore narrative, language units, metaphor, culture codes

ON THE CONTENT

1   INTRODUCTION

The subject of women in folklore remained latent for many years but from the second half of the twentieth century it started gradually shifting from the periphery to the foreground of academic discussions. The central idea underpinning those discussions is that "the difference between the sexes is one of the important conditions upon which mankind has built the many varieties of human culture that give human beings dignity and stature" (Mead 2016: 7).

Simone de Beauvoir, while dwelling on the genesis of the whole notion of gender, pointed out that sex is biological identity, whereas gender is a social concept (1972: 295): "One is not born but rather becomes a woman… It is civilization as a whole that produces this creature…".

Bonnie Kime Scott emphasized the complex character of gender as a mental construct rather than a physically existing phenomenon: "Gender is a category constructed through cultural and social systems. Unlike sex, it is not a biological fact determined at conception… gender is more fluid, flexible and multiple in its options than the … unchanging biological binary of male and female" (2007: 1).

The women's liberation campaign together with a splash of interest in gender studies played a crucial role in raising awareness of the subject through scholarly investigation of female roles in relation to their position in the family and society. The approach attaching paramount importance to gender implications reached folklore having established itself in the fields of social sciences.

Gender relations are inevitably intricate. Folklore narratives may impart messages that women should conform to their social roles and sometimes warn about the repercussions of violating cultural norms. Yet women's messages unequivocally communicate their resistance to male dominance and an alternative vision. According to Bacchilega (1997: 11), folk narratives are "sites of competing, historically and socially framed desires… (they)… continue to play a privileged function in the reproduction of various social constructs including gender and narrative". Contemporary works emphasize the feminist contribution to folklore studies in general (cf. Kérchy 2011, Milz 2018).

2   METHODOLOGY

The material of this study comprises three texts, the English "Ballad of Tam Lin", the Russian fairy tale "Finist the Bright Falcon" and the Turkish fairy tale "Patience-Stone" ("Sabır Taşı"). Their likeness stems from their similar scenario of a female savior of her shapeshifted lover. Our work aims at studying the culture-specific ways of representing gender identities through the analysis of language units bearing gender semantics.

The study applies the gender approach to the traditional folklore material in order to look at the wide range of man-woman interactions in intimate and social spheres. Some researchers argue that folklore narratives express an androcentric world conceptualization, and treat women as inferior. An important implication of the study is to challenge the hypothesis of supposed sexist disproportion and provide evidence for female power as a critical element of the folklore picture of the world.

Recently metaphor has been widely employed in order to structure and describe categorization and inference phenomena. A paradigm change happened when the cognitive approach was introduced, and metaphor, long considered a mere figure of speech, was acknowledged as an important cognitive tool. The conceptual metaphor theory put forward by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (1980) states that metaphors represent the omnipresent principle of thought and provide mental models or frames for cognitive processes in terms of which single lexical items are produced and comprehended.

The motif of transformation or shapeshifting pervades all cultures. According to conceptual metaphor theory, metaphors of transformation are involved in the conceptualization of gender. Due to their universal appeal, folklore narratives teach the young generation gender values, and shapeshifts are metaphoric models of gendered concerns, struggles, and dramas. In the framework of this approach metaphors are not just figurative expressions, but underlying cognitive patterns based on the universal ability of the human mind to use familiar images to categorize the unthinkable. This cognitive process can be implicit and find its manifestation only in a few language units used as a key to whole chunks of experience, but can also be followed by the emergence of linguistic metaphors in the text.

Transformation metaphors are connected with the well-known literary motif of metamorphosis: "A transformed body, like a rewritten text, very often contains sufficient traces of its original manifestation for it to be understood as a changed entity, rather than a completely new one" (Griffin 2015: 15). For example, metaphors of shapeshifting can discover a mismatch between true and disguised gender identities, and the true identity remains evident and seen through the disguise due to the incongruity of its depiction. Metamorphosis and metaphor are inseparable. Traditional metaphors of the masculine include spirit, logos, activity, striving, strength, fire, light, form, plentitude, etc. The feminine is expressed through the images of matter, chaos, nature, water, passiveness, weakness, emotionality, darkness, emptiness and amorphism.

In folklore gender can be directly attributed to characters, or just mentioned in the descriptions of surroundings. Our units of analysis include those expressing information about gender directly (personal pronouns, and a number of nouns labeling creatures having sex, i.e. mother, king, lady) and metaphorically. In this case they contain information about objects from the outside world or various phenomena of culture that can shed light on gender in the context of epoch, society, and common vernacular. So gender characteristics can be expressed directly or mediated through nature (flora and fauna, landscapes, etc.), man-made objects or culturally meaningful numbers or events.

It is obvious that the latter group is culture-specific and needs in-depth linguacultural analysis for the most reliable interpretation of all possible associations and diverse meanings. In order to relate linguistic metaphors to culture universals the notion of culture codes was used. It defines the matrix imposed by culture for segmenting, categorizing, structuring and assessing the world around us. Krasnykh (2001: 6) identifies six main codes of culture: somatic, spatial, time, material world, biomorphic, and spiritual. They are related to the prehistoric archetypical thinking of humankind, and embrace the whole world in its entirety; it is difficult to mark clear borders between them.

The methodology of gender semantics analysis includes:

1. Finding all language units pertaining to gender representation;
2. Marking them as expressing gender semantics directly or
3. metaphorically;
4. Inside the second group dividing metaphors into thematic areas;
5. Analyzing gender information implied by metaphors;
6. Summarizing.

We assume that the gender dimension is an inevitable part of all story elements; gender semantics is omnipresent and can be discovered even in words and expressions on the margins of the central topic.

3 "THE BALLAD OF TAM LIN" AND THE EVOLUTION OF FEMININITY AS A LOVE CRUSADE

We used Robert Burns' version of "The Ballad of Tam Lin" (Child 2014: 335–358), although the plot dates back to as early as 1549. It presents an exceptional example of both English and Scottish cultures. The setting, characters and main motif contain reverberations of the Scottish Borders folklore, though the metaphysical context and mode of conflict resolution are obviously influenced by the English culture.

The plot of the ballad is typical for folklore: Tam, an offspring of a noble family, was captivated by the Queen of fairies, and is kept as a prisoner. Under threat of losing his soul, he begs his earthly lover, Janet, to help him. She has to recognize him in the mounted row of fairy knights, catch and hold him tight despite all his transformations into monstrous beasts or burning iron. Janet rescues Tam out of great love and returns him to the human world.

The story has several dimensions that can comprise a subject of independent study, such as the pagan-Christian dichotomy, as Tam's shapeshifting can be treated as a form of exorcism, or the Scottish fight for independence against England.

Our approach is a combined linguistic, textual and cultural analysis of the ballad from the gender perspective. Altogether in the text of "Tam Lin" 253 gender-related units were found; 65 of them represent gender directly, and 188 metaphorically. The group of gender metaphors is represented by units verbalizing various culture codes, but their distribution is uneven. The biggest numbers of metaphors belong to spatial code (51), somatic code (47), time code (37), and material world code (31), whereas verbalizations of biomorphic and spiritual semantics are represented only by twelve and ten units respectively.

Somatic metaphors in the text perform a significant function of depicting men as opposed and contrasted to elves. According to Hall (2007: 157), Anglo-Saxon ælfe (elves) possessed seductive, feminine beauty, and for men a relationship with them might mean abandoning their gender authenticity. For Tam this encounter also results in shapeshifting from a mortal man to an elf, the first transformation in his cycle of shapeshifting.

In the English cultural tradition, the elf functions as 'an otherworldly double' (Bergman 2011: 1), an illustration of what is inhuman, vicious and deviating from the cultural norm. In terms of gender, elves' magic can be associated with sexual temptations surrounding a man at the dawn of his life. So, the words and phrases pertaining to magic and witchcraft emphasize both the enjoyment and the danger of sexual freedom: *elfin gray, The Queen o' Fairies, the pleasant fairy-land, fairy folk, unco, eerie*; however, the world of elves is gloomy and frightening: *we pay a tiend to hell*.

The abundance of spatial metaphors enhances the contrast between mortal men's dwelling and the underworld. The underlying meaning of the verb *fell* not only reflects the ancient metaphor model 'Down is bad', but stresses the gender shift as well: Tam is devoid of free will, not a hunter as he used to be (*When we were frae the hunting come*), but the game of the Queen of fairies (*The Queen o' Fairies she caught me*).

Another spatial unit playing a key role in the ballad is the word *well*, commonly defined as a hole in the earth or a natural source of water. However, it is also a gate to the shadowy land of fairies. In the ballad the well represents a border between the two worlds or their meeting point, and the meaning is specified by the ballad ring composition: *"Tam Lin was at the well"* – at the beginning the well symbolizes the entrance into the world of magic. In order to become a man again Tam should plunge into clear spring water and wash away the evil spell: *"Then throw me into well water"* (metaphor of birth and baptizing). Both the onset and the denouement of the ballad are connected with the well as the symbol of innocence, purity and freedom from sins.

Janet dismounts from Tam and pulls him down, an inverted repetition of his capture by the Queen of fairies and symbolic abdication of the supernatural fairies' power. Then she has to turn him in her arms, as though enclosing him in her body in order to give new birth. After he gets out of the well reborn as a naked knight, she covers him with her green mantle, a ritual attire or talismanic garment used to protect from evil spells. In general, all these symbols convey Tam's ambivalence, and gender identity evolution from the immature position of the Queen of fairies' captive to the cultural success as a noble knight.

A powerful way of representing gender identity dynamics is the depiction of Tam's transformations through biomorphic metaphors. The animal most frequently mentioned in the ballad, the horse (seven times), is not directly connected with the shapeshifting motif. However, it is a metaphoric representation of Tam's 'true colors'. He fell off his horse before leaving the world of men, and again had to be dismounted in order to break away from the fairies, so this image contributes to the ballad's orbital pattern. The horse is a magical animal, especially in Scottish folklore, which has many tales about kelpie, or water horses. The English culture counts its grace, power and authority among the most appreciated values. The beauty, dignity and white color of his steed designate Tam's nature as not corrupt and vicious, but as pure, generous and devoted.

Tam turns into an elf, four animals (*an esk, an adder, a bear sae grim, a lion bold*), two metal objects (*a red het gaud of airn, a burning lead*), and, at the end, a human (*a naked knight*). All of these images and the order of shapeshifts have symbolic meaning. The first transformation happened when Tam was kidnapped by the Queen of fairies. His way back to being a human starts with the image of a snake: *"They'll turn me … into*

an esk and adder". The serpent or snake is revered worldwide and has a dual nature, as is shown in the Bible in the story of Adam and Eve. It has an implication of sexual promiscuity, sinful temptation and treachery. At the same time this creature is associated with wisdom and the ability to shed old skin when it outgrows it. The casting off of old skin metaphorically represents the release of old ways of thinking that hold people back, and the fresh new skin – purification and new beginnings. In general, the snake is an allegory of hidden threat and betrayal. If a woman has wisdom and strength to forgive her lover's infidelity, their union has a chance to receive a new impetus.

The next step is transformation into ferocious animals: *"They'll turn me to a bear sae grim and then a lion bold"*. In the old Celtic culture, the images of a bear and a lion were associated with leadership and sovereignty. Scandinavian conquerors considered the bear to be a symbol of blind fury on the edge of insanity; *berserk* is a reckless and self-abandoned warrior. A lion is a traditional symbol of power and dominance. The gender approach to animal metaphors may suggest that women have to learn to put up with the lower instincts of males.

Finally, through further transformations to iron and lead, Tam regains his human shape: *"I turn a naked knight"*. Nudity symbolizes human nature, readiness to undergo the baptism ritual and restitution to the world of men. After the spell is gone, Tam is compared to a joyful bird: *"As blythe's a bird in Spring"*. In West Europe's mythology, birds are the embodiment of spiritual power and freedom, and spring brings regeneration.

Those allusions fit very well in the context of the archetypical initiation rites for men and women that they have to pass through in order to mature and enter a new stage of life.

On balance, gender representations in "The Ballad of Tam Lin" do not depict a male-orientated outlook. The protagonist and main driving force of the story is Janet, and not merely because she undergoes a severe trial. The entire ballad is a tribute to a female heroine, a doer who makes things happen. She has no fear to challenge any authority, worldly or supernatural, talks freely and fights for the right to be with the father of her child in spite of superstitions and social pressures.

4   "FINIST THE BRIGHT FALCON" AND FEMININE MAGIC

In this work the text of "Finist the Bright Falcon" edited by Vanslova (1987: 1-12) was used. It tells the story of a peasant and his three daughters. Father asked what they wanted him to bring them from the fair. The older two asked for nice clothes, but the youngest, Maryushka, wanted the feather of Finist the Falcon. He went to the fair three times, and bought the feather only the last time. For three nights Maryushka summoned Finist, a handsome youth from a faraway land shapeshifted into a falcon. But the jealous sisters put sharp knives outside her window and sleeping powder in her drink. Finist flew to the window at midnight but the girl did not hear him flapping against her window. He flew away with the words, *"Not before you've worn out three pairs of iron boots, and three iron staffs, and three iron caps, can you see me again"*.

The next morning Maryushka set off on a journey with three pairs of iron boots and three iron staffs, and three iron caps. She encountered three ancient Baba Yaga

sisters, who gave her some magic objects and showed her the way to Finist's castle. Finist was married to another, but Maryushka bribed his wife in order to see him at night. Maryushka spent two nights trying in vain to wake him up. On the third and final night, her bitter tears fell on his body, and broke the spell. Finist married his true love, and they lived happily ever after.

The total number of all lexical items connected with gender imagery equals 415. Especially meaningful in terms of gender is the group of somatic units (47 items). The most frequently used words pertain to the semantic field "eyes, tears, vision". Thus, Maryushka uses bitter tears to wash away Finist's blood from the window frame, or sheds a single involuntary tear on Finist's bare shoulder. Looking at the sleeping lover in tears is associated with the idea of love evolving and changing its essence. Physical attraction and passion symbolized by the trace of blood from Finist's wounds when he could not get in through the window evolve into mature and sacrificial love that stands the test of time and does not seek physical satisfaction above all.

Some somatic units are also spatial metaphors, as they segment space in terms of the human body. For example, the windows of a Russian wooden house are symbolic expressions of eyes. Maryushka's three animal helpers order her not to look back. With reference to space, this ban stems from ancient myths about the underworld, such as Greek Hades or the Biblical story of Lot's wife. The passage through Baba Yaga's hut symbolizes death and reappearance in the other world: the hut metaphorically represents a woman's vagina, and spinning around on its legs symbolizes eternity, the never-ending cycle of deaths and births.

This existential role of Baba Yaga shows the importance of the feminine in traditional Russian culture: a woman is a donor of life, a judge and a cultural paragon. For Maryushka, the route homeland – death – rebirth – Kingdom of Far Far Away designates the female rite of passage after which she acquires a new life and new opportunities. The ban on looking back marks the need to forget the old life and dismiss old values, and in terms of the body – the need for a baby to be born with its head first.

From the gender perspective, the images of iron shoes, staffs and caps that Finist ordered Maryushka to wear out are essential. Shoes are connected with feet, journey and space, and iron complicates the way. Iron has sorcery-protecting power, and also symbolizes humankind's power over nature. Putting on iron shoes, Maryushka agrees to limit her abilities, turns down magic help (help appears when she has worn out each successive pair), and shows humility and adherence to male guidance. A staff is a phallic symbol, an attribute of a pilgrim, and a sign of connection with the sun through the world's axis. Apparently, it designates invisible help and support on the way. In the traditional culture women's hair was associated with witchcraft and sexual promiscuity, so covering hair with an iron cap was a sign of faithful love. Comparing Janet's trial in "The Ballad of Tam Lin" with that of "Finist the Bright Falcon", it is obvious that Maryushka's test took much longer and required perseverance rather than defiance and courage; so, patience is viewed as a critical component of the Russian female identity.

The philosophy of love and marriage represented in "Finist" is based on the elaborate code of behavior propagating the passive, silent and victimized position of a woman. A decent girl is not supposed to challenge this asymmetrical status

quo; ambitious and status-conscious women are depicted as bad-tempered, ugly and scheming. However, for a woman in a sub-valuable position there was an indirect way to realize herself. Maryushka accepts the prescribed role as long as it goes in line with her aspirations. She knows exactly what her goal is and insists on realizing it, three times asking for the feather of Finist the Falcon. She chose Finist as a future husband knowingly and willingly; nobody compelled her to marry either him or another.

Maryushka is an example of a self-made woman, the one with a dream and a far-reaching plan. Her hardships and sufferings indicate that a woman should not wait for immediate success, but use 'soft skills' over a considerable period of time. Only the woman who is kind, virtuous, tolerant and compliant with the cultural outlook obtains the desired. She should be able to forgive her lover and turn the bodily and erotic aspects of love into a spiritual experience and more elevated form of affection.

5   "PATIENCE-STONE" AND THE CORNERSTONE OF FEMININITY

The Turkish fairy tale "Sabır Taşı" ("Patience-Stone") can be found in many editions including the one used in this study (Sarı 2016: 115–125).

According to the tale, once upon a time there lived a poor woman's daughter. One day a small bird flew in saying, "You are going to get into big trouble". and it happened three days in a row. Some days later, when the girl went out she was transferred to a beautiful palace with forty different rooms full of gold. In the last room the girl saw a good-looking youth in deep sleep, and read the note, "*She who for forty days will fan me and pray by me shall become my wife*". The girl stayed by the youth and did what was required, and then asked an Arab girl to stay with the youth for a while as she wanted to prepare herself for the meeting. The youth woke up, thought that it was the Arab who had stayed by him, and married her. The girl was made a cook.

On the eve of the feast the youth asked the cook what she would like to get as a present. The girl asked for a yellow patience-stone and a black patience-knife. He gave her the desired things but was very curious and watched her secretly. The girl told the patience-stone all that had happened to her and it cracked into two halves. Then she took up the knife and would have plunged it into her body had the youth not sprung from his hiding-place and caught her hand. The false wife was put to death, and the young couple lived happily thereafter.

This tale depicts the sequence of initiation trials that a young girl passes in order to become a fully-fledged member of adult society. The total number of units related to gender equals 265; 95 of them express gender semantics directly, and 170 indirectly, through imagery appealing to various codes of culture.

Essentially, the storyline is a female competition judged by other females from the point of view of their life experience and values nurtured inside the culture. The protagonist competes with another girl metaphorically described as *Arap*. This word does not refer to a representative of a particular nation but labels a stranger in general whose behavior deviates from values shared by other people. The image also has the semantics of shapeshift – a character who looks and behaves like humans but is their

antagonist. This strangeness explains her hostile actions, impossibility to reconcile with them, and eventual putting to death.

On the whole, *Arap* is the embodiment of evil features – cruelty, dishonesty, jealousy and greed, a black witch rather than a real woman, opposed to the virtuous protagonist. At the same time she is resourceful, quick-minded, ruthless and ambitious, whereas the protagonist is gentle, shy, dependent, passive and often not able to stand up for her rights. The features of the female villain are very similar to male features, and the culture views such a shift of gender roles as unfeminine, inappropriate and disgraceful. Men and women are meant to be different, and an offender must inevitably be punished for crossing the borders of her gender. Her death was caused by mules – hybrid animals incapable of reproducing themselves, which indicates her nature of half-male and half-female, half-human and half-genie. The task of folklore is to promote culturally legitimate gender identities, and show what can happen to violators of the norms.

According to the Turkish beliefs, social space or the world beyond the limits of the house belongs to men, and there they have plenty of opportunities to assert their authority and obtain a distinguished position. The inside sphere, the space of the house, on the contrary, is considered a woman's comfort zone where she reigns and regulates domestic life. The girl and her mother were frightened because the mysterious bird appeared notwithstanding the locks, and intruded into the female area of the house. That is why the protagonist's loss is first of all the loss of her house, which she seeks to restore.

At the end of the story, when the youth wanted to learn the truth, he also penetrated secretly into her room and hid in the wardrobe, mirroring her actions at the beginning. So, the bottom of the woman's heart is associated with the most secret area of the house. The metaphor of the house as a figurative representation of the female body, found in the Russian culture, is also present in "Patience-Stone".

The girl's becoming a cook is not accidental: a human is a unity of body, mind and soul, and properly prepared food is also responsible for purity of thoughts and feelings, and plays a vital balancing function in the Muslim culture, where the division between halal and haram food is very powerful. In terms of family roles, the ability to cook is critical for a good wife: the way to a man's heart is through his stomach.

The patience-stone is a metaphor unpacking a number of cultural meanings. First, it is a female symbol of the Earth. It also bears an allusion to the philosopher's stone, a legendary substance that turns all metals into gold, and figuratively means perfection and sublime nature. The stone is associated with such features of character as reliability, firmness, strength of body and mind, and fidelity, but at the same time the expression 'heart of stone' often describes an emotionally cold and merciless person. Together the black patience-knife and the yellow patience-stone have erotic symbolism and also stand for life and death, good and evil. As gender metaphors they have parallels to the iron shoes and iron caps in the Russian fairy tale – material embodiment of all the misery and pain that women have to go through in a relationship. Breaking of the patience-stone marks the end of suffering but it can also denote the rebellion of a particular woman against the imposed gender role.

6   CONCLUSION

The main idea of this study was to look at three folklore stories – "The Ballad of Tam Lin", "Finist the Bright Falcon" and "Patience-Stone" – in an attempt to perform a semantic and linguocultural analysis of all elements of narrative related to gender representations. These texts have some important similarities: they are woman-centered and feature the female protagonist as the main plot driver and the possessor of moral truth and cultural wisdom. They also follow the "female savior" scenario, as women are depicted as strong, decisive and challenging the traditional female role of a decorative victim. and finally, they are fascinating love stories asserting the power of a woman's love over underworld magic.

Generally speaking, the main plot line of folklore narratives is connected with passing initiation rites, self-perfection and transformation of young people on the threshold of adulthood. Initiation rites can be of two different kinds. First, they include images of passing the border between the human world and the underworld. Second, initiation metaphors denote different complications or hardships: holding wild animals or burning metal, wearing irons, or fanning and praying for forty days. Both males and females can experience the first type of trials, but only women are destined for the second one. Thus, gender representations reveal considerable asymmetry in their means of depicting the process of maturing and gender education. Males are not subjected to prolonged and exhausting sufferings, and often need a woman's help. They have neither control over shapeshifting, nor the ability to break away from the underworld.

On the contrary, women are not shapeshifted but are exposed to painful agonizing tortures, or enormous waste of time, effort and vitality, and are able not only to overcome all pains, but also to rescue their grooms. It also seems that men deserved the punishment much more, whereas the female protagonists did not commit wrong. Why is the gender distribution of suffering so uneven?

Apparently, folklore employs highly figurative language teaching ethical and moral values. From the ancient times, the inner space of relationships has been a woman's realm. Man's self-realization is outside the intimate sphere; he struggles and conflicts with the outer world. According to the cultural norms and assumptions, female fulfillment takes place almost entirely inside the close sphere that is emphasized by the association of the house with the female body. So it is a woman's responsibility to provide the union of the two with life power.

The study of gender representations involved the analysis of lexical units expressing direct or indirect gender semantics. Let us compare the percentage of each kind of unit across the three folklore narratives:

	Explicit gender semantics	Gender semantics is expressed metaphorically through symbols belonging to the following codes of culture:					
		Somatic code	Spatial code	Time code	Material world code	Biomor-phic code	Spiritual code
"Tam Lin"	25%	19%	20%	15%	12%	5%	4%
"Finist"	30%	11%	11%	6%	20%	16%	6%
"Patience-Stone"	36%	12%	16%	8%	18%	5%	5%

Table 1: Occurrence of gender-related lexical units in the three folklore narratives

These data show that the frequency of occurrence of same-category items is quite uniform across the three texts, and the maximum dispersion of values does not exceed eleven per cent. Apparently, all the three cultures under consideration tended to use similar imagery as a means of gender representation.

Looking more closely at each group of units can reveal interesting similarities as well as differences. For example, in the first group it was noted that in the English ballad the words "she/her" and "he/his/him" occurred more frequently than similar pronouns in both fairy tales that prefer to call the characters by name or gender status.

Somatic gender code demonstrates a culture-specific character: in the English culture the most frequently mentioned are hair, knee, brow, face and tongue; in the Russian fairy tale the most culturally important body parts are eyes and legs, and in the Turkish tale – head and hands.

A lot more similarities can be discovered in the group of words and expressions related to spatial organization. In all folklore narratives there is the symbolism of the other world as opposed to our human world and the clearly marked border between them; there is also a division between male and female space and the archetypical image of the road as a metaphor for quest or human life in general.

The time-related lexical units are most expressive in the ballad, as all action there is concentrated within a short time period, and they also refer to the symbolism of evil spirits and the door between the worlds, which opens at particular times. However, day – night opposition is equally relevant in all cultures, and the same meaning is attributed to diurnal and nocturnal events and activities: day belongs to man, human affairs and life, night – to woman, otherworldly magic and death.

Material world symbolism is richer in the fairy tales as they pay more attention to details serving as plot ornamentations. Nevertheless, in all the three narratives gold and silver play the same role: they are connected with the underworld and express the male and female principles. The fairy-tale material metaphors of female destiny as a hard burden are interesting: iron wear and stone patience. The image of water is also universal and has tremendous meaning as the source of life and the transportation medium between the realms of mortal men and non-humans.

Biomorphic metaphors are by no means less remarkable, as they personify the idea of a shapeshifted lover, crucial for these three narratives. The image of shapeshifting amplifies the difference in the perception of gender roles and behaviors:

from the female perspective, men can be promiscuous and treacherous (elf, snake), physically aggressive and violent (bear and lion), free-loving and abandoning (falcon), or passive and irresponsive (elves' captive, enchanted sleeper), while at the same time having high-flown ideals and divine sparks (all bird images). The female mission is to humanize the controversial male nature and through their own change impart him honest and unconditional love, the message that is also expressed by means of spiritual symbolism, meaning of numbers and codified religious and humanistic values.

The summaries of gender truths stemming from each folklore narrative are very similar. Men are viewed as light-hearted and first avoiding obligations but gradually taking on more responsibilities, while women's main features are sacrificial love, faithfulness, strength and endurance. The protagonists of the stories under study are shining personalities: Janet is daring, fearless and confident, Maryushka – smart, cooperative and persistent, and the Turkish girl – pious, reliable and helpful. Far from being plain and hackneyed, they embody the ideas of the feminine promoted by their national cultures.

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ENGLISH AND CZECH CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: A CONTRASTIVE CORPUS-DRIVEN PHRASEOLOGICAL APPROACH

Markéta Malá

Abstract: The paper explores the recurrent linguistic patterns in English and Czech children's narrative fiction and their textual functions. It combines contrastive phraseological research with corpus-driven methods, taking frequency lists and n-grams as its starting points. The analysis focuses on the domains of time, space and body language. The results reveal register-specific recurrent linguistic patterns which play a role in the constitution of the fictional world of children's literature, specifying its temporal and spatial characteristics, and relating to the communication among the protagonists. The method used also points out typological differences between the patterns employed in the two languages, and the limitations of the n-gram based approach.

Keywords: children's fiction, n-grams, time, space, body language, phraseology

1   CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AS A REGISTER

Despite the importance generally ascribed to children's literature and the numerous publications dealing with these texts from the literary point of view, little attention has been paid to the language of books written for children (cf. Čermáková & Chlumská 2017: 76). As pointed out by Stephens (2004: 99),

> [because] the contexts in which children's literature is produced and disseminated are usually dominated by a focus on content and theme, the language of children's literature receives little explicit attention. Yet the way things are represented, based on complex codes and conventions of language and presuppositions about language, is an important component of texts, and the study of it allows us access to some of the key processes which shape text production.

For the approach adopted in the present paper, distinctive linguistic features are a central issue: children's fiction will be approached as a specific register, i.e. "a variety associated with a particular situation of use (including particular communicative purposes)" (Biber & Conrad 2009: 6). The delimitation of the register of children's fiction relies primarily on the situational criterion of the intended audience.

> Children's books are different from adults' books: they are written for a different audience, with different skills, different needs, and different ways of reading; equally, children experience texts in ways which are often unknowable, but which many of us strongly suspect to be very rich and complex. (Hunt 2005: 3)

Since "linguistic features are always functional when considered from a register perspective … [they] tend to occur in a register because they are particularly well suited to the purposes and situational context of the register" (Biber & Conrad 2009: 6). We may expect register-related linguistic features of children's fiction to be similar in English and Czech, reflecting the fact that "there is a commonality of childhood, and a commonality of the relationship between the child and the book, that transcends culture and language" (Hunt 2004: xviii, cf. also Grenby 2008).

On the other hand, even texts written for children are "inevitably suffused with ideology" (Thompson & Sealey 2007: 3), and the "patterns of textual structure and … language choices" may indicate "how the author wants his/her readers to view society" (Knowles and Malmkjaer 1996: 263).

> It is mistaken and misleading to regard writing for children as being neutral, a homogenous mass of innocence, for as adult literature embodies the constructs of nationality and culture, so does Children's Literature, and despite globalisation, the shrinking of our world, writing for children continues to capture and reflect the particularities and nuances of our varying national characteristics. (Webb 2002: 9)

The linguistic characteristics of children's literature may therefore be expected to be culture- and language-specific. Moreover, the two languages compared are typologically distant, with Czech displaying mainly synthetic features of rich inflection and free word order, and English being mostly analytic, which is likely to have an impact on the linguistic choices.

2   REPETITION

"One of the most common prejudices about children's fiction is that it utilizes simple and meagre language as compared to general fiction" (Nikolajeva 2005: 204). Repetition is often listed as a feature which contributes to this impression, whether described as a sign of poor style, or as a deliberate artistic device. "But repetition … is also a powerful means of generating meaning in fiction" (Gannon 1987: 2).

In this paper, I do not focus on repetition as a rhetorical device, but rather as a feature connected with the phraseology of the language. Language communication has been shown to rely, to a large extent,[1] on "combinations of words that customarily co-occur" (Kjellmer 1991: 112), such as *I don't know*, *in the middle of*, or *in terms of the*. The recurrence of such multi-word linguistic units suggests that "the language we use every day is composed of prefabricated expressions, rather than being strictly compositional" (Gray & Biber 2015: 125). Numerous corpus-driven studies, using frequency-based, probabilistic approaches for determining phraseology (for references see Gray & Biber 2015), have pointed out "the tendency of words to occur, not randomly, or even in accordance with grammatical rules only, but in preferred sequences" (Hunston 2002: 137, see also Groom 2005). "The … recurrent sequences are fixed multi-word units that have customary pragmatic and/or discourse functions, used and recognized by the speakers of a language within certain contexts" (Chen & Baker 2010: 30). In fiction, such "frequent sequences of words have important discourse functions as textual building blocks" (Mahlberg 2013: 56).

The multi-word units may be either uninterrupted sequences of contiguous words, i.e. 'clusters', 'formulas', 'lexical bundles', 'lexical phrases', 'n-grams' or 'prefabs', e.g. *going to be a*, *at the end of*; or discontinuous sequences with a variable slot, i.e. 'lexical frames', 'collocational frameworks', 'phrase-frames' or 'frame patterns', e.g. *the * of the*, *it is * to*. The length of the units varies from relatively short sequences (2–3 words) to extended units of more than three words; the words entering these sequences may be word-forms or lemmata. A special type of sequences, typically comprising two words, is collocations, e.g. *pay attention*, *interest in*.

> [Two] general approaches have been employed to identify and analyze important multi-word units: corpus-based and corpus-driven … in corpus-based studies of formulaic language, the researcher pre-selects multi-word expressions that are perceptually salient or theoretically interesting, and then analyzes the corpus to discover how those expressions are used … in contrast, corpus-driven research is inductive, with the lexical phrases themselves being identified from the analysis of a corpus. (Gray & Biber 2015: 126)

Contrastive approaches to the study of multi-word units have shown them to be sensitive to register (see, e.g. Biber et al. 2004, Gries et al. 2011), and their identification highly language-dependent (Cortes 2008, Čermáková & Chlumská 2016, 2017, Ebeling & Ebeling 2013, Granger 2014, Hasselgård 2017, Šebestová & Malá 2019).

3 FOUR CORPUS-ASSISTED STUDIES OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The present study draws in particular on four papers which adopt different corpus-assisted approaches to the study of the language of children's literature. Hunt's paper (2011) is a corpus-based study of collocations of pre-selected lexical expressions in the Harry Potter series of children's books. The author explores "body parts and the uses their female and male owners put them to, via the integration of corpus linguistics into a critical discourse analysis" (Hunt 2011: 267). She points out that corpus methods, apart from the obvious assets of allowing the searcher "to search large amounts of data reliably, and more objectively, and with statistical evidence for patterns", are ideally suited for studies taking lexis as their starting point.

Čermáková and Chlumská (2016, 2017) do not take pre-selected items as their starting point, relying instead on the full repertory of (place) n-grams identified in the corpora. Combining the corpus-driven and contrastive approach, they found fundamental differences between Czech and English in the way that, and extent to which, the idiom principle operates in the language of children's literature.

Thompson and Sealey (2007) also adopt a corpus-driven approach, but they compare the use of selected multi-word units and collocations across three registers – children's and adult fiction, and newspaper texts. Their results highlight the existence of linguistic features consistent with the key characteristics of narrative (whether aiming at the child or adult reader) as opposed to the expressions pertaining to the news corpus.

4 THE MATERIAL AND TOOLS

The study is restricted to the register of fiction written for children and teenagers. The material was drawn from two large general corpora – the *British National Corpus* (1994) and the *Czech National Corpus*, version *SYN-7* (2010). From both corpora, fiction texts with children and teenagers indicated as the target audience were selected to compile the sub-corpora used in this study (Table 1). The size of the English and Czech sub-corpora is comparable; the difference in the number of texts is given by the fact that the *British National Corpus* comprises excerpts of books, while the *SYN-7* is composed of full texts.

language	corpus	subcorpus of	size – tokens	size – texts
English	BNC-jun	BNC (1994)	2 046 755	76 (excerpts)
Czech	SYN-7-jun	SYN-7 (2010)	2 821 044	59 (whole books)

Table 1: The composition of the corpora used in the present study

Apart from the tools available in the *KonText* interface, the newly developed, freely available, *Engrammer* tool was used for the extraction of n-grams. This tool makes it possible to explore unordered n-grams, and allows custom lemmatisation of the corpora. It uses effect size confidence intervals as a metric of association between the chosen word and the n-gram (i.e. metrics such as Risk Ratio rather than p-value based metrics such as t-score).

5 THE METHOD

The study may be described as corpus-driven, since it proceeds from frequency lists, through n-grams to the analysis of recurrent patterns associated with three semantic domains – time, space and body parts. The focus on frequency as the starting point may be supported by Stubbs's (2007: 100) observation that "many phrases are frequent because they are conventional ways of expressing common meanings." Since I was interested in the ways the basic narrative concepts of time and space are typically expressed in children's fiction, I decided to identify first the lexis associated most frequently with these domains in children's books. Lists of the most frequent 300 lemmata were compiled from each corpus. The lemmata were then classified semantically, drawing on the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), with the Czech classification based on the categories outlined for English. Eighteen semantic classes were identified, with the grammatical words (e.g. *the*, *že*) and expressions related to numbers and measurement (e.g. *three*, *dost*) constituting the largest groups. Apart from the domains of time and space[2], I also explored the patterns associated with frequent expressions related to the parts of the body.[3]

In order to identify the patterns associated with the frequent lemmata, n-grams containing these expressions were searched for, and their occurrences then explored in detail in context. Following Lindquist & Levin (2008, 144), I distinguish between patterns and n-grams: I use the term pattern for "meaningful, linguistically structured recurring sequences of words", while the term n-grams will denote "recurring strings, with or without linguistic integrity". The method is summarized in Figure 1.
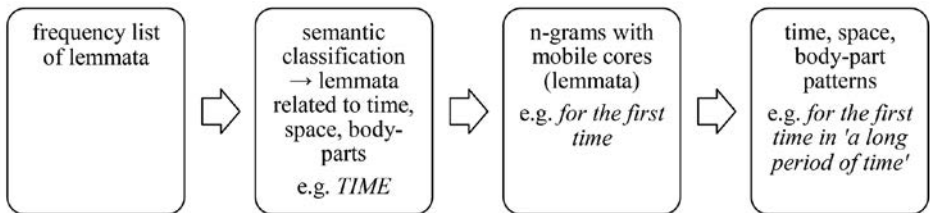

Figure 1: Identification of patterns related to the expression of time, space, and body-parts

6   TIME IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE FICTION

Time-related expressions constituted the fourth and third largest semantic domains in English and Czech, respectively. This is not surprising since "specific forms of chronotope are unique for particular genres" (Pinsent 2014: 109), and we can generally expect expressions "denoting times and places where narrative events unfold" (Thompson & Sealey 2007: 11). In children's fiction, however,

> protagonists … may be represented as experiencing both time and space in slightly different ways from those in adult fiction. Just as the quality of size is relative, so time may be represented as having different qualities when perceived from a child's perspective … Time may pass more slowly in the child's perception, and it may also be more subject to regulation by others. (ibid.: 18)

We may also expect specific means of expressing time in children's fiction to be employed in order to facilitate children's comprehension of temporal relations.

> Time is difficult for children to understand, for several reasons. As an abstract concept it can be hard for the youngest of children to comprehend, and a child's relationship with time is complicated by his/her restricted experience of it… (Sainsbury 2014: 187)

The most frequent time-related lemmata attested in the corpora are listed in Table 2, with the corresponding lemmata highlighted in bold.

	the most frequent temporal lemmata
English (BNC-jun)	**then, when, now, time, old, again, day, never, still, begin**, *stop*, **night, year**, *young*, **once, while**, *ever*, **always, moment, suddenly, start**, *new*, **soon**, *until*, **morning**, *minute*, **yet**
Czech (SYN 7-jun)	**už, když, pak, teď, začít, den, chvíle**, *hned, starý, zase*, **brzy, rok, nikdy, pořád, čas, potom, znovu, noc, jednou**, *dlouho*, **najednou, ráno**, *hodina*, **doba**, *nový*, *dnes*, **kdy**, *večer, konečně, zrovna, stále*, **mladý, vždycky**, *nakonec*

Table 2: The most frequent temporal lemmata. The English-Czech correspondences are indicated in bold.

The temporal lemmata were used as the cores of n-grams comprising 3–4 words. The length of the n-grams was given by the goals of the study: since I was interested in semantic patterns, I excluded bigrams, which typically comprise grammatical words, from the study; longer n-grams, on the other hand, are often semantically complex and heterogeneous, comprising shorter overlapping n-grams. The software *Engrammer* allowed me to extract 3/4-grams with various forms of the lemma, occurring at various positions within the n-gram. This, obviously, proved a great advantage when dealing with the inflectional variability (example 1a) and free word-order in Czech (example 1b), but the positional mobility of the lexical core made it possible to group n-grams related to the same lemma together in English as well (example 1c).

(1) a. *den a noc* ('day and night'), *tři dny a tři* ('three days and three'), *ve stejný den* ('on the same day')

  b. *jednoho dne se* ('one day *se*-reflexive'), *se jednoho dne* ('*se*-reflexive one day')

  c. *day and night*, *one day when*, *in those days*

I explored the concordance lines comprising the n-grams with temporal heads to identify recurrent meaningful patterns. The noun *time*, for instance, is firmly associated with the 4-gram *for the first time*, since it alternates with another word[4] in the n-gram *for the first ** only in 19 instances out of the 144 occurrences of the 4-gram in the corpus. Examining the 125 instances of *for the first time*, we can observe a longer pattern emerging (see Figure 2), viz. '*for the first time in* a long period of time'. The pattern is used for intensification, and at the same time, it is associated with the description of a change in the events or their perception by the protagonists.

was content	for the first time	in days. The barman
was dead .	For the first time	in his life, Matthew
in his chair	for the first time	in over a month, laid a
he needed .	For the first time	in all his journeys he
flower, and	for the first time	in ten years he realized
slaves, then	for the first time	in history slavery will be
frozen limb .	For the first time	in her life, perhaps, the
seemed ,	for the first time	in ages, to be solid
and suddenly	for the first time	in my life, I forgot my
the lane .	For the first time	in days his eyes seemed
, slowly ,	for the first time	in ten years. She walked
, disturbed	for the first time	in who knows how long,

Figure 2: Selected concordance lines of *for the first time*

A similar procedure can be adopted starting from Czech temporal lemmata. The lemma *doba* ('time') was observed to co-occur either with demonstrative pronouns (*od té doby*, *od té doby se*, *celou tu dobu*, *té doby, co*, *po celou tu dobu*, *té doby, než*, *Do té doby* – 'since that time, all that time, for all that time, that time until') or with the indefinite pronoun *nějaký* (*po nějaké době* 'after some time'). The patterns with demonstrative pronouns provide explicit anaphoric ties in the text, and can also be used as summarizing devices (examples 2a, b). The patterns with *nějaký* ('some') are associated with the passing of time, where the exact duration is not relevant (example 2c).

(2) a. *Po léta dbáme o jeho výchovu, měl nejlepší učitele, ale výsledek je hrozný. Za **celou tu dobu** se nenaučil téměř nic.*

   'For years we have taken care of his education, ... but the result is terrible. In all that time he has barely learnt anything.'

  b. *...Od té doby se ohromný rudý kámen jmenuje Morinova skála...*

   'Since that time the huge red rock has been called Morin's Rock...'

  c. *Po nějaké době přišel do královského města a tam uviděl krásný palác.*

   'After some time he came to the royal town and saw ...'

Both in English and in Czech, temporal patterns were found to express the functions listed below, suggesting their close relation to the register.

6.1 Intensification and repetition

Intensification may be achieved using parallel iterative structures, often including reduplication, e.g. *day after/by day*, *day and night*, *again and again*, *over and over again*; *ve dne v noci*, *večer co večer*, *čas od času*, *den ze dne* ('day and night, evening by evening, from time to time, day by day') (example 3). As noted by Nikolajeva (2004: 167), "the temporal pattern of the iterative ... appears to be a common device in children's fiction, most probably since the iterative reflects a child's perception of time as cyclical, non-linear, where recurrent events and routines emphasise the eternal cycle rather than the linear flow of time."

(3) **Night after night** with Biff he had shuffled and dealt, bid and bluffed, winning at first, winning **over and over**.

6.2 Vague and remote time

Another tendency clearly observable in the data is the use of indefinite temporal patterns, such as *once upon a time*, *a long time ago*, *one evening*, *one day when*, *many years ago*; *před dávnými časy/věky/léty/lety*, *za dávných časů/dob*, *jednoho dne* ('long times/ages/years ago, in bygone times, one day'). This vague spatio-temporal location of the narrative appears to be a typical opening device in fairy tales and stories for children (example 4): "...fairytale writers may facilitate our perception of our own world as magical by **refraining from explicit spatiotemporal staging**, or by providing an impression of **temporal and spatial distance** between reader (and writer) and story." (Knowles & Mjalmkjaer 1996: 160, emphasis is mine)

(4) a. **Před dávnými časy** vládl v **jednom** indickém království král...
      'A long time ago, there was a king who ruled an (one) Indian kingdom'
      b. **One day** God and St Peter were out taking the air together in the green countryside.

6.3 Explicit signalling of time

The temporal patterns suggest that it seems important to mark temporal relations in the narrative explicitly: actions are marked as happening simultaneously or in sequence, e.g. *the next morning*, *but after a while*, *for the first time*, *at that moment*, *at the same time* (ex. 5a), *after a moment's hesitation*; *nastal čas*, *tak – a teď*, *když nadešel čas*, *teprve teď*, *hned zítra* ('time has come, so – and now, when time came, only now, right tomorrow'); the duration of an action or event may be made explicit (in ex. 5b, the adverbial *po nějaké době* highlights the duration itself, even though the exact time of the journey does not appear important), further examples are *for a moment*, *for a little while*, *for a long time*; *po nějakém čase*, *hodnou/hezkou chvíli*, *čas plynul*, *tři dny a tři noci* ('after some time, a pretty long time, the time passed, three days and three nights'). Explicit reference can also be made to specific moments, often

repeated, constituting a kind of temporal frame, e.g. *three times a day; v tu chvíli* ('at that moment') (example 5c).

(5) a. *And he passed me a pistol.* **At the same time** *he began to move quietly and, after a few steps, the hole was between us and the other five.*

   b. *Prabhát to králi slíbil a pokračoval v cestě.* **Po nějaké době** *přišel na kraj lesa a uviděl, jak veliký had ohrožuje v hnízdě orlí mláďata.*
    'Prabhát promised that to the king and continued his journey. After some time, he reached the edge of the forest and he saw a huge serpent...'

   c. **Two or three times a week** *Brownies would call at Sundial Cottage to see if there was anything that needed doing – and there usually was.*

6.4 Signposting a dramatic moment or change in the narrative

As observed by Thompson and Sealey (2007: 19), in children's fiction, patterns comprising the bigram *in time* often refer to "the meeting of a deadline, the accomplishment of an action that must be completed before a penalty or some other unwanted outcome should occur." Such dramatic moments or changes in the narrative may also be signalled by other patterns, typically comprising or co-occurring with intensifiers or focalisers (example 6), e.g. *just in time (to)*, *then/when suddenly*, *at this very moment*, *too late*; *právě v tu chvíli*, *právě ve chvíli (, kdy)*, *nemáme moc času*, *(ne)ztrácet čas*, *každou chvíli*, *je nejvyšší čas*, *v poslední chvíli* ('just at that moment, just at the moment (when), we don't have much time, (not) lose time, every now and then, it is high time, at the last moment').

(6) a. *Another door opened. He raced towards it but there was a yawning, black pit on the other side. He stopped* **just in time**, *teetering on the edge.*

   b. *Sundal si tedy čelenku –* **a právě v tu chvíli** *se Rumburak otočil.*
    'So he took off the headband – and just at that moment Rumburak turned round.'

6.5 Idiomatic patterns

Our data also show a tendency in children's fiction to use idiomatic patterns. No specific function can be ascribed to an expression such as *day and night*, *spur of the moment*, *from time to time*, *once in a while*, *hang on a minute*; *den ze dne* + comparative, *hodnou/hezkou chvíli*, *do roka a do dne*, *dočkej času jako husa klasu*, *do nejdelší smrti*, *od rána do večera* ('day by day + comp., a long time (lit. a nice moment), in a year and a day's time, proverb roughly equivalent to Rome wasn't built in a day, forever and a day (lit. until the longest of deaths), from morning to evening'). They may be considered style markers, tied perhaps both to the aesthetic and educational function of children's literature. The Czech texts appear to employ idiomatic expressions to a larger extent than the English ones.

7 SPACE IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE FICTION

The lemmata related to space were less frequent in Czech than in English. Unlike the time-related expressions, the space group comprises a high proportion of adverbs, with nouns referring to specific objects, rather than to abstract temporal entities.

	the most frequent space lemmata
English (BNC-jun)	*up, out, back, down, here, away, where, through, way, door, house, room, home, side, world, end, window, wall, front, bed, inside, table, outside*
Czech (SYN 7-jun)	*tam, kde, tady, cesta, kolem, místo, dveře, svět, domů, dům, okno, strana, doma, město, stůl, sem, konec, hora, kam*

Table 3: The most frequent space lemmata

Several similar noun-based patterns were observed both in English and in Czech. The pattern *the door opened and*, corresponding to the Czech pattern *(se) otevřely (se) dveře a*, for instance, appears to mark the beginning of a new event (example 7), while *(and) LOCK/SHUT/CLOSE the door* and the corresponding *(a) ZAVŘÍT za sebou dveře* is used to conclude a particular phase or sequence of events in the narrative (example 8).

(7) a. *Suddenly, **the door opened and** a tall, fat woman came in.*
     b. *Vtom se prudce **otevřely dveře a** v nich se objevila maminka.*
         'At that moment the door flung open and Mother appeared.'

(8) a. *He threw his bike in the shed **and shut the door**.*
     b. *"Ano, pane učiteli," řekla holčička v černých brýlích **a zavřela za sebou dveře**.*
         '"Yes, Teacher," said the girl wearing black glasses and shut the door behind her.'

The adverb-based patterns reveal typological differences between the two languages, rather than features peculiar to the register. In English, high-frequency adverbs, such as *up*, *out*, *back*, *down*, form parts of grammatical idioms, multi-word verbs, where the adverbial particle often indicates spatial and/or aspectual modification (example 9a). Such modification cannot be captured by the n-gram method in Czech, since directional and aspectual modification of verbal actions is typically expressed by affixes in Czech. In Czech, the frequent adverbs are space adverbials referring to place, which may enter parallel idiomatic patterns associated with intensification (*sem a tam*, *tu a tam*, *kolem dokola* – 'here and there, around', ex. 9b). Such patterns were attested in English too (e.g. *Jackie hopped up and down…*), albeit with lower frequencies.

(9) a. *She stood **up** slowly…*
     b. *a **sem tam** z ní vyrůstaly sedmikrásky*
         'here and there daisies grew out of it'

The differences between the "conceptualisation of space" in Czech and in English were already noted by Čermáková and Chlumská (2016, 2017). My data support their findings (Čermáková & Chlumská 2017: 93) that "[w]hereas n-grams seem to work fine when describing PLACE expressions in English, they are quite insufficient for Czech." Their comparison of the results of the n-gram analysis with findings based on English-Czech translation correspondences revealed clearly that as far as the expression of space is concerned, "Czech seems to be in this respect more condensed, packing the meaning into fewer words. ... PLACE (especially DIRECTION) can also be expressed by verbal prefixes." (ibid.: 92)

8 A NOTE ON BODY PARTS IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE FICTION

In both languages, the class of body parts comprises nouns referring to similar parts of the protagonists' bodies[5] (Table 4).

	the most frequent body-part lemmata
English (BNC-jun)	*hand, face, eye, head, arm, foot, body, hair, heart*
Czech (SYN 7-jun)	*ruka, oko, hlava, noha, tvář, srdce, tělo*

Table 4: The most frequent body-part lemmata

The "role of body language in the constitution of the fictional reality" has been shown to be associated with "character definition and identification" (including gender (Hunt 2011)), as well as with momentary "emotional displays" (Mahlberg 2013: 103-4); body-part patterns, however, "do not automatically refer to examples of body language" (ibid.: 109).

In my corpora, body parts, similarly to temporal expressions, often occur in idiomatic patterns with various functions. The lemma *head/hlava*, for example, constitutes the core of the following idiomatic expressions: *from head to foot*, *come into one's head*, *inside one's head*; *prolétnout někomu hlavou*, *od hlavy až k patě*, *oko v hlavě*, *lámat (si) hlavu*, *pustit z hlavy*, *hlavou se honit* ('fly through one's head, from head to toe, eye in one's head, crack one's brains, get out of one's head, pursue in one's head'). These patterns may be, for instance, conventional means of expressing emotions (example 10).

(10) *Filip **vykulil oči**: "Jak to víte!?"*
      'Filip's eyes popped out: "How do you know!?"'

Apart from the idiomatic expressions, two broad functional classes of body-part patterns can be distinguished: bodily movements with communicative functions (body language), and movements or postures which do not seem to contribute directly to the characters' communication. The extent to which these two functions are employed depends on the particular body part:

> Body parts differ in their potential of expression because of their physical conditions. Hands are very flexible and the head and eyes prominent with eyes specifically being able to convey a variety of emotions. (Mahlberg 2013: 108)

The lemma *head/hlava* can thus be used to describe the protagonists' movement or pose, e.g. *turn/lift/bend/raise one's head*; *sklonit hlavu* ('bend one's head') or to localise other objects with respect to the character (example 11).

(11) *There were stars **above my head**, stars below my feet, stars on my left hand, stars on my right hand.*

Where the head movements co-occur with direct speech, they can often be seen as contributing to the communication, e.g. *shake/scratch/nod/raise one's head*, *one's head in one's hands*; *(za)vrtět/kývnout/pokývat/kroutit hlavou, sklonit hlavu* ('shake/nod one's head, bend one's head'). The "body language supports verbal content" (Mahlberg 2013: 117). The emotions and stance conveyed by the body language are frequently made explicit by adverbials or verbs (e.g. *in amazed disbelief* in example 12a, the direct speech in example 12b, the adverb *pochybovačně* 'doubtfully' in example 12c). As shown in example (12c), the bodily movement verb may also serve to introduce direct speech in Czech.

(12) a. *'He thinks he's getting away!' She **shook her head**, in amazed disbelief at his stupidity.*

   b. *The dog sat down on the footpath and **scratched his head**. 'I don't understand,' he complained.*

   c. *Petr však pochybovačně **zavrtěl hlavou**: "Navázat se? Má to cenu? …"*
    'But Petr shook his head doubtfully: "To tie ourselves together? Does it make sense?"'

The patterns comprising the noun *eyes* appear to be particularly prone to the expression of "emotional displays" and the "construction of characters' thought processes" (Mahlberg 2013: 115) (examples 10, 13). Patterns with *hands* and *arms* or *ruka* typically refer to touching or positioning behaviour with respect to other protagonists; English examples include *(put) one's arm (a)round (one's shoulder/neck/waist)*, *take/hold … in one's arms*, *stretch out one's arms*, *grab one's arm*, *hold out one's hand (to)*, *put one's hand on (one's shoulder/head/ arm)*, *shake hands with*. The movement of hands can alternatively be directed at the characters themselves, indicating their emotions, e.g. *hide/put/cup one's face in one's hands*, *put one's hands over one's eats/mouth*, *clap one's hands*; *mávnout rukou, (dát) ruce/ruku v bok, spráskout ruce* ('wave one's hand, (put) one's hand(s) on one's hip(s), throw one's hands up'), (example 14). The face is often construed as a location of emotional displays, e.g. *expression/smile on one's face*, *face goes/is white/red*, *one's face is flushed with*; *po tváři … stékají slzy, úsměvem na tváři, se zračit ve tváři* ('tears running down one's face, with a smile on one's face, is reflected in one's face').

(13) a. *'Well, I'm avoiding Broad Street because of the cranes,' Meg replied, and Lee saw that there were **tears in her eyes**.*

   b. *White-faced, **her eyes wide** with fright, Christine raced down the bank to the pram.*

(14) a. *'Oh,' Erika placed her **hand over her mouth**. 'Please,' she thought, 'please please.'*

   b. *He nodded and put a consoling **arm around her shoulder**.*

Even though less suited for the communicative purposes and for expressing emotional states, clusters with other body parts may perform functions in communication, typically accompanied by adverbs for explicitation (example 15).

(15) a. *She hovered, shifting **from foot to foot**, wondering if it were fair to wake him up.*

   b. *"Až se zeptám, kde," řekl pan Waldemar a přehodil si světácky **nohu přes nohu**.*
    '… said Mr. Waldemar and crossed his legs in a man-of-the-world manner.'

9   CONCLUSIONS

The present study set out to explore the language of children's narrative fiction, focussing on the general features conditioned by the register on the one hand, and on the language/culture-specific ones on the other. The register-oriented characteristics, found both in English and in Czech children's books, appear to contribute to what constitutes a narrative aimed at the child reader:

–   explicit signalling of temporal and spatial relations (e.g. *at that moment*, *on the other side of*, *a od té doby* – 'and since that time'),

–   anchoring the narrative in 'magic' indefinite time and space (e.g. *once upon a time*, *před dávnými časy* – 'a long time ago'),

–   dramatic changes in the narrative (*just in time to*, *the door opened and*, *v poslední chvíli* – 'at the last moment'),

–   intensification and repetition (e.g. *day after day*, *sem a tam*, *rozhlédl se na všechny strany*, *vykulit oči* – 'here and there, look in all directions, one's eyes pop out'),

–   focus on communication, involving not only direct speech but also frequently supported by body language (e.g. *scratch one's head*, *zavrtět hlavou* – 'shake one's head'),

–   high frequency of idiomatic expressions (e.g. *with a heavy heart*, *hodnou chvíli* – 'a considerable time').

To explore these features further, however, a larger corpus of children's narrative fiction is needed to eliminate the possible caveats of authorial idiosyncrasy. The children's books should also be compared with narrative fiction written with an adult reader in mind to identify the general narrative features and those pertaining to children's fiction in particular.

The analysis has revealed several areas of difference between the English and Czech patterns which seem to be due to the typological differences between the two languages. This was particularly evident in the space patterns, with English relying on frequent multi-word verbs with spatial/aspectual adverbial particles and Czech employing space adverbs as adjuncts. The monolingual contrastive view presented here should therefore be supplemented by a translation point of view, analysing the translation correspondences of the patterns identified in each language (cf. Čermáková & Chlumská 2017).

The study also tested the cross-linguistic applicability of the n-gram method to the analysis of the language of fiction. While the frequency lists and n-grams proved a useful starting point, highlighting the potential areas of interest, qualitative analysis of the patterns and their textual functions remains at the core of the research. As pointed out by Mahlberg (2007: 27), "clusters, as features on the textual surface, are mainly seen as pointers to local textual functions." The analysis has shown nouns to be promising cores of n-grams in both languages, which makes the method less readily applicable to semantic domains where the top of the frequency list is occupied by items of other word classes, such as space.

Keeping the above-mentioned potential pitfalls in mind, I think it would be interesting to combine comparable and parallel translation corpora not only to explore the linguistic representation of time, space and body language in children's narrative fiction, but also to expand the study to cover other semantic areas.

Notes

1. Altenberg's study based on the London-Lund Corpus of spoken English revealed that "over 80 per cent of the words in the corpus form part of a recurrent word-combination" (Altenberg 1998: 102).

2. Both domains are frequently represented among the 300 most frequent lemmata in both languages: time expressions constitute 7.3 per cent of the 300 lemmata in English and 10.7 per cent in Czech, space expressions 7.7 per cent in English and 6.3 per cent in Czech.

3. Compared to the domains of time and space, the expressions related to the parts of the body are relatively infrequent, making 3 per cent of the 300 most frequent English lemmata, and 2.3 per cent of the Czech list.

4. The other instantiations of the n-gram often comprise time-related expressions, e.g. night, two days, three years, hour, week, couple of weeks, six months, etc.

5. The difference is partly due to a different segmentation of the field, with the Czech *ruka* referring both to the English *arm* and *hand*. The most frequent lemmata also correspond to the frequency list of body parts in the Harry Potter series, as listed in Hunt (2011: 273): *eye, hand, face, head, arm, hair, feet*. In addition, Hunt's list contains *mouth, shoulder* and *finger*.

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DOES GENRE INFLUENCE THE CHOICE OF EVALUATIVE LEXICOGRAMMATICAL PATTERNS IN BRITISH ONLINE NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE?

Petra Peldová

Abstract: This paper aims to analyse the use of evaluative adjectival lexicogrammatical patterns in selected British online newspaper discourse in terms of genre specification. It focuses both on the normalised frequency of the patterns as well as on the evaluative semantic groups of the adjectives embedded in the patterns analysed. The genres chosen for the analysis are politics and crime. 282 articles from six national British online newspapers (the Sun, the Mirror, the Express, the Guardian, the Telegraph, and the Independent) were downloaded to create the corpus. These were then analysed via Sketch Engine for the evaluative adjectival patterns introduced by Bednarek (2009). The adjectives found in the patterns were further examined and manually divided into semantic groups introduced by Collins COBUILD. The data were then compared in an attempt to identify discourse patterns and contrasts, and valuable insights were gained into the lexicogrammatical features studied. The analysis indicated that evaluative adjectival patterns are indeed embedded in newspaper stories and both the tabloids and the broadsheets employ these patterns more or less equally for the same genres. Both types of newspaper mainly embed patterns 'v-link ADJ' and 'v-link ADJ prep' in both genres. However, when broadsheets report on politics, the use of the '*it* v-link ADJ finite/non-finite' pattern, can be considered marked.

1   INTRODUCTION

This article builds on a doctoral analysis of evaluative language in British online newspapers. It researches British online tabloids and broadsheets in terms of evaluation and adjectival lexicogrammatical patterns in the context of specific genres, namely crime and politics. The whole paper draws on the Appraisal Theory by Martin and White (2005), adjectival evaluative patterns introduced by Hunston and Sinclair (2000) and Bednarek (2009), and categorisation of adjectives put forward by Collins COBUILD (Grammar Collins). The paper aims to identify what evaluative adjectival patterns (EAPs) are used in the two different newspaper discourse genres, and whether these patterns are in any respects restricted to a given genre. Further, it seeks to examine whether the adjectives and patterns used in both types of newspaper vary or not. This is achieved by detecting the patterns analysed via the Sketch Engine tool, manually selecting the suitable items, and calculating and comparing the type-token ratio (TTR) for each pattern. The research questions concerning this paper are formulated as follows:

RQ 1 Is there a significant difference in the use of evaluative adjectival patterns in different kinds of newspapers, namely broadsheets and tabloids?

RQ2 Is there a significant difference in the use of evaluative adjectival patterns in different genres, namely crime and politics?

RQ3 Is there a significant difference in expressing 'opinion' and 'emotion' in the newspapers and genres?

RQ 4 Is there a significant difference in the use of adjectives in the evaluative patterns? Do the broadsheets and the tabloids embed more or less the same semantic groups in the crime genre and the political genre or do they differ?

2   THEORY

2.1   Evaluative language

Evaluative language employs expressions of stance whereby both personal attitudes and epistemic stance towards a given entity, situation or phenomena are expressed. Martin and White (2005: 42) view appraisal/evaluation as a 'system of meanings' which the speaker or writer uses to approve or disapprove of something. Hoey (2001) looks at evaluation from the text point of view, where text patterns (not just words, phrases, and grammatical categories which are analysed by corpus linguists) construe evaluation, e.g. the opportunity-taking pattern, the problem-solution pattern, or the gap in knowledge-filling pattern.

As this paper focuses on newspaper discourse, evaluative language will be discussed in this context. Bednarek (2006) has shown that newspaper discourse comprises different expressions of stance. These different expressions can include overt stance, which can be expected in reviews as the aim of such articles is to give a personal evaluation of an event, a book, a movie, etc., or epistemic stance in news on scientific issues as the scientists report on the validity and generalization of their research.

However, a typical report of a news event should not include overt expressions of stance as it should simply state what happens (Biber & Conrad 2009: 46). Nonetheless, individual newspapers try to pursue a certain ideology and communication pattern and thus they embed expressions of stance into their articles; this fact is supported by "a general shift in cultural norms: speakers and writers are more willing to express their personal attitudes and evaluations" (ibid.: 173). There are various means by which stance can be expressed i.e. lexically (Thompson & Hunston 2000: 14–17), grammatically (Biber & Conrad 2009: 135), or textually (Hoey 2001: 159). This paper focuses on the lexical expressions of evaluation, namely adjectives.

Martin and White (2005) view expressed personal attitude as conveying one's feelings, and these feelings fall into their semantic mapping category 'affect' (e.g. *We are delighted to announce*[1]...); however, the feelings can be transformed into making judgement on human behaviour or phenomena and then Martin and White define the semantic mapping categories 'judgement' (e.g. *He has been irresponsible for his action*) and 'appreciation' (e.g. *The situation was complicated to assess*...). For the purposes of this study, 'appreciation' and 'judgement' are joined under the term 'opinion' and 'affect' is represented by the term 'emotion', see Figure 1 and Figure 2 for detailed visualisation of the original subcategorisation by Martin and White (2005) and the adapted version.
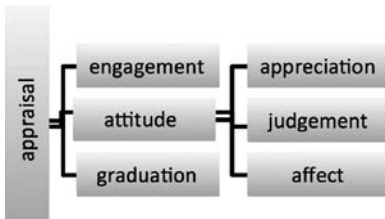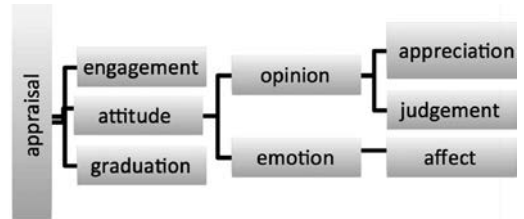

Figure 1: Martin and White's appraisal system (2005)

Figure 2: Adapted, Martin and White's appraisal system used in this paper

2.2   Patterns and adjectival lexicogrammatical patterns

According to Hunston and Francis (2000: 49) a pattern is a word with its complementation. However, some elements are excluded as they appear with "almost any word of the same class" such as adverbials of manner, place and time. Thus, in the case of adjectives, *I was angry in the evening*[2] can be read as 'v-link ADJ adv' but is not considered a pattern as such, since *in the evening* can occur with almost any adjective in the predicative position. However, *He was responsible for coming late* can be read as 'v-link ADJ prep' as the preposition *for* accompanies only some predicative adjectives. Hence, when 'patterns' are referred to (in this paper), what is meant is 'grammar patterns'. Francis (1993: 141) notes that grammar patterns tend to take advantage of lexical items of certain semantic word categories. She discusses three patterns: introductory *it* as object, appositive *that*-clause qualifiers, and restricted adjectives interlinked with these constructions. Since

the publication of Francis' work the Collins COBUILD team has introduced more related data on that issue (Grammar Collins: online). For example, the pattern '*it* v-link ADJ *to*-inf' occurs with adjectives of the 'accurate, easy, selfish, exciting, surprising, important, legal, funny or enough' semantic meaning (Grammar Collins: online). Another pattern such as '*it* v-link ADJ when/if' tends to embed adjectives of the 'awful, frustration, difficult, good, exciting, or strange' meaning (Grammar Collins: online). From these categories, it is obvious that such patterns are often evaluation loaded. Based on this finding, Hunston and Sinclair (2000) introduced six basic adjectival lexicogrammatical patterns which are typical for carrying out evaluation. Bednarek (2009) elaborated more detailed versions of their patterns, upon which this paper will rely in order to support its research questions. The adapted patterns used in the analysis are listed in Table 1 below along with their examples. Pattern 5 was added even though it was stated earlier (section 2.2) that this is not a true pattern; nonetheless, the decision to include it was made as Bednarek (2007) also used it in her research.

Pattern		Examples
1a	*it* v-link ADJ finite/non-finite clause	it is essential to inform the audience.
1b	*it* v-link ADJ for/of n to-inf	it is important for them to understand.
1c	V *it* ADJ finite/non-finite clause	I find it interesting to speak publicly.
1e	V *it* as ADJ	I see it as clever.
2	*There* v-link something/anything/nothing ADJ *about/in/with/ing*-clause/n	There is nothing wrong with his question.
3a	v-link ADJ to-inf	He is likely to come late.
3b	v-link ADJ *that*	They are afraid that they will miss the bus.
4	v-link ADJ prep	The people are sorry about the situation.
5	v-link ADJ	We are excited.
6	Cleft	What is certain is that they want to leave.
7	Graded	He is clever enough to pass the exams.

Table 1: Adjectival evaluative patterns and their examples

2.3   Collins COBUILD categories

As already mentioned in the previous sections, lexicographers at Collins COBUILD and the University of Birmingham experts carried out corpus research; from their findings they created a list of lexicogrammatical patterns used in English. These patterns also include information on the semantic grouping of words restricted to the given patterns. These are used in the analyses.

3   CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The corpus POCRI[3], which was used to conduct this comparative study, was created from a corpus of British daily online tabloid and broadsheet newspapers (the Sun, the Mirror, the Express, the Guardian, the Telegraph, and the Independent) which had been specially designed for a dissertation thesis.[4] POCRI was created by selecting all articles annotated as politics and crime from the dissertation corpus. Thus, two subcorpora were created: the subcorpus POLITICS and the subcorpus CRIME. The subcorpora were further subdivided into the tabloid subcorpus and the broadsheet subcorpus. The quantitative characteristics of POCRI are displayed in Table 2, where the number of tokens of each subcorpus is presented as well as the number of articles.

Corpora	Tabloids		Broadsheets		Total	
	No of tokens	No of articles	No of tokens	No of articles	No of tokens	No of articles
Politics	24,787	33	130,333	125	155,120	158
Crime	61,365	80	39,516	44	100,881	124
Total	86,152	113	169,849	169	256,001	282

Table 2: Quantitative description of POCRI

Table 2 reveals that there is a substantial difference in the number of tokens between the broadsheets and the tabloids in the POLITICS subcorpus, as well as in the CRIME subcorpus. The difference in the size of the subcorpora is not necessarily a drawback as all raw frequencies were normalised to 10, 000 words. Indeed, the numbers of word tokens were not reduced so as to achieve the same size of subcorpora to allow a complete description of the adjectival evaluative patterns in the two given genres.

Once the POCRI corpus was compiled, it was analysed with the help of a Sketch Engine tool for the patterns under scrutiny. A basic CQL query for the analysed patterns was created i.e. [lemma="be"] []? [tag="J*"]. However, to find more detailed patterns, extra information had to be added, such as [lemma="be"] []? [tag="J*"] [lemma="to"] or [lemma="be"] []? [tag="J*"] [word= "h.*"]. Linking verbs such as *become*, *seem* and *feel* were also included in the queries but other linking verbs were left out as the original corpus study showed them to be infrequent (Peldová 2016: 17). Following this, the results were manually checked and it was decided that the instances of the quasi modal verb *to be able to* would be excluded from the analysis. The results were then further analysed in terms of pattern frequencies, the emotion/opinion categories, and the semantic categories of the detected adjectives. Plus, the type token ratio (TTR) was intended to be calculated for each genre and subcorpus. However, it was realized that since the tabloid and the broadsheet subcorpora were of different token size, the comparison of TTR would be misleading. Since it proved impossible to normalise the finding as the instances

of types and tokens were infrequent, a different approach was followed. It was decided to calculate the percentage representation of each semantic group, both in terms of types and tokens, in a given pattern, within a particular subcorpus. Once these three steps had been carried out, the findings were processed and compared, and possible conclusions were drawn.

4   ANALYSES

4.1   General findings

The Sketch Engine detection of the patterns yielded 841 instances of the adjectival evaluative patterns: 273 in the CRIME subcorpus and 568 in the POLITICS subcorpus. For a clearer comparison, Table 3 presents the quantitative results in normalised frequency per 10, 000 words.

Corpora	Tabloids	Broadsheets	Total
Politics	42	36	37
Crime	29	27	28

Table 3: Quantitative representation of the yielded instances of patterns analysed

Table 3 displays a relative balance in the use of EAPs in both the tabloids and the broadsheets. Log likelihood (LL) calculations were run and showed p>0.05, revealing that the use of EAPs is almost equal in both tabloids and broadsheets. When it comes to the use of EAPs in different genres, the tabloids show a higher tendency to embed EAPs in politics and crime genres than the broadsheets. All in all, EAPs in particular are more frequently employed in politics than in crime. This may be because newspapers aim to popularise political news (Umbricht and Esser 2016) and show politicians as "media stars who act beyond the borders of politics" (Hallin and Manchini 2004: 278). The log likelihood calculations prove (p<0.0001) that there is a significant difference in the use of EAPs in the crime and politics genres. EAPs are more frequently employed in the politics genre than that of crime.

4.2   Emotion vs opinion

The total findings were further analysed to obtain more detailed information concerning evaluation in terms of 'opinion' and 'emotion' (described in section 2.1). Table 4 below represents the distribution of the two semantic mappings across the analysed corpus. The statistical calculations of LL indicate that there is significantly more opinion expressed in the broadsheets than in the tabloids, and there is a statistically important difference in the distribution of emotion, where the tabloids predominantly employ this compared to the broadsheets.

Corpora		Tabloids	Broadsheets	Total
Politics	emotion	11	4	5
	opinion	31	32	32
Crime	emotion	10	2	7
	opinion	19	25	21

Table 4: Emotion and opinion in POCRI

A closer look at Table 4 further reveals that the distribution of opinion in the broadsheets and the tabloids in the POLITICS subcorpus is almost equal. The almost identical number of instances of opinion might be due to the fact that British tabloids have a tendency to speak "for the common citizen and common sense" (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 211) and they aim to inform readers on political issues in a more expressive way. Similarly, contemporary British broadsheets "employ an interpretative style of writing" (ibid.). The reasons for these findings may well be because there is a high degree of politicization of British society as whole (ibid.: 215), and a cultural shift from "institutional narratives to personal ones" has made its impact on news on politics (Wardle 2007: 528). The corpus examples of opinion and emotion are listed below.

(1)   *…disruption next week was inevitable. (B_03_May)*
(2)   *It is wrong to make sweeping generalisations about any race, … (B_05_Jan)*
(3)   *…It is right to suspend sanctions… (T_13_April)*
(4)   *It's important to have a safety net for people… (T_26_Sept_11)*
(5)   *…Redknapp was unhappy with that figure… (B_8_Feb)*
(6)   *I am grateful to the Ecuadorian ambassador and the government… (B_20_Jun)*
(7)   *…her family were desperate and urged anyone with information to… (T_3_Oct_12)*
(8)   *Both sets of grandparents were yesterday too grief-stricken to comment (T_13_Dec)*

Examples 7 and 8 support Wardle's finding that newspapers nowadays report on 'the emotive drama surrounding the grieving family' (2006: 523). The distribution of opinion within the two subcorpora is statistically significant, in favour of the POLITICS subcorpus, while the distribution of emotion is almost equal within the subcorpora.

4.3   Adjectival evaluative patterns

Section 2.2 introduces the adjectival evaluative patterns that were searched for and analysed in the POCRI corpus. Figure 3 presents an overview of the patterns' occurrences in the corpus in normalised frequencies. It shows that 'v-link ADJ' is the most frequently embedded pattern in both CRIME and POLITICS subcorpora, both in the tabloids and broadsheets. The second most frequent pattern is 'v-link ADJ to-inf' in the POLITICS subcorpus, and 'v-link ADJ prep' in the CRIME subcorpus. A notable finding is the occurrence of '*it* v-link ADJ finite/non-finite clause', which seems to play an important role in the POLITICS subcorpus, though it is rarely used in the CRIME subcorpus. The figure further indicates that the POLITICS subcorpus employs more EAPs than the CRIME subcorpus (cf. chapter 3.1). The total numbers reveal that the POLITICS

subcorpus relies on EAPs more than the CRIME subcorpus. While it may not be surprising that there is a higher occurrence of EAP patterns in the tabloids than in the broadsheets, what is of interest is the high number of EAPs in POLITICS broadsheets. The individual patterns are discussed in detail below.
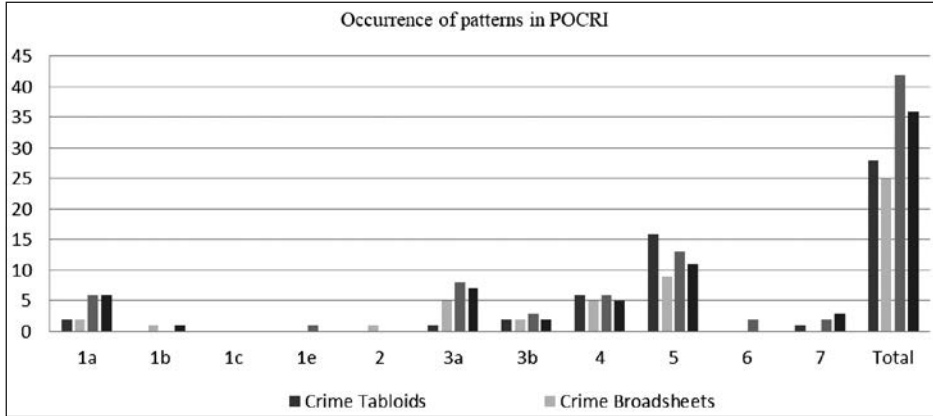

Figure 3: The occurrence of the patterns in the POCRI corpus (normalised frequency per 10,000 words)

4.3.1 Pattern 5: v-link ADJ

The whole POCRI corpus indicates that the 'v-link ADJ' pattern is the most frequent one with a slight overuse compared to other subcorpora in the tabloid CRIME subcorpus. Examples of the v-link ADJ pattern can be seen below.

(9)   *In the early days I would be angry, … (T_3_Jan)*
(10)   *They were very friendly… (T_7_sep_12)*
(11)   *The last two weeks have been particularly difficult… (B_8_Feb)*
(12)   *The detail is important (B_27_Oct_11)*

The most frequent adjectival categories used in this pattern can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Figure 2 suggests that when the tabloids write about crime using this pattern, there is a higher chance of finding an adjective belonging to the semantic group 'intelligent' than in the broadsheets. The probability is almost twofold. The CRIME subcorpus also demonstrates that the lexical variety of adjectival types is much wider (24 types) than in the broadsheets (15 types). The broadsheets make use of only five types of adjectives which cannot be found in the tabloids. By contrast the tabloids embed fifteen types of adjectives which cannot be found in the broadsheets.
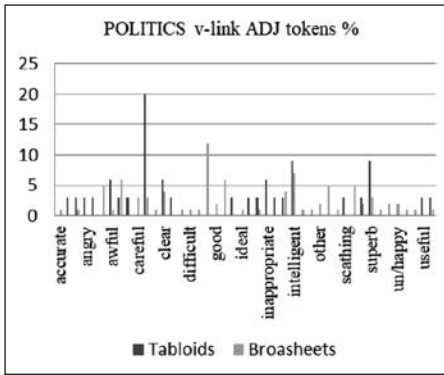
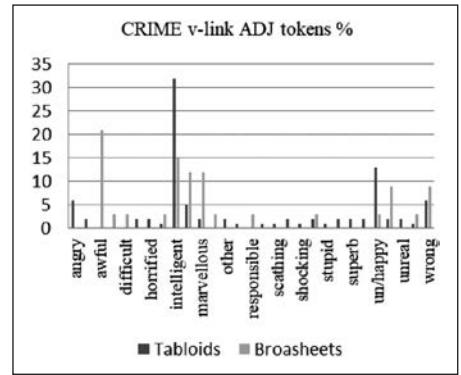**Figure 4: Pattern v-link ADJ POLITICS subcorpus, semantic groups**

Figure 5: Pattern v-link ADJ CRIME subcorpus, semantic groups

The POLITICS subcorpus makes use of 44 types of adjectives. The tabloids embed 22 of them and the broadsheets 33. When comparing the CRIME subcorpus, the findings are the very opposite: the broadsheets use a much wider variety of adjective types than the tabloids do. There are 21 semantic groups of adjectives which do not appear in the tabloids, and only twelve which do not appear in the broadsheets. Within a particular pattern and the adjectives embedded in it, the tabloids are most likely to use adjectives of the certain group, almost five times more frequently than the broadsheets. The tabloids point at things being 'superb' while the broadsheets do not. The group 'intelligent' is used slightly more frequently in the tabloids than the broadsheets. Compared to the tabloids, the broadsheets rely on expressing fairness via this pattern.

4.3.2 Pattern 4: v-link ADJ prep

The second most frequently used pattern by all the subcorpora in POCRI is 'v-link ADJ prep'. All the subcorpora employ this pattern more or less equally. Within the COBUILD GRAMMAR PATTERNS (Grammar Collins: online), the transcription 'v-link ADJ prep', which is used for the purposes of this paper, is too broad/general. COBUILD GRAMMAR PATTERNS further divides this pattern into the following: ADJ *about*, ADJ *against*, ADJ *at*, ADJ *between*, ADJ *by*, ADJ *for*, ADJ *from*, ADJ *in*, ADJ *of*, ADJ *on*, ADJ *over*, ADJ *to*, ADJ *towards*, and ADJ *with* patterns. Each pattern then embeds different groups of adjectives, however since the detected results would have been too scattered, all these patterns are listed under the one heading **v-link ADJ prep**.
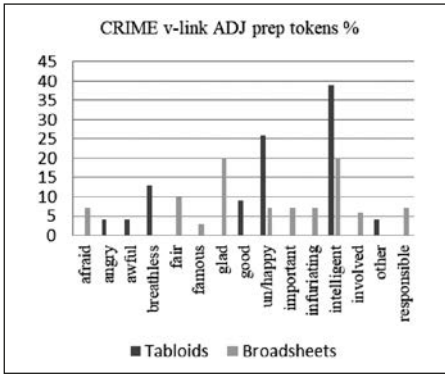
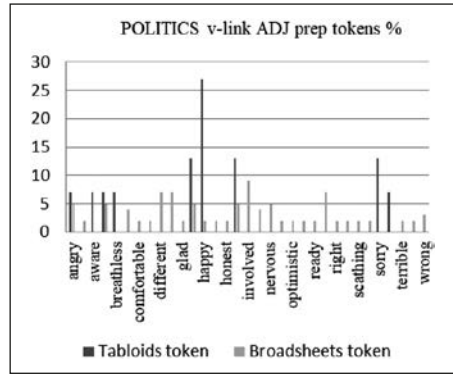**Figure 6: Pattern v-link ADJ prep CRIME subcorpus, semantic groups**

Figure 7: Pattern v-link ADJ prep POLITICS subcorpus, semantic groups

Figure 6 indicates that the pattern 'v-link ADJ prep' is much more modest in the utilisation of various semantic groups than the pattern 'v-link ADJ'. The CRIME subcorpus employs only fourteen semantic groups: ten in the broadsheets and only seven in the tabloids. Similarly, in the pattern 'v-link ADJ', the tabloids are twice as likely to use adjectives from the group 'intelligent' (the most frequently represented semantic group in this pattern) than the broadsheets, while the broadsheets rely on the 'glad and fair' group. The tabloids also outweigh the broadsheets in expressing un/happiness (26% vs 7%). Figure 7 shows that the POLITICS subcorpus is lexically denser than the CRIME subcorpus, which reflects the situation in the pattern 'v-link ADJ'. Thirty-three types of adjectives are used with the broadsheets significantly dominating: twenty-nine groups compared to nine in the tabloids. The tabloids only employ two groups absent in the broadsheets (sorry, sympathetic) whereas the broadsheets use twenty-four groups not found in the tabloids. When making use of the same adjectival groups, tabloids dominate in expressing happiness (27%: 2%), intelligence (13%: 5%), and goodness (13%: 5%). All in all, it seems that broadsheets express political issues in more diverse ways via this pattern than the tabloids.

4.3.3 Pattern 3: v-link ADJ *to-inf*

The third important pattern is 'v-link to-inf'. The information displayed in Table 5 shows that this pattern is rarely used in the CRIME tabloid subcorpus; however, it occurs in the remaining subcorpora. The semantic groups used in this corpus reveal that this pattern is frequently associated with the expression of '(un)certainty' and the newspapers further use it to express epistemic modality (Peldová 2017: 128) via the semantic group 'un/likely'. The whole POLITICS subcorpus uses 38 semantic groups of adjectives. The tabloids show a wider linguistic diversity than the broadsheets (31 groups: 18 groups). The most noticeable difference can be seen in the expression of likelihood. When the broadsheets use this pattern, they are ten times more likely to use the 'un/likely' group than the tabloids. The tabloids dominate in asserting being sorry and being right. The group 'intelligent' again plays an important role in expressing politics in the tabloids.
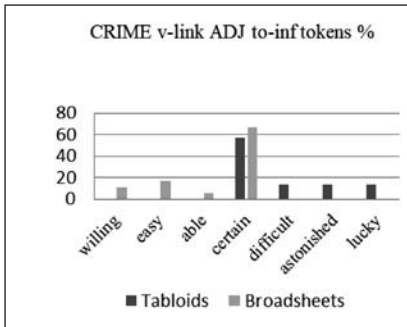
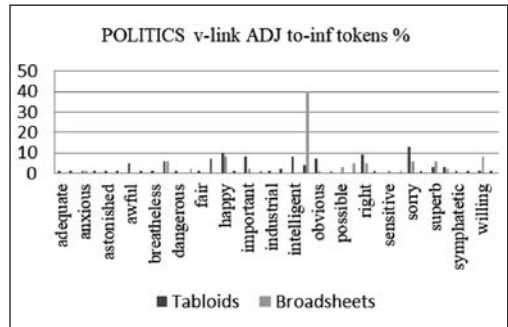**Figure 8: Pattern v-link ADJ to-inf CRIME subcorpus, semantic groups**

Figure 9: Pattern v-link ADJ *to*-inf POLITICS subcorpus, semantic groups

4.3.4 Pattern 1a: *it* **v-link ADJ finite/non-finite clauses**

The final pattern is 'it v-link ADJ finite/non-finite clauses', the use of which can be regarded as marked in the POLITICS subcorpus unlike in the CRIME subcorpus. The use of this pattern in the CRIME subcorpus is thus dissimilar to the political one, cf. Figure 9 for more details. Newspapers employ this pattern only to express opinion. The use of complementation clauses is remarkably different; the corpus reveals that the CRIME subcorpus relies on *that* dependent clauses, while the POLITICS subcorpus exploits more means of dependent clauses such as *to-inf*, *wh*-clause, *if*-clause.

COBUILD grammar divides this pattern into six subcategories: *it* v-link ADJ *that*, *it* v-link ADJ *to*-inf, *it* v-link ADJ *wh*, *it* v-link ADJ *what/how*, *it* v-link ADJ *when/ if*, *it* v-link ADJ *–ing*. Only the first category will be further discussed in terms of all the analysed subcorpora. The second pattern – *'it* v-link ADJ *to*-inf' provides information only on the broadsheet and the tabloid POLITICS subcorpora; the CRIME subcorpus cannot be thoroughly analysed as the number of tokens and types is very low.

4.3.4.1 *it* **v-link ADJ** *that*

According to COBUILD Grammar Patterns, this pattern includes adjectival semantic groups: 'likely', 'obvious', 'marvellous', 'awful', 'important and necessary', 'surprising and interesting', 'relevant', and 'others'. The CRIME subcorpus tends to express obviousness via this pattern both in the tabloids and the broadsheet subcorpora (cf. Figures 10 and 11). However, 'obviousness' is more typical of the tabloids than the broadsheets. The choice of adjectives in the pattern is noticeably more varied in the broadsheets than in the tabloids.
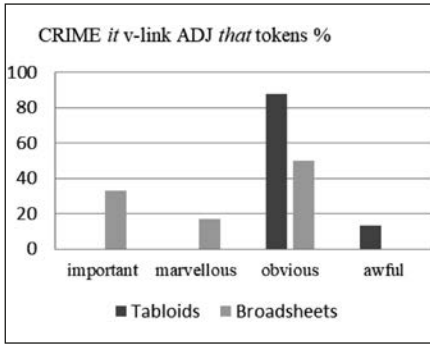
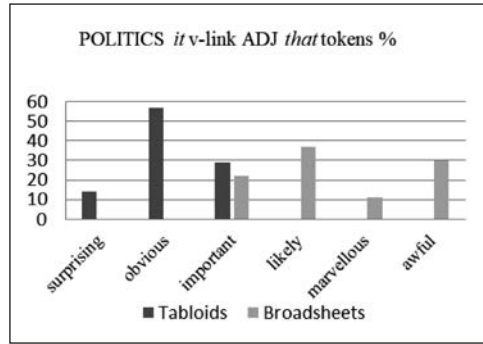**Figure 10: Pattern it v-link ADJ *that*,
CRIME subcorpus, semantic groups**

**Figure 11: Pattern *it* v-link ADJ *that*,
POLITICS subcorpus, semantic groups**

The POLITICS subcorpus shows that the choice of semantic groups is wider than in the CRIME subcorpus. However, the tabloids still (in this genre and pattern) tend to express 'obviousness', while the broadsheets tend to express 'likelihood' via the adjectival group 'likely'. Notably, the tabloids do not rely on this semantic group in this pattern. The common semantic group 'important' is commonly used by both the tabloids and broadsheets. The findings indicate that the tabloids tend to inform readers about important issues which are obvious, while the broadsheets hedge more when it comes to stating that something is important. The tabloids seem to be more direct in presenting their news than the broadsheets. Further, both the tabloids and the broadsheets use this pattern to express something positive (via the groups 'surprising' (tabloids), 'marvellous' (broadsheets)). However, the broadsheets also employ this pattern to express something awful. Overall, the broadsheets show a wider usage of lexical variety.

4.3.4.2 *it* **v-link ADJ** *to-inf*

This pattern comprises the following semantic groups: 'accurate and illogical', 'easy and difficult,' 'selfish' and 'dangerous', 'exciting and safe', 'surprising and interesting', 'important', 'legal', 'funny', and 'enough'. As mentioned above, only the POLITICS subcorpus is discussed due to insufficient information from the CRIME subcorpus.
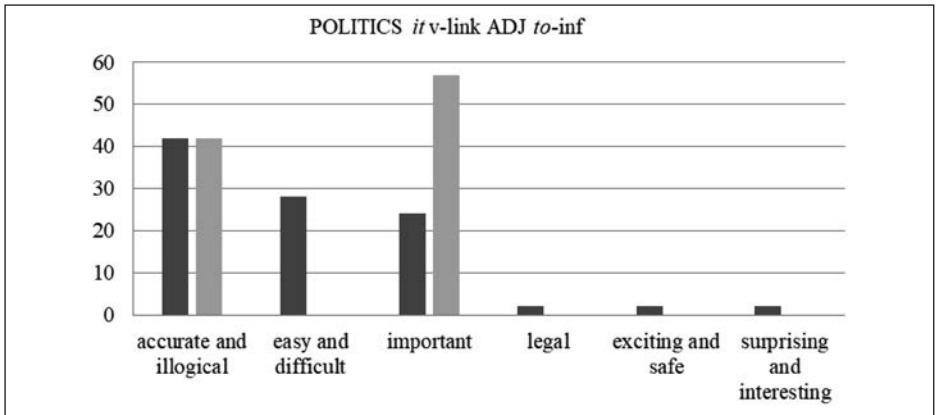
Figure 12: Pattern *it* v-link ADJ *to*-inf POLITICS subcorpus, semantic groups

Figure 12 strongly suggests that when the tabloids employ this pattern they make use of a wider variety of adjectives than the broadsheets (the tabloids employ adjectives from six semantic groups, while the broadsheets only rely on two groups). The broadsheets use this pattern to express the importance of the information transmitted, mainly supported by the adjectives from the 'important', and 'accurate' and 'illogical' groups, such as *right*, *wrong*, or *obvious*. The tabloids, compared to the broadsheets, further rely on the adjectives from the 'easy' and 'difficult' group, as well as the 'legal', 'exciting' and 'safe', 'surprising' and 'interesting' groups.

5   CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the research was to investigate the influence of genre on the occurrence of evaluative adjectival patterns in British online newspaper discourse, namely on a sample corpus of crime and political news. It further analysed the semantic variability of the adjectives embedded in the patterns in terms of frequency in the broadsheets and the tabloids. The findings, which are presented in this paper, show that there is no significant difference in the use of evaluative adjectival patterns between the tabloids and the broadsheets (RQ1). However, there is a significant divergence in the use of evaluative adjectival patterns in different genres. The political genre is more likely to embed EAPs than the crime genre (RQ2). As regards expressing opinion, the broadsheets show a higher tendency to state a particular viewpoint than the tabloids do. The tabloids, on the other hand, make considerable use of EAPs to convey emotion. As far as the genres are concerned, the political genre compared to the crime genre prevails in expressing opinion, and emotion is distributed almost equally within the two genres (RQ3). To answer RQ4, Figures 13–16 were created.
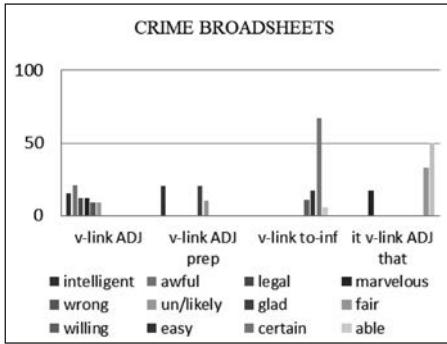
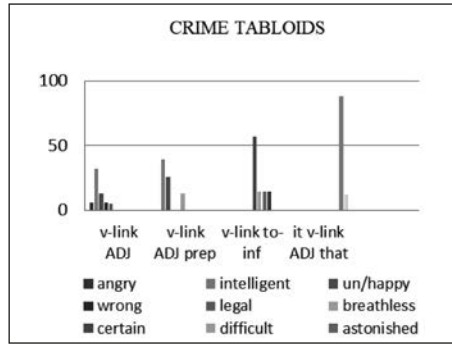**Figure 13: Adjective semantic groups embedded in the CRIME broadsheet subcorpus**

Figure 14: Adjective semantic groups embedded in the CRIME tabloids subcorpus

In the tabloids, the CRIME subcorpus indicates (Figures 13 and 14) that the adjectives from the semantic groups 'certain' and 'obvious' play a key role in construing crime reports. The broadsheets follow a similar pattern. It could thus be concluded that both the tabloids and the broadsheets express the main ideas of criminal reports, especially via the expressions: *it is clear that, I/he was sure that,* and *…is un/likely.* Research into the nature of the corpus reveals, however, that the tabloids differ in embedding the adjectives of the semantic groups 'intelligent', which indicates a quality of a person such as beauty, intelligence, courage and generosity (Grammar Collins: online) and 'un/happy', while the broadsheets use adjectives from the semantic group 'important'.

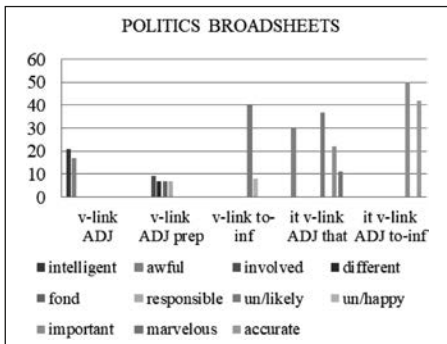**Figure 15: Adjective semantic groups embedded in the POLITICS broadsheet subcorpus**
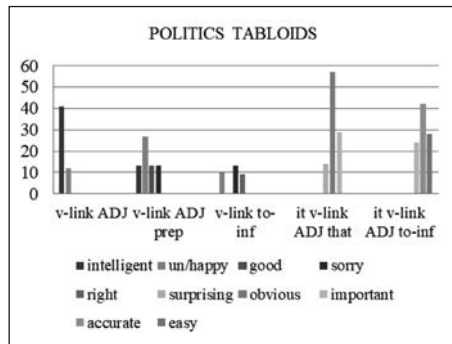

Figure 16: Adjective semantic groups embedded in the POLITICS tabloid subcorpus

The POLITICS subcorpus shows that the broadsheets, in this case, embed the semantic groups 'important', 'un/likely', and 'awful'. The tabloids embed adjectives of the semantic groups 'obvious', 'important', 'un/happy', and 'intelligent', Therefore,

we can see that both the tabloids and the broadsheets, apart from leaning on politically correct facts via 'un/likely', 'important', 'obvious' and 'accurate', also embed adjectives that humanise the political genre (via the semantic groups 'awful' and 'un/happy'). However, is there a significant difference in the use of adjectives within the newspapers and the genres? This question is difficult to answer as the data were limited and the subcorpora were not of the same size. In order to approach a satisfactory answer as to whether genre does indeed influence the choice of evaluative lexicogrammatical patterns in the discourse of online tabloids and broadsheets it would be necessary to conduct a similar study on a far larger set of data.

Notes

1. The examples of affect, judgement and appreciation are mine.
2. Examples are mine.
3. POCRI is an acronym of Politics and Crime.
4. The dissertation thesis corpus comprises 261,197 word tokens from the tabloid newspapers and 273,014 word tokens from the broadsheet newspapers. The "front-page" online articles were downloaded between September 18th, 2011 and October 8th, 2012 (Peldová 2017)

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MODAL VERBS IN ENGLISH ESSAYS WRITTEN BY CZECH SECONDARY-SCHOOL STUDENTS

Věra Sládková

Abstract: This paper presents the findings of a frequency analysis of modal verbs and their complementation in 390 English school-leaving essays written by Czech secondary-school students in a high-stakes B1 level exam. These constitute a learner corpus, CZEMATELC 2017. The study reveals a very high proportion of correct complementation patterns, but predominantly with lexical verbs at A1 and A2 CEFR levels. The most frequent errors are the complementation of modal verbs by past-tense forms of lexical verbs and the absence of complementation.

Keywords: central modals, quasi-modals, lexical verbs, learner corpus, error patterns

1   INTRODUCTION

Efficient use of results from educational assessment in order to facilitate the development of writing competence involves describing the learners' performance and identifying the areas that require special attention in teaching in order to tackle possible problems. The national school-leaving exam in the Czech Republic was established in 2011, but hardly any attempt has been made to investigate errors and/or the language features that Czech students tend to overuse and underuse. Similarly, little research has been done into the use of modal verbs and their complementation by learners at lower proficiency levels. This study attempts to address this gap in order to inform the teaching of lower level learners.

2   FORM AND MEANING

Modal verbs, which are the principal means for expressing modality in English, form a specific category of auxiliary verbs which directly precede a lexical verb in the base form. According to Collins (2009), they are divided into two groups: modal auxiliaries and quasi-modals.

Modal auxiliaries (*can, could, may, might, must, shall, should, will, would*), also called central modals by Quirk et al. (1985), or core modals by Leech et al. (2009), differ syntactically from lexical verbs in terms of the so-called 'NICE' properties which describe the specificity of these verbs in terms of negation, inversion, code and emphasis. Moreover, modal auxiliaries are unable to express "the morphological contrast of person and number" (Leech 2009: 80) and they cannot co-occur in Standard English.

Biber et al. (2002) suggest that modal auxiliaries should be treated as unmarked for tense although the secondary modals (*could, would, might, should*) and *must* are historically derived from past-tense forms. The present-past tense distinction is now nearly non-existent for modals *may/might* and *shall/should* (Leech 2004) and the verb must is no longer used to express the past. All secondary modals are able to express hypothetical meanings and more tentative or polite variants, which correspond to the meanings of primary modals (Leech 2004). In addition, all modal auxiliary verbs, not only *will* and *shall*, can refer to the immediate present or the future.

Collins (2009) divides quasi-modals into semi-modals and lexico-modals. Semi-modals (*had better, would rather/sooner, be to, have got to*), which are also called modal idioms by Quirk et al. (1985), have an auxiliary verb as their first element, so they share more properties with central modals. Lexico-modals (e.g. *have to, be able to, be going to, be obliged to, be supposed to, be willing to*), constitute an open category of verbs on the cline between auxiliary and lexical verbs, which are also called semi-auxiliaries by Quirk et al. (1985). This distinction, however, is not accepted by all researchers. Biber et al. (2002), for example, employ the terms semi-modals or periphrastic modals to designate all quasi-modals while Krug (2000) uses the term emergent modals for quasi-modals as well as marginal modals, such as *dare, need, ought to* and *used to*.

Lexico-modals tend to behave syntactically like lexical verbs. Their non-finite forms can co-occur with central modals, and they are tensed and inflected, so some of them

"serve suppletive roles in the defective morphological paradigms of the modals" (Collins 2009: 15). This "semantic relatedness to a central modal auxiliary" (ibid.: 16) together with grammaticalization, a long-lasting process involving "syntactic simplification, phonological weakening, and semantic bleaching and generalization" (ibid.: 18) in which lexical verbs start to behave more like auxiliaries, and idiomaticity, a gradual loss of the meanings of the constituent parts, are the three main criteria used to determine whether "a complex verb classifies as a quasi-modal" (ibid.). Despite semantic similarity, recognizable differences in the meaning of quasi-modals and related core modals can be discerned. Quasi-modals cannot be used subjectively, lack speaker's involvement to a certain extent and allow more precise syntactic specification (ibid.).

Many modals have different meanings depending on the context, and a particular meaning can be expressed by several different modal verbs. They perform a wide range of functions and enable the speakers to show their own perspective and attitude to the presented information. By introducing varying degrees of uncertainty into the message, they highlight the interactive connection between the speaker and addressee and influence the meaning of the sentence as a whole.

Collins (2009) mentions the unresolved debate concerning two approaches towards the meanings of modal verbs: a polysemous one, which states that modal verbs have many different discrete meanings, and a monosemous one, which recognizes only one basic meaning related to all the contextual interpretations of the modal verb. The existence of ambiguous examples may support those who favour the polysemous approach, within which Leech et al. (2009) observed a strong tendency towards monosemy.

Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) distinguish two kinds of meanings of modal verbs: intrinsic, also called root modality, and extrinsic, also called epistemic modality. Root modality, which includes permission, obligation and volition, is concerned with situations in which people have some control over the events and show their attitude to them, while epistemic modality, which includes (factual) possibility, necessity and prediction, is employed when the speaker is making a judgement about the truth of the proposition. According to Palmer (1990), the most common type of root modality is the deontic one, when the modality affects external reality as in permission and obligation. Dynamic modality, which is not recognized and unequivocally understood by all researchers, is in play when the control of the event, action or state is internal to the subject of the sentence and includes volition and ability. From the diachronic perspective, epistemic modality is expected to derive from root modality by means of metaphorical extension (Sweetser 1990 in Collins 2009: 21). In English L1 acquisition as well as in L2 acquisition, deontic meanings develop before epistemic ones (Mitkovska et al. 2012, Mifka-Profozic 2017).

Table 1 provides a simplified summary of the most frequently occurring meanings of core modals based on works by Collins (2009), Leech (2004) and Leech et al. (2009). They are divided into three sections: 1) possibility, permission and ability modals; 2) prediction and volition modals; and 3) necessity and obligation modals. The individual meanings are not always distinct. A considerable ambiguity can be expected between the prediction and volition meanings of *will* and *would* (Biber et al. 2002), and there is even a gradient between the individual meanings of *can* and *could* (Leech 2004).

According to Leech (2004), the possibility meaning of *can* is unable to express the low degree of likelihood that is required by epistemic modality, thus it is termed theoretical possibility as opposed to the factual possibility represented by *may*. Collins (2009), however, not only accepts the epistemic possibility of *can* in non-affirmative contexts, but also mentions that "*can* is beginning to develop a 'genuinely' affirmative epistemic use in AmE" (ibid.: 98).

Modal verb	Frequency (modal verb)	Meaning	Frequency (meaning)	Type of modality
CAN	high	ability	common	Dynamic
		possibility (theoretical)	very common	dynamic
		factual possibility (non-affirmative context)		Epistemic
		permission	increasing	Deontic
COULD	middle	ability		Dynamic
		possibility (theoretical)		dynamic
		possibility (factual)		Epistemic
		permission	marginal	Deontic
MAY	low	possibility (factual)	flourishing	Epistemic
		potentiality for action	marginal	Dynamic
		permission	declining	Deontic
MIGHT	middle to low	permission	rare	Deontic
		possibility (factual)	consistent	Epistemic
WILL	high	prediction		Epistemic
		volition		Dynamic
WOULD	high	prediction		Epistemic
		volition	increasing	Dynamic
SHALL	low	prediction	disappearing	Epistemic
		volition	disappearing	Dynamic
SHOULD	middle	obligation (desirability/advice)	increasing	Deontic
		logical necessity (weak)		Epistemic
MUST	middle	obligation	declining	Deontic
		(logical) necessity	declining	Epistemic

Table 1: Meanings of core modals: Collins (2009), Leech (2004), Leech et al. (2009)

3   MODAL COUNTERPARTS IN CZECH

Modal verbs in Czech include four primary modal verbs corresponding to some extent to the English modals *shall, should* (mít), *can, could* (moci), *must* (muset) and *may, might* (smět), and five secondary modal verbs, *want/will, would* (chtít), *need* (potřebovat), *dare* (dovolit si), *be going to* (hodlat) and *can – ability* (umět). These do not share all grammatical properties with the primary modals (Karlík & Šimík 2017). All of them are inflected, marked for tense and complemented by the infinitive which resembles a bare infinitive in English. However, it is marked by -t (-ti) or –ct (–ci) endings depending either on the register or the previous consonant. Modal verbs can be complemented by other auxiliary verbs and also by an infinitive of a modal verb (ibid.). An object is commonly inserted between the modal verb and the lexical verb, and this verb can even be omitted when it is obvious from the co-text or context. Therefore, complementation by adverbials and objects is considered to be sufficient (Karlík & Šimík 2017). For the purpose of linguistic analysis, a combination of a modal and lexical verb is generally considered as one semantic and syntactic unit (ibid.).

All Czech modals express deontic modality, but only the equivalents of *shall, can* and *must* have the capacity to express epistemic modality. Since they lack structural forms that would enable them to express logical probability in the past, using adverbs and particles to perform epistemic functions is more common (Dušková et al. 1988). One of the Czech equivalents of the modal verbs *can* and *could* is unable to express ability, and neither of them can be followed by verbs of perception. Despite this, the main differences between modal verbs in Czech and English lie in the degree to which they are perceived to express politeness and authority (ibid.).

4   PREVIOUS STUDIES

Studies investigating acquisition and use of English modal verbs by EFL/ESL learners focus mostly on university students at higher proficiency levels. Mitkovska et al. (2012), however, analysed the modal verbs of obligation in the Macedonian Learner Corpus consisting of texts written by learners from A1 to B2 CEFR levels. Their aim was to pinpoint the most frequent errors, which appear to be complementation by a to-infinitive and a past-tense form. In Saeed's (2009) study, Arab EFL learners with 12–14 years of instruction in English had to complete multiple-choice recognition and production tests based on modality. Their low performance is explained by the lack of an equivalent system in Arabic, the overlapping meanings of modals, and the inability of students to exploit their idiomatic use.

Aijmer's (2002) study of modality in advanced learner writing compares the results of Swedish non-native speakers to native speakers in LOCNESS[1], and to French and German parts of ICLE[2]. A considerable overuse in the studied categories of modality was found in the non-native speakers' argumentative essays, and the suggested reasons were interlingual transfer, speech-like style of the writing and the possible influence of instruction. Corpus studies by Qian (2017) and Yang (2018) compared Chinese university students' writing to those of native speakers. They discovered that Chinese learners

lack the pragmatic knowledge indicated by a high degree of impoliteness and observed an overuse of modal verbs, mainly *can, will, could*, *would,* as well as an underuse of *may*. In a study contrasting Croatian upper-intermediate students with native-speakers, Mifka-Profozic (2017) compared the processing time of online comprehension of modal auxiliaries *can* and *may* in a self-paced reading activity. She discovered that native speakers, contrary to the Croatian students majoring in English, were sensitive to the semantic violation concerning theoretical and factual possibility when presented with *can* instead of *may*.

5   MODAL VERBS AT B1 CEFR LEVEL

Detailed information concerning the acquisition of modal verbs and the complexity of structures in which they are competently used at individual CEFR levels can be gained by means of online tools such as *English Grammar Profile (EGP)* and *English Vocabulary Profile (EVP)*. These tools are based on continuous research carried out on the *Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC)*. According to O'Keeffe and Mark (2017), a language feature can be assigned to a particular CEFR level if it appears in essays at this level with considerable frequency with an accuracy rate of at least 60 per cent. It must be identified across a number of contexts in the essays of users coming from multiple first language families while the task-effect is disregarded.

Based on these criteria, learners at B1 CEFR level use all central modals to express a wide range of functions as well as quasi-modals *be going to, be able to, have to, be allowed to, be supposed to,* and marginal modals *be used to* and *ought to*. B1 learners complement *might, should* and *would* by perfect-infinitive forms, use conditionals and fixed phrases. They also use *may* and *might* for weak possibility and *will* for prediction.

6   METHODOLOGY

6.1   RESEARCH AIM

Studying the frequency of modal verbs and their complementation patterns in students' essays can provide useful information about the extent to which this semantically complex phenomenon is accurately used by Czech secondary school students.

Accordingly, the aims of this study were as follows:
1.   To determine the frequency and proportion of modal verbs in students' essays.
2.   To approximate modal-verb meanings with the help of the co-text and the task.
3.   To compare the colligation patterns of modal verbs in CZEMATELC 2017 to the language features which appear in learners' production at B1 CEFR level according to *EGP* and *EVP*.
4.   To identify the accurate and inaccurate modal-verb colligation patterns and to investigate possible reasons for errors.

6.2 Research Design

The analysis of modal-verb complementation was approached from the perspective of Pattern Grammar (Hunston & Francis 2000), so the analysis concentrated on individual modal verbs and investigated all the patterns in which they appeared. Consequently, colligations, i.e. lexical units frequently co-occurring with a particular grammar structure were within the scope of the analysis.

To avoid comparative fallacy, i.e. failure to acknowledge the unique features of interlanguage (cf. Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005), frequency analysis was chosen as the main research method. Detailed qualitative analysis of modal-verb meanings was based on semantic categories outlined by Collins (2009), Leech (2004) and Palmer (1990).

6.3 Participants

The studied essays were written by Czech secondary school students, the majority of whom were 19 and had studied English for eleven years. In most cases, English would have been their L2, but it could also have been their L3, which would imply a considerably shorter time of English language instruction. The learners might also have been learning German, French, Spanish or Russian. However, the metadata are unavailable for legal reasons as confidentiality has to be strictly observed in the case of a high-stakes exam.

6.4 Learner Corpus

The Czech Maturita Exam Learner Corpus 2017 (CZEMATELC 2017) consists of 390 essays written in May 2017 by 195 students at different schools in the CR. Consent was obtained from the Centre of Educational Assessment (CERMAT). The sample represents 0.455 per cent of all essays written at the same time within 60 minutes on the same two assignments. According to AntConc 3.4.4w (Anthony 2014), the raw corpus contains 44,044 tokens and 2,765 types.

In both assignments, the learners were prompted in Czech about what to include in each paragraph. The longer essay (120–150 words) was a narrative about an unexpected visitor, in which the learners had to describe what they were doing when the visitor arrived, identify the visitor, narrate a story depicting what happened, and explain which particular feelings were induced by the visitor and why. The shorter essay (60–70 words) was a request, in which they had to ask an English-speaking friend to lend them a bicycle, explain the reasons, state how long they needed it for, and suggest when and where they would collect it. The students were allowed to use Czech-English or English-English dictionaries which did not contain appendices describing text organization in written tasks.

6.5 Procedure

Firstly, an alphabetical list of all types was created by means of AntConc 3.4.4w (Anthony 2014). The types that were identified as correctly and incorrectly spelt modal verbs were viewed in concordance lines and categorised according to the type of complementation. Raw frequencies of all modals and their complementation patterns were recorded and compared to language features that appear at different CEFR levels according to *EGP* and *EVP*. For the qualitative analysis of meanings, the task played

an important role, and modal verbs were viewed within the context of the whole essays.

7   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

7. 1   GENERAL FINDINGS

CZEMATELC 2017 contains 875 central modals represented by seven different modal verbs (*will, can, could, would, must, should, may*), 118 quasi-modals realized by five lexico-modals (*be going to, have to, be able to, be used to, be supposed to*) and one semi-modal (*would rather*). Central modals are 7.67 times more frequent than quasi-modals. This difference is higher than the one revealed in native-speakers' production by Leech et al. (2009), probably because central modals tend to be taught earlier than quasi-modals and learners appear to use those modal verbs that "are taught first to them" (Yang 2018: 128) more frequently. Moreover, central modals are not tensed and cannot express a person-number agreement, so learners may find them easy to use (Qian 2017, Mitkovska et al. 2012, Yang 2018) and/or they may lack other resources for expressing modality (Aijmer 2002, Yang 2018).

Table 2 compares raw frequencies and proportions of modal verbs in the two types of essays. The overall proportion of modal verbs in the narrative with 29,704 tokens is rather low at 0.838 per cent, but they constitute 5.188 per cent of the request with 14,340 tokens. This striking difference supports previous findings by Aijmer (2002) that the frequency of modals is strongly task-dependent. Both the politeness factor and future-time reference of the request increase the proportion of modal verbs and may explain the overuse of *will, can* and *could* in CZEMATELC 2017 when comparing relative frequencies per million words (pmw) of central modals with the *Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus* (*LSWE Corpus*). The native-speakers' texts in the *LSWE Corpus* are probably much more balanced as far as text-types are concerned, which may also explain why the modals *must, should*, and especially *may,* appear to be underused. Interestingly, the exact equivalent of *may* is the least frequently used modal in the *Czech National Corpus* (Křen et al. 2015) with a relative frequency of 152.9 pmw.

Modal verb	Narrative Raw freq.	%	Request Raw freq.	%	Total	Freq. pmw	LSWE Corpus
WILL	48	0.162	226	1.576	274	6220	3700
CAN	37	0.125	227	1.582	264	5993	2550
COULD	56	0.189	95	0.662	151	3428	1700
WOULD	20	0.067	123	0.858	143	3246	3000
MUST	14	0.047	8	0.055	22	499	800
SHOULD	7	0.024	10	0.069	17	386	1000
MAY	1	0.003	3	0.021	4	91	1000
WOULD RATHER	1	0.003			1		
BE GOING TO	16	0.053	35	0.244	51		
HAVE TO	38	0.128	6	0.042	44		
BE ABLE TO	5	0.017	11	0.077	16		

BE USED TO	4	0.134			4	
BE SUPPOSED TO	2	0.006			2	
Total	248	0.838	741	5.188	993	

Table 2: Modal verbs in CZEMATELC 2017, Biber et al. (2002)

The range of spelling inconsistencies directly affecting the discovered modal verbs include: *con (n=1), *cant (n=1), *can not (n=2), *musn't (n=1) *shloud (n=1), *are suppose to (n=1), *was suppoust to (n=1), *wont (n=2), *wold (n=1) and woul'd (n=4).

CZEMATELC 2017 lacks several modals and some of their forms typically appearing in learners' production at B1 CEFR level according to *EGP*, namely the central modals *shall* and *might*, the lexico-modal *be allowed to* and the marginal modal *ought to*. Learners also did not combine the modal verbs *can, may* and *must* with adverbs and modal verbs *might, should* and *would* with a perfect-infinitive form. This deficiency might imply that the learners were unable to use them, but a wide range of other factors may be involved. The choice of modal verbs tends to be not only topic and culture specific (Hinkel 1995 in Aijmer 2002) but also task-dependent.

The modal verb *shall* has declined in use in native-speakers' production and shows signs of distributional fragmentation and paradigmatic atrophy (Leech et al. 2009). Despite that, *shall* is still frequent in questions used to make offers and polite suggestions (Römer 2004), in which it cannot be replaced by *will*. Thus, the learners had an opportunity to use it when they were prompted to suggest the time and place where they would collect the bicycle. By contrast, the prompts in both tasks did not require the use of *might* or *ought to* in a straightforward fashion.

7.2 Sematic distribution of modal verbs

The meaning of modal verbs in the narratives and requests was analysed separately, and a large number of similarities within each type of essays was found.

7.2.1 Possibility, permission and ability modals

This group of modals is represented in CZEMATELC 2017 by 435 tokens and four modal verbs *(may, can, could, be able to)*, with 336 tokens in the request and 99 in the narrative. It contains one example of *may* with an epistemic meaning, but there are also polite requests (n=2) and an ambiguous example in the request.

As seen in Table 3, the instances of *can* and *could* are classified as being on two scales. Based on Leech (2004), the ability-possibility scale included instances which could be paraphrased as *be capable of* on one side of the spectrum and *it is possible for somebody to do something* on the other. The possibility-permission scale starts with the very same paraphrase and ends with the paraphrase *be allowed to*.

In the narrative, the ability meaning prevails and the verb *could* is even complemented by verbs of perception (n=2). In the request, the majority of sentences are positioned somewhere on the cline and there are many sentences which cannot be assigned a particular meaning due to the confusion of lexical verbs (n=41). The less polite verb *can* is used twice as often in requests than *could*.

Modal verb	can		could		be able to	
	narrative	request	narrative	request	narrative	request
ability	8	6	26		5	10
ability/possibility scale request	3	108 (39)	4	49 (32)		1
possibility	3	10	4	1		
possibility/permission scale request	4	62 (61)	2	21 (21)		
permission	8	5				
factual possibility	2		3	3		
theoretical possibility	2		10	1		
ability/possibility/permission	3		4	3		
unclear	1	10		2		
confusion of the lexical verb		25		16		

Table 3: Modal verbs *can* and *could* and *be able to*

7.2.2 Prediction and volition verbs

Prediction and volition verbs (*will, would, be going to*) with 468 tokens, including the grammaticalized informal variety *gonna* (n=4) are more frequent in the request (384 tokens) than in the narrative (84 tokens).

The prediction modals in the narrative tend to be accompanied by verbs of communication and cognition (e.g. *think, hope, expect*). In the request, they are largely realized by a number of *will be + adjective* clusters (n=16) and *would be + adjective* clusters (n=10), containing adjectives such as *happy, grateful, great* and *kind*. As shown in Table 4, the volition verbs prevail as their major function is to describe the intentions of the characters in the narrative and promises in the request (n=30). The uses of *would* are realized mainly by *would like* clusters in the narrative (n=8) as well as in the request (n=60).

Modal verb	will		would		be going to	
	narrative	request	narrative	request	narrative	request
prediction	15	83	6	33	3	7
prediction/volition	7	42		11	1	8
volition	20	83	9	76	12	17
unclear	2	5	4	3		

Table 4: Modal verbs of prediction and volition

7.2.3 Necessity and obligation modals

Modal verbs of necessity and obligation are represented by 85 tokens and the following verbs: *must, have to* (*has to, had to*), *should* and *be supposed to*. They are more frequent in the narrative (61 tokens) than in the request (24 tokens).

In the request, the majority of instances of *I must* (n=6) and *I/we have to* (n=3) serve the function of a grounder, providing the reason and explanation for the request, while the source of the deontic modality is external. The instances of *don't have to* (n=2) function as imposition minimizers. In the narrative, both *must* (n=6) and *have to* (n=15) prefer verbs of movement as complements and there are also formulaic expressions. As shown in Table 5, all identified modals also express an epistemic meaning.

Modal verb	obligation		Necessity	
	narrative	request	narrative	Request
must	11	7	2	
have to	37	6	1	
should	3	3	4	3
be supposed to	1		1	

Table 5: Modal verbs of necessity and obligation

7.3 Confused meanings of modal verbs and their complements

Qualitative analysis revealed several confusions concerning the meaning. Table 6 presents a complete list of modal-verb confusions.

Inappropriate verb	Intended verb	Raw frequency
should	would/could	4
can	would	2
can	shall	1
can't	don't have to	1
will	were	2
won't	want	2
could	need	1
must	need	1

Table 6: Modal-verb confusions

Learners also struggle to choose the appropriate modal verb complement in order to express a particular function. As Table 7 shows, the modal verb *can* tends to attract the widest range of complements with an inappropriate meaning and the *borrow-lend* confusion affects the widest range of modal verbs.

Inappropriate verb	Intended verb	can	could	will	Would	would like	must	going to	Total
borrow	lend	23	16	2	4				45
lend	borrow	4		1	1	4			10
advance	lend borrow	2							2
rent	lend	1				1			2
give	lend	1							1
take place	take part							1	1
take over	collect				1				1
elevate	collect	2							2
lift	collect	2							2
stay	come	1							1
go	come			1					1
come	go						2		2
please	help	1							1
can't stand	can't help	1							1
catch	manage			1					1
were	pay						1		1
Total		38	16	5	6	5	3	1	74

Table 7: Inappropriately used lexical verbs with particular modal verbs

The verb *borrow* is used instead of *lend* more frequently than the other way around, which implies that the awareness of the existence of the verb *lend* or the difference in meaning might be a problem. This confusion also appears in sentences with complex grammar, which might point to the difficulty of using the shift in the person deixis. Unfortunately, it may lead to miscommunication in several instances (n=8) as in (1).

(1)   *Hello David, you know I need something from you. **Can I lend you bike please?** 2I-17-4.txt

7.4   Modal verb complements and CEFR levels

A1 to A2 CEFR level language features are used to complement 93.7 per cent of modal verbs (n=930). Table 8 shows a list of complements that can be assigned to B1 CEFR level (n=50) according to *EGP* and *EVP*. They are used to complement only five per cent of modal verbs.

Pattern	Frequency	Pattern	Frequency
V + progressive aspect	8	V + last (verb)	1
V + believe	11	V + afford	1
V + be grateful	10	V + sign for	1
V + mind	3	V + suggest	1

V + do a favour	3	**V + wish**	1
V + keep	3	**V + fall asleep**	1
V + take	2	**V + destroy**	1
V + stand doing	1	**V + manage**	1
V + help doing	1		

Table 8: Modal verbs and B1 CEFR level complements

B2 language features (n=13), which can be seen in Table 9, complement only 1.3 per cent of modal verbs and most of them are affected by spelling inconsistencies.

Pattern	Frequency
V + passive voice	4
V + participate	5
V + appreciate	1
V + cause	1
V + treat	1
V + barely breathe	1

Table 9: Modal verbs and B2 CEFR level complements

7.5   Error patterns

Nearly nine percent of modal verbs are used in patterns other than the mandatory combination of a modal verb followed by a bare infinitive. As shown in Table 10, the modals with the highest frequency, namely *will* and *can,* appear most often in incorrect patterns.

Pattern	will	going to	would	can	could	must	have to	should	able to	Total
V + past tense form	8	2		10	2	3	6	1		32
V	16			1	1	1	1		1	21
V + gerund	6	1		1						8
V + inf + inf	5		2		2			1		10
V + modal + modal	3	1	2	4						5
V + to-infinitive	2					1		1		4
V + 0 + infinitive	1			2	3					6
V + 'to' + past tense form				1						1
V + DO				1						1
V + 3rd person form							1			1
Total	41	4	4	20	8	5	8	3	1	89

Table 10: Error patterns

Error patterns that can be attributed to overgeneralization include complementation by either a gerund, a to-infinitive, or a past-tense form of a lexical verb. Complementation by a gerund affects the verbs *will* (n=6), *going to* (n=1) and *can* (n=1) and complementation by a to-infinitive (n=4) is relatively infrequent. A modal verb followed by a past tense form of a lexical verb (n=32) seems to be the most surprising colligation pattern that is found in essays written at ten different schools. It is relatively frequent, affects the largest number of different modal verbs, and appears in three different types of co-text. As example 2 illustrates, in backshifted sentences, the past tense forms of lexical verbs complement the modal verbs *can, must, have to* and *will* (n=8). Learners also use a lexical verb in the past as well as the past tense form of the modal (example 3), namely with verbs *could, should* and *had to* (n=8). The other sentences with this pattern (n=16), however, clearly refer to the future as in example 4.

(2)   *We had three leassons with him, so I **can asked** him for a lot of questions*. 1H-17-13.txt
(3)   *She had to see my grandmom, but i **had to said** her "she died 2 years ago"*. 1P-17-16.txt
(4)   *I need it only for that one day. I **will not broke** it. I promise.* 2I-17-4.txt

The second most frequent incorrect pattern, in which the mandatory lexical verb is missing (n=21), may be caused by L1 influence. Omitting lexical verbs after the modal *must/have to* as in example 5 is common in Czech. Omitting the lexical verb *be* after the central modal *will* (n=16), as seen in example 6, appears to be the most common error affecting one particular modal verb. It shows a considerable similarity to the pattern used to express the future tense of the verb *be* in Czech where only one word serves both an auxiliary and a lexical function. Similarly, the redundant *be* in example 7 may be an exact translation of forms existing in Czech (n=8). Transfer can also be responsible for incorrectly positioned objects (n=6) as in example 8.

(5)   *We **had to** outside, becouse we had Buddy*. 1G-17-6.txt
(6)   *I **will** in Germany on Championschip*. 2M-17-12.txt
(7)   *…and I **will be** always **remember** to her visit*. 1H-17-9.txt
(8)   *David, I would like to ask you if you **can me borrow** your bicycle*. 2H-17-2.txt

7.6   Grammatical errors

The analysis of grammatical errors directly affecting the colligation patterns focused mainly on the accuracy of affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences, subject-verb agreement and the use of appropriate tense and aspect. The two essays differ considerably in the types of errors that prevail.

The number of these errors in the narrative is 40 and the predominant type is the use of present-tense forms in sentences where past tense or secondary modals are mandatory (n=34). The affected modals are *will*, *can*, *must*, *have to*, *going to*. Other errors include, for example, double negation of *will* (n=1), a question without an inversion (n=1), and omission of the verb *be* before *going to* (n=2).

There are 55 grammatical errors affecting modal verbs in the request, namely *will* (n=32) and *would* (n=10). The types of errors vary to a great extent, but inversion is not used to create questions (n=11) with verbs *will*, *can* and *would*. The learners use *will*

incorrectly in if-clauses (n=9) and also in time-clauses (n=4). The subject of the sentence tends to be omitted or an object occupies its position (n=9) with the verbs *will*, *would* and *could*. The cluster *would like* is not followed by a to-infinitive (n=7) and the auxiliary verb *be* is omitted before *going to* (n=6) and *able to* (n=1).

8   CONCLUSION

The study has investigated how Czech secondary-school students use modal verbs to achieve communicative goals in their school-leaving essays. More specifically, it focuses on the range and frequency of the modals used, the meanings they predominantly express, and the accuracy of complementation patterns in which they appear. It also assigns modal-verb complements to corresponding CEFR levels.

Modal verbs constitute a considerable portion of the texts and show a very high frequency of correct complements. A limited range of them can even be assigned to a B2 CEFR level, and apart from *will*, *would* and *going* to in prediction (n=147), seven other modal verbs are used to express epistemic meaning (n=20). However, the proportion of B1 CEFR level complements, which are only exceptionally affected by errors, remains low at five per cent. The most frequently used modal verbs, *will* and *can*, are most frequently found in incorrect patterns and/or grammatical structures with inappropriate complements.

Apart from past-tense form complementation, the error patterns attributed to overgeneralization tend to be low, but there are various L1 influence errors which require special attention, including the absence of complementation of the verb *will*. Czech students do not choose appropriate forms of modals for sentences which are supposed to be in the past; do not invert the word order in questions; and use *will* in if-clauses. As a result, specific grammatical aspects, especially subject-verb inversion in interrogative sentences, word order, and expressing past modality with the help of periphrastic forms, should be taught explicitly. Teaching lexico-modals together with the related central modals would help address the limited range of morphological forms of modals the learners are able to use.

However, confusions of the meanings of modal verbs as well as their complements can cause miscommunication and affect politeness, so, for example, making an explicit distinction between asking for permission and asking whether something is possible could help the learners overcome the *borrow-lend* confusion, which appears to be a serious issue. Teaching modal verbs in fixed phrases and presenting them on the scales of particular meanings, such as politeness and authority, would help the learners make more informed choices instead of relying on perceived similarity between languages. Focusing on *shall* for making suggestions, *may/might* for epistemic modality, *should* for desirability and *can/could* for ability would be particularly useful.

Although the frequency of modal verbs and their semantic distribution is affected by the task, which might be a limitation of the current study, it shows that the learners use modal verbs appropriately in most cases. L1 influence can be noticed in the underuse of *can/could* to express ability, and in the fact that less formal, but acceptable, variants of requests prevail. More research, however, would be needed to find out which

language features are used to make suggestions instead of the modal verb *shall*, which is avoided completely. However, more generally, research into which linguistic features and strategies are employed as request constituents is also needed. Creating a more balanced corpus and analysing the modal verbs within different tasks could also give us a more balanced picture of their use.

Notes

1.   CNESS - Louvain Corpus of Native Speaker Essays
2.   ICLE – International Corpus of Learner English

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LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: LINGUISTIC SUPPORT FOR OTHER ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES

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Abstract: This article outlines the content of an elective university course designed for domestic and international students, combining language and international relations. The course is intended to make students more sensitive to the linguistic intricacies of a specialist variety of English. The focus is on its written modes, particularly writing and reading academic (professional) texts dealing with complex foreign policy issues. As a result, students are expected to enhance their academic writing skills. The linguistic component of the course is backed up with a review of world affairs. Conversely, the field of international relations theory is enriched by a systematic study of language effects observed in the respective discourse. The interdisciplinarity of this enterprise benefits students with different academic and cultural backgrounds.

1   INTRODUCTION

Interdisciplinarity in teaching and research has been encouraged in academia in recent years. It has been common for numerous traditional core disciplines such as linguistics, psychology or sociology to expand, by incorporating modifying adjectives, into new, blended areas such as applied linguistics, cognitive psychology or political sociology, to name but a few. However, it has not been very easy to extend one traditional discipline by combining it with another one. While in theory any such combination is possible, in practice, the resulting mergers encounter various institutional obstacles. Conference organizers cannot always be persuaded to accept interdisciplinary paper proposals as these deviate from the conference core themes. Journal editors are not sure whether to accept submissions which thematically extend beyond the accepted borders of the key disciplines. Most impediments are usually motivated by different kinds of institutional and organizational factors. Universities increasingly encourage their lecturers to offer courses which, on the one hand, are directed at students from different fields of study and, on the other, broaden the horizons of students from one academic area. At any rate, interdisciplinarity in curriculum design is consonant with universities' mid- and long-term development strategies. It is meant to attract students from a variety of departments whose academic goals are constantly being reshaped.

One such disciplinary combination worth pursuing embraces linguistics and international relations. It makes perfect sense to combine language with international affairs as the latter is conducted mostly by means of the former. This article focuses on the relationship between these two areas of knowledge. Language embraces a variety of topics (e.g. word-formation, phonology, syntax, discourse analysis etc.) studied for a degree in (applied) linguistics or foreign language philology. A degree in international relations covers the main academic discipline and its neighbouring fields with their ongoing research and specialist literatures. It also implies media discourse, which involves both more popular types of content as well as highly informative and linguistically challenging texts. The combination of the two scholarly fields results in a unique common area whose discourse is referred to here as the *language of international relations*, or *language of IR* for short. It may be referred to as a genre, or, at least, a sub-genre. It caters to a wide spectrum of stakeholders: students, academics, researchers, (future) policy makers, pundits and practitioners in international relations (e.g. diplomats, journalists). Besides discussing the various components of the course, the article argues for a continuing dissemination of multi-topic courses driven by interdisciplinary research.

2   THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LANGUAGE
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

These days, a profound knowledge of world affairs constitutes a measure of one's erudition. While English has been unanimously accepted as a *lingua franca* of diplomacy and international business, the knowledge of other "international" languages – French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic or Chinese – has been viewed as helpful, to say the least. Students of foreign languages and linguistics are the primary candidates to satisfy the language

ON THE CONTENT

requirement, though they lack a background in world politics. Students of international relations have the necessary theoretical foundation in international relations theory, although they need more specialized training in linguistics. Both groups of students may benefit from a course which blends linguistic tools, concepts and research methods with those of international relations theory and practice. The cross-fertilization of ideas from disciplines which do not meet on a daily basis results in a unique university offering, both attractive and challenging.

This article discusses the topics included in a one-semester, elective, university course, consisting of 30 contact hours. Students enrolling in this course are both domestic students and international ones who happen to attend University of Warsaw (UW), Poland, on a short- or long-term basis. The course is a general, university-level course, which means that it is directed at all students currently enrolled at UW. They may decide to take it at the undergraduate (BA), graduate (MA) or doctoral level for a given number of ECTS points. The students' fields of study and nationalities are diverse. Usually, about half of those enrolled are international students. It is both the growing numbers of the students enrolling and the positive end-of-the-course evaluations received that provide a stimulus for the lecturer to continue the course. While the syllabus and accompanying materials are refreshed before every new semester, the core content remains stable and will be discussed below.

2.1   A historical and terminological introduction

An elective and eclectic course of this kind requires a very thorough introduction, meaning a historical and terminological introduction. In fact, both history and terminology go hand in hand. Pivotal historical facts are full of indispensable terminology and key terms require a historical background without which they would not be comprehended.

Although modern international relations began much later, antiquity is when the roots of contemporary IR can be found. The primeval sense of togetherness was present in numerous tribal organizations, but the first documented institutionalized forms were known as the Greek city-state system (disintegrated by the middle of the fourth century BC), followed by the Roman Empire (gone by the fourth century AD). These organizations were replaced by the Western (Latin) Church, the Eastern (Orthodox) Church, and, from the seventh century, Islam. The last *player* was counterbalanced by Christianity, or Christendom, in Europe and further afield. All of these constituted early forms of institutionalized togetherness, which, for international relations, is a necessary prerequisite. Medieval Europe ushered in a new form of international relationships (cf. Musolff 2009, 2010). The modern concept of a political state was not yet in place, but thinkers such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas were already fostering this idea to justify the concept of a *just war*.

All introductory textbooks in IR list the *Peace of Westphalia* of 1648 as the point in time at which the modern study of international relations was conceived. Since that time, the specialist lexicon has been enriched with such terms as *self-determination*, (state) *sovereignty*, *balance of power* and *non-interference* (in another state's domestic affairs). Other pivotal historical events with their terminologies which are reviewed are the French Revolution, the First World War and the Second World War. The terminological mine resulting from the Cold War (1946?–1991?) is well known (e.g., *arms race*, *Iron*

Curtain, *nuclear world war*, *proxy war*, *psychological warfare,* etc.). More recent decades have supplied the lexicons with endless lists of new terms such as *amorphous terrorism*, *cultural relativism*, *environmentalism*, *globalization*, *NATO expansion*, *postmodernism* or *sole superpower*. Interestingly, even the relevant time periods have not yet been given unique labels. Instead, rather unrevealing names such as the *post-Cold War* period (1991–2001) and the *post-post-Cold War* period (2001–) have been temporarily coined and used in the literature. The entire period since the end of WWII has been characterized by terminological and conceptual wealth.

Terminology is used in different periods, but it also characterizes particular schools of thought in the field. It is important that students are able to combine the major approaches to international relations with the concepts littering specialist texts. The accepted division of schools in IR is as follows: (1) realist, (2) pluralist (also liberal or rationalist) and (3) structuralist (also Marxist or revolutionist). Realism, the oldest tradition in IR, goes as far back as ancient China (Sun Tzu) and ancient Greece (Thucydides). It has dominated thinking about international relations in many places and for many years. Thanks to realism, the concept of a political state has surfaced as the most important entity (*actor*) in the international *arena*. As Brown and Ainley (2009: 70) put it, "realism offers a state-centric account of the world". Students are exposed to a situation in which states – like players in a game – are in constant competition for power. The second IR school (rationalism) assumes more harmony and cooperation between actors of the international game. Ideally, people are more ready to cooperate and to limit their own objectives in favour of their society's common good (Hugo Grotius, John Locke and John Stuart Mill). Here, states are not the only actors on the international *stage*. There are others, such as *non-*, *supra-* or *sub-state* actors, all eclipsing the traditional status and position of the state. The third IR model (structuralism etc.) has its roots in the theories of Rousseau, Kant and Marx as well as the radical theorists of the twentieth century. According to representatives of this school of thought, the existing unjust and corrupt international order needs to be revised and rebuilt (Stern 1998: 14). The issues of unjust power relations favouring the privileged over the underprivileged reverberate across this framework.

The terminological introduction cannot ignore Thomas Hobbes, the seventeenth-century English political writer. In his often-quoted *Leviathan* (Hobbes 1943), he contributed new concepts and new language, later to be exploited in the newly-born discipline of international relations. His basic concept is that of a *common power* "which will be able to defend its people from an invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another" (Hobbes 1943: 89). Common power is a metaphorical concept which paves the way for a total novelty in the seventeenth century, namely a *sovereign state*. In return for providing security to its citizens, the sovereign state will expect its people to maintain a sense of shared identity and to remain loyal to this state. This covenant of all citizens is to produce a *commonwealth*, an *assembly of men*, a *union*, a *representative*, or a *Leviathan*, to use Hobbes's terminology. The concept of *sovereignty* became a crucial term, designating a policy of *non-interference*. This principle, in turn, solidified the "development of the secular nation-state" (Griffiths et al. 2008: 299).

One more key term which is fundamental to this course is that of an *actor*. This concept is used either generically, to refer to any entity in the IR arena, or

specifically, to refer to two basic kinds of IR entities. In the first sense, an actor is any entity of international significance which appears in the global or regional context. In the second sense, actors are divided into *state-actors* (e.g., Bolivia, Somalia etc.) and *non-state-actors* (e.g., Al-Qaeda, the EU, Google, the UN etc.), also referred to as *other actors* (Hill 2003: 41). With the growing number and variety of non-state-actors, they are becoming a challenging topic for individual research conducted by students. Besides well-established *inter-governmental organizations* (*IGOs*) and *non-governmental organizations* (*NGOs*), numerous other less classifiable entities (e.g., the *Arab street*, the *Pentagon*) can be singled out. The terminological distinction is also made between a *state* and a *nation*, especially that so-called *nation-states* are gradually disappearing.

Finally, the terminological introduction includes a repertoire of kinds of states. The student is confronted with the idea of statehood as a scalar phenomenon. The premier league of statehood includes terms such as: *super power*, *great power* and *middle power*. At the other end of this spectrum, the following terms are encountered: *vassal state*, *satellite*, *revisionist state*, *military dictatorship*, *maverick state*, *outlaw*, *outcast*, *pariah*, *failed state*, *villain state*, and *rogue state*. Interestingly for linguistic purposes, the adjective *rogue* is used in a number of contexts, for instance: *rogue formula*, *rogue framework*, *rogue concept* or *rogue threat* and many others.

It is important for this introduction that terminology intermingles with history or current affairs. An extralinguistic context has a priming function for any introductions and further discussions of the key terms.

2.2   The sources of language data

The course under discussion is data-based, or even data-driven. No matter which variant is more appropriate, language data permeate all classes and topics raised. Therefore, the collection of relevant and up-to-date language data constitutes an important stage in the preparation of this course. There is no single source from which the data are retrieved. The language extracts are drawn from multiple corpora, numerous specialist online venues and varied printed sources. The collection process requires a constant search for multifarious publications, both academic as well as more popular types. Also, the compilation of data is a long, drawn-out process, which, in this case, has taken a few years. The identification of language data to be included in the course must be correlated with the topics to be dealt with. Thus, different searches focus on specific linguistic issues: morphologically complex term formation, phraseology, metaphor or genre-characteristic grammatical constructions.

As far as academic sources are concerned, these can be divided into linguistic publications with a social turn and IR publications with a linguistic twist. There is a group of linguists who focus their research on the language of domestic and foreign affairs. Also, there is a camp of researchers within IR who analyse language as used by theorists and practitioners of international relations. Linguistic publications focusing on IR are, for example: Chilton & Ilyin (1993), Chilton & Lakoff (1995), Chilton (1996a) and Twardzisz (2013). IR publications which concentrate on language are, for example: Beer and Hariman (1996), Beer and De Landtsheer (2004) and Marks (2011). Researchers formally affiliated with either discipline have debated the same concepts: the *state is a container* metaphor, the *state is a person* metaphor, the *billiard-ball* model or

the *falling dominoes* theory. The content of this data-rich course shows the important role of language and linguistics in the study of international relations.

3   THE UBIQUITY OF METAPHOR AND METONYMY

The 1980s witnessed something that can be labelled a *metaphor revolution* in linguistics and other related areas. The highly acclaimed book *Metaphors We Live by* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) "revolutionized" the study of metaphor (Steen 2009: 25). As a result, researching metaphor became "a highly attractive field of study in the twentieth century, and especially over the past twenty years" (Skorczyńska 2001: 43). In the mid-nineties, Goatly (1997: 4) reported that the number of books and publications from the 1970s in the area of metaphor resembled an "explosion".

Both domestic politics and international relations are commonly assumed by metaphor linguists to be constructed metaphorically (Musolff 2004: 2). Similarly, the metaphor community within IR also believe that metaphor is ubiquitous in the discourse of IR (cf. Thornborrow 1993, Beer & De Landtsheer 2004, Marks 2011). IR language is held to be "replete with metaphors" (Shimko 2004: 200). Conceptual metaphor theorists believe that not only language is metaphorical, but also, if not primarily, our thinking and actions are motivated by metaphor. Thus, also foreign policy itself is understood as "metaphorical through and through" (Chilton & Lakoff 1995: 39).

Metaphor has become a convenient shorthand for simplifying numerous vague and esoteric concepts. The century-old concept of international security is thoroughly dealt with in Chilton (1996a, b) when he elaborates on so-called *security metaphors*. Rohrer in his (1991) paper enumerates an endless list of metaphors relating to *regional peace*, for example:

(1)   (a)   *regional peace is a physical entity*
       (b)   *regional peace is a building*
       (c)   *regional peace is a machine*
       (d)   *regional peace is a tool*
       (e)   *regional peace is problem solving*
       (f)   *regional peace is a contest*
       (g)   *regional peace is gambling*
       (h)   *regional peace is a movement toward*
       (i)   *regional peace is a business agreement*
       (Rohrer 1991: 169–174)

The existence of the above metaphors is justified by even one sentence uttered in connection with the notion of regional peace and recorded in a particular source. However, it does not sound convincing that motivation for a given metaphor can be provided by one expression only.

Students are exposed to the simplifying function of metaphors which are particularly complex and abstract in the dynamic realm of IR. Metaphor researchers underline this simplifying and clarifying role of conceptual metaphor thanks to which comprehension is significantly facilitated (Chilton 1996a: 32, Thompson 1996: 187, Semino 2008: 90). Two other functions of metaphor in IR discourse – legitimizing

and hiding – are also outlined. Students benefit from eliciting convenient metaphorical vocabulary which enriches their advanced written assignments.

As the course in question is meant to facilitate academic writing in the field of international relations, students are exposed to two kinds of written tasks when dealing with metaphor. One of these is written elaboration of the explicit metaphors encountered in specialist texts. The other is the detection of metaphors concealed in texts and their written reconstruction. The literature devoted to the cold war period abounds in metaphors worth mastering: the *iron curtain*, the *state is a container* metaphor, the *state is a person* metaphor and others. For example, the *containment* metaphor is to be detected in a sentence such as:

(2)   *Ideas and products **flow into** the United States freely, and **flow out** with equal ease.*

In the 1990s, the *containment* metaphor was reactivated in the context of the Serbian (and Croatian) concept of *ethnic cleansing*. The *state is a person* metaphor is concealed in a sentence such as:

(3)   ***China behaved** in a manner which suggested it wanted to expand its influence over Asia.*

The literature in the post-cold war period is full of *animation*, *personification* and *de-personification* metaphors. These are extremely complex and require significant background knowledge to identify and further elaborate. *Personification* has become a convenient shorthand for any metaphorization by which human qualities are transferred to non-human entities. The opposite direction – *de-personification*, which consists in the removal of human features from humans – has attracted the attention of scholars in the post-post-cold war period (Ivie 2004: 79). Students are required to scour passages with mappings between terrorists and dangerous animals, parasites or insects (Charteris-Black 2006: 181–182). At the same time, students are requested to conduct a critical analysis of highly politicized metaphorizations imposed on the reader in linguistic literature concerning de-personification (cf. Twardzisz 2013: 111–114).

Metonymy, which is a related phenomenon, is analysed alongside metaphor effects. The combination of metaphor with metonymy, which occurs naturally in IR contexts, provides students with more challenging tasks when it comes to detecting and identifying each of them. In one of the activities, students are asked to provide metonymic templates for sentences given such as:

(4)   (a)   *Let's not allow Kosovo to become another Vietnam.*
        (b)   *Oklahoma City has left a lot of scars.*
        Suggested metonymic template: *place for event*

(5)   (a)   *Clinton wanted to bomb Iraq.*
        (b)   *Bush may pull out of Kosovo.*
        Suggested metonymic template: *controller for controlled*

(6)   (a)   *Wall Street is in a state of panic.*
        (b)   *The White House and Capitol Hill continue to squabble.*
        Suggested metonymic template: *place for institution*

Awareness of how metonymy combines with metaphor is useful in writing advanced academic texts. Very sophisticated combinations may be obtained once appropriate proper names are combined with metaphorically used verbal phrases, for example:

(7)   **Russia may have thrown in the towel** on seeking to shape the immediate outcome significantly. (*Newsweek*, June 20, 1999)

The degree of freedom observed between a metaphorical verb and a proper name in the position of an active voice subject may be surprising. It is important for students aspiring to advanced academic writing to adopt numerous possible noun-verb combinations. The verb *see*, used in an extended sense, appears to be frequently used in IR contexts with metonymic proper names, for example:

(8)   *Brussels **has seen** a series of parliamentary games.*

Animation, or personification, on the verb accompanied by a metonymic proper name in the subject position is pervasive in IR specialist texts (cf. Twardzisz 2014, 2015), for example:

(9)   (a)   *It's true that Kashmir is bleeding, but so is India.*
       (b)   *Berlin is consciously trying to confront the history of the Holocaust.*
       (c)   *Pyongyang is making missile threats.*

It is essential to keep the range of international actors open to allow a certain flexibility between the subject and the following verb, as in: *Aeroflot is fuming …, the Kremlin is trying to force …* or *Mercedes-Benz opened a dealership … .* The intimate interplay between formally inanimate subjects and active verbs requires more research as it has not been explored thoroughly yet (cf. Master 1991). A cursory glimpse at selected sentences taken from publications in IR shows an increased prevalence of such constructions.

4   MORPHOLOGICAL PRODUCTIVITY

Another area that deserves a thorough survey in this course is that of word- or term-formation. Without a doubt, any competent writer of specialist texts in IR must master the skill of accommodating morphologically complex words in their writing.

Initially, students are exposed to *productive* word-formation patterns observed in IR discourse (cf. Plag et al. 1999). The most productive derivational areas are:

(10)   (a)   the causative suffix *-ize* (e.g., *Iranize, Germanize*)
       (b)   the *Nomina Actionis* suffix *-(iz)ation* (e.g., *Chileanization*)
       (c)   the *Nomina Essendi* suffix *-ness* (e.g., *Polishness*)
       (d)   the negating prefix *un-* (e.g., *un-French*)
       (e)   the prefix *anti-* (e.g., *anti-British*)
       (f)   the prefix *pro-* (e.g., *pro-China*)
       (g)   the prefix *de-* (e.g., *de-Russification*)

There are several activities conducted in class regarding morphologically complex words in the specialist discourse of IR.

One consists in providing a paraphrase of a complex formation used in context. Students are asked to paraphrase the intended meanings of complex structures which they have never encountered before and whose meaning cannot be checked in dictionaries. Dictionaries are useful only partially when it comes to retrieving a very general sense, but not a more concrete meaning of a given construction. For example, a general sense of what the suffix *-ize* adds to a derivational base can be obtained from numerous dictionaries. However, this general sense only partially covers the meanings of rare formations such as *to Cubanize Venezuela*. The same applies to other affixed formations, for example, *the Iranization of Syria*, *to define Frenchness,* etc.

Another activity concentrates on the actual word-formation patterns, which students are requested to spell out as precisely as possible. On the basis of a certain input, students are to propose an assembly path which is to be followed in order to produce a fully-fledged novel formation needed in someone's specialist writing. The usual input consists of several selected constructions involving a morphologically complex formation, for example:

(11) (a) the **Chileanization** of copper
      (b) the **Belgianization** of Europe
      (c) the **Koreanization** of Western food

On the basis of several such constructions, individual patterns like [[[[*Chile*$_N$] *an*$_{Adj}$] *ize*$_V$] *ation*$_N$] can be proposed. Subsequently, on the basis of several such individual patterns, a more general schema is constructed: [[state/region] suffix$_{Adj}$] (*iz*)*ation*], with its intended meaning 'more of a given state/region'. Awareness of such patterns, local or general ones, allows students to approach the writing process more creatively. At the same time, established word-formation patterns serve as "local grammars" sanctioning the well-formedness of novel formations.

Yet another activity to be conducted in class is the morphological exploitation of one derivational base with several different affixes. This gives students a chance to create their own derivations to be accommodated in invented contexts, for example: (to) *European**ize***, *European**ization***, *European**ness***, **anti**-*Europeanism***, **pro**-*European**ism***, **un**-*European,* etc. As the frequency of use of attested formations fluctuates, students are encouraged to run their own frequency checks in online corpora, such as the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) (Davies 2008–). Prior research shows that there are frequency differences exhibited by particular affixes appended to different names (cf. Twardzisz 2012a, Twardzisz & Nowosielska 2019).

5   FICTIVITY

Apart from actual participants and events, much of what is written about in IR discourse remains fictive (or virtual). Both academic and media publications contain numerous instances of fictivity. Interestingly, some linguists and IR theorists distinguish between some kind of actuality and fictivity, which host actual and fictive entities and events respectively. In cognitive linguistics, Langacker (1999) proposes that the majority of linguistic entities and processes are fictive rather than actual and they

occupy a so-called *fictive plane*, as opposed to an *actual plane*. Also, one of the major IR schools assumes a division similar to the one proposed in cognitive linguistics. It is common practice to draw a distinction between a *psychological* environment and an *operational* environment, as elaborated, among others, in Farrands (1989). A fictive plane corresponds to a psychological environment. The psychological environment constitutes the policy environment as foreign policy makers see, perceive and understand it.

Fictive entities litter IR written discourse to such an extent that they cannot be ignored. Consider a few examples of such entities:

(12) (a) *a Taliban-controlled Afghanistan*
      (b) *an unstable Pakistan*
      (c) *a Palestinian Anwar Sadat*
      (d) *a tremulous Yasir Arafat*

In a sentence, a virtual entity such as *a tremulous Yasir Arafat* shows up in the following way.

(13) *Jordan's King Hussein, bald and drawn after months of cancer treatments, said Clinton has "the tolerance and patience of Job."* **A tremulous Yasir Arafat** *called the president "a great leader of the world."* (*Newsweek*, Nov 9, 1998)

Students become acquainted with a sufficient amount of authentic data in which numerous such "deviations" from the norm are used. Some analytical work follows. On the basis of several occurrences of the name *Yasir Arafat* in its common noun use (*an increasingly frustrated Yasir Arafat* [YA_1], *a tremulous Yasir Arafat* [YA_2], *an outraged Yasir Arafat* [YA_3]), students establish a variable such as YA_N, which serves as a template for potential fictive conceptualizations derived from the base *Yasir Arafat*. Such a template (bearing any name) serves as an aid for students who produce their own extensions towards novel fictive entities and events (e.g., *France goes all the way down with Italy on …*). An extensive discussion of other cases of fictivity in IR discourse can be found in Twardzisz (2012b).

6   PHRASEOLOGY

Language chunks, sequences, collocations and phrases, although not necessarily synonymous, play an important role in the construction of specialist texts. In this course, the phraseology component focuses on word sequences characteristic of IR discourse. The knowledge of such sequences is indispensable for competent writing in the discipline. Students are exposed to passages with phrases unique to IR content. They are required to combine scattered elements into sequences constituting fixed phrases, for example: *abuse of + power*, *oath of + allegiance*, *coercive + measures*, *axis of + evil*, *collective + security*, etc. Phraseological fine-tuning, or selecting the best collocate, appears to be a challenging task. Students identify the best suiting candidate out of a few available to complete a gapped sequence, for example: *arms / weapons + mass destruction*, *safe / secure + haven*, *best / most-favoured + state*, *loose / free + nukes* and so on.

7   CONCLUSIONS

Due to the limitations of space it is not possible to fully explore the content of the course in question and only its major themes and components have been laid out. One final topic which is dealt with but has not been mentioned is that of intertextuality. Elusive and multi-layered, intertextuality is an important aspect of specialist texts in IR. It also poses a pedagogic challenge to the instructor. While it is interesting and at times even entertaining to trace the discursive origins of the phrase *all the president's women*, it is not clear how class activities could be organized in an engaging and pedagogically sound manner. Some cases of intertextuality may be fun for students, but they should not be associated exclusively with amusement. However, many of the themes covered cause a smile (e.g., *Watergate* > *Monicagate*).

On the positive side of the ledger, the course is thematically diverse enough to keep everyone awake. It is linguistically challenging for most participants. Also, thanks to systematized input from the two disciplines, it broadens young people's horizons. On closer inspection, the course also reveals its weak points. One of them is its shortness. Given the amount of material to be presented and discussed, relatively little time is left for students' own research plus feedback. The classes so far have been mixed-ability groups, which constrains the instructor linguistically. As the language of instruction is English, the content of the course is overwhelmingly Anglocentric. It is desirable to linguistically diversify the content of a course which covers international issues. At any rate, interdisciplinary courses involving stimulating and challenging agendas should be offered more often than they are at present.

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