Martin Adam, Radek Vogel
(Editors)

COMMUNICATION ACROSS GENRES AND DISCOURSES

SIXTH BRNO CONFERENCE ON LINGUISTICS STUDIES IN ENGLISH

Brno, 11-12 September 2014

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

MASARYKOVA UNIVERZITA ■ BRNO 2015

MASARYK UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

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ISBN 978-80-210-7971-7
ISBN 978-80-210-7922-9 (paperback)

DOI: 10.5817/CZ.MUNI.P210-7971-2015

Introduction

These conference proceedings contain papers presented at the Sixth Brno Conference on Linguistics Studies in English entitled *Communication across Genres and Discourses*. The conference was organised by the Department of English Language and Literature of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University and was held on 11-12 September 2014.

The Sixth Brno Conference was dedicated to current trends and developments in English linguistics studies with a focus on communication in various genres and discourses. The contributions deal with a wide range of linguistic topics, such as discourse analysis, stylistics, translation studies, pragmatics, genre analysis, hybrid types of discourse, and multi-media communication.

The organizers would like to thank all contributors for their inspiring presentations at the conference and for their papers submitted after the event. A few papers were also selected for publication in the linguistic journal *Discourse and Interaction*. We hope that the proceedings will help to recreate memories of the conference and serve as the basis for further development of ideas discussed there.

We sincerely believe that most of us will meet again at the next, 7th Brno Conference on Linguistics Studies in English in 2016.

The editors

Brno, April 2015

CONTENTS

ENGLISH-SLOVAK LANGUAGE CONTACT: THE CASE OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS

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Abstract

This paper zeroes in on current English borrowings in the Slovak language sourced from the areas of politics and economics. The paper elucidates the philosophy of mutual language contact and gives reasons as well as consequences for the borrowing of English lexemes in the present-day globalised world. English borrowings from the Slovak news on the STV1 channel are analysed both from a quantitative and qualitative angle, leaning primarily on Haugen's approach consisting of loanwords, loanblends and loanshifts. With respect to a qualitative analysis, heed is paid to the analysis of orthographic, morphological and lexical levels. The overall aim of the present paper is to identify current patterns of English borrowings in Slovak in the selected semantic fields. The paper aspires to answer the question to what extent English as a lingua franca has influenced the Slovak speech community and how this is reflected in the assembled word-lore, having either a positive or negative impact. A picture of English lexical borrowings as a critical route of cultural diffusion is given.

Key-words

Anglicism, borrowing, economics, politics, Slovak

Acknowledgement: This publication is supported by the KEGA 030PU-4/2014 grant scheme.

1 Lead-in: English as a lingua franca of the present-day world

Keeping pace with the on-going globalisation in the world, whether as a native, second or working language, it is an indisputable fact that English influences nowadays a good many European languages, Slovak being no exception. Significant political changes after 1989, the digital revolution having brought easy access to the English mass media including the Internet, the ever increasing number of western enterprises, to name just a few, have all promoted the contact between English and Slovak. Thus, language as a tool of communication satisfying multiform needs of its speakers, when being viable, has to be constantly shaped in compliance with the current political, social, economic or technological progress of the society.

Even if the dominance of English and its impact on other languages may be associated with modernity and signs of progress or open-mindedness, greatly facilitating communication among many countries in the globalised world, there is also the flip side of the coin. An excessive usage of English borrowings in a target language may result in the infringement of the recipient language's integrity. In this fashion, the influx of English borrowings into a target language may lead to the perception of English as a threatening language.

Historically, the 20th century saw a steady increase in English borrowings and this trend continues right up to the present. Statistically-speaking, English is the mother tongue of well over 400 million people and the number of people speaking English as a foreign language may reach about 750 million people (Bednárová-Gibová 2014: 67). According to Millward and Hayes (2011: 342-344), English has been the preferred language in sciences and technology, and according to some counts, is used in 60-85 per cent of the e-mail correspondence and constitutes more than 80 per cent of all Internet websites. In addition, English makes for a prerequisite for employment in a number of the European institutions. Thus, it may be argued that English contributes to the ever increasing interconnectedness of the global markets. Thus, "English is not only spoken [and used] by an unprecedented number of people, both absolutely and relatively, but it also serves as a fertile field for lexical borrowings" (Rosenhouse and Kowner 2008: 35).

2 Borrowing as a linguistic term

Etymologically, the origins of the term 'borrowing' may be found in the word *borg* with the meaning of *a pledge,* from which the term *borgian* was derived as early as the 10th century, standing for *to borrow, to lend* (Jesenská and Štulajterová 2013: 87). In the simplest sense, borrowing is taking a word or phrase from one language into another, or from one variety of a language into another. Even if borrowing is a major aspect of language change, the term itself is a misnomer as it presumes repayment whereas there is no quid pro quo between languages. The lexical item borrowed is not returned for it never left the source language and in any case changes in the transfer (ibid.: 87).

Although there is a considerable lack of unity in the opinions with regard to the interpretation of the term borrowing among scholars, Haugen (1950: 212) approaches borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another". At the same time, he stresses the enriching lexical potential of borrowings, making it possible for language users to promptly respond to novel communicative incentives. Having laid the foundations of language contact, he provides us with a very neat organization of borrowings into the following:

(1) loanwords: the words imported from a donor language with their form and semantics, i.e. with no morphematic substitution. Sometimes, though, the loanwords' phonemic shape may comply with the orthographic rules of the receiving language, e.g. The Slovak form *brífing* taken over from the English lexeme *briefing*.
(2) loanblends: hybrid borrowings which consist of the combination of elements from both the donor and recipient language, e.g. *online zoznamka* (from English *online dating*)
(3) loanshifts: this category splits into semantic loans (extensions) and loan translations. In the former type of borrowing, the meaning of a native word is extended under the influence of a donor language without the importation of any of its structural elements, e.g. the denotative meaning of the English lexeme *piracy* (in Slovak *pirátstvo*), which was originally connected with the robbery at sea, has now come to denote, for instance, software piracy. The latter occur when the meaning of a foreign word/ phrase is borrowed but is translated literally into the target language, e.g. *flea market* translated into Slovak as *blší trh*.

Having listed Haugen's classification of borrowings (cf. note 1), it is vital to emphasise, though, that many scholars tend to use the terms "English borrowings" or "English loan(words)" interchangeably. These terms, as well as the term "Anglicism", refer to words characterised by English phonetics and morphology that enter the recipient language (Manczak-Wohlfeld 2013: 186).

When dealing with Anglicisms, it might be problematic to assess whether a certain borrowing is an Anglicism or 'Internationalism'. Notably, Internationalism makes for a superordinate concept which refers to a loanword that is used simultaneously "in at least three languages" (Jesenská 2014: 22). An illuminating example of Internationalism could be the word *summit*, derived from the Latin language which is now used in many world languages, such as in Slovak: *summit/samit*; German*: Summit*, *or* French*: sommet.* Anglicisms, therefore, are the subordinate concepts of Internationalisms. To complicate the terminological situation further, some terms may be Anglicisms, but also Internationalisms at the same time, merging into 'Globalism' (Jesenská 2004: 4, translated by author), e.g. *hedge fund*. However, the difference between Globalism and Internationalism may be perceived in two levels. Firstly, Globalism is a hyperonym for Internationalism, i.e. Globalism (as the term implies) is a language expression which is used globally. On the other hand, Internationalism stands for a language expression used in three or more languages. Secondly, Globalism may also be perceived as a synonym for Internationalism as an international lexis is subject to globalization nowadays.

3 Reasons for borrowings in the language

The process of taking a word from one language into another is commonly the upshot of language contact, i.e. a situation when the speakers of different language communities come into mutual and intensive contact. In this manner, there is a tendency that the two languages start to influence each other, or rather at least one of them may be affected. This linguistic influence may be rooted in manifold intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The intralinguistic factors may be connected with the non-existence of an appropriate term in a native language for a new thing or phenomenon. In times when a speech community has to respond swiftly to the fast changing extra-linguistic reality, a potential English term is usually internationally acclaimed and therefore comes in handy. In addition, coining a forced Slovak equivalent might be regarded as largely ineffective. According to Ološtiak (2012: 1), borrowing a new word may be viewed as enriching a synonymic row of words in a native language, so borrowings are adopted deliberately with the aim of expanding possible variations of expressions.

Furthermore, extralinguistic factors also play a pivotal role in the process of borrowing. Since "language does not live on its own in itself and for itself, but in a society and for a society" (Mistrík 1993: 45, translated by author), this implies that it is always changing so as to be able to keep pace with the current trends. Another extralinguistic reason may be sought in the cultural dominance of the donor language and its prestige, which results in some unconscious need of the speakers of other languages to be linked with it (Field 2002: 4).

In line with Jesenská and Štulajterová (2013: 87), the preconditions of borrowing are connected with the following:

(1) close contact in especially multilingual situations, making the mixing of elements from different languages more or less commonplace
(2) the domination of some languages by others (for cultural, economic, political, religious, or other reasons), so that material flows "down" from those "high" languages into "lower" vernaculars
(3) a sense of need, users of one language drawing material from another for such purposes as education and technology
(4) prestige associated with using words from another language
(5) a mixture of all these: individuals may be fond of using an exotic expression because it seems to them to be the most suitable term available, the only possible term (with the equivalent in any other language), or by far the most impressive term.

4 Critical reception of borrowings

Even though it is unthinkable to imagine one's language without a natural interaction with other languages, it does not mean by default that the use of a borrowed word is always appropriate and functional. Thus, English borrowings or Anglicisms (or whatever we call them) are a thorny and controversial issue, to say the least. Depending on various subjective and objective reasons, borrowings may garner both positive and negative reviews.

On the one hand, there are scholars claiming that Anglicisms represent a natural way of a language's development and enrich its lexis. Moreover, it is often suggested that borrowings should be preferred in exceptional cases as part of specialized terminology as long as it is not possible to substitute them with a suitable Slovak term. Under these circumstances, Anglicisms allegedly guarantee the accuracy and quality of expression and in international contexts, they may even facilitate communication (Rosenhouse and Kowner 2008: 3).

On the other hand, there are a number of linguists who advocate a rather negative attitude to Anglicisms because they allegedly threaten the uniformity of the language and cultural uniqueness of its users. In some quarters, scholars take the extremist view that Anglicisms are somewhat redundant because a recipient language has its own equivalents. This works, however, only on the assumption that the recipient language has such an equivalent at its disposal. All the same, borrowing a word from the English language without a necessary (orthographic) adaptation to the recipient language may be rightly considered as its violation (Field 2002: 15). All in all, despite the reservations raised, English as a lingua franca has become a link element ensuring progress of present-day society and Anglicisms may be fairly innovative in certain cases.

5 Analysis

5.1 Research rationale

The lexical fields of politics and economics offer a rich repository of English borrowings worthy of some reflections and linguistic analyses. The research sample consists of 104 non-recurrent English borrowings excerpted from the Slovak TV news broadcasted on the STV1 channel every Monday and Friday during the four-month period from September to December 2013. In sum, the corpus underlying the research comprises 140 occurrences of terms due to some English borrowings appearing more than once (cf. Appendix and Table 1). Having the focus on economics and politics in mind, only those coverages were picked which dealt with the stated lexical areas. Overall, 227 coverages, approximately 11 minutes in length, were selected so as to provide an analytical probe into English borrowings in the Slovak TV news. The coverages focusing on information from home as well as from abroad provided by Slovak commentators were subject to research. In total, 159808 words were used in the Slovak news under analysis. Of these, there were 140 English borrowings, which is tantamount to 0.087 per cent of occurrence. Should the occurrence of English borrowings be analysed per coverage, 1.23 English borrowings were recorded in two coverages on average. In quantitative terms, during 2497 minutes of coverages (which is tantamount to 41.61 hours of watching TV news) 3.36 English borrowings were recorded on average per hour of coverage. The English borrowings under analysis were excerpted from the watched video files.

The inclusion criteria for the assembled corpus comprise firstly, borrowings' political and/or economic 'membership' and secondly, potential loandword/loanblend/loanshift features, following Haugen's approach, as delineated in Section 2. Besides, it should be emphasised that especially with loan translations (as a specific sort of loanshifts), a literal translation of a term into the target languages makes for a crucial criterion for distinguishing a borrowing from a 'borrowing-free' translation equivalent. The paper puts the following hypotheses to the test:

(1) The majority of English borrowings as found in the lexical fields of politics and economics will be thematically related to the world news rather than home news. The topics of the European Union are expected to occur to a considerable degree.

(2) English borrowings will be used in moderation, i.e. only in inevitable cases

(3) English borrowings will be prone to break the rules of the standard Slovak language, i.e. they will not abide by Slovak orthographic and morphological rules or will not represent proper Slovak lexical equivalents in the case of loan translations

(4) Following Haugen's approach to borrowings, the most of the latest economic and political English borrowings will be "loanwords with no morphematic substitution"

(5) Word-formation-wise, up-to-date English borrowings are expected to be nouns due to the present-day prevalence of compounding as a word-formation process.

For the examination of the excerpted lexemes *Slovenský národný korpus* (Slovak National Corpus), available at http://korpus.juls.savba.sk, was used.

5.2 Quantitative analysis

In sum, 104 non-recurrent English borrowings were attested in the analysed Slovak news (cf. Appendix). 38.57 per cent of the English borrowings were identified in the home news (h) and 61.42 per cent in the world news (w). Table 1 gives an overview of the most frequent English borrowings occurring in the assembled corpus. As it can be seen, the loan translations "eurofondy" *(eurofunds)* and "*matka spoločnosti*" (*parental company*) make for the most frequent English borrowings in the assembled corpus, either of them appearing as many as five times.

English borrowings in Slovak	English terms	Frequency of occurrence
Eurofondy	*eurofunds*	*5x*
matka spoločnosti	*parental company*	*5x*
dlhový strop	*debt ceiling*	*3x*
politika uťahovania opaskov	*belt-tightening policy*	*3x*
programovacie obdobie	*programming period*	*3x*
záchranný mechanizmus	*rescue mechanism*	*3x*
odstávka vlády	*government shutdown*	*2x*
ekonomická samovražda	*economic suicide*	*2x*
predkrízové obdobie	*pre-crisis period*	*2x*
Euroval	*Euroval*	*2x*

Table 1: The most frequent English borrowings in the corpus

On the basis of the analysis performed, it may be argued that hypothesis 1 was corroborated as the number of Anglicisms in the world news turned out to be higher than that in the home news. All the same, the second part of the hypothesis under discussion was not confirmed because the English borrowings that are thematically linked with the European Union do not comprise the majority of the identified borrowings. In the Slovak TV news only 37.4 per cent of all the Anglicisms were related to the European Union, such as loan translations *"zotavenie ekonomiky" (economic recovery), "politika uťahovania opaskov"* (*belt-tightening policy*) or *"eurofederalista" (eurofederalist).*

Hypothesis 2 working on the assumption that English borrowings will be used only in inevitable cases was confirmed since there were only 5.71 per cent of "redundant" English borrowings in the corpus, as demonstrated by the following lexemes: *"prázdniny zo splácania pôžičky*" (with the English equivalent *loan repayment holiday*), which could have been replaced with e.g. "*dočasné oslobodenie od splácania pôžičky*"; "*volať po odpustení dlhu*" (*to call for debt relief)* where the Slovak equivalent "žiadať odpustenie dlhu" would have been welcome or "*upratať vo verejných financiách*" (*to clean up public finances*) whose Slovak equivalent "*konsolidovať verejné financie*" would make for an apt borrowing-free translation equivalent. The English borrowings given above represent improper calque translations in Slovak.

Hypothesis 3 saying that the up-to-date economic and political Anglicisms will tend to flout the rules of the Slovak standard language was not fully confirmed since the majority of the identified Anglicisms in the Slovak news were in compliance with the orthographic, morphological or lexical rules of standard Slovak. However, upon closer inspection, 7.85% of English borrowings were not consonant with the rules of the assimilation process and thus, they may be interpreted as violating the rules of standard Slovak. These 'flaws' will be subject to further analysis in section 5.3 of the present paper.

Hypothesis 4 turned out to be erroneous as the number of loanwords with no (morphematic) substitution was very low in the Slovak news. Only as few as 4.28 per cent of borrowings were identified, e.g. "*networking*", *"bitcoin"*," *spred"* (from the English spread) *or "rekruitovať"(recruit).* Nevertheless, drawing on Haugen's classification of borrowings, as explained in section 2 of this paper, the highest number of Anglicisms was constituted by loan translations (62.14 per cent of English borrowings). Selected examples of this category comprise e.g. *"záchranný úver"(rescue loan), "fiktívny dlh"(fictitious debt), "biometrický pas"(biometrical passport)* or "*dlhový strop"*(*debt ceiling).* With regard to the other category of Haugen's loanshifts, 33.58 per cent of semantic loans were identified, exemplified by e.g. *"prebudenie ekonomiky"* (*economic wake-up),"zmrazenie programu" (freeze of programme)*. Interestingly enough, loan blends were significantly absent from the corpus, which may be interpreted as a sign that Slovak language users care a good deal about their language and culture and prefer to avoid code-mixing in TV news, which is a serious genre of publicist style.

Concerning hypothesis 5, it may be considered as not fully corroborated as there were only 10.71 per cent of one-word English borrowings (e.g. *"anuity"*, *"spred"*, *"networking"*) which may be identified as nouns. In the TV news under analysis, the vast majority of the recorded borrowings were multi-word expressions in which a noun was always present. The most preponderant were noun phrases consisting of a noun premodified by an adjective, *e.g. "materská agentúra"* (from English *parental company*) or "*ozdravené banky*" (from English *bank sanitation*). Other word-formation patterns of the structural composition of the English borrowings were the following: noun + noun ("*politika úspor"*), noun + adj + noun ("*krajiny prvého vstupu*"), adverb + adjective ("*ekonomicky* *zraniteľný"*), adj + adj + noun ("*plošná minimálna mzda*"). By way of consolidation, Table 2 gives a quantitative overview of English borrowings in the Slovak news under investigation.

Overall number of borrowings	140	
Borrowings in the home news	54	38.57%
Borrowings in the world news	86	61.42%
Borrowings related to EU	32	37.4%
Redundant borrowings (improper calque translation)	8	5.71%
Borrowings not consonant with the Slovak assimilation process	11	7.85%
Loanwords with no substitution	6	4.28%
Loanblends	0	0%
Loan translations	88	62.14%
Semantic loans	46	33.58%

Table 2: An overview of the analysed English borrowings

5.3 Qualitative analysis

Even if the research results imply that there is a marked tendency in the Slovak TV news to generally uphold the standard Slovak language with respect to borrowing English words, there are some adaptations on the orthographic, morphological and lexical levels, respectively, as implied earlier. These might be the justified reason why some Slovak purists could frown upon the cultural dispersal of English affecting the lexical fields of economics and politics in some measure.

5.3.1 Orthographic level

Firstly, Slovak reporters tend to, in some cases, borrow Anglicisms along with their form, i.e. loanwords in Haugen's classification, such as in the case of "*bitcoin*" (virtual currency), "*benefit*" or "*networking*". As these words have not become part of the common Slovak word-lore yet, reporters typically use their original English form. Therefore, for the purpose of general understanding the Slovak explanatory word "tzv." with the meaning of "so called" is sometimes used, e.g. "*tzv. networking*" to signal a newly adopted word.

Secondly, there is a tendency that some reporters are often prone to adjust loanwords to the spelling system of the Slovak standard language despite the fact that the borrowed words are still considered fresh. Then, an orthographic variation may arise. A fine example may be the word "*spred*", which appeared in the Slovak TV news headline in the given orthographic form even if its pertinent English form is "*spread*". Moreover, it is obvious that Slovak reporters do not work with the Slovak dictionaries since the orthographic form of a substantially large number of Anglicisms in the TV news was altered in spite of the fact that the given Anglicisms have already been recorded in the Slovak lexicon, e.g. "*brúkerská spoločnosť*", "*rekruitovať sa*" or "*menežér*". For the sake of comparison, *Elektronický slovník slovenského jazka* (available at http://slovnik.juls.savba.sk) shows the entries for "*brokerská spoločnosť*", "*regrutovať sa*" and "*manažér*" only.

As demonstrated above, Slovak reporters often tend to bend the rules of the Slovak standard language, especially when adjusting the form of Anglicisms to their language. A fine example could be the word "*anuity*" which is derived from the English lexeme "*annuity*" since there is no diphthong *ui* in the Slovak language. To trace the English linguistic interference on Slovak at the orthographic level further, the incorrect form of the inverted commas was used in the heading of the analysed TV news appearing on the screen in the lexeme "*superbaňa*“, whereas the correct form according to a prescriptive take on the Slovak language should be „*superbaňa*“.

5.3.2 Morphological level

In discussing the morphological level, there are several observations to be made. Firstly, there is a tendency of Slovak reporters to adjust current English borrowings to the Slovak standard language by virtue of suffixes *–ový/ová*, as in adjectives "*bitcoinový (bankomat)*" and "*lobingová (organizácia)*" built from the loanwords with no substitution "*bitcoin*" and "*lobby*", respectively. Other examples might be "*developovanie*" (from "*develop*") with the suffix *–ovanie* or "*rekruitovať sa*" (from "*recruit*") with the mandatory Slovak infinitive marker *–ť*. However, it ought to be pointed out that the above mentioned words are not always declined or conjugated properly and they have not become part of the Slovak lexicon as yet.

Another possible means of taking over English words to the Slovak language is through prefixes. In this respect, the prefix *euro-* has no rival and may be found in a good many Slovak lexemes related to economics and politics, e.g. "*eurofederalista* (from e*urofederalis*t)" or "*eurofondy*"(from *eurofunds*). Other proliferated prefixes comprise *mikro-* in "*mikrofirma*" (from *microenterprise)*, *pro-* and *post-* in "*prozápadná opozícia*" (from "*postwestern opposition"*) and "*postadopčná správa*" (from "*postadoption report"*). In close liaison with contemporary word-formation trends, productive English prefixes such as *super-* in "*superdebata*" or *re-* in "*refinancovanie pôžičiek*" find their way into Slovak, too.

From the point of view of correctness, some violation of the Slovak grammatical rules was ascertained. This was largely connected with the incorrect use of prepositions, apparently as a result of the English morphological interference, e.g. in "*volaný k zodpovednosti*" (motivated by "*called on to take responsiblity"*) and "*volať po odpustení dlhu*" (from *"call for debt relief"*).

5.3.3 Lexical level

The influence of the English language on other languages (including Slovak) is manifested primarily through language contacts at the level of lexis, i.e. through lexical borrowings. With regard to the borrowings in the Slovak TV news under investigation it may be observed that a great number of them have gained a slightly different meaning under the influence of English by means of metaphor. These semantic loans comprise e.g. "*politika* uťahovania opaskov" from "*belt-tightening policy*", "*prázdniny zo splácania pôžičky*" from "*loan repayment holiday*" or "*prebudenie ekonomiky*" from *"economic wake-up"*.

However, not all English borrowings used in the Slovak TV news embedded in the metaphorical semantic frame were linguistically acceptable in the target language. Some, such as "*upratať vo verejných financiách*" (from "*to clean up public finances*") or "*ekonomická samovražda*" (from "*economic suicide*"), may be interpreted as stylistically loaded lexemes, perhaps a tad disturbing for the TV news, violating native integrity of the Slovak language with their nonce words tincture. Besides, there were other borrowed terms identified which may be considered to have left a negative mark on the Slovak language, i.e. "*aktivačná práca*" (from "*activation work*") or "*udržateľnosť dlhu*" (from "*debt sustainability*") in the sense that the attested English borrowings seem more like calques.

6 Conclusion

There is no doubt that English is now an international language and will remain so in the foreseeable future. Therefore, the study of English borrowings is meaningful, not only for scholarly interests, but also for "a holistic understanding of the dynamics in the process of culture adoption and adaptation" (Li and Li 2013: 264).

All in all, this paper has affirmed a considerable influence of the omnipresent English language on the Slovak lexicon in the selected semantic fields of economics and politics. The analysed genre of TV news shows that there is no way of stopping an influx of English borrowings. However, even if English borrowings may represent a way of enrichment of a certain target language, their presence should be handled with care. The users of the Slovak language seem to be not always wary of the threatening potential of English borrowings for their mother tongue. Sometimes, the rules of the Slovak language are flouted with regard to correctness and/or appropriateness at the orthographic, morphological or lexical level. There is a proclivity in the Slovak TV news to use newly "implanted" Anglicisms which have not found their way into the lexicon yet. An interesting finding is that regardless of "the most commonly accepted view in contact linguistics that in the process of borrowing fewer meanings are transferred from the source language to the recipient language" (Manczak-Wohlfeld 2013: 195), our research shows, quite on the contrary, that additional meanings are occasionally attached to English lexemes after their integration into Slovak.

Last but far from least, it should be made clear that this paper makes no particular claim of a comprehensive treatment of English borrowings in the selected thematic areas. Having the future research agenda in mind, it would certainly be welcome to perform much greater, predominantly quantitatively-oriented research with relative frequencies in order to be able to draw final conclusions about the usage and significance of Anglicisms in Slovak. Despite these limitations, the author humbly believes that at least some of her partial findings could be stimulating for further avenues of research into the topic of English-Slovak language contact based on borrowings in politics and economics.

Notes:

(1) Cf. also Podhajecka's (2006) article in which she comments on certain terminological differences between the concepts *loanword* and *borrowing,* respectively.

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Appendix

English lexical borrowings from economics and politics in Slovak TV news listed in alphabetical order

Slovak term	*Context (if needed)*	*English term*	*Meaning*
A			
aktivačná práca (h)		activation work	an activity or a work for unemployed people
aktívna voľba (h)	urobiť aktívnu voľbu	from: active voter	from: a registered voter
(národný program) aktívneho starnutia (h)		active ageing	"the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age"[1]
anuitný (h) 2x	anuitná novela	annuity (noun)	"a contract sold by an insurance company designed to provide payments to the holder at specified intervals, usually after retirement" [2]
anuity (h)	návrh o anuitách	annuity	cf. above [2]
B			
bankový/á ombudsman/ka (h)	banková ombudsmanka Eva Černá	banking ombudsman	person responsible for advising clients from all the major financial institutions [3]
(Európska) banková únia (w, h) 5x		(European) banking union	a kind of a crisis-management tool with the aim of supporting financial stability in Europe [4]
biometrický pas (w)	biometrické pasy s odtlačkami prstov	biometric passport/ e-passport	a kind of passport that is a combination of paper and electronic passport consisting of personal data, electronic photo, and also fingerprints of the traveller [5]

1 http://www.who.int/ageing/active_ageing/en/

2 http://www.investorwords.com/225/annuity.html

3 http://mrunal.org/2013/02/economy-banking-ombudsman-meaning-functions-appointment-reforms-explained.html

4 http://www.voxeu.org/article/banking-union-crisis-management-tool

5 http://psh.gov.ge/index.php?sec_id=301&lang_id=ENG

Bitcoin (h)	virtuálna mena bitcion	bitcoin	a virtual currency
bitcoinový bankomat (h)		bitcoin cashpoint	a cashpoint providing bitcoins
brúkerská spoločnosť /KSSJ: len brokerská spoločnosť/ (w)		brokerage company	a financial institution accountable for connecting buyers and sellers to make a transaction easier [6]
C			
CH			
chemický útok (w)		chemical attack	an attack with the use of chemical weapons
D			
daňová licencia (h) 2x		tax licence	"a minimum fee for companies that previously declared losses in their tax declaration and thus avoided paying taxes" [7]
daňová prognóza (h)		tax prediction	a prediction of the future taxes (made typically for the following year)
destabilizácia mien (w)		currency destabilisation	making currency less stable
Developovanie 2x (h)	pravidlá hry pri developovaní	from: developer	from: "a person who develops real estate, especially by preparing a site for residential or commercial use" [8]
digitálne impérium (w) 2x		digital empire	company that is successful within the digital/online world
dlhová kríza 2x (w)		debt crisis	a crisis in which a country cannot pay the debt it owes and that may lead to the need of some kind of an assistance of other countries in the form of bailout
dlhový strop 3x (w)		debt ceiling	the largest possible sum of money that a government may to borrow

6 http://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/brokerage-company.asp

7 http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/51642/10/tax_license_to_target_loss_making_companies.html

8 http://www.thefreedictionary.com/developer

E			
ekonomická predpoveď (w)		economic forecasting	an assumption about economic development in the future
ekonomická samovražda 2x (h)		economic suicide	economic collapse
ekonomická špionáž (w)		economic espionage	stealing of information about enterprise that are confidential by competing company [9]
ekonomicky zraniteľný (h)	starších považujú za ekonomicky zraniteľných	economically vulnerable	tending to be more easily influenced by negative economic growth
ekonomický benefit 2x (w)		economic benefit	benefit in the field of economy
ekonomický portál (h)		economic/business portal	a portal with an economic content
elektronický výkaz (h)		electronic statement	a statement in electronic form
eurofederalista (w)		eurofederalist	a person in favour of the European Union, its aims and effort for integration [10]
eurofondy 5x (h, w)		eurofunds/ EU funds	a kind of the financial support of the European Union for its member states
EUROSUR/ Eurosur (Európsky systém hraničného dozoru) (w)		EUROSUR/Eurosur (European	a border control system within the "Schengen external borders" with the aim of gaining control over illegal migration [11]
eurovolič (w)		European voter	a person who may vote as a citizen of the European Union
európske financovanie (w)		European funding	funding within the European Union
európsky bankový systém (w)		European banking system	banking system within the European Union

9 http://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-espionage.asp
10 http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Eurofederalist
11 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-1070_en.htm

euroval 2x (1. euroval 1/ dočasný euroval: EFSF – Európsky finančný stabilizačný nástroj 2.euroval 2/ trvalý euroval: ESM-Európsky stabilizačný mechanizmus) (w)		Euroval or rather: 1. European Financial Stability Facility 2. European stability mechanism	a system that safes EU countries from high debts and help them with funding 1. "the EFSF's objective is to preserve financial stability of Europe's monetary union by providing temporary financial assistance to euro area Member States if needed" [12] 2. "An international organisation that will provide financial assistance to members of the eurozone in financial difficulty" [13]
explózia terorizmu (w)		explosion of terror	spread of terrorism and violence
F			
fiktívna faktúra (h)	vyrábať fiktívne faktúry	fictitious invoice	an invoice with an imaginary content as an illegal way of making money
fiktívny dlh (h)		fictitious debt	debt which in fact does not exist
fiškálna konsolidácia (h)		fiscal consolidation	"a policy aimed at reducing government deficits and debt accumulation" [14]
fiškálny kompakt (w)		fiscal compact	"The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union" [15]
fragmentarizovať (sa) (w)	ODS sa fragmentarizovala	to fragmentize	to break into smaller pieces
G			
Global Holding (h)	US Steel Global Holding	Global Holding	a parental company that has other, smaller companies under its control [16]
H			
hospodárska mobilizácia (h)	zákon o hospodárskej mobilizácií	economic mobilisation	stimulation of economy

12 http://www.efsf.europa.eu/attachments/faq_en.pdf
13 http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/European_Stability_Mechanism
14 http://profit.ndtv.com/news/budget-stories/article-key-budget-terms-made-easy-299797
15 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ecofin/134543.pdf
16 http://www.investopedia.com/terms/h/holdingcompany.asp

I			
infozákon (h)		freedom of infomation act/law	a law concerning the freedom of information
internetový gigant (w)		internet giant	very powerful and successful company making its business on the internet
J			
K			
kongresmen /KSSJ : len kongresman/ (w)		congressman	a member of the Congress and mainly of the House of Representatives in the United States
konsolidačné úsilie (w)		consolidation effort	endeavour to reach the state of consolidation
kontrarevolučná frakcia (w)	viesť kontrarevolučnú frakciu	counterrevolutionary/ counter-revolutionary faction	a minor (especially political) group of people which are against a revolution or a government with revolutionary attitudes
kotva stability (w)	Nemecko je kotva stability	anchor of stability	something (such as a country or a government) providing stability
krajiny prvého vstupu (w)	krajiny tzv. prvého vstupu	member states of first entry	the first countries that entered the Shengen Zone
L			
lobingová organizácia (w)		lobbying organisation	organisations engaged in lobbying
M			
matka spoločnosti 5x /materská spoločnosť (h)		parental company	a parental company that has another, smaller company or more companies under its control [17]
materská agentúra (h)		parental agency	an agency with the status of a parent company
menežér /KSSJ : len manažér/ (w)		manager	(in business) a person in charge of business activities of an organisation in order to make a profit
mierový proces (w)		peace process	discussions with the aim of finding a peaceful solution (in connection to a war or political violence)

[17] http://www.translegal.com/legal-english-dictionary/parent-company

[18] http://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/microenterprise.asp

mikrofirma (h)		microenterprise	type of a small company with low capital, usually with less than ten people [18]
morálny líder (w)	morálni lídri krajiny	from: moral leadership	a person who governs on the basis of moral and ethical beliefs, rather than political or any material aims [19]
motor rastu (w)	Nemecko je motor rastu	engine of growth	something (such as a country or a government) that produces desirable results
N			
nedostatková pozícia (h)	nedostatkové pozície ako elektrikár, stolár	shortage occupation	deficit of people specialized in certain occupations
networking (w)	aby tzv. networking spravili na slovenskej ambasáde	networking	"forming business connections and contacts through informal social meetings" [20]
O			
obmedzená suverenita (w)		limited sovereignty	restricted sovereignty
odliv dolárov (w)	odliv dolárov do USA	dollar outflow	a movement of large volume of dollars from certain place to another
odložená pôžička (h)	štátna odložená pôžička od britskej vlády pre študentov	(student) loan deferment	a loan that may be postponed to a student temporarily if he/she needed under certain circumstances
odložené školné (h)		tuition deferment	a possibility for student to pay their tuition after standard payment deadline under certain circumstances
odstávka vlády 2x (w)		government shutdown	(in American politics) a situation in which government close some of its less essential services when lawmakers are no able to approve a spending bill for the upcoming fiscal year on time [21]
opozičný rival (w)		opposition rival	opponent of opposition
ozdravené banky (w)		from: bank sanitation	banks that have got rid of their financial problems

[19] http://www.ehow.com/info_8476450_definition-moral-leader.html
[20] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/networking
[21] http://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/government-shutdown.asp

P			
plošná minimálna mzda (w)		global minimum wage	the same minimum wage within the whole country
politika jedného dieťaťa (w)		one-child policy	a program adopted in China to prevent rapid growth of population
politika uťahovania opaskov 3x (w)		belt-tightening policy	a policy of in which the spending of government is reduced with the aim of saving money [22]
politika úspor (h)		savings policy	a policy of saving money
postadopčná správa (h)	postadopčné správy o stave detí	post-adoption report	a report about supervision of family to which a child was adopted [23]
prázdniny zo splácania pôžičky (h)		loan repayment holiday	one-month holiday from paying the loan possible two times every year under certain circumstances [24]
prebudenie ekonomiky (w)		economic wake-up	an economic revival
predkrízové obdobie 2x (h, w)		pre-crisis period	a period before the beginning of crisis
prenajímať (pracovníkov) (h)		to hire (employees)	to employ somebody temporarily [25]
programovacie obdobie 3x (h)	nové programovacie obdobie	programming period	a certain period for which some goals (typically programmes) for the further development of a country are planned to be achieved (implemented)
provládna väčšina (w)		pro-government majority	a majority of people supporting a government
prozápadná opozícia (w)		pro-western opposition	an opposition in favour of western countries and their beliefs
R			
realitná kríza (w)	zle zvládnutá realitná kríza	real estate crisis	crisis within the real estate market

[22] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/belt-tightening
[23] http://definitions.uslegal.com/p/post-adoption-reporting/
[24] http://www.lloydsbank.com/loans/repayment-holidays.asp
[25] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hire

refinancovanie (pôžičiek) (w) 2x		(loan) refund	refinancing (of loans)
regulované firmy (h)		regulated company	"corporation or trust (such as a mutual fund) that employs its capital as investment in other firms" [26]
rekruitovať (sa) (w)	voliči KSČ sa rekruitujú hlavne zo starších občanov, z ľudí bez maturity, s nižšími platmi	to recruit (somebody into something)	to engage somebody into something or to become a member of something [27]
rozpočtová zodpovednosť (w)		budget/ary accountability	"the act or requirement to record the reasoning behind all recommendations or decisions when preparing a budget" [28]
S			
sociálna kuratela (h)		social curatorship	curatorship of social issues and family
spred (Pl.: spredy) (väčšinou spread) (w)	zdvihnutie dlhového stropu, kam by sa pohli spredy	spread	"the difference between two rates or prices" [29]
stredoľavicová vláda (w)	stredoľavicová vláda nórskeho premiéra Stoltenberga	centre-left government	a government in favour of the left and also centre within the left-right politics [30]
stredopravá opozícia (w)	nórska stredopravá opozícia	centre-right opposition	an opposition in favour of the right and also centre within the left-right politics [31]
superdebata (w)	predvolebná superdebata	great debate	a political debate (e. g. before election among the candidates to persuade the public about their qualities in order to be elected)
sýrska kríza 4x (w)		Syrian crisis	the continuing civil war in Syria
T			
trojkoaličná vláda (w)		three-party coalition government	coalition government composed of three parties

[26] http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/regulated-investment-company.html
[27] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/recruit
[28] http://financial-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Budget+Accountability
[29] http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/spread_2
[30] http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/centre-left
[31] http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Centre-right

U			
udržateľnosť dlhu (w)		debt sustainability	"ability of a country to meet its debt obligations without requiring debt relief or accumulating arrears" [32]
upratať (vo verejných financiách) (w)		to clean up (public finances)	to organise (public finances)
Ú			
únijný (w)	únijný prezident	union	related to the European Union
V			
verejná infraštruktúra (h)		public infrastructure	infrastructure of and for the public
virtuálna mena (h)		virtual currency (or digital currency / cryptocurrency)	"currency that exists in electronic form" [33]
vnútrostranícke referendum (w)		intra-party referendum	a referendum within a political party
(byť) volaný k zodpovednosti (h)	ten, kto to urobil, bol volaný k zodpovednosti	called on (to take responsibility)	to be asked to (bear responsibility for something)
volať po (odpustení dlhu) (w)	Grécko volá po odpustení časti dlhu	to call for (debt relief)	to plead for some concessions with regard to the debt
volebný kódex (h)	volebné kódexy	electoral/election codex	a codex defining the process of election
vypuknutie krízy 2x (w)		outbreak of crisis	outburst of crisis
Y			
Z			
záchranný mechanizmus 3x (h)		rescue mechanism	a mechanism created to prevent economic collapse of a country; the term used typically in connection with the European Union

[32] http://www.development-finance.org/en/topics-of-work/debt-strategy-information/debt-sustainability.html

[33] https://www.virtapay.com/virtual-currency.php

záchranný úver (w)		rescue loan	a loan helping to prevent economic collapse of a country
(čiastočné) zmrazenie programu (w)	čiastočné zmrazenie jadrového programu	(temporary) freeze of programme	(temporary) stop or limitation of a programme
zotavenie ekonomiky (w)		economic recovery	strengthening and expansion of economy after the period of recession [34]
Ž			
ne/životaschopné investície (w)		un/viable investments	in/efficient investments, with growing potential

34 http://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-recovery.asp

REALIZATION OF IMPOLITENESS STRATEGIES IN AMERICAN TV SERIES: *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK*

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Abstract

This paper focuses on impoliteness and the use of communicative strategies, designed to attack face. The study makes an attempt to analyze definitions and understandings of impoliteness. Moreover, having justified why an impoliteness framework is needed, we explore the models of impoliteness developed by Culpeper and Bousfield and consider whether the impoliteness strategies can be found in prison discourse type. Taking the scripts of American TV series: *Orange Is the New Black*, namely the interaction between prison officials and inmates (on the one hand) and prison inmates (on the other) as the data, we will attempt to observe what type of impoliteness strategies seems to be prevalent in prison discourse.

Key words

politeness, impoliteness, face, positive impoliteness strategies, negative impoliteness strategies, on-record impoliteness, off-record impoliteness

1 Introduction

Although, as Leech points out, ‘conflictive illocutions tend, thankfully, to be rather marginal to human linguistic behaviour in normal circumstances’ (Leech 1983: 105, as cited in Bousfield, 2008), there are contexts in which conflictive illocutions are rather more central. According to Culpeper (2003: 1545-1546), conflictive talk has been found to play a role – and often a central one – in, for example, army training discourse (Culpeper, 1996), courtroom discourse (Lakoff, 1989; Penman, 1990), family discourse (Vuchinich, 1990), adolescent discourse (Labov, 1972; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1990), doctor-patient discourse (Mehan, 1990), therapeutic discourse (Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Lakoff, 1989), ‘workplace’ discourse (Andersson and Pearson, 1999), parliamentary discourse (Harris, 2001), ‘everyday conversation’ (Beebe, 1995), radio talk shows (Hutchby, 1996), and fictional texts (Culpeper, 1998; Tannen, 1990). In all these cases an attempt has been made to show that politeness theories are unable to account fully for the interaction. Therefore, it has given rise to the need for exploration of definitions and understandings of impoliteness. Moreover, Locher and Bousfield (2008: 127) note the disproportionate number of studies dealing with politeness when compared to impoliteness. However, recent scholars – most notably Jonathan Culpeper and Derek Bousfield – have begun to alleviate this imbalance. This paper is in line with some recent studies on impoliteness in making use of 'spoken' interaction (Culpeper 2006, Bousfield 2008) as a venue for linguistic analysis.

As yet relatively little attention has been paid to the strategies of impoliteness imbedded in prison discourse, this paper therefore adds to the growing field of impoliteness studies by examining the ways that interlocutors produce impolite utterances.

We begin with a brief description of our data and justification as to why we chose it for our study.

2 The data

The data for the present study has been taken from the American TV series: *Orange Is the New Black* (2013) and comprises 13 episodes from the first season. Extracts for analysis were chosen from the episodes: *Moscow Mule (8), Bora Bora Bora (10), Fool Me Once (12)* and *Can't Fix Crazy (13),* on the basis that they appeared to contain some form of impoliteness (as defined, below) which appeared to be damaging the face of interactants for the purposes of power expression and manipulation.

Orange Is the New Black is an American comedy-drama series, first released on Netflix on July 11, 2013. The series is based on Piper Kerman's memoir, *Orange Is the New Black: My Year in a Women's Prison*, about her experiences in prison. On July 10, 2014, the series got 12 Primetime Emmy Award nominations. The series revolves around Piper Chapman (Taylor Schilling), a bisexual woman living in New York City who is sentenced to 15 months in a women's federal prison, for transporting drug money to her former girlfriend, Alex, who is an international drug smuggler/mule. The offense occurred ten years prior to the start of the series, and in that time Piper had moved on to a quiet, law-abiding life among New York's upper middle class. In prison, Piper is reunited with Alex (who named Piper in her trial, resulting in her arrest), and they re-examine their relationship and deal with their fellow inmates. The series is set in a fictional prison in Litchfield, New York (a real town in upstate New York, but it does not have a Federal Penitentiary). The series has received critical acclaim, with an average rating of 8.5/10 based on 40 reviews. It was hugely successful, resulting in a second series of 13 episodes.

As one might imagine from the range of activities and events, which pervade prison life, there is a potential for conflictive, impolite discourse to occur. This makes prison discourse typified by *Orange Is the New Black* rich source of data for study.

Moreover, it would appear to be a common factor of penitentiary establishments that confrontational and impolite linguistic behavior is produced in prison. This appears to be for two main reasons: the extreme inequality of power obtaining between inmates and prison officials as well as aggressive environment in prison.

Thus noted, we can explore definitions and understandings of impoliteness, below.

3 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

Politeness is a complex concept that many researchers have studied and tried to define for several decades. It has been studied both in the fields of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Many of the studies carried out in the recent years are based on the work of Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, whose book *Politeness: some universals in language usage* was first published in 1978 and later reissued in 1987.

However, there had been earlier work on politeness already before Brown and Levinson's book, completed by for example Erving Goffman in the 1950s, Paul Grice and Robin Lakoff in the 1970s, and Geoffrey Leech in the 1980s. From these, especially Goffman and Grice were those who had most influence on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness as 'a universal feature of language use, which means that every language has its own ways to express politeness. They argue that politeness is rational behaviour to all humans and that everyone has a positive and a negative face.' Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) base their theory on the notion of "face", 'the public self-image that every member of a society wants to claim for himself.' *Face* is a central concept in studying linguistic politeness and impoliteness. It was originally introduced by Erving Goffman in the 1960s and later Brown and Levinson (1987) derived it for their politeness theory. In contradistinction to Goffman's view of face, Brown and Levinson (1987: 62) redefined face in terms of basic wants, 'which every member knows every other member desires, and which in general it is in the interests of every member to partially satisfy.' Furthermore, the components of face may be related as follows: '*positive face* – the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others, by positive face they understand the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, approved of, and so forth); *negative face* – the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others; the basic claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. Therefore, positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of Hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. On the other hand, negative politeness is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) Hearer's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination.'

Although during any social interaction there is a need to maintain faces of each other, *face-threatening acts* (FTAs) frequently occur. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), *a face threatening act* (FTAs) is an act that damages the face of the addressee or the speaker by acting in opposition to the wants and desires of the other. These acts may be both verbal and non-verbal. Moreover, there can be several FTAs associated with a single utterance. Both positive and negative faces may be threatened. In order to save the face of each other during a social interaction, Brown and Levinson outlined four basic types of politeness strategies: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record (indirect).

4 The evolution of the notion of impoliteness

It should be noted that definitions of impoliteness vary among researchers working on the phenomenon. Bousfield (2008: 130) notes that they vary even amongst those who have worked together in the past.

One of the first scholars who started working on impoliteness was Culpeper who in 1996 suggested his understanding of the notion of impoliteness.

Jonathan Culpeper (1995) builds an impoliteness framework similar to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. He uses earlier definitions of politeness to define impoliteness and then points out that there have not been studies that focus comprehensively on the impoliteness phenomenon and its theories.

Culpeper states that impoliteness entails 'communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony' (Culpeper et al. 2003: 1546). However, as the author notices further on that 'there are two problems here: it is not clear what this social conflict and disharmony consists of, and it is not a necessary condition of impoliteness having taken place'. Moreover, the definition fails to take adequately into account what the hearer is doing. This speaker bias is another legacy from politeness work, particularly that of Brown and Levinson (1987).

A better definition is given by Culpeper in 2005 in his work *Impoliteness and entertainment in the television quiz show: The Weakest Link* where Culpeper (2005: 38) states that impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2). According to Culpeper (2005), the prototypical instance of impoliteness involves both (1) and (2), the speaker communicating face-attack intentionally and the hearer perceiving/constructing it as such.

In order to help understand the notion of impoliteness, we will briefly consider four assumptions which impoliteness is not, according to Culpeper (2005: 34). Interestingly, all these assumptions are derived from Goffman:

(1) Impoliteness is not incidental face-threat. As Goffman (1967: 14) puts it, "there are incidental offences; these arise as an unplanned but sometimes anticipated by-product of action – 'action the offender performs in spite of its offensive consequences, though not of spite". The key point here is that they are not performed "out of spite". Tutors, for example, regularly give students critical comments which may have potentially offensive consequences or when teachers get feedback from the students not always a positive one, but this is a by-product of helping the students to improve, not the primary goal. The tutor is not seeking to offend the student.

(2) Impoliteness is not unintentional. Again, Culpeper relates this statement to Goffman (1967: 14), when he points out that the offending person "may appear to have acted innocently; his offence seems to be unintended and unwitting [...]. In our society one calls such threats to face *faux pas*, *gaffes*, boners or bricks". A sub-type here is "failed politeness". For example, an interactant might misjudge how much politeness work is required in a particular situation and thus cause offense (e.g., not appreciating the extraordinary lengths somebody went to in procuring a particular gift, and thereby giving insufficient thanks from the giver's point of view). According to Culpeper (2008: 32), cases of unintentional face-attack should be regarded as rudeness.

(3) Impoliteness is not banter. Drawing upon Leech (1983), Culpeper suggested in his earlier paper (1996) that we should distinguish "mock impoliteness" from "genuine impoliteness". Banter or mock impoliteness remains on the surface, because it is understood in particular contexts not to be true.

(4) Impoliteness is not bald on record (BOR) politeness. As elaborated in Culpeper et al. (2003), Brown and Levinson's (1987: 69) definition of BOR politeness states that it is direct and occurs in specific contexts: emergency situations, when the face-threat is very small, and when the speaker has great power. However, the vast majority of instances of what Culpeper would call "impoliteness" fail to fit the definition of BOR.

One aspect of Culpeper's assumptions is noteworthy. The notion of intention is of central importance, and it is clear from the discussion above of what impoliteness is not and also references to Goffman why this is so (in other words it helps us exclude by-product, accidental and mock types of face-threat).

Importantly, all authors who work on impoliteness refer to Goffman (1967: 14), who relates such face-threat to cases where "the offending person may appear to have acted maliciously and spitefully, with the intention of causing open insult."

Furthermore, Bousfield (2008:132) notes that for impoliteness to be considered successful impoliteness, the intention of the Speaker to 'offend' (threaten/damage face) must be understood by those in a Hearer role. With this definition, Bousfield (2008:132-133) states that impoliteness does not exist where one but not both of the participants (in two party interaction) intends/perceives face-threat. While this might appear problematic, it is explained thus:

Successful impoliteness: Speaker intends impoliteness and Hearer perceives it;

Failed attempt at impoliteness: Speaker intends impoliteness and Hearer fails to perceive it;

Accidental face damage: Speaker does not intend impoliteness but Hearer constructs intention;

Incidental face damage: Speaker does not intend impoliteness but Hearer constructs unintentional face damage (Bousfield 2008:132-133).

5 Models of impoliteness

Culpeper (1996, 2005) and his co-authors (Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann 2003) have developed the notion of impoliteness that is incorporated in the model of impoliteness that we will deploy in the study for the purposes of exploring the notion of impoliteness. Importantly, Culpeper and his co-authours have constructed a model of impoliteness that was initially based on the classic Brown and Levinson model of politeness ([1978] 1987). It needs to be stressed that while elaborating a model of impoliteness, Culpeper (2005) suggests a model not a theory of impoliteness. In so far as theories have predictive power, thus the model the scholar has developed is not yet a theory.

The 5-point model developed by Culpeper (2005) identifies a number of separate ways ('offensive super-strategies') in which impoliteness can be generated and conveyed. Their purpose is to attack the hearer's face instead of trying to save it. The strategies are:

1) Bald on record impoliteness – is typically deployed where there is much face at stake, and where there is an intention on the part of the speaker to attack the face of the hearer. As in Brown and Levinson's strategy, the FTA is performed as clearly and boldly as possible, but the difference is that Brown and Levinson's strategy is a politeness strategy in situations where the threat to the hearer's face is small (Culpeper 2005: 41).

However, Bousfield (2008: 136-137) states that every single *bald, on record* utterance attacks or threatens some (or both, if we retain the Brown and Levinson distinction) aspect(s) of face in functional terms. Consequently, *bald on record impoliteness* cannot and does not exist when we take into account (a) context, and, more importantly here, (b) the fact that there is no communication without face. Therefore, *bald on record impoliteness* cannot and does not exist outside of the theorist's vacuum – it is superfluous as it simply describes formal aspects of utterances and does not adequately account for the functional aspects of those utterances. As such, it has no place in a model of impoliteness that attempts to capture real-world interactions.

2) *Positive impoliteness* involves "the use of strategies deployed to damage the recipient's positive face wants" (Culpeper 2005: 41). Examples of such strategies from Culpeper (1996) include *ignore, snub the other; exclude the other from the activity; disassociate from the other; be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic; use inappropriate identity markers; use obscure or secretive language; seek disagreement*; *make the other feel uncomfortable; use taboo words; call the other names, etc.*

3) *Negative impoliteness,* according to the model of Culpeper (2005: 41) involves "the use of strategies deployed to damage the recipient's negative face wants." Examples of such strategies from Culpeper (1996) include: *frighten; condescend, scorn, or ridicule; invade the other's space; explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect; put the other's indebtedness on record, etc.*

4) *Sarcasm or mock politeness* entails the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations. Sarcasm (mock politeness for social disharmony) is clearly the opposite of banter (mock impoliteness for social harmony) (Culpeper 2003: 1555).

5) *Withhold politeness* (keep silent or fail to act where politeness work is expected)

Culpeper (1996: 357) notes that impoliteness may be realized through, "…the absence of politeness work where it would be expected". Brown and Levinson would appear to agree with the face-threatening aspects concerning the withholding of politeness when they claim: '… politeness has to be communicated, and the absence of communicated politeness may be taken as the absence of a polite attitude.' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 5, as cited in Culpeper 1996: 357)

Additionally, Bousfield (2008: 138) restructured the model of superstrategies along simpler lines with two overarching 'tactics', thus:

<u>(1) On-record impoliteness</u>: the use of strategies designed to explicitly 1) attack the face of an interactant, 2) construct the face of an interactant in a non-harmonious or outright conflictive way, 3) deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactant, or some combination thereof. The attack is made in an unambiguous way given the context in which it occurs.

<u>(2) Off-record impoliteness</u>: the threat or damage to an interactant's face is conveyed indirectly by way of implicature (Grice 1975) and can be cancelled but where "… one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others" (Culpeper 2005: 44), given the context in which it occurs.

(2a) sarcasm (constitutes the use of individual or combined strategies which, on the surface, appear to be appropriate but which are meant to be taken as meaning the opposite in terms of face-management – either threatens, attacks and/or damages the face of the recipient(s) given the context in which it occurs.

(2b) withhold politeness: more specifically, withhold politeness where politeness would appear to be expected or mandatory.

6 Analysis: impoliteness in interaction

Unlike the traditional approach of focusing on single politeness or impoliteness strategies (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987; Culpeper 1996), in this section we study how impoliteness is realized in extended discourse.

First, we briefly discuss how individual impoliteness strategies co-occur in and across particular participant's turns. Second, we look at patterns of impoliteness and reactions to it across exchanges. We believe that research into such patterns provides some of the richness of context necessary for identifying and analyzing impoliteness. The analysis was carried out on the basis of Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory, impoliteness models suggested by Culpeper and Bousfield as well as Conversation Analysis.

6.1 The interaction between prison officials and inmates

The following extracts, taken from *Orange Is the New Black,* are ones in which we can clearly see the deployment of impoliteness strategies. We will analyze two abstracts.

In this extract, Mr Healey, a corrections officer and inmate counsellor at Litchfield Penitentiary ridicules Chapman, main character, for her relationship and the story her boyfriend wrote in the newspaper about prison life from the perspective of Chapman:

(1) *Healey: Whoo! Well, <u>if it isn't Litchfield's biggest celebrity</u>.*
Chapman: I don't know what that means.
(2) *Healey: Boyfriend wrote quite the article about you.*
Chapman: Larry? Oh, my God! Oh, my God, is that the Times?
(3) *Healey: Yep.*
Chapman: He's in the Times? What did he say?
(4) *Healey: He <u>went on and on</u> about <u>your enchanting little love story.</u>*
Chapman: <u>May I read it</u>? <u>I mean,</u> I can wait until you're done, <u>obviously</u>. I had no idea that he would actually make it in there.
(5) *Healey: Looks like I've already thrown mine away.*

In the given extract, we may see Mr Healey attend to *negative impoliteness strategies*, namely the strategy of ridicule when he states 'quite the article, he went on and on about your enchanting little love story', implying that their relationship isn't worth that attention. However, what is worth mentioning here is the fact that a corrections officer does not offend the interlocutor in a direct way whereas he does it indirectly, therefore we may relate this case of impoliteness to *off-record impoliteness*. However, in the first example we may observe *positive impoliteness strategy* – use obscure language or secretive language – where he states *Well, if it isn't Litchfield's biggest celebrity*.

On the other hand, what is interesting here is that Chapman attends to *negative politeness strategies* in terms of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory by using questions, being pessimistic, apologizing as well as hedges (*I mean, obviously*), in other words she is trying to be polite.

The following extract is one where both *on-record (direct) and off-record (indirect) negative impoliteness* is used to show the power of an institutionally more powerful speaker (Prison Official Mendez) and obtain the needed information from the hearer (Prison Inmate Lorna). The communicative goal of the strategies used in this extract is to threaten and frighten the hearer in order to get some information from the hearer.

The context is one in which Mendez (a crooked corrections officer, who secretly smuggles drugs into the prison; he feeds prisoners' drug addictions by trading drugs for sexual favours) is trying to fish out some information about Red (inmate, runs the prison's kitchen as the Master Chef. Red is feared and respected by most of the prisoners, and has a lot of influence with Healey) while talking to Lorna (an inmate at Litchfield Penitentiary and she is the one who is allowed to drive the car in prison), the extract starts in a car:

Lorna and Mendez

(6) Lorna: Where was it we're going?
Mendez: Wherever I tell you to go.

(7) Lorna: Okay. It's just, I'm not supposed to be this far from camp.
Mendez: You're not supposed to wear that pretty whore lipstick either, but you do, don't ya? Yeah, stop here. Shut the car off. The old Moscow mule.

(8) Lorna: Red?
Mendez: She's got a way of bringing stuff in. It's not really up to code. Do you know what I mean?

(9) Lorna: No.
Mendez: I need to know how

(10) Lorna: I don't know what you're talking about. I drive, I don't work kitchen.

Mendez: I know. You're afraid of her. (LAUGHING) Shit, I don't blame you. But you know what?

There are things out here much worse than some scary Russian bitch. I'm gonna ask you again. Nicely. And then the third time, it's not gonna be very nice. For you. (CHUCKLES).

(11) Lorna: I told you. I don't know what she does. I drive, and I do what I need to do. And I can't help you 'cause I really don't know. So you do whatever. I can't tell you what I don't know.
Mendez: (LAUGHS) Start the car, inmate.
(SIGHS) You're too far from camp. (CHUCKLING)

In example seven Mendez uses *negative impoliteness strategy* – explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect; however, he does it indirectly by implying that she is a whore. In example ten, first we see *the negative impoliteness strategy* – seek disagreement – (I know), then – frightening and threatening (I'm gonna ask you again. Nicely. And then the third time, it's not gonna be very nice. For you), but when Mendez gets an unsatisfactory answer, he attends to FTA – order (Start the car) as well as using the strategy of *positive impoliteness* – use inappropriate identity marker (inmate), lastly he finishes with sarcasm (in other words mock politeness).

6.2 The interaction between prison inmates

We will have a look at two cases. In one case, we have the interaction between two inmates – Alex and Chapman, who used to be girlfriends. The context is one in which Alex wants to be reconciled with Chapman and maybe even become girlfriends again.

(12) Alex: And more importantly, I am not suggesting that I want you back, you Park Slope narcissist. I mean for you to come around like an actual human being. And not with some hollow bullshit apology, or that cute little sad face that might work on your fucking boyfriend. I've been waiting for you to come around, and treat me like an actual human being and realize what a fucking horse's ass you've been.
Chapman: I've been a horse's ass?

Analyzing the given utterance, we can observe *banter* or in other words *mock impoliteness*, which is not impoliteness as such. However, if we talk in terms of impoliteness these examples should refer to positive impoliteness, as the hearer's positive face wants are obviously damaged and we can see such strategies of positive impoliteness as *make the other feel uncomfortable, use* *taboo words* as well as *call the other names*. Nevertheless, the hearer does not get offended as impoliteness in the given case is not meant to be offending and the hearer knows it because the insults are clearly untrue, thus Chapman laughs afterwards and they go on to be friends. Therefore, we may relate this case to *banter*, in the words of Culpeper (2003: 1555), 'the communicative goal of which is to create and maintain harmony in the process of communication'. Interestingly, according to Leech 1983 (as quoted by Culpeper 1995:352), this kind of mock impoliteness can even show solidarity and foster social intimacy.

Moreover, oftentimes we encounter impolite talk between inmates; however, it is not 'successful' impoliteness as defined by Bousfield, Culpeper and Goffman.

In the second case, we have interaction between Lorna (a hyperfeminine inmate at Litchfield Penitentiary, still hopefully planning for a wedding whose fruition is mocked by her fellow inmate, friend, and casual sex partner, Nicky,) and Nicky (a prison inmate, who wants to have their relationship back).

Lorna and Nicky

(13) *Lorna: I can't cheat on him. You know I can't cheat on him.*
Nicky: Yeah, I know you can't cheat on him. You know why? Because Christopher <u>doesn't fucking exist</u>, <u>at least not in your life</u>. He hasn't visited you since three weeks after you got here.

(14) *Lorna: That's not true.*
Nicky: Yeah, it is, and everybody knows it. And the only reason nobody says anything is 'cause <u>they're embarrassed for you, because it's pathetic</u>. But I'm sick of it. <u>Just like I'm sick of you</u> talking about things you don't know anything about.

(15) *Lorna: F--- you.*
Nicky: Hey! F--- you, too.

Nicky implicates the impolite belief that Lorna is a lier and is very pathetic in that, thus we might say that she attends both to *positive impoliteness strategies* (use taboo words, make the other feel uncomfortable, be unsympathetic) and *negative impoliteness strategies* (ridicule, invade the other's space). What is interesting here is that positive and negative impoliteness strategies combine in interaction in a systematic way.

7 Conclusions

Since impoliteness within prison discourse has not yet received attention it deserves, we have drawn the examples from the given discourse typified by *Orange Is the New Black.*

Having analyzed definitions and understandings of impoliteness, we may state that terms such as politeness and impoliteness are ones which are, and are likely to remain, contentious and at the centre of a definitional struggle. However, we are inclined to share Culpeper's view on impoliteness that impoliteness is to do with offence and how offence is communicated and taken, and face, still represents the best way of understanding offense. Moreover, face is always an issue in interaction; therefore, by notion of impoliteness we may understand linguistic behavior that offends face.

On the basis of our analysis it seems reasonable to assume that prison inmates are inclined to use mainly positive impoliteness strategies while talking to each other, whereas prison officials, while addressing prison inmates, prefer to use negative impoliteness strategies. Using negative impoliteness strategies, prison officials indicate that they do not intend to avoid impeding inmates' freedom of action whereas using positive impoliteness strategies, prison inmates indicate that they do not care about the interlocutor's feelings or wants. Moreover, impoliteness strategies are often mixed and do not occur singularly within an utterance. Interestingly, more indirect forms of impoliteness are more offensive.

However, following Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichman (2003) it has to be noted that we should be extremely careful about generalizing norms of behavior based on the limited data set deployed in the study. It would be a big mistake to suggest that the communication of impoliteness within these examples is the norm for this type of discourse just because it seems that way from the limited number of examples available for analysis and discussion. Clearly, much research remains to be done.

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SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF NON-FINITE VERB FORMS IN A LEARNER CORPUS OF CZECH STUDENTS

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Abstract
The aim of this paper is to present some findings resulting from the analysis of a small learner corpus of spoken English. Major attention is paid to the frequency of non-finite verb forms in their varied syntactic functions. The results are compared with corpus findings presented in Biber et al. (1999) and also assessed according to contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA), (Granger, 2009), which can help us estimate the possible influence of the learners´ native language (L1), Czech. The CIA analysis is based on the typological differences between the students' L1 and L2 (Mathesius, 1975, Knittlová et al, 2010, Dušková et al, 1988, to name a few). The third aim is to suggest possible innovations in advanced language teaching/learning of the English language. By reducing the L1 transfer, the students´ performance could become closer to English native speakers´ norms.

Key words
learner corpus, spoken language grammar, syntactic functions of non-finite verb forms, L1 transfer, contrastive analysis, second language acquisition

1 Introduction

Creating small or big learner corpora for language analysis is currently so common in linguistic research that presenting another one seems almost to be ´carrying coals to Newcastle´. The number of books and papers in conference proceedings dealing with such research is extensive and the corpora are analysed from various angles.

Most researchers (e.g. Aijmer, Granger, Ellis and others) agree in their publications that learner corpora contribute to the improvement of methods in second language acquisition (SLA), provide a lot of information about typical structures and errors in the spoken and written language of non-native learners and also provide authentic material where the influence of L1 can be identified.

All these facts help me find courage to present the following remarks on the syntactic functions of English non-finite verb phrases (NF VPs) used in a learner corpus of spoken English. The decision to focus on this problem has been influenced by several factors:

a) there is a greater variety of NF VPs in English than in the L1 of the students ;
b) according to the typical features of the two languages, NF VPs in English are used more often and with more syntactic functions than in Czech;

c) the students often show a lack of theoretical knowledge and practical skills in their usage when being tested (a long-time experience).

2 Corpus description

The learner corpus analysed here consists of a transcription of the spoken English language of 110 first-year students in the TEFL programmes of three Czech universities, whose knowledge should correspond to the B2 level of the CEFR. Their command of the English language was not influenced by their university study programme; it only reveals the knowledge and skills they acquired during their pre-university studies.

The entire body of corpus material was recorded in October and November 2013 and later transcribed by the students participating in the recordings. The transcription of the recordings was supervised by the members of the research team and the students were given the same, strict rules concerning the way in which the text was to be written down.

The corpus comprises about 74,000 words and includes three parts: a) a monologue where the students introduce themselves; b) two-way dialogues between pairs of students who need some information that is provided by their partners; c) discussion between the same pairs of students on given topics.

The information asked for in the second part usually concerns: part-time job opportunities in their university town or abroad; sports facilities in the town; ISIC cards and their advantages, etc. The topics for discussion include study stays abroad, the advantages and disadvantages of studying in their home town or far from home, plans for their future professional life, etc.

For my research I decided to analyse only Parts Two and Three. The first part is presented as a monologue, but the students introducing themselves are guided by occasional questions from the teacher, which are not recorded. The questions might have had some slight influence on their answers – both in grammatical and semantic structures. “Pairs of utterances in talk are often mutually dependent; a most obvious example is that a question predicts an answer …” McCarthy (1996: 119).

As a result, the corpus is shorter, which, I believe, does not have a significant influence on the outcomes of the analysis. The number of words in the two parts in question is about 57 000. There is not a common agreement that a big corpus is an absolute privilege. “It is important to bear in mind, however, that for the SLA specialist, big is not necessarily beautiful…. the SLA specialist attaches more importance to control over the many variables that affect learner production than to sheer size.” Granger (2009: 17)

Close cooperation between SLA practitioners and linguists interested in language corpora can help teachers and learners arrive at a better understanding of all the aspects of language. The conclusions arrived at during corpus analysis, however, can be considered valid for teaching if they are assessed objectively and are characteristic of a group of learners at approximately the same level of proficiency (Sinclair, 2004).

3 Aims and methods

The first task is to gather examples of various syntactic functions of NF VPs in the given corpus and compare these statistic figures with the corpus findings presented in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LGSWE), Biber et al. (1999). This method has been discussed and also criticised by some SLA professionals (Granger, 2009), who do not consider the comparison of native speaker norms with a learner corpus adequate. The comparison that is presented is not used to confirm the obvious hypothesis that the usage of NF VPs in a native speaker corpus is more extensive and varied, but to find which syntactic positions are lacking, seldom used or overused.

The second aim is contrastive analysis of the structures of L2 with possible equivalents in L1. This analysis looks for similarities and differences between L2 and L1 and tries to find a possible influence/transfer of the students' L1.

The research results aim at modifying both the contents and methods used for developing a better command of the English language within TEFL programmes.

The occurrence of NF VPs in their varied syntactic functions in the corpus was counted manually and the figures are gathered in three tables that summarize the syntactic roles of the infinitive, gerund and -ing and -ed participles.

The numbers in the first columns (e.g. 1 – 10), (11 – 20, etc.) of all three tables below indicate the recorded dialogues of individual groups of students. There were two reasons for dividing the whole corpus into sections: a) to find if there are significant structural differences in the language of individual students; b) to provide easier access to examples in smaller passages of the corpus.

The recorded corpus has 154 pages and reference to given examples contains the page and number of the pair talking – e.g. p. 115, pair 41 (115:41).

The abbreviations in all three tables of findings are the same: S = subject; O = object; C = complement to the subject; Pre-, Post-mod. (-ification of) – N (= noun), Adj (= adjective); ES = extraposed subject; NS = notional subject, Other = other functions of the NF VPs being discussed: PU = purpose clause/ adjunct; AT/M/CI = adjunct of time/ manner, circumstance, DI = disjunct.

4 Language analysis

The terminology used in the language analysis follows that used in more traditional grammar books (e.g., Quirk et al, 1985, Dušková et al, 1988).

The gerund and -ing participle are assessed separately, because of their grammatical and semantic features. In the LGSWE, Biber et al (1999: 199 – 200) refer to them as -ing-clauses. They often stand in different syntactic positions and the students learn about the gerund as a new entity within L2.

Compulsory complementation of linking (copular) verbs is called (subject) complement in this paper and covers all its formal varieties (adjectival, prepositional). Huddleston and Pullum (2002) consider it to be a predicative complement and Biber et al. (1999) – subject predicative.

After each table, the results are discussed and suggestions for improving the usage of the given NF VP are presented. The conclusions summarise all the findings.

5 The infinitive

The range of syntactic roles of the infinitive in the LGSWE, (Biber et al, 1999: 198 – 9,) covers subject, extraposed subject, subject predicative, direct object, object predicative, adverbial and a part of noun or adjective phrase.

The semantic and frequency information about some of these structures (dtto: 633 and 693-699) includes a list of common nouns post-modified by ´to-clauses´ (e.g. *time, way, place, stuff*) and groups of verbs that control post-predicate infinitive clauses (e.g. *ask, tell, show, prove, consider, expect, find*, *feel, see, hope, wish, like, decide, plan, seem, appear, etc.)* – especially in conversation. The most common pattern with post-predicate infinitive clauses in the object position is S + V + to-clause where the implied subject is the same as that of the main clause.

When counting the infinitive verb forms in the learner corpus of Czech students analysed here, I did not take into consideration any of the infinitives following modal verbs and their periphrastic forms, including need (e.g. *I need to pass this examination*). All other infinitive VPs were gathered and allocated into individual columns in the table below according to their syntactic functions.

	S0	O	C	Post N	Modif. Adj	ES	Other
1-10	0	81	10	9	4	15	6
11-20	0	89	2	8	1	18	7
21-30	0	63	4	5	5	11	11
31-40	0	69	2	2	5	10	2
41-50	1	82	9	9	4	6	10
50-55	0	30	0	7	1	12	3
TOTAL	1	414	27	40	20	72	39

Table 1: Syntactic functions of the infinitive

The total number of other functions: 37 purpose clauses (adjuncts), 2 disjuncts.

5.1 The S column provides information about the subject role of the infinitive, of which there is just one instance within the whole corpus of 57 000 words:

... to be a teacher... is a nice job as er there always be some teachers. (138 49)

The occurrence of the infinitive as the subject in the LGSWE is mostly mentioned in academic prose or fiction. "Pre-predicate/subject to-clauses are relatively rare in all registers. …. especially rare in conversation. "Biber et al (1999: 724) In view of that, this corpus result is not surprising.

The total number of extraposed subjects (72), on the other hand, is quite high (assessed as relatively rare in Biber):

... It´s good to start, er, some language course ... (51:20)
... it´s kind of hard to do the thing. (64:24)

The structures with extraposed subjects in this corpus certainly do not reveal the students´ knowledge about extraposition and its role in the information structure of the sentence (Tárnyiková, 2002), highlighting the subject by postponing it to the final position. They know such structures from their practical English language exercises, they hear them from native speakers and last, but not least, they are used to such structures in their L1 in one-element (subjectless) sentences, especially when evaluation is included:

Je důležité (lehké, těžké, nutné,etc.) naučit se španělsky.

The infinitive can function in the subject position in Czech, too, but it is formal and, thus, not to be expected frequently in spoken language:

Naučit se španělsky je snadné.
Studovat v zahraničí je užitečné

As linguists correctly suggest, even if we do not decisively compare L1 and L2, the L1 influence is always implicitly present in SLA (Granger, 2009).

5.2 The statistical data about the object position of the infinitive in the corpus are closer to the LGSWE corpus findings and the total number of 414 is more or less evenly distributed among all the pairs of students, e.g.:

I would like to ask you if there are... (68 26)
I want to practise my skills (often changed into wanna go/ask...) (73:28)

The subjects of the infinitives as direct objects are almost always the same as those of the main clause, which corresponds with the LGSWE findings, too. There are only a few exceptions, e.g.:

I recommend you to try our courses … (95:35)
… my parents watch me and want me to do more things … (103:37)

Native speakers´ frequency of the use of structures with the expressed subject of the infinitive is higher. The explanation can be found in L1, I think, as the post-predicate infinitive cannot have a different subject, because the condensation of such clauses is impossible in Czech. Such complementation must be expressed/translated by a finite subordinate clause:

… rodiče chtějí, abych zkusil vice možností …

There is huge prevalence of the verbs *like (would like)* and *want* followed by the infinitive object clauses. Other verbs with occasional usage include: *prefer, try, decide, help, know* and a few others.

The semantic choice of verbs is not consistent with all the verbs mentioned in the LGSWE, but *like* and *want* are included and their frequency is dependent on the topics of the conversation. Here, the students *want/would like to find* (*to ask, to know, to study, etc.*) some information in the second part of the corpus and in the third one, they often discuss their plans for the future.

5.3 The infinitive in the subject complement position is rare. The total number is 27 with a slightly higher occurrence of 10 and 9 in the talk of students 1 – 10 and 41 – 50. Even in this part of the text, the average is less than one per discussion:

Er, the next job …. would be , er, to execute some essential errands for the company. (121:43)

… the internet, best purpose is to know some information …(126:44)

… the best way how to prepare for this course is to er join a CAE course at Palacky University… (137:49)

The low frequency of infinitival subject complement clauses is dependent on the semantic types of the verbs controlling this kind of post-predicate usage of the infinitive. English linking verbs followed by subject complements are numerous and frequent (*be, seem, appear, happen or turn out, etc.),* but have almost zero occurrence in the corpus, apart from the verb *´be´*. Moreover, the Czech counterparts of these verbs, especially *seem* and *appear,* are used in finite subordinate clauses:

Zdá se, že umí dobře anglicky.	*He seems to know English well.*
Zdá se, že s námi souhlasila.	*She appears to have agreed with us.*

5.4 Post- modification of nouns and adjectives by means of infinitive clauses is found in 60 examples. In the LGSWE corpus findings some nouns are mentioned with very high frequency (e.g. *time, thing, way),* especially in conversation.

The examples show that the usage of nouns post-modified by infinitives is a part of the students´ acquired performance skills, otherwise it would not have appeared in the corpus at all. Such post-modification of nouns in L1 is a feature of formal register and not very common. In translation, finite subordinate clauses or prepositional phrases would be used:

Je nejvyšší čas, aby se rozhodla.

To není způsob, jak se mu zavděčit.

Examples from the corpus:

... that it´s it´s enough money to live in some high level. (65:24)

... they have many, er, many, er… things to play ... (152:55)

... they are not ready to do that ... (67:25)

The resulting message for SLA teachers/learners concerning the usage of post-modification by the infinitive is to pay more attention to practicing them. The nouns specified in the LGSWE with the highest frequency should be used in oral exercises and the translation of such structures should help students to become aware of the differences between L1 and L2.

5.5 The last column presents other functions of the infinitive in the corpus. They are not varied, mostly covering purpose adverbials/clauses, with the exception of two disjuncts. Such a condensing function of the infinitive is frequent in spoken and written English and not too difficult to acquire. In Czech both finite and non-finite purpose clauses can be used, finite ones prevailing:

... you can use your card to get this ten percent discount. (5:2)

... what level my English must be to try... (25:8)

Jakou znalost angličtiny bych měla mít, abych to mohla zkusit ...

... Er, yeah, so, to be honest, I really use ... (126:44)

No complex form of the infinitive (showing aspect or voice) is used in the whole corpus.

The condensing force of all the NF VPs should be clearly (and repeatedly) explained to students, compared with Czech and practised.

6 Gerund

As explained earlier, gerund and -ing participle are not distinguished in the LGSWE, but they are discussed separately in this paper; -ing-clauses in nominal syntactic roles in the LGSWE (subject, extraposed subject, subject predicative and direct and prepositional object) are evaluated in the corpus as gerunds. Those that are similar to the role of the adjective will be presented as -ing participles (parts of noun phrases, condensed adverbial clauses, etc. The closest equivalent to the gerund in L1 is a verbal noun.

	S	O	C	Premod. N	Post N	modif. Adj	NS	Other
1-10	8	28	6	26	10	1	0	7
11-20	7	24	14	11	10	0	2	9
21-30	0	9	15	11	8	0	4	2
31-40	1	17	10	26	7	0	3	5
41-50	3	20	3	26	9	3	5	4
51-55	2	14	7	4	4	0	5	1
TOTAL	21	112	55	104	48	4	19	28

Table 2: Syntactic functions of gerund

Other functions include: 10 adjuncts of manner, 8 adjunct of time, 9 appositions, 1 location.

6.1 The gerund in the subject position is not used extensively in the corpus, but there are 21 examples compared with just one of the infinitive in the same position.

I think er learning about foreign culture is really … good step … (6:2)

Yeah, and going home every day after school is er … exhausting. (44:16)

There can hardly be any influence of L1, because in the given examples the expected equivalent in Czech would be the infinitive (*… učit se… chodit/ jezdit domů…),* not a verbal noun. The most likely reason is that in the cognitive process of acquiring the English language, the knowledge of activity in progress as a feature of the gerund has developed (compared with the static infinitive) and is revealed in the instances that are given.

There are also 19 samples of ´notional subjects´, which are not subjects postponed to the final positions of sentences by extraposition, but ´true´ subjects in ´there-constructions´, which start with the ´dummy theme/topic´ *there.* The final position of such subjects gives them more communicative dynamism, but the structure is not generally considered as a ´contribution … to the markedness of the information structure´ (Tárnyiková, 2002: 95).

There is … climbing, swimming, indoor-cycling or … (73:28)

There is some writing or listening? (145:52)

The examples reflect the students´ attempts to stress activity in the discussed courses offered by the university or in the process of examinations.

The structure and function of existential sentences should be discussed in seminars in comparison with other English highlighting structures and their Czech equivalents.

6.2 The number of object positions (112) is lower than that of the infinitive and there are mistakes showing the students´ hesitation in deciding which form is more suitable, (e.g.: *I preferred to ... going ...*). In the samples that were collected the controlling verb is very often
like:

... do you, do you like eating in the university dining hall ... (115:41)

... because you can practise the writing, the listening and you can also... (126:44)

The definite article used in the second example demonstrates that the learners have not managed to master the formal difference between the gerund and the English verbal noun.

6.3 The 55 instances of gerundial subject complements, together with the previous figures concerning subject and object roles, prove that the students have understood the nominal features of the gerund, which has no parallel form in their L1, e.g.:

... Well, I am particularly interested in volleybal and working out ... (73:28)

Buddy programme... er it´s helping foreign students here ... (64: 24)

Er, the exam consists of a lot of parts, the one is reading, er, which will take... (137:49)

The gerunds in the instances quoted here are taken as equivalent to nouns (*in volleyball and working out)* and would be translated as nouns (*pomoc, četba*). The usage of the gerund with its nominal syntactic functions is satisfactory and offers potential for further improvement.

6.4 The most surprising figure within the syntactic functions of the gerund in the corpus is 104 samples of noun pre-modification, especially in comparison with the number of -ing participles in the same role (27 – see Table 3).

The major structural types of noun pre-modification according to the LGSWE are: a) adjectives, b) nouns, and c) –ing and -ed participial modifiers, which are presented as ´relatively uncommon´ (Biber et al, 1999:588 – 589).

To explain these corpus figures, we must consider the context of the dialogues which influences the role/form of the language in the given social

activity. The dialogues are more transactional in the second part and both transactional and interactional in the third.
We cannot expect to hear what is happening with the pre-modified nouns and there is hardly any description where adjectives or -ing participles before nouns contribute to their attractiveness. The vast majority of the examples are similar to the following ones:

> *... And what are the working hours?* (112:40)

> *... er, is a swimming pool there ...* (113: 40)

The conclusion for teaching is to improve/build the students ´ skills in structuring complex noun phrases with gerunds and –ing participles included.

6.5 In the post-modification of nouns (48 instances) and adjectives (4) there are gerunds with prepositions, e.g.:

> *And, and the major, is the priority, experience of working, of caring for children ...* (119:43)

> *... did you mentioned some possibility of travelling?* (120: 43)

> *... so people might be really really ... aware about sharing this ...* (126:44)

The Czech equivalents of such examples are not the same. There might be infinitives (*možnost cestovat*), prepositional phrases (*péče o děti)* or subordinate clauses *(uvědomují si, že ...*). Thus, there is no structural transfer from L1 and phrases with gerundial post-modification are the results of the students´ acquired skills applied in their speech.

6.6 The last column summarises other functions of the gerund, which are mostly adjuncts (adverbials) of manner or time or appositions, e.g.:

> *... if I wanted to, er, work while studying, it would be ...* (123:43)

> *... I use Facebook, er I use it for chatting with my friends.* (94:34)

> *... But there are also some other possibilities, as for example swimming or tennis.* (102:37)

The only suggestion for future teaching is to focus on structuring complex NPs, because they do not seem well-managed by most students.

7 - ing and -ed participles

The syntactic roles of both participles (-ing, -ed) were recorded as complements and as parts of complex noun or adjective phrases. These positions can also be taken by the infinitive and gerund.

	C	Premod. N	Postmod. N	Other	
-ing part.					
1-20	15	16	6		
21-55	12	14	5	1	
TOTAL	27	30	11	1	
-ed part.					
1-20	25	21	12		
21-55	76	26	17		
TOTAL	101	47	29		

Table 3: Syntactic functions of *-ing* and *-ed* participles

Other: 1 adverbial/clause of circumstance.

7.1 The number of occurrences of the -ing and -ed participles in the subject complement position is quite high (128). The participles used in the dialogues, however, do not show much lexical diversity – the most frequent participles are: *interesting or interested,* and *welcome.* There is also hardly any variety in the linking verbs, it is almost always *´be´*, e.g.:

... It could be interesting for you. (68:26)

... That sounds interesting. (74:28)

Well, I am particularly interested in volleyball … (73:28)

The result for further language acquisition is definitely: practicing all the linking verbs and explaining the difference between gerunds and participles in the complement position.

7.2 The lack of semantic variety is also valid for the modification of nouns by participles. There are 77 examples of pre-modification and 40 of post-modification. *Interesting* is again used frequently in pre-modification and there are some topic-related -ed participles such as *advanced* or *accepted*, e.g.:

... well, it´s a very interesting question. (77:29)

This card er is er the only internationally accepted card,... (5:2)

According to the LGSWE findings (Biber et al, 1999: 631-2), post-modifying participles are most common in academic prose with the –ed participle prevailing. The following -ing clauses are listed there as very common: *containing, using, concerning, involving* and these -ed clauses: *based, given, used, caused, made etc.*

The choice of post-modifying participles in the corpus (40) is not exactly the same as identified in the LGSWE, e.g.:

... you don´t have to listen to anybody telling you what to do ... (75:28)

... I would have to have er somebody living with me, ... (6:2)

... I have a friend named, er, John Smith ... (70:27)

... all you need, er, an application form filled in, er, by, er, 31st October ... (10:4)

There may be relevant influence of L1 in the usage of participles in both pre- and post-modification. Participles are declined in Czech and the case forms should preferably be translated as finite clauses (Hornová, 1983), e.g.:

We saw that running boy. Viděli jsme toho chlapce, který utíkal.
(instead of: Viděli jsme toho utíkajícího chlapce.)

Thus, the methods for improving the usage of participles as parts of complex noun phrases should be based on frequent comparison of such structures in L2 and L1, based on a profound theoretical knowledge about the typological differences between the two languages. In the examples discussed here the nominal trends of English versus verbal in Czech are clearly visible.

Secondly, the active knowledge of participles as lexical items should be extended, because their usage in the corpus informs us about the students' limited vocabulary.

8 Conclusions

Even if the statistical figures of the occurrence and functions of NF VPs result from a relatively small learner corpus of spoken language, the findings can be considered valid for students of B2 level, because the subgroups of 10 people showed similar trends in all the structures that were analysed. Moreover, the sources and methods of the students´ previous education were diverse and not influenced by the same teachers and schools.
General conclusions:

(1) all four varieties of English NF VPs – infinitives, gerunds and -ing and -ed participles were used in the spoken discourse corpus analysed here with a different or lower frequency than in the LQSWE (Biber et al, 1999), which characterises the speakers as those who have not yet managed a typical feature of English – the trend for condensed discourse as a sign of language economy;

(2) the usage of NF VPs with their nominal functions (subject, object, complement) was better than in the structure of complex noun or adjective phrases;

(3) some results were surprising (e.g. the frequent usage of the gerund in the noun pre-modification), which was due to the topic of conversation and limited vocabulary of the students;

(4) L1 influence was recognisable in many instances of NF VP syntactic functions (see the discussions below the individual tables).

The students who were tested are going to start their university TEFL programmes and the results of this analysis can contribute to some reasonable changes within their theoretical and practical syllabi:

a) emphasis should be placed on creating better skills for using NF VPs correctly in their frequent syntactic positions, but attention must also be paid to lexical items frequently used in such structures (Biber et al, 1999);
b) theoretical knowledge of specific features of spoken and written language (and styles) must be well-developed;
c) the basic typological differences between L1 and L2 should be explained and applied in the student-teacher analysis of their spoken and written language production (Knittlová, 2010, Tárnyiková, 2007);
d) the structures to be practised most are complex noun and adjective phrases and non-finite adverbial clauses in which the condensing force of NF VPs is clearly revealed; in these structures the comparison with their Czech equivalents should result in valuable knowledge, which will be further transformed into a habit;
e) the most important goal in all the TEFL seminars is significantly enlarging the students´ active vocabulary.

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DISCOURSAL FUNCTIONS OF IDEATIONAL, INTERPERSONAL AND RELATIONAL IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

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Abstract
Research into language learning pays more attention to how rules are learnt, rather than to the goals of such learning. Conventionalized multiword expressions, or idioms, and the lexis itself have been relatively neglected in language studies. Such neglect can be ascribed to the vocabulary being viewed as the non-generative component. Picking up prefabricated expressions constitutes one of the means of acquiring language. Idiomatic expressions have the potential of appearing anywhere and everywhere, and are marked as occurring in mature discourse. The analysis of reading texts, taken from two English course books series at the advanced level of proficiency, aims to reveal whether and to what extent idiomatic expressions are used in this type of discourse, and what functions they perform.

Key words
cohesion, coherence, connective, discourse, function, idiomatic expression

1 Introduction

From a very young age we learn the importance of communication with others – whether they are as familiar as our parents and relatives or complete strangers whom we chance to encounter in any places. Even if we do not feel the need to be in continual contact with other people, we probably still find it difficult to spend more than a few hours at a time without any communication with others.

Briefly, without people there are no languages. The first observation we can make about the use and acquisition of language is that it is a social phenomenon. When two or more people gather together, their lips, tongues and jaws begin to move. Evidence for human beings as thinkers appears in its most obvious form in their production of discourse. Speech is the social cement that binds people together, and because it is social, it rarely emerges in individual isolation. We do not talk alone; the world talks with us. We all share a common desire for linguistic intercourse; we need to hear and to be heard (Scovel 2001: 15). Language serves as an instrument of social communication. It reflects the context in which it is used. We adapt our talk to suit our audience and talk differently to children, relatives or colleagues. We use language differently in formal and casual contexts. The purpose of talk will also affect its form.

In order to produce discourse we can make ad hoc lexical compositions of phrases and sentences or use ready-made multiword expressions. The paper provides the foreign learner with a great number of idiomatic expressions obtained from reading texts. It aims to encourage the Slovak or Czech learner to use phrases or idioms which are necessary for producing not only coherent discourse but also discourse that is socially acceptable as well as precise, lively, and interesting.

2 The functions of a language

Formalism and functionalism, as two approaches to linguistics, tend to be associated with very different views of the nature of language. However, the correct approach to language is both formalist and functionalist. English textbooks usually have two syllabuses: a structural syllabus and a functional syllabus. This reflects the view that appropriate language use requires knowledge of both the form and the functions of a language.

Functionalists, e.g. Halliday, tend to (i) regard language primarily as a societal phenomenon, (ii) explain linguistic universals as deriving from the universality of the uses in which language is put in human societies, (iii) they are inclined to explain children's acquisition of language in terms of the development of the child's communicative needs and abilities in society, and (iv) study language in relation to its societal function.

A functional theory is one which deals with language as a form of communication, and therefore is concerned with showing how language works within the larger system of human society. Talk of purposes, goals, plans, intentions, also presupposes functionalism. In discussing properties of language, it is better to use the term 'function', because it leaves open how far the attainment of goals is due to conscious states of the individual, or for that matter, whether the goal is an attribute of the individual, the community, or the species. Leech (1983: 50) explains biological, psychological and social varieties of functionalism, and the development of linguistic behaviour on the basis of Popper's evolutionary epistemology, together with his functional theory of language. Popper's epistemological theory of the three worlds is helpful. He argues that the worlds are distinct domains of human knowledge. An essential part of his explanation is postulating a progression from lower to higher functions in the evolution of human language. Whereas in more primitive communicative systems the *expressive* and *signalling* functions of language (corresponding to the *interpersonal function* of language) are uppermost, Popper attributes the accelerated evolution of knowledge to 'the tremendous biological advance of the invention of a *descriptive* and *argumentative* language'.

From Popper's four language functions, we move on to those of Halliday, to which they bear a strong resemblance. Halliday's (1970, 1973, 1985) three functions are: (i) the *ideational function* – language functions as a means of conveying and interpreting experience of the world (this function is subdivided into two sub-functions, the experiential and the logical sub-functions), (ii) the *interpersonal function* – language functions as an expression of one's attitudes and an influence upon the attitudes and _ehaviour of the hearer, and (iii) the *textual function* – language functions as a means of constructing a text, i.e. a spoken or written instantiation of language (Leech 1983: 56).

Halliday's functions (i) and (ii) subsume Popper's four functions in the following way. The ideational function is an amalgam of two sub-functions which correspond to Popper's descriptive and argumentative functions. The interpersonal function corresponds to Popper's expressive and signalling functions, which are based on similar functions distinguished by K. Bühler (1934). Halliday has explained that he finds it necessary to maintain this distinction which Bühler, Popper, and also Jakobson (1960) have drawn between functions oriented towards the speaker's and the hearer's ends of the communicative process: he sees the expressive and signalling functions to be merged in a single interpersonal function. The third function of Halliday, the textual function, is of very different status from the others. Halliday gives it the special status of 'enabling functions', and says that it is instrumental to the other two. The textual organization of language plays an important part in an overall functional account of language.

Leech's (1983) main disagreement with Halliday is over his wish to integrate all three functions within grammar. He maintains, in contrast, that the ideational function belongs to grammar, and that the interpersonal function and the textual function belong to pragmatics.

Although Halliday insists that the three functions are of equivalent status, he does drop one or two hints as to the special importance of the ideational function. While he deprecates the popular view that language is a vehicle of ideas, he concedes that the ideational function is a major component of meaning in the language system which is basic to more or less all uses of language (Leech 1983: 57).

2.1 Vocabulary as an analogue of the world

The three functions identified by Halliday can also be usefully applied to part of a language, in this case a component of the vocabulary, namely *idioms*. C. Fernando (1996: 1) retained Halliday's terms *ideational* and *interpersonal* to describe two of the functions idioms perform, but she replaced the third item textual, signifying cohesive relationships within a text, with *relational*, a term which captures more precisely the connective functions carried out by this idiom type in achieving both cohesion and coherence.

Up to the 1970s *ideational idioms* formed the staple of scholarly work on idioms. The notion of idiomaticity as a related but distinct concept from idioms received little attention. The acceptance of conventionalized interpersonal and relational multiword expressions as idiomatic shows an extension of the idiom principle, and, consequently, an advance in idiomatology itself (Fernando 1996: 187).

As we know, two fundamental principles are seen to govern the choice of vocabulary when producing written or spoken text: (i) the *open-choice principle* governing the ad hoc lexical composition of phrases and sentences, and (ii) the *idiom principle* governing the use of ready-made multiword expressions, that is, conventionalized ways of saying (Fernando 1996: 97). P. Kvetko (2006: 38) investigates multiword expressions, namely collocations and idioms, and considers idioms as an important part of everyone's vocabulary. He describes idioms from the point of view of their construction as well as their function. The following chapter offers the classification of idioms from the pragmatic point of view and discourse.

3 Classification of idioms from the pragmatic point of view

When we concentrate on idioms from the point of view of what speakers do with them in discourse, what their role and function is in it, we find out that idioms play many different roles. In this connection different terms and various categorizations of idioms are used. In this chapter we will look at idioms from the pragmatic point of view and discourse.

R. Moon (1998) distinguishes the following groups of idioms: (i) *informational idioms* – conveying information of different kind, (ii) *evaluative idioms* – giving the speaker's attitude to the situation, (iii) *situational idioms* – expressing conventions, clauses, and exclamation, relating to extra linguistic context, (iv) *modalizing idioms* – expressing modality, truth values, advice and request, and (v) *organizational idioms* – organizing the text and signalling discourse structure.

C. Fernando (1996) and other linguists speak about (i) *ideational idioms* ('the state and way of the world' idioms) – expressing namely actions, events, situations, people, things, attitudes and emotions, (ii) *interpersonal idioms* – expressing greetings, agreements and rejections, and (iii) *relational idioms* – ensuring cohesion (Kvetko 2006: 39). When we compare the two classifications of idioms we can see that the first classification is more detailed, and that some idioms may perform more than one function. For the purpose of our research we have chosen Fernando's categorization of idioms. Since we analyse written discourse for idiomatic expressions, we will focus on ideational and relational idioms.

3.1 Ideational and relational idioms

Typically, ideational idioms are realized by units smaller than the clause, units that are *nominals*, *verbals*, *adjectivals*, and *adverbials.* These units function as parts of clauses. Ideational idioms can also be *clauses* themselves (Fernando 1996).

Relational idiomatic expressions are more specific in terms of their semantics than their approximate single-word counterparts. Two major types of relational expressions can be identified: (i) *integrative*, and (ii) *sequencing* or *chaining information*. Integrative idiomatic expressions establish conjunctive connections (Addition, Concession, Condition, Reason, and Result, etc.) within or between sentences, as well as connections between portions of a discourse directing the addressee to its structural organization, that is, its beginning, body, and conclusion. Sequencing or chaining information expressions sequence events in ways that are chronologically appropriate to the situation presented via the discourse. Such expressions may also signal, at the same time, the time-frame in which events take place. In other words, we can talk about the expressions which (i) sequence *meta-discoursal information* and which (ii) sequence *temporal information* (Pawley and Syder 1983).

4 Functions of idiomatic expressions

The aim of this chapter is to look at the functions of the three groups of idiomatic expressions identified by Fernando (1996). As mentioned above, the term 'ideational' is used by Halliday (1970, 1973, 1985) to designate the macro-function of language realized through the clause concerned with articulating the speaker's or writer's experience of the world.

According to Fernando (1996: 185-8), *ideational idioms* of various types convey packages of information about participants, actions, events, as well as about their attributes and circumstances in the world of the senders and receivers of such information. By functioning as impressionistic packages of information idioms of this type contribute to the subject matter or the content of a discourse.

Interpersonal idioms are very different from ideational ones in several of their characteristics, understandable in view of their different functions.

Interpersonal idioms, semi-idioms, and collocations of various types are used in a variety of interactional functions, greetings and farewells being among the most common. Such idioms enable the language user to signpost verbal interactions so that their organizational structure – the beginning, the body (the development of the exchange) and the conclusion is clear. They also provide the language user with a resource for expressing, through interpersonal functions, the two great forces of social life: conviviality and conflict (Fernando 1996: 154). What is more, interpersonal idioms, restricted collocations and common locutions provide a resource for the language user to be, at least, a coherent conversationalist, sometimes even a polished one depending on individual aptitude. Equally importantly, they determine the emotional key of a discourse as one of attraction or antagonism.

The primary function of *relational idioms* of various types is to make explicit the semantic unity of a discourse. Even the conceptually appropriate juxtaposition of utterances in speech or sentences in writing may be insufficient to enable the addressee to comprehend the connections arising from the preceding context. Explicit connectives need to be used at various points in a discourse depending on its length and subject matter to make complex semantic connections clear. At the micro-level they relate phrases or clauses within sentences (intra-sentential) or relate sentences within a discourse (inter-sentential), and indicate a point in time, or temporal duration. At the macro-level they relate portions of a discourse, for instance, paragraphs introducing new topics (meta-discoursal). Macro relational expressions also indicate a global temporal frame (Fernando 1996: 186-8).

To sum up, each kind makes its distinctive contribution to a discourse, but at the same time, they all work together to convey a specific message.

5 Formal aspects of idiomatic expressions

The comparison offered of ideational, interpersonal, and relational expressions focused on their respective functions. In their formal aspects, these expressions favour different types of constituents in their syntactic make-up, differences corresponding to their different functions: *phrasal verbs*, *noun phrases*, especially those of the Adj + N types, and *semi-clauses* of various types abound among ideational idioms; appropriate *pronouns* (*I, you, me…*) mark interpersonal idioms, overtly or covertly; the relational group is distinguished from the other two either by *conjunctive* or *sequencing idioms* and by *expressions signalling the location in time* of an event or its duration, long or short (Fernando 1996: 187).

As we are analysing written discourse for idiomatic expressions, our research will be focused on ideational and relational idioms. There are many authors who provide different classifications of idioms. For instance, Cowie *et al.* (1983) classify idioms under two general headings – *phrase idioms* and *clause idioms*. Within these major groupings there are several dominant sub-categories. The most common clause patterns spanned by idioms are the following:

Verb + Complement	*go right/wrong (for sb)* [V + Comp)]
Verb + Direct Object	*take place* [V + O]
Verb + Direct Object + Complement	*make (sb's) life a misery* [V + O + Comp pass]
Verb + Indirect Object + Direct Object	*do sb a power/world of good* [V + IO + O]
Verb + Direct Object + Adjunct	*do sb/sth proud* [V + O + A]

While most commonly occurring phrase patterns are these:

Noun Phrase	*these days* [A (NP)]
Adjective Phrase	*prone to sth* [Comp (AdjP)]
Prepositional Phrase	*on (an) impulse* [A (Prep)]
Adverbial Phrase	*first of all* [Conj (AdvP)]

This paper also contains a good deal of grammatical information about idiomatic expressions, i.e. grammatical patterns and codes. We will use this information especially when dealing with relational idioms. In order to provide a more precise classification we have chosen the approaches by A. P. Cowie *et al.* (1983) and C. Fernando (1996).

6 Material and methods

As has already been mentioned, the present study aims to analyse written discourse for idiomatic expressions. The research corpus comprises forty reading texts taken from two course book series, namely *Success* and *New Opportunities*. One of the most important criteria for the choice of this material is the fact that the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic recommends both series for the use in secondary school. The second important criterion was the questionnaire given to secondary students who pointed out at the most difficult or boring reading texts, mostly dealing with collocations and idioms. E. Tandlichová (1992: 66) states that the text (introductory or additional) is the most important and dominant part of the textbook from which other components are developed and formed. Students have to analyse the text in detail not only to understand what they read, but also to notice the language used. Most importantly, students at this level have particular difficulty in maintaining their fluency and need help when learning vocabulary.

Based on the above presented semantic and formal classifications, both quantitative and qualitative methods were carried out. The aim of the quantitative method was to find out whether and to what extent idiomatic expressions occur in the reading texts. Consequently, the qualitative method attempted to identify the principal formal realizations of idiomatic expressions and their semantic roles in this type of text.

7 Results and discussion

In-depth research shows all idiomatic expressions occurring in the reading texts taken from *Success* and *New Opportunities*. The findings are summarized in the following tables, and, consequently, the course books are compared.

IDEATIONAL IDIOMS (*Success*)
Units smaller than the clause
Nominals (36/21) one's best friend, the best part of sth, a bossy boots (3x), a cry baby (4x), a day dream, a know-it-all (4x), a loose cannon (4x), a matter of time, meat and potatoes, a must, a nightmare, one's (own) way, odd jobs, the pros and cons, a slippery slope, a space cadet (2x), a stickler for sth, all walks of life, a wallflower, a wet blanket (4x), a workout
Verbals (73/68) and that's it, be at each other's throats, beat sb at their own game, be in charge of, be in tune with, be in a world of your own, be on different wavelengths, be out of touch with sth, be up to sb, be up to sth, beg the question, cannot take one's eyes off, chances are, the chances are that, change one's mind, come and go, come into contact with, come to life, come one's way, cross your mind, do little good, do no better, drive sb up the wall, earn one's living, entertain the possibility, feel good, get bitten by the bug, get hooked on, get into a real state, get on the same wavelength, get rid of (2x), get your own way, get uptight, go all out, go their separate ways, go to great lengths to do sth, go wrong, have had enough, have sth down to a fine art, have an idea, have no idea, have no to speak of, have nothing in common, keep an eye on sb, keep an open mind, keep in touch (2x), know better, know for certain, let yourself go, make the best of, make ends meet, make sure (3x), make up one's mind, not bat an eyelid, pick one's way, play into sb's hands, play truant, put two and two together, rant and rave, say goodbye to sth, strike a balance, take sth at face value, take its toll, take place (2x), take sb seriously, take sth seriously, vanish into thin air, your mind goes blank

Phrasal verbs (159/123) act on, appeal to, back away, be ahead of, be caught up in, be cut off, be on, beat up, blow away, breathe in, bring together, bring up, build sth into sth, bump into, call back, call up, calm down, catch up with, cater for, clock in, close down, come across, come across (+ as), come by, come down, come from, come in, come round, come up with, dawn on, deal with, delight in, depend on, drag yourself away (+ from), draw in, draw into, drop out, end up doing sth, find out, find out (+ that), flip over, fool around, get along (+ with), get on (+ with), get sth out of sth, get up, give away, give up, go away, go back, go for, go in for, go off, go on, go on and on (+ about), grow up, hand in, hang around, hang up, head off, hold back, hold on, hold on to, join in, knock down, lead to, leaf through, light up, lock yourself out, look after, look around (+ for), look at, look back, look for, look forward to, look out for, make out, make out (+ that), make up, mark out, move away, move in, move on, occur to, open up, pass by, pick up, pick up on, play around (+ with), point out (+ that), power up, put on, put together, put up with, rely on (+ for), root for, run away, set off, show off, sit back, sit down, split up, stand for, stand out, stand up to, stem from, stick out (+ of), stick to, stick with, strike up, take off, take on, take out (+ of), take up, turn down, turn into, turn up, walk away (+ from), walk over, wake up, wake up to, wear off, work out *The phrasal verbs occurring more than once in the given material*: look for (7x), find out (5x), come across (4x), work out (4x), deal with (3x), get on (+ with) (3x), look at (3x), sit down (3x), come from (2x), depend on (2x), draw into (2x), flip over (2x), give away (2x), give up (2x), go on (2x), grow up (2x), make out (2x), occur to (2x), point out (+ that) (2x), take off (2x)
Adjectivals (7) eagle-eyed, long-faced, on the run, out of order, out of work, tried and trusted, white-collar
Adverbials
Adjuncts (61/39) **[A (PrepP)]:** according to sb, according to sth, at first (2x), at last (2x), at least, at any moment, at the moment (2x), at the same time, at top speed, by chance, by the time (2x), for free, for fun, for life, for the first time, for sb's own good, in the end (4x), in the future (2x), in turn (2x), on impulse, on the strength of sth, on time **[A (AdvP)]:** all of a sudden (2x), all over sth [A (AdvP/PrepP)] (2x), at all (2x), if at all **[A (NP)]:** all the time (3x), every time (4x), a good deal, one day (4x), these days **[A]:** just then, once again, thanks to sb, thanks to sth (2x) **[Adv]:** all day long, before long (2x), every so often, in a good light
Conjuncts (30/15) **[Conj]:** and what's more, as to (3x), as well as (3x), even if, even though (2x), in case, in order to do sth (3x), just the same, let alone, on the condition that, on top of sth, other than sth (2x) **[Conj (AdvP)]:** first of all (3x) **[Conj (PrepP)]:** for example (6x), in short
Disjuncts (21/10) **[Disj]:** after all (3x), as far as sth is concerned, as far as sth goes, believe it or not, whether we like it or not **[Disj (PrepP)]:** at least (3x), by all means [Disj/A], in fact (3x), in sb's opinion, of course (6x)
Clauses
actions speak louder than words, the grass is always greener; like father, like son; pride comes before a fall, no place like home
Characterising the message
Non-specific information: and so on (1x), kind of (3x), sort of (2x), all sorts of (2x), or whatever
Rhetorical question: So what? (2x)
Interjection: here goes

Table 1: Classification of ideational idioms (*Success*)

As can be seen, adverbials are divided into three groups: *adjuncts*, *conjuncts* and *disjuncts*. We decided to classify them this way in order to show the differences among them, and also to show the multi-word connectives which contribute to the coherence and cohesion of a discourse. Adjuncts are integrated within the structure of the clause to at least some extent. Conjuncts and disjuncts are not integrated within the clause. Semantically, conjuncts have a connective function. They indicate the connection between what is being said and what was said before. Semantically, disjuncts express an evaluation of what is being said either with respect to the form of the communication or to its content.

We managed to find these relational and interpersonal idiomatic expressions:

RELATIONAL IDIOMS (*Success*)
Integrative 1) Causative Reason – Result: *in order to*, the more … the more (3x); the more … the less Condition – Consequence: *in case*, *on the condition that* 2) Coupling Coupling: *as well as*, neg. … *let alone*, along with (2x), not only … but also Addition: *on top of sth* 3) Adversative: Concession – Contra-expectation: *at the same time, no matter what* 4) Evaluative: *after all* 5) Exemplification: *for example*, *for instance*
Sequencing or chaining information: 1) Sequencing meta-discoursal info: *at first*, *first of all*, *in the end* 2) Sequencing temporal info: *one day,* no sooner … than (2x), *all day long*
INTERPERSONAL IDIOMS (*Success*)
be afraid (that) (2x), Good morning, I must say

Table 2: Relational and interpersonal idioms (*Success*)

IDEATIONAL IDIOMS (*New Opportunities*)
Units smaller than the clause
Nominals (15/11) a breath of fresh air (2x), the father of (2x), a golden age (2x), a know-all, odd jobs (2x), an old fogey, a piece of cake, a Purple Heart, a shaggy dog story, a step forward, a turn of phrase
Verbals (53/48) be about to (3x), be on the brink of doing sth, come and go, (come) hell and high water, do one's best (2x), do sb good, eating humble pie, fall into place, fall off one's chair, fed up to the neck, get the feeling that, get in there, get a move on, get the sack, get stuck, give sb a warm welcome, give sb a hard time (2x), have the edge over sth, have sth in common, sb's heart sinks, the joke's on sb, keep (it) a secret, keep a straight face, make a fortune, make history, make it, make a point, make sure, make up for lost time, (it's) neither here nor there, not to be sniffed at, pick one's way, (playing) musical chairs, pull one's leg, (put sb) out to grass, raise hell, set the ball rolling, set free, (be) spoilt for choice, take care of, take sb's breath away, take sb's mind off sth (2x), take part in, take place, take a toll, tell the world, (there is) no harm in, (be) on thin ice ***Phrasal verbs*** (129/100) be coming along, be on, blow off, breathe in, buck up, build on, call out (+ to), calm down, carry out, cheer up, chip in, clean up, cling to, come across, come back, come down with, come in, come on, come over, come through, come to, count up, crowd into, culminate in, deal with, devote yourself to, find out, get back, get beyond, get down, get in, get on, get out, get through, get together, give sb away, go about, go ahead, go back, go down, go for, go off, go into, go on, go over, go up, grow up, hold on, immerse in, knock out, knock over, lead to, let in, live through, log on, look after, look at, look for, make out, muck in, occur to, pass by, pass on, perk up, pick up, plunge into, press ahead (+ with), put away, put back, put on, put together, run away (+ from), set out, set up, settle down, show off, show up, sit back, sit down, stand for, stand up, stick out, take out, take sb through, take over, take up, think over, throw away, throw off, try it on, turn down, turn off, turn on, turn out, turn to, wake up, walk out, wash away, wipe out, work out *The phrasal verbs occurring more than once in the given material*: come back (5x), find out (4x), get out (4x), set up (4x), go back (3x), get on (2x), clean up (2x), come in (2x), go ahead (2x), look for (2x), pick up (2x), show off (2x), sit down (2x), stand up (2x), take out (2x), try it on (2x), turn off (2x), turn on (2x), work out (2x)
Adjectivals (6/4) free of charge (2x), prone to sth [Comp (AdjP)], out of the ordinary, out-of-this-world (2x)
Adverbials
Adjuncts (51/37) **[A (PrepP)]:** according to sth (2x), all over sth [A (AdvP/PrepP)] (4x), at last, at least, at the same time (3x), at a time, by the time (3x), for the first time, from now on, in the end, in favour of sth, in the first place, in no time, in the past, in vain, on all fours, on average, on foot, on its own, on one's own **[A (AdvP)]:** as usual, at all (3x), even more, even then **[A (NP)]:** all the time, one day (3x), face to face [Comp/A (NP)] **[A]:** hand in hand, thanks to sth **[Adv]:** as good as, before one's eyes, to death, more or less (2x), no doubt (2x), or rather, right off, so far
Conjuncts (20/8) **[Conj]:** as long as (2x), as well as sth (2x), e.g. (9x), if only, in case **[Conj (PrepP)]:** for example (3x), for instance, in the same way

Disjuncts (13/5) **[Disj]:** as far as sb is concerned **[Disj (PrepP)]:** above all [Disj/A], at least (4x), in fact (5x), of course (2x)
Clauses themselves
let sleeping dogs lie, there's no business like show business, there's no smoke without fire
Characterising the message
Non-specific information: and so on, sort of, something of a sth

Table 3: Classification of ideational idioms (*New Opportunities*)

RELATIONAL IDIOMS (*New Opportunities*)
Integrative: 1) Concessive: *at the same time*, *no matter how* 2) Addition: *as well as sth*, *on top of sth* **Sequencing or chaining information:** 1) Sequencing meta-discoursal information: *at last*, *in the end*, *in the first place* 2) Sequencing temporal information: *one day*, *so far*, …
INTERPERSONAL IDIOMS (*New Opportunities*)
and I don't know what all, as far as I'm concerned [Disj], believe (you) me [Disj], what's the matter? who cares? you're welcome!

Table 4: Relational and interpersonal idioms (*New Opportunities*)

Type of idiom	**Success**	**New Opportunities**	**Total**
Nominals	36	15	51
Verbals	73	53	126
Phrasal verbs	159	129	288
Adjectivals	7	6	13
Adjuncts	61	51	112
Conjuncts	30	20	50
Disjuncts	21	13	34
Clauses	5	3	8
Total:	**392**	**290**	**682**

Table 5: Number of occurrences of idiomatic expressions

As can be seen in Table 5, the reading texts from *Success* contain more idiomatic language than reading texts from *New Opportunities*. What is really surprising is the fact that the texts from both course book series contain the highest number of phrasal verbs, then, verbal idioms and, finally, adjuncts.

8 Conclusion

We know that vocabulary mirrors the many-sided human personality more obviously than do other language components. However, when producing both spoken and written discourse, the Slovak learner avoids using English idiomatic expressions. Speaking is often the area with which students experience the most frustration. They need considerable help and guidance to improve their accuracy, but not at the expense of fluency. Also, writing is an essential part of student's competence and requires special emphasis. In our view, a strong focus on the practice of gathered idiomatic expressions should be put. Students should learn how to use these expressions in context and practice them in meaningful dialogues and writing tasks.

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TOWARDS BRITISH OR AMERICAN ENGLISH: TRANSLATION FROM LITHUANIAN TO ENGLISH ACROSS GENRES

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Abstract
The tradition in Lithuania, like in the European Union, is to use the British standard when writing in or translating to English. However, due to globalisation, the influence of the American culture and language on various types of texts in English produced in Lithuania cannot be denied. The nature of the institutional register requires writers to follow one or the other variant, and British English is usually expected in Lithuania. Other registers are more flexible although a mixture of two most popular varieties, i.e. British and American, in one and the same text may demonstrate incompetence of the text producer. The study focuses on English in new media, namely websites of official institutions, a news portal and business websites. An assumption is made that in new media settings neither of the two variants of English prevails.

Key words
British English, American English, consistency, websites, institutional register

1 Introduction

The quality of translation is a very widely discussed issue. The finest translation will not be perfect if it lacks consistency in the variant of English used, be it British or American. This is a well-known fact to professional translators. Clients, if they are Lithuanian, may not necessarily notice such inconsistency or may not even know which variant they prefer, if asked by translators, unless they are scholars publishing their research articles outside Lithuania. However, obviously English versions of websites of various Lithuanian companies are aimed at English speaking customers, thus, making the quality of language on a website extremely important and a matter of prestige. The problem is that a good translator is not easy to find, and English texts on Lithuanian websites might be translated by a few translators, especially if a company or institution is big and produces a plethora of texts every day. Such use of services of a few translators may result in texts being inconsistent from the point of view of the variant of English used.

Therefore, the aim of this particular study is to find out which, British or American English, dominates in spelling, punctuation, vocabulary and grammar in texts written in or translated to English from Lithuanian and whether it is used consistently.

The following objectives were set out in order to achieve the aim of the study: to overview differences in vocabulary, spelling, punctuation and grammar between British English and American English as analysed in this particular study; to discuss the state of English in Lithuanian websites from the point of view of the variant of English used; to identify instances of British or American English in the English version of the selected Lithuanian new media texts (supposedly translated); and to determine which of the variants of English prevails and whether it is used consistently.

The object of the study is the language of new media texts, namely websites of official institutions, news portals and business websites available in both Lithuanian and English. The methods employed are descriptive and quantitative analysis. Before the study and analysis of data, the following assumptions were made:

- In new media settings, namely the English versions of Lithuanian websites, neither of the two variants of English is grossly dominant.
- Language on business websites and news portals is less consistent from the point of view of the variant of English used in comparison with institutional websites.

To our best knowledge, no such studies examining the consistency of the variant of English used in texts translated from Lithuanian to English have been performed in Lithuania although the issue has been discussed among translators and editors of European Union institutions. A few corpus-based studies have been found to address the issue of the variant of English used on the websites in different countries across the world. In their study of 93 countries, the researchers determined that British English was preferred over the American variety in many regions except for North and South America (Atwell et al. 2007). On the other hand, they also found out that neither British nor American English was overwhelmingly dominant. However, the authors did not include into their study the region of Eastern Europe.

2 Methodology

The fact that different institutions publicise different amounts of text on their websites was taken into consideration. In order to analyse institutional texts, the language on the websites of 3 universities was analysed. The 3 universities are ranked among the top 10 universities in Lithuania. To represent the journalistic register, one of the leading news portals was taken for analysis since it publishes news in English of a few big news agencies in Lithuania. On the other hand, from the point of view of the amount of text on the website, it was the most productive website allowing analysis of the greatest amount of text in comparison with other 2 types of websites. What concerns the technical register, the language on the websites of 5 big business companies was analysed. In 2013, the companies were ranked among the top 100 in Lithuania from the point of view of annual activity results; the number of staff ranged from 900 to 10800. The websites of business companies were selected according to whether they had websites in English. First, all the websites were searched for the words *analyse/analyze, colour/color, labour/labor, centre/center, licence/license, travelled (travelling)/ travelled (traveling), learnt/learned* as representing the spelling differences between British and American English. Later, time, date, quotation, title writing patterns and punctuation overall were observed in the same texts on the websites. Possible vocabulary differences were also taken into consideration.

3 Differences between British and American English

English used in the United States of America and Britain is the same in almost all respects. Differences between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE) mainly occur in pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary. There are also some differences in written grammar, but they are fewer (Trudgill and Hannah 2013: 59). Some of the American versions of those few grammar points that are different from the British variant are often regarded by traditional grammarians as non-standard and can most frequently be observed in spoken interaction or informal writing, e.g. the use of the past simple in AmE where BrE requires the present perfect (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 887). Usually, grammatical differences are "differences of degree rather than of kind" (ibid: 880). They include a relatively infrequent use of *shall, must, had better, have got to,* interrogative tags or plural verb concord with collective nouns in American English where they are expected in standard British English (ibid: 880-888). More obvious grammatical differences between British and American English occur in the forms of verbs. For example, verbs like *learn, burn and dream* will take the regular past participle ending *–ed* in AmE *(learned, burned, dreamed)*, but in the British variant these verbs are regarded as irregular and take the *–t* ending (*learnt, burnt, dreamt)*(Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002: 463).

Differences in spelling are most clearly visible in a text. Those to be noted here include the British *–our (colour, flavour, labour)* vs. the American *–or (color, flavor, labor)*; the British *–re (centre, fibre, theatre)* vs. the American *–er (center, fiber, theater)*; the British *–ce* for nouns *practice* and *licence* and *–se* for verbs *practise* and *license* vs. the American *–se* for both nouns and verbs; the British double *–ll–* in verb forms like *fuelled* and *travelled* vs. the American single *–l–* in *fueled* and *traveled*; the British *–ae–* and *–oe– (paediatric, manoeuvre)* vs. the

American *–e– (pediatric, maneuver)*, etc. (Thompson 1995: 1658-1660; Lopez Rua 2010: 81-85). Of special note is the ending *–ise/–ize* or *–yse/–yze*. British English allows variants with both *–ise* and *–ize (organise/organize, recognise/recognize)*; meanwhile, such words are spelt only with *–ize* in AmE *(organize, recognize)*. Verbs spelt with *–yse* in BrE *(analyse, paralyse)* are also always spelt with *–yze* in AmE *(analyze, paralyze)* (Thompson 1995: 1660).

Different punctuation patterns in BrE and AmE cover titles, dates, time, quotations and the final comma before *and* in lists, otherwise known as Oxford comma (Garner 2009; Ritter 2002: 121). On the other hand, the major problem with punctuation in texts written in English by Lithuanians lies in the fact that they tend to transfer Lithuanian punctuation to texts, which they write in or translate to English. Some of such inadequacies result in major mistakes, contributing to an overall poor quality of a text or to the ambiguity of meaning. Many texts completely ignore the variant of English in this respect; instead, the Lithuanian date writing format can often be observed. On the other hand, date writing is extremely important and might cause ambiguity if the variant is chosen inappropriately, e.g. the British format in a text written in American English or vice versa.

What concerns vocabulary differences between British and American English, the numbers of different lexical items are estimated by some researchers and lexicographers to be quite extensive (Kovecses 2000: 142). Lexical items that pertain to AmE are either new American coinages or "new uses of already existing English words" (ibid: 139). They cover different domains from food, shopping and transportation to finances, newspapers and education (Davies 2007).

The tradition in Lithuania, like in the European Union, is to use the British standard when writing in or translating to English. British English is the variant which is supposed to be taught at schools and universities. There are no clear and strict indications to teachers of English on which variant of English has to be taught, although some recommendations to use British textbooks do exist. Thus, schoolchildren and students are introduced to other varieties of English but are usually traditionally taught the British standard. Due to globalisation, the influence of the American culture and language in Lithuania cannot be denied. Researchers argue that English spoken in the whole Europe is greatly influenced by the American variety (Modiano 2007). Taking into consideration the fact of English as a lingua franca across the world and the recent trend in teaching to communicate successfully, not native like (Grzega 2005: 44), learners of English in Lithuania, or any other non-English speaking country, are not expected to strictly stick to British English, be it preferred at schools and universities. However, written language, especially institutional language, raises higher requirements than just the criterion of clear comprehension of communication.

Professional language users, and especially translators, should be more than aware of the differences between varieties of English and should follow the variant requested by a client. This is especially important in some, if not all, the registers of language.

The institutional register, defined as the language of business, legal, diplomatic, military and other documents and being one of the strictest and most conventional and complex, requires the language to be highly accurate, ambiguity-free and devoid of any inadequacies or inconsistencies (Vladarskienė 2006: 44; Kniūkšta 2005: 41; Biber 2006: 50). Therefore, whatever the medium, texts, and consequently their translations, should be flawless and consistent. This also applies to the variant of English used. Many style manuals for writers, translators and editors exist. Some of them concern big institutions like those of the European Union, where a few style guides have been published to assist professionals in drafting various documents, e.g. *English Style Guide: A handbook for authors and translators in the European Commission* or *How to write clearly*, both freely available online. Other style manuals pertain to a specific field, e.g. *AMA Manual of Style* meant for those in medical and scientific publishing. Besides, some smaller institutions decide themselves on certain formal requirements, or the house style, of documents published in traditional and new media.

The level of formality of the journalistic register is lower and the linguistic constraints are more flexible. Clarity and accuracy of language are important, but the main aim is communicative, i.e. to report "with as little bias as possible" (Biber and Conrad 2009: 110). Therefore, reporters and journalists are not severely limited to stick to conventional writing rules, although certain house style requirements do exist in world-famous newspapers and news portals, e.g. *The Guardian and Observer Style Guide*.

The technical language is again more conventional and static, depending on the sphere, medium (written, spoken, Internet) and purpose (descriptive, instructive or directive) of text (Russ 2005: 37). Technical writing may demonstrate many features of the standard variety. From the point of view of formality, the language of textbooks and instructions is similar to that of research articles and tutorials or manuals. On the other hand, an article in a popular science magazine resembles any other article in a newspaper or magazine. Either way, technical language does not allow ambiguity of expression (Sharma 2004: 89).

Thus, there are no clear-cut boundaries between the registers of language and typical features of one register might be present in texts of supposedly-another register. In the present study, the language of new media is on the focus. Features of all the registers intermingle in new media texts depending on the topic and purpose.

In this particular study, the language of texts on three different types of websites is analysed: websites of official institutions (pertaining to the institutional register), a news portal (more clearly pertaining to the journalistic register) and business websites (the technical language). What can be stated here is the fact that the task of translation of a text for a website sets some requirements for the translator like sticking to the rules and requests of a client and following the formality level because of the purpose, which is to inform (and to persuade to buy or use in case of business websites). Therefore, translation of texts for these particular types of websites is, of course, institutional translation. According to Mossop, translation inside an institution is institutional translation, whatever the institution, and institutionality is a central characteristic of written translation (1988: 69). The types of websites analysed here are obviously all institutional websites. Koskinen goes on further to say that institutional translation occurs when official institutions use translation as the means to address a group of people (2008: 22). Therefore, it needs to be stated here that the language used on such websites as analysed here should be free of grammatical errors and lexical inaccuracies as well as should meet the formality requirements since the target audience is extremely huge and versatile. On the other hand, a website of an institution might be one way to uphold the prestige of the institution and the language used on a website is one of perfect tools, if it is right in the content as well as clear and flawless in expression. The level of formality on all the 3 different types of websites analysed should be more or less equally high. The language on institutional websites might demonstrate a slightly greater level of formality. Consistent use of the same variant of English, of course, depends on the translator. In the case of a news portal, the number of text producers translating from Lithuanian to English or writing in English might be greater than in the case of a website of an institution. It all depends on the size of an institution and the amounts of text produced for the public use, i.e. put on a website.

4 Results

The results of the study undertaken were in part different from what had been expected. Figure 1 summarises the results of the analysis of 120 articles published on 3 institutional websites and demonstrates the proportion of texts containing instances of British and American English.

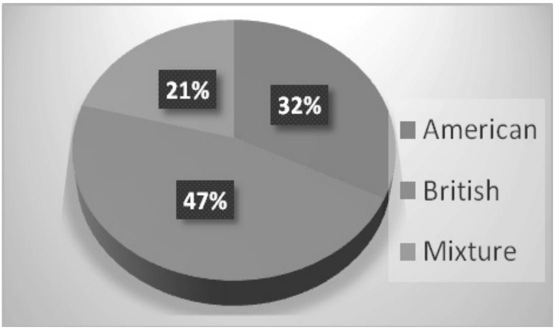

Figure 1: Proportions of texts demonstrating variants of English on institutional websites

As it can be inferred from Figure 1, half of the texts were consistently produced in the British variant and approximately one-third of the texts demonstrated the American variety. One-fifth of the texts were found to be inconsistent from the point of view of the variant of English used. The majority of the texts which were found to be inconsistent had some words spelt as British English (*programme* or *colour*) and some as American (*recognize* or *theater*). Some texts were extremely carelessly written since, for example, there were the same words spelt differently in one and the same text: *realise* with *–s* in one line and with *–z* in another. Besides, the American use of the final comma before *and* in lists was observed in a few cases where the text was exceptionally British in spelling. The results were unexpected since the consideration is that the websites of universities should be flawless, or at least consistent. An official institution might decide upon which variant to follow in all the texts produced on behalf of its name. Be that as it may, the results for separate websites did not demonstrate any clear tendencies as to the use of English. Except for one website with the majority of texts demonstrating the British variety, texts on the other 2 websites were not overwhelmingly British or American oriented.

For the same purposes, 120 articles were studied on a news portal (see Figure 2). Again, like on institutional websites, the British variant was consistently used in approximately half of the texts and the American variety in approximately one-third of the texts. Inconsistent use of the variants of English was observed in one-fourth of the texts.

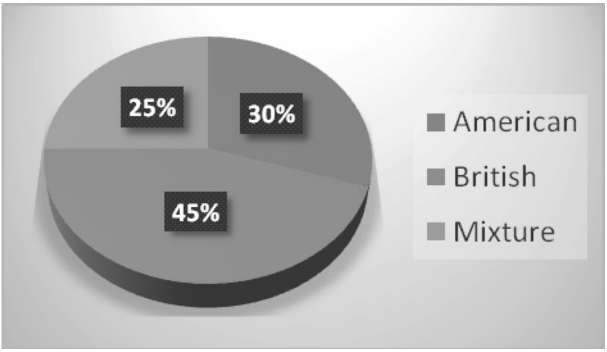

Figure 2: Proportions of texts demonstrating variants of English on a news portal

The results of the analysis of the news texts are not so striking. The journalistic register allows for more diversity and its primary goal is not to be as accurate in linguistic expression as expedient and immediate in getting the piece of news out. Thus, it is apparent why some articles are in British and some in American English. The texts, or translations, are produced by a number of journalists and, definitely, not by one translator. Yet, inconsistency, or the use of both varieties in one and the same text, is not easy to understand and explain.

In terms of business websites, a greater amount of text (135 articles) was analysed since the texts tended to be short in comparison with those on institutional websites and the news portal. The results are generalised in Figure 3.

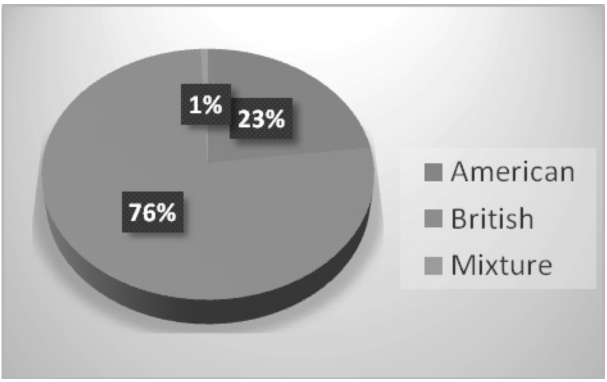

Figure 3: Proportions of texts demonstrating variants of English on business websites

The results of the analysis turned out to be unpredicted. The British variant was dominant: approximately three-fourths of the texts analysed were produced in consistent BrE. Inconsistency in the variant of English used, i.e., a mixture of both BrE and AmE, was extremely rare and was observed only in a few texts. This phenomenon might be explained by the fact that the texts on business websites tend to be short. The majority of the texts analysed were from 50 to 350 words only, which might be an insufficient amount of text for the instances of inconsistency to appear. Thus, more data need to be analysed in order to confirm or reject the concluding remarks as to the consistent use of the English variety on business websites.

4 Conclusions

On the basis of the results obtained and data analysed, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- British English prevails over American English in all the three different types of websites. This seems to be natural as the tradition in Lithuania to use and learn the British standard is deep.
- Inconsistency in the variant of English used is most frequent in the texts of the journalistic register. This might be related to the fact that the level of formality and, consequently, the constraints on the language produced most probably are lower in comparison with other registers analysed here. On the other hand, the texts tend to be longer (from 100 to as many as 1000 words or even more), which is a sufficient amount of text for the instances of 2 varieties to appear in the same article. Inconsistency in the variant used does not cause any comprehension problems and, since the immediate goals of news websites are other than just accurateness of linguistic expression, the issue is most probably ignored as being of lower importance.

The most consistent texts from the point of view of the variant of English used are those on business websites. This is most probably because the texts tend to be short and, for this reason, the possibilities for instances of two different varieties to appear in the same text are limited. However, a broader and more thorough study needs to be undertaken to completely confirm this conclusion.

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COGNITIVE-ONTOLOGICAL APPROACH TO METAPHOR

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Abstract
The cognitive approach considers metaphor but there are no researches explaining the genesis of metaphor as mental phenomenon. Cognitive-ontological approach to the study of formation of metaphor makes it possible. Three ontological systems (human consciousness, world, language) are considered; initially these were not separated. In process of partial division between them some "nuclear" ideas have appeared (interference, authenticity, semblant). They were basic for some cognitive mechanisms. Metaphor developed from mythological metaphor and mythological image. Mythological metaphor was different from modern metaphor. It was the first stage in metaphor developing. It is considered as a piece of mythological image represented in language and it had no function of free comparison of different objects. Mythological metaphor transformed when mythological image ruined.

Key words
consciousness, cognitive poetics, mythological metaphor, mythological image, ontological system

The research has been conducted with the financial support from the Council for Grants under the President of the Russian Federation (МД-181.2014.6).

1 Introduction

For a long time metaphor is the subject of research in the scientific papers related to different areas of philology, but it is too early to present a complete study of this phenomenon. The cognitive approach to the study of metaphors at the present stage of development of philology makes it possible to obtain new scientific results. The advantage of this approach is that in the view of metaphor as a universal property of human thought, metaphor is treated as a global mechanism of creative conceptualization of the world which is much wider than the study of metaphor as a figure of speech. A number of fundamental cognitive theories have already created. These theories shed light on the mental foundations of metaphor. First of all, they are the classic work by J. Lakoff (1999), M. Johnson (1999), M. Turner (1996, 2002), J. Fauconnier (2002) and others. Current trends in the study of this phenomenon are focused on the study of metaphors in different types of discourse and in laboratory studies, where there is the ability to monitor mental and neurobiological processes in the interpretation of metaphorical value. Rallying point for these works is that the metaphor is analyzed as a given object, something that exists in a complete form, with a particular mechanism of formation. There is no answer the question of whether the metaphor was going through some evolutionary stages in the mental or linguistic levels. In some studies we find, in particular, the assumption that "the 'thought' of the subject (tenor) and the 'thought' of the item for association (vehicle) which in their meaningful action together determine psychologically the appearance and sense of a metaphor" (Osborn Ehninger 1962: 228). This statement is worth mentioning because today metaphor is studied in terms of *tenor* and *vehicle*. Although this statement refers to mentioned problem, it does not clear up the question of the genesis of the metaphor, due to the two concepts are not necessarily connected to metaphorical links, this mechanism is only applicable to them. Metaphor can be considered as an instrument of sense forming (including artistic and poetic sense) at the linguistic (textual) level. At the mental-linguistic level metaphor is not only the mechanism but the result of the work of this mechanism. Moreover, the basis for metaphorical transfer is similarity. Other figures of speech, e.g. comparison, are often hybrid forms which are formed on the ground of metaphorical transferal. Consequently, the symbol as a static sign may occur on the basis of metaphorical connections. Metaphor, in this case, is a mechanism of symbolization. Obviously, the metaphor plays a key role in fixation, structuring, restructuring and representation of experience, especially artistic and aesthetic experience.

In our opinion, the tools of cognitive science can help to investigate the problem of the genesis of metaphor and other cognitive mechanisms, to answer the question of whether the metaphor was going through some evolutionary stages in the mental or linguistic levels, and to explore the preconditions of its formation.

2 Cognitive-ontological approach to metaphor

In this article the cognitive-ontological approach (Maslova 2013: 49-56) to the study of formation of metaphor as cognitive mechanism is offered. Cognitive study of the genesis of metaphor implemented with the involvement of the historical material in the form of literary works, mythological and folkloric texts, literature, as well as theoretical papers containing the results of the analysis of these texts. The main theoretical bases for the current research are papers of Russian scientists Freudenberg O.M. (1979) and Veselovskij A.N. (1989), where ancient and folkloric texts were investigated in the field of historical poetics. The special value of this material is that it provides an analysis of the texts, which was created without previous literary tradition and patterns in contrast to the medieval or modern national literatures.

Considering the early man and his consciousness we mean prehistoric period, Mesolithic period, Neolithic age, early-classed civilizations and ancient civilizations. We claim that the development of complexity of mental structures has occurred in the conditions of the prehistoric consciousness, which is significantly different from the modern consciousness. Early man “has a very conditional system of understandings of objective reality … His shaped concrete representations are far from the ability to generalize objects, but he can distinguish objects schematically, without particulars … he identifies process and thing, thing and its properties” (Freudenberg 1979: 16). This fact let us suggest that the preconditions for the emerging of metaphor existed in the earliest stages of the development of human consciousness and this issue is due to ontological problem.

2.1 Ontological systems

The study of mental structures through the language, especially if it is artistic and poetic language, is impossible to carry out without the emphasis on the fact that we are dealing with the synthesis of objects with different nature, belonging to different ontologies or ontological systems. In philosophy ontology is a doctrine of being. Hence, ontological system can be defined as a certain fragment (area, domain) of the real or abstract world, ordered collection of objects/concepts that are presented in a similar manner and have the uniformity of their interpretation. It is necessary make a difference between three ontological systems: the ontology of the world, the ontology of human being, the ontology of language. There is an ontological synthesis in any statement, text, literature or poetry.

Cognitive linguistics studies language at the junction of three ontological systems –*system of the human consciousness, system of the world, system of language*. Every system has its own objects and the ways of organizing them. We claim that the prehistoric consciousness developing was closely related to these systems. Analysis of historical data (such as works in historical poetics) leads us to the conclusion that these ontological systems were not initially separated. Metaphor, along with many other phenomena, was the result of the process of separation between ontological systems, and the relationship between them.

Investigating the genesis of metaphor in terms of ontological systems, it is necessary to emphasize that initially the human being was conjoint with cosmos, nature and animals, and later – with flora. The spoken word was a totem. Person was not immediately brought into focus of his own perception. Human consciousness organized an imaginary world with the help of real-life forms, and there the main mental unit of human knowledge became a *mythological image*.

2.2 Mythological image and mythological metaphor

Mythological image was the projection of human conceptualization of the real world. Mythological image is concrete; it captures a special indiscrete perception of the world due to indivisibility ontological systems. Mythological image is a union of arbitrary objects of varying degrees of abstraction, where the main form of connection is identification. For instance, Homer used the expressions 'iron sky', 'iron heart' because the sky, the man and the heart of the man seemed to be of the iron in the myth. Mythological image begins in ancient age as the lowest form of thinking, and ends in the form of poetic image – as the highest one. In the mythological image the cognizer is not separated from the cognizable, phenomenon is not separated from its features. It is important fact because 'transferring' of features becomes possible only at a stage when there is a destruction of the complexity of perceptions, twofold polarity splits on the contrary: the characteristics are separating from the phenomena, and the cognizer – from the cognizable. It is also the process of separation of the ontological system of human consciousness and ontological system of language from ontological system of the world.

According to the modern classifications this kind of image can be defined as *Gestalt,* integral image-schematic concept. Mythological image is represented in the form of mythological metaphor, which is fundamentally different from the traditional concept of metaphor, as a mythological metaphor has no function 'transferring' (Freudenberg 1979: 48). Mythological metaphor is narrowed and concretized mythological image in different varieties.

Mythological metaphor is not the same as modern metaphor. Fundamentally, mythological metaphor is a fragment of mythological image, which is represented in the language. This relationship is specified in the representation of the mythological image; in this case, mythological metaphor has no function of the free comparison of different objects that can be observed in using of contemporary metaphor.

Mythological metaphor as a fact of thinking is wider of any literature; it is extrinsic in any particular culture, such as antique one. Therefore, mythological metaphors can be found in different cultures and literatures. For example, in Norse literature a kind of metaphorical word – *kenning* (The Elder Edda 2011) – was used. Kenning is a substitution of an ordinary noun for two nouns, the second of which determines the first one (sea horse – the ship). Formally, the 'sea horse' looks like metaphor. The main feature of Edda's kenning that it was not invented while composing the work and it was taken up example-based tradition.

Kenning, which contains metaphor, can be classified as a mythological metaphor, because it expresses the shared knowledge, and this metaphor did not have free transfer function, it relied on the juxtaposition of phenomena.

For example, *konung* was described as 'distributor of the rings' because he was handing out gold. Kenning fixed the traditional images, dating back to the era of the German community. The transfer function was largely standardized and concretized, and people could not freely transfer quality, capability from one object to another, as it is being done now. It was a significant factor in understanding the development of metaphor. The transferring mechanism began to emerge precisely in ancient literature and, in most cases, it relied on concrete basis. For instance, the phrase 'golden sun' goes back to the mythological image, when the sun was really gold (in comprehension of people), although it is a metaphor, but it is based on a concrete image (Freudenberg 1978: 199).

When the mythological image as the main form of perception of reality was destroyed, mythological metaphor transformed. It got the function of free comparison of two objects with respect to some common base. Thus, the mythological image as a cognitive category is replaced other cognitive mechanism – metaphor. Today, the term 'mythological image' exists primarily in theory and history of literature and it means the shape, which is in unity with its content.

Analysis of the texts shows that mythological metaphor is not used as a cognitive mechanism at present days. Nevertheless, there are ancient metaphorical models in modern poetry that date back to the ancient mythological metaphors which were recorded in the language. These models are used as the basis for a paradigm of poetic images and 'author's' metaphors in poetry.

For example, in ancient times there was a metaphor of gold as a dragon bed. Through the following poems can be seen as the mythological metaphors related to dragons and their constant attribute – gold exist in modern poetry.

(1) Dragon young, dragon bold. / By my kind I am told, / to protect those weak and old. / Call me a mighty dragon gold (Amanda (Angelegnus).

(2) Something in the dark came alive tonight / A dragon of some sort, made its way into the light / Green and shiny / Long and windy / Eyes of gold / Truth untold» (Douglas Welty).

Therefore, we can conclude that the mythological metaphor was the initial stage in the development of metaphors as cognitive mechanism of formation of meaning. Results of mythological perception of the world, reflected in the mythological metaphors, exist in the form of metaphorical poetic paradigms, and they are the source for new 'author's' metaphors.

In our opinion, the modern metaphor is the result of the division of mythological image and mythological metaphor. Mythological metaphor was, in some way, the foundation for the development of modern metaphors. From this point began the development of transferring function and the development of creative thinking. If we assume that the mythological image is artistic reflection of ideas of the ancient folklore and legends, it is logical that the mythological metaphor (without transferring function) is the next stage of the mythological image transformation. Development of transferring function becomes the basis of conveying sense by using metaphors.

Studying the phenomenon of metaphor includes consideration of all aspects of the metaphor as a linguistic and mental mechanism, division of linguistic and artistic metaphor. However, the complexity of modern metaphor originates in mythological metaphor, which had the ability to capture the mythological image. So, image customized and transmitted through language. Mythological metaphor fixed relation between objects, which were very specific and generalized at first. In the development of this process it has become a metaphor extended to objects which were not related to a single mythological image.

Mythological metaphor captures the primary connection which was set by human being in the world. Once separated from the mythological image, metaphor began to exist independently of it, and at the same time it sharpened the specifics of the two other important mechanisms for the meaning transferring. Symbol and metonymy, as well as metaphor, are very close to the mythological image and they are its derivatives. This alliance is formed to convey meaning, which relies on two types of human mental activity: mythopoetic and discursive logical thinking (Cassirer 2008). Symbol, metaphor and metonymy came in this union. Graduation of these cognitive mechanisms should be placed in that order, as follows from the logical conclusions, based on the history of the art and research of metaphor development.

Symbol is a replacement without transferring (dove is peace, rose is love). Symbol existed in the period before metaphor when one symbolized another (the sun – God, God – the falcon, falcon – the sun, which is already synonymous with the concept ‘God’). Mythological metaphor is based on symbol and we can see its tendency to the substitution, but not to the transferring.

Modern metaphor is freer in the structuring of knowledge. This is reflected in the fact that modern metaphor can connect objects which are distant from each other. Nevertheless, modern metaphor has restrictions on cultural, linguistic and poetic manner. The cultural background restricts the freedom of the poet and the language in which he writes.

Modern metaphor is always polysemic, it has perspective through infinity comparisons of objects, and it is capable of delivering unique individual knowledge. Mythological metaphor is limited in its cognitive capabilities, as does not have the artistic freedom, which is in the metaphors of modern people. For example, for the mythological consciousness it was usual to represent death in the form of an old woman. In modern poetry, this image evolved and transformed, it is used more freely in our days:

(3) In the black mirror / a woman’s trying to erase names (Y. Komunyakka).

Modern and mythological metaphors have different cognitive potential. Mythological metaphor represented knowledge and was closely connected with mythological image. It contained shared knowledge and it was an early step in the formation of cognitive mechanisms of the sense formation, one of which is modern metaphor. Modern metaphor operates in different spheres of human activity, and performs as function of fixing the collective knowledge as function of representation of individual unshared knowledge. At that, mythological metaphor completely rejected – the traces are formed in the ancient metaphorical models are found in poetry and serve for the development of modern image paradigms nowadays.

Mythological metaphor demonstrates the direct coupling of two objects, one of which is necessarily (concrete). Thus, death is metaphorically represented in the form of the ‘fathers’, of the ‘old’, life – ‘children’, ‘young’. Modern metaphor development is related to forming the idea about ‘transferring’. How was this process?

The evolutionary process shows a close relationship between the development of conceptual and artistic forms of human consciousness. Metaphor development began with the transferring of specific meanings in abstract ones and it completed as transformation of metaphor in figure of speech.

However, the artistic image and its ‘metaphorical’ nature related not only to the learning of abstractedness through sentient experience, but forming the concept of ‘transferal’. Separation between three ontological systems was inevitably accompanied by the establishment of relations between them. These relationships were organized on the principle of interaction between reality and illusion (seeming).

Initially, for early consciousness the sky and the underworld were united. It was also believed that every creature, every object has its counterpart, and all phenomena perceived in the form of two identical opposites as a whole. With the collapse of duality caused by the formation of concepts, this duality phenomena falls into a genuine one and a copy, having only external features of the phenomenon, but not its essence. It was the beginning of forming the idea about authenticity and semblant (illusion). The relationship between authenticity and illusion also became the basis of the relationship between the ontological systems of the world, human consciousness, and language.

Separation of the world thinking (Freudenberg 1979) has been associated with the processes of utmost importance. ‘Seeming’ initially was the object of external human consciousness and then it has become a category of imagination. ‘Visibility’ became not physical but mental phenomenon. This is an extremely important fact for the development of ontology of human consciousness. Ontological system of human consciousness and ontological system of the world was in the same relationship as authenticity and semblant, reality and illusion.

Developing of ontological systems in this context let us to come to the conclusion that the formation of creative consciousness is connected with the idea of mimesis (Freudenberg 1979: 185). The first meaning of this term was ‘imitation of reality in reality’, and then became the imitation of reality in the imagination, illusory reflection of real phenomena. Art (arts and crafts) began with the construction of the ‘image’ of the world, consciously illusory in itself. In imagination this image fitted in with all the visible forms of reality. In the mature art resembling of image was aimed at the hidden side effects, unseen. Image tended not to accuracy but to the representation of the hidden features of the phenomena and interpretation. Image concreteness became an allegory and got abstract features; insensibility to qualities and details transformed into selection of monolithic qualities, space perception developed to the moment of movement from cause to effect (stipulation replaces tautology). These were the conditions for forming of metaphor which was not yet a stylistic figure but already a cognitive mechanism of thinking.

The fundamental difference of ancient and modern metaphors that modern consciousness is looking for logic, and even the author’s subjective logic becomes the basis for the transferring of attributes from one object to another. Therefore, in modern metaphor the third component appeared – the basis for the transferring, which was absent in the early metaphor. In contrast to the modern thinking, early thinking created a word without logical connection with its content.

3 Conclusion

The cognitive-ontological approach considers metaphor as a way of thinking and explains the genesis of metaphor as mental phenomenon and cognitive mechanism of sense forming. It gives the possibility to understand mechanisms of human thinking better.

Cognitive-ontological approach to the study of formation of metaphor as cognitive mechanism focuses on three ontological systems (system of the human consciousness, system of the world, system of the language) and the relations between them, because every statement is a synthesis these ontological elements. The main point in the metaphor formation is that these ontological systems were not initially separated in early human’s mind. In the process of partial division between three ontological systems some ‘nuclear’ ideas have appeared. Initial ‘nuclear’ ideas were the basis for appearing some cognitive mechanisms of sense forming and some general limitations and vectors of opening up the world and consciousness in general. These ideas are: *transferal, authenticity, semblant*.

On the ground of these ideas mythological metaphor appeared. Modern metaphor as one of the basic cognitive mechanisms developed from mythological metaphor and mythological image. Mythological metaphor was different from modern metaphor and it was the first stage in developing of this phenomenon. So, in cognitive-ontological aspect metaphor was one of the results of the process of partial division between three ontological systems and the way of interaction between them. This approach can clear the question about some evolutionary stages of metaphor formation at mental and linguistic levels.

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POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN BRITAIN

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Abstract
The aim of this paper is to examine the discourse of British political parties on national identity in the context of European integration. The mainstream national parties, Labour and the Conservatives, are the main focus of the analysis. It demonstrates that European integration has consistently represented a major division between political parties at the discourse level, even if the reality of European policy by alternating governments has been more continuous than rhetorical differences would imply.

Key words
political discourse, national identity, Britishness, integration, political parties

1 Introduction

Identity has permeated political debates throughout Europe since the end of the Second World War. Though taking place across Europe, it has taken divergent forms according to the unique history and traditions of every country. The contemporary public debate in Britain epitomises the unsettled nature of the definition of Britishness, as opposed to other, more easily delineated or less contested national identities in Europe. National identities develop more slowly than individual identities, and governments may find it challenging to alter popular perceptions of national identity.

Nations are perceived as mental constructs, or as imagined political communities. National identity is defined as the identity of an imagined political community, including the mutual sharing of symbols, memories, and a common political culture. It is a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes, a complex set of emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within a specific group of people, a complex set of similar behavioural dispositions, all of which are internalised through national socialisation. Imagined political communities utilise the traditions of a more or less legitimate past to produce their national identity and strengthen their members' attachment to the nation. National identities are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed, and destructed. National identities are not fully consistent, stable, and immutable. They are often defined as dynamic, fragile, vulnerable, and incoherent (Anderson, 1991).

Stuart Hall (1988) emphasises the role culture plays in the development of nations and national identities. He describes nations not only as political constructs, but also as systems of cultural representations, which helps the interpretation of an imagined political community. Hall claims that a nation is a symbolic community constructed discursively. He argues that a national culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which affect and regulate both the actions and the perceptions of political communities.

2 Politics and political discursive practices

Politics is viewed as a battle for power, between those who seek to defend and preserve their power and those who seek to confront it. It is also regarded as collaboration, as the conventions and institutions a society has for resolving clashes of interests over power, and freedom. At the micro level there are conflicts of interest, struggles for authority and efforts at collaboration between individuals, and between various social groups. At the macro level, there are political institutions of the state, which aim to settle conflicts of interest, and to defend the power of a dominant individual or a group. Such state institutions in democracy are protected in written constitutions, in civil and criminal legal codes, and in precedent practice. Parties and professional politicians are closely linked to these state institutions. These macro level institutions are categories of discourse, for example, parliamentary debates, constitutions, and laws. A significant criterion for analysts of political discourse is that the language is closely associated with culture, and that culture is combined with the practice of politics in a particular society.

There are two specific dimensions of political discursive practices. First, politics on the backstage; this entails investigating the daily tasks of politicians in national and transnational political institutions. Second, politics from the front stage; this is widely reported in political speeches, policy documents, and parliamentary debates. They form the backbone of research into political discourse and communication.

Discourses are conceived as a set of capabilities people have, as a set of socio-cultural resources used by people in the construction of meaning about their world, and their activities. They are authentic sets of capabilities whose presence is inferred from their realisations in activities, texts, and speeches. A discourse-historical approach can be used effectively to analyse discourses about nations and national identities. This approach aims to address the historical dimension of discursive acts in historical and political topics and texts and attempts to integrate all available information on the historical background and the original sources in which discursive events are embedded.

This paper focuses on discourse and the way politicians choose to utilise it to define and construct a vision of the world which gives meaning to Britain as a nation-state. It is therefore an analysis of the rhetoric of British identity. Political discourse is used to persuade voters and to give legitimacy to actors. These actors try to enforce an assertive discourse which conceptualises the environment in which voters find themselves. Political discourse contributes to giving meaning to the environment in which the nation needs to find a place for itself, which in contemporary Britain is markedly unsettled. The ideational dimension of political discourse is a prerequisite for governments to give an acceptable explanation for policy change; whereas the communicative dimension of political discourse seeks to gain support from voters by persuading them that their representation of reality is straightforward.

3 Britishness as political identity

This paper focuses on party political discourses on national identity in Britain from 1997 until 2010. It examines how the issue of Britishness has been used by the main political parties, Labour and the Conservative, at the turn of the twenty-first century, in order to activate appreciation among voters and to establish a vision of Britain in the context of European integration.

Britishness was a dynamic endeavour, after the 1707 Act of Union with Scotland, to entrench a common direction among England, Scotland, and Ireland through colonial expansion across the seas, in which the divergent nations participated and from which they benefited. Protestantism also played a determining role in unifying the country against a common enemy on the continent, and it forged a forceful sense of a common destiny. The industrial revolution was momentous in integrating the periphery of Britain. By 1900 the British were an exceptionally steady formation. However, the end of the Second World War marked the end of such idealised perception of a stable national identity. The loss of empire and the ensuing waves of immigration modified the social architecture of Britain. The relative political and economic enfeeblement of Britain in the world was accompanied by distressing questions over whether to support European integration. All this was impairing the conventional foundations of a special British identity. The mainstream political parties, Labour and the Conservative, had to handle the politics of decline (Gamble, 2003). These parties needed to readjust themselves ideologically to a strikingly different environment and attach a new meaning to their own party identity as well as to a common national citizenship. The Labour party achieved this by presenting itself as the party of the Welfare state and of the Commonwealth. It was both centralising and internationalist in the name of equality and solidarity. It tried to reinvent British identity as pluralistic, multi-national and multicultural, leaving aside European integration, which it aimed to oppose on ideological rather than identity terms. The Conservative party, which could no longer uphold the empire, protected the independence and unity of the nation while accepting economic liberalism. It attempted to enunciate British nationalism mostly as white, Anglo-centric, and Anglo-American. The approaches of the two main political parties to the political and social changes of the last forty years were hardly ideologically coherent when it came to constructing a new British vision. A salient feature of the last decades has been the unsettled, sometimes, conflicting discourses on the issues related to national identity.

3.1 Britishness and the European project

European integration has demonstrated a significant challenge to the British national identity. EU membership raised deeper questions than the simple economic issues. Advocates of membership who often emphasised the economic benefits of integration downplayed the constitutional implication of such membership. Europe raised more serious questions in the British political culture after 1945 than in continental countries for a number of immediate and long-term reasons. The way British identity was created in the 18th and early 19th century was hardly compatible with a permanent engagement with Europe (Colley, 1992). Though Britain never lost interest in the affairs of the continent, id did not plan to get involved more than was necessary to guarantee stability. Europe was perceived as a source of potential distress. For example, France and the Catholic Church were seen as the enemy in the Tudor age. France remained the main threat for Britain until the defeat of Napoleon, when it was superseded by Russia first, and then Germany, at the end of the nineteenth century. Reflections of this antagonism and above all mistrust could be found in the views of Margaret Thatcher, who complained after leaving power that all trouble for Britain had come from Europe historically, as opposed to America (Thatcher, 2013).

The role of institutions in the evolution of Britishness is also demonstrated in the attitudes towards European integration. Following the Glorious Revolution, the constitution was based on the merger of powers in the Crown-in-Parliament. The idea of a balance of power between the monarchy and the Commons and the invulnerability of individual freedoms were fundamental elements which allowed the British political system to evolve without revolution, as opposed to what happened on the continent in the course of the long 19th century. At the centre of the constitution was the principle of parliamentary sovereignty, i.e. the right to make or unmake any law whatever and that no person or body is recognised as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of parliament

(Dicey, 1885). Parliamentary sovereignty repudiates the legal principle that Community law takes precedence over national law, as has been invariably contested by opponents to British membership of the EU. This was never associated with political affiliation. For example, convinced socialists like Tony Benn disparaged entry into the EU on the grounds that it would threaten the sovereignty of Westminster in terms which were not different from those of Enoch Powell, whatever their differences of approach on everything else might have been (Benn, 1996). The supranational character of European integration was seen as essentially irreconcilable with the predominance of the Westminster Parliament.

Immediate reasons for some objection towards European integration in the late 1940s and 1950s were associated with victory in the war, the illusory endurance of the British Empire and the development of an outstanding relationship with the USA. British identity seemed unbroken at the time, and there was no clear-cut need to proceed to a radical redefinition of identity after 1945. British nationalism did not require embracing the European project. British political leaders continued to focus on national autonomy and identity; a highly centralised state structure, a pragmatic political culture, and the sovereignty of Parliament. They all served to fortify the fact that the UK fitted awkwardly into the governance structures of the EU.

The Conservative party was divided between two conventions in the context of European integration, personified in the late twentieth century by Heath and Thatcher. Thatcher represented the defence of the nation and of the union, whereas Heath felt more liberal about the sharing of sovereignty if the country could economically profit from it. He based his support for EU membership on a pragmatic evaluation of these advantages, not on a rudimentary reappraisal of British identity. However, he failed to pronounce a vision which would legitimise and defend an Europeanised British state. The Conservatives saw Europe as an adequate alternative to empire, the larger arena in which British leadership could be mobilised and British interest protected in the 1960s and 1970s; however after the 1980s they began to observe it as threat to the maintenance both of British sovereignty and national identity, and of the traditional liberal global order which Britain first created and then preserved it through its alliance with the United States.

The Labour party did not have such uncompromising position on the incompatibility of the British nation and Europe. Labour opponents to British participation often based their argument on the capitalist, economically liberal project that underpinned the EU, which they perceived as conflicting with building socialism in Britain. It was an ideological, rather than constitutional, opposition. An exception, apart from Tony Benn, was Hugh Gaitskell who, in his famous 1963 Labour conference speech prompted against the end of Britain as a sovereign country and the end of a thousand years of history should the UK join the EC. Otherwise, the arguments used by Labour leaders were mostly economic, as in the 1983 manifesto which promised to pull out from the EC because the rules of the Treaty of Rome were bound to conflict with the British strategy for economic growth and full employment (Labour Manifesto 1983). When Labour converted to Europe in the late 1980s, under Neil Kinnock and John Smith, it was mainly as a response to the Conservative government's policies, with the hope that the EC would protect British workers against Thatcher's social legislation. It was not about Britain's identity in Europe, even if they promoted the doctrine of economic and monetary union.

The level of identification with Europe has always been relatively low in the UK. In the 1980s, a decade when the EC was least unattractive in Britain, the British felt less European than any other nation among the then twelve member states. The acceptance of multiple identities, which is widespread at the national and sub-national levels in the UK, where one can define oneself as Scottish, or British, or Muslim, does not translate to the European level.

3.2 British party attitudes to European integration

British party attitudes have varied over the decades, the Labour leadership being at first mostly against membership of the EC before changing side in the late 1980s, while the Conservatives were broadly in favour of the EC between the 1960s and the 1980s and then they became increasingly concerned about its developments.

Tony Blair was elected as leader of the Labour party in 1994, a year after the Maastricht treaty had finally been ratified in Westminster, at a time when John Major was greatly trapped by the Eurosceptics in his own party and himself moving towards a more negative approach towards his European partners. The Labour party in opposition had become more pro-European under Kinnock and Smith, an inheritance that Blair was happy to accept as his own and follow for the 1997 general election. He did not notice any incompatibility between being British and being European. He planned to break with British isolation in the EU, which had been a result of Thatcher's and Major's approaches to the Community and become a leader in Europe without endangering his chances of electoral success. In the first years as Prime Minister, Blair disparaged the conventional vision most British politicians maintained of Europe and the mistakes of the past. He declared that British policy towards the rest of Europe had been labelled by bizarre misjudgements, hesitation, alienation, incomprehension (Blair, 2004). He believed that membership was not something to agonise about, certainly not something which threatened the identity of the nation. He stated that it was one element of a generous redefinition of Britishness, embedded in the concept of Cool Britannia, with its undertones of outward-looking, modern, secure nation. Yet this discourse, which was repeated over several speeches in the first years of the Blair premiership, was never actually translated into operative campaigning targeted at the general public in Britain.

Debates on the EU were largely neglected by Labour, whereas the Conservative discourse, publicised by the nationalist Eurosceptic press, chimed with widespread preconceptions about the nation. In its 2001 general election manifesto the Conservative party claimed that Labour promised a new bogus culture, Cool Britannia, in an attempt to replace the culture and identity which had shaped the British nation. William Hague's speech to the Conservative Spring conference in 2001 was an assault on pro-European British politicians. Interestingly enough, this populist outpouring allowed Hague to present himself as the future saviour of the British nation.

4 Conclusion

British political parties have failed to use a discourse on Europe which would enable the fusion of British and European identities. Although Blair followed quite triumphantly a policy of advocating British influence in the European Union between 1997 and 2007, he failed to persuade the British electorate that the EU was now closer to the traditional British conception of European cooperation; and this cooperation did not endanger Britishness. But the oft-repeated rhetoric of red lines, true British national interests, and leadership in Europe, did not modify the terms of debate on British and European political identities, and it actually reinforced the Conservative point. The failure to adopt the European single currency, in spite of a supposed Labour support for it, signalled that the British could not share a currency with the other Europeans and remained exceptional. Blair therefore failed to capitalise on his European achievements; his success in the domestic political scenes did not translate into support for his European policy at home and it did not generate a greater awareness among the British. Moreover, the government voice was hardly heard above the clamour of the Eurosceptic press, and it was easier to keep the subject away from the media than to engage in a public debate about British and European identities.

The Conservative leadership in opposition established Britishness in opposition to European integration. However, the European dimension of the threat became less salient in the leadership discourse under David Cameron. He was critical of the EU's failings, such as to reform the CAP, to implement the Lisbon strategy, to fight effectively against global poverty by removing barriers to trade, and advocated a more flexible EU, but he refrained from talking about Europe in identity terms.

European integration has consistently represented a major division between political parties at the discourse level, and the different party discourses remain very far apart, with the Conservatives seeing Britishness and European identity as incompatible, while Labour is comfortable with further European integration, though keenly aware of popular euroscepticism in the UK and therefore fairly defensive in its rhetoric about the EU. Discourses of political leaders, particularly those of David Cameron have promoted Britishness by stressing a common history, loyalty to national institutions such as the BBC, the monarchy, the armed forces, and values such as freedom, tolerance and equality, and fairness.

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SPEAKING SKILLS PRACTICE AT ESP INSTRUCTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS IN BRATISLAVA

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Abstract
The article describes communicative competences that undergraduates − future economists − should possess, and presents methods used in speaking skills practice at ESP seminars at the University of Economics in Bratislava. The target group are undergraduates at B2 and C1 levels of language competence. The autor sums up the situations in which an undergraduate may find himself/herself in an academic and professional setting as well, defines factors that may affect an undergraduate's ability to get involved successfully in verbal communication, and gives examples of exercises/tasks which simulate various situations and are applied successfully at ESP seminars. Opinions and attitudes expressed by the author are based on her vast teaching experience and direct observations made at ESP seminars conducted by the author. She has grounds for supposing that the intensity and scope of interpersonal communication among the younger generation is becoming narrow. Poor communication in Slovak as their mother tongue corelates with poor verbal communication in the target English language.

Key words
language competence, communicative competence, speaking, integrated skills, exercises

Teachers of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) taught at university level understand that language skills and communicative competence, and also the scope of adequate contextual preparation are essential for undergraduates studying Economic Sciences. Teachers know that they need to prepare their students for study opportunities abroad (at various foreign universities), student mobility or short-term attachments (work placements) with companies operating abroad, and finally equip the students adequately for their long-term professional future including such specific areas as business, management, finance, banking, investment, marketing, advertising, etc.

Globalisation and state-of-the-art Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have opened up a vast array of opportunities for world-wide contacts, the free movements (or mobilities) of students and workers between EU member states and worldwide; and at the same time they have accelerated the development of social interaction within large international academic and business community as well. In this context English (including ESP) is often presented as the 'lingua franca' of today's science, trade, communications, diplomacy, etc. as a result of globalization.

Social interaction creates various communicative situations, in which speaking plays a key role as an integral part of language and communicative competences of economics undergraduates and graduates, participants in this type of social interaction.

Undergraduates-future economists – as users of target ESP and participants in ESP communication often encounter language and communication barriers.

Their teachers are and should be a valuable help to break through these barriers in order to make their ESP communication good and effective. Various studies and research projects have been carried out which have been focused on language teaching at university level and university teachers' experience and they emphasize the fact that all four skills (e.i. speaking, listening, reading and writing) have to be integrated into ESP instruction. The undergraduates who responded to our questionnaires about their preferences concerning the above-mentioned skills have prioritized speaking and they rank it as the number one priority.

In teaching general English and at ESP instruction as well a process of complex integration of all 4 skills or a combination of the skills take place: e.g. one may use writing and speaking in combination; here are further possible combinations that might be applied by teachers in the teaching process: listening/speaking, reading/writing, listening/writing, reading/speaking, reading/writing/speaking, reading/writing/listening/speaking. Therefore, when a teacher designs tasks and formulates instructions to the tasks to be performed by students, he/she should integrate at least two skills in a situational, communicative context. On the basis of the author's long-term teaching practice and direct observations made at ESP seminars conducted by the author, we have grounds for supposing that the intensity and scope of interpersonal communication among the younger generation is becoming narrow. Poor communication has been recorded with users of Slovak as their native/mother tongue. As a result poor verbal communication in the target English language of the persons concerned is and has been affected as well.

The reasons to be considered and recognized by the author which may bring about such a situation include socio-psychological factors: the feeling of users of English as their second language that they are aware of their insuffient language competences in the English language as a whole, and the fact that they sometimes experience difficulty with the content of their communication (i.e. they do not know what and how to communicate). The above-mentioned factors cause that students demonstrate limited or low ability to communicate.

In view of this fact the content of our paper is focused on speaking skills practice at ESP instruction of undergraduates studying economics at the University of Economics in Bratislava who consider this skill to be the principal objective to be attained by them in their language learning and training for their future professional career as economists.

Undergraduates who during their studies at the University of Economics are obliged to complete the ESP course at B2 and C1 levels according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, have to be able to express themselves clearly and fluently in the target language and at the required level they also have to be able orally:

1) in the academic sphere and their professional careers:
   a) to interprete instructions, descriptions of procedures and diagrams properly;
   b) to explain the solutions to the problems that seem more or less complicated in a correct, logical and coherent way;
   c) to give relevant information in the time available;
   d) to interact effectively with other students in group-work settings;
   e) as a negotiator with a required level of language competence to conduct negotiations with business contacts;
   f) to argue convincingly to defend their views;
   g) to give a presentation which is adequately and well structured and contains means of language that correspond to academic and professional contexts;
   h) following examination instructions to react properly in an examination, to formulate ideas clearly and give short, technical answers;
   i) to follow TV and radio news on topics related to their field of study, specific subjects and academic interest, to analyse and report the news to the audience;
   j) to formulate ideas clearly and briefly and give questions with academic and professional contexts, and to respond to such questions adequately;
   k) to deliver a public speech to a large audience or to an individual client, etc.;
2) to express themselves in everyday, non-academic situations such as:
   a) looking for a job in an interview;
   b) attending formal and informal social events that take place;
   c) seeking health care;
   d) asking for various types of service, e.g. information, bank, office, hotel, air, postal, medical, etc.
   e) asking for information in person or on the telephone;
   f) socializing with other students, etc.

The role of a teacher as an organizer is crucial and unreplaceable in the process of speaking skills practice. In tasks formulated by the teacher, he/she:

a) creates, sets and simulates the real-life, social situations that are the most convenient for such practice and related to both the academic and professional spheres;
b) identifies types of skills that should be dominant in the practice;
c) considers the application of integrated skills (e.g. listening in combination with speaking), or applies complex integration of such skills as reading, listening and speaking, and social and academic skills as well;
d) identifies and defines language competences that should be incorporated into genres, and tasks or exercises to be done;
e) identifies genres through which students may acquire language and communicative competences;
f) determines the use/usage of languge (formal or informal) in communication, when he/she applies a particular genre;
g) identifies the most suitable type of task to be performed and determines the scope of such a task;
h) sets the time limit for the task to be completed.

At ESP seminars organized by the University of Economics teachers permanently try to increase the time devoted to speaking skills practice. At present the time devoted to this activity ranges from 25 to 30 minutes of the total amount of teaching time set per week: it represents 2 class hours (i.e. teaching units) with 1 class hour consisting of 45 minutes; de facto it is 90 minutes weekly altogether. In view of this fact, the teacher has to follow strictly the content of syllabuses and curriculi of accredited undegraduate courses; his/her flexible interventions into the content of language instruction in favour of verbal communication practice is limited by this factor.

We are aware of the fact that a relaxed atmosphere is important for effective practice of speaking skills because this is the very thing that influences spontaneity and naturalness of undergraduates' speech (verbal communication produced) to a large extent (to a high degree). Therefore, from the beginning of the language instruction we tactfully try within a seminar group:

a) to identify individual particularities of undergraduates;
b) to approach to undegraduates' assessments with caution and sensitiveness;
c) to correct undergraduates' mistakes caused by their insufficient knowledge of the target language and their low levels of language and communicative competences in the target language;
d) in a sensitive manner and gradually to intensify the demands made on undergraduates respecting their level of language competence when we formulate tasks;

e) to respect differences between students where undergraduates' spontaneity in verbal communication is concerned, etc.

When practising speaking skills undergraduates produce texts in the form of a monologue or dialogue at the required level of proficiency: B2 or C1. The texts produced by undergraduates have their specific pronunciation to which considerable attention is drawn as well. Pronunciation is corrected after the monologue or dialogue is delivered. Necessary corrections to the pronunciation are made after the text is finished. Various accents are tolerated unless the content of message communicated is affected.

When we design and construct exercises used for practising speaking skills in the target ESP, we are focused on:

a) amplification exercises

In such exercises the source monological, textual material is amplified. The task is performed by an undergraduate. He/She follows the plan determined and outlined by the teacher who may require of the undergraduate to use particular language models in the lines of a dialogue produced by him. This type of exercise we apply entirely at B2 level of proficiency.

Task 1: Enact the dialogue.
(Situation: account opening procedure at a bank; recommendations using second conditional "If I were you …")

A (client): I would like to establish a ………… account with your bank.
What steps to ……. ?
B: (bank clerk): If I were you ……………………………………………. .
……………………………………………………….... .
A: What documents ………………………………………… ?
B: If I were you ………………………………………… .

In Task 2 an undergraduate may extend the dialogue under the guidance of his teacher and add several lines to the original dialogue. Such activity allows undergraduates to realize their full potential, encourage and develop their creativity and independence as well.

Task 2: ***Enact the dialogue*.**

A: is blaming B for not developing a new marketing strategy in time,
B: apologizes, explains the reasons,
A: urges to hurry up and explains the reasons as well
B: ……………………………………………………………………..
A: …………………………………………………………………….

b) exercises in which separate texts are produced by the undergraduates

Such a text is independent from another text in terms of information provided and its language forms, and, as a rule, themes of monologues and dialogues designed by the teacher are limited by the teacher who composes them. The text enables an undergraduate to practice speaking, to speak himself freely on selected topics in the form of a monologue, or to participate individually in a dialogue as well. The extent of the text produced is determined by the teacher and depends on the level of proficiency reached by the user of the target language. At B2 level the extent is limited to 3 or maximum 5 sentences, at C1 level the extent ranges from 5 to 10 sentences. This type of exercise has become very popular with undergraduates although undergraduates as non-native speakers encounter great difficulty in expressing themselves freely in a foreign language, which is proven more troublesome than it is in their mother tongue. Apart from that, such an exercise motivates the undergraduates highly because it enables them to express their own opinions and attitudes to the maximum, and at the same time demonstrates their specialist knowledge of economics through/in the target language. Apparently the new generation enjoys the challenges of this type.

Task 3: ***Answer the following questions in 3 to 5 sentences.*** **(level B2)**
Answer the following questions in 5 to 10 sentences. **(level C1)**

1) What are the objectives or goals of environmental projects?
2) How can the government promote exports?
3) What are the most common ways of avoiding (paying) taxes?
4) What is the role of the government in the economy?
5) As an economist, what proposals would you make in order to create a large number of new jobs?
6) How would you feel about a foreign company taking over one of your country's leading companies?
7) What is competition?
8) What steps to take in order to open a business account?
9) How can job seekers find jobs?

Task 4: ***Prepare a brief speech or give a presentation (3 to 5 sentences).*** **(level B2)**
Prepare a brief speech or give a presentation (5 to 10 sentences). **(level C1)**

1) A profile of an ideal manager.
2) Factors influencing motivation of workers.
3) The role of trade unions in the society.

4) Our company's marketing strategy.
5) Our company's last year's advertising campaign.
6) Bank products offered by our bank.
7) The main elements of the market.

Task 5: ***Explain the following expressions in maximum two sentences.*** **(level B2 or C1)**

market leader – customer – natural monopoly – to bank one's salary – ATM – institutional advertising – Public Relations Officer – marketing plan – collective agreement – blue-collar – headhunter – nine-to-five job – board of directors

Task 6: ***What questions would you ask in order to acquire as much information as possible about ….. ?*** **(level B2 or C1)**

1) a company's structure
2) a job vacancy/position offered
3) a company's new product
4) duties of bank customers

Task 7: ***Explain using your own words. Give reasons.*** **(level B2 or C1)**

1) Packaging is "the silent salesperson".
2) Many management theorists stress the necessity of unions.
3) "Humans have a hierarchy of needs in their work that they satisfy in sequence." (Abraham Maslow)
4) "We must realize that we can no longer throw our wastes away because there is no "away"". (William T. Cahill, Republican Governor of New Jersey, 1971)

In Task 8 in the dialogue the first undergraduate responds with a factual answer to the lines of the second undergradute or a teacher. The dialogue may be extended according to the teacher's instructions.

Task 8: ***Work in a pair. Ask your colleague questions about*** **(level B2 or C1)**

1) bank products and services offered by a bank?
2) personal account opening procedure?
3) business account opening procedure?
4) bank cards issued by a bank?
5) use of ATMs?

A: What to do if I want to open an account with your bank? **(level B2)**

B: You should go to a bank and get as much information as possible. Find out the terms and conditions for opening an account. Produce necessary documents.

A: As a legal entity what should I do if I wanted to establish an account with your bank? **(level C1)**
B: You should try to get as much information as possible about the business account opening procedure. If I were you I would produce all documents required. I am sure you will be required to fill in a specimen signature form, to give the personal details of persons in charge, then to submit copies of the Certificate of Incorporation, the Memorandum and Articles of Association.

c) problem-solving exercises

Such exercises contain more or less complicated situations that an undergraduate-future economist may encounter and deal with in real life, or in professional and academic contexts. There is a close analogy between simulated situations described in exercises and those that may arise in a real-life setting. An undergraduate solves a particular, bigger or minor problem through the target language and means of language typical for the target language: he/she communicates with other undergraduates in selected situations (it is a case of interpersonal communication). This type of exercise a) helps to simulate and develop analytical, critical, independent and creative thinking of undergraduates, b) stimulates undergraduates' activities; c) enables undergraduates to apply their knowledge of economics in ESP teaching/learning; d) facilitates undergraduates' verbal communication in ESP; e) makes foreign language teaching more effective, and finally f) enables undergraduates to express their own opinions on and attitudes to various economic issues.

Task 9: ***Guessing game. One person in a group knows something that another persons want to find out. The persons guessing give questions to the person who knows what it is about: an object, a word, an activity, or something else.*** **(level B2)**

a) One person in your group chooses a job. Other persons try to find out what job he/she is thinking of. The persons guessing give questions to find a solution to the problem.

Task 10: ***Recommend in 3 sentences how to solve the following problem. Use different forms of recommendations.*** **(level B2)**
Recommend in 5 to 10 sentences how to solve the following problem. Use different forms of recommendations and give reasons/ arguments for the solutions proposed. **(level C1)**

a) I am responsible for advertising in our company. I have a limited advertising budget for this year's new advertising campaign. What should I do in order to run a successful advertising campaign? **(level B2)**
I am in charge of advertising in our company. I have a limited advertising budget approved for this year's new advertising campaign. How to find a solution to the problem in order to wage the campaign successfully despite the shortage of money? **(level C1)**

b) I want to establish a firm. What should I do? **(level B2)**
As a legal entity I want to establish a firm. I don´t know what steps to take in order to avoid problems. **(level C1)**

If language and communicative competences of the undergraduates have achieved C1 level of proficiency, we use such problem-solving exercises into which listening and speaking skills are integrated. In such a case exercises are composed in the following way:

Task 11: ***Listen to the recording carefully. Propose alternative solutions to the problems. Give reasons.*** **(level C1)**

In this paper we have presented teaching methods used in speaking skills practice in interaction context with other skills which are applied sucessfully at ESP seminars organized for undergraduates studying at the University of Economics in Bratislava. Language and communicative competences of the undergraduates are defined at B2 and C1 levels of proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Owing to these types of exercise an increased ability of the undergraduates to get involved in social interaction has been demonstrated. These are the results gained from the questionnaires filled in by the undergraduates. Respondents consider the teaching methods and exercises selected and used as a very effective way of improving their level of proficency in speaking at the end of the ESP course.

We/I express hope that the contribution presented will become a kind of guide for colleagues who teach ESP at universities and prepare non-language-specialists. It is believed that it may serve as an inspiration to them in practising speaking skills at B2 and C1 levels of proficiency in ESP.

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EMOTION AND OPINION IN BRITISH ONLINE NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract
Recently, linguistic descriptions of the expression of evaluative meaning in various genres have received a lot of attention (e.g. Bednarek, 2006; Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Martin & White, 2005). Drawing on Martin and White's Appraisal Theory, the present paper sets out to explore three questions: 1) What means do British online newspapers use to express attitude? 2) Do they convey predominantly opinion (i.e. appreciation or judgement) or emotional evaluation? 3) What differences (if any) are there in expressing attitude between tabloids and broadsheets? To answer these questions six articles from British online tabloids and six from broadsheets were analysed. The study has shown that the two types of newspapers differ mainly in the expression of emotion (affect), which constitutes the dominant subsystem of attitude.

Key words
emotion, opinion, evaluative language, graduation, attitude

1 Introduction

This article explores both tabloid and broadsheet online newspapers in terms of the extent and means of expressing evaluation/stance/appraisal. All these terms are widely used, more or less interchangeably: the term evaluation by Hunston (2000) or Bednarek (2006), stance by Conrad and Biber (2000), and appraisal by Martin (2000), and Martin and White (2005). This analysis draws on Martin and White's approach, viz. the Appraisal Theory, which was proposed by the Sydney school.

1.1 Dimensions of emotion and opinion

Evaluative language is a comprehensive feature that is not merely based on the presence, absence or frequency of evaluative lexis; other issues, such as collocational and grammatical patterns, play important roles in pursuing evaluation. In addition, it is context and society dependent: each society and individual perceives evaluation differently, which can make evaluation difficult to categorize. Put simply, although various parameters of evaluation can be identified, "evaluation is essentially one phenomenon rather than several, and […] the most basic parameter […] is the good-bad parameter" (Hunston, 2000: 25). In Martin and White's approach, adopted in this study, the main dimensions of the appraisal system are *emotion* and *opinion*, see Figure 1.

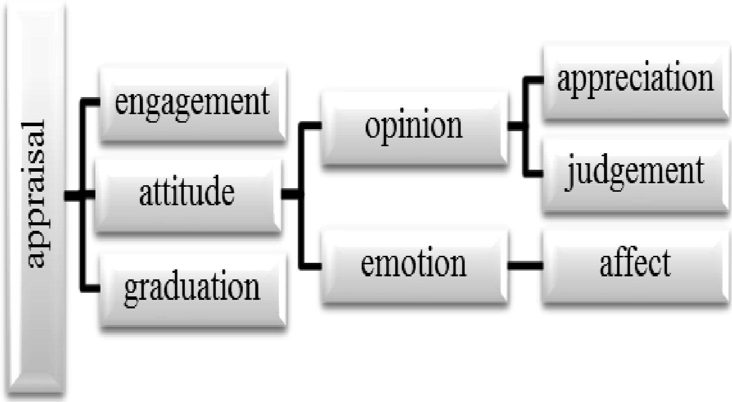

Figure 1: Martin and White's appraisal system (2005:38, adapted)

The dimension of *emotion* deals with people's feelings/affect and the means that are employed to express it. Martin and White further divide affect into un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction and dis/inclination. The dimension of *opinion* deals with judgement and appreciation. Judgement evaluates people's behaviour, attitudes, actions, while appreciation deals with the aesthetics issues/ phenomena. Similarly to affect, Martin and White divide judgement into normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity, and propriety categories. Appreciation, which evaluates aesthetics or phenomena, is divided into reaction, composition and valuation. These subcategories allow researchers realize more precisely what is evaluated and who evaluates what as this plays an important role in analysing attitude in context.

Martin and White do not focus only on the attitude dimension but include also engagement and graduation in their Appraisal Theory. Engagement deals with how attitude is transmitted from the writer/speaker to readers/hearers, and graduation amplifies or hedges attitude; graduation can be pursued by intensified lexis, repetition, metaphors, contrast, or a compilation of all. There are references to graduation and how it operates in context in section 3.

This paper focuses primarily on the domain of attitude, attempting to answer three questions 1) What means do British online newspapers use to express attitude? 2) Do they convey predominantly opinion (i.e. appreciation or judgement) or emotional evaluation? 3) What differences (if any) are there in expressing attitude between tabloids and broadsheets?

2 Materials and methods

As mentioned above, this comparative study is based on British daily online tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. The newspapers chosen are *The Sun*, *The Express*, and *The Mirror* for the tabloids, *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph* for the broadsheet. Two sub-corpora called Qatada and Baby, each comprising six articles, were created by downloading one article on the same issue on the same day from each online newspaper. This method should reduce topic-related differences between the individual newspapers to a minimum (cf. also Bednarek, 2006). The Qatada corpus represents news on Abu Qatada, a Muslim cleric, who is allegedly involved in terrorist action, and Britain cannot extradite him back to Jordan, where he is wanted, due to human rights considerations. The Baby corpus was downloaded on the day the British future king was born. In a simplified way, the Qatada sub-corpus can be seen as a corpus of “bad news”, while the Baby sub-corpus comprises “good news”. Table 1 represents quantitative characteristics of the corpus. Since the sub-corpora are not of the same size, normalized frequency (per 1,000 words) is used where the results from different sub-corpora are compared.

Sub-corpora	**Tabloids** (Σ words)	**Broadsheets** (Σ words)	**Total** (Σ words)
Qatada	2,129	2,108	4,237
Baby	2,936	2,298	5,234
Total	5,065	4,406	

Table 1: Quantitative characteristics of the corpus (total number of words)

Firstly, my corpus was manually analysed for expression of *opinion* and *emotion.* The word-class of the evaluative expressions was determined. Each potential evaluative lexical item was examined using the concordance software AntConc. Secondly, collocational and grammar patterns were identified for each evaluative dimension. Thanks to that, some more implicit discourse features of evaluation were also searched for and found. Thirdly, all the results were compared and conclusions made.

3 Analyses

Due to the fact that the number of words in each corpus differs slightly, Table 2 presents results of the analysis as normalized frequencies (calculated per 1,000 words).

Corpora	Category	Tabloids	Broadsheets
Qatada	**emotion**	16.9	8.1
	opinion	47.4	38.9
Baby	**emotion**	15.7	6.1
	opinion	16.0	9.6
Total		45.4	30.6

Table 2: Instances of attitude in the two broadsheet and tabloid sub-corpora (instances per 1,000 words)

3.1 Qatada corpus

3.1.1 Emotion

In the Qatada sub-corpus tabloids and broadsheets differ not only in the extent to which they express attitude but also in the means employed for the expression of emotion and opinion. The difference is particularly pronounced in the sphere of emotion, which is expressed 2.1 times more frequently in the tabloids than in the broadsheets (Table 2). Moreover, tabloids tend to rely on nouns and verbs to express emotion, while in broadsheets adjectives constitute the most frequent means (Table 3).

Qatada – emotion	**Tabloids**	**Broadsheets**
Adjectives	5	11
Nouns	15	4
Verbs	16	2
Qatada – opinion		
Adjectives	38	29
Nouns	26	34
Verbs	36	11

Table 3: The means of expressing attitude in the Qatada sub-corpus (number of tokens)

3.1.1.1 Adjectives

As table 3 shows there are differences in expressing attitude between the two kinds of newspapers, starting with the emotion dimension, we can see that the tabloids surprisingly do not employ as many adjectives as the broadsheets, which use twice as many of them (adjectives are considered the most evaluation-laden lexical means (Hunston & Sinclair, 2000)). Looking closely at the adjectives in both kinds of newspapers, it was found out that the tabloids use predominantly negative adjectives. The adjectives (types) used are *fed up, scared, angry,* and *determined.* These adjectives are typically connected with some form of graduation. A closer analysis discovers that, for example, the adjective *fed up* is already an intensified adjective and in the corpus is often pre-modified by the adverb extremely.

(1) *I'm living in fear: Ex-spy who helped track Abu Qatada* ***scared*** *hate preacher's followers want him dead.* (Q-Tab)

Further, graduation is also achieved by accumulation of evaluative expressions. In example 1, for instance, the co-occurrence of negative lexical expressions such as *fear*, *scared*, *hate preacher followers*, *want him dead,* intensifies the negative information. This negativity stands in contrast to the subject of the sentence, e.g. an *Ex-spy* who is considered a positive person in the context; this is an example of contrast created between a positive actor in a negative action. The composition of sentence aims to evoke negative attitude towards Abu Qatada, and again graduation is employed here.
The fact that the broadsheets make use of the same types of negative adjectives including the pre-modification as the tabloids is not that remarkable (see example 2), but the fact that they outnumber tabloids in tokens of adjectives is notable.

(2) *The Prime Minister has declared himself "**completely fed up**" with Abu Qatada as the radical cleric arrived home amid angry protests.* (Q-Broad)

Quite unexpectedly, the broadsheets use several positive adjectives *satisfied, relaxed, and happy*. Presumably, this is done do create contrast and imply negative meaning.

(3) *The controversial preacher looked* ***relaxed and happy*** *as….* (Q-Broad)

Example 3 shows that the controversial preacher (who is portrayed negatively in the articles) looked relaxed and happy, this phrase is an emotion-loaded phrase, as it evokes negative attitude towards the main actor Abu Qatada of the news. The reader asks him/herself, why this unwanted person is happy. In other words, this example does not show positive emotion (happy and relaxed), but is context-dependent and in reality it is perceived negatively.

3.1.1.2 Verbs

A remarkable fact is that verbs in the tabloids play the most important role in expressing emotion. There are sixteen tokens of verbs used in the tabloids compared to only two in the broadsheets. The verbs used are *fear, fume, want, get rid of, incite, vent, worry,* and *satisfy.* Most of the verbs carry negative meaning and do not appear in isolation; the emotion is further intensified by a co-play of intensifiers, evaluative nouns or adjectives, as shown in examples 4 and 5.

(4) *"It's bad news. Almost everybody* ***wants to see him back*** *in Jordan."* (Q-Tab)

(5) *'I'm living in fear': Ex-spy who helped track Abu Qatada scared hate preacher's followers* ***want him dead****.* (Q-Tab)

The verb *want* in Martin and White's Appraisal Theory falls into category of desire, presumably positive. But these two examples show that the verb, while considered as a positive verb in 4, can change into a negative one under the influence of context in 5. Therefore, again, it has to be noted that evaluative language is highly context-dependent and it is difficult to classify it based on individual lexis.

3.1.1.3 Nouns

The evaluative nouns used in the tabloids outnumber the nouns found in the broadsheets, which is surprising as the broadsheets are known for their nominalization style, and it was expected that the broadsheets would outnumber the tabloids. The only two types used in the broadsheets were *outrage* and *frustration.* The tabloids, on the other hand, employ the following noun types: *anger, hate, grudge, frustration, fear.* They are all of a negative nature. It is notable that the noun *hate* is the most frequently used evaluative noun in this corpus, but it is mainly used as a modifier in creating stereotyping naming (Chovanec, 2000), e.g. *preacher of* ***hate****,* ***hate*** *preacher's followers,* ***hate*** *preacher Qatada*.

After a close analysis, it was discovered that the noun *anger* seems to display a semantic preference for verbs indicating an increasing tendency (see examples 6, 7, 8).

(6) *The spotlight is back on him, and that alone could* ***trigger anger*** *among his followers.* (Q-Tab)

(7) *The case has* ***fuelled anger*** *over European human rights laws.* (Q-Tab)

(8) *He spoke as* ***anger grew*** *over the decision to allow Qatada to stay in Britain.* (Q-Tab)

3.1.2 Opinion

Table 3 shows the instances of opinion in both kinds of newspapers, compared to the emotion section; the most notable difference is in adjectives and nouns in both kinds of newspapers, the number of tokens increases also in verbs.

3.1.2.1 Adjectives

As mentioned above, the number of evaluative adjectives used in the news is high.

The number of attitudinal adjectives used in the tabloids is higher than in the broadsheets. It is notable that not only negative adjectives are employed, similarly to the emotion section, some adjectives are positive, such as *nice*, *comfortable*, *fair*. Again it is believed that such positive adjectives are used to create a contrast and, therefore, employ graduation. The adjectives *nice* and *comfortable* pre modify the nouns *house/home* (see examples 9, 10).

(9) *And the sight of angry protesters outside his* ***comfortable three-bedroom house*** *in north London caused him to break into a grin.* (Q-Tab)

(10) *Labourer Stephen Ellerton, 54, blasted: "We don't want terrorists in our community. Taxpayers are paying for him to stay in* ***a nice home****."* (Q-Tab)

Both of these examples show how contrast is exploited in news writing. The positive lexical expressions in bold are surrounded by a very negative context, which evokes negative feelings towards the main actor. In addition, it again proves the fact that a lexical expression cannot be categorized outside the context as the mentioned adjectives are positive but the overall evaluation is negative. Notably, the adjective *fair* is the most frequent adjective in broadsheets; it is used in connection with *a fair trial*, which Britain has to ensure for Abu Qatada, it contrasts with the negative opinion associated with Abu Qatada. Tabloids use the same strategy, albeit less frequently.

3.1.2.2 Verbs

There is a higher number of verbs used in the broadsheets to express opinion than in the emotion section. The most frequent is *get out*, followed by *ban*, *torture* and *warn*. Compared to the tabloids, the variety is relatively limited, as the tabloids also rely on informal language. For example, instead of *get out*, which is used in the broadsheets, the tabloids use *kick out*, *boot out*. Similarly to the broadsheets, the tabloids use the verb *ban* most frequently, but apart from this verb, they employ many different verbs that express attitude (see examples 11 and 12).

(11) *Terror suspect Abu Qatada* ***smirks*** *as he arrives home.* (Q-Tab)

(12) *HATE preacher Abu Qatada arrived back at his taxpayer-funded home yesterday after* ***mocking*** *British justice yet again.* (Q-Tab)

3.1.2.3 Nouns

Nouns are a group of lexical means that are numerously employed in the analysed news, both in the broadsheets and tabloids, where the frequency is slightly smaller. The most often repeated nouns in the broadsheets are *terror*, *terrorism*, *threat*, *torture*; this is an interesting fact as all these nouns contain the phoneme "r" which even increases the seriousness of the words (Reah, 1998).

(13) *The **terror** suspect was driven back to his north-west London home…* (Q-Broad)

(14) *He has no right to be there, we believe he is a **threat** to our country…* (Q-Broad)

The tabloids also use the nouns *terror*, *threat*, *torture*, but then they also employ nouns which are part of multiple word expressions, often informal, and do not carry inscribed seriousness. They rather point at the fact how the main actor Abu Qatada "plays" with Britain and the newspapers try to imply negative attitude towards the main actor (examples 15-17).

(15) *Smirking Abu Qatada has made **mugs** of us all.* (Q-Tab)

(16) *"The system is being made a **monkey** of."* (Q-Tab)

(17) *And the sight of angry protesters outside his comfortable three-bedroom house in north London caused him to break into **a grin.*** (Q-Tab)

3.2 Baby corpus

3.2.1 Emotion

As mentioned above, the Baby corpus was downloaded on the day the future king George was born. It was a positive piece of news and therefore the newspapers tried to convey positiveness in their news. Table 4 displays the quantitative results, which look interesting. Compared to the Qatada corpus the tabloids use notably more adjectives to express emotion, while the broadsheets use slightly fewer of them. Again the exploitation of verbs in tabloids is high compared to the broadsheets and, finally, the use of nouns is very low in both kinds of newspapers.

Baby – emotion	**Tabloids**	**Broadsheets**
Adjectives	29	7
Nouns	4	3
Verbs	13	4
Baby – opinion		
Adjectives	39	14
Nouns	4	4
Verbs	4	1

Table 4: The means of expressing attitude – Baby corpus (number of tokens)

3.2.1.1 Adjectives

The adjectives exploited in the tabloids were of a positive nature and there were several types of them, such as *delighted*, *proud, overjoyed*, *excited*, *thrilled*, *happier,* etc. Example 18 shows how extensively attitude can be expressed in one sentence. The expression in bold expresses emotion; in addition, it is intensified not only by the preceding pre-modifying adverb, but also by the coordination of two adjectives (an example of graduation), and also by the underlined expressions, the first two examples express opinion and the third expresses emotion. This again points at the fact the evaluative expressions in tabloid newspapers do not usually appear in isolation, they are often supported by other lexical means.

(18) *"Grandparenthood is <u>a unique moment</u> in anyone's life, as <u>countless kind people</u> have told me in recent months, so I am enormously **proud and happy** to be a grandfather for the first time and we are <u>eagerly looking forward to</u> seeing the baby in the near future."* (B-Tab)

The broadsheets use similar types of adjectives, but remarkably fewer tokens i.e. *delighted, happy, proud, grateful, proud.*

(19) *A Buckingham Palace spokesman said: "The Queen and Duke of Edinburgh are **delighted** at the news"* (B-Broad)

3.2.1.2 Verbs

Again a surprisingly high number of verbs were employed in the tabloids, the broadsheets use even more verbs to express emotion in this corpus than in the Qatada corpus, and all the verbs used in both types of newspapers convey positive attitude: *want*, *look forward to*, *wish*, *delight*, *hope, would like.*

3.2.2 Opinion

Looking at Table 4, it is clear that adjectives are the main means used to express positive opinion in this corpus. Other word classes are represented to a much lesser extent. Therefore, there is little nominalization used in both types of newspapers. Also verbs are not employed as much as in emotion in this corpus or in the whole Qatada corpus.

3.2.2.1 Adjectives

An interesting difference between the tabloids and broadsheets is the fact that tabloids use adjectives mainly as pre-modifiers of nouns referring to people and situations that are connected with the newborn baby (see example 20). The broadsheets, on the other hand, do not focus that much on the baby and the special occasion, but on the situation of the journalists, waiting for the news in front of the hospital (example 21). Other adjectives used in the broadsheets were *sweltering, blistering*, *outstanding.*

(20) *...who declared the new arrival a "**wonderful** baby, **beautiful** baby" as he left the Lindo Wing at around 9.20pm...* (B-Tab)

(21) *The announcement by Kensington Palace shortly after 8pm ended a day of increasingly **febrile** media reporting...* (B-Broad)

4 Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to establish what means British online newspapers use to express attitude, and whether there is more opinion or emotion portrayed. Further detailed research revealed closer differences in expressing attitude between tabloids and broadsheets. The study showed that attitude is portrayed more frequently via opinion than emotion in both types of newspapers, especially when negative news is reported. In the Baby sub-corpus the ratio of emotion and opinion-loaded expressions is more balanced. The main lexical means to express opinion is adjectives, which is not a surprising finding, as adjectives are considered the most evaluative word class (Hunston & Sinclair, 2000). Yet, a particularly interesting and unexpected finding is that evaluation-laden verbs are employed, especially in the tabloids (30.1 per cent of attitudinal expressions identified in the tabloid sub-corpus are verbs).

The occurrence of emotion- laden expressions is higher in the tabloids, which was expected. The tabloids express it mainly by verbs and adjectives, while the broadsheets utilize mainly adjectives and nouns. A more detailed analysis discovered a difference in portraying positive and negative news.

The tabloids use more adjectives to express positive news (Baby), while the broadsheets do the same in the negative corpus (Qatada). The tabloids use more verbs to express negative news. Both kinds of newspapers employ significantly more nouns in portraying negative news than in the positive. This study showed an overall tendency of both kinds of newspapers to express attitude to a larger extent in negative news than the positive.

The small size of the corpus does not need to be a drawback; on the contrary, it allows a detailed analysis of attitudinal expressions in context. The study has proved that the interpretation of such expressions is context-dependent. One of the most important findings is that evaluative lexis creates clusters, and in the context of clusters, expressions which in isolation are neutral or positive can be assessed as expressions carrying negative attitude.

A drawback could be the fact that this analysis derives from Martin and White's Appraisal Theory, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish whether a certain lexical item should be included in graduation, or attitude, as these dimensions are so closely interwoven (I am not mentioning engagement as this dimension was not part of this study).

However limited, the present research points out possible directions of future research; verbs in news deserve a closer analysis (i.e. in a bigger corpus) to see whether they appear in certain patterns. Hunston & Francis (2000) already started this but used verbs in general discourse, not news. In addition, local grammar and patterns of nouns could be more researched in the news discourse to see whether they are predominantly used in nominalization in negative news. Adjectives have already been researched in detail, though not thoroughly in news discourse. Further, I suggest that naming also plays a key role in expressing emotion and opinion in the news and it is worth researching.

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THE MARKED WORD ORDER AS A SYNTACTIC MEANS OF EMPHATIC EXPRESSION IN CHOSEN LITERARY SAMPLES

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Abstract

The word order as an important carrier of sentence dynamism has a substantial impact on the overall impression and effect a text will make on the addressee. With English and Czech, representing typologically different languages, the Czech translation of the English sentences with marked word order, i.e. such structures that serve the emphatic and expressive functions of the language, represents a demanding and challenging phenomenon. The focus of this paper is on the English literary texts whose Czech translations have been published, more specifically on two books by the same author, yet translated into Czech by different translators, as well as three versions of translation of the same English novel, which were carried out within the spell of fifty years.

Key words

word order, emphatic expression, thematic variations, dynamic equivalence, cline of similarity

1 Introduction: the English word order – marked and unmarked

Since the time of the Prague School of Linguistics, the theory of thematic structure initiated by Mathesius' systematic description of the functions of word order has been elaborated on by numerous scholars both in the Czech Republic and abroad. The aim of this paper, as defined by Mathesius, is the fourth principle of the word order, i.e. the principle of highlighting clausal elements, thus related to the emphatic function of language. Given that each utterance has its neutral variant (copying the *theme/given/topic → rheme/new/focus* linear modification and reflecting at the same time the rising degree of sentence dynamism), either called the *objective* word order (Mathesius, 1975: 156), the *natural* word order (Firbas, 1992: 10), or *unmarked* word order (Halliday, 2004: 91), there exists its opposing form in the *subjective* or *marked structures*, which then serve as a means of emphatic expression in both English and Czech, regardless of their typological differences. This does not infer that the principles of thematic restructuring in the two languages, used as an expressive and emphatic device, are of the same character, which is evident when the analysis of emphatic expression is carried out through comparison of translated literary texts. As Dušková (1994:

520) puts it, due to the typological differences between English and Czech, the *markedness* of these structures is of a different character. The status of word order in the analytical type of language such as English expands the effect of *unusual wording* over the principles of the functional sentence perspective (Firbas, 1992), combining it with a substantial change of the grammatical principle defined by Mathesius (1975). The overall impact of the marked word order structures in the English language is likely to be stronger than a comparable word order intervention in the inflectional language such as Czech. To put it simply, with the syntactic devices employed in English "the emotive word order causes the overall rise in sentence dynamism, realized namely within the rheme of the sentence" (Firbas, 1992: 124).

2 The thematic variations as an object of choice

The syntactic constructions in English used for the purpose of highlighting a chosen element and thus increasing its sentence dynamism are called *thematic variations* (Huddleston, 1990, in Tárnyiková, 2002), and, as such, these belong to the same prototypically thematic variants (ibid.), e.g. *I saw Mary yesterday. Mary I saw yesterday. It was yesterday that I saw Mary. It was Mary that I saw yesterday. Who I saw yesterday was Mary;* etc.

Apart from the three basic principles influencing the choice of the thematic variants, i.e. the topic-initial principle, the end-focus principle, and the end-weight principle, Tárnyiková (2002: 77) defines other parameters: the *point of departure* of the message, the chosen part we want to emphasize, what we expect the addressee knows already, how we intend to incorporate the utterance into a broader text, etc.

The classifying criteria used to systemize the highlighting syntactic structures, which serve the emphatic function of the language, can cover that of the degree of explicitness of the construction (e.g. the presence of the it-cleft structure), and the pre-posing and post-posing processes employed (Tárnyiková, 2002: 82). For the purposes of the text analysis related to this contribution, the structures chosen were the cleft constructions, the pseudo-cleft constructions, fronting and the S-V inversion. The reason for this choice was their ability to emphasize a range of syntactic elements, their evident purpose to highlight an element of a structure and, last but not least, their relative frequency in the literary texts observed.

Amongst the explicit syntactic structures the it-cleft serves the emphasis of a chosen element in a systematic and distinct way, assigningto the chosen element the rhematic/focal position within the first half of the cleft sentence, e.g. "It was Mary who/that arrived late". The pseudo-cleft construction, on the other hand, preserves the original distribution of sentence dynamism, yet its level is substantially augmented by the tension produced within the structure, e.g. "What (all, the thing) she lacks is motivation" (basic distribution of sentence dynamism – Th-Rh). Halliday points out the feature of exclusiveness given to the rhematic element (Halliday, 2004: 71), which also contributes to the overall rise in the sentence dynamism of the utterance. In addition to that, this particular form of *thematic equative* (Halliday, 2004: 69), has its variant in the so-called *inverted pseudo-cleft*, or the *marked equative* (ibid.), e.g. in "Motivation is what she lacks". The effect produced makes the distribution of sentence dynamism relatively ambiguous, its translation into Czech depending on the overal style and register of the text concerned (e.g. "Schází jí především motivace;" or, "Motivace jí teda chybí;" etc.)

Fronting, as the *implicit type of highlighting syntactic structure* (similar to the *inverted pseudo-cleft*) supports the Mathesian claim stating that in the English syntax it is the initial position in the sentence that primarily serves the emphatic function, rather than the final one (Mathesius, 1975: 159). With this structure, the syntactic element fronted becomes the carrier of the main focus, provided it is non-recoverable from the context. This statement is in accordance with Firbasian principle of the *contextual factor* influencing the communicative dynamism of constituents (Firbas, 1992: 21). Last but not least, Halliday asserts that the level of markedness of the element fronted also differs in accordance with its syntactic function; the fronted Complement is the most and the Adverbial the least marked option (Halliday, 2004: 73).

The inversion, i.e. the change in the position of the subject and the verb (regularly induced by fronting particular elements), involves the full S-V inversion, e.g. "In the Regional Gallery remains his last painting" and the partial inversion, e.g. "Not a single line did he write to his mother." With the high status of word order in the English language, as it was defined by Mathesius, it seems evident that the inverted structures represent another substantial technique of producing emphasis, not to mention the possibility to combine the above-mentioned structures, e.g. "They hoped that Herbert Frost would be elected and Frost indeed it was that topped the pool." (Quirk, 1985: 1379).

3 Comparison with Czech: word order within the theory of translation

Though the original theory on Theme and Rheme by Mathesius (and the subsequent Firbasian elaborated theory of FSP) apply on both Czech and English, due to the typological differences between the two languages and the consequent difference in the status of the word order, the translation of the above-mentioned syntactic structures can generate evident difficulties. Firbas (1992: 124) postulates that "due to the different positions of the English and the Czech emotive principles in their respective word-order systems, the objective and the subjective word orders do not necessarily produce the same effect in English and Czech."

Tárnyiková (2002) maintains that along with the possibility to highlight any sentence element by simply putting it in a prominent position in Czech, for the cases of strong emphasis there still exists a range of other constructions for highlighting, i.e. the so-called *vytýkací důrazový opis*, as a stylistically marked option, with a few alternative exceptions where the *mirror copying* is not possible, e.g. "Who did it was the neighbour – *Který to udělal, byl soused, or: To, co se mi na něm nelíbí, je jeho lenost. – *It what I don´t like in him is his laziness." (Tárnyiková, 2002: 112-113).

At the same time, the syntactic strategies used by translators may lead to undesirable effects of automatic copying the original English construction called the "cline of similarity" (Tárnyiková, 2007: 199). Thus, though structures analogous to cleft-sentences in Czech do exist, "the finding about the existence of comparable constructions in English and Czech is just a preliminary step that has to be followed by a thorough analysis" (ibid.).

In accordance with the modern theory of translation and its claim for functional equivalence, the adequacy of grammatical and stylistic expressions is subject to criticism. Knittlová (2010: 156) points out that an effective translation from English into Czech is also ensued by translator´s sound knowledge of the FSP theory and the capacity to identify the rheme and place it at the final positon in the Czech sentence. With literary text carrying the expressive function of language, though, I suggest that the reliance on the word order does not often prove efficient in the Czech version. Grepl and Karlík (1986: 330) present a range of devices employed in the Czech language for the purpose of emphasis, the following two of which concern the written text: the word inversion (e.g. "toto je zásadní otázka" and "toto je otázka zásadní"), and the use of intensifying adverbs and particles (e.g. *ani, právě, teprve, zrovna, už, dokonce, aspoň, jedině, hned, pouze, až*). The following analysis of chosen literary texts proves that successful transmission of the sentence dynamism from English to Czech is supported by a high rate of such lexical devices in the Czech versions, accompanying the necessary syntactic strategies involved.

4 The samples analysed

The first part of the research I carried out involves the texts of two novels written by George Orwell, namely the novels: *Nineten-Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm*, each representing a classic which is taught about and assigned as "obligatoty reading" at schools. The aim of the analysis is the technique applied in their translation into Czech and the efficiency in preserving the original sentence dynamism, or, in other words, the *emphatic charge* of sentences where the unmarked word order occurs in the orginal. The second part of my research then observes possible shifts in the realization of the emphatic expression within three translations of the humourist classic of *Three Men in a Boat* by J. K. Jerome, translated by three different translators and published successively between the years 1957 and 2007.

4.1 Analyses – part 1

This part of analysis concerns the novel by George Orwell *Nineten-Eighty Four* and its translation by E. Šimečková (2000), and the novel *Animal Farm*, translated by G. Gössel (1991).[35]

(1) *It was not by making yourself heard but by staying sane that you carried on the human heritage.* (Orwell, Nineteen-Eighty Four: 26)

(2) *Člověk nepředává lidské dědictví tím, že se dá slyšet, ale tím, že se zachová při zdravém rozumu.* (translation by Šimečková: 36)

The sample includes a cleft sentence, where the rheme is emphasized by additional contrasting ("not by" … "but by"), thus the overall dynamism of the whole proposition is very high. The Czech translation seems efficient, the rheme proper being placed at the end of the sentence (the non-finite clauses in the form of the gerund, i.e. "making yourself heard", "staying sane", are suitably expressed by subordinate clauses, which contributes to even more tension produced). The inadequate usage of tenses, which occurs in more instances within the book, is not part of the analysis.

(3) *When the boulder began to slip and the animals cried out in despair at finding themselves dragged down the hill, it was always Boxer who strained himself against the rope and brought the boulder to stop.* (Orwell, Animal Farm: 42)

(4) *Když balvan začal prokluzovat a zvířata se již viděla stažena dolů jeho vahou, Boxer se zapřel do lana a balvan zarazil.* (translation by Gössel: 32)

[35] The translations of the novels Animal Farm by G. Gössel and that of Three Men in a Boat by L. Vojtik were subject to analysis presented by the author of the paper at the conference From Theory to Practice in Zlín, 2013.

The cleft sentence in this sample highlights the original subject of the possible unmarked form (Boxer) and identifies it clearly as the rheme. In accordance with the FSP theory, the end position should have been assigned to it in Czech, alternatively employing a lexical devise such as the adverb "právě" ("ten, kdo se vždy zapřel do lana a balvan zarazil, byl právě Boxer"). The distribution of sentence dynamism in the translated text clearly fails to be preserved.

(5) *(Scattered about London there were just three other buildings of similar appearance and size.) So completely did they dwarf the surrounding architecture that from the roof of Victory Mansions you could see all four of them simultaneously.* (Orwell, *Nineteen-Eighty Four*: 7)

(6) *(V Londýně byly ještě další tři budovy podobné vzhledem i velikostí.) Okolní architekturu převyšovaly tak výrazně, že ze střech Sídliště vítězství je bylo vidět všechny čtyři.* (translation by Šimečková: 12)

The structure employed involves partial inversion with the operator "did", the fronted adjunct of measure developed by the comparative clause at the end of the sentence produces a highly dynamic proposition. The Czech version places the fronted adjunct at the final position within the first clause, which weighs in its emphasis. The final adjunct ("simultaneously") is omitted in the Czech version, yet, this does not substantially reduce the *emphatic charge* of the whole utterance, and thus the translation seems relevant. The incorrect translation of the adverb "just" as "ještě" (instead of "jen *tři další budovy"*) is not subject to this analysis.

(7) *I am twelve years old and have had over four hundred children. Such is the natural life of a pig.* (Orwell, *Animal Farm*: 5)

(8) *Je mi dvanáct let a mám přes čtyři sta dětí. To je normální život vepře.* (translation by Gössel: 7)

The sample includes a similar construction to the one above; this time, the inversion concerns the copular verb *be*. I suggest that the fronted subject complement "such", though recoverable from the context, finds in Czech a better position at the end of the sentence, e.g. "*Život kance je už prostě* takový" (alternatively: "Takový už je život kance"), suitably supported again by an adverb (*prostě*, *zkrátka*, *už*). The Czech translation published, though, exchanges the corresponding demonstrative pronoun *takový* for the anaphoric *it*, thus reducing the original dynamism of the whole sentence. The lexeme *vepř*, which denotes a castrated pig, is only another imperfection, as used in the context of the sentence; though, this point was not the aim of my analysis.

(9) *Thoughtcrime, they called it. Thoughtcrime was not a thing that could be concealed for ever.* (Orwell, *Nineten-Eighty Four*: 19)

(10) *Říká se tomu "thoughtcrime", zločin závadného myšlení. Zločin, který se věčně skrývat nedá.* (translation by Šimečková: 27)

The sample includes the structure of fronting the object complement, which is non-recoverable, and as such carries the dynamism of the rheme proper. The overall sentence dynamism is high, and the Czech translation responds to it in accordance with the FSP theory, placing the complement at the end position in the Czech version. The repetition of the original term ("thoughtcrime") in English, subsequently explained in Czech in the form of apposition, provides adequate tension to the utterance.

(11) *About the rebellion and its results he would expresss no opinion.* (Orwell, Animal Farm: 20)

(12) *O revoluci a jejích výsledcích se nikdy nevyjádřil.* (translation by Gössel: 17)

The structure is particularly interesting, including a fronted modifier to the object, which, though recoverable, with its relative length and front position contributes to the rise of sentence dynamism within the structure. The object ("opinion") at the final position is the evident rheme of the utterance (even emphasized by the negation), and should be placed in the final position in the Czech translation, too: "Pokud šlo o revoluci a její výsledky, nikdy nevyslovil ***žádný názor***." In the published translation (which carries the features of the *cline of similarity*), though the overall message of the utterance is present, the rheme proper is virtually omitted, and the sentence dynamism distorted.

(13) *But what was strange was that although Goldstein was hated and despised by everybody, … …, his influence never seemed to grow less.* (Orwell, Nineteen-Eighty Four: 14)

(14) *Goldsteina sice každý nenáviděl a pohrdal jím, … …, a přesto se zdálo, jako by jeho vliv nikterak neslábl.* (translation by Šimečková: 21)

This sentence includes a pseudo-cleft construction, i. e. the thematic equative; the emphasized complement "strange" unfortunately does not hold its original dynamism in the Czech version – as it does not occur in the translated text at all. The concessive meaning of the proposition in Czech is rightly expressed by conjunctions ("sice", "a přesto"), yet the original expression seems richer in sentence dynamism than that of the translated version. I suggest the following form of translation: "I když Goldsteina každý nenáviděl a pohrdal jím, jeho vliv jako by přesto nijak neslábl, což bylo podivné."

(15) *It was always the pigs who put forward the resolutions. The other animals understood how to vote, but could never think of any resolutions of their own.* (Orwell, Animal Farm: 20)

(16) *Rezoluce navrhovala výlučně prasata – ostatní zvířata se sice naučila volit, ale rezoluce si nikdy vymyslet nedovedla.* (translation by Gössel: 18)

The last sample includes the it-cleft sentence, where the translation sounds adequate. Yet, the immediate proposition is translated with another undesirable shift in terms of sentence dynamism; the rheme ("any resolutions of their own"), which should be placed in the end position in the Czech version, is substituted by the simple adjective *vlastní* and only pre-modifies the subject at its neutral initial position. A more appropriate solution might be: "Ostatní zvířata sice pochopila jak volit, ale nikdy nepřišla s vlastní rezolucí."

From the samples analysed it seems evident that the thematic structure of an utterance has a strong impact on the overal impression a literary text imposes on the reader. I also believe that there is an obvious difference observable between the two translators' work in terms of the FSP theory and the way they handle the emphatic expressions in their translations. With the book of *Animal Farm*, I carried out a systematic survey of all the four highlighting syntactic structures selected; out of the total number of 67 samples (found on 97 pages), the majority of them could be submitted to critical analysis – and more appropriate wording could certainly be designed to preserve corresponding dynamism and emphasis.

4.2 Analyses – part 2

The second part of the analysis concerns the three versions of the Czech translation of another satirical classic, i. e. J.K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat*, published successively in the years 1957, 1975 and 2007. The aim of the analysis was not only to seek the differences between the translations from the perspective of emotive expression, but also to find possible diachronic variables.

(17) *What it was that was actually the matter with us, we none of us could be sure of, but the unanimous opinion was that it – whatever it was – had been brought on by overwork.* (Jerome: 11)

The structure, particularly complicated in terms of the sentence structure, combines the techniques of emphasis by means of fronting and clefting (fronting of the complement, which is realized by a pseudo-cleft construction); the unmarked version might be: "We none of us could be sure of what the matter with us actually was". Whereas the English version shows preference for breaking the syntactic pattern, the Czech translation, were it to keep the original communicative dynamism, cannot do without the employment of lexical devices (*ani, vlastně, skutečně*), as is reflected in the three versions below:

(18) *Ani jeden z nás si vlastně nebyl jistý, co mu schází. Nakonec jsme se shodli, že ať už je to cokoliv, může za to přepracování.* (translation by L. Vojtik, 2007: 14)

(19) *Co to s námi doopravdy je, to nemohl s jistotou říci ani jeden z nás; ale jednomyslně jsme došli k náhledu, že ať už máme cokoli, máme to z přepracování.* (translation by J. Z. Novák, 1975: 14)

(20) *Nikdo z nás nemohl s jistotou určit, co nám vlastně je, ale jednomyslně jsme se shodli, že ať je to cokoli, je to následek přepracování.* (translation by V. Henzl, 1957: 14)

The second of the three versions, though all the three prove that the translators operate at a highly professional level, seems the most suitable, as the original emphasis underlined by "we none of us" takes the corresponding rhematic clausal position in Czech. The rest of the utterance provides three alternatives with rather subjective differences, their dynamism is yet preserved at a comparable level. (The latest version seems to show preference for shorter sentences, as the translator divides the long original structure into two.)

(21) *'There she goes,' he said, 'there she goes with two pounds' worth of food on board that belongs to me, and that I haven't had!' (Jerome: 14)*

The fronted adverbial "there", commonly followed by the S–V inversion (if the subject is not realized by a pronoun), creates a specific form of emphasis in the English language, and its translation into Czech, which should preserve a corresponding level of sentence dynamism, is not obvious. Again, a successful Czech translation is likely to make use of supportive lexical devices – pronouns, adverbs or particles:

(22) *"To se jí to pluje," řekl, "to se jí to pluje, když odváží za dvě libry jídla, které mi patří a které jsem nesnědl."* (translation by L. Vojtik, 2007: 17)

(23) *"To se jí to pluje," říkal si. "To se jí to pluje, když si odváží za dvě libry jídla, které patří mně a z kterého jsem nic neměl!"* (translation by J. Z. Novák, 1975: 18)

(24) *"Odjíždí," řekl, "odjíždí, a na její palubě je za dvě libry jídla, které paří mně a které jsem nesnědl."* (translation by V. Henzl, 1957: 16)

The translation by Vojtik (2007) and that by Novák (1975) both show adequacy in terms of sentence dynamism, as they identically employ the same effective strategy – the repetition of the particle "to" in combination with the reflexive pronoun "se", which keeps the *expressive charge* high. The translation by Henzl (1957) shows rather a nostalgic expression, and thus casts different level of dynamism over the whole utterance. Otherwise, it could be admitted that the three translations are comparable.

(25) *(We snarled at one another in this strain for next few minutes, when we were interrupted by a defiant snore from George. It reminded us, for the first time since our being called, of his existence.) There he lay – the man who had wanted to know what time he should wake us – on his back, with his mouth wide open, and his knees stuck up.* (Jerome: 41)

The syntactic structure employed is again fronting, more specifically, the relatively simple syntactic technique of fronting the adverbial "there". Yet, the translation of this sentence proved again to be rather difficult.

(26) *Peskovali jsme se ještě několik minut, dokud nás nepřerušilo Georgovo nedůvěřivé chrápání. Od chvíle, co jsme se vzbudili, se poprvé připomněl a nám došlo, že zde leží ten člověk, který se ptal, v kolik hodin nás má vzbudit – na zádech, ústa otevřená a kolena nahoře.* (translation by L. Vojtik, 2007: 50)

(27) *Tímto tónem jsme na sebe ňafali už pět minut, když nás přerušilo vyzývavé zachrápání Georgovo. Tím jsme si poprvé od okamžiku, kdy jsme byli zburcováni ze spánku, uvědomili jeho existenci. A on si tam ležel – ten chlap, který chtěl vědět, v kolik hodin nás má vzbudit – na zádech, s hubou dokořán a s koleny nahoru.* (translation by J. Z. Novák, 1975: 51)

(28) *Tímto způsobem jsme na sebe vrčeli několik minut, až nás přesušilo drzé chrápání Jiřího. To nám poprvé od té chvíle, co jsme se probudili, připomnělo jeho existenci. Zde leží – muž, který se ptal, v kolik hodin nás má vzbudit – leží tu na zádech, s otevřenými ústy, s koleny zdviženými.* (translation by V. Henzl, 1957: 48)

With this structure, as it has been demonstrated above, the fronted adverbial "there" brings about a challenging situation for a translator; the translation by Vojtík (2007) sounds smooth and natural, yet the utterance (as he substitutes one complex sentence with two separate sentences) is clearly less dynamic than the original one (let alone the wrong translation of the adjective "defiant" as "nedůvěřivý"). Novák's translation seems the most convenient one, though the clause “A on si tam ležel” might feel unnatural with some readers. The translation by Henzl (1957) shows both a more formal lexicon (“tímto způsobem”, “zde leží”). Interestingly, both the older versions of translation show a different word order within the noun phrase “a defiant snore from George”, employing the post-position of the possessive genitive, i. e. “vyzývavé zachrápání Georgovo” and “drzé chrápání Jiřího”. I suggest that the rise in sentence dynamism produced by the fronted adverb “there” does not concern the actual adverb itself, but produces the overall increase in sentence dynamism of the whole utterance. Thus, a different solution might be: “Takhle jsme se hádali ještě pár minut, když nás přerušilo Georgovo drzé zachrápání. To nám poprvé od chvíle, co jsme se probudili, připomnělo jeho existenci. Tenhle chlapík, který chtěl vědět, v kolik hodin nás má vzbudit, si tu ležel rozvalený na zádech a s hubou dokořán.”

(29) *If you never try a new thing, how can you tell what it’s like? It’s men such as you that hamper the world’s progress. Think of the man who first tried German sausage!* (Jerome: 136)

Another particularly interesting structure found is the it-cleft above, used to highlight the original subject “men such as you”. Surprisingly enough, the three translations observed, though they differ in the field of lexical devices (*zkusit – okusit, nikdy – jakživ, všechen, udělat – okusit, uzenky – klobása – párek*), engage the same strategy with the English highlighting syntactic structure involved; thus, none of them seems to exploit it “to the full”.

(30) *Když nikdy nechceš zkusit nic nového, jak můžeš říkat, jaké by to bylo? Lidé, jako jsi ty, brzdí světový pokrok. Vzpomeň si na člověka, který první zkusil udělat německé uzenky!* (translation by L. Vojtik, 2007: 160)

(31) *“Ale když jakživ nic nového neokusíš,” namítl Harris, “jak potom můžeš říct, jaké to je? Lidi jako ty zdržují ve světě všechen pokrok. Vzpomeň si jenom na toho člověka, co první okusil klobásu!”* (translation by J. Z. Novák, 1975: 170)

(32) *“Kdybys nikdy nic jiného neokusil, jak bys mohl říci, jaké to je? Lidé jako ty brzdí světový pokrok. Pomysli na člověka, který první okusil párek!”* (translation by V. Henzl, 1957: 156)

I believe that placing the highlighted element (original subject) to the final position in Czech not only complies with the theory (the post-verbal element in the first part of the cleft taking the role of the rheme), but it also leads to the increase in the humorous tone of the utterance; with the matter-of-course assumption that the progress is being hampered, the accusation “It’s men such as you" produces a rise in the emphatic expression: "Světový pokrok brzdí přesně/ právě takoví lidi jako ty!"

The comparison of the three versions of the book (I observed forty representative samples of the highlighting structures from the original text) proved few substantial differences concerning the word order; the differences in sentence dynamism were achieved mainly by lexical devices, as the older versions sometimes employed a relatively obsolete lexicon. Other differences occurred concerning their grammatical structures, though these were not the point of my analysis. With regard to the sentence dynamism and the corresponding means of emphatic expression, the most appropriate version (in my subjective choice) was Novák's translation from 1975, which has recently been re-published. It is evident from the analysis that the phenomenon of appropriate emphatic expression contributes to the overall quality of the text, and it largely depends on the personality and erudition of the translator.

5 Application in the teaching process

The analyses related to this contribution were a part of a long-term research, which included testing the perception of the highlighting syntactic structures with higher secondary and university students of English. That research included a multiple-choice test (three versions of translation suggested), where the respondents (the total of 196) were asked to choose the most appropriate version of a marked syntactic structure translated into Czech. The results proved the frequency of the *cline of similarity* (see above), as the students preferred word-by-word translation to a more dynamic structure where translator's inventiveness was employed. This does not come by surprise, as the method of effective translation, supported by contrastive analysis of the two typologically different languages, has mostly been excluded from the range of methodological tools presently used in our school system. I suggest that contrastive analysis should be systematically employed at both higher secondary and tertiary level, thus helping to increase the learners' awareness of the systems of both languages. The literary samples I have been collecting for almost a decade can be successfully used for the purpose of such analysis in class within the linguistic studies at a faculty of education, as a resource for teaching syntax and morphology of the English language in context.

6 Conclusion

Within the small-scale research presented in this paper, I collected and analysed 40 and 67 samples of chosen syntactic structures used for highlighting, coming from two books by George Orwell (the novels *Nineten-Eighty Four* and *Animal Farm*), and observed the effectivity of the way these were converted into Czech by two different translators. The analyses show that there is a noticeable difference in the quality of translation in terms of preserving the sentence dynamism between the two books in Czech, which is clearly based on the knowledge of the FSP theory, and the capacity of the translators to incorporate suitable strategies for keeping the emphatic character of the original utterances. The deficiencies discovered in the Czech translation of the novel *Animal Farm* point at the possibility of carrying out a more efficient translation of the book in the future.

The second part of the research has attempted to evaluate from the same point of view three different translated versions of the book *Three Men in a Boat* by J.K. Jerome, published in the Czech Republic in 1957, 1975 and 2007. Forty samples of the marked structures carrying the emphatic function were compared with three versions of the translation into Czech. Few substantial differences concerning the word order have been found; though the three versions often vary in terms of sentence dynamism, the differences in the transmission of the emphatic function are achieved mainly by lexical devices. Nevertheless, there are many other variables found in both the grammatical forms and the lexicon (see above). The last version (by Vojtik, 2007) occasionally shows a tendency to employ shorter sentences rather than the very complex ones, found in the original text. In my subjective opinion, it is Novák's translation of the classic (1st edition dating from 1972) which still reaches the highest level in terms of the overall impression the text provides in the target language. This supports the idea that it is the combination of knowledge as well as the erudition and aptitude of the translator that always ensures the quality of translation.

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SENTENCE STRUCTURES OF CZECH AND ENGLISH LEGAL TEXTS

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Abstract

Compared to scientific texts, legal texts are more difficult to follow for two reasons: the complexity of legal systems and the purpose of the communication. They are intended to be clear and unambiguous so as to allow precise interpretation. This intention results in complex grammatical and syntactic structures. Common features of legal texts with the focus on style, terminology and syntax were studied by Hiltunen (1990), Bhatia (1993) and Trosborg (1997). Based on Bhatia´s move-structure approach, the paper is to present a comparison of English and Czech syntactic structures in English and Czech legal texts.

Keywords

legal language, 2-move structure, cognitive structuring, information flow, comparable texts

1 Introduction

Legal language is characterised by archaic vocabulary, long, complex sentences, nominalizations, use of the passive voice and special terminology. All this makes understanding legal language difficult, particularly for laymen. For its specific features it"has been called an argot, a register, a style and even a separate language" (Tiersma 1999). According to Tiersma (1999) a relatively new term *sublanguage* best reflects the specific features of the language of law. However, in this paper the terminology used by Bhatia is to be kept because the analysis employs his research method. Therefore, legal language is to be referred to as genre and its various forms as subgenres.

There are many reasons as to why linguists should be interested in legal language. One of the challenges is created by a basic conflict between the functions of law and language. There is an inherent element of vagueness in natural languages, but the law sets extremely strict demands on the language it uses. How such properties of text as specificity, exactness and clarity are achieved is a linguistic problem (Hiltunen 1990:16)

This presentation is to analyse selected legal texts based on the move-structure introduced by Swales (1981b) and further developed by Bhatia (1993). "The idea of [the move-structure] is to interpret the regularities of organization in order to understand the rationale for the genre." (Bhatia 1993:32) Bhatia asserts that: "Specialist writers seem to be fairly consistent in the way they organize their overall message in a particular genre, and analysis of structural organization of the genre reveals preferred ways of communicating intention in specific areas of inquiry." (1993:29)

Unlike Swales who performed analyses of various scientific texts with the focus on a textual level and arrived at the conclusion that these types of texts are formed of a 4-move structure (1st move – establishing the research field, 2nd move – summarizing previous research, 3rd move – preparing for present research, and 4th move – introducing present research), Bhatia performs his analysis at the sentence level. He analyses the way individual statutory provisions, included in Parliament Acts, are formed. As a result, he introduces a 2-move structure pattern. His analyses reveal that the cognitive structure "displays a characteristic interplay of the main provisionary clause and the qualifications inserted at various syntactic openings within the structure of a sentence." (Bhatia 1993:32)

Example (1) shows a sentence selected from the British Housing Act 1980 by Bhatia in a common linear layout and Example (2) presents the layout of the same sentence after the application of the 2-move structure.

Example (1)

Where the dwelling-house with respect to which the right to buy is exercised is a registered land, the Chief Land Registrar shall, if so requested by the Secretary of State, supply him (on payment of the appropriate fee) with an office copy of any document required by the Secretary of State for the purpose of executing a vesting order with respect to the dwelling-house and shall (notwithstanding section 112 of the Land Registration Act 1925) allow any person authorised by the Secretary of State to inspect and make copies of extracts from any register or document which is in the custody of the Chief Registrar and relates to the dwelling-house.

Example (2)

Provisionary clause	Qualifications
	Where the dwelling-house with respect to which the right to buy is exercised is a registered land,
the Chief Land Registrar shall	
	if so requested by the Secretary of State,
supply him	
	(on payment of the appropriate fee)
with an office copy of any document required by the Secretary of State	
	for the purpose of executing a vesting order with respect to the dwelling-house
and shall	
	notwithstanding section 112 of the Land Registration Act 1925)
allow any person authorised by the Secretary of State to inspect and make copies of extracts from any register or document which is in the custody of the Chief Registrar and relates to the dwelling-house	

As seen above, Provisionary clause interacts with Qualifications in such a way as to achieve the communicative purpose, the aim of which is to provide a precise, clear and unambiguous message. The left column, the main provisionary clause, can be easily read as an independent sentence, as shown in Example (3).

Example (3)

The Chief Land Registrar shall, if so requested by the Secretary of State, supply him with an office copy of any document required by the Secretary of State and shall allow any person authorised by the Secretary of State to inspect and make copies of extracts from any register or document which is in the custody of the Chief Registrar and relates to the dwelling-house.

Legal language is not homogenous, it involves distinguishable subgenres depending on the communicative purpose, context and recipients. Decrees, regulations, contracts, agreements, orders, judgments, and resolutions are various types of legal communication produced in written form.

The aim of this paper is to apply cognitive structuring to judicial opinions to find out whether their structure corresponds with that of the legislative provisions described above. For the purposes of this study judicial opinions mean documents that include the process of making decisions and summarizing facts performed by judges to provide grounds for their final judgments within judicial proceedings. Depending on the instance of a court, and legal system and practice, this type of legal writing is represented by documents entitled Judgment and Resolution, as far as Czech jurisdiction is concerned, and Order in case of their English counterparts. This type of legal writing was selected for two reasons. First, documents of this type consist of standardized sections represented by an introductory part, including quotations of statutory provisions. Second, sections entitled Reasoning, Reasons for Judgments, and Opinion reflect the authentic legal language of individual judges.

Analysing and comparing these parts of texts that differ in their structure should reveal to what extent an individual professional is influenced by the constraints of the relevant genre and to what extent a specialist writer can preserve his/her own style. To form the 2-move cognitive structure performed by Bhatia (Example 2), sentences covering 3 or more lines of a current text were selected. The analysis is focused on the way sentences are formed into structures and on the way such structures within one clause are linked together, i.e. both structural and grammatical analyses are to be performed. Attention will also be paid to grammatical features. Results obtained from the analysis of Czech texts will be compared with those acquired from the analysis of English texts.

It is important to note that there are different practices used for producing and publishing judicial opinions. Drafters and law reporters in the United Kingdom and United States are trained professionals who may be assigned to transcribe proceedings in courtrooms, or transcribe recordings made during a hearing, or who proofread and edit judicial opinions for their further publication. Law reporters in the Czech Republic are basically administrative officers trained in typing and transcribing, whose primary task is not to perform proofreading. However, sometimes they seem to be the only persons who reread texts after judges. But they do not have any competence or special training to edit the final version of a text. Unlike in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia, to the author´s knowledge, there is no uniform manual for judges providing them with instructions on how to produce texts of judicial decisions in the Czech Republic.

2 Analysis of introductory sections

With the intention to include two different legal systems – common law and continental law – in this study, thirty documents in total were selected. To have English counterparts to 10 Czech selected documents governed by continental law, 5 Orders issued in the state of Louisiana, United States, where continental law is applied, were selected. 15 Judgments/Orders issued in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia represent documents dealing with common law.

The introductory parts of judgments are obligatory parts of the text and therefore show a uniform structure. The sentence structuring is very similar to that of the legislative provisions analysed by Bhatia. No changes were made in authentic texts. All names and any other relevant data that might refer to the identity of persons or places are either abbreviated, or replaced by xxx, or by zeros where dates of birth and reference numbers are mentioned.

In Examples (4) and (5) a typical introductory section of a Czech judgment is presented; Example (4) shows a normal linear layout and in Example (5) the same information is formed into the 2-move cognitive structure. The same procedure is carried out in Examples (6) and (7) where the 2-move structure is applied to a typical English order.

Example (4)

ČESKÁ REPUBLIKA

ROZSUDEK JMÉNEM REPUBLIKY

Krajský soud rozhodl v senátě složeném z předsedy senátu JUDr. J.Z. a soudců JUDr. M.F a JUDr. J.H. ve věci žalobce RP, nar. 00.00.0000, bytem xxx, zastoupeného JUDr. V.B, advokátem v Brně, adresa xxx, proti žalované RH, narozené 00.00.000, bytem Česká republika, xxx, xxx, zastoupené obecným zmocněncem JUDr. M.R, pro doručování: Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům, o.s. Kovařská 4, Praha 9, pro navrácení nezletilé S.A, narozené 00.00.0000, bytem u matky, zastoupené opatrovníkem Statutárním městem xxx, do státu obvyklého bydliště, za účasti Krajského státního zastupitelství v Brně, o odvolání žalobce proti rozsudku Městského soudu v Brně ze dne 00.00.0000, čj. Nc 0000/0000-000, takto:

Rozsudek soudu I, prvního stupně se potvrzuje.

Žádný z účastníků nemá právo na náhradu odvolacího řízení.

Example (5) Cognitive structuring:

Legal subject	Specifications
Krajský soud rozhodl	*v senátě složeném z předsedy senátu JUDr. J.Z. a soudců JUDr. M.F a JUDr. J.H*
ve věci žalobce RP,	*nar. 00.00.0000, bytem xxxx, zastoupeného JUDr. V.B, advokátem v Brně, adresa xxxx,*
proti žalované RH,	*narozené 00.00.000, bytem Česká republika, xxx, xxx, zastoupené obecným zmocněncem JUDr. M.R, pro doručování: Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům, o.s. Kovařská 4, Praha 9,*
pro navrácení nezletilé S.A,	*narozené 00.00.0000, bytem u matky, zastoupené opatrovníkem Statutárním městem xxxx,*
do státu obvyklého bydliště,	*za účasti Krajského státního zastupitelství v Brně,*
o odvolání žalobce proti rozsudku Městského soudu v Brně	*ze dne 00.00.0000, čj. Nc 0000/0000-000,*
(takto) že se rozsudek soudu I. prvního stupně potvrzuje a žádný z účastníků nemá právo na náhradu odvolacího řízení.	

Example (6)

Order

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
FAMILY DIVISION

Before HIS HONOUR JUDGE T QC (SITTING AS A DEPUTY HIGH COURT JUDGE)

in Chambers

IN PROCEEDINGS UNDER THE CHILD ABDUCTION AND CUSTODY ACT 1985
RELATING TO JS (dob 00.00.0000)

AND IN THE MATTER OF THE SENIOR COURTS ACT 1981

AND IN THE MATTER OF THE COUNCIL REGULATION (EC) NO 2201/2003 OF 27 NOVEMBER 2003 (BRUSSELS II REVISED)

AND IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION UNDER THE INHERENT JURISDICTION OF THE HIGH COURT WITH RESPECT TO CHILDREN

Between KJ	*Applicant*
and RWK	*Respondent*

UPON HEARING Counsel for the Applicant ("the Father") and the Respondent ("the Mother");

AND UPON READING the documents herein

AND UPON the parties agreeing that provided the mother travels to the Czech Republic on 00.00.0000 for the purposes of facilitating contact with the father, the father will seek permission to withdraw his Hague Convention proceedings;

AND FURTHER to the Children Act 1989 order of even date

IT IS ORDERED BY CONSENT THAT:-

1. *The Father do have permission to withdraw his application for the summary return of the child SJ dated 00.00.0000 upon the mother´s solicitors providing written confirmation to the father´s solicitors that the mother and SJ travelled to the Czech Republic on 00.00.0000.*
2. *The Tipstaff do forthwith release the passports /travel documents held by them to the order of the Court to the mother.*
3. *The hearings listed on 00.00.0000 and 00.00.0000 are hereby vacated.*
4. *There be no order for costs, save a detailed assessment of the publicly funded costs of the Mother and Father.*

Example (7) Cognitive Structuring:

Legal Subject	Specifications
IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE	*FAMILY DIVISION*
before HIS HONOUR JUDGE T QC	*(SITTING AS A DEPUTY HIGH COURT JUDGE) in Chambers*
in proceedings	*UNDER THE CHILD ABDUCTION AND CUSTODY ACT 1985*
relating to JS (dob 00.00.0000)	*AND IN THE MATTER OF THE SENIOR COURTS ACT 1981 AND IN THE MATTER OF THE COUNCIL REGULATION (EC) NO 2201/2003 OF 27 NOVEMBER 2003 (BRUSSELS II REVISED) AND IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION UNDER THE INHERENT JURISDICTION OF THE HIGH COURT WITH RESPECT TO CHILDREN*
relating to JS (dob 00.00.0000)	*UPON HEARING Counsel for the Applicant ("the Father") and the Respondent ("the Mother");AND UPON READING the documents herein AND UPON the parties agreeing that provided the mother travels to the Czech Republic on 00.00.0000 for the purposes of facilitating contact with the father, the father will seek permission to withdraw his Hague Convention proceedings;AND FURTHER to the Children Act 1989 order of even date*
IT IS ORDERED BY CONSENT THAT the Father do have permission to withdraw his application for the summary return of the child SJ dated 00.00.0000	*upon the mother´s solicitors providing written confirmation to the father´s solicitors that the mother and SJ travelled to the Czech Republic on 00.00.0000*
and the Tipstaff do forthwith release the passports /travel documents held by them to the order of the Court to the mother and the hearings listed on 00.00.0000 and 00.00.0000 are hereby vacated and there be no order for costs	*save a detailed assessment of the publicly funded costs of the Mother and Father.*

Although the layouts of the first page of the Czech judgment and British order in Examples 4 and 6 differ, a 2-move arrangement remains preserved. The formed structure thus reveals what Bhatia calls the “bare bone” and “essential flesh” (Bhatia 1993: 113). The “bare bone” is the main clause placed in the left column of the 2-move structure, while the right column represents specifications and conditions. As both the provisions (Example (1)) and introductory parts of the judgments/orders (Examples (4) and (6)) are required to provide as many facts as possible in the most condensed manner, their cognitive structuring is mostly the same, although the formation of the text differs to fulfil the requirements set for their production.

As shown above, the introductory part of Czech judgments is formed in a linear way, which corresponds more or less with the structure of a sentence. English orders/judgments show a tendency to provide the reader with a lucid flow of information by means of a graphic layout. It enables faster orientation in the text and allows the author to condense the text as much as possible without the use of cohesive means that might, under some circumstances, render ambiguity to the text or result in awkward formulations.

3 Analysis of judicial opinions

Bhatia states that “It is not the presence of qualifications that makes legislative provisions an interesting genre but more interestingly the way these qualifications are inserted within the syntax of the legislative sentence.” (1993: 111) With the aim of achieving clarity and all-inclusiveness, authors of legislative texts interrupt the information flow of a sentence to incorporate various legal conditions, which makes the final sentence difficult to follow.

There is no doubt that one can find long and complex sentences in other genres, particularly in fiction. However, the difference is that only rarely is the reader forced to go back to the beginning of a sentence and to re-read it again in order to be able to understand the syntactic and semantic relations within the sentence. Long, complex sentences are perceived more like an uninterrupted flow of information in non-specialised genres, while legal sentences resemble a construction consisting of several levels requiring the reader´s permanent attention so as to avoid any incorrect interpretation of the legal meaning.

“The communication purpose is inevitably reflected in the interpretative cognitive structuring of the genre, which, in a way, represents the typical regularities or organization in it. These regularities must be seen as cognitive in nature because they reflect the strategies that members of a particular discourse or professional community typically use in the construction and understanding of that genre to achieve specific communicative purposes.” Bhatia (1993:21)

Examples (8) to (10) and (11) to (13) present the cognitive structure of sentences included in the judicial opinions of selected Czech and English texts.

Example (8)

Typově jde o situaci, kdy je logický rozpor v hodnocení důkazů popř. poznatků,

které vyplynuly z přednesů účastníků, nebo které vyšly najevo jinak z hlediska závažnosti (důležitosti, zákonnosti, pravdivosti, event. věrohodnosti

anebo kdy výsledek hodnocení důkazů neodpovídá tomu, co mělo být zjištěno způsobem vyplývajícím z ust. §133 až 135 os.ř.

Example (9)

S ohledem na výrazný nepoměr společenské škodlivosti v nyní projednávané věci a věci, v níž již byl odsouzen (tato činnost je nesrovnatelně společensky škodlivější), v případě ukládání souhrnného trestu

připadalo by v úvahu spíše nepatrné zpřísnění již uloženého podmíněného trestu,

přičemž se nelze důvodně domnívat, že by soud s přihlédnutím k nyní projednávané věci ukládal trest nepodmíněný.

Example (10)

Bylo zjištěno,

že manželství rodičů je delší dobu vážným způsobem rozvrácené,
pro vyhrocené vzájemné rozpory rodiče nežijí v jedné domácnosti od počátku roku 2012,

ve svých podání a výpovědích matka opakovaně uváděla,

že pro nevhodné chování ze strany otce se musela se synem z posledního společného bydliště odstěhovat, nějakou dobu žila v utajení,

v průběhu řízení se rodiče opakovaně domáhali svěření dítěte do výchovy předběžným opatřením.

Example (11)

In circumstances where the respondent paid USD 750 per week for the support of the applicant and children for 10 months, apparently without difficulty,

and the absence of evidence as to the actual financial arrangements in relation to distributions and loan repayments within the B commercial enterprises,

I conclude that he has a capacity to pay interim spouse maintenance

Example (12)

Although the father concedes that the children were wrongfully removed from New Zealand

it is the father's case that

pursuant to regulation 16(3)(a)(ii)

the Court should exercise its discretion in favour of the father and not make an order for the children's return to New Zealand because the mother consented to the children moving to Australia with the father.

Example (13)

"The State Central Authority bears the burden of proving that the removal is wrongful as defined in subregulation (1A)

and having established the necessary elements on the balance of probabilities

and the Court must order the child's return

save and except that regulation 16(3) provides that the Court may refuse to order the return of the child if the person opposing that rerun establishes that:"

a), b), c)...

A difference between the structure of provisions in Example (2) and sentence structures of judicial opinions in Examples (8) to (13), which are formed without constraining conditions for the production of statutes, is apparent. The structures of sentences varysignificantly. What they have in common is that they mostly consist of complex sentence structures connected with various cohesive means. As far as English texts are concerned, individual sentences within a sentence structure are linked by means of prepositions, particularly the following ones: "that", "where", "as to". Compound sentences are freely connected by way of commas, semicolons and the conjunction "and". The use of gerunds and infinitives as typical means of condensation of English texts is common. The frequency of brackets and hyphens in the English texts is comparable with their occurrence in the Czech texts. Unlike Czech texts, English texts pay more attention to the graphical layout of documents, e.g. numbering of paragraphs, use of bold and capital letters. Czech sentences are frequently connected by the connectors: “přičemž”, “čímž”, “s tím, že”, “kdy”, “a to”, “a tedy”, “a tak”. The function of these cohesive means is primarily to keep a text coherent, without having any additional grammatical meaning. The aim of the authors to make their message compact is apparent.

4 Conclusions

The examples provided prove Bhatia´s statement that the cognitive process is reflected in sentence structuring. The complicated process of decision-making undertaken by individual judges produces complicated sentence structures.

As for the individual styles of the authors of the judicial opinions, there is a strong tendency to make the message condensed, which corresponds with legal language characteristics. In contrast to legal provisions, which have a highly formalized structure, judicial opinions display a greater variety of sentence patterns.

This results in the absence of the regular 2-move structure shown in Example (2). In fact, some sentence structures are even formed merely of separate sentences freely connected together by a comma. The right column entitled Specifications constituting the 2-move structure is often further extended to the 3rd move or rather sub-moves, as seen in Example (12) above. In general, the sentence structure of judicial opinions lacks the regularity of the structure observed in statutory provisions.

In some circumstances cognitive structures overlap with syntactic ones. As the examples have revealed, some authors struggle with grammatical rules to indicate the syntactic relations between sentences. This concerns particularly the Czech texts. Czech authors, for example, tend to use the comma as an indicator of a new clause, which does not facilitate orientation within the text.

It may be argued that there may be variations with respect to the formation of the presented cognitive structuring. Sentence structures could be created in a more detailed manner. However, no matter how detailed the structure may become in the end, it is the “bone” that is our primary objective. A mistake made in patterning the sentence structure may lead to an incorrect interpretation of the meaning of the sentence and, what is important to know, it may change the whole legal meaning.

As far as cohesive means are concerned, the study shows that there is a limited number of frequently used connectors, the function of which would deserve further study. However, their primary function seems to be to “glue” sentences together to make the text compact. What Czech and English cohesive means have in common is their indeclinable form, despite the different typology of the two languages. On the one hand, these types of connectors allow the reader to cut lengthy sentences to simplify a complex sentence structure without changing its meaning. On the other hand, they allow the writer (English and Czech) to form lengthy sentences without paying special attention to syntactic relations within the sentence structure. As their primary function is to make legal language condensed, their grammatical function has been diminished, which causes difficulties in interpreting legal texts. Many facts inserted within one sentence make syntactic structures complicated and the flow of information results in multiple interruptions.

The cognitive move-structure approach enables us to clarify the complexity of the language of law and offers solutions for its simplification. Taking advantage of the comparison of comparable texts proved to be fruitful in terms that it enables us to study the regularities and specificities of this genre at all levels: cross-cultural, textual, syntactic, lexical and morphological.

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PHRASEOLOGY: A LINK BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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Abstract
Language studies consider cultural models as well as linguistic cultural models which are of particular interest for phraseology since collectively shared cultural norms, attitudes or values can manifest themselves in presuppositions underlying proverbs, idioms and other prefabricated stereotypes. Culture is defined as the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The close link between culture and phraseology is best revealed by proverbs and fully idiomatic set phrases because they heavily rely on images, traditions and habits that are characteristic of a given culture. The paper deals with English phraseology which is the embodiment of English people consciousness and culture and at the same time serves as the means of communication and the knowledge of reality.

Key words
English phraseology, social phenomenon, idioms, proverbs

1 Introduction

Language and culture are closely related to one another. Language is an important factor in the process of identity construction, as well as delineating group boundaries and revealing group membership of the speaker. It is also a vehicle for action since certain acts – oaths, promises, complaints and apologies can only be performed through language and should be given a linguistic representation. Culture is debated upon as a set of social experiences, thought structures, expectations and practices of action, a land of mental apparatus and collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another (Granger and Meunier, 2008). Language naturally intersects with culture by providing means of expression for beliefs and value systems of groups and individuals.

Language and culture are also said to be instrumental in defining our individual and group identity- we become who we are through the process of interaction with others; "we see ourselves as others see us" (Kramsch 1998: 15). Namely, an individual grows up surrounded by other people's attitudes towards him and thus, his self-awareness is built by internalizing those attitudes.

Language is also a reflection of culture and thus, culture shapes language. Idioms are an important part of the language and culture of certain society. In exploration into the unknown world, idioms reflect the transformation in conceptualization of the universe and the relationship between human beings and the universe. Therefore idioms as a form of language reflect culture in a concentrated way. Their proper use in the language is often a mark of one's command of the language. Speech or writing without them lack colour and thus, it is less interesting, but overuse or improper use makes the language sound affected and unnatural.

Among the cultural goods the human kind has realized, language is of great importance. Language does not only represent the means of understanding between individuals but it also serves as an instrument of interpretation of human life. Having this quality, language represents the only means of the spirit. One cannot think of any spiritual activity without the help of language. Our thinking as well as cultural creation is related to the language we speak. There is no cultural field in which language does not ask for its rights. The culture of an individual is to be measured upon the form of the language he speaks (Risager, 2006).

The reciprocal relationship between language and culture stands for the fact that language helps culture and vice versa. Thus, language usage comprises two steps – a level of accumulation and a level of processing of the linguistic material with the help of culture. The examples of interdependence between language and culture could continue endlessly. It is obvious, though, that, spiritually speaking, language playes a major role in creating and promoting culture.

Likewise, language is a means of understanding in the relationship between the individual and society. It represents the sum of the verbal phrases, which a collectivity of individuals shared in order to enhance communication between them. Language cannot exist in itself, but within a society. Debated upon from this angle, like any other human activity, language, as an individual act, appears under two aspects – a spiritual level which appears in the content and constitutes the lexicon, and a material level which is to be translated in the form of the language. Once language translates these two aspects, it is an act of synthesis, in which the spirit is united with the expression, giving birth to speaking (Risager, 2006).

Culture is assumed to be implemented on the content plane of linguistic expressions, reproduced in an act of denomination and transmitted from generation to generation through linguistic and cultural norms of usage. Thus, language can be looked upon as a crucial mechanism contributing to the formation of a collective cultural identity. Cultural norms are not only reproduced in language but are made mandatory for speakers of that language through the linguistic structures they use.

Culture both liberates people from oblivion, anonymity and randomness of nature and constrains them by imposing a structure and principles of selection. This double effect of culture on the individual- *liberating and constraining*- plays itself out on the social, historical and metaphorical level. People who identify themselves as members of a social group, family neighbourhood, professional or ethnic affiliation, nation, acquire common ways of viewing the world through their interactions with other members of the same group. These views are reinforced through institutions like family, school, workplace, church, government and other sites of socialization through their lives. Common attitudes, beliefs, and values are reflected in the way members of the group use language – what they choose or not to say and how they say it (Kramsch 1998:5).

Language is debated upon as a part of culture, as an index and symbol of culture (Risager, 2006). In order to argue for the idea that language is an inevitable, major and crucial part of culture, Risager states that all those who seek fully to enter into and understand a given culture should, accordingly, master the language. The author also says that language shift or loss of culture's intimately associated language is indicative of extensive culture change. Concerning language as an index of culture, Risager says that the role of language as an index of culture is a byproduct of its role as part of culture. Languages reveal the ways of thinking and organizing experiences that are common in culture; she talks about culture-bound languages, and explains that language movements and language conflicts utilize languages as symbols to mobilize populations to defend/ attack or to foster/ reject the cultures associated with them. Language and culture symbolize each other in the consciousness of both insiders and outsiders (Cowie 1998: 165).

Phraseology is a linguistic discipline which studies the links between language and culture. As a means of communication, language disposes a cumulative function, thus being able to render, keep and hand down information about the culture and civilization of the speakers of a language from generation to generation. This function is rendered differently through a wide range of structural elements and linguistic mechanisms. Phraseological units or idiomatic expressions – language units having specific features – accomplishes the cumulative function of language through their own peculiarity as linguistic signs. Phraseological units encompass different principles, such as language units or speaking units. They are nomination units with linear structure, and may be narrative, imagistic or situational units, or they may represent a micro text having a general meaning, consisting of different types of information. Phraseological units do not only emphasize in themselves the naive approach towards the world, which is specific for a people, but also those stereotypes, those pylons which are passed from generation to generation and therefore, they define a specific approach towards the reality and a particular manner of conceptualizing the extralinguistic aspect of language. As a result, idiomatic expressions can be considered as some marks of linguistic thinking and mentality.

Sylviane Granger and Fanny Meunier appreciate that phraseology in the broad sense is one of the key components of language and is probably universal. "An Englishman may sleep like a dog, but a Frenchman will sleep like a marmot, a Dutchman like a rose, a German like a stone" (Granger and Meunier 2008: 193). They conclude that in all languages there are many examples of a wide variety of constructions that meet the general definition of phraseology. Defining the concept in the broad sense, the author states that phraseology meets the criteria of *polylexicality* and *fixedness*, whereas phraseology in the narrow sense requires the additional criterion of *idiomaticity*. (Granger and Meunier 2008: 207)

There is a close link between culture and phraseology – this is best revealed by proverbs and fully idiomatic set phrases, because they tend to rely heavily on images, traditions or habits that are characteristic of a given culture. A very important aspect when trying to render the cultural potentiality of idiomatic units is related to image. The imagistic basis of natural languages becomes more and more important for researchers of language studies – linguists, anthropologists, psychologists and so on. Within phraseology, the concept of image is traditionally related to that of visual representation, as a consequence of intermingling of the literal level with the phraseological meaning obtained through metaphorical or metonymical transfer. The image refers to the similitude based on knowledge shared by all the speakers of a language. It is not at all a mirror-like reflection but the processing, within phraseologism, of relevant information. "The creator" of the phraseological unit takes into consideration the elements of the "world image" (Cowie 1998: 203) which are at hand both for him and his interlocutors. Such a "world image" is associated with a set of traditional stereotypes, with a stable collective representation of reality. This could be the resort which explains the following class of English idioms – *as black as coal, as brave as a lion, as busy as a bee, as clear as crystal, as cold as ice, as fat as a pig, as feeble as a child, as gentle as a lamb, as green as grass, as hungry as a wolf, as obstinate as a mule, as silent as grave, as silly as a sheep, as white as snow, as pale as a ghost, as old as the hills*, *as ugly as sin, as proud as a peacock.*

The association of man with an obstinate mule is not related to the objective characteristics of a mule in general, but to the folk image of the mule, seen as a stubborn, obstinate, strong- headed, blunderer animal. In fact this very area, of the collective mental representations, has the precedence within the study of phraseology because, linguistically speaking, an adequate emotional reaction could not be possible without the knowledge and interpretation of the image. In order to argue for this idea, the association of some images which express the particular images through their internal characteristics with the characteristics of people would be appropriate.

2 Levels of phraseological unit cultural peculiarities

The problem of phraseological unit cultural peculiarities has attracted much attention in the works of modern linguists. They point out that the typical feature of phraseological units is their image-based motivation, which is directly connected with the notion world outlook. V. A. Maslova (2001) stresses the close connection of phraseological units with the cultural-historical traditions of people speaking the language. Dobrovolsky (1997) distinguishes between cultural-historical associations and national-cultural specific character of phraseological units.

On the whole two levels of manifestation of phraseological unit cultural peculiarities can be distinguished:

1. in their joint phraseological meaning
2. in the meaning of separate lexical components

The first level is closely associated with phraseological units having no phraseological counterparts in another language. This phenomenon may be expressed by the selective properties of phraseological nomination of people speaking different languages. At the same time concepts revealing the meaning of phraseological units having no counterparts in other languages exist in the „ language picture" of this or that nation. That is why the meaning of such units is expressed in another language by means of lexical units or word combinations. Such phraseological units are translated with the help of separate lexemes or a set of lexemes – lexical way of translation, descriptive translation, or word for word translation when the image of the original phraseological unit is understandable in the receiving language.

Phraseological units of the second level are presented by a rather small group of units, the components of which present some national realities. The number of phraseological units having in their lexeme structure a national-cultural component is not great in both languages. National peculiarity marking is created by the presence of words specific on the definite nation. These words are either some reality definitions known only to the bearers of one or several nations connected by joint culture and religion or topographical, anthropological and hydrological names typical only of the definite country (Selifonova 2002: 65-68).

Phraseological units containing national components also exist in the English language. For example, the name of the English river Avon is a component of the phraseological expression *Sweet Swan of Avon* (William Shakespeare was called so by Ben Johnson). (Koonin 1984: 738).

The English anthropological word *John O'Groat* served as a part of the English phraseological unit *from John O'Groat to Land's End*, with the meaning of *from South to North of England, from one part of the country to another.*

The etymological information gives us the following explanation: John O'Groat is the northernmost part of Great Britain named after John O'Groat, an emigrant from Holland who settled near the northern end of Scotland in the reign of Jakob IV, 1473-1513 (Koonin 1984:417)

The large frequency of the English name *John* serves as the basis of the phraseological unit *John Bull*, „a mocking nickname of English people which gained wide popularity" (Koonin 1984: 418)

This unit is characterized by bright national colouring, hence ironic *John-Bullish* – typically English, *John-Bullism* – typical features of English character, *John-Bullist* – an adherent of everything which is English. (Koonin 1984: 418)

National specific features of phraseological units may reflect the history of the nation, its original traditions and customs, its character primordially laid in phraseological unit prototypes. The English phraseological unit *have kissed the blarney stone – be a flatterer* is also characterized by national colouring. The expression is based on the old legend according to which a person who will kiss the stone in the Irish castle of Blarney gets the ability of being a flaterer. The expression *Kilkenny cats – mortal enemies – fight like Kilkenny cats – fight to the death* goes back to the legend about the violent struggle between two towns – Kilkenny and Irishtown in the 17th century which brought them to destruction.

V. A. Maslova points out that we cannot overstate the role of national peculiarities in the phraseological picture of the world. There are a lot of international phraseological units and expressions based on the knowledge of the real world common to all mankind in the phraseological systems of languages. The differences in phraseological unit images can be explained by the lack of coincidence of the technique of secondary nomination in different languages rather than by their cultural peculiarities. (Maslova 2001:208)

National and international elements are closely linked to a semantic structure of phraseological units. International elements manifest themselves in human mentality as well as in interaction of languages and cultures. National elements reflect originality of speech group, caused by the conditions of its life and peculiarities of the history.

Phraseological units originate from various sources:

1. *Legends, traditions, religions, narrations and beliefs of the English folk.* Here the following phraseological units can be referred: *to beat the wind* – to waste time, to be busy with vain work; *to show the white feather* – to show timidity (a white feather in a tail of fighting cock was a sign of bad breed); *to leap apes in hell* – to die as an unmarried woman (according to old English narrations old unmarried women were intended to leap apes after their death);

2. *English realms', blue stocking* – learned woman (one of the English admiral Boscawen's literary meetings in the 18th century in London was called the meeting of blue stockings, because scientist Benjamin Spellingflete came in

blue stockings); *blue book* – reference book that contains surnames of persons who occupy state posts in the USA; *to carry coals to Newcastle* – to do something absurd, Newcastle is the centre of English coal industry;

3. *Personalities of English writers , kings and scholars – King Charles' head* – obsessive idea, according to Dickens' novel *David Copperfield\ Queen Ann is dead*- nothing new; *a Sherlock Holmes* – a detective; *A sally Lunn*- sweet roll;

4. *Historical facts – as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb* – if one is to be executed because of stealing a sheep, so why not steal a lamb – an old English law according to which one who steals a sheep is executed; *the curse of Scotland* – nine of diamonds in cards – the card is called in honour of the resemblance with the blazon of Duke Stair, who hated Scotland;

5. *Fables and fairy-tales*: *Fortunate's purse* – purse full of money; *the whole bag of tricks* – very sly;

6. *Family relations- henpecked husband*- a man habitually subdued by his wife; *a marriage portion*- a bride's dowry, *to marry a fortune*- to take as a husband a rich and well respected man, *Miss Right*- somebody's future wife, *Mr. Right*- somebody future's husband;

7. *Seasons and weather – rush season*- period when people are especially busy doing something; *out of season*- not available for sale, out of point, not in a proper place; *settled weather*- period of calm weather, free from storms and extremes; *under the weather* – ill (Dobrovolsky 1997: 37-48).

Phraseological units are used in all spheres of communication: in everyday life, science, technology, business world, politics, culture, education and literature. No one can imagine life without set phrases, idioms, proverbs and sayings. Phraseological units result from mode of life.

Phraseology becomes the embodiment of person's national consciousness and culture and at the same time serves as the means of communication and the knowledge of reality.

Phraseological unit is a social phenomenon, created by people as bearers of the language. Each idiom turns out to be a certain image. There are lots of such images in a sphere of law, politics, navy, theatre. The communicative aspect in characterizing phraseological units has primary significance because an idiom is formed to the model of a word – combination or a sentence, the latter being the main communicative unit of the language. The communicative function of phraseological units is realized only in communicative act.

Communication presupposes conveying thoughts; phraseological units are involved into the process of verbal speaking and thinking; they are the bearers of the communicative nature of human thoughts. Thus, idioms have great communicative force because they enrich English. Phraseological units carry out unsurpassed nature of English language because that is the language of mass communication.

3 Native speaker phraseological competence

It is generally agreed that native speaker linguistic competence has a large and significant phraseological component. If it is accepted that phraseological phenomena are not merely fixed or formulaic expressions and therefore are not purely memorized as lexical items, it is necessary to make a much more detailed description of conventionality than simply listing familiar phrases. Conventionality results from specialization of form and meaning and some of the most useful evidence for native speaker competence in this area comes from what could be called deviant forms, which in the study of phraseology could also be termed unconventional – a combination can be grammatically and semantically correct, but phraseologically unconventional.

3.1 Phraseological deviation

Native speakers and writers produce large numbers of unintentional phraseological errors. This is to be expected in spontaneous speech, but deviations should not be dismissed from consideration simply as performance slips. A detailed analysis can help us to understand underlying processes. This can be done by means of a traditional set of operations or categories of conversion that speakers perform on „ target” combinations (Granger and Meunier, 2008).

Expansion

(1) His ability to face up to the true music (speaking) *face the music*

(2) A glance at the interest rate chart shows swings as well as roundabouts *swings and roundabouts*

Contraction

(3) The proof is in the pudding (speaking) *the proof of the pudding is in the eating*

(4) Somebody rears its head *ugly head*

Transformation

(5) I got this slaking thirst (speaking) *slake one's thirst*

(6) The thought that x is y is exploded as a myth (writing) *explode a myth*

Transposition

(7) Naked act of aggression (writing) *act of naked aggression*

(8) A compromise in any form of shape (speaking) *in any shape or form*

Substitution

(9) Not one of the women batted an eyeball (speaking) *eyelid*
(10) One has to suspend belief *disbelief*
(11) Abrogate responsibility *abdicate*
(12) It is typical of our western attitude that we solve our conscience by charity (writing) *salve*

Blends

(13) He gets on my goat (speaking) *he gets on my wick/ he gets my goat*
(14) It's very hard to draw the balance (Howarth 1998: 30) *draw the line/strike the balance*
(15) The power and ability of Mrs. Thatcher to dominate the machinery of government has reached new and unparalleled lengths (writing)
reach heights/ got to lengths
(16) Labour pins its colours on Europe *pin one's hopes on something/ nail one's colours to the mast*
(17) don't you have to pin your….nail your colours …whatever you do with colours to the mast? (speaking).

The substitution of one item for another is interesting as well, since it is the limits on substitution that are distinctively phraseological, and this appears to be the most common type of variation. A distinction can be drawn between e.g. *Not one of the women batted an eyeball* and *One has to suspend belief,* because in many collocational studies the noun is considered the base of a collocation and determines the choice of the verb. It would therefore be expected that the verb would more often be subject to distortion, especially since, in restricted collocations, it is used in a figurative or specialized sense. The fact that *abrogate* and *solve* are phonologically similar to the targets makes the deviation quite explicable. Likewise, it is the noun that is deviant though in these cases the combinations are perhaps sufficiently idiomatic for neither element to determine the other. It is the highly specialized meaning of *suspend disbelief* that makes it vulnerable to variation, while in the idiom *not bat an eyelid* the meaning of the verb is opaque and the distinction between eyelid and eyeball is immaterial.

A further significant distinction can be drawn between substitutes of one element for another and blends, which result from the linking of a verb from one familiar collocation with a noun from another that is semantically related, e.g. *Don't you have to pin your….nail your colours…whatever you do with colours to the mast?* This is of particular interest, being a rare record of a speaker idiosyncrasy going through the process of searching his mental phrasal lexicon. This example seems to reveal the speaker identifying a semantic similarity between the verbs *pin* and *nail.*

3.2 Creative variation

In addition to slips of this kind, phraseological competence is the basis of an enormous amount of intentional deviation. Phraseology not only includes creativity, it helps to explain what creativity is (Granger and Meunier, 2008).

Expansion

(18) A simmering bone of convention (writing)

(19) Any writer worth his salt, pepper and ham and eggs (writing)

(20) Lithuania and the Soviet Union broke the thick ice between them (writing)

Contraction

(21) On the ill wind side, his publishers are ordering copies of his five books of poetry

It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good

(22) The f of the s is d than the m (writing) *the female of the species is deadlier than the male*

(23) such a nightmare …. is a there-but-for-the-grace-situation

there but for the grace of God go I

Transformation

(24) X doesn't have courage or conviction to *have the courage of one's convictions*

(25) Though the Government's official doctrine is that sterling will join the EMS when the time is ripe, Whitehall insiders are in little doubt that there is no ripe time so long as he is Prime Minister, (writing)

Transposition

(26) Lull him into a sense of false security (speaking) *a false sense of security*

(27) Enemy snatching defeat from the jaws of victory, (writing) *snatch victory from defeat*

Substitution

(28) Pocking mischief at (writing) *poke fun at somebody*

(29) You took to it like a duck to orange (speaking) *duck to water*

Blends

(30) Stiff upper lips sealed on Quorn hunt scandal *stiff upper lip/ one's lips are sealed*

(31) No smoke without fear or favour *No smoke without fire/ without fear or favour*

4 Conclusion

The concepts which are very often used in connection with phraseology, e.g. frozen expression, phraseologism, phraseological unit, idiom, are the most general ones. They encompass specific phraseological units – idiomatic expressions, compound words, fixed collocations, cliches, sayings, proverbs, famous lines, song fragments, book titles, publicity slogans. A close link between culture and phraseology is best revealed by proverbs and fully idiomatic set phrases, because they tend to rely heavily on images, traditions or habits that are characteristic of a given culture. It is no easy matter to draw a line between images that are related to more or less universal aspects of the human mind and features of a specific culture. Thus, the study of phraseology establishes common relations with history, culture and civilization of people. There is also a common idiomatic heritage to all European languages, originating from biblical or Latin and Greek phrases.

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AN EMERGING VARIETY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: SOME ISSUES AROUND THE COMPLEXITY OF THE EURO-ENGLISH

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Abstract
In the European Union, which represents linguistically diverse institution *sui generis*, texts are produced in a supranational multicultural discourse community describing specific aspects and concepts of European law or of national legal systems. The efforts of unifying and harmonising national laws with the aim of developing a European system of law have resulted in a number of new concepts that in turn caused proliferation of numerous new terms – the Euro-terms. They represent a basis for shaping a kind of supranational language: *legal Euro-English*. Nevertheless, can we talk about a new emerging variety? What are the features and characteristics of it compared to legal language in general?

Key words
Euro-English, Euro-terms, legal English, concept of the EU, variety

1 Legal language

Legal language represents a special and complicated register with its own domain of use and a number of specific features. This stems from the language having developed its own special form in order to fulfil the demands of particular legal systems, reflecting the history and the evolution of those systems. Legal language contains "the heaviest constraints" (Garzone 2000: 396) at different linguistic levels. The linguistic levels range from the macro-structure of texts, to paragraphs, sentences, phrases, and terms. There is in legal language a systematic resorting to standardised forms that are archaic and uncommon in ordinary text practice; stock phrases; rigid collocations and specialised cohesive devices for anaphoric, cataphoric, homophoric, and intratextual reference (Garzone 2000).

Legal discourse can furthermore be culturally bound with socio-cultural features inherent in all linguistic units, on all language levels. We speak about a specific legal style with its own technical lexicon and fundamental characteristics of precision and accuracy resulting from the requirement for obtaining clarity, univocal character, precision of thought, and legal certainty. Paradoxically, due to its obscurity, ambiguity, and complexity, legal language is often incomprehensible for the general public.

According to Cao (2007), legal language is identified with and linked to the normative, performative, and technical nature of language use and the inherent indeterminate nature of language in general (Fig. 1).

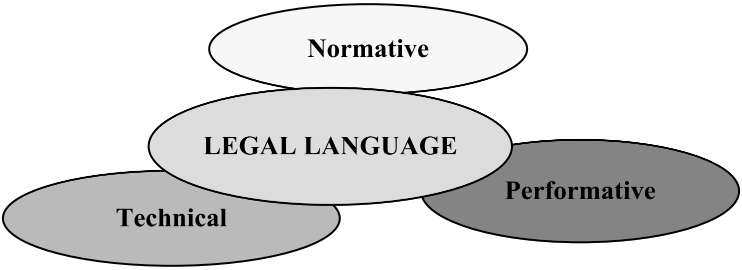

Figure 1: Features of legal language (Cao)

Mattila (2006) speaks about precision, information overload, universality and aloofness, systemic character, special structure, level of formalism, frequency of initialisation and acronyms, sentence complexity and diversity of language elements, archaisms, and solemnity (Fig. 2).

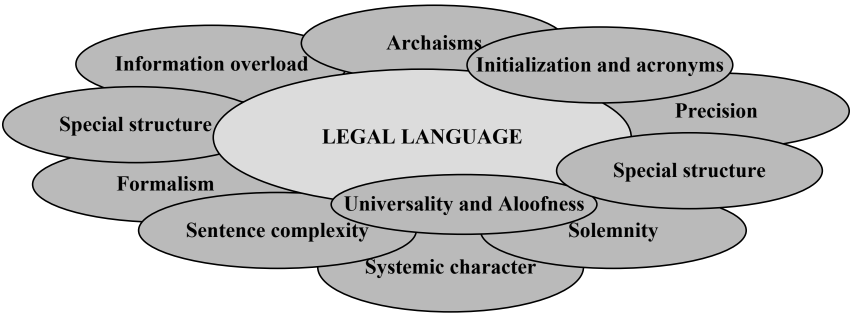

Figure 2: Features of legal language (Mattila)

2 Euro-English – supranational legal language in the European Union

The Euro-English has a unique and specific nature with its lexical/terminological apparatus augmented by terms typical of the EU register.

While being compared with standard legal language, it has to be admitted that in case of the EE there are some distinctive features to be taken into consideration.

Firstly, one important point must be emphasized. When describing the legal language in general, it was mentioned that it represents a special and peculiar register because the language has developed its own special form in order to fulfil the demands of particular legal systems, reflecting the history and the evolution of those systems. The language of the European Union fulfils the demands of a particular system; it describes specific aspects and concepts of the supranational legal community, but to talk about reflecting the history of the European Union would be a bit premature.

Legal discourse can furthermore be culturally bound with socio-cultural features inherent in all linguistic units, on all language levels. To identify the source and the target culture is often very problematic, if possible at all in the case of the EU documents. According to Koskinen (2000), communication in the EU is essentially acultural. At the same time, in order to achieve the same legislative effect in all the languages, the drafting of the documents should be done with an eye to avoiding culture-bound concepts. According to Van Els (2001), deculturalisation, or reduction of cultural embedding is to be expected in a *lingua franca*, which should be reflected in a semantic and syntactic simplification of drafting languages in the EU.

As mentioned before, due to its obscurity, ambiguity, and complexity, legal language is often incomprehensible for the general public; it is linked with the normative, performative, and technical nature of language use, and the inherent indeterminate nature of language in general (Cao, 2007), Mattila (2006) gives more granular characterization of it.

These characteristics cannot, however, be generally applied in the case of Euro-English. The first fact to bear in mind in an attempt to compare legal English with Euro-English is that despite the fact that Euro-English has been noted for its singularity and vagueness, "serpentine sentences and eurocratic waffle" (Johnson, 2011:1), and legal language for its obscurity, ambiguity, and complexity, the complexity of this linguistically diverse institution "*sui generis*" does not stem from the same sources as that of legal language does.The crux of the problem here lies in the fact that the documents are drafted by the people whose native tongue is other than English. A survey held in 2009 showed that of the 95% of Commission drafters who wrote mainly in English, only 13% had English as their mother tongue. The survey also revealed that 54% of them rarely or never had their documents checked by a native speaker (Wagner, 2010). The result of this was "bad English", full of unwieldy constructions, unimpressive, vague or "nasty" neologisms, false friends, abusive use of foreign words – "barbarismes" (Mattila, 2006) – and drafted texts that were unclear, giving rise to difficulties in the correct application of the EU legislation. With the aim of eliminating any obfuscation and obscurities, the Clear Writing campaign was successfully launched in 2010. Attempting to provide translators with practical advice on proper drafting and spreading a “clear” word, the Clear Writing campaign drew its name and ideals from the words of an Austrian-British philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein: “Everything that can be said, can be said clearly.”

In the table below, I compare the features of legal language in general as described by Cao (2007) and Mattila (2006) with the features of Euro-English; it is an enhanced version of the one published in Sageder (2013).

2010. CAO		
	LEGAL LANGUAGE	**EURO-ENGLISH**
Normative nature	Related to norm creation, norm production and norm expression (Jori, 1994 in Cao, 2007), the language is largely prescriptive. Its predominant function is to direct people’s behaviour in society. It authoritatively posits legal norms.	Euro-English definitely has normative nature; it posits legal norms by describing specific aspects and concepts of the European law or of national legal systems (see http://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html).
Performative nature	Legal language performs legal speech acts which are constitutive of their effects. Performative nature of language is indispensable to law in achieving its purpose of regulating human behaviour and society and setting out obligation, prohibition and permission.	Euro-English also performs legal speech acts which are constitutive of their effects. Performative nature of language is indispensable to law; therefore it is indispensable also in the case of EE.
Technical nature	There are lexical, syntactical, textual and pragmatic features that are singular to legal language as a technical language.	There are lexical, syntactical, textual and pragmatic features singular to Euro-English compared to general English, therefore we can say, it definitely has a technical character.
Indeterminate nature	Linguistic uncertainty is inherent to a language, and cannot be eliminated, thus is ineliminable from a legal system (Endicott 2000: 190 in Cao).	Linguistic uncertainty is inherent to a language, and cannot be eliminated, thus is ineliminable from a legal system (Endicott 2000: 190 in Cao) as well as from Euro-English.

MATTILA		
Precision	It is one of the fundamental characteristics of LL resulting from the requirement for legal protection and legal certainty.	As opposed to legal language, EE is perceived as mythical and vague.
Tautology	Tautologies are found in legal documents with the purpose of transmitting legal message with absolute clarity and without ambiguity (except for the cases of pernicious ambiguity).	May not be an intention to use tautologies in EE – the Clear Writing Campaign emphasizes the clarity of writing and avoiding over-long sentences.
Definitions	In LL, due to polysemy, legal terms are often defined to avoid misunderstanding.	Definitions in the EE are also very common and necessary especially due to proliferation of new concepts.
	LEGAL LANGUAGE	**EURO-ENGLISH**
Enumerations	Enumerative lists are typical of legal language.	Enumerative lists can be found in some EE documents.
Information overload	In certain cases the law must necessarily be highly complex (e.g. fiscal law) to include all the necessary details with a high density of information, next cases include the traditional approaches with the documents overloaded with the information. Nowadays, however, following the criticism from linguists, some documents are written in a language close to ordinary language, in some bilingual countries (e.g. Canada) the Plain Language Movement has become popular.	The Clear Writing Campaign fights against this. One of the tips for clear writing is KISS – keep it short and simple.
Universality and aloofness		
Abstraction and hypothetical character	Judicial language contains a number of general clauses, modern law has an abstract character, it regulates entities that are mere mental creations: rights and duties, law is based on experience drawn from the real world but it regulates hypothetical future cases.	Tip No 7 from the Clear Writing Campaign brochure says: Be concrete not abstract .Concrete messages are clear — abstract language may be vague and off-putting.
Impersonality and objectivisation	There is a frequent use of passive in LL that brings the object of the action into foreground, giving the actor only secondary role.	Tip No 8 from the Clear Writing Campaign brochure says: Prefer active verbs to passive — and name the agent.

Neutrality	The main intention in legal language is to have an effect of understanding rather than the feelings of the reader or listener, the level of neutrality, however, depends on a/the particular culture and traditions of the country in question.	Depends on the particular document. Some documents are required to be drafted with the focus on the reader with the aim to attract and interest him.
Metaphors	As opposed to medieval times, modern legal language does not tend to be figurative.	It is not common to find metaphors in EE either.
Systemic character		
Interrelationship of different elements of the law	In legal order each element of the order forms part of a greater whole.	This feature applies also in the case of EE documents.
	LEGAL LANGUAGE	**EURO-ENGLISH**
Functions and problems of referencing	References are appropriate for eliminating internal contradictions and repetitions, they show the wider contexts to which the different elements of the legal order belong, they have informative and mnemotechnical function; however, referencing may cause ambiguities and difficulties in understanding, as well as misunderstandings.	Referencing is also present in EE, the function of it in EE register, however, has not been researched yet.
Logical and consistent use of terms	Systemic character of the legal order appears in terms, there is a tendency to use them logically and consistently in all legal contexts.	Terms typical of EU register, whose underlying conceptual structure has been derived from the supranational legal community, poses the greatest threat to uniform conceptual interpretation and consequent faithful translation, therefore to derive any conclusions concerning logical or consistent use of Euro-Terms would for this moment be premature. Further research is necessary in this field.
Formalism and special structure	The structure of legal text is carefully elaborated, logical disposition of the texts helps to place legal information in hierarchy.	There have not been enough research made concerning the structure of Euro-English; therefore to carry out proper research would be necessary here.

Initialisation and acronyms	Legal language uses many initialisations, abbreviations and acronyms. Use of them is problematic for several reasons: they are unstable because most of them are not ratified officially, they often have multiple meanings, the manner of their formation is not uniform etc.	EE is full of initialisations, abbreviations and acronyms. Use of them can become problematic due to the same reasons as in the case of legal language. Nevertheless, the Clear Writing Campaign's Tip 9 encourages drafter of documents to avoid their usage.
Sentence complexity	Sentences in legal language are traditionally very long and complicated.	The Clear Writing Campaign in its KISS principle fights against this complexity.
Diversity of language elements	Words with ordinary meaning, words used in a technical sense, only technical terms (either legal or terms from other specialised fields).	Terms in EE can be also divided into several categories (by applying distinction made by Alcaraz and Hughes): purely technical legal terms (technical terms – from legal or other specialised fields), semi-technical terms (ordinary words used in technical sense) and non-technical terms (words with ordinary meaning).
	LEGAL LANGUAGE	**EURO-ENGLISH**
Archaisms and solemnity	There is a close connection between gravity and archaic character in legal language. Exaggerated archaisms can make a text comical but, lightly used; this feature has the opposite effect: the text becomes more dignified and serious.	The solemnity and archaisms in legal language are connected with the historical development of the legal language, these features, due to the young character of EE, are not so widespread in this particular register. According to the *Joint Practical Guide of the European Parliament, the Council, and the Commission* for persons involved in the drafting of legislation within the Community institutions published in 2003, the vague words, jargon expressions, and certain Latin words diverted from their current meaning should be avoided. Tip 9 from the Clear Writing Campaign states similarly: beware of false friends, jargon and abbreviations.

3 Conclusion

According to David Crystal (2002: 18): “in 1877 the English language was much more homogenous than it is today” and we can notice the proliferation of new spoken varieties (e.g. Australian, South African, and Indian). The trend is, due to the advanced and ongoing technological progress going to continue and bring, undoubtedly, new varieties. The Euro-English might become one of them. However, it should not become intelligible to English speakers (like e.g. ´Singlish´ in Singapore), but it should continue to increase its position as the dominant lingua franca in EU legal communication. Therefore, there is no doubt that a great deal of empirical and theoretical work shall be done in this area.

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COMPARATIVE CZECH-ENGLISH ANALYSIS OF WRITTEN ENGLISH (KAPA): TRANSFORMING LINGUISTIC EXPERTISE INTO A PRACTICAL EAP COURSE

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Abstract

The paper proposes to present the design of a new course, the aim of which is concerned with the functional syntax and vocabulary in the English-Czech comparative approach. It offers students a functional comparison of the two languages in which they will be able to apply the knowledge acquired in the bachelor programmes of English studies against the background of their mother tongue, i.e. the Czech language. After completing the course the students will be able to functionally distinguish the main features of English and Czech (with the emphasis on syntactic and lexico-semantic plan in both languages) and to use this linguistic expertise practically in the production of written English or in translation. The paper outlines the key syntactic and lexico-semantic areas which were identified as potential causes of interferential problems and which thus compose the core of the course syllabus.

Key words

comparative, EAP, lexico-semantic, syntax, written English

1 Current approaches to ELT, especially to teaching EAP

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is in fact a subtype of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and they both are varieties of English used in science and education. EAP also overlaps with varieties identified as EIL (English as an International Language), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), and in the area of education and language teaching it falls within traditional broad concepts ELT, TESOL and TEFL (Schmied 2011: 2). EAP can also be considered as the "higher end" of ELF (ibid.). EAP contains specific lexis, grammar, structures and procedure, which can basically be referred to as the formal style.

Logically enough, it is the written mode of English that makes students' errors more visible and obvious. Owing to "the difficulty the L2 writers encounter when they carry the burden of acquiring English and learning to write simultaneously" (Hyland 2003: 34), students often commit errors occurring as an inevitable part of EFL student writing. Also it is found that EFL writing is generally shorter, less cohesive and fluent, and contains more errors (ibid.).

Schmied (2011:1) points out that there has been development to academic writing as a sub-discipline of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) from its predecessors, namely "old essay-writing focussed on language-specific student errors or creative styles" and "old English for Specific Purposes (ESP) focussed on discipline-specific vocabulary." No matter which approach predominates, the specific variety of language functions as a tool of its discourse community (as defined by Swales 1990) or a more broadly conceived community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991). In the professional and academic setting, the exchange of information, ideas, knowledge and experience between people sharing the same professional interest often takes place in writing, particularly in the current globalised world and between members of various nationalities (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 186f). The role of a common language, lingua franca, is then crucial to communication between its mostly non-native users. Judging by current textbooks used in teaching EAP, it seems that the approach favoured by their authors is strictly monolingual, without reference to any other languages. The reason for this is probably practical, as the textbook used in ELT must be universal, tending non-native learners of English of whatever nationality. If this is an understandable policy of big multinational ELT publishers, there possibly also opens a niche for bilingually oriented textbooks which, logically, utilise the comparative perspective. However, virtually none of such books, published by rule outside of English-speaking countries, employs the methods of analysis of language forms and functions, nor do they compare or contrast the target language (English) with other languages using some systematic linguistic approach.

Several examples can be found among Czech publications for learners of academic English. But when we take a look at *Základy anglické stylistiky* by Macpherson, Úvod do anglické stylistiky by Urbanová and Oakland and *Academic English – Akademická angličtina: Průvodce anglickým jazykem pro studenty, akademiky a vědce* by Štěpánek., de Haaff, Hradilová and Schüller (2011), to give examples of currently available and used EAP textbooks, it is evident that these sources usually share a big disadvantage: they assume a prescriptive or, in the best case, descriptive approach, being thus rather style manuals for non-native users of formal or academic English than analytic studies of the characteristics of English for current or future EFL professionals. They simply focus on telling how something is or should be used instead of trying to find out and explain why.

2 The need for a comparative grammatical and lexicological approach

In the above-described situation in ELT/EFL in general and ESP/EAP in particular, it seems useful to introduce (in fact, to reintroduce) a comparative approach to study of a foreign language. However, such a course should be appropriately adapted to up-to-date linguodidactic trends: it shall focus on a specific variety of the language (suited to the particular needs of learners), the approach should have an inherent functional and communicative focus and the style of teaching/learning should allow students a large degree of learner autonomy.
There are three questions that must be answered when considering a suitable approach to teaching such an EFL course.

(1) Are errors and mistakes useful in the proces of learning a foreign language? Should they be exploited didactically or rather avoided to prevent students from (unknowingly) acquiring them?
(2) Should a language be taught per se, without (unnecessary) reference to learners´ mother tongue, or is a systematically comparative approach beneficial? This generates also the question whether didactic and metalinguistic instruction should be given in the mother tongue or rather the target one (or in both of them combined, and if so, in what ratio).
(3)What degree of inclusion of linguistic theory and related metalanguage (grammar – syntax, morphology; word-formation, etc.) is useful and efficient? Do the needs of teaching ESP differ considerably from those of teaching general English?

3 The aims of the comparative course

The course titled Comparative Czech-English analysis of written English and abbreviated by the alphabetism KAPA (based on initial letters of the Czech equivalent of its title) is being built upon a gradually compiled corpus of sentences and phrases of Czech speakers of English. All of these sentences and phrases are marked by negative transfer of syntactic structures and lexical items from the learners´ mother tongue, i.e. Czech, into English. These interferences can be divided into those affecting the lexicosemantic substance of language, hereafter referred to as lexical interference, and those observable in the arrangement of lexis in clauses and sentence, i.e. the structure of the language. The latter type of negative transfer will be called syntactic interference.

The aim of the course is to innovate the way English formal written style is taught by adding an analytic, linguistic and comparative focus. The confrontation with phenomena analogical to or different from those known from students´ mother tongue should develop their stylistic, communicative and analytic skills, leading thus to the desirable level of their competence in academic language, particularly in writing. The core of target audience are students of follow-up Masters´ programmes majoring in teaching English as a foreign language at primary, lower secondary and language schools. The required minimum English knowledge is B2, as the course is not offered exclusively to students of English, but enrolment is available to students of any faculty of Masaryk University. The language of instruction is English, but there is no strict prohibition of using Czech in justified cases, since the comparative focus of the course results in employing numerous language-specific examples from Czech, requiring thus also Czech comments at times.

3.1 Theoretical background and methodology

As far as theory is concerned, the course draws on the functional approach of the Prague Linguistics Circle and its Brno branch, stressing the functional comparison as a source of practical observation of differences as well as similarities and analogies relevant to understanding the characteristic manner each language operates. In this respect, the approach follows the linguistic characterology and comparative linguistic approach as proposed by Mathesius (1975), Vachek (1994), Dušková (1994, 2003), etc. As stated earlier, the comparative approach is nothing new. Teaching Latin in medieval Europe or teaching foreign languages at schools using the traditional grammar-translation method, all of these have a strong comparative component. Czech English studies have an excellent tradition of a genuinely linguistic comparative approach represented e.g. by Mathesius´ *A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis* (edited by Josef Vachek and translated by Libuše Dušková, 1975), Vachek´s *A Linguistic Characterology of Modern English* (1990), Dušková´s *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (1994), etc.

The methods employed in the instruction are seminar discussions based on analysis of texts to read and students' translations. The students are also systematically recommended secondary literature with a comparative linguistic approach. Students are also assigned seminar presentations on relevant topics, mostly drawing from the prescribed secondary sources.

3.2 Lexical interference

Lexical interference from Czech into English typically involves the use of so-called *false friends* (i.e. internationalisms, which despite their obvious similarity and shared etymology denote different concepts in either language), incorrect collocations, literal translations of multi-word expressions from one language into another instead of their (differently formed) functional equivalents, mixing registers (i.e. using lexical synonyms irrespective of their currency in different stylistic layers in either language). Further examples of lexical interference include insufficient or, conversely, excessive semantic condensation and nominalisation of expression (e.g. **results comparison tables*), undesirable lexical sparsity, and also poor vocabulary range (usually caused by insufficient knowledge of vocabulary, but also by excessive prudency concerning the use of unfamiliar lexis by non-native speakers and writers).

3.3 Syntactic interference

The syntactic interference comprises e.g. transfer in cleft constructions, word order, highlighting selected clause components. Functional sentence perspective (FSP) or the distribution of theme and focus is an important aspect operating differently in English and in Czech, despite following the same goal. Register differences play a role in syntax, too.

For example, Czech learners of English often stick to an unmarked SVOMPT word-order as the only correct option, and consider syntactic deviations from it, conditioned by shifts in focus on certain sentence elements, as ungrammatical. Thus, on the basis of their syntactic prejudices, they tend not to use the variants quoted in Figure 1.

- Prejudice of a universal **fixed word order** (SVO…)
  Judy was her name. (CVS)

  In came the master. (AVS)

  Little idea did they have about it. (OVS)

  In the castle lived a king. (AVS)
- Prejudice of invariably placing the **rheme at the end** (end-focus, FSP)
  A new guest arrived. (Rh-Tr-Th)

  There is a book on the table.

Figure 1: Czech students' syntactic prejudices

3.4 Errors, mistakes and interference

Most authors draw a distinction between mistakes and errors, and errors and slips as specific types of mistakes. According to Harmer (1991: 68-70; 237-239), errors occur when FL learners try to say something which is beyond their current level of knowledge of language processing. On the other hand, slips result from tiredness, worry, temporary emotions or circumstances (ibid.) According to Ellis (1997: 15ff), errors reflect gaps in the learner's knowledge of the correct structures of the target language, whereas mistakes can be explained as occasional lapses in performance, resulting thus from inability to apply the knowledge of target languages structures.

Reasons for making errors include incomplete knowledge, experimenting, working out the rules of target language (developmental errors) and native language (NL), interference or analogy (so-called negative transfer. Ellis (1997: 51) explains transfer as a product of "learner's perceptions about what is transferable and by their stage of development in L2 learning" (Bhela as qtd. in Ellis 1997). Transfer is connected with creating an interlanguage, i.e. interim rules and structures based on L1 which facilitate the learning of L2. These structures are ideally needed only until the correctness in L2 usage is achieved and then they are discarded.

Intralingual errors (James 1998: 62-63) include false analogy, misanalysis, and incomplete rule application, exploiting redundancy, overlooking co-occurrence restrictions, hypercorrection and overgeneralisation.

Appropriateness in ELF is a category defined pragmatically. Those language means that perform efficiently the communicative function are regarded appropriate, able to achieve the communicative goals of the speaker by being successfully decoded by the recipient. The norm in the native usage is certainly defined more rigorously; the grammatical correctness and semantic content are just some of the aspects, others being the current native usage in the given lexical and syntactic environment, genre, style, national standard of English, occupational or other social dialect, etc. Is there, however, any typically Czech (German, French, Japanese, etc.) variant of ELF, i.e. a successfully used international variant of English? Does it have any typical properties in the written mode?

As Bhela claims (1999: 22), "second language learners appear to accumulate structural entities of the target language but demonstrate difficulty in organising this knowledge into appropriate, coherent structures. There appears to be a significant gap between the accumulation and the organisation of the knowledge."

3.5 Course structure

Given the two major areas of interlanguage interference mentioned above and potential mistakes arising from them, the KAPA course syllabus contains clearly distinguishable lexical (or lexicosemantic) and syntactic (or more widely grammatical) sections.

1. Comparative linguistics; Prague Linguistic Circle. English as an analytic language vs. Czech as a synthetic language.
2. Complex condensation. Tendency towards nominal predication.
3. Highlighting, information packaging – clefting; existential *there*-constructions.
4. Highlighting information – shift to the initial position (fronting), inversion, left- and right-dislocation, extraposition (end-focus).
5. Information processing – theme-focus arrangement (TFA), Chafe, functional sentence perspective (FSP).
6. Translation and stylistic aspects of syntax.
7. Lexical characteristics of English and Czech. Tendencies of word-formation.
8. Semantic condensation; compounds, calques, paraphrasing.
9. Nominalisation in English. Terms. Explicitness and implicitness of naming and reference.
10. Homonymy, synonymy and polysemy in English and Czech. Negative transfer/interference – internationalisms, *false friends*.
11. Professional styles (Academic Writing, EAP, and style of science) in English and Czech.
12. Consolidation and summary.

Figure 2: Syllabus of the comparative CZ-En EAP course (KAPA)

4 Selected differences between Czech and English language phenomena

In order to illustrate the material collected in the learner language corpus and the interlanguage comparison which can be made using them, the following sections 4.1-4.2.2 include several categories of Czech-English interferences.

4.1 Selected lexical interferences

Lexical interferences typically include so-called false friends or interlanguage homonyms which confuse users by formal similarity of an internationalism used in both languages and wrong assumption made thereon that its meaning is identical or at least similar as well. However, the meaning, although a semantic link can be identified, often proves to be incompatible in the two languages.

Another incorrect assumption made by learners is that the grammatical properties of a translation equivalent, quite often an internationalism again, will be the same as in the other language (see examples 1-2).

(1) **The thesis **comprises of** five chapters. – Závěrečná práce se skládá z pěti kapitol.*

(2) **There have been many **researches** into…*

A variant of this assumption is forming a morphological neologism which should meet expectations of a language user (ex. 3) of somehow predictable lexis of the other language.

(3) ****problematic*** *– problematika*

The Czech equivalent to English plural forms of count nouns *problems/issues/questions* is a singular noun *problematika* (with implied denotation suggesting existence of multiple problems). This is why a similar singular noun, which obviously must be an internationalism derived from the same international root, is sought by Czech users of English.

Yet another lexical interferential error is ignorance of semantic differences between senses of polysemous expressions, where a polysemous word (a more general one, which incorporates more senses) corresponds to two or more specialised lexemes in the other language. For instance, EAP learners often do not distinguish between *scientists* and *scholars* (see ex. 4), of which the latter is a more appropriate expression denoting researchers dealing with humanities, not to speak of virtual avoidance of the general term *researchers*.

(4) **The most important **scientists** dealing with politeness were…*

4.2 Selected syntactic interference

4.2.1 Complex condensation (in translation)

(5) *He mentioned doing the job.*
**Zmínil dělání té práce. // …, že tu práci dělal.*

(5) *Looking back, he was surprised*
**Ohlédnuv se, byl překvapen. // Když se ohlédl, …*

(6) *She agreed to buy the stuff.*
**Souhlasila ty věci koupit. // … že ty věcí koupí.*

4.2.2 Functional sentence perspective

English – the **rhemes** are mostly in final, but also in medial or initial postions.	**Czech** – the **rhemes** stand invariably in the final positions (if the intonation remains unmarked).
There is a book on the table. *The book is on the table.* *Shakespeare wrote Hamlet.* **Hamlet wrote Shakespeare.* *Hamlet was written by Shakespeare.* *A new guest arrived.*	*Kniha je na stole.* *Na stole je kniha.* *Shakespeare napsal Hamleta.* *Hamleta napsal Shakespeare.* *Hamlet byl napsán Shakespearem.* *Přijel nový host.*

Table 1: Comparison of syntactic patterns and position of the rheme (underlined) in English and in Czech.

4.3 Syntactic tendencies typical of on-native (Czech-authored) formal written English

Overapplication of canonical syntactic rules can be illustrated by tendency

- to place predicates invariably after noun phrases functioning as subjects in all declarative sentences
- to overuse the construction *there is/are* in presentation-type clauses
- to avoid fronting adverbials or their parenthetic position
- to avoid split constructions, especially in long and complex noun phrases.

Adam (2013: 193) observed the occurrence of sentence with a rhematic subject in preverbal position in English presentation sentences. He has found out that in a corpus based on fiction (a novel) this type accounts for 25% of presentation sentence, whereas in a corpus which is more archaic and formally conventional, the text of Bible, the share is as high as 64.1%. Another construction, sentence with a fronted adverbial and following subject-verb inversion forms 8.2% in a fiction corpus and 13.3% in the biblical text. Both of these constructions are rare in Czech. The former is usually used in combination with means of prosody, in spoken mode, so that the fronted (i.e. nontypically placed) rhematic subject is adequately marked. However, the marking using stress is necessary in English, too. The latter type appears in Czech either in elevated, rhetoric or poetic language (často chodívala dívka k jezeru) or when the adverbial carries the new and/or the most important information, but the subject verb inversion is not required. It is rather perceived as more formal (*Nahoře nalezne uživatel pokyny, které… / Nahoře u*živatel nalezne pokyny, které…).

Another important finding discussed in Adam (2013: 193) is the dominance of existential construction (there is/are…) among presentation sentences in the fiction subcorpus (65.6%) and quite a high representation also in the biblical subcorpus (21.9%). As has been said earlier, Czech users rather tend to avoid using existential constructions as they consider them, wrongly, as a sign of insufficient mastery of English syntax which they should try to overcome.

4.3.1 Analysis of selected phenomena

Property 1: Mechanical and invariable word order – predicate following subject Subject-verb inversion

(7a) *The criterion of age is **equally important**. (SVC)*

(8a) *What is **equally important** is the criterion of age. (Pseudo-cleft sentence)*

(9a) ***Equally important** is the criterion of age. (CVS)*

(7b) *Complement – final position. Focus on the S* **or** *C – intonation vs. position.*

(8b) *Complement separated– focus falls on the S.*

(9b) *Fronting of C – end focus on the S.*

Quirk et al. (1985: 1377) define fronting as the "achievement of marked theme by moving into initial position an item which is otherwise unusual there." They explain the reasons for fronting as either "to echo thematically what has been contextually given" (ibid.) or to put in the front of the sentence a contextually most demanded item (*Wilson his name is.*). They also claim that "fronting is in no way confined to colloquial speech. It is very common both in speech and in conventional written material, often serving the function of so arranging clause order that end-focus falls on the most important of the message as well as providing direct linkage with what has preceded". (ibid.) (cf. *Most of these problems a computer can take in its stride. To this list may be added ten further items of importance.*) Frequent occurrence of definite items such as demonstrative pronouns is seen here as the proof that "the marked theme in such cases most often expresses given information." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1378) This function can also be performed by –ing participles which are fronted in similar situations. This type of fronting is especially popular in descriptive passages in prose and in journalism.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1378) maintain that "a more striking type of fronting is found in the heightened language of rather mannered rhetoric, including the strenuous colourfulness of journalistic writing." It is typically used to express parallelism or contrast between two parts of a clause or between two clauses. "The fronted parts may be prosodically marked as marked theme or marked focus, the latter typically with divided focus” (ibid.) and they can serve grammatically as direct objects or prepositional complements, subject complements or an object complements (cf. *Traitor he has become and traitor we shall call him.*), predication adjuncts (cf. *Defiantly they have spoken but submissively they will accept ny terms*.) or predication (ibid.). The last two items fronted also enable subject-verb inversion (unless the subject is a personal pronoun). In journalism, the fronting of the predication seems largely determined in fact by the desire to give end-focus to the subject, at the same time using (as is normal) the early part of the sentence to “set the scene“. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1379) (cf. *Shot by nationalist guerrillas were two entirely innocent tourists.*)

According to the grammatical principle, the traditional (“canonical”) position of the subject in English is initial. As Smolka aptly puts it, “it tends to be short, i.e. structurally light, because it normally conveys context-dependent information”. (Smolka 2012: 80) It follows that if a short and informationally light element as subject, it allows the heavier elements to serve as subject complements, objects, and adverbials, which are placed post-verbally. In this way, “most English sentences comply with all of the three word order principles referred to above: the grammatical principle, the end-focus and the end-weight principles.” (ibid.)

When it comes to rhematic subjects (i.e. those that convey the most dynamic piece of information the sentence and carry the intonation nucleus), the situation is rather different:

> Distinction must be made between rhematic subjects in sentences containing a transitive verb and those containing an intransitive or copular verb. With the former category of the predicate verb, the subject cannot be moved from its preverbal position because such movement might result in a change of syntactic status and therefore a change of meaning, or it might render the sentence ungrammatical. (Smolka 2012: 80)

This is why in English the rhematic subject is usually placed after the verb so that it complies with the principle of end-focus, and it is also given a different syntactic role to comply with the word order principle (typically, an adverbial in a passive sentence). In accordance with Smolka, “rhematic subjects in sentences containing intransitive or copular words may occupy the canonical initial position, occur within the existential *there is* construction or be moved into postposition (…).” (Smolka 2012: 81) Particularly, the last mentioned type, with the rhematic subject in postposition, is often shunned by Czech speakers although its word order is literally identical in both Czech and English. It is in accordance with the principle of end focus, which is evidently dominant here, but not always with the principle of end-weight, and it breaches the grammatical principle, i.e. the canonical English word order.

(10) *Uprostřed rozlehlé zahrady stojí palác guvernéra. Vs. In the middle of a large garden stands the governor´s palace.*

(11) *Frequent use is made of lexical items with an abnormal syllabic structure for English, such as ´sshhh´, ´mhm´.*

(12) *Also highly distinctive is the occurrence of contracted verbal forms (he´s, I´ll, etc); …* (CD 113)

(13) *In the practical part of the thesis an idiom chart will be offered, listing a number of idiomatic expressions …*

(14) *Then, finally, a short excursus into colour semantic field and various attempts to systematize colours will be made.*

Preference for **strict SVC, SVO or SVA word order** vs. fronting of C, A or O.

(15) **The proposed methodology uses also the secondary school where the current research took place.*

Fronting of an object – reconstruction of a NNS variant:

(16a) *<u>Most of these problems</u> a computer could take in its stride.* (G+Q 408) (OSV)

(16b) *A computer could take in its stride <u>most of these problems</u>.* (SVO)

(16c) *A computer could take <u>most of these problems</u> in its stride.* (SV1OV2)

(16d) *<u>Most of these problems</u> could be solved / dealt with easily by a computer.* (SpassVOprep)

Fronting *of an adverbial – reconstruction of an NNS version:*
(17a) *<u>In the following table</u> are presented the data gained by…*

(17b) *<u>In the following table</u> there are presented the data …*

(17c) *The data gained by … are presented in <u>the following table</u>.*

(17d) *The following table presents/contains the data gained by…*

Property 2: Overuse of the existential construction *there is/are* in presentation-type clauses

(18) *So <u>there are</u> many indicators of attitudinal position in evidence here.*

(19) *<u>There are</u>, after all, other physical viewpoints he might have taken, …*

(20) *There are defined four main criteria which determine effective error correction.*

(21) *There is little to say about clause structure.*

(22) *There are strong tendencies for certain categories from different dimensions to co-occur. At least four types of interrelationship exist: ...*

(23) *In cultural connotations, there are to be found idioms arising from cultural semes as well.*

Property 3: Fronting of the adverbial phrases

(24) *But in much of the rest of the quotation this is not really the case.*

(25) *In this dimension we describe the systematic linguistic variations which ...*

(26) *On this field many disciplines meet: ...*

Property 4: Avoidance of split constructions, especially in long noun phrases (=postponed post-modification)

(27) *Frequent use is made of lexical items with an abnormal syllabic structure for English, such as ´sshhh´, ´mhm´.*

(28) *A question was raised whether the presented outcomes are relevant to...*

5 Conclusions

Success in producing written (academic) English appears to represent one of the major obstacles in the process of learning ELF/ESP. The paper presents a rough design of a new course focused on Czech-English interlingual interference, especially in the area of functional syntax and vocabulary. The course is meant to provide students with a functional comparison of the two languages in which they will be able to functionally distinguish the main lexico-semantic features of English and, as a result, to use this linguistic expertise practically in the production of written English. The paper discusses above all items which were identified as potential causes of interferential problems.

We hope to see our students adhere to typically English sentence structures, distinguishing them from Czech patterns and selecting appropriate ways to emphasize a particular part of the sentence. Thus, they should succeed in achieving greater naturalness in English and consistent avoidance of their mother tongue. Students should also learn to pay attention to undesirable syntactic and lexical transfer from their native language into English concerning condensation, nominalization and formality, as well as to use internationalisms properly. Attention should also be paid to the context of the process of translation and stylistic aspects of the produced text and to possible didactic applications in ELT.

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COMMUNICATION ACROSS GENRES AND DISCOURSES

SIXTH BRNO CONFERENCE
ON LINGUISTICS STUDIES IN ENGLISH
Brno, 11-12 September 2014

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Editors:
doc. Mgr. Martin Adam, Ph.D.
Mgr. Radek Vogel, Ph.D.

Technical Support:
Bc. Marek Hlaváč

Published by Masaryk University in 2015
1st edition, 2015

ISBN 978-80-210-7971-7

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