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Language-Specific Effects in Cross-Language Research and Their Implications for Second Language Acquisition: A Theoretical Enquiry

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Abstract. Both in the theoretical framework of applied linguistics and empirical studies, second language acquisition is either examined within the universalist postulation of an innate language acquisition device or it is discussed in a pluralist manner featuring the great variety of language-specific influences. The present paper focuses on the latter issue, aiming to review some of the recent studies on the role of the mother tongue in second language speech perception and production. Our main interest is in phonetic learning. Thus, we shall particularly turn our attention to certain theoretical–empirical data regarding second language speech perception and production, such as the *perceptual assimilation model*, the *native language magnet theory*, and the *articulatory setting theory*.

Keywords: second language acquisition, phonology, speech perception and production, nativelikeness, L1 influences.

1. Introduction. A general view of SLA theory

The growing popular interest in second language acquisition (SLA) calls for a brief overview of the most recent findings in cross-language research on the effects of one language on another. Such an endeavour would have to take into consideration the fact that "as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14), which sometimes makes it quite difficult to assign a certain language-specific effect to a single particular class or type of linguistic influence. What is more, the existent taxonomy of these cross-linguistic phenomena is so abundant and varied that no study could encompass all aspects

found in literature. That being the case, our study shall focus on the domain of phonology only, though the general mechanisms that govern the influences of speech perception and production in L1 on the perception and production of speech sounds in L2 are comparable to the other domains of language as well. The aim of the present enquiry is to briefly review and synthesize the main approaches to SLA and the types of language-specific effects on phonetic learning in a second or foreign language respectively.

1.1. Approaches to SLA

Second language acquisition has a vast literature and involves complex theoretical issues that we cannot do justice to here. Nevertheless, it will be helpful to sketch two general approaches to it in which all important studies may be included in one way or another. The core issues of second language learning are related to L1 learning (i.e. child language development) compared to L2 (or foreign language) learning, on the one hand, and to L2 learning by children compared to L2 learning by adults, on the other hand. On the whole, all important studies on these issues may be ascribed either to a universalist or a pluralist perspective.

The universalist approach to language learning is based on the assumption that there is an innate language acquisition device (LAD) which makes possible both native and foreign language learning, and it holds the existence of certain language-specific learning procedures that are accountable for acquiring one's native language. Those who embrace the universalist view promote the idea that "language differences are mere differences in surface expression of a single human experience and/or set of thought patterns" (Leavitt 2006: 48) and, as such, language learning relies mostly on discovering the principles and setting the parameters.

The pluralist approach, on the contrary, argues that there is no such thing as innate language faculty or, if there is, it is only insignificantly available for second language acquisition – at least after a certain period of time –, and that native language learning is essentially different from foreign language learning. For those who adopt the essence-seeking pluralism rather than the law-seeking universalism, "languages differ so fundamentally from one another at every level of description (sound, grammar, lexicon, meaning) that it is very hard to find any single structural property they share" (Evans and Levinson 2009: 429).

A bridge between the two theoretical constructs of language learning may be established by the observation that in case of adults' foreign language learning "first language knowledge fills the role which Universal Grammar (UG) has in child language acquisition" and "general problem-solving principles fill the role of language-specific learning procedures of children" (Bley-Vroman 1990: 5). Nevertheless, irrespective of the universalist or pluralist approach, an important theoretical issue for cross-language and/or second language acquisition research

consists in the nature of certain language-specific effects, i.e. the influence of L1 on L2 learning. While it is unquestionable that speakers' attunement to their native language brings about a certain ease or difficulty – depending on the degree of compatibility between the two languages – of second language acquisition, when and how L1 or the ambient language begins to leave its mark on speech perception and production in the L2 or, in other words, when and how the transition from a pre-linguistic to a truly linguistic stage occurs remain debateable questions.

1.2. Approaches to bilingualism and its consequences for SLA

During decades of research, bilingualism has been defined in various ways (see Heller 2006), but, in fact, all contributions view this phenomenon either in an absolute or a relative manner depending on whether speakers are regarded as *true bilinguals,* i.e. they master equally and perfectly both languages, or as *presumed bilinguals* (with a large scale of performance from *false bilingual* to *pseudo-bilingual, passive bilingual, semi-lingual*, etc.). Most recent research, however, focuses on the actual degrees of bilingualism rather than on bilingualism viewed as an abstract reality. Speakers indeed may attain different performance levels in different languages and although bilinguals may attain apparently equal performance in more than one language, in reality, it is quite unlikely that they will use each in exactly the same way since language competency is rather task- and situation-specific (cf. Cutler et al. 1992: 382). In view of this reality, most recent second language research focuses on the types of influences that one language (mainly L1) may exert on another (L2, L3, and so on).

2. Types of language-specific effects on SLA

Many explanations have been offered for language-specific effects – i.e. the role of the mother tongue in SLA – and how to control crossover and contamination of systems; there is little agreement, however, on how to explain these effects or even on what there is to be explained. Taking for granted the basic assumption that second or foreign language learning is produced by transposing (linguistic) habits from the first language to the one being acquired, specialists have often sought to determine the role of the mother tongue in the learning of another language in either generally positive or negative terms, with little attention to inter-individual differences or intra-individual variability.

Thus, the general view regarding the phenomenon of *transfer* – a basic concept in SLA research and the study of language-specific influences (see Alonso Alonso 2002) –, for instance, is that one's mother tongue influences second or foreign language learning in two opposite ways: the acquisition of a second language

undergoes severe problems in the case of *negative transfer* or *interference* (i.e. if and when the two languages have different structures), whereas it provides a solid and beneficial basis for the student's learning in the case of *positive transfer* (i.e. if and when the two languages have similar structures). This view then led to the growth of two trends in applied linguistics, namely to error analysis (see Corder 1967) and to contrastive applied linguistics, since it has been considered that errors result from interference which can be predicted if differences between L1 and L2 are previously identified. Of course, things are even more intricate if we also take into account inter-language theory (see Selinker 1972, Tarone 1983) according to which the system of those who acquire the new language presents elements which do not pertain either to the native language or to the target language, which makes inter-language influences hard to detect.

Among the most cited phenomena that reflect how usage of one language is affected by an individual's knowing another, we could also mention *borrowing*, *imposition, restructuring, convergence* (see Lucas 2015), *code and/or language switching* (Kormos 2006: 82–84), and the like. Regardless of whether they function as learning or communication strategies, learners make use of such techniques in order to solve or facilitate a learning difficulty encountered when acquiring a new language. A thorough review of the literature on these key concepts of SLA theory is beyond the scope of this paper. It is worth noting, however, that all these types of effects share the common basis of being defined as some kind of transfer situation, more or less determined by the idea of "cognitive dominance" (Coetsem 2000) of either of the two or more languages spoken by an individual.

3. Language-specific effects in the domain of phonology

One of the most difficult areas in learning a second or foreign language is the phonological component. Thus, in what follows, we shall focus our attention on this particular domain, which is closely related to the ultimate attainment of *nativelikeness* or *near-nativeness*. Many theoretical and empirical studies (Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2009, Abrahamsson 2012) have shown that rating a bilingual speaker as native(like) in both languages very much depends on his/her phonetic and phonological knowledge, i.e. how he/she perceives and – what is more important – how he/she produces the sounds of a given language.

3.1. L1 effects on cross-language speech perception

Early studies on speech perception emphasize the fact that "speech is a special type of acoustic signal that has species-specific properties unique to humans" (Pisoni 1979: 330). It is argued that the perception of speech sounds requires

the use of specialized neural mechanisms for perceptual processing – a certain "speech mode" (Liberman and Mattingly 1985) – different from general auditory processes (Mattingly 1972, Eimas 1974, Miyawaki et al. 1975). That is to say, listeners respond to linguistic signals differently from other non-speech sounds, categorizing and labelling the former ones almost immediately, though – as later studies have shown – categorical perception may not be characteristic only of speech sounds or humans (Ohala 2008: 24).

Nevertheless, not only does categorical perception of speech sounds *per se* dominate the most recent studies on speech perception but differences between speech perception by children, on the one hand, and by adults, on the other hand, are also a core issue in these studies. Thus, evidence from several empirical research (Best et al. 1995, Best and McRoberts 2003, Kuhl and Meltzoff 1997, Maye et al. 2002, Kuhl et al. 2007, Kuhl 2010) suggest that there is a developmental change in speech perception that takes place early in infancy. While young infants aged under 6–8 months are extraordinarily good at discriminating all speech sounds and they perceive certain contrasts better than adults, by the end of their first year, infants start to show a certain decline of these abilities and to resemble adults' perception. This decline has been explained as a result of children getting more and more familiar with the phonetic organization of their native language, which affects their sensitivity to the distributional properties of a particular language (their mother tongue) with detriment to other distributional patterns. Thus, as far as evidence suggests, later on, adults' perception of speech sounds is constrained by the phonetic knowledge of their native language. For example, it is easier for adults to discriminate contrasts between speech sounds which have phonological function in their native language, i.e. they distinguish word meanings, than contrasts that do not have any phonological function (Maye et al. 2002: B102). Among the various theories which attempt to give an account of why infants stop discriminating previously discriminable contrasts and how adults exhibit influence from the native language, two cognitive approaches shall be discussed in what follows, namely the *perceptual assimilation theory* and the *native language magnet theory*.

3.1.1. The perceptual assimilation theory (PAM)

Empirical data accumulated over decades of intense research on speech perception from various languages have shown that, while young infants show a spectacular sensitivity to the discrimination of both native and non-native phonemic contrasts, around one year of life, they appear to lose the ability to discriminate non-native contrast. Among the several earlier attempts made to give an account of this state of affairs – such as lack of stimuli or the postulation that after a certain period of time UG becomes inaccessible to infants –, none

proved to be satisfying enough or complete. A consistent explanation as to why this peculiar perceptual reorganization apparently occurs by 10–12 months was proposed by Catherine T. Best (1995) and her colleagues (Best, McRoberts, and Sithole 1988, Best et al. 1995, Best and McRoberts 2003, Best and Strange 1992, Best et al. 2001), which is known as the *perceptual assimilation model*.

In determining what makes infants' speech perception go through a sudden change, they assumed that since phonological categories are not innately given for children to recognize the organizing principles of their native sound system, infants must start with the ability to detect a wide range of possible speech sounds from which they can discover the specific phonetic patterns of their native language (Best 1995: 183–184). The broad range of perceivable speech sounds subsequently gets narrower as children become more aware of the phonetic organization of their mother tongue. This narrowing of the perceptual space takes place under the constraining power of assimilation. Experiments on native English listeners (adults and infants) tested on Zulu clicks (and other contrasts) showed that a phonemic process emerges around 10–12 months that assimilates speech sounds to native categories whenever possible, i.e. non-native speech sounds are perceived either as similar to or different from native sounds (with a whole range of different assimilation types); otherwise they are perceived in auditory terms, simply as non-speech sounds (Best, McRoberts, and Sithole 1988).

Since non-native segments tend to be perceived according to their similarities to and differences from the native segments, and these similarities and/or discrepancies may vary in their degree, there are several ways in which perceptual assimilation of non-native segments may take place:

a) non-native speech sounds may be assimilated to a native category as either a good exemplar of that category, an acceptable but not ideal exemplar of that category, or an apparently deviant exemplar of the category;

b) non-native speech sounds may be assimilated as uncategorizable speech sound, i.e. they are perceived within phonological space as speech sounds but not as a clear exemplar of any particular native category, as in-between native categories;

c) non-native speech sounds may not be assimilated to speech at all, i.e. these sounds are perceived as falling not only outside the native phonological space but also outside speech *per se* (like other audible noises or non-speech sounds) (Best 1995: 194–195).

As one might predict from these assimilation patterns, non-native contrasts that are both assimilated as equally good exemplars of a single native sound (*Single-Category assimilation*) should be discriminated poorly since the native phonological space lacks such contrasts, instead it has a near approximant of the non-native contrast sounds (e.g. the case of English /r/–/l/ discrimination by Japanese speakers); whereas those contrasts that are assimilated to two different

native sounds (*Two-Category assimilation*) should be easily and without fail discriminated since they are cross-linguistic reflexes. In case both non-native sounds may be assimilated equally well (or poorly) into a single native category but they differ in their perceived degree of similarity to it (*Category-Goodness difference in assimilation*), discrimination is expected to be moderate – intermediate between the single- and two-category discrimination – to very good, depending on the magnitude of difference in category goodness for each of the non-native sounds. Likewise, when both non-native sounds fall within phonetic space but outside any particular native category, their discriminability as uncategorized speech sounds would range from poor to very good depending on their proximity to each other and to native categories. In the case of contrasts where one of the non-native sounds is assimilated to a native category and the other falls outside native categories, discrimination is expected to be very good. Finally, when both non-native categories fall outside speech domain, i.e. they are non-assimilable, discrimination is expected to be good to very good, and this type of assimilation seems not to be affected by age, i.e. both young infants and adults perform equally well in discrimination tasks that involve this kind of contrasts (cf. Best and Strange 1992: 306, Best et al. 1995: 342, cf. Best and McRoberts 2003: 187).

Thus, in view of the perceptual assimilation model, experience with the native language affects perception of non-native speech, not only constraining the perception of non-native segments from unfamiliar languages but also altering the perception of non-native speech sounds however similar to or different from those found in one's own language.

3.1.2. The native language magnet theory (NLM)

Acquiring a native tongue most certainly marks speakers' linguistic realm, but exactly how this experience with one's first language affects the acquisition of other languages and especially what neural mechanisms are involved in this process are still debatable questions. With respect to the particular domain of speech perception, Patricia K. Kuhl (1994, 2010) and her colleagues (Kuhl and Meltzoff 1997, Kuhl et al. 2007) designed a model that explains the complex set of interacting brain systems responsible for phonetic learning, known as the *native language magnet theory*.

This model rests on the idea that infants have innate perceptual abilities that allow them to acquire any and all sound systems to which they are exposed, i.e. they begin life with language-general patterns of phonetic perception embedded in their brain systems. Gradually, however, this language-general pattern we possess as infants becomes language-specific as speakers are immersed in a specific language (their mother tongue). The postulation of infants' initial endowment with a broad range of perceivable speech sounds that gets narrower

as time passes by converges with the basic assumption of PAM. Furthermore, just as PAM, NLM also hypothesizes that perception of non-native speech sounds declines as a result of the influence exerted by native phonological space on non-native segments. But unlike PAM, NLM also shows that as non-native speech perception declines between 6 and 12 months of age, native-language phonetic perception exhibits a significant improvement (Kuhl et al. 2007: 981).

NLM specifies that native phonetic categories are structured through ambient language experience and that speech perception goes through three stages of development. In the first stage, infants are able to discriminate all speech sounds, and they do so by means of innate general auditory processing mechanisms. In stage two, infants' sensitivity to native contrasts acquired from linguistic input produces phonetic representations of the distributional categories of the native language. As experience accumulates, "the representations most often activated (prototypes) begin to function as perceptual magnets for other members of the category, increasing the perceived similarity between members of the category" (Kuhl et al. 2007: 982). Finally, in stage three, this change in perception – termed the *perceptual magnet effect* – facilitates native phonetic abilities while constraining or reducing foreign language phonetic skills.

Thus, an important finding of this theory is that early perception of native and non-native contrasts predicts later language performance but in opposing directions, i.e. better native phonetic abilities predict faster development of language, whereas better non-native phonetic abilities predict slower linguistic advancement. This is due to the fact that at birth infants possess general cognitive abilities for processing language, i.e. the neural circuitry is not yet committed to any particular language, which makes them sensitive to all phonetic differences. As experience with a specific language accumulates, brain functions develop a certain neural commitment to the native language, which once established determines all subsequent language analysis. Thus, better native performances reflect a developed language-specific neural circuitry, while better non-native performances reflect a developmental regression to the earlier language-general phase (Kuhl 2010: 720).

3.1.3. Discussion on PAM and NLM

The two approaches to human speech perception have many aspects in common, but – in some respects – they fundamentally differ from each other. An important strength of both theories is that they account for the loss of phonetic discrimination that was presumed to be innately present in humans, but while PAM focuses on explaining this developmental change in terms of non-native segments being assimilated to native segments with no or little regard to what happens to native speech perception in its turn, NLM focuses precisely on explaining the process of

native phonetic development in which representation (and prototype) formation and its magnet effect play a major role. Both PAM and NLM discuss human speech perception in terms of a certain neural commitment which is responsible for the perception of both native and non-native speech segments, but in view of NLM this neural commitment has bi-directional effects: it increases the ability to perceive and discriminate phonetic patterns that are compatible with the already acquired phonetic structure while decreasing perception of phonetic patterns that do not match the acquired scheme (Kuhl 2010: 719). Although recent experiments (Lively and Pisoni 1997) call into question the robustness of the prototype-based account of the perceptual magnet effect on spoken language processing, taken together, the two cognitive models discussed above complete each other contributing to a better understanding of human speech perception.

3.2. L1 effects on (bilingual) speech production

The ability to pronounce L2 speech sounds has often been regarded as the ability to translate the perceptual representations of these sounds – however imperfect or incomplete they may be – into the corresponding articulatory gestures. For L2 pronunciation to be successful, i.e. without any foreign accent, many scholars claim there to be a correlation between age and second language acquisition. Age constraints on the degree of ultimate proficiency have been discussed either in terms of the so-called *critical period hypothesis* regarding language development in tight connection with general cognitive maturation (Lenneberg 1967; Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle 1978, Epstein et al. 1996, Flege, Yeni-Komshian, and Liu 1999) or in terms of the *age of onset* sustaining or denying the importance of the age of the first exposure to the target language (see Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam 2009, Abrahamsson 2012). Our intent is not to review the substantial body of published research dealing with this particular issue or to take sides in this matter. Thus, we shall limit our account to the observation that speech production is most certainly influenced – in one way or another – by time-related factors, though not necessarily in terms of biological age,[1] rather in the sense that "the more fully developed the L1 system is when L2 learning begins, the more strongly L1 will influence L2" (Flege, Yeni-Komshian, and Liu 1999: 79).

The strong influence exerted by L1 on L2 pronunciation is essentially due to the existence of language-specific articulatory settings. Although measuring phonetic settings raises a series of difficulties which explain why cross-language research on speech production has received so little attention, recent studies mostly focus on describing the *basis of articulation* (Kedrova and Borissoff

1 Studies indicate, for example, that the critical period for phonetic learning occurs prior to the end of the first year, whereas syntactic learning flourishes between 18 and 36 months of age (Kuhl 2010: 718).

2013) or *articulatory setting* (Erazmus 1980, Wilson and Gick 2006, 2014, Lowie and Bultena 2007, Schaeffler et. al. 2008, Wilson and Kanada 2014) or *phonetic setting* (Mennen et al. 2010) that govern the articulatory movements in different languages. Although the concept of "articulatory setting" is defined in different ways by different scholars, common to all descriptions is the fact that the overall layout of the vocal apparatus that speakers of different languages possess is different not only in the sense of certain species-specific morphological peculiarities but also in terms of language-specific characteristics and inter-individual variability. Thus, languages may differ in their predetermined positioning of the articulators or in their tendency to make the speech apparatus adopt a specific habitual configuration in pre- or inter-speech posture, which, together with the movements they impose or allow, produces the characteristic sounds of a given language. For instance, different languages are characterized by different placements of the tongue (*anchorage*), employ different degrees of lip protrusion and/or rounding, adopt different fashions of jaw lowering, and so on. In order to sound native-like, L2 speakers must use the articulatory setting of the language in use, which is clearly different from the articulatory setting of their mother tongue. Keeping a foreign accent in spite of many years of exercise, thus, may be due to the fact that the speaker in question fails to adopt the articulatory setting of the target language. In this case, the sounds of L2 are produced while employing the articulatory setting of L1. While the articulatory setting of one's own mother tongue is most certainly learned – i.e. it is not only unconsciously acquired by instinctively imitating the articulatory movements of adults but sometimes consciously exercised through direct instructions about what to do with certain articulators in order to produce the expected sounds –, it is still debatable whether L2 articulatory setting is a peculiarity that must be learned directly and as a whole or it is an emergent property of correctly producing the sounds in the language's inventory due to their similarity to the L1 sounds and learners should directly acquire the articulatory movements of producing only those sounds that are language-specific, i.e. different from L1.

Closing lines

The beginning point of all second language learning is one's own native language, whether speakers are aware of making use of it in their learning process or not. Thus, discussing the role of the mother tongue in second language acquisition is inevitable. It affects all aspects of language but in various ways. In the domain of phonology, L1 effects may be observed as influences of L1 sound inventory on the perception and production of L2 sounds. Although, traditionally, these influences have been assessed as being manifestations of some sort of *positive* or

negative transfer, it is important to bear in mind that, in actual fact, the notion of "phonetic transfer" itself is rather illusionary.

In spite of the extensive documentation of a cross-language similarity in the use of certain consonants and vowels in sound symbolism (Ohala 1984: 9), these similarities are, nevertheless, mere approximations at best, never phonological identicalness. While near approximations of consonants and vowels exist in different languages, even "similar consonants and vowels across languages are articulated in an entirely different fashion" (Erazmus 1980: 141). Furthermore, although phonological items which occur frequently across languages are expected to be easily perceived and produced and, conversely, phonological entities that are rarely found should be difficult to perceive and produce (Best and McRoberts 1995: 348), acquiring the sound system of a non-native language involves a complex of factors that sometimes manifest in unexpected ways.

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A Study of Parental Attitudes to Teacher Pronunciation in Very Early English

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Abstract. Teaching English as a foreign language at an early (7–12) and even at a very early (under 7) age is becoming more and more popular and accessible, mainly due to the pressure from parents. Parents are essential stakeholders in the TEFL of these ages, and thus it is beneficial for the future of TEFL to do research into parental attitudes in order to be able to assure that expectations and outcomes meet. Our study examines parental attitudes towards the teacher and the ideal age to start learning a foreign language. Fifty Hungarian parents of children aged 0–7 completed our online questionnaire, which mapped the demographics and linguistic profiles of respondents and their views and attitudes related to language learning. Furthermore, attitudes towards teachers' pronunciation (American, British, or Hungarian) were measured on a 5-point Likert-scale. The 8-item attitude scale showed good reliability ($N = 50$, Cronbach $\alpha = 0.772$, $p < 0.001$). Parents generally placed high emphasis on native-like pronunciation. However, accent-related attitudes varied among parents preferring different ages to start FL learning. Parents favouring an early start preferred native-speaking teachers, with no preference for a British or American accent.

Keywords: teaching English to very young learners, parental attitudes, accent, non-/native teacher.

1. Introduction

Teaching English has become a widely researched and discussed priority in education, and it is in the joint interest of stakeholders and policy makers to reach the most effective outcomes. Parents of very young children are generally on the

opinion that it is ideal to start as early as possible (Griva and Chouvarda 2012, Linse 2011, Purdjaková 2006). Language learning is generally believed to have wide-ranging benefits on the child's personal, intellectual, educational development and future career prospects (Tekin 2015: 39). Correspondingly, Greek parents were reported to be aware of the benefits of multilingualism and have positive attitudes towards early start provided that learning materials are suitable to young learners and their specific age-related needs are taken into consideration (Griva and Chouvarda 2012: 10–11). However, it is not evident that an early start of learning foreign languages is an advantage in and of itself (Nikolov and Djigunović 2011). For instance, Hanušová and Najvar (2005) investigated the long-term effects of an early start by examining university entrance exam language test scores. They found no evidence of any relationship between test score results and the start of language learning (Hanušová and Najvar 2005: 209–210). According to a public opinion survey carried out in the Czech Republic in 2006, around 68% of the public (non-teachers, generally parents) are of the opinion that children should start learning English as a Foreign Language as early as in kindergarten (Purdjaková 2006). It is essential to note that an early start is not an essential prerequisite to successful outcomes. Eventual learning success for young learners depends on an interplay of various other factors such as continuity, language policy, classroom circumstances, curriculum, or the qualification of the teacher (Hanušová and Najvar 2005, Nikolov and Djigunović 2011, Purdjaková 2006). In spite of the key role of the teacher's proficiency and language use in the classroom, Nikolov (2006) draws attention to the scarcity of available research focusing on the effect of teachers' pronunciation and fluency as a major factor contributing to young learners' language development (Nikolov 2006: 250). However, it has recently become popular and viable to carry out research into stakeholder attitudes since it is very important to have a dialogue between parents and teachers (Linse 2011, Nikolov and Djigunović 2011). For these reasons, it is of interest what views parents have about teachers and teacher accent when it comes to dealing with young learners.

2. Literature review

2.1. Accent and native speaker norms

In their highly influential study, Derwing and Munro (2009) defined accent as "the ways in which their speech differs from that local variety of English and the impact of that difference on speakers and listeners" within the context of immigrant L2 speaker research in Canada (Derwing and Munro 2009: 476). However, they also drew attention to the shared and individual features that may characterize various language learning contexts. In the present paper, we shall

use the term accent to refer to pronunciation features differing from those of native speaker Englishes, narrowed down for the purposes of this study to what our participants perceive as British and American English.

There is vast literature on attitudes towards accents, which reveal that accents (for example, British or American) are ranked by the research subjects in different ways across cultures. For instance, British English in Korea and American English in Japan were rated higher due to the pervasiveness of the given countries in those cultures (Balogh 2014, Carrie and McKenzie 2017). Feyér (2015) found that Hungarian secondary school learners of English had positive attitudes concerning traditionally prestigious native varieties such as the more highly rated General American (GA) or Received Pronunciation (RP). On the other hand, non-native varieties were generally unfavoured, especially in the case of a Hungarian accent (Feyér 2015: 23).

Furthermore, Nagy (2014) found that Hungarian university students had more positive attitudes towards native speakers, even if they found non-natives easier to understand, which is in line with previous research reporting the greater prestige of native speaker English accents (Jenkins, 2000, Kaur 2013, Kaur and Raman 2014). As opposed to this, Linse (2011) found that in Korea English native speakers were not identified as most suitable to teach English due to their lack of cultural and linguistic information deemed necessary to prepare learners for Korean compulsory language exams. Moreover, markedly different language attitudes were measured in Korea by Ahn and Kang (2017), who found that Korean students had generally more positive attitudes towards Korean-accented English than, for example, towards American native accents.

Teachers are one of the most important factors that contribute to successful learning outcomes. In Hungary and Central Europe, there is a very similar tendency according to which teachers of young learners are either specialist teachers with high proficiency but insufficient methodological training or generalist teachers with age-appropriate teaching methods but low proficiency (Nikolov 2006: 250). In the last decade, in Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, about two-thirds of the teachers dealing with young learners were insufficiently qualified, had methodological and linguistic shortcomings, and lacked the desire to improve their practice (Dvoráková 2006, Loyová 2006, Medgyes and Nikolov 2016). Unfortunately, it has also been reported that parents often voice unrealistic expectations regarding the proficiency that they expect their children to achieve (Curtain 2000, Nikolov 2002). Furthermore, Rixon advocates the need for acceptable pronunciation models for young learners so that young learners can exploit their ability to mimic and thus adhere to a pronunciation model (Rixon 2000 cited in Vojtková 2006).

Europe has been categorized as a unique context due to the history, linguistic functions of English, and range of users. These factors have been claimed to place

Europe in the Expanding Circle within the paradigm of World Englishes and support the legitimacy of European English, or Euro-English, which is used locally by native and non-native speakers of the multilingual community of the European Union (Berns 2009: 195–196). In general, both in Europe and worldwide, stakeholders, including teachers, attribute most success to native-speaking teachers of English, which has been termed native-speakerism (Holliday 2005, Balogh 2014).

With respect to attitudes towards teachers, native and non-native teachers are generally perceived differently, although language competence appears to be the only area in which the non-native teacher may be at a disadvantage in a context where native speaker pronunciation is the norm (Medgyes 1992). While native speaker teachers are viewed positively as a result of their native pronunciation, which is often labelled as "accent-free", non-native teachers have been reported to perform better when it comes to language-teaching strategy and anticipating learners' difficulties (Gurkan and Yuksel 2012: 2957). Consequently, learning from non-native teachers has numerous advantages, which mainly stem from the fact that these teachers are successful language learners themselves. These benefits include having an extensive knowledge of learning strategies, needs and difficulties of language learners, and in some cases sharing the same mother tongue (Medgyes 1992: 346–347). Despite these advantages, non-native teachers are often at a disadvantage on the labour market (Clark and Paran 2007: 423–424).

The need for re-evaluation of the dominance of native speaker norms and the foregrounding of intelligibility, function over form and communicative efficiency have been argued by numerous researchers (Smith and Nelson 1985, Derwing and Munro 1995, Jenkins 2000). Furthermore, the dominance of native speaker norms seems to be diminishing, and teachers' esteem for native speaker norms tends to be replaced by the need for communicative efficiency in non-native contexts (Timmis 2002: 248). While students consider a native speaker accent a reflection of being proficient in English, teachers are more likely to set "accented intelligibility" as a realistic goal, especially in future non-native contexts. They generally view native speaker accents as desirable but mostly unattainable or unnecessary goals for their learners (Timmis 2002: 242–243).

2.2. Parental attitudes

For the purposes of this study, we define parental attitudes as the opinion(s) that parents of children aged 0–7 are willing to word in a questionnaire about language learning. Parent beliefs were previously defined by Murphey as including "attitudes, values, perceptions, conceptions of the developmental process, attributions and expectations" (Murphey 1992: 2).

It is important to examine parental attitudes first of all because parents are essential stakeholders in their children's academic development and foreign

language education (Bempechat 1992, Clarke 2009, Csizér and Lukács 2010, Gardner 1985, Lugossy 2009). We believe that the comparison of attitudes of parents and other stakeholders (e.g. decision makers or teachers) may yield more clarity and understanding in this debated field. Also, once we examine these attitudes, it may become of interest to see what factors can coexist with them.

Hungarian researchers have carried out qualitative inquiries into the way the family influences learning motivation. They revealed that it is definitely the family who decides when and what language a child starts learning, providing the possibilities for children to start learning or be surrounded by foreign languages at early ages (Kormos and Csizér 2005). The parents are key decision makers, and thus their views and opinions shape the learner in giving them directions, even influencing their attitudes towards the languages learnt (Kormos and Csizér 2005, Bartram 2006). Furthermore, the central role of parental attitudes was observed in the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands as well. Despite differences in educational systems, parental attitudes towards their own and their children's language learning were reflected in children's attitude and learning practices (Bartram 2006: 220).

Parental attitudes towards English-related issues that concern the language learning of their children are often to be tied to certain demographic factors. For instance, Lan et al. (2011) in their Taiwanese study examined how mothers facilitate learning English for their children under the age of six in their homes. They found that the level of education of the mother matters in how home learning happens for Taiwanese children. Parental education was also found to be relevant when considering what out-of-school input contributes to foreign language learning success, as it is revealed in the large European early language learning survey ELLiE (Munoz and Lindgren 2011: 118). In his tri-national European study, Bartram (2006) examined the way parents influence the attitudes of their children towards foreign language learning and found that the language learning background of the responding parent matters. Similar evidence came from Song (2003), who found that in the Korean-American context parents of young learners had different attitudes towards the home teaching of foreign languages and also different teaching practices depending on their sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, the age of the parents emerged as an important factor in the Greek attitude study carried out by Griva and Chouvarda (2012), where parental views about the usefulness of early English seemed different when comparing respondents of different ages. One of their findings were that younger parents placed more emphasis on the usefulness of the adequate and age-appropriate methodology. Finally, attitudes towards the accented or native speech of teachers may also be informed by demographic factors, although Timmis (2002) found that students' desire to be similar to native speakers is not always stronger when they plan to use English primarily with native speakers.

2.3. Young versus very young learners

In the definition of a working group of the EU Member States, learners aged 7–12 are young (YL) and aged 3–6 are very young learners (VYL) of foreign languages (Nikolov and Djigunović 2011, Hanušová and Najvar 2005). Concluded from this, "teaching" English at these ages is therefore termed Early English or Teaching English to Young Learners and Very Early English or Teaching English to Very Young Learners. In the present study, children who learn English in some way before the age of 3 are also called very young learners. It is important to note that, methodologically, teaching or instruction does not essentially take place for these age-groups. However, in our study, the notion of teaching is extended to include the foundational educational work carried out with very young learners as well.

In the present paper, we define very early and early English as any organized English as a foreign-language-centred activity for Hungarian native-speaking children aged 0–12. Formal institutional education (compulsory from age 3 in Hungary) was the threshold used to separate learners taking a very early start (VES) before preschool and those taking an early start (ES) in preschool or later in primary education. In Hungary – the country concerned in the present study –, compulsory formal education starts with kindergarten at the age of three. Following three years spent in kindergarten, primary school is commenced at the age of 6 or 7. Compulsory foreign language education starts in the fourth grade of primary school, at the age of 10–11 (Hungarian National Core Curriculum). National educational statistics show that around 48% of the pupils commence learning foreign languages previously to the mandatory start (Ministry of Education 2004). As it turns out from a survey by the Ministry of Education and Culture, around one third of the primary schools themselves run various types of early start programmes teaching foreign languages in the first three grades of primary school (Morvai et al. 2009 qtd in Medgyes and Nikolov 2014), with kindergartens in the southern region of Hungary showing a similar rate, as 38% of kindergartens offer English language activities in Szeged (Szarvas 2013).

3. Research questions

1. What are parents' attitudes towards the teacher's accent and are these attitudes different among parents preferring the earliest possible instruction (before preschool)?

2. Are parental attitudes different among parents (a) who have various (self-assessed) proficiency levels of English, (b) plan to move abroad, or (c) whose children learn a FL in informal or formal educational contexts?

4. Methods

The study itself was conducted in the form of an online questionnaire distributed in a convenience and snowball sampled way through social media and was filled by 50 Hungarian parents of children aged 0–7.

The 25-item questionnaire had several questions on the demographics and linguistic profiles of the parents and five Likert-scale attitude questions, one of which was the 8-item attitude scale that is the subject of the present investigation. In answering the attitude question, respondents could choose to completely disagree, slightly disagree, have neutral opinions or no opinion, agree, or completely agree. The complete questionnaire was in Hungarian for the easier understanding of all respondents. In the 5-point Likert-scale item on attitudes towards teacher accent, the respondents needed to mark if and how much they agreed with eight statements (*Table 1*), all to be understood for a teacher teaching English to very young children.

The data were analysed in SPSS in two stages. Firstly, we examined the reliability of the 8-item parental attitude scale and found that the reliability was good, as Cronbach's alpha was $\alpha = 0.772$, $p < .001$. We also carried out preliminary testing for factor analysis for future research purposes and found promising results. The Kaiser–Meier–Olkin test showed that factor analysis is appropriate, and clearly identifiable factors can be detected (KMO = .765, $p < .001$). A KMO value between 0.7 and 0.8 is categorized as good, which was supported by Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, which also produced a statistically significant result ($p < .001$).

Secondly, general descriptive statistical testing was carried out for the questions relating to the demographics and linguistic background of participants, namely parents' self-rated proficiency in English, their views on the ideal age to start learning a foreign language, their plans to move abroad, and whether their child is involved in formal or informal learning contexts. In the final stage, parental attitudes were examined based on the demographics and linguistic background of participants, and mean attitude ratings and standard deviations were compared across the groups.

5. Discussion of results

5.1. Parental attitudes towards teacher pronunciation

Given our experience as teachers, we had hypothesized that parental opinions would show wide ranges of responses since those tend to even fall into extremities. In our process of analysis to begin with, we examined scatterplots to see if the data were normally distributed (N = 50). Apart from the item *having a Hungarian*

accent is a problem, the data were not normally distributed, and the responses tended to shift towards one or the other extreme, which supported our primary hypothesis. In other words, participants tended to agree in their responses and displayed similar attitudes, such as *the teacher should have a native speaker accent* (M = 3.36.12, SD = 1.41) and *good pronunciation is important* (M = 4.12, SD = 1.04), but *good pronunciation* was not evaluated more important than *fluent, comprehensible speech* (M = 4.12, SD = 1.04) or having a *British* (M = 2.34, SD = 1.30) or *American accent* (M = 2.08, SD = 1.02) (*Figure 1*).

Table 1. *Average ratings across all items of the 8-item attitude scale*

	Mean	SD
Good pronunciation is very important	4.12	1.04
The teacher should be a native speaker of English	3.36	1.41
The teacher should have native British pronunciation	2.34	1.30
The teacher should have native American pronunciation	2.08	1.02
It is a problem if the teacher has a Hungarian accent	2.88	1.40
Pronunciation is more important than fluency or comprehensibility	2.42	1.23
Pronunciation is more important than methodology	2.72	1.37
Advanced language skills are needed	3.32	1.40

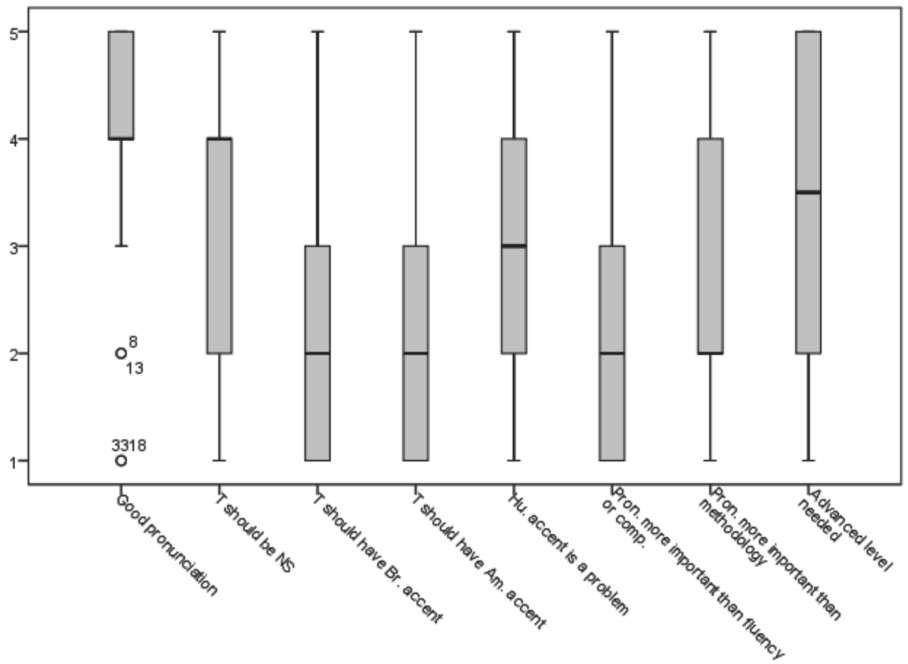

Figure 1. *Scatterplot of ratings for the 8-item parental attitude scale*

The general finding that the parents taking part in this survey rated Hungarian accent as not a serious problem is a welcome development, especially in the light of previous research reflecting the negative attitudes attached to Hungarian-accented English. Previously, Feyér (2015) had found that secondary school students were quite unwilling to accept Hungarian-accented speech. Based on our results, we can conclude that the population surveyed is rather well informed about TEVYL. The present findings support this view since it is clearly observable that although the respondents find pronunciation very important, accent is not considered essential (M = 2.88, SD = 1.409), and pronunciation is ranked less important than methodology or fluency. On the contrary, there are respondents who advocate that *advanced proficiency is needed* even for a teacher of young learners (M = 3.32, SD = 1.40). In the Czech context, Vojtková (2006) reveals similar attitudes, according to which pronunciation supersedes language proficiency in importance with teachers of young learners (Vojtková 2006: 91).

5.2. Parental attitudes among parents preferring early/very early English

The second part of our first research question refers to the relationship between parental preference for very early/early start and their attitudes towards teachers. We divided the responses into two groups based on the start of formal institutional education (compulsory from age 3 in Hungary). Half of the parents surveyed (N = 50) favoured a very early start (VES), before preschool (N=25), whereas the other half opted for preschool or later (ES, N = 25). It is noteworthy that no parents indicated that they would not prefer an early start, that is, a start after the compulsory 4th grade in primary school. This finding is parallel to the public opinion survey that was carried out in the Czech Republic, which revealed that only very few respondents considered that a start of foreign language learning is enough later than in the fourth primary class; what is more, none of the surveyed language teachers or lower-secondary school teachers in the Czech Republic would find a non-early start acceptable (Purdjaková 2006).

Our results revealed that, in general, respondents preferring early start (ES) (preschool to fourth grade) tended to assign higher scores to each of the attitude scale items (*Table 2*). The most prominent difference was measured for items *Teacher should have British native accent* (M_{VES} = 1.96, SD_{VES} = 1.20; M_{ES} = 2.72, SD_{ES} = 1.30) and *Teacher should have American native accent* (M_{VES} = 1.76, SD_{VES} = 0.97; M_{ES} = 2.40, SD_{ES} = 1.00). Parents preferring an early start are more likely to expect to have a native speaker teacher (M_{ES} = 3.56, SD_{ES} = 1.30), while parents for very early start are closer to a neutral position (M_{VES} = 3.16, SD_{VES} = 1.43). The former group had increased expectations towards the teacher and their language use and placed an increased emphasis on pronunciation, especially having a British or American accent.

Table 2. *Ideal age of start and attitudes*

Ideal age of start		Good pronunciation	T should be NS	T should have Br. accent	T should have Am. accent	Hu. accent is a problem	Pron. more important than fluency or comp.	Pron. more important than methodology	Advanced level needed
Before preschool (VES) N = 25	**Mean**	**4.08**	**3.16**	**1.96**	**1.76**	**2.84**	**2.24**	**2.64**	**3.28**
	SD	1.038	1.434	1.207	.970	1.405	1.200	1.381	1.34
Preschool to fourth grade (ES) N = 25	**Mean**	**4.16**	**3.56**	**2.72**	**2.40**	**2.92**	**2.60**	**2.80**	**3.36**
	SD	1.068	1.387	1.308	1.000	1.441	1.258	1.384	1.49
Total N = 50	**Mean**	**4.12**	**3.36**	**2.34**	**2.08**	**2.88**	**2.42**	**2.72**	**3.32**
	SD	1.043	1.411	1.303	1.027	1.409	1.230	1.371	1.40

On the whole, both groups value good pronunciation (M_{VES} = 4.08, SD_{VES} = 1.03; M_{ES} = 4.16, SD_{ES} = 1.06), but they do not prefer a British or American accent. This indicates that those in favour of an early start tend more towards native-speakerism since they agree more with the statements that imply native-speaking teachers are needed and pronunciation is more important than methodology or fluency, yet they do not have a clear preference for either of the two most prominent and prestigious native speaker accents. We may say that parents who support the very early start seem more informed (Vojtková 2006) since they emphasize methodology and fluency over pronunciation. Griva and Chouvarda (2012) in Greece found age-related differences when they described how younger parents emphasize the right methodology rather than older ones. Thus, with a larger sample, age will also be worth examining.

Parental attitudes and the parents' self-rated proficiency in English

The questionnaire also addressed participants' self-evaluated language skills, using the categories *Does not speak a foreign language* (N = 6), *Elementary* (N = 12), *Intermediate* (N = 16), and *Advanced* (N = 16) language skills. Good teacher pronunciation was rated the highest by participants who claimed not to speak any foreign languages ($M_{No\ FL}$ = 4.50, $SD_{No\ FL}$ = 0.84), but other participants also agreed on its importance (M_{Elem} = 3.92, SD_{Elem} = 1.17; $M_{Intermed}$ = 4.06, $SD_{Intermed}$ =

1.25; M_{Adv} = 4.19, SD_{Adv} = 0.83). Data reveal that the less proficient a respondent is, the more importance they attribute to pronunciation as opposed to fluency or comprehensibility ($M_{No\ FL}$ = 3.00, $SD_{No\ FL}$ = 1.41; M_{Elem} = 2.67, SD_{Elem} = 1.50; $M_{Intermed}$ = 2.25, $SD_{Intermed}$ = 1.18; M_{Adv} = 2.19, SD_{Adv} = 0.98) (*Table 3*). It should also be noted that attitude ratings are more consistent among the parents with better self-reported language skills, who seem to display a more balanced view of linguistic aspects, and do not foreground pronunciation as a key criterion of proficiency in a foreign language.

Table 3. *Self-reported language proficiency and attitudes*

Self-reported language proficiency		Good pronunciation	T should be NS	T should have Br. accent	T should have Am. accent	Hu. accent is a problem	Pron. more important than fluency or comp.	Pron. more important than methodology	Advanced level needed
Does not speak FL	**Mean**	**4.50**	**3.50**	**2.33**	**2.33**	**2.67**	**3.00**	**2.67**	**2.83**
N = 6	SD	0.84	1.38	0.82	0.82	1.37	1.41	1.51	1.47
Elementary	**Mean**	**3.92**	**3.75**	**2.83**	**2.42**	**2.17**	**2.67**	**2.42**	**3.92**
N = 12	SD	1.17	1.36	1.19	1.08	1.12	1.50	1.44	1.00
Intermediate	**Mean**	**4.06**	**3.31**	**2.38**	**2.00**	**3.06**	**2.25**	**3.00**	**2.94**
N = 16	SD	1.24	1.45	1.54	1.21	1.61	1.18	1.46	1.65
Advanced	**Mean**	**4.19**	**3.06**	**1.94**	**1.81**	**3.31**	**2.19**	**2.69**	**3.44**
N = 16	SD	0.83	1.48	1.24	0.83	1.30	0.98	1.25	1.31
Total	**Mean**	**4.12**	**3.36**	**2.34**	**2.08**	**2.88**	**2.42**	**2.72**	**3.32**
N = 50	SD	1.04	1.41	1.30	1.03	1.41	1.23	1.37	1.41

Conversely, our results also revealed that intermediate and advanced speakers were more concerned about *Hungarian accent* ($M_{Intermed}$ = 3.06, $SD_{Intermed}$ = 1.61; M_{Adv} = 3.31, SD_{Adv} = 1.30) than less proficient parents ($M_{No\ FL}$ = 2.67, $SD_{No\ FL}$ = 1.37; M_{Elem} = 2.17, SD_{Elem} = 1.12). Despite this concern with having a Hungarian accent, parents with advanced language skills attribute less importance to *native-speaking teachers* (M_{Adv} = 1.94, SD_{Adv} = 1.24) than lower proficiency respondents ($M_{No\ FL}$ = 2.337, $SD_{No\ FL}$ = 0.82; M_{Elem} = 2.42, SD_{Elem} = 1.08; $M_{Intermed}$ = 2.38, $SD_{Intermed}$ = 1.54) (*Table 3*). Based on these results, we conclude that parents with more advanced language skills appear to have a more comprehensive view of language learning and use that is not solely focused on pronunciation but includes comprehensibility or fluency as well. They seem to be moving further away from

native-speakerism within the classroom, yet they disapprove of a Hungarian accent to a greater degree than less proficient parents. Similarly to previous findings about parental education and language-learning background (Lan et al. 2011, Munoz and Lindgren 2011, Bartram 2006, Song 2003), self-reported language skills may therefore be a factor requiring further study.

5.4. Parental attitudes and plans to move abroad

Before the study, we had hypothesized that, given that there is a large number of Hungarian young adults leaving the country to earn a better living elsewhere, EFL-related issues would be influenced by whether they plan to do so. It must be noted that all respondents were Hungarians, and none had lived abroad. Only 6% of them (N = 3) plan to move abroad with their children; so, our analysis will focus on the responses of those who do not plan to move (N = 31) and those who gave an uncertain answer (N = 16) (*Table 4*).

Firstly, those who may want to *move abroad* (M_{Maybe} = 4.50, SD_{Maybe} = 0.62) found *good pronunciation* more important than those who do not (M_{No} = 3.94, SD_{No} = 1.20) and were markedly more consistent in their responses. Secondly, Hungarian accent of teachers emerges as a key issue between these two groups. Those who do not plan to move abroad claimed it is not a problem (M_{No} = 2.61, SD_{No} = 1.40), while those who are contemplating moving abroad leaned towards rejecting a *Hungarian accent* (M_{Maybe} = 3.44, SD_{Maybe} = 1.35). Thirdly, *native speaker teachers* (M_{No} = 3.26, SD_{No} = 1.50; M_{Maybe} = 3.69, SD_{Maybe} = 1.19) were rated positively by both groups but were rated lower by the group not planning to move abroad. However, neither of the two groups evaluated a British or American accent particularly desirable, and *advanced proficiency* (M_{No} = 3.32, SD_{No} = 1.42; M_{Maybe} = 3.50, SD_{Maybe} = 1.36) was viewed as important as being a native speaker. Finally, it can be concluded that our prior hypothesis was confirmed with respect to participants' attitudes towards good pronunciation and Hungarian accent and their relationship with plans to move abroad.

Table 4. *Plans to move abroad and attitudes*

Do you plan to move abroad?			Good pronunciation	T should be NS	T should have Br. Accent	T should have Am. accent	Hu. accent is a problem	Pron. more important than fluency or comp.	Pron. more important than methodology	Advanced level needed
No	N = 31	**Mean**	**3.94**	**3.26**	**2.35**	**2.13**	**2.61**	**2.45**	**2.61**	**3.32**
		SD	1.209	1.505	1.380	1.118	1.407	1.287	1.407	1.42
Maybe	N = 16	**Mean**	**4.50**	**3.69**	**2.38**	**2.00**	**3.44**	**2.25**	**2.94**	**3.50**
		SD	.632	1.195	1.258	.894	1.315	1.183	1.237	1.36
Yes	N = 3	**Mean**	**4.00**	**2.67**	**2.00**	**2.00**	**2.67**	**3.00**	**2.67**	**2.33**
		SD	.000	1.528	1.000	1.000	1.528	1.000	2.082	1.52
Total	N = 50	**Mean**	**4.12**	**3.36**	**2.34**	**2.08**	**2.88**	**2.42**	**2.72**	**3.32**
		SD	1.043	1.411	1.303	1.027	1.409	1.230	1.371	1.40

Our results shed light on the importance of the wider linguistic context and the different attitudes attached to communicating with native speakers and non-natives potentially sharing the same first language. As pointed out by Feyér (2015), native speaker accents were generally preferred compared to a discernible Hungarian accent. However, our results also reveal that neither of the most prominent native varieties is preferred over the other by our participants, and advanced proficiency irrespective of accent is also evaluated positively. This appears to point towards a decreasing attention on direct imitation of certain native speaker varieties and, hopefully, an increasing emphasis on communicative efficiency.

Moreover, respondents generally agree with the statement that *the teacher should be a native speaker of English* (M = 3.36, SD = 1.41), but when we compare the answers of those who anticipate using English abroad (i.e. may plan to move) and those who do not, there is no significant difference (*Table 4*). This is in tune with previous findings that the desire to adhere to native speaker norms is not limited to students who will at some point use English with native speakers (Timmis 2002: 248).

5.5. Parental attitudes and in/formal educational contexts

Our final research question addressed the nature of the educational context the parents and children in the study were involved in. With this goal in mind, we examined the attitudes connected with whether the children learn English in a formal (N = 12) or informal context (N = 17) (at home, from family members). The results reveal that in case the child is taking part in organized teaching, the parents claimed that the *pronunciation* (M_{Pron} = 3.83, SD_{Pron} = 1.47), accent, and *native-likeness* of the teacher (M_{NST} = 3.17, SD_{NST} = 1.53) was less important compared to informal learning contexts, where *good pronunciation* (M_{Pron} = 4.06, SD_{Pron} = 0.90) and *native speaker teachers* (M_{NST} = 3.53, SD_{NST} = 1.38) were evaluated more positively. In general, the need for British or American accents is not imperative. However, a slight difference could be measured between the two groups. When *teaching at home*, parents found less relevance of British (M_{Br} = 2.35, SD_{Br} = 1.32) or American (M_{Am} = 2.35, SD_{Am} = 1.32) pronunciations than in *organized settings* (M_{Br} = 2.42, SD_{Br} = 1.56; M_{Am} = 2.25, SD_{Am} = 1.29) (*Table 5*). These results are in line with Song (2003), who measured differences in parental attitudes towards home teaching and found different teaching practices depending on participants' sociocultural contexts.

Table 5. *Formal or informal learning contexts and attitudes*

In what context does your child learn English?		Good pronunciation	T should be NS	T should have Br. accent	T should have Am. accent	Hu. accent is a problem	Pron. more important than fluency or comp.	Pron. more important than methodology	Advanced level needed
From parents/family members	**Mean**	**4.06**	**3.53**	**2.35**	**1.88**	**3.18**	**2.29**	**3.00**	**3.12**
N = 17	SD	0.90	1.38	1.32	0.86	1.43	1.31	1.28	1.27
Formal education	**Mean**	**3.83**	**3.17**	**2.42**	**2.25**	**2.58**	**2.83**	**2.92**	**3.33**
N = 12	SD	1.47	1.53	1.56	1.29	1.38	1.47	1.56	1.50
Total	**Mean**	**3.95**	**3.35**	**2.39**	**2.07**	**2.88**	**2.56**	**2.96**	**3.23**
N = 29	SD	1.19	1.46	1.44	1.08	1.41	1.39	1.42	1.39

Conclusions

Our findings reveal that parents generally agreed on the importance of good pronunciation, especially parents with lower self-rated proficiency in English, but they also claimed that it was not more important than fluent and comprehensible

speech. These views were more dominant among parents of children participating in informal learning contexts. Although parents, overall, placed some emphasis on having native speaker teachers, parents preferring a very early start (VES) attributed less importance to it as compared to parents opting for a start in or after preschool (ES). Correspondingly, there was a stronger consensus among parents preferring very early start that British or American accents are not necessary prerequisites, but parents preferring a later start also agreed in this respect. Even though no considerable preference was measured for native speaker teachers or dominant native speaker accents, Hungarian accent was still viewed as problematic, especially by parents who were contemplating moving abroad or among parents of children learning from parents or family members. These negative attitudes may stem from concerns regarding native-speakerism children may encounter in the future or a lack of familiarity with either native or non-native communicative contexts other than the Hungarian one. When we look more closely at the results about how much respondents value and require native-speaking teachers, we see that the self-rated proficiency, the age of preferred start, the plans to move abroad, and the learning contexts all have some relationship with attitudes towards this issue. We found that those who prefer the earliest start, those who are more proficient in English, those who do not plan to move abroad, and those who have children taught English in formal contexts all find less need for native speaker teachers.

Thus, we can draw the general conclusion that the respondents in this study appear to have realistic views about the importance of accents: native-speakerism is not very strong, there is no urgent need for native-speaking teachers, and a Hungarian accent can be tolerated, especially in the Hungarian context. Results suggest that parents seem to be aware of the unnecessary burden that is placed on learners by native-speakerism, and they seem to be moving away from a focus on accent towards a more pragmatic approach aimed at accomplishing communicative goals. This pragmatism is also reflected in the responses of parents staying in Hungary or planning to move abroad, who adjust their attitudes to accent to the anticipated context of language use. Moreover, this shift away from native-speakerism is highlighted by the emphasis placed on teachers using the appropriate methodology and a fluent, comprehensible language.

However, these results should be treated with some caution, and parental views on comprehensibility, fluency, and methodology need to be addressed in more detail. Special attention must be devoted to the notions of fluency and comprehensibility and their relationship with speech perception and attitudes. In the following stage of the research process, the attitude scale should be extended, and fluency and comprehensibility should be addressed as distinct and occasionally diametrically opposed factors affecting listener perceptions. Finally, we also plan to extend the sample in order to carry out in-depth statistical testing and involve other stakeholders as well.

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On Translanguaging and Its Role in Foreign Language Teaching

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Abstract. The idea that in foreign language classes the use of L1 can be beneficial for students is gaining ground in foreign language teaching methodology. Translanguaging is a relatively newly coined term that is often used to refer both to the process of switching between two languages and the methodology that lies behind it. After presenting the main characteristics of translanguaging and the possibility of implementing it as a pedagogical method in English language classrooms, the paper presents a translanguaging activity and also shows how the students evaluated their participation in this practice. The paper concludes that in order to employ translanguaging practices in the classroom, it is necessary to adopt a new mindset to teaching that allows for multiple language use in class and also encourages language learners to embrace their entire linguistic potential.

Keywords: translanguaging, pedagogical practice, translanguaging activity, multilingual language use.

1. Introduction

When it comes to teaching a foreign language, teachers face the difficulty of having to choose the teaching strategies and methods that are appropriate for the needs of a specific class. While in the past a monolingual approach was considered the right path to follow in teaching foreign languages, due to the effects of increased globalization and the spread of multingualism all over the world, a new approach to teaching is called for. Nowadays, educational practices are frequently carried out in a bilingual or multilingual setting, where traditional approaches and methods often become obsolete and need to be redefined or reformulated in order to meet the learners' needs. In order to adjust teaching methods to the changes that have taken place over the last few decades, researchers working in the field of education have pointed out the need of new teaching norms and methods that take into account the diversity of the classroom, with respect to the background

of the students, their different linguistic skills and competences. Although new methods are not always easy to put into practice for various reasons (e.g. the lack of materials, insufficient number of classes, a curriculum that needs to be followed, etc.), teachers are still expected to implement a learner-centred mindset that considers the specific individual needs of the language learner.

Translanguaging, a relatively new approach to language teaching, is a language practice that allows language learners to use all their linguistic skills, experience, and competences acquired in L1 as well as other languages for meaning-making purposes. It represents a shift from traditional monolingual methods in that it presupposes a certain fluidity between language system(s) as well as the linguistic skills and competences of the language learner.

After describing the main characteristics of translanguaging, the paper presents the outcome of an activity that involves the use of both English and Hungarian in class and also the reaction of the students to this activity. It puts forward the claim that allowing for multiple language use (Hungarian and/or Romanian), besides English, can bring a series of advantages in foreign language teaching.

2. Translanguaging. A definition

The term *translanguaging* originates from Cen Williams, a leading educationalist in the 1980s, who used the term *trawsieithu* to describe a language practice that implied the planned and systematic use of two languages within the same lesson. The term, later translated into English as *translinguifying* but then changed to *translanguaging* by Baker (2001), was meant to describe a language practice that involved a deliberate alternation between the language of input and output in the classroom (Lewis et al. 2012: 643). Later, however, it also came to be used to encompass the mode and purpose of this linguistic process. Today, translanguaging is used to refer both to a language practice that involves the deliberate process of switching between languages and the theoretical considerations behind it.

The definitions of translanguaging often try to combine both aspects, so Canagarajah (2011: 401), for example, defines translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system". Other definitions often highlight the purpose of this linguistic practice as well – consider García's (2009: 140) definition, who defines translanguaging as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" or Baker's (2001: 288) interpretation, where translanguaging is seen as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages".

When it comes to the definition of translanguaging, it should be noted that while the above mentioned characteristics are widely accepted by linguists working in this area, there is no general consensus over what an integrated language system means and how the concept of language should be understood in this theoretical framework. In order to shed light on this matter, García and Lin (2016: 124) propose a definition that differentiates between two versions of translanguaging that they call "strong translanguaging" and "weak translanguaging". The two versions of translanguaging express different perspectives on the language system(s) and, as such, on the language learning processes. On the one hand, the strong version of translanguaging does not differentiate between languages, it rather talks about one language system and one grammar from which language speakers select the feature they need in their interactions. On the other hand, the weak version of translanguaging maintains the traditional language boundaries but advocates for the softening of these boundaries, focusing on the fluidity and overlap between different language systems. This later conceptualization of translanguaging, while not so widespread, has also found support among linguists (e.g. MacSwan 2017 uses the term translanguaging but argues that each language has a separate grammar). The present paper adopts the weak version of translanguaging in the sense that although it views languages as having separate grammar and linguistic structures, it does not presuppose a rigid boundary between language systems but rather views them in constant fluidity and overlap. In line with the dynamic model of multilingualism proposed by Jessner and Herdina (2002), L1 and all other additional languages are seen as having blurred and fuzzy edges, mutually and constantly influencing each other. Another question that arises with respect to translanguaging is how it differs from code-switching, a linguistic phenomenon that also describes the alternation between two or several languages. The next chapter tries to answer this question in a (hopefully) satisfactory matter.

3. Translanguaging and code-switching

There is some confusion when it comes to defining the terms of code-switching and translanguaging, and this is to some extent due to the fact that the conceptualization of translanguaging has changed over time. That is, while in former works (e.g. García 2009) translanguaging is understood to encompass or include code-switching, in later interpretations (e.g. García and Li Wei 2014), the two concepts are found to be at odds with each other; so, while code-switching is considered to express an alternation between two language systems and separate linguistic codes, translanguaging is seen as a phenomenon that goes beyond language categories. Thus, García and Li Wei (2014) argue that code-switching is a process of merely changing two languages, an alternation between

separate monolingual codes; translanguaging, on the other hand, focuses on how speakers use their entire linguistic repertoire in order to create meaning through interaction. One of the main characteristics of translanguaging is that it presupposes a dynamic and functionally integrated use of different languages and language varieties. As opposed to code-switching that is based on a monoglossic view where bilinguals are considered to operate between separate and isolated linguistic systems, translanguaging expresses a heteroglossic point of view that sees language systems in fluidity, lacking rigid boundaries.

Translanguaging is often seen as a process of knowledge construction that goes beyond language(s) (Li Wei 2018). In these processes, learners are active participants who construct a bilingual dynamic repertoire by adding new features to the ones they already have. This line of thought also appears with García (2009), who refers to translanguaging as a dynamic meaning-making process where all elements are in interaction and mutually influence each other. In her definition (2009: 44), translanguaging is seen as "an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable". In García's (2009: 45) opinion, translanguaging is more than code-switching as it refers to "*the process* [my emphasis] by which bilingual students perform bilingually in the myriad multimodal ways of classrooms", a process that involves the intermingling of linguistic features as well as the use of multiple discursive practices.

Another difference between code-switching and translanguaging concerns the functions of translanguaging. Translanguaging has taken its root in pedagogy and, as such, it is closely connected to pedagogical practices unlike code-switching that is used to describe the alternation of languages in all kinds of situational contexts. Translanguaging is ascribed an important role, especially in education, where it is expected to enable the formation of a translanguaging space,[1] created by and for translanguaging practices (Li Wei 2011) where learners can switch between languages and creatively use their linguistic competences in order to negotiate and create meaning through interaction. Code-switching is "rarely institutionally endorsed or pedagogically underpinned" (Creese and Blackledge 2010: 105) and focuses "not on maintaining bilingualism per se but on teaching in or simply teaching another language" (Garcia and Lin 2017: 3) regardless of whether it is done pragmatically by the teacher or with a pedagogical intent. By contrast, translanguaging builds on the dynamic bilingualism of language learners (Garcia 2009) and encourages the use of their linguistic competences and entire linguistic repertoire.

1 The translanguaging space is defined by Li Wei (2018: 23) as a creative space of hybridity between the first and second languages, where all dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psychological are broken down by interaction, a space where language learners bring together their entire linguistic repertoire. It is a place where both learners and teachers engage in meaning-making practices.

4. Types of translanguaging

Taking into consideration that translanguaging is a complex phenomenon whose patterns and forms of manifestation can vary in different situations, there have been several attempts to categorize translanguaging practices. Besides the distinction between the strong and weak version of translanguaging that reflects different perspectives on this linguistic phenomenon, there are other categorizations of translanguaging that need to be mentioned.

In relation to the language proficiency of the language speakers engaged in a translanguaging activity, a distinction can be made between one-way and two-way translanguaging as well as between dependent and independent translanguaging. Bilingual learners, finding themselves at various stages of the bilingual continuum, tend to use translanguaging strategies for different purposes (García and Li Wei 2014). Emergent bilinguals who lack proficiency in a second language often display a dependent form of translanguaging, and so they heavily depend on their linguistic skills in L1. This form of translanguaging is also a one-way translanguaging, where the language learners use their dominant language as a scaffolding device as well as a language of thought. By contrast, more experienced bilingual speakers who have a good proficiency in both the source and the target language use a more independent form of translanguaging. They tend to display a two-way translanguaging pattern, being able to switch between the languages with ease, according to the situation at hand.

Regarding the purpose of its use, a distinction can be made between spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging as well. As García and Li Wei (2014) and also Lewis et al. (2012) point out, translanguaging can be used both spontaneously (when speakers engage in a translanguaging activity) and pedagogically (when translanguaging is used with a pedagogical purpose and is based on instructional strategies). In other words, spontaneous translanguaging refers to the discursive practices used by bilingual and multilingual speakers, whereas pedagogical translanguaging refers to teaching strategies applied in a multilingual setting.

5. Translanguaging in foreign language teaching

Translanguaging in education adopts a heteroglossic approach to teaching that allows and also encourages the implementation of multiple language practices. The classroom can be considered a community of practice (Wenger 1998)[2] that offers the right setting for students and teachers alike to use and further develop all their language skills and linguistic repertoire. According to Williams (2002)

2 Wenger (1998) defines a community of practice as a group of people who share a common interest for something they do and aim at improving their skills by practising regularly.

(as qtd by Lewis et al. 2012: 40), translanguaging in education "refers to using one language in order to reinforce the other, in order to increase understanding and in order to augment the pupil's activity in both languages".

Despite the fact that to this day there is no universally accepted definition of translanguaging (consider the split between the "strong" and "weak" version of translanguaging), there is evidence of translanguaging practices in many education systems all over the world (for example, Paulsrud et al. (2017) report about the existence of translanguaging in Scandinavian institutions, Krause and Prinsloo (2016) analyse translanguaging in the South African educational setting, or Leonet Cenoz and Gorter (2017) discuss translanguaging within the context of trilingual education in the Basque country) underlining the advantages of these linguistic practices in a bilingual or multilingual setting.

According to Baker (2011: 289), a leading expert on bilingualism who also coined the term translanguaging in English, one of the main advantages of translanguaging in an educational setting is that it leads to a better understanding of the subject matter; so, "to read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and digested." Baker (2001) also mentions other advantages of translanguaging in teaching, such as the development of the weaker language, the facilitation of home-school links and cooperation, and also the integration of fluent speakers with early learners. In addition, Stathopoulou (2015) points out the importance of translanguaging in testing and highlights the importance of tests that favour cross-language mediation practices.

Although the present paper focuses mostly on the repercussions of translanguaging in the foreign language classroom, translanguaging as a linguistic practice can and is used in all educational contexts. Lopez et al. (2014), for example, show in their studies how emergent bilingual students alternated between English and Spanish while interacting with mathematical items, which made possible for them to show their mathematical skills even in the conditions where their knowledge of English was not good enough. Similarly, Hassan and Ahmed (2015: 26) give an account of the alternate uses of several languages: Arabic, English, Urdu, and in some cases also Sylheti in religious classes in a madrasah (private Islamic secondary school). They point out that a positive effect of the translanguaging processes is the reinforcement of certain concepts through repetition in various languages, which then leads to a more profound understanding and learning of the subject material.

With respect to the use of translanguaging methods in the foreign language classroom, while the data concerning the efficiency of these practices are rather scarce, several studies point to the advantages of translanguaging in foreign language teaching. For example, Portolés and Martí (2017) analyse the linguistic behaviour of young learners (5-year-olds) in a multilingual setting and show

how youngsters use their whole language repertoire while communicating with each other and construct new concepts based on their previous knowledge. Interesting is also Chukly-Bonato's (2016) analysis of translanguaging processes in the classroom who, observing her students' linguistic behaviour for several weeks, notes how translanguaging pedagogy changes their behaviour in a short amount of time. The implementation of translanguaging practices, by eliminating the pressure of having to articulate in perfect English, created a calmer and more relaxed atmosphere in her classroom, thereby encouraging students to take an active part in class and use their language skills more confidently.

The ways translanguaging practices can be implemented in a language class are multifold, depending on the linguistic background and language proficiency of the students. The classroom as a community of practice includes participants (both students and teachers) that work towards a common goal; in a class with mixed linguistic skills and competences and in certain cases also a different linguistic background, translanguaging can function as a linking element that serves as a tool to overcome cultural and linguistic differences. It can be said that translanguaging in the classroom serves both as a linking element that closes the gap between participants with different linguistic backgrounds and a scaffolding device that helps emergent bilinguals to keep pace with more advanced learners and at the same time demonstrate and improve their linguistic skills and abilities.

Translanguaging can be implemented in a wide range of activities for the practice of various linguistic skills such as speaking, writing, reading, or listening. The aim of translanguaging practices is to allow language learners to use their linguistic competences to the fullest by eliminating the requirements of having to adhere to the norm of an idealized, native-like speaker. Pacheco (2016) gives examples of translanguaging in a class, where, besides English, the use of Spanish can be observed in various speech acts. He points to the employment of translanguaging practices by the teacher and the students alike for various purposes, such as for requesting information and clarification, providing or affirming a particular answer, demonstrating expertise, and so on. The examples given by Pacheco (2016: 79) shows how creatively translanguaging is used in various situations (in initiative, declarative, affirmative, evaluation speech acts, etc.):

1. What's a *javelina*?	Requesting information
2. Was *assistente* the same as assistant?	Invitation to a speech event
3. Correción. Yes, like correction.	Affirming information
4. You got it. It's *corriendo*.	Affirming information
5. Acción sounds like action.	Provide information
6. They are having *a fiesta*.	Demonstrate expertise

Translanguaging strategies could be employed in all kinds of activities that include not only speaking but listening, reading, or writing skills as well in a way that allows or encourages the use of other languages along the target language (L2). Ideas for translanguaging activities could be, for example, reading a text in one language and summarizing it in another, doing research on a topic in L1, report on it in L2, allowing the use of L1 in group work, explaining something in L1 after the explanation in L2 has failed, translating terms from L2 into L1, etc. In what follows, the paper will present the outcomes of a reading activity among L1 speakers of Hungarian, a translanguaging activity that included the alternative use of English and Hungarian in class. In addition, the paper will comment on the reaction of the students to this activity, especially with regard to language use. While students had been used to occasionally hearing or speaking Hungarian in class, it was the first time that they came in contact with Hungarian as part of a reading exercise.

6. A translanguaging activity

The translanguaging activity was carried out at Sapientia University, Faculty of Miercurea Ciuc in three English classes, with first-year pre-intermediate students (around 15 students in a group). I chose these classes especially because at this level a mix of emergent/weaker learners and more advanced learners can often be found, some of them being rather at elementary levels while others approaching the intermediate level. The primary aim of this activity was to see what strategies the students use in order to handle the task at hand and also whether they like or dislike the idea of using Hungarian in class. The results are far from being conclusive and only serve to shed light on the linguistic behaviour of students as well as their perspective on using other languages besides English during the activity.

The task consisted of two parts: the first part was a reading comprehension exercise where students had to put the paragraphs of a text in the right order. Once they had managed to do that, there was a true or false exercise based on the text that they had to do in Hungarian. The students worked in small groups of 3 or 4 and were expected to do the task in a certain amount of time (20 to 25 minutes). No instructions were given with regard to the language use during this activity. After the students finished the task, there was a whole-class discussion in which they talked about the strategies they used to do the exercise and also shared their opinion concerning the use of Hungarian besides English.

A common strategy that the students used during this exercise was translating the paragraphs into Hungarian, which helped them reconstruct the entire story. Other strategies that helped students to put the paragraphs in the right order included looking for connectives, keywords, or repetitions within the text.

Most of the students got involved in a spontaneous, one-sided translanguaging during the exercise. While some of the students did not translate the sentences into Hungarian, all of them switched to Hungarian right at the beginning of this exercise and kept speaking in Hungarian during the entire activity.

With respect to the usefulness of Hungarian as part of the exercise, and also occasionally in class, the answers of the students varied. While the first reaction of the majority of the students (around 70% – as it was part of an oral communication activity, the exact number is hard to tell) was a positive one, saying that the use of Hungarian was useful, later on, it came to a difference of opinions between weaker students, struggling with their English, who would welcome similar exercises in the future, and more advanced speakers for whom the exercise was not challenging enough. According to more advanced learners, or even weaker learners that overestimated their own linguistic competences, Hungarian should be used only in cases when they do not know or cannot remember a word or when they do not understand something. Several students mentioned that during their previous studies they had not been allowed to speak Hungarian in English classes.

In order to understand the students' perspective on the language use in class, their schooling background should be taken into account as well, the more so as this shapes the image the students have of themselves as language speakers. How language learners view their language competences and how confident they are about their language abilities depend on their previous language learning background to a great extent since this already sets the norms for the ideal foreign language speaker. In addition, the self-image of students as language learners and speakers also influences their learning motivation. This idea is highlighted in Dörnyei's (2005) analysis of language learning motivation, a study that draws attention to the importance of self-image in language learning processes. Dörnyei (2005) differentiates between *ought-to L2 self* (language learning motivated by the expectation of the society, teacher, parents, etc.) and *ideal L2 self* of language learners (the ability to use English at work and in daily life in the future), stating that they have a great impact on the students' motivation in learning a foreign language.

As concerns the participants in the translanguaging activity, it is important to consider that most of the students came from a monolingual educational background where only the use of English was encouraged in class. In such circumstances, the formation of *the ought-to L2 self* and also of the *ideal L2 self* images were conditioned solely by the norms of the monolingual language teaching and learning. This can explain why, although the students switched to Hungarian when they started the exercise and had no problem with me occasionally switching to Hungarian either (e.g. when the explanation in English failed), when made conscious of their linguistic behaviour, most of them regarded it as an ultimate solution, a tool that should be limited to situations when their

knowledge of English did not allow them to express themselves properly. Coming from a linguistic background that was defined by monolingual teaching methods, the students' ideal image of themselves as future language speakers did not make room for the use of other languages in the classroom; so, despite the fact that the students used their L1 in class, they were inclined to see it as a mistake, as something that they should not do. Translanguaging practices intend to resolve such contradictions in that they create a learning space where language skills are viewed primarily as communicative competences and where monolingual linguistic methods are regarded as guidelines and not as the only acceptable norm.

Conclusions

Translanguaging, a relatively newly coined term, is used to describe both the alternation between languages and the underlying linguistic processes. The paper offers an insight into this complex phenomenon, elaborating on the possibilities of implementing translanguaging in the classroom, with a special focus on foreign language teaching. Translanguaging as a pedagogical method takes a heteroglossic, multilingual approach to teaching. One of the main advantages of these practices is that, by allowing learners to use their full linguistic potential within a planned activity in the classroom, they motivate weaker learners to engage more in learning activities. By not following monolingual norms exclusively, translanguaging practices also lead to a more relaxed atmosphere, where the learning process is a creative one, based on the language skills of each individual who comes in contact to create and negotiate meaning together. The idea of allowing a multilingual language use in the classroom can be challenging for teachers who have been trained according to monolingual language norms that discarded the use of other languages in class. It is paramount to understand, however, that translanguaging practices, if implemented correctly, do not harm language skills in a particular language; on the contrary, they foster language learning by allowing students to engage more actively in learning activities and also to use their linguistic skills with more confidence in any circumstances.

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Appendix

1. Put the paragraphs in the right order, and then mark the sentences as *true* or *false*.

☐ Next day Jamie phoned Hannah and invited her to dinner. He took her to a very romantic French restaurant and they talked all evening. After that Jamie and Hanna saw each other every day. Every evening when Hannah finished work they met at 5.30 in a coffee bar in the High Street. They were madly in love.
☐ Suddenly, a man ran across the road. He was wearing a dark coat so Hannah didn't see him until it was too late. Although she tried to stop, she hit the man. Hannah panicked.
☐ Hannah met Jamie in the summer of 2017. It was Hannah's 21st birthday and she and her friends went to a club. They wanted to dance, but they didn't like the music so Hannah went to speak to the DJ. 'This music is awful' she said.
☐ Two hours later a police car arrived at Hannah's house. A policewoman knocked at the door. 'Good evening, Madam,' she said. 'Are you Hannah Davis? I'd like to speak to you. Can I come in?'
☐ 'Could you play something else?'. The DJ looked at her and said, 'Don't worry, I have the perfect song for you.'
☐ She didn't stop and she drove to the coffee bar as fast as she could. But when she arrived Jamie wasn't there. She phoned him, but his mobile was turned off, so she waited for ten minutes and then went home.
☐ One evening in October, Hannah was at work. As usual she was going to meet Jamie at 5.30. It was dark and it was raining. She looked at her watch. It was 5.20! She was going to be late! She ran to her car and got in. At 5.25 she was driving along the High Street. She was going very fast because she was in a hurry.

- ☐ Two minutes later he said: 'The next song is by Coldplay. It's called Yellow and it's for a beautiful girl who's dancing over there.' Hannah knew that the song was for her because she was wearing a yellow dress.
- ☐ When Hannah and her friends left the club, the DJ was waiting at the door. 'Hi, I'm Jamie,' he said to Hannah. 'Can I see you again?' So Hannah gave him her phone number.

Text from *New English File*, Pre-Intermediate Level, by C. Oxenden, C. Latham-Koenig, and P. Seligson. 1997.

2. *Igaz* vagy *hamis*?

a. Hanna Jamie-t egy diszkóban ismerte meg.
b. Hannának tetszett a zene, amit a diszkóban játszottak.
c. Hannának megtetszett Jamie, odament hozzá, és megadta a telefonszámát.
d. Jamie a diszkóban dolgozott.
e. Hanna és Jamie megkedvelték egymást, és többször találkoztak.
f. Egy este, amint Hanna éppen hazafele vezetett, megcsúszott az úton.
g. Hanna elütött egy férfit, aki éppen ment át az úton.
h. Hanna bejelentette a balesetet, majd felhívta Jamie-t.
i. Amikor a rendőrség a helyszínre érkezett, Hanna elmesélte, mi történt.
j. Hanna nem tudta Jamie-t elérni, mert Jamie telefonja foglaltat jelzett.

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Reading Strategies, Reading Comprehension, and Translation

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Abstract. Translators and language teachers are cultural and intercultural mediators, facilitators of intercultural transfers and border crossings between cultures. The abilities to understand, interpret, and produce written texts appropriately play an essential role in these professions. In the process of translation, source-language texts have to be understood and translated using the most appropriate target-language equivalents. Reading skills and awareness of reading strategies are equally essential for language teachers, who are expected to guide language learners in developing these skills. In this study, we intend to examine the reading habits and reading strategies used by a group of Hungarian translator and teacher trainees when dealing with texts written in English. Their reading comprehension performance will be assessed with a test and compared with their ability to translate English texts into Hungarian. Based on the literature and our personal experience in language teaching, teacher training, and translator training, we assume that students preparing for the above mentioned professions have a well-developed reading strategy awareness and that their reading comprehension skills in English strongly influence the ability to translate texts into their native language.

Keywords: reading comprehension skills, reading strategies, translation, translator training, teacher training.

Introduction

Language teacher and translator trainees study to equip themselves with the skills, strategies, and experience necessary for their future profession. Ideally, they choose this domain because they are interested in and open to other cultures and languages, and they plan to help others in crossing the borders between cultures.

The subjects of this study are translation and interpretation students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, and most of them take part in a teacher training programme as well. One of the

entrance exam criteria is that their level of English should be B2 or above, but in our experience not all of them meet this requirement. Nevertheless, they are accepted if there are available places. Therefore, in the training process, we have to take into consideration the fact that some of them may face difficulties resulting from their inadequate language skills, including reading comprehension.

Reading is one of the important skills that teacher and translator trainees will need in their future profession. If they become translators, they will have to comprehend the source-language texts well enough to be able to translate them using the most appropriate target-language equivalents. If they become teachers, reading skills and awareness of reading strategies are equally essential because they will be expected to guide language learners in developing these skills and strategies.

In this study, we present a survey of the reading habits of our target group and their reading strategy awareness when reading academic materials or textbooks written in English. Their reading strategies were assessed with an instrument developed by Mokhtari and Sheorey (2002). We also measured their reading comprehension level and translation skills with a test. Correlation was measured between their reading comprehension level and their ability to translate English texts into Hungarian. According to Pham (2017), the relations between reading comprehension and translation were examined in other studies as well, and in most cases a significant correlation was found between them. The purpose of this study is to assess and examine our students' possible needs and weaknesses and to take in consideration any such factors in future curriculum design.

Reading comprehension, reading strategies, and translation

Reading comprehension is one of the essential skills that language learners have to develop. In the history of language teaching, there have been several attempts to categorize and describe the language skills necessary for communication. Bárdos (2005), for example, proposed a model which includes six skills divided into three levels, where each level includes the previous ones: the level of understanding (listening and reading comprehension), the level of conveying a message or communicating (writing and speaking), and the level of mediation (translation and interpretation). As this model suggests, reading is an essential skill, necessary for the development and practice of the other skills. However, as Hinkel pinpoints it, today, when the dominant idea is integrated language teaching based on communication-oriented principles, "after decades of research in language teaching and learning, it seems clear that, in many cases and for many purposes, the separation of the four macro skills is likely to be less effective than integrated instruction simply because, in reality, communication does not

take place in terms of discrete linguistic skills" (2010: n. p.). Therefore, ideally, reading is developed together with the other skills, but reading skills and strategy awareness may be more important for students such as translators, whose future profession will consist mainly of working with written texts.

Reading comprehension is a complex process and may be influenced by several factors. According to Bárdos (2000), reading cannot be regarded simply as a mechanical, automated process of recognizing certain signs and the meaning of the different words. It is a more complex endeavour, involving interpretation, the attempt to reveal the communicative function of the text, namely the intention of the writer. He believes that we may consider four levels regarding reading in a foreign language: the level of physically recognizing the letters; recognizing, decoding the meaning of the word; the level of understanding the meaning of the word, considering the grammatical aspects as well; the level of text interpretation, including reaction. However, the understanding of a text may also depend on the reader's language proficiency, cultural competence, background knowledge, and area of interest.

Grabe (2014) proposes a set of principles and several instructional approaches that may be useful in developing second-language reading skills. Among other principles, he suggests that the curriculum should be based on the needs of the students and the objectives of the teaching process, using plentiful, effective, varied, and interesting reading resources and teaching materials. He proposes the following developmental goals: promoting word recognition skills, building an abundant recognition vocabulary, practising comprehension skills, building awareness of discourse structure, promoting strategic reading, practising reading fluency, developing extensive reading, developing motivation, and combining language learning with content learning.

In the process of translation, when a message has to be conveyed from the source language into the target language, advanced reading skills are essential. As Newmark recommends, the work of translating a text starts with its analysis, first of all, with a careful reading. "You begin the job by reading the original for two purposes: first, to understand what it is about; second, to analyse it from a translator's point of view, which is not the same as a linguist's or a literary critic's. You have to determine its intention and the way it is written for the purpose of selecting a suitable translation method and identifying particular and recurrent problems" (1988: 11). He states that both general reading and close reading are necessary in order to understand a text appropriately. The general approach helps the reader to discover the main concepts, the essential ideas of the text, and for this it may be necessary to find and consult other sources of information as well. Close reading means that any challenging words, terms, or expressions have to be looked up and their meaning must be clarified. Therefore, reading a text with the purpose of translating is not an easy task. "You can compare the translating

activity to an iceberg: the tip is the translation – what is visible, what is written on the page – the iceberg, the activity, is all the work you do, often ten times as much again, much of which you do not even use" (Newmark 1988: 12).

Rainer Schulte, a professor of translation studies who has made a significant contribution to the art of translation, writes in an essay about translation and reading that translators develop…

> reading techniques that are distinctly different from those of a critic and scholar. First of all, we are dealing with a level of intensity. Translators look at each word through the lens of a magnifying glass. […] Reading is a continuous process of translation, and the way the translator looks at every word and investigates its rhythmic power and its semantic possibilities reaffirms that the act of reading, seen through the translator's eyes, is dynamic and not static. The writer creates the text and the reader as translator is involved in a constant process of re-creating the text.[1]

Reading habits, language proficiency, reading skills, and awareness of strategies may all be developed and further shaped in the process of translator and teacher training, but for this it is necessary to examine the needs and the level of the target group.

The instruments of the survey

The first part of the survey consisted of a questionnaire in which we requested general information about the students' age, gender, year of study, their self-rated level of English, whether they studied other foreign languages, how and where they had learned English (school, private language school, by themselves, with a private tutor), whether living in a bilingual region (Hungarian–Romanian) had helped them in learning a third language (English), which task would be the most difficult for them at an English language examination (reading comprehension, writing, use of English, listening comprehension, or speaking), and, given that they still had to improve their English, which language learning activity they considered the most useful in preparing them for their future career (grammar, vocabulary, reading, listening, speaking, writing, or translation activities). Related to reading, we asked the following: how difficult it is for them to comprehend texts written in English compared to texts written in their native language, Hungarian, how frequently they use libraries, and what types of texts they usually read in English.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of the Survey of Reading Strategies (SORS), an instrument designed by Mokhtari and Sheorey (2002),

1 http://translation.utdallas.edu/essays/reading_essay1.html

intended to survey students' perceived use and awareness of reading strategies mainly when reading textbooks or academic texts related to their studies. The reliability and validity of this instrument was tested and demonstrated by its authors. An advantage of SORS is that it may also help students develop a better awareness of their reading strategies and realize if there are any strategies which they have not used before but could be helpful in improving their reading efficiency. SORS consists of thirty questions, which can be answered by using a five-point scale ranging from "I never do this" to "I always do this". The frequency of the use of a certain strategy is shown by the chosen number – the higher it is, the more frequently the respective strategy is used by the student. The instrument measures three different categories. Global Reading Strategies (GLOB) are planned, intentional techniques, measured with thirteen items. Problem-Solving Strategies (PROB) refer to procedures and actions used by readers while working with a text, measured with eight items. Support Strategies (SUP) are actions which may help the reader in comprehending the text, measured with nine items.

Reading comprehension was measured with the help of two tasks taken from a B2-level ECL sample test.[2] At this level, candidates are expected to demonstrate their ability to understand specific information and to recognize the purpose and tone of texts taken from different sources such as newspapers, magazines, reports, regulations, or formal letters.[3] In the first task, students had to read a gapped text and find the right part to each blank space from a given list, where more possible parts were given than they needed. In the second task, they had to read a text and answer ten questions using maximum seven words in each answer. The maximum score for the test was 25 points. In ECL exams, each skill (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) is allocated 25 points; hence, the total score achievable is 100. The exam is considered successful if candidates reach a minimum of 60% overall in the four skills.[4] Our purpose with this task was to measure whether our students' reading skills correspond to the expected B2 level and to examine whether their performance in these tasks correlate with their performance in translation.

In order to assess our students' translation skills, they were asked to translate three paragraphs (consisting of approximately 200 words) from the second text of the reading comprehension text. Their performance was scored using a 1-to-10 scale.

2 http://eclexam.eu/files/ReadingB2.pdf
3 http://eclexam.eu/parts-of-the-exam/
4 http://eclexam.eu/exam-assessment/

Results

The questionnaire and test were completed by 57 translation and interpretation students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, most of whom take part in a teacher training programme as well (20 first-year students, 22 second-year students, and 15 third-year students).

40% of the students study not only English but other foreign languages as well (German or Danish), and they have all studied Romanian, the official language of the country. When they graduated from high school, they all had to take an examination in Romanian and another foreign language they had studied, in our target group's case, mainly English. Therefore, they may be considered experienced language learners, aware of their language proficiency and of their strengths and weaknesses. They have studied these languages mainly at school or at university, but the majority also mentions other ways such as with the help of a private tutor, individual studies, or with the help of television, the Internet, and videogames. Regarding their self-rated level of English, 31.5% of the respondents master the language on advanced (C1) level, 31.5% on upper-intermediate (B2) level, 33.5% on intermediate (B1) level, and 3.5% on pre-intermediate (A2) level. According to the answers, 36% are not at the ideal level for their studies.

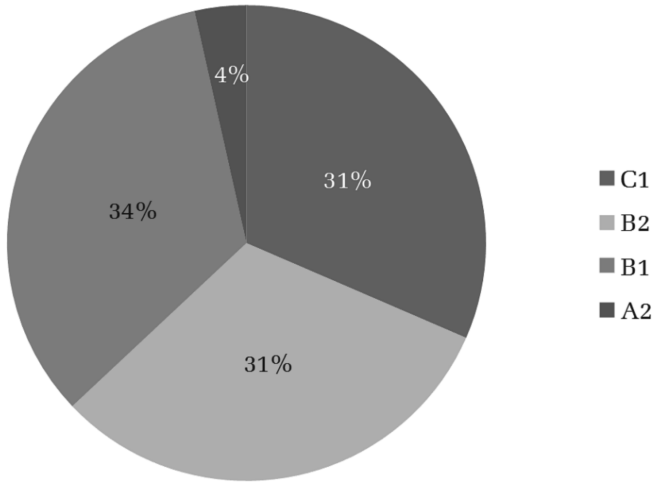

Figure 1. *Respondents' self-rated level of English*

To the question "Which task do you find the most difficult in a language exam?", 38.5% of the respondents chose listening comprehension, 35% writing, 17.5% speaking, and only 9% chose reading comprehension.

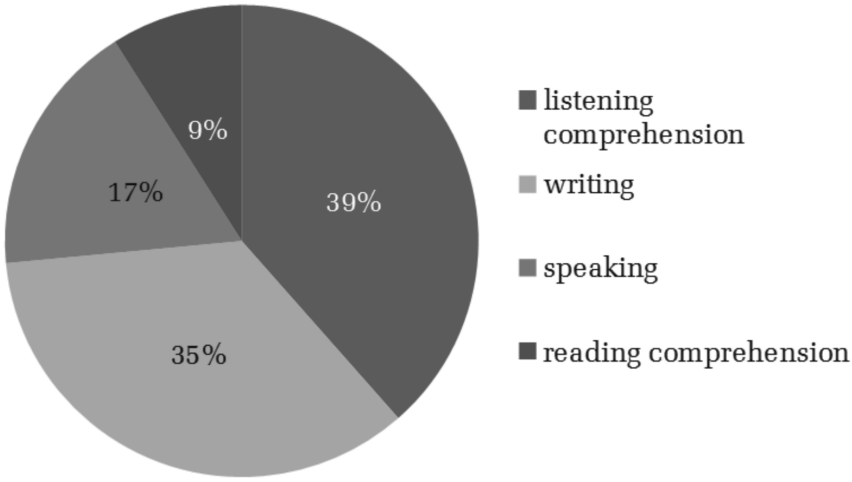

Figure 2. *The most difficult task in a language exam*

This confirms our experience that reading activities are fairly popular among students, and when their language skills are assessed the majority of the students achieve higher scores in reading comprehension and speaking than in listening comprehension and writing. However, the majority (83%) of the students declared that they found it more difficult to understand texts written in English than in Hungarian, 5% stated that they found it significantly more difficult, and only 12% claimed that they understood texts written in English almost as easily as in their native language, which would be the ideal and expected performance in the case of a teacher or translator.

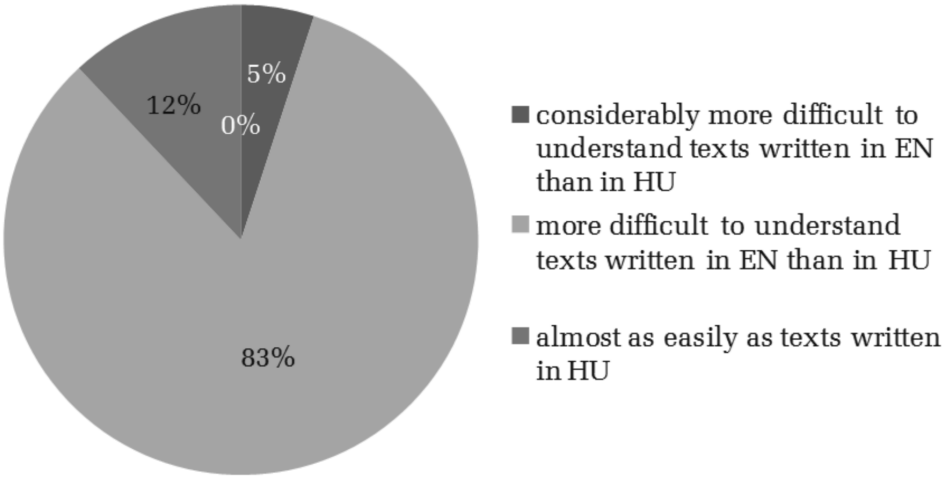

Figure 3. *Understanding EN vs HU texts*

To the question "How often do you use the library?", 40.5% answered "never", 54.5% "occasionally", and only 5% answered "regularly", which may raise further questions about the quality of library services regarding the availability of the necessary materials our students need for their studies but also about students' preference for online sources. Their limited interest and motivation in consulting a wider recommended literature regarding a certain subject besides the course materials received from their teachers may be another problem.

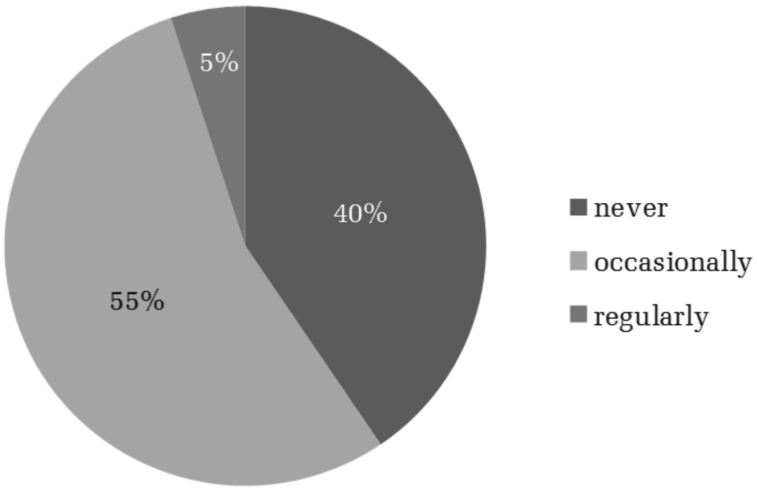

Figure 4. *Frequency of visits to the library*

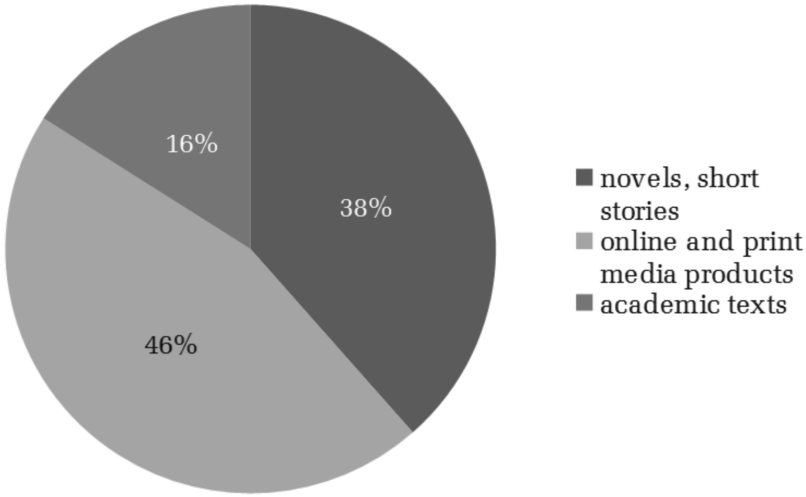

Figure 5. *What do they read in English?*

The answers to the next question related to the type of texts they read in English may also explain why they do not use the library regularly. 84% of the respondents read for entertainment (38.5% prefer literature, mainly novels and short stories, and 45.5% read online and print media), while only 16% of them read academic texts written in English (articles, essays, textbooks, monographs).

The students had to choose two language learning activities from a list of seven (grammar, vocabulary, reading comprehension, listening comprehension, speaking, writing, translation), which they found most useful in preparing for their future career.

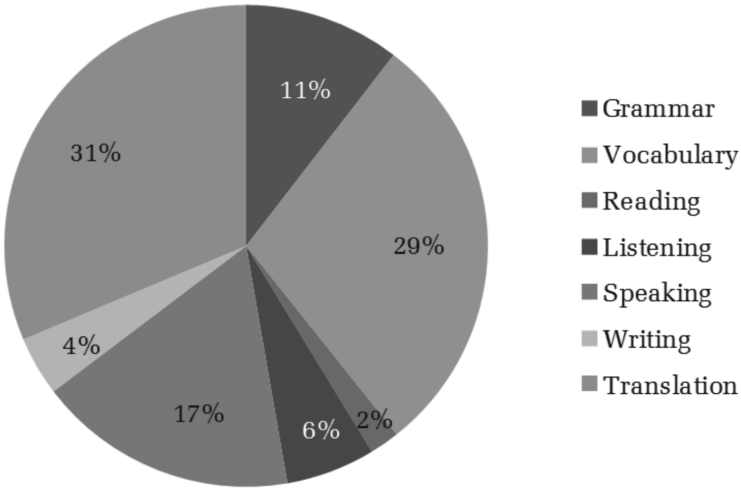

Figure 6. *Useful activities for future career*

These choices may be influenced by the activities they are most frequently required to do in their training process, namely translation exercises and glossary-building activities. The most rarely chosen activity was reading, which may result from the fact that they feel confident in comprehending written texts. This would confirm their answers to a previous question, where only a few students labelled reading comprehension as the most difficult task in a language examination.

The next set of 30 questions measured students' perceived use and awareness of reading strategies when reading textbooks or academic texts related to their studies. The score averages were interpreted for each category separately and for the whole instrument according to the levels suggested by the authors (Mokhtari and Sheorey 2002) who developed the instrument: High = mean of 3.5 or higher, Moderate = mean of 2.5 to 3.4, and Low = mean of 2.5 or lower.

The thirteen items measuring Global Reading Strategies (GLOB) are the following: *I have a purpose in mind when I read; I think about what I know to help me understand what I read; I take an overall view of the text to see what*

it is about before I read it; I think about whether the content of the text fits my reading purpose; I review the text first by noting its characteristics like length and organisation; when reading, I decide what to read closely and what to ignore; I use tables, figures, and pictures in text to increase my understanding; I use context clues to help me better understand what I am reading; I use typographical features like bold face and italics to identify key information; I critically analyse and evaluate the information presented in the text; I check my understanding when I come across new information; I try to guess what the content of the text is about when I read; I check to see if my guesses about the text are right or wrong. The results show that all students are aware of the usefulness and importance of these strategies, and they use most of them as often as necessary in order to comprehend academic texts and school materials more efficiently. None of them showed a lack of awareness of these techniques.

Table 1. *Global Reading Strategies*

Mean	Number of students	%
High	23	40.35%
Medium	34	59.65%
Low	0	0%

The eight items measuring Problem-Solving Strategies (PROB) are the following: *I read slowly and carefully to make sure I understand what I am reading; I try to get back on track when I lose concentration; I adjust my reading speed according to what I am reading; when text becomes difficult, I pay close attention to what I am reading; I stop from time to time and think about what I am reading; I try to picture or visualize information to help remember what I read; when text becomes difficult, I reread it to increase my understanding; when I read, I guess the meaning of unknown words or phrases.* According to the answers given, 80% of the respondents are aware of using these techniques while reading academic texts or school materials, and they use them frequently.

Table 2. *Problem-Solving Strategies*

Mean	Number of students	%
High	46	80.70%
Medium	10	17.54%
Low	1	1.75%

The nine items measuring Support Strategies (SUP) are the following: *I take notes while reading to help me understand what I read; when text becomes difficult, I read aloud to help me understand what I read; I underline or circle information in the text to help me remember it; I use reference materials (e.g. a dictionary) to help*

me understand when I read; I paraphrase (restate ideas in my own words) to better understand what I read; I go back and forth in the text to find relationships among ideas in it; I ask myself questions I like to have answered in the text; when reading I translate from English into my native language; when reading I think about information in both English and my mother tongue. Based on the answers, students seem to find Support Strategies less important than the other two categories. The reason for this may be that they are experienced readers, and therefore they do not need to use these strategies as frequently as the ones from the previous categories.

Table 3. *Support Strategies*

Mean	Number of students	%
High	22	38.60%
Medium	27	47.37%
Low	8	14.04%

The score averages for the whole instrument and group means for the three strategies show that our students possess the necessary reading strategies for efficient comprehension of textbooks or academic texts related to their studies.

Table 4. *The score averages for the whole instrument*

Mean	Number of students	%
High	29	50.88%
Medium	28	49.12%
Low	0	0.00%

Table 5. *The group's means for the three strategies and the overall mean*

GLOB	PROB	SUP	Overall
3.39	3.94	3.21	3.49

After the questionnaire was completed, the questions from the Survey of Reading Strategies (SORS) were discussed with the students in order to increase their awareness of reading strategies and their understanding of the reading process. They were encouraged to use any of the techniques which they had not used before and would consider useful in order to comprehend texts more efficiently.

In the reading comprehension test, only 8 students (4.5%) did not reach the minimum of 60%, which means that the scores of the majority correspond to the required B2 level. However, for most students, the first task, where they had to read a gapped text and find the right part to each blank space from a given list, proved less difficult than the second one, where they had to read a text and answer ten questions using maximum seven words in each answer. While 23 students managed to answer all the questions correctly in the first task, only 8 were awarded

a maximum score for the second task. Most of the unacceptable answers indicate that students failed to understand and interpret correctly certain parts of the text.

The translation task was rated on a 1-to-10 scale. 8 students received 10 points, but translations awarded with 8 or 9 points were also acceptable, without considerable misinterpretations of the source text. Therefore, it can be said that a total of 32 students (56.2%) produced acceptable translations. Translations awarded only with 6 or 7 points (19 students, 33.3%) contained misinterpretations of certain phrases or sentences, which slightly affected the overall meaning of the passage. The 6 students (10.5%) who received less than 6 points produced unacceptable translations containing several misinterpreted phrases and sentences, which significantly altered the overall message and meaning of the target text.

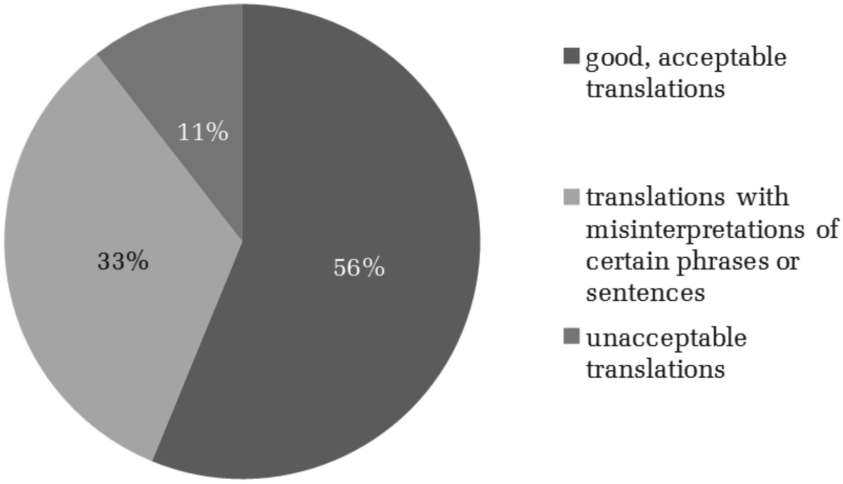

Figure 7. *Translations*

The unacceptable translations and misinterpretations were often the result of the lack of comprehension of the source language text.

A moderate correlation (r = 0.626) was found between students' scores achieved in the reading comprehension task and the translation task. This confirms our assumption based on experience that students' reading comprehension skills in English influence the ability to translate texts into Hungarian, and it confirms that reading comprehension influences translation performance.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can say that the analysis revealed or confirmed some potential problems which should be addressed in the curricular or extracurricular teaching–

learning process and curriculum development. These are the following: some of the students must be helped and encouraged to improve their language skills and reach a performance level which is adequate for a translator or language teacher; students should be encouraged to use the library more often and read more academic texts related to their studies (such as articles, essays, textbooks, monographs), which may help them in preparing for their future career; students must be aware of the importance of reading comprehension skills and strategies in translation and language teaching, and these skills must be further developed if necessary; the set of questions from the Survey of Reading Strategies (SORS) can be used to increase students' awareness of reading strategies and their understanding of the reading process.

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Crossing the Borders of Teaching English with the Help of *Band of Brothers*

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Abstract. The present article discusses the popularity of English since World War II, which has turned to a decisive lingua franca in Europe over the past decades and has been a major component of the thriving language industry. Our hypothesis is that when it comes to teaching foreign languages, most notably English, the inclusion of translation is rather limited (at least in Eastern Europe), and translation is even "stigmatized and excluded" from instruction (cf. Venuti 2013). However, multimedia products from the USA, most notably Hollywood movies, are highly popular among teenagers – thus, we argue for the benefits of watching (together with their scripts and subtitles) and using them as "natural" sources of language which may be used to counterbalance the textbooks and grammar books originating from the UK. We exemplify specific grammar- and vocabulary-related border crossings of institutionalized language teaching (e.g. Subject–Verb disagreement or double negative) from *Band of Brothers*, a highly popular TV mini-series. We also highlight the importance of the target language and individual norms when translating or subtitling taboo words. The conclusion section mentions the effectiveness of translations through subtitles, knowing that the effort is diminished when learning and entertainment is combined (cf. Caimi 2006) in the hope of serving the real needs of the learners.

Keywords: teaching English, *Band of Brothers,* subtitles, non-standard grammar, language use and norms.

Introduction

Teaching English in Europe is a thriving business at present. However, its popularity started after World War II, as Anderman states: "While during the first half of the twentieth century the first foreign language learned by European youths was French, four fifths are now learning English and only a fifth are learning French" (Anderman 2000: 48–49, based on Walker 1997).

A different source, *Language International*, refers to English as "increasingly becoming the world's lingua franca" as early as 2001, even if "the study of foreign languages has suffered" and "the need for language proficiency has grown" ("The Trouble with English …" 2001: 6).

More recently, we have reports proving the growth of the language industry within the European Member States, reaching "an estimated value of … 8.4 billion € for 2008", comprising "translation, interpreting, software localisation and website globalisation, language technology tool development, language teaching, consultancy in linguistic issues and organisation of international conferences with multilingual requirements" (Rinsche and Portera-Zanotti 2009: 3). However, it is more interesting that the authors have estimated a growth rate of 10% for the next years, predict that the language industry in Europe may reach 16.5 billion € by 2015, and they add that the language industry "seems to be less affected by the financial crisis than other industry sectors" (2009: 3).

While these figures are encouraging, we have to admit that language efficiency in East-Central Europe is typically lower than in other parts of the continent due to multiple reasons (i.e. politics, economy, geography). Although we cannot deal with it extensively in the present article, we should mention the (more or less) typical case scenario over the past three decades:

– English, German, Spanish, French, and Italian "continue to be the most widely used languages throughout Europe" (Rinsche and Portera-Zanotti 2009: 5);

– English textbooks from Cambridge and Oxford (UK) "invaded" Eastern European countries, and the majority of teachers have been encouraged (partnerships, projects, the British Council) to "use" British English (BE, UK English);

– these textbooks have been further supported by grammar books published and popularized by the aforementioned publishing houses and others based in the UK (Macmillan, Longman), while English teaching material published in Europe mostly relied on them, favouring British English culture, grammar, vocabulary, and spelling;

– the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (CEFR) within the Council of Europe promotes "methodological innovations and new approaches to designing teaching programmes",[1] facilitating an English close to British English, focusing on developing reading, speaking, listening, and grammar skills, which are later evaluated on a scale (six levels, A1 – the lowest, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2), aiming at successful oral and written communication. School, university, and language centre curricula have been elaborated to support this vision.

Our preliminary hypothesis is that the inclusion of translation in teaching foreign languages in Eastern Europe is rather limited if existing at all. As for

1 https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions, 13 September 2018.

English, the majority of textbooks and grammar books originate from the United Kingdom, and the publishers do not invest in "localizing" them by including English–native language translation exercises. Venuti offers a harsh but convincing explanation:

> Translation has encountered the disciplinary resistance …, first of all, because it runs counter to institutionalized practices in foreign-language instruction. Since the late 1960s, the most prevalent form of foreign-language pedagogy has been "direct communication" or "total immersion," in which the goal of native proficiency leads to the suppression of any teaching methods that might require the student to rely on the mediation of English. Consequently, translation has been stigmatized and excluded as a method of foreign-language instruction, even though it served precisely this purpose for centuries. (Venuti 2013: 62)

However, present-day teaching of English should rely on all available modern means, among which we can highlight the popularity of multimedia products. As we know, they mainly belong to the entertainment industry and are mostly designed and produced in the USA: movies and TV series from Hollywood as well as various video games, reaching global popularity among youngsters. The effects can be easily traced in schools and university courses when the majority of more fluent speakers of English (the so-called Generation Z)[2] confess that they are regular and heavy consumers of these products, even if they do not know advanced English (grammar) in its "institutionalized" form. Knowing these facts, Cronin's remark is beyond any doubt: "contemporary students have a strikingly highly developed audio-visual literacy from an early age" (Cronin 2009, *Introduction*, xi). This is further supported by the fact that operating systems (Windows, Mac, or Linux) are set to US English by default, completed with the Microsoft Office software package, which – again, by default – starts with English (United States) speller and proofing tools unless purchased locally.

In our view, the issues and facts listed above should be considered if we have in mind the successful teaching of foreign languages, most notably English. We are more than sure that there is a great discrepancy between the present-day "multimedia'" English (or "McEnglish") and the English available in textbooks and grammar on the European market, which is mostly levelled by a certain *global English* that East-Central European citizens get in touch with during their travels and journeys abroad. In this respect, another important observation should be considered:

> English was judged to be the language of film, it was 'good, spontaneous, cool,' whereas other European languages were considered unattractive

2 http://socialmarketing.org/archives/generations-xy-z-and-the-others/, 13 September 2018.

> or unsuitable. The fact that most of the teenagers surveyed were learning English facilitated their enjoyment of Hollywood films and this provided a further incentive for learning the language. The charmed circle of language acquisition and cultural prestige was thus very much in evidence. (cf. Meers 2004: 167–169, cited in Cronin 2009: 14).

While the above quotation expresses the conclusion of Meers regarding speakers of Flemish, we have had the chance to observe a similar attitude among Hungarian and Romanian teenagers as well. However, once including movies among the teaching resources, we are also faced with translation through the subtitles unless the dubbed version is chosen (which may still contain cultural elements even without linguistic challenges).

We firmly believe that a successful real-life communication in English should include original English movies, focusing on both the original subtitle and its possible translation in the form of native-language subtitle. Of course, this should not replace but complete the English found in textbooks and grammar books. Although the use of movies might be distressing for beginners or intermediate learners, it is worth considering Heltai's encouragement in this respect:

> … teaching English to students of agriculture[,] I had found that they had little difficulty in translating what I regarded as difficult technical texts, even though their linguistic competence was limited. Texts of a more general type, however, mainly from international organisations such as FAO, which contained only a minimal number of technical terms and which I myself understood without any difficulty, posed a much more serious challenge to them both in decoding and re-encoding (Heltai 2000: 34)

The quote demonstrates that learners may prove to be much more efficient than teachers might expect, and even if Heltai makes this observation referring to technical texts, we can adapt it to movie subtitles, relying on their audio-visual literacy (cf. Cronin above).

English subtitles may offer multiple benefits as, while trying to understand and translate it, attention must be paid to lexicon, syntax, and "patterns of meaning, and not only on denotation and connotation, but also on dialect and register, style and genre, intertextuality and intercultural relations" (Venuti 2013: 165). In the following, we will offer ideas how movies may be included in the course of teaching, exemplified with a popular TV series.

2. Crossing borders by watching *Band of Brothers*

The benefits of watching TV series is manifold: expanding vocabulary (and grammar), perfecting pronunciation, direct access to US English, which successfully completes the mainly UK English textbooks and grammar books, and a simple search among the highest-rated TV series, shows or documentaries or most popular ones[3] offers plenty of material for self-study. These productions may be accessed in original English with English subtitles, then compared to native language subtitles. Furthermore, teachers may indeed become popular with these TV shows, making learners focus more on the material, and "homework" assignment may be varied. For example, homework assignments occasionally may consist of the following:

– Creating an Excel file with specific words (terms, difficult ones, new ones, non-standard ones, etc.);

– Copying/memorizing favourite sentences, stock phrases, idiomatic expressions;

– Hunting for poor translations/improving them;

– Creating individual sentences from 3–5 collected words and/or organizing a group quiz.

– Last but not least, a group vote may be cast to find out the most popular TV series learners follow and debates may be organized arguing for or against some/all of them (*Game of Thrones*, *Harry Potter*, *The 100*, etc.).

As *Band of Brothers* is among the top rated TV series, it may be used in the initial stage, selecting those parts that may be relevant in supporting the textbook material; for instance, when teaching tenses or conditional sentences, learners may collect sample sentences from the series, then have them translated and compared with the native language subtitle. As movies "are always popular sources of foreign language teaching materials, and there is no doubt that they are valuable tools for general unintentional language acquisition" (Caimi 2009: 247), the learners' success is assured, and – depending on their level of study – they may be interested in further language-related possibilities of subtitles: discussing the theme of the film, recognizing different registers, or appreciating the storyline (Caimi 2009: 248).

Thus, if we move along the same path, we reach Tveit's seminal remark: "subtitling has an important educational value" (Tveit 2009: 93). The argument is amply described, stating that Scandinavian countries know English better due to the pedagogical value they attribute to the original English language soundtracks, concluding that "listening comprehension was perceived as significantly more difficult by students from 'dubbing countries' than by students from 'subtitling countries', the former category showing a much stronger need for an increased

3 https://www.imdb.com/chart/tvmeter, 14 September 2018.

knowledge of vocabulary when communicating in English" (Tveit 2009: 93). As movies with subtitles offer the soundtrack, the image, and the script, we believe that this is an "enhanced" version of soundtracks.

While Tveit associates subtitling with *education*, Petrocchi discusses the advantages of *pedagogic* translation, which includes translation "considering that its purpose is to teach a language" (2006). In the following, we would like to offer grammar-related samples from *Band of Brothers* with this pedagogical or educational intention, even if they cross the border of formal education.

3. Crossing a few grammatical and vocabulary borders in *Band of Brothers*

While some teachers may completely disregard or banish audiovisual sources during teaching foreign languages, the majority of them possibly applies subtitled movies and shows "as an intermediate position between spontaneous exposure in natural settings and formal instruction" (Caimi 2009: 246). Our examples below come to support the "natural settings", knowing that this should be included in the curriculum only after covering the formal part; yet we consider both parts relevant in a successful teaching course, detailed in the following.

The overwhelming majority of textbooks and grammar books offer only standard samples for non-native speakers of English, among which we can mention sentence structure, the way interrogatives and negatives are formed, excluding the double negatives, etc. Our basic idea is that these tend to be artificial, otherwise students would not ask a teacher after years of study about the difference between *I am going to* or *I'm gonna*, to mention but an example.

Once learners are familiar with "standard" grammar, they "can reach higher level of translation and, vice-versa, by translating they acquire more competence in the knowledge of grammatical structures", as Petrocchi concludes (2006). Nevertheless, many learners keep complaining about grammar, as described vividly by Lewis:

> Many children beginning a foreign language at school find it exciting and fun. Sadly, after studying the language for a while, many find it one of the less attractive subjects of the school timetable. There is some research evidence that if the children themselves are asked which bit of the language lesson they like least, they usually reply "Grammar!" (Lewis 1986: 12)

Knowing that this generation of pupils and students are eagerly following many TV series, we opted for a TV mini-series, *Band of Brothers*,[4] which is

4 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0185906/, 14 September 2018.

based on Ambrose's book, (2001b, 1st ed. 1992) and is second in the Top Rated TV Shows,[5] even ahead of *Game of Thrones*. Choosing this TV mini-series has multiple advantages:

– It is based on a previously written book, which has been translated into many languages.

– The original English subtitle may be compared to many native language subtitles.

– The English book version and the English transcript may be compared both factually (for instance, the appearance of product placement in the series: *Ford* or *General Motors*) and linguistically (grammatical and vocabulary differences).

After having watched the series, we created a database of almost 1,000 entries connected to military culture, military terminology, and the language soldiers use, differentiating several subcategories. In the following, we offer a few samples from the database, which all break the rules of "standard" grammar teaching, yet they are relevant enough for intermediate or advanced learners to be familiar with.

In our case, crossing the borders of teaching English means counterexamples for grammatical rules (e.g. third person singular *-(e)s* in present tenses), for which we were able to detect at least two or three examples from the subtitle, detailed in the sections below.

The rationale behind this is to make learners aware of the fact that these "deviations" from standard language are somewhat normal and acceptable in particular contexts, and learners might find it amusing to spot non-grammatical instances in a native speaker environment.

3.1. Subject-Verb disagreement

In the initial stage of teaching standard English sentences, learners are expected to produce utterances containing both a subject and a predicate, completed with a so-called Subject-Verb agreement (third person singular verb *always* takes an *-s* or *-es* in all present tenses; *was* and *were* in Past Simple and Continuous).

The deviation from this rule is severely punished by teachers in the initial stage of learning, for obvious reasons. The question is whether learners will ever be faced with samples we collected from *Band of Brothers* (*BoB*):

1) *That Louie don't even have a weapon.* (E02, 16:26)
2) *… it don't matter.* (E01, 35:10)
3) *So I says,* (E01, 00:53)
4) *… the Lieutenant don't drink.* (E02, 45:16)
5) *You know, you was…* (E10, 24:34)
6) *We was attacked …* (E01, 00:27)

5 https://www.imdb.com/chart/toptv?ref_=tt_awd, 14 September 2018.

This is probably one of the most striking/visible grammar issues, and – at least at intermediate or advanced level – learners should be acquainted with non-standard English grammar as well, not to encourage their use but to accept them as existing variants.

3.2. Interrogative forms

Another important aspect of English grammar is the formulation of interrogative forms, paying a special attention to auxiliary verbs preceding nouns (***Do*** *you like Shrek?*; *Where* ***did*** *Shrek meet Fiona?*). However, *BoB* offers counterexamples as well:

7) *They* ***didn't*** *try to cross the river?* (E08, 15:40)
8) *What, you* ***can't*** *see?* (E03, 24:01)
9) *I* ***should*** *rub it?* (E08, 22:44)

Of course, there are various explanations for these examples, ranging from lack of education, regional variants to mocking foreigners, but once again, these forms are real-life examples.

3.3. Question tags

Question tags signal an important difference even between Indo-European languages (such as English and Romanian), while comparing English and Hungarian in this respect also offers interesting remarks.

While English typically formulates question tags based on the Subject and the auxiliary verb (*Shrek is cool,* ***isn't he****? You didn't see "Titanic",* ***did you****?*) with a few extra remarks (e.g. special cases with certain pronouns, singular/plural), "non-grammatical" solutions are typically banished from classes (e.g. *…, right?, … ehm?*).

Let us see a different type of non-grammatical type of question tag from *BoB*:

10) *Makes quite a target,* ***don't he****?* (E04, 27:02)
11) *New Jersey,* ***huh****?* (E10, 51:11)
12) *Happy hour,* ***huh****?* (E01, 07:10)
13) *Well, you gotta try,* ***huh****?* (E03, 22:36)
14) *Twenty-two wounded,* ***huh****?* (E05, 25:04)

Example 10 offers a further case of Subject-Verb disagreement discussed in Section 3.1, while examples 11–14 offer solutions for slang versions of question tags.

3.4. Elliptical sentences

Ellipsis (together with substitution) is a challenging subject in English syntax, but first let us remember the definition of ellipsis we enjoy the most: "in ellipsis,

an item is replaced by nothing" (Baker 2011: 196), and the definition is vague enough to include any part of the sentence: Subject, Verb, or other parts.

There are various reasons to use elliptical structures, some of which – connected to *BoB* – are listed below:

– little time to expand ideas; in the heat of attacks and defence manoeuvres change of information must be brief, without affecting comprehension;

– the special setting turns ellipsis a desirable procedure as transcripts must be short enough to fit into lines of limited characters; according to the *BBC Online Subtitling Editorial Guidelines*, a subtitle line should contain "roughly 32 or 34 characters per line" (Ford Williams 2009: 13); we have the same recommendation in the *ITC Guidance on Standards for Subtitling* ("ITC Guidance on Standards for Subtitling" 1999), while *Amara,* the award-winning online subtitle platform for TED Talks recommends fewer than 42 characters per line;[6]

– military culture leaves plenty of room for casual, friendly conversation typical among comrades, full of slang (*Looey*), abbreviations (*sarge*), acronyms (*AWOL*), and ellipsis (all with the purpose of shortening communication), which hardly resembles the academic verbosity of educated people.

The instances found in *BoB* are worth categorizing into the following groups:

a) ellipted Subject (although grammar books allow this only in case of imperatives or elevated style of writers and poets):

15) *Doesn't matter.* (E10, 32:15)

16) *Don't know.* (E07, 07:05)

17) *Makes quite a target, don't he?* (E04, 27:02)

18) *Must have liked that hospital.* (E08, 06:34)

[*So* ***you*** *come from the hospital?*
Yeah.
Must have liked that hospital, because we left Holland four months ago.]

When ellipsis is used, the only important requirement is *recoverability* so that the information could remain fully clear. In examples 15–18, the missing Subject may be recovered easily either from the sentence or the larger context (e.g. Example 18, square brackets);

b) ellipted Predicate:

19) He out of high school. (E08, 14:25)

The fact that only one instance was found reflects that content verbs are vital in exchange of information, and we suspect that Example 19 was found because the strong verb *be* may be easily recovered or the place adverbial may indicate that the missing verb is *drop*.

c) ellipted auxiliary verb:

20) [HAS] *Anybody ever heard of a little joint called Lulu's?* (E04, 27:02)

21) *Hey, guys,* [IS] *this taken?* (E08, 13:04)

6 https://support.amara.org/support/discussions/topics/28857, 21 June 2017.

22) *How many points* [DO] *you need?* (E10, 22:19)
23) *… how you* [ARE] *doing?* (E02, 23:57)
24) *I* [HAVE] *swum across the Niagara once.* (E07, 19:11)
25) [ARE] *You alone?* (E03, 04:59)
26) [HAVE] *You seen Lt. Meehan?* (E02, 26:03)

The examples clearly show that any auxiliary verb may be ellipted, and not necessarily at the beginning of the sentence. Most interesting are examples 24 and 26, as learners might need some extra time to discover that they are not incorrect Past Simple uses as they express life experience or result, characteristic to Present Perfect Simple.

d) ellipted Subject and auxiliary verb:
27) *Been finding camps like this all over the place.* (E09, 49:40)
28) *Coming, Perco?* (E08, 23:42)
29) *Gonna take everybody's word.* (E03, 28:43)
30) *Think I overdid the cover for my foxhole?* (E07, 35:49)
e) ellipted adverb:
31) *Long as we have to.* (E04, 24:03)
f) ellipted conjunction:
32) [IF/IN CASE] *You see any, let us know.* (E04, 23:58)
g) elliptical sentence:
33) *You men going on patrol … nothing rattles, nothing shines, no helmets.* (E08, 29:12)

The most laconic complex order in the entire *BoB* is probably expressed by Example 33, in which half of the sentence is missing (*You men,* ***who are*** …), followed by a succession of three elliptical prohibitive orders.

3.5. Contracted forms

Grammatical contractions are regularly taught during English classes, although the *ain't* form is usually banished. *BoB* contains no fewer than 35 instances of this form (including 3 *ain't gonna* structures), so we tend to think that teachers should cross the border in this respect as well. A few examples are presented below:

34) *Oh, that dog just* ***ain't gonna*** *hunt.* (E01, 39:49)
35) *Five of us* ***ain't gonna*** *secure a road.* (E04, 23:58)
36) *You gotta realize it* ***ain't*** *about you.* (E02, 22:07)
37) ***Ain't*** *you Sink's jeep driver?* (E02, 28:38)

It is also worth mentioning that even if we use Microsoft Office Word 2016 for drafting this article set to English (United States), the spelling and proofing tools will underline in red all the *ain't* forms (mostly replacing them with *isn't* and *aren't*) as well as the *gonna* or *gotta,* considering them informal or non-standard; similar remarks about *gonna* and *gonna* are found in printed and online dictionaries as well.

The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* describes *gonna* as "non-standard, [Repr. a pronunc.]" (Trumble and Stevenson 2002: 1124) and *gotta* as "colloquial [Repr. a pronunc.]" (2002: 1130), while the online Oxford English Dictionary labels them as "informal".[7] Yet, they are rather frequent options for the 'going to' and 'have (got) to' structures, predominantly in oral conversation; however, we are more than sure that Generation Z uses these forms rather frequently while chatting online as well.

Other contractions have also been added to the database (*guy'd have to march, people'd, Krauts'll, y'all*), mainly rendering oral conversations and signalling that not only personal pronouns may be followed by the contracted *would* and *will*, while *y'all* is regional (Southern) US English.[8]

3.6. Double negatives

Double negatives in English are typical "mistakes" made by beginners resulting, for instance, from perfectly legitimate double negatives in Romanian and Hungarian translated word for word; these are rather seriously frowned upon during the teaching phase;[9] yet, it is a sheer fact that native speakers of English use this structure, even in *BoB*:

38) *Do**n't** give him **no** excuses.* (E01, 10:48)

39) *I can**'t** see **nothing**.* (E02, 30:53)

40) *Old Gonorrhea **don't** miss **nothing**.* (E04, 05:47)

Of course, teachers may not accept all these constructions from non-native speakers as correct. Yet, they may be accepted from time to time and explained that there is a "more standard" option, preserving the element of fun, which inevitably happens when non-native speakers foreign to regional speech struggle hard to "adapt". This may be observed in the famous movie entitled *Snatch*, containing slang terms used by Irish Gypsies.[10]

3.7. Conditional sentences

Similarly to double negatives, there are rather strict rules for beginners and even intermediate learners concerning conditional clauses. Teachers typically present three "basic" types completed with three more (the so-called "zero" conditional lacking *will* in the main clause of Type I and two more mixed conditionals). However, the use of *would* in the *if*-clause is usually banned until upper-intermediate level as learners may get confused regarding modal and non-modal uses of *would.* Let us see three examples from *BoB*:

7 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com, 14 September 2018.

8 https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/yall, 14 September 2018.

9 The author of the present article constantly experiences this in East-Central Europe.

10 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0208092/, 14 September 2018.

41) *I was beginning to wonder* ***if*** *any of us* ***would*** *make it through at all.* (E07, 49:37)

42) *I wondered* ***if*** *people would* ***know*** *what it cost the soldiers to win this war.* (E08, 54:55)

43) *Even* ***if*** *they* ***would****, who'd I put in his place?* (E07, 15:35)

While Examples 41 and 42 contain *wonder* suggesting a polite formulation, there is still an air of uncertainty about Example 42 (why not use *knew*?). Example 43 is rather unclear in this respect, leaving us wonder whether a "more standard" version (e.g. *did*) should be applied here.

The slight nuances expressed by modal verbs is one of the most problematic issues of English grammar, where Lewis's excellent approach might have helped a lot over the past three decades but for complete disregard from other authors of English grammars and textbooks. It is Lewis who introduces the concept of *remoteness*, which may be applied to modal "pairs" such as *can–could* or *will–would*, further arguing that this remoteness may be temporal, social relationship, likelihood, etc. (Lewis 1986: 99–109).

It is alarming that many English teachers still describe *would* as the 'past' form of *will*, not to mention that even dictionaries display modal verbs among the irregular verbs (Magay and Országh 1993). As we cannot delve into details regarding modal verbs (let alone their combination with other grammatical structures, such as conditionals, passive voice, or reported speech), suffice it to say that it is a grammatical category that should be dealt with both extreme care and flexibility.

3.8. Taboo words

In the process of teaching English, crossing vocabulary borders is typically easier than grammatical ones as texts containing slang terms are included in textbooks. Nevertheless, a rather discomforting area may be the use of taboo words.

Hollywood productions (but not exclusively) relentlessly use some of the taboo words, which usually causes trouble when translated or subtitled into the notoriously bashful Romanian (cf. Ro. *la naiba* ~ 'damn' or 'dammit', which seems to be the joker term for all curse words). Hungarian translations and subtitles used to be – until recent past – more daring on the one hand (e.g. translating genitals) and more restrained on the other hand (e.g. mostly using first-name terms, then addressing formally in subtitles).[11] We tend to think that sometimes crossing the border of "educated language" results in a more lifelike situation, but there is no recipe for that, even if there is a card game in Romanian to "tackle" taboo words.[12]

11 Cf. TED presentations, but even the subtitles of present-day TV series such as *Perception*.

12 We have come across a relatively new Romanian card game on the market containing more than 1,000 taboo words (recommended age: 13+), https://noriel.ro/joc-taboo-ghiceste-cuvantul, 14 September 2018.

The lack of clear guidelines for translators and subtitlers in this respect is exemplified in the table below containing the most popular taboo word on Facebook (collected in only 3 days)[13] and its occurrence in *Band of Brothers*:

Table 1. *Taboo words on Facebook and in Band of Brothers*

	En. (*shit*)	Hu. (*szar*)	Ro. (*rahat*)
Facebook	**10.5 million**	–	–
BoB book	**15** (Ambrose, 2001a)	**20** (Ambrose 2001a) Transl. Gy. Molnár	**11** (Ambrose 2010) Transl. N-D. Cetină
BoB subtitles	**68**	**14** (Miklós Vincze, SDI Media Hungary)	**7** (Alexandru Gheorghia, SDI Media Group)

The different numbers reveal that the subtitlers tried to reduce taboo words to the minimum, respecting certain language and translation norms (cf. Klaudy 2003: 34). In the case of subtitles, we have to reiterate again that "it is not the words themselves which necessarily determine the communicative function of a statement, but the way they are given expression; their relationship to tone of voice, body language and situation" (Skuggevik 2009: 205), which probably explains why Romanian and Hungarian subtitles contain much fewer taboo entries than the English script. The choice is obviously influenced by the type of media (the book version contains more actual words, stemming from diaries of soldiers) and individual translation strategies (cf. Klaudy 2003: 175) combined with the present trends of the target culture.

Ultimately, the aim of language learners is "to pass themselves off as native speakers of the language they are learning", and "phonetic exercises of various kinds (implicit or explicit)" are part of "language teaching methods" (Cronin 2009: 120). However, this also means that beyond the knowledge of words it is equally important to be aware of "language use", as Cronin concludes. In our view, this is perfectly feasible with the help of well-selected movies, TV series and shows, together with their subtitles.

4. Conclusions

The present article may be considered highly idealistic, trying to argue for the importance of translation as a teaching/learning strategy which may be applied to analyse (and create) subtitles for Hollywood productions, knowing that English is (still) among the most popular languages in Europe.

13 https://www.adweek.com/digital/popular-profanity/, 25 July 2018.

This popularity means – among others – that studying English is easily and cheaply available at all levels and for multiple purposes. Thus, learners may equally contribute to the success of the teaching and learning process provided the teacher is ready to cross one more border: the status of the teacher turning to a partner in a world where multimedia chokes us all and can offer guidelines to survive with less effort than if tried alone. This is more than welcome as it may reduce the learning curve.

Mastering the so-called standard (UK or US) English is more difficult than it may seem at first sight because non-native speakers should never judge native speakers regarding their way of speaking (cf. double negatives), yet it does not mean that imitating them is void of complications; after all, it would be awkward to use double negative during a Cambridge Advanced English exam in Romania, but it would be perfectly natural for a non-native speaker living in a community where double negative is used on a regular basis. As illustrated in examples 3.1–3.8, formal teaching may be interestingly combined with authentic and "natural" (i.e. substandard) linguistic manifestations.

We do not claim that it is always easy to find the proper boundaries and balance between formal and informal, but teachers should try to distance from the comfort zone of textbooks and grammar books as well as limit their dominance; native English authors publishing textbooks often present grammar and vocabulary issues only from their perspectives, with little *localization* or tailoring the book to the specific needs of a non-native language community.

Hence we argue for the necessity of textbooks and grammar books containing translation-related practice from English to native language and vice versa. After all, "translation can be a useful tool and an effective method to learn a language" (Petrocchi 2006), but translations offer even more than that by producing "effects that exceed a lexicographical equivalence and work only in the translating language and culture" (Venuti 2013: 169).

It has been also observed that "[w]hen language learning and entertainment are combined, students are highly motivated and likely to enjoy the video without paying attention to the effort involved in understanding a foreign language" (Caimi 2006: 96).

Today, when the importance of global communication is emphasized worldwide, certain border crossings happen all over, and it is the teachers' responsibility and will to tailor the English taught to the real needs of the learners, whatever the level. However, it is certain that this border extends far beyond the covers of textbooks and grammar books, amply exemplified with samples from *Band of Brothers*.

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Proverbs as a Means of Crossing Cultural Borders

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Abstract. "The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence/hill" is an old English proverb which shows that people tend to appreciate more what others have, just by crossing (with their eyes) the border represented by the fence/hill. Though the afore-mentioned proverb is a strong piece of advice against comparing what we possess with what others have, the aim of my paper is exactly that: to compare proverbs belonging to the Romanian culture to those of the Korean one, not for the sake of highlighting the wisdom or beauty of the Romanian over the Korean proverbs or vice versa but rather for identifying similarities and differences in terms of structure, vocabulary, and, above all, meaning, being aware that proverbs are elements of language that best reflect a culture's beliefs and values. To this aim, 50 Romanian proverbs selected from two memorable Romanian sources (Iordache Golescu's *Proverbe comentate* 'Commented Proverbs' and Anton Pann's *Proverbele românilor* 'The Romanians' Proverbs') will be compared with their Korean counterparts.

Keywords: proverb, internal and external markers, cultural characteristics.

Motto:
To truly know a people, know their proverbs.
(Chinese proverb, Lau, Lau, and Lau 1995: viii)

1. Introduction

For some centuries now, people of different cultures have been able to travel and meet each other for various reasons: to trade, to conquer, to visit, and, more recently, to study and cooperate on various international projects. Nowadays, intercultural encounters seem, more than ever, to be on the crest of the wave. By analysing proverbs, one can get an understanding of the culture that produced them. This understanding is even deeper if proverbs from one foreign culture reflect the same values as those in our own.

In almost every culture, proverbs offer a set of instructions/pieces of advice for people to follow. These words of wisdom seem to stand the test of time; thus, each and every generation learns what a culture considers relevant. The reasons behind the fact that proverbs have such a long life and are remembered and employed so frequently is that they depict issues that people consider important through vivid and simple language. We could say that, to a certain extent, proverbs, just like specific objects or food items, represent a cultural symbol.

My aim is to illustrate the use of proverbs as a source of figurative language on the basis of two totally different languages, namely Korean and Romanian, starting from the conviction that this folklore genre may provide insight into the symbol systems of these cultures and being aware that knowledge of the values of proverbs contributes to a better intercultural communication.

2. Proverbs: definition, characteristics, and importance

Proverbs, as the smallest folklore genre, have received a lot of attention from scholars in various domains of research such as philosophers, anthropologists, ethnographers, teachers, psychologists, and linguists. As such, they have been defined according to various vantage points. There is, however, some general agreement as to what constitutes a proverb. "It is a saying in more or less fixed form, marked by 'shortness, sense, and salt' and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it" (Finnegan 2006: 14). Finnish paremiologist Outi Lauhakangas (2007: 77–78) is of the opinion that:

> [p]roverbs are multifunctional and flexible instruments of everyday reasoning, although they may maintain solidified attitudes or **traditional** [author's emphasis] modes of thought of a certain culture. Proverbs are propositions loaded with hidden feelings, wishes and intentions of the speaker. They can serve as tools to cover individual opinions in public interactive situations. Like in rhetoric, in general, the proverbs we use in our speech (and in our inner speech, too) protect our personal attitudes by referring to the third party. They give us persuasiveness by appealing to an authority.

It is exactly the concept of *traditionality* (which includes aspects of age, frequency of use, and current validity) that is the crux of the matter. Proverbs came into being a long time ago, and the reason why nowadays they are still considered an important living genre is that they embody the wisdom of the cultures that have created them. They are well-tested truths of condensed knowledge that can be used at present, just as they were used hundreds of years ago, to observe and to instruct. Over centuries, they were passed from one generation to the next,

first, orally, by word of mouth, and then in a written form. This process occurred initially at a local level, having reached an international spread at present.

The beauty of these folklore statements resides in their brevity and in the simplicity of rendering human experience. "Their mission to give a direct message that will reach the heart and mind of the reader is often achieved with aplomb and finesse" (Lau, Lau, and Lau 1995: vii). So, *brevity* would also count as a characteristic feature of proverbs. According to Dundes (1975: 970) and Mieder (1985: 119), a proverb must consist of at least two words (a topic and a comment), e.g. *Tingire spoită* 'Varnished pot' (referring to a cheap woman with a lot of make-up), "with the average length of a proverb consisting of about seven words" (Mieder 2004: 7).

Short, traditional statements will acquire a proverbial status also due to the use of certain *stylistic* features such as alliteration (the occurrence of the same letter or sound at the beginning of adjacent or closely connected words), as in ***S**uta mărită **s**luta* 'The hundred marries the ugly woman' (referring to the fact that ugly women with a consistent dowry could marry easily), parallelism (the use of successive verbal constructions, as in ***Tir** mi-e baba Rada, **tir** mi-e Rada baba* (IG)[1] (meaning the same deal), or ellipsis (the omission of words that are superfluous or that can be understood from contextual clues), as in *O vorbă ca o mie* 'One word [is] worth a thousand words' (IG). These constitute what Arora (1984) (qtd in Mieder 2004: 7) calls the *external markers* of proverbs. Additionally, the effectiveness of these phraseological units is enhanced by *internal markers* such as personification (the representation of an abstract quality in human form), as in *Râde ciob de oală spartă* 'The pot calls the kettle black', paradox (a seemingly absurd or contradictory statement or proposition which when investigated may prove to be well-founded or true), as illustrated by the Romanian proverb *Izvoarele curg în sus* 'Water springs flow upwards' (IG), or metaphor: *Taler cu două fețe* 'A two-faced coin' (IG) (hinting at the habit of treacherous people to change their attitude depending on the situation or the person they are dealing with).

One other aspect worth mentioning in connection with the structure of proverbs relates to certain universal patterns: "'Better X than Y', 'Like X, like Y', 'No X without Y', 'One X doesn't make a Y', 'If X, then Y'" (Mieder 2004: 6, Schipper 2004: 25–26), as reflected, for instance, by the Korean proverb *yong-ui kkoliboda baem-ui meoliga nasda* 'Better be the head of a snake than the tail of a dragon'.

As for the importance of proverbs, it is undeniable that they are an essential part of the folklore tradition; they offer us knowledge concerning human experience and provide a rich and meaningful source for the study of cultural values.

In order to shed light on the similarities and differences between the proverbs in Korean and Romanian, comparable data were needed. These will be briefly presented in the next subsection.

1 The two basic sources of Romanian proverbs will be indicated by the abbreviation of their authors' names: AP = Anton Pann, IG = Iordache Golescu.

3. Romanian and Korean proverb collections

Proverbs, as part of folklore and as a means of expression of the common people, have been the object of old as well as of recent collections. On the Romanian landscape, there are various types of such collections. Some of them are less scholarly (the online collections, for instance) but good enough for the needs of the general public. Others represent scholarly achievements such as Iordache Golescu's *Pilde, povățuiri şi cuvinte adevărate şi poveşti*, [Proverbs, Maxims and True Words and Stories], containing approximately 22,500 proverbs and sayings written on 854 pages of manuscript.

According to Paschia (1973), Iordache Golescu was the first to collect and comment on Romanian proverbs, although he never employed the term 'proverb', despite the fact that it had already been in use during his time, proof being Anton Pann's *Culegere de proverburi sau povestea vorbii* 'Collection of Proverbs or the Story of the Word', which was published in Bucharest in 1847. While Golescu listed the proverbs in alphabetical order, Pann provided a thematic classification: human flaws and vices, lies, gossip, poverty, marriage, etc. He was not content only to record them but also turned them into verse, and so quite often proverbs were linked into small satirical poems that conclude each thematic chapter.

Being produced in the 19th century, both collections of Romanian proverbs may pose problems for the contemporary readers as the language is quite archaic and many of the phraseological structures are elliptical of predicate (in most of the cases, the verb 'to be' is missing), following the Latin pattern. An example in this respect would be: *Cel însărcinat, [este/va fi] pururea cocoşat* 'The one who carries the load [will be] always hunchbacked', hinting at the social differences that make poor people bow in front of those that overburden them with various tasks. Moreover, the meaning of the proverbs is indirect, multifarious, and allegoric. Thus, the explanations provided by Iordache Golescu are of great help in understanding the message of these words of wisdom, especially by those readers who are not familiar with country life, with its habits and anecdotes, with the peasants' biting hints and their critical spirit.

The Koreans have also collected their proverbs starting with the Three Kingdoms era.[2] According to Lee (2006: 74), "the term *soktam* 'proverb' was first used during the Joseon Dynasty in certain books such as *Tongmun Yuhae* (1748)". Pratt and Rutt (1999: 362) state that "the best collection, Yi Kimun's *Soktam Sajeon* (1962), containing 7,000 examples is far from complete". One comprehensive collection is the latest *hangug-eo sogdam sajeon*[3] 'Dictionary of Korean Proverbs', published in

2 The Three Kingdoms era in Korea extended between 57 BC and 668 AD. The kingdoms were: Baekje, Silla, and Goryeo.

3 For reason of space and simplicity, only the Romanized version of the Korean proverbs, together with their English translations, will be provided. Moreover, as Korean does not make use of

2006 by Cheon Chong-jin. It includes 50,000 proverbs, many of them drawn from a previous work by Song Chae-seon (1983), *uri mal soktam k'eun sajeon* 'Great Dictionary of Proverbs of our Language', but also covering more recent proverbs that were garnered from literary works. As all these publications are in Korean without an English translation, my only solution was to use the proverbs available on the Internet as well as a long list (150 items) of Korean proverbs provided by professor Jeong Oh Park from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, who also indicated their English equivalents or translations to me.

For both the Korean and the Romanian culture, we need to be aware that some of the old proverbs die out of use as the social, economic, and historical reality changes, while, on the other hand, new proverbs come into being. An illustration in this respect would be the examples below:

(1) *Cheongcheopchang-i anira kojiseo-da.*
'It's not a wedding invitation but a tax bill.' (Lee 2006: 75)

(2) *Civilizația e diferența dintre ogor şi maidan.*
'Civilization is the difference between the field and the empty/barren place'. (https://ro.wikiquote.org/wiki/Proverbe_rom%C3%A2ne%C8%99ti)

The Korean proverb highlights the fact that nowadays people who get married do not organize the wedding to enjoy the event with their family members and close friends but rather for pecuniary advantages. On the other hand, the Romanian proverb emphasizes the importance of improving one's knowledge (and standard of living) through hard work (the way you toil in the field).

The questions that I sought to answer in comparing the proverbs of the two cultures (Korean and Romanian) were the following:

(a) What do Korean and Romanian proverbs have in common?
(b) Where do the proverbs in these two languages differ?
(c) What particular cultural features and values do they exhibit?

4. Analysis of Romanian and Korean proverbs

I will pursue my investigation with the identification of the similarities the proverbs in the two languages under investigation share.

capital letters, the titles of the Korean books/dictionaries and the first word in the proverbs will be rendered by lower-case letters.

4.1. Similarities

The major similarity between the proverbs in Romanian and Korean relates to the themes tackled by them. This should not come as a surprise considering the fact that people all over the world are very similar in many respects. Thus, both cultures capitalize on human flaws, weaknesses, poverty, and class differences, as illustrated by the examples below.

	Korean	**Romanian**
(3)	a. *pom sadon kkum-e pogi-do museopta.* 'In spring, I'm afraid to see my in-laws even in my dreams.'	b. *Sacul sec nu poate sta în picioare.* (IG) 'An empty sack cannot stand upright.'
(4)	a. *yanban-ui saekki-neun goyangi saekki-yo, sangnom-ui saekki-neun dwaeji saekki ra'.* 'The child of a yangban[4] is a kitten, but the child of a commoner is a piglet.'	b. *Bogatul se scarpină şi săracul socoteşte că caută să-i dea.* (AP) 'The rich man scratches his itching skin, and the pauper thinks he is looking for some change to give it to him.'
(5)	a. *hwalbalhan salam-eun gyeolko geuui ppyam-eul ttaelige.* 'A person who bows never gets his cheek slapped.'	b. *Capul plecat sabia nu-l taie, dar nici soarele nu-l vede.* (IG) 'A lowered head will never be chopped by the sword, but neither will it be seen by the sun.'

The proverbs in (3) point to a common element of the two countries, namely the great economic hardships caused by the climatic conditions, the scarcity of natural resources (in Korea), and the tyranny of foreign as well as domestic government officials (in both countries). The Korean proverb, apart from referring to poverty, also highlights the material obligations that married men had towards their in-laws, which under those circumstances could turn into nightmares.

The examples in (4) reflect the class differences that existed in both countries, with the affluent, noble people enjoying a better life and considering their offspring superior to those of common people and the latter struggling hard to make ends meet. There is, nevertheless, a slight difference in that the Koreans were (and still are) aware of the rigid social classes and accept this power difference stemming from Confucianism as their fate, whereas the Romanian people have always struggled against these social inequalities. In strong connection with the social hierarchy, we have the proverbs in (5) that reflect the submissiveness of the pauper to the affluent members of the higher classes. Nevertheless, the weak,

4 *Yangban* refers to the ruling class/aristocrats of Korea during the Joseon Dynasty.

poor, and famished people would not adopt a submissive attitude in extreme situations, as illustrated by the Romanian proverb:

(6) *Pîntecele gol n-are urechi de ascultat.* (IG)
'The empty belly hasn't got ears to listen', which can be interpreted as the hungry man's insensitivity to orders.

Sometimes the same rule of conduct, advice, or message can be conveyed by a number of proverbial forms in both languages, this being due to the fact that the fundamental needs, the basic drives, or the experiences are elements shared by the human species. Moreover, proverbs linked by the same theme are meant to highlight a certain attitude or aspect. Consider the examples below:

	Korean	**Romanian**
(7)	a. *gajaeneun ge pyeon-ida.* 'The lobster is crabby'. (E) 'The crawfish takes sides with the crab.'	c. *Corb la corb nu scoate ochii.* (IG) 'Ravens will not poke each other's eyes out.
	b. *pal-eun an-eulo gubneunda.* 'The arm bends inwards.'	d. *O mână spală pe alta şi amândouă obrazul.* (AP) 'One hand washes the other and both wash the face.'
		e. *Câinele pe câine nu muşcă.* (IG) 'The dog won't bite another dog.'
(8)	a. *doldalido dudeulgyeo bogo geonneonda.* 'I knock the stone and cross.' Even if the bridge is of stone, cross knocking it.	c. *Pe cine l-a muşcat câinele se teme şi de lătrătură.* (IG) 'One who has been bitten by a dog is afraid even of barking.'
	b. *aneun gildo mul-eogala.* 'Ask first, then go, even if it's a road you know.' Better to ask your way than go astray.	d. *Cine e muşcat de şarpe se păzeşte şi de şopârlă.* (IG) 'One who has been bitten by a snake bewares of the lizard.'
		e. *S-a ars barba la curcut*,[5] *suflă şi-n iaurt.* (IG) 'The old woman who got burnt with pap will try to cool even yoghurt.'

The proverbs under (7) describe how those who are similar in appearance, character, or background tend to stick together, to protect and help each other

5 Curcut (word of Turkish origin meaning *pap* or *mush*).

(the English proverb corresponding to both the Korean and the Romanian ones is 'Scratch my back and I'll scratch yours'). They also remind us that it is in human nature to take care of the ones that we are closest to. Moreover, the Koreans also employ this phraseological expression as a blunt jab at the nepotism of people in powerful positions. The proverbs under (8) highlight the idea that in order to avoid unpleasant surprises, it is advisable to proceed with caution in everything one does. The first Korean example in this category (8a) describes a period in the history of the country when bridges were built out of any material at hand, which made them somewhat dangerous. More recently, when they started being made of stone, people preserved their old habit of knocking on bridges in order to feel safe when running across them. The Romanian proverbs (8c, d, e) depict a slightly different picture: caution is suggested after having already experienced misfortune (being bitten by either a dog or a snake or getting burnt with some hot dish).

Let us now have a look at the differences between these phraseological units of Korean and Romanian.

4.2. Differences

One of the striking differences between the proverbs in the two languages the analysis is focused on relates to their structure. While in very many cases the Romanian proverbs rhyme (I exclude from this category the ones given a rhyming form by both Golescu and Pann), very few of the Korean phraseological units illustrate this characteristic (see Example 3a above). A possible explanation for this situation could be the nature of the Korean language itself, which makes use of particles that indicate the subject/object status of a noun in the sentence and employs various endings for verbs. Moreover, these particles differ depending on the last sound of the root, so rhyme would seldom emerge in Korean proverbs (or at least in those that I had access to).

(9) a. *Piatra ce se rostogoleş**te** nimic nu dobândeş**te*** (IG). 'A rolling stone gathers no moss' (the meaning of this proverb is that if you wander around, you are not able to acquire anything).
b. *Cu o stropitură de pl**oaie** pământul nu se înm**oaie*** (IG) 'A drop of rain will not dampen the ground' (this proverb highlights the fact that when there is great need of something, a little of it or nothing would not help).

A second difference concerns the lexical items employed in those proverbs that refer to the same themes. This could be attributed to the impact of culture in shaping the language of each group of people.

		Korean		Romanian
(10)	a.	*nam-ui **tteog**-i deo keo boinda.* 'The other's **rice cake** looks bigger.' (E.) The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence.	b.	***Puica** de la vecin ni se pare **gîscă** mare.* 'The neighbour's **chicken** seems to be a big **goose**.'
(11)	a.	***yong**-ui kkoliboda baem-ui meoliga nasda.* 'The serpent's head is better than the **dragon**'s tail'. (E.) Better be the head of a snake than the tail of a dragon.	b.	*Decît o săptămîna **vrabie**, mai bine o zi **şoim.*** **'**Rather than [being] a **sparrow** for a week, better a **falcon** for a day'.
			c.	*Decît codaş la **oraş**, mai bine-n **satul** meu fruntaş.* 'Rather than [being] the last in a town, it's better to be the first in my village'.
(12)	a.	***mikkulaji** han maliga on ungdeong-ileul heulinda.* 'A **loach** is clouding the whole puddle.' One mudfish muddles the whole pond.	b.	***Oaia** râioasă umple turma toată.* 'One **sheep** with scabies will contaminate the whole flock.'
(13)	a.	***horang**ido jae mal hamyeon onda.* 'Even the **tiger** will come if you talk about him.'		

The proverbs in (10) emphasize people's tendency to consider someone else's property better than their own, but while in the Korean example (10a) we encounter a word that describes a specific Korean food item (i.e. the rice cake), the Romanian counterpart (10b) makes use of names of birds (chicken, goose). The proverbs in the second set (11) refer to the idea that it is better to be the leader of a small group than the follower of a bigger one. To express it, Koreans make use of the name of a four-legged, winged serpentine creature, which features in the myths of many East and South Asian countries (i.e. the dragon). The Romanian phraseological units, on the other hand, contain names of native birds (sparrow and falcon) or words denominating territorial divisions. The idea of contamination (in the proverbs in group 12) is expressed in Korean by means of a type of fish (the loach), which is native of South Asia; as Romania was (and still is) famous for its large flocks of sheep and as one of the most frequent contaminating diseases among sheep is scabies, it is but normal to find this animal and its most characteristic disease in a proverb. Finally, the meaning of the Korean example under (13) is that if you talk behind someone's back, they

will eventually find out and trouble will come looking for you. Tigers are rare living monsters on the Asian continent and, as such, are feared by men. Thus, even a rare beast will appear once someone talks badly about it and that someone will have to deal with the consequences.

On the other hand, in each language, there are phraseological units that contain specific cultural elements. The themes they approached are not related this time.

	Korean	**Romanian**
(14)	a. ***gongja*** *ap-eseo munja sseunda.* 'Write hanja in front of Confucius.' E. *Don't try to teach a fish how to swim.*	b. *Sub poale de* ***iie*** *nouă, nici mă ninge nici mă plouă.* (IG) 'Under the bottom part of a woman's blouse, I am saved both from the snow and from the rain.'
(15)	a. ***gimch****isgugbuteo masiji malla.* 'Don't drink the **kimchi** soup first.' E. *Don't count your chickens before they're hatched.*	b. *Îi plăcea maichii* ***hora*** *şi luă bărbat* ***cimpoiaşi****.* (AP) 'My mother liked dancing the *hora* and she married a bagpipe player.'

The Korean example under (14a) alludes to Confucius, who was a model to many Asian people to such an extent that even nowadays they strictly follow his teachings. Moreover, it contains the word *hanja,* which is the Korean name for the Chinese characters that were borrowed and incorporated in the Korean language. So, the meaning of the proverb is that you should not try to teach someone what he/she has already taught you or that you should not try to outbest somebody who is already famous; in other words, the proverb lays stress on modest behaviour or attitude. The other Korean example (15a) makes use of the traditional *kimchi*/*gimchi*, the pickled cabbage, which is used to make some soup that is eaten after the main course to improve digestion. The Romanian proverbs also reflect certain cultural elements such as the traditional women's shirts, *iia*, which is richly hand-embroidered, indicating the women's mastery in using the needle. The example under (14b) is a satirical proverb alluding to those men who use women as a shield to protect themselves. The other proverb makes reference to a typical Romanian dance (*hora*) and a musical instrument frequently employed in the countryside (*cimpoi* 'Romanian or Moldovan bagpipe', which is slightly different from the Scottish one). The meaning of this phraseological unit, as Golescu reveals, is that in certain circumstances we may get the help which is to our liking.

A fourth difference I noticed in comparing the proverbs in Korean and Romanian is the fact that the latter presents several such constructions that contain the name of a person or of a place in them. In the Korean phraseological units under scrutiny, not a single example of this kind has been encountered.

(16)	***Liță*** *cu frate-su* ***Ghiță****.* (IG) '***Liță*** *and his brother,* ***Ghiță***.'	Employed to describe persons that show the same flaws.
(17)	*Rîde* ***Tanda*** *de* ***Manda****.* (IG) '**Tanda** laughs at **Manda**' E. *The pot calls the kettle black.*	Employed to describe a person of a certain condition who laughs at another person who enjoys a slightly less favourable one.
(18)	*Orbul a găsit* ***Brăila****.* (IG) 'The blind man has found **Brăila**.'	Employed to describe a person who manages to reach a solution after much thinking.
(19)	*O viță în* ***Gherghița*** *şi alta în* ***Ialomița****.* (IG) **'**One vineyard in **Gheorghița** and another one in **Ialomița**'	Employed to describe things that are very rare and far away from us.

Finally, what makes the Korean proverbs different from the Romanian ones is the blunt expression of vulgarity. According to Lee (2006: 75), "vulgarity and commonness are essential elements in proverbs, as they were conceived in the consciousness of commoners in traditional Korea". Among the words that emerge quite frequently in the Korean proverbs, there are *dung*, *poop*, and *fart*, as illustrated below:

(20) ***ttong****-eun museowoseo pihaneun geos-i anila deoleowoseo pihanda.*
'We avoid manure (**shit)** because it's dirty, not because we are scared of it.'

(21) ***bang-gwi*** *kkwin nom-i seongnaenda.*
'The **fart** is annoying.' 'The one who farted gets annoyed.'

(22) ***bang-gwi-****ga jaj-eumyeon* ***ttong*** *ssagi swibda.*
'If **farts** are frequent, it is easy to **poop**.' (Coming events cast their shadows before).

In the Romanian collections of proverbs that I employed for the analysis, I encountered only one example in which the word 'fart' is present:

(23) *Capra* ***beşe*** *şi oaia trage ruşinea* (IG).
'The goat **farts** and the blame falls on the sheep/the sheep is shamed.'

This proverb reflects the inequality between classes that characterized the Romanian society for quite a long time, when the members of the upper-class committed various kinds of crimes, which were attributed to the poor people, who received punishment for them.

5. Conclusions

In contrast to the belief that cultures vary greatly, in this small-scale study, I have found fascinating resemblances in the proverbs originating from Romania and Korea. The similarities identified between the proverbs in these two cultures relate to the themes they tackle, such as poverty, class differences, submissiveness, fears, but also the healthy attitude towards life even in cases of despair. These can be attributed to the fact that people all over the world share not only the shape of their bodies but also basic needs, such as safety, food, and shelter, and experiences as human beings. At the same time, the investigated proverbs also reflect cultural uniqueness: they tap into specific local contexts, and, as such, are more difficult to comprehend by outsiders without any additional information. Many of the proverbs subjected to analysis contain lexical items that describe referents typical of the two cultures, which in many cases are untranslatable. This is the case of *yangban* and *kimchi* for Korean and *iie* and *hora* for Romanian. Other items specific to the Korean culture are the *dragon* or the *rice cake*, while for Romanian we can mention names of ordinary birds or animals such as the *sparrow,* the *falcon*, or the *sheep*.

The Romanian proverbs, unlike the Korean ones, make use of proper nouns (names of persons or places) very frequently, which gives the constructions a sarcastic tone. On the other hand, vulgarity is more present in the Korean proverbs than in the Romanian ones. Other differences relate to the structure of the proverbs in these two languages: while in Romanian we come across rhyming phrases very often, this is seldom the case with the Korean proverbs.

I will end my paper with a short quotation from Schipper (2004: 13), who says that "[p]roverbial observations about the most preoccupying elements of life we share form an excellent starting point for a better mutual understanding without suspicion, hostility or polarization. Correctly exploring our cultural legacies together (…) is an excellent way of building bridges between cultures" or of crossing cultural borders.

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An Analysis of Ethnic Influence on Language: Mandarin or Xinjiang Mandarin?

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Abstract. This paper aims to investigate lexical borrowings from ethnic languages to standard Mandarin. Data are collected through daily observation after years of living in Xinjiang, China. The data suggest that phonetic loans and hybrid loans are the major approaches in lexical borrowings from Uyghur, Russian, and Persian. Two motivations behind Uyghur borrowings into Mandarin are discussed: cultural borrowings and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings are new objects, concepts of ethnic origins, which are new to Han Chinese communities. Core borrowings are Mandarin words which have been replaced by Uyghur. However, core borrowings are not associated with the prestige of the donor language in this case; instead, frequency, marker, friendliness, and religious consideration are the major reasons. In addition, this paper analyses the strategies of lexical borrowings from ethnic languages in Mandarin. It further discusses the cultural backgrounds behind lexical borrowings. The lexical borrowings from ethnic languages into Mandarin suggest the openness and inclusiveness of Chinese language and culture.

Keywords: lexical borrowing, cultural borrowing, ethnic language, multiculturalism, Mandarin.

1. Introduction

Since the 17th century, Han Chinese have been migrating to Xinjiang, a province with 15 ethnic minorities. Though the official languages are Mandarin and Uyghur, the Mandarin in this area has developed into a unique style under the ethnic influences. For example, the word for onion[1] is 'yangcong' in standard Mandarin, while in Xinjiang Mandarin the word for onion has become 'piyazi', which is a word borrowed from Uyghur. Even though these two words refer to the

1 The translation of ethnic origin examples from Mandarin to English are my own throughout the article.

same object, the use of 'piyazi' can only be found in this region. As a multi-ethnic region, the direct contact of various ethnic groups has contributed to a unique style of Mandarin spoken in Xinjiang.

There have been various studies on lexical borrowings of Mandarin from English, yet little research has focused on lexical borrowing from ethnic languages in Mandarin. This paper aims to explore the ethnic influences in Mandarin spoken in Xinjiang. It further presents the motivations behind lexical borrowings from ethnic languages in Xinjiang and the significance of lexical borrowings due to emotional connection among different ethnic groups.

2. Why there are lexical borrowings

Thomason–Kaufman (1988) have defined borrowings starting from two different aspects. First of all, borrowing can be the result of language transfer from native speakers to non-native speakers. On the one hand, native speakers adopt elements of a language and incorporate them into the recipient language. Moreover, non-native speakers impose the characteristics of their native language onto the recipient language. However, in a more restricted sense, borrowings may solely refer to the integration of foreign elements and speakers' native language (Haspelmath 2009: 36). Tsvetkow–Dyer (2016) pointed out that linguistic borrowings occur when different language communities have contact with each other, which results in lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes in recipient languages.

Haspelmath has suggested four forms of borrowings: cultural borrowing, core borrowing, therapeutic borrowing, and adoption vs imposition. There are various ways to either make up words for new concepts or extend the semantic meaning of existing words. In the case of cultural borrowings, some ethnic groups combine borrowed words together with new concepts from other languages, and these words become better known than the words in their native language. Later, these better known words override the native language. However, this may not happen if the ethnic groups perceive their languages as markers of their ethnic identity, i.e. they resort to purism. For example, there is a tendency to avoid English borrowings in French, yet several other European languages are more welcoming to English borrowings. The issue with cultural borrowings represents the measurement of the speaker's attitude. Thus, cultural borrowings are more likely to occur if there is no significant resistance among speakers (Haspelmath 2009).

Core borrowing refers to the replacement of words that already exist. These language changes relate to the social prestige of the donor language because the way we speak not only gets the meaning across but also projects an impression of us on others. In some cases, even though there is a word in speakers' native

language for a concept, they adopt the borrowed word to convey the meaning. Therapeutic borrowings occur when the original words are not available. For example, if there are two words similar in spelling or pronunciation but with different meanings, lexical borrowings could avoid confusion (Haspelmath 2009).

Adoption refers to speakers borrowing features of a dominant language into their native language, and the borrowings might range from lexicon to language structure. Imposition means that non-native speakers unconsciously retain their language features in the language they are shifting to. Phonology and syntax borrowings are the major motivations in imposition. In fact, all retained words serve a purpose. For example, non-native speakers retain their language features as markers of their identity (Haspelmath 2009).

In sum, the above mentioned lexical borrowing strategies can be found in many languages. Mandarin is one of the languages which is resistant to lexical borrowings coming from foreign languages. Yet, the Mandarin spoken in Xinjiang, China, has adopted several ethnic language features.

2.1. The history of lexical borrowings in Chinese

According to Dai–Dong (1999), there are 56 ethnic nationalities in China. Among them, Han people accounts for over ninety percent of the total population, with the other 55 ethnic minorities making up the remaining ten percent of the population. Hans speak Chinese, and 53 ethnic minorities speak more than 80 languages. Two other nationalities, Man and Hui, have already adopted Chinese as their native tongue. Chinese is a Sino-Tibetan language which consists of seven major dialect groups in China: Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Min, Kejia, and Yue. Among them, Mandarin used to be a dialect in the northern part of China, which later became Standard Mandarin, while the other six are referred to as southern dialects (Miao 2005: 19).

Chinese has been an influential language to its neighbouring countries, but it has borrowed foreign words along history. The Silk Road connected China to the West in the Western Han (BC 206–AD 24) and Eastern Han (AD 25–220) dynasties. Chinese borrowed words from languages of ancient Persia. Later, in the Sui (AD 581–618) and Tang (AD 618–907) dynasties, Chinese borrowed Buddhist terms from Sanskrit. Christianity entered China during the Ming (AD 1368–1644) and Qing (AD 1616–1911) dynasties. Christian terms were then translated and borrowed into Chinese. China's defeat in the Sino-British War (1840–1842) was a turning point, from which Western works have been introduced to China. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Chinese borrowed from Japanese mainly the graphic form, rather than meaning. From 1949 to the 1960s, Russian words were the most common borrowings. From 1970 to present, various words from different languages have been borrowed by Chinese (Miao 2005: 22–28).

2.2. Lexical borrowing approaches in Chinese

Miao (2005) has demonstrated four major approaches of foreign borrowings into Chinese: phonemic loans, semantic loans, graphic loans, and hybrids. Phonemic loans refer to foreign words which are rendered in Mandarin phonemically. In this way, the words maintain the same phonetic sounds in Mandarin, and the phonetic sounds are the only similarity between the foreign words and those rendered in Chinese. However, another type of foreign loans goes beyond phonetic similarities as the phonetic sounds trigger semantic associations. For example, 'Kendeji' (肯德基) is the Chinese version of 'KFC' (Kentucky Fried Chicken). The last phonetic sound of the Chinese version 'ji' is 'chicken' in Chinese. Thus, the rendered Chinese version not only keeps the phonetic features of the brand, but it also associates the brand with one of its ingredients: chicken. However, the brand did not adopt 'ji' (鸡) in its written form in Chinese; instead, they use 'ji' (基). Note that in Chinese the same phonetic sound may have several written characters.

Semantic loans focus on the meaning of the foreign words when changed into Mandarin. One method is translating each morpheme of the foreign words and combining them into one word. Another method takes a broader look at the meaning of the foreign words and invents new words in Mandarin.

Graphic loans are foreign written forms which are borrowed into Mandarin. For example, many Japanese written forms were borrowed into Chinese from the 1930s to 1980s, and many graphic loans from the Latin alphabet have also entered Chinese people's lives: for instance, "CD" (Compact Disk) and "ATM" (Automated Teller Machine) (Miao 2005: 29–33).

Hybrids are words which are adapted to Chinese using a combination of semantic features and phonetic features. There are many variations in hybrid borrowings of foreign words. In hybrids, phonetic and semantic features are separate and independent. For example, 'AIDS' is 'ai4-zi1-bing4' in Chinese. Here, 'ai4zi1' is the phonetic equivalent of 'AIDS' and 'bing4' (disease) is added as a semantic feature. Graphic + phonetic/semantic hybrids in written form are another type of hybrids. For example, 'X-Men' is adapted to 'X-zhanjing'. 'Zhanjing' is the semantic feature of the hybrids, which means 'soldier' (Miao 2005: 34–36).

3. Lexical borrowings of Mandarin in Xinjiang

Even though Mandarin is the official language, there are more than 80 different languages spoken by different ethnic groups. Extensive research has been carried out concerning lexical borrowings of foreign words, yet little research focuses on ethnic influences on Mandarin in Xinjiang, China. Xinjiang is a province located in the north-western part of China. There are 47 ethnic nationalities with two

major language groups. One distinct group is that of ethnic language speakers. The other group is formed by speakers of Han Chinese, which consists of almost all seven major Chinese dialects. Since the independence of the People's Republic of China, many speakers of Han Chinese from all parts of China have moved to Xinjiang. In addition, many other ethnic groups have been living there for centuries. Among them, the Uyghur ethnicity is one of the dominant groups in this region. The unique culture and historical background have shaped the language style (Lu 2011).

When Han Chinese moved to Xinjiang, they also brought Mandarin. This was not standard Mandarin but a variation of Mandarin (Lu 2011). Because most of the Han immigrants came from the northern part of China, they spoke Mandarin with slight differences from region to region. The spoken Mandarin gained more ethnic features as there were frequent contacts between Han Mandarin speakers and ethnic groups. Though Mandarin and Uyghur are both official languages in this region, Xinjiang Mandarin is widely used among many Uyghur speakers as well (Baki 2012). Initially, a few ethnic words used in Mandarin have attracted my attention to investigate the lexical borrowings in Mandarin in Xinjiang.

3.1. Words of Uyghur origin

The data presented in this paper were collected from ethnographic sources. The collected words are not originated from Mandarin or other Chinese dialects. However, they are commonly used by Han Mandarin speakers as well as ethnic language speakers in Xinjiang. In this chapter, I would like to apply Miao's (2005) approach to analyse the strategies of lexical borrowings of Mandarin in Xinjiang. The motivations behind the lexical borrowings will be discussed as well.

Many words of non-Chinese origin have already become part of daily communication. These are words that have equivalent words in standard Mandarin. For example, 'onion' is called 'piyazi' (皮牙孜) instead of 'yangcong' (洋葱) in standard Mandarin. It comes from the Uyghur 'piyaz'. In standard Mandarin, 'young boy' is referred to as 'nanhai' (男孩). In Xinjiang, it has changed to 'balangzi' (巴郎子); the Uyghur form is 'bala'. There are more words that are exclusive in Xinjiang. 'Nang' (馕) is a baked bread specialty which comes from the Uyghur 'nan'. 'Badanmu' (巴旦木), in English 'almond', comes from 'badam' in Uyghur. A few words related to entertainment also have been rendered into Mandarin. 'Dawazi' (达瓦孜) means 'tight-rope walking', 'mukamu' (木卡姆) denotes 'traditional twelve-chapter Uyghur music', and 'maixilaipu' (麦西来普) refers to 'gathering with music and dancing'. The original forms are 'dawaz', 'muqam', and 'meshrep' (Baki 2012, Lu 2011).

Among the above examples, it is clear that most words of Uyghur origin have been rendered into Mandarin through phonetic loans. Some of them are cultural

borrowings, some are core borrowings. For example, 'Badanmu' (巴旦木), 'nang' (馕), 'dawazi' (达瓦孜), 'mukamu' (木卡姆), and 'maixilaipu' (麦西来普) keep their phonetic features when changed into Mandarin. As cultural borrowings, they introduce new concepts or activities to Mandarin speakers.

'Piyazi' (皮牙孜) sounds similar to 'piyaz' in Uyghur. Both the Mandarin and Uyghur indicate the same object, yet people have adopted the Uyghur-origin form instead of the standard Mandarin form: 'yangcong' (洋葱). Words like 'piyazi' ('onion') and 'balangzi' ('young boy') have been integrated into daily communication among different ethnic groups.

According to Haspelmath (2009), core borrowings are motivated by social prestige. However, I do not consider that these two borrowings were motivated by the social prestige of the donor language. Instead, I think three reasons may have influenced the borrowings.

Firstly, the core borrowing words are frequently used in daily communication among different ethnic groups. 'Piyazi' ('onion' and 'balangzi' ('young boy') are words that may occur in conversation among different ethnic groups in daily life. 'Piyazi' refers to a concrete object rather than an abstract idea, and thus it can be understood with much less effort.

Secondly, Uyghur speakers use their native language as a marker of their ethnic identity. As non-native Mandarin speakers, they unconsciously bring some of their native words into Mandarin when talking to speakers of Han Chinese, which is very common during language shifting. Native speakers of Han Chinese strive to understand the words in order not to embarrass the Uyghur speakers (Li 2002).

Thirdly, the lexical borrowings serve as emotional "ice breakers" between Han Chinese and Uyghur people. Lexical borrowings from another ethnic language can bridge the emotional distance, thus achieving better communicative performance (Wang 2006). Borrowing from or to another language is a way of showing friendliness and openness among different ethnic groups in Xinjiang.

Religious consideration is another reason for lexical borrowings. 'Zhurou' ('pork') has been changed to 'darou'. I failed to find academic data concerning the origin of the term 'darou'. This is not a core borrowing from Uyghur because 'darou' is a Chinese term, but it is commonly used by any ethnic group when referring to pork. Uyghurs in Xinjiang are primarily Muslims (Palmer et al. 2011) even though 'zhurou' is commonly used in the Han Chinese community. However, the term for pork has been changed to 'darou' because of this religious concern in Xinjiang. This change can be observed in other parts of China as well where there is a Muslim minority population.

In my view, there are two reasons that the use of 'darou' is preferred over 'zhourou'. First of all, the word 'zhu' (猪) is a curse word, it refers to someone who is stupid. Secondly, the speakers of Han Chinese in Xinjiang are aware of the taboo of eating pork in Muslim culture, and thus they subsequently adopt an alternative

in order not to offend the Muslim population. The usage of 'zhurou' is not banned by law, yet the Han population have adopted the non-offensive form for pork.

3.2. Words of Russian origin

Uyghur borrowings account for the major borrowings into Mandarin in Xinjiang. However, there are a few words which came from other languages (for example, Russian and Persian). Lexical borrowings of Russian origin are much fewer than those of Uyghur origin due to Han Chinese and Uyghurs making up the majority of the population in Xinjiang. However, there are Russian borrowings in Mandarin. 'Moheyan' ('rolled tobacco') is derived from 'Махóрка'. It maintains the phonetic features in the first two characters, 'mohe', yet it uses semantic loans in 'yan', which means 'tobacco'. 'Moheyan' is a popular rolled-up tobacco in Xinjiang, which originated between the 18th and 19th centuries. The tobacco was introduced to Xinjiang through a neighbouring country, Kazakhstan. It was first planted in Huo city and later expanded all over Xinjiang (Jiang et al. 1986). It can be inferred that Han Chinese borrowed this word from Uyghurs, who themselves borrowed it from Russian.

3.3. Hybrid borrowings

'Moheyan' can be identified as a hybrid borrowing because it applies both phonetic and semantic borrowing strategies. Another example, 'hainahua', is of Arabic origin 'حاناًء' ('henna') and is widely used by women in Xinjiang to dye their fingernails. 'Haina' is the phonetic borrowing part, together with 'hua' as a semantic feature, which means 'flower'. Thus, in both cases, 'yan' and 'hua' are added to the foreign word for semantic purposes.

The same hybrid borrowing can be found in 'Kanerjing' (坎儿井). It is a sloping underground irrigation system developed by Persians in ancient Iran in the first millennium BC (Wilson 2008). It was brought to China 2000 years ago, and now the length of the tunnel is close to 3,000 kilometres, connecting all the tunnels in Xinjiang (Huang–Kan 1990). The word 'kanerjing' is a hybrid borrowing form of 'qanat'. 'Qanat' has been adapted to 'kaner' phonetically, and 'jing' means well, which supplements the phonetic parts.

Some hybrid words are problematic to categorize. It is the case of words such as 'hulimatang' and 'miximixi'. They are created based on perceptive features from the non-native speaker's point of view. 'Hulimatang' (糊里麻唐) is a term commonly used by speakers of Han Chinese and Uyghurs; it refers to messy, unorganized behaviour. However, Uyghurs consider this word to be of Mandarin origin, yet Han Chinese speakers think of it is an Uyghur word (Xu 2012). Based on Miao's (2005) approach to categorizing lexical borrowings in Chinese, 'hulimatang' can be

considered a hybrid word. However, it is not easy to decide whether it is a phonetic + semantic borrowing or not because the phonetic part sounds similar to Uyghur, but it is more of a made-up phonetic structure that sounds like Uyghur. Moreover, the semantic parts are not typical in the Mandarin expression either.

Guo (1999) observed similar cases of hybrid words of Chinese and Japanese origin. For example, 'miximixi' ('greetings') often appears in popular television and books from Japan. Chinese speakers consider this a Japanese word; however, Japanese speakers think this is a Chinese word. 'Miximixi' is different from 'hulimatang' because 'miximixi' is only used in television and books. There is no direct language contact in the case of 'miximixi', whereas in 'hulimangtang' there is direct language contact among Han Chinese and Uyghurs. Nevertheless, in these two examples, the way non-native speakers perceive other languages contributes to the creation of hybrid words. Even though the words do not make sense in their original language, the target language provides contextual meaning to these hybrids.

4. Limitations

The coexistence of different cultures and languages in Xinjiang have changed Mandarin in many aspects. The ethnic influence on Mandarin is not reflected solely by lexical borrowings. This paper only manages to present one aspect of the changes in Mandarin, and the examples are not exhaustively presented in this paper. The phonetic and sentence structures of Mandarin in Xinjiang have developed a few distinct features compared to standard Mandarin (Baki 2012). Future research in these areas could provide more insights about the language and cultures in Xinjiang.

5. Conclusions

This paper focuses on the influence of ethnic languages on Mandarin, which has not attracted much attention. The lexical borrowings from ethnic languages remind us of the language and cultural exchange among Han Chinese and other ethnic groups.

As we can see from the lexical borrowings, Chinese language and culture are tolerant to other languages. Language is a way to mark one's identity, but it is also a way to show friendliness. The emotional function of lexical borrowings from Uyghur to Mandarin should be highlighted. Speakers of Han Chinese choose to use terms in Uyghur as a way to break the ice and build friendships with Uyghurs. When Han Chinese speakers use terms borrowed from another language, it bridges the emotional distance even though Chinese and Uyghurs

have different cultures, languages, and history. This openness will enable people to understand the differences among various ethnic groups.

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Translingual Practice and Transcultural Connections in Assia Djebar's *La Femme sans sépulture*

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Abstract. *La Femme sans sépulture* is one of Djebar's recent publications which carries on with the author's self-proclaimed project of recreating an Arabo-Berber past in a French text. The recreation process is achieved through writing in French, which is invaded by Algerian women's oral voices. In this article, I will argue that French and Algerian oral languages – Arabic and Berber – mutually influence each other, allowing the emergence of new linguistic structures. This is evidenced in the text by the use of free indirect discourse which allows the oral to modify French while being modified by it. Relying on Suresh Canagarajah's studies on cross-language relations, the mutual relations between Algerian orality and French are interpreted as translingual practices aimed to promote transcultural communication.

Keywords: Assia Djebar, *La Femme sans sépulture*, translingual practices, transcultural communication.

Introduction

Assia Djebar, a prominent Algerian francophone writer, was born to a Berber father and an Arab mother in colonial Algeria, where the father, a school institutor, defied local mores by having his daughter enrolled in a French school. Her initiation into another language spoken by the father and exclusively used at school complicated the linguistic experience of the child, who had already been exposed to the Arabic of her mother and the Berber of the paternal grandmother. Growing up in such a multilingual environment, complicated by a complex colonial experience, increased the perspectives of the child, who grew up into a writer. Despite her multilingualism, the emergent writer could write only in one language – that of the colonizer "to inscribe" the experiences of the Arab-Berber

ancestors and their descendants into a literary text characterized by switching between languages, Arabic, Berber, and French.

Djebar's multilingualism was a source of much disillusionment, which she described in her writings. In *Writing in the Language of the Other*, Djebar wrote, "My childhood, […] was split […] between two languages" (2003: 23). While she felt disillusioned for a long time about what her mother tongue was, Arabic or Berber, she found a comforting substitute in French. In *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade*, Djebar expressed her disillusionment and comfort: "French is my 'stepmother tongue.' Which is my long-lost mother-tongue that left me standing and disappeared?" (1993: 214). The language of the colonizer – which she clearly recognized as a "stepmother tongue" – changed for her "into the *father's language"* (2003: 23), offering her "true welcome" (2003: 25). Yet, Djebar's relation to French was disillusioning too, as French was for her "a language imposed by rape as much as by love" (1993: 216).

Djebar's writings reflect her complex multilingual experience. Her literary production has a double aim, namely to recover the experiences of her ancestors, which she deliberately sought to "inscribe" in a French text. In an interview with Mildred Mortimer, Djebar explained her aims: "Je pense que le plus important pour moi est de ramener le passé malgré ou à travers l'écriture, 'mon' écriture de langue française. Je tente d'ancrer cette langue française dans l'oralité des femmes traditionnelles. Je l'enracine ainsi." (1988: 201) ["I think the key concern for me is to bring back the past despite or through writing, 'my' writing in French. I try to anchor the French language in the oral tradition of women. I root it as such."][1]

She achieved this double objective by listening carefully to the oral culture accounted for in the voices of women, then translating it into a literary French text; she wrote: "in the language known as the language of the other, I found myself possessed by the need to reminisce about an elsewhere, about a dead Arabo-Berber past, my own. […] thus my Ariadne's thread became my ear. Yes, I heard Arabic and Berber […]; I could truly hear them and thereby resuscitate them, those barbarians, in the French language" (2003: 25).

Djebar undertook the task of translating Algerian women's experiences and culture, which are traditionally oral, into a literary text written in a language characterized by movement between Algerian orality and French. Writing about Djebar's use of French as the language of her literary production has been treated by critics in different ways.

Many wrote about Djebar's choice to write in French and its ideological significance in a postcolonial Algeria where Arabic was imposed by the government as an official language instead of French, which had equally been imposed as the official language by the colonizer. For instance, in *Which Qalam for Algeria?*, Shaden M. Tageldin questions Djebar's choice to write in French

1 The translations from French are the author's throughout the article.

and its motivations and complexities through a reading of Djebar's *Fantasia* as opposed to *Dhākirat Al-Jasad* written in Arabic by the Algerian female writer Ahlam Mustaghānimī. Through contrast between the two authors' linguistic choices and their effects on the restoration of Algerian women's occulted past, Tageldin doubts the ability of a French text to resuscitate the occulted female history that Djebar projected to recover (2009).

Other critics tried to read Djebar's novels with focus on their multilingualism. For instance, in *The Multilingual Strategies of Postcolonial Literature: Assia Djebar's Algerian Palimpsest*, Anne Donadey highlights the effects of Djebar's multilingual practices on the French language, allowing Djebar's text to turn into a palimpsest of languages. Donadey (2000: 34) argues that French is deterritorialized by Djebar's use of Arabic vocabulary and syntactic structures, but it is reterritorialized when made "more hospitable for arabophone readers". In *France and the Maghreb: Performative Encounters*, Mireille Rosello (2005) describes Djebar's use of language as writing "in-between languages" and praises her model of writing for its ability to achieve exchange despite violence.

Theoretical framework

While critics have focused on Djebar's choice of French as the language of her literary production or her use of French as reflective of multilingual practices, in this paper, I propose to read Djebar's use of language in one of her novels, namely *La Femme sans sépulture*, as achieving translingual rather than multilingual relations. Through an in-depth analysis of Djebar's language, this paper is aimed to explore the transformations resulting from contact between Algerian orality and French, which, I will argue, are aspects of translingual practices. The latter rely on the mutual relation between languages aimed to promote exchange and communication between cultures.

Describing Djebar's movement between languages as an evidence of translingual rather than multilingual practices finds cues in Suresh Canagarajah distinction between the two terms. He writes, "[w]hile the term multilingual perceives the relationship between languages in an additive manner (i.e., combination of separate languages), translingual addresses the synergy, treating languages as always in contact and mutually influencing each other, with emergent meanings and grammars" (2013: 41). Canagarajah explains that the linguistic transformations resulting from translingual practices involve exchange and negotiations between cultures (2017: 51).

An important negotiation strategy in Djebar's text is free indirect discourse (FID). According to Monika Fludernik, studies of FID need to consider linguistic and contextual issues. From a linguistic perspective, FID can be defined through

comparison with direct and indirect discourse; Fludernik thus writes: "free indirect discourse preserves some of the expressive elements of direct discourse as well as its syntactic independence, but shares with indirect discourse the temporal and referential consonance with the quoting instance" (1993: 71). Fludernik also emphasizes that – in addition to the linguistic features – the study of FID needs to take into consideration "a number of macro-textual and interpretative aspects of the reading process […] as for example the question of point of view, the narrative situation, mood or voice; […]. Even 'simple' grammatical features, such as the use of tense in narrative" (1993: 6).

FID is an ideal strategy to achieve switching between languages. In fact, FID has already been recognized as a key strategy used by translingual writers. In *Translingual Practice*, Lydia H. Liu distinguishes FID as a western strategy, used by modern Chinese translingual writers to translate Chinese culture (1995: 103). In this paper, we will see that Djebar's translingual practices allow a mutual influence between languages, generating the modification of both French and Algerian orality, using FID as a negotiation strategy.

Djebar's translingual practices, which blur the boundaries between languages and consequently between cultures, reflect what Wolfgang Welsch describes as transculturality. For Welsch, transculturality stands against the old conception of cultures characterized by "ethnic foundation; social homogenization; and intercultural delimitation" (2009: 5) resulting in "exclusion and conflict" and the impossibility of communication between cultures (2009: 6). It sketches the relation between cultures as "one of entanglement, intermixing and commonness" (1999: 205), promoting "exchange and interaction" and supporting "coexistence rather than combat" (1999: 204).

In *La Femme*, women are empowered with voice to tell their experiences; the outcome is a French text invaded by Algerian women's oral voices. I will investigate the author's ways of translating Algerian women's experiences into French, her representational strategies and rhetorical devices as well as the effects of the contact between Algerian orality and French. I will argue that the translation process is achieved through translingual practices marked by a masterful use of FID, which allows French and Algerian oral languages – Arabic and Berber – to influence each other. This mutual influence generates new meanings, new syntactical, grammatical, and lexical structures, which are viable to promote transcultural relations.

La Femme depicts the recovery of the story of Zoulikha, a forgotten heroine of the Algerian War of Independence, who was tortured and killed by the French colonial army and whose body disappeared. This quest is underscored by the return of a narrator-author to her hometown, Césarée, where she meets the forgotten heroine's relatives and friends, who tell their recollections about the past in as much as they relate to the contemporary problems of Algeria. The quest

to recover the forgotten is motivated by the need to illuminate the reasons of the reiteration of violence in postcolonial Algeria.

Structurally, the novel opens with a prelude and ends with an epilogue in addition to twelve chapters including four monologues. In the prelude, a first person nameless narrator fixes the setting, introduces the protagonists, and then eclipses from the scene to return in the epilogue where a direct link between colonial and contemporary violence in Algeria is established. Meanwhile, this first-person narrator-character relinquishes the narration to a third-person voice to join the characters of the story as a listener referred to with different pseudo names; the female guest 'l'invitée', visitor 'la visiteuse', the listener 'l'écouteuse', the foreigner 'l'étrangère', and foreigner not really foreigner 'l'étrangère pas tellemment étrangère'. This "listener" sometimes mixes her memories with the reminiscences of the other voices telling Zoulikha's story. Yet, most of the time, she prefers to listen and expand the echo of women's voices. In addition to the first-person voice of the prelude and epilogue and the third-person narration with variable focalization, Djebar uses for this restoration task the voice of dead Zoulikha, who tells in monologues, invented by the author, the missing part of the story.

The novel is a rich and complex instance of a multiple vocal story told by female focalizers. Voices of variable focalizers speak while being spoken about by a third-person voice, which shifts between internal and external focalization. Those focalizers assume the narration in turns throughout the novel. Actually, Djebar relies on the relatives of Zoulikha, her sister-in-law Zohra Oudai, and her two daughters, Hania and Mina. The two daughters have initially been very reluctant to speak about a violent past, but they grow keener to speak as they have gained deliverance of the burdening silent past, encouraged by their attentive patient "listener". Zohra Oudai, an old Berber peasant, seems highly disillusioned by an incurable pessimism about the present, characterized by widespread corruption, but she finds relief only through immersion in the past. Djebar equally relies on the skilled ex-foreseer of the future, who proves equally skilled at restoring the past, Lla Lbia, Zoulikha's friend.

Djebar uses a special narrative mode to allow the voices of narration to convey their memories about the past, which foresees the future. It consists of a gradual shift from an external focalization to an internal focalization narrative representing the thoughts and then the voices of character focalizers. So, narratives start to be mediated by the voice of an external focalizer, approximate to a third-person narrator. The latter gradually relinquishes her voice to allow the reader to have direct access to character focalizers' thoughts at a first stage, then to their oral speech.

The movement from the representation of thoughts to the assumption of voice by the character focalizer, marked sometimes in the text as "Voix de…" [Voice of …] followed by the name of the focalizer, is generally achieved when the focalizer

reaches a level of immersion in the past to relive it. At this level, the narrative is more oral than written discourse, free from the comments of the third-person narrator, except for very limited observations describing physical features about the intonation and the rhythm of voice or about the movements and gestures of the character focalizer.

The different voices speak in a complex mix of direct, indirect, and FID discourse. Used with third-person and first-person narratives, FID allows the swift shift between the voices of narration in this polyphonic novel relying on shifting points of view to recover and uncover the hidden. Structurally, FID allows the overlap between characters' and narrator's voices, between oral speech and written text, and between Algerian orality and French. Linguistically, FID allows Algerian orality to appropriate and modify French while being modified by it. Through FID as a negotiation strategy, Djebar's French is sufficiently modified, underscoring the author's will to overcome the limitations of restrictive monolingualism. Through FID, which allows the narrator-author to blend her voice with the voices of the women telling the story, Djebar creates a chance for her narrator-author, sometimes referred to as 'l'étrangère' ['the foreigner'] to overcome the exclusion and estrangement experienced after her return to her hometown to collect history. Djebar's narrative and linguistic strategies underscore her will to overcome the exclusion enforced by linguistic purity politics in postcolonial Algeria.

Using FID as a negotiation strategy, this novel treats languages as mutually influencing each other; therefore, we can find instances of French modified by contact with Algerian orality and instances of Algerian orality modified by French. FID is used to represent both thought and voice in the novel. We find instances of FID in narratives rendered in the third-person voice representing thought with internal and external focalization. We also find instances of FID in narratives rendered as oral voices, approximate to a first-person voice. These oral voices represent voices haunting the minds of character focalizers and voices of these same focalizers liberated by immersion in the past to assume the narration instead of the third-person voice. The latter gradually faints from the narrative but remains as an attentive patient "listener".

I will show that in *La Femme* translingual practices are suggested as viable means to create better chances of communication in a postcolonial Algeria fallen back into violence as a consequence of the repetition of colonial imperialist politics focusing on homogeneity and linguistic purity. This is evidenced by the link between colonial and contemporary violence in Algeria,[2] where the language issue acquires prominence not only through the author's stylistic and representational choices but also through direct questioning by the narrator-author and her informants.

2 The link between colonial and contemporary violence in *La femme* is explored by Michael F. O'Riley (2007).

In a conversation between the narrator-author and the youngest daughter of Zoulikha, Mina, the two women of postcolonial Algeria celebrate the diversity of the Algerian identity and culture by offering a revision to a celebrated hymn. The latter was taught at the pre-independence Arabic schools referred to in the text as *madersa*. The hymn says:

Nous avons une seule langue, l'arabe Nous avons une seule foi, l'Islam Nous avons une seule terre, l'Algérie ! (2002: 77)	We have only one language, Arabic We have one faith, Islam We have only one land, Algeria!

To reverse this hymn, the two women sing:

Nous avons trois langues, et le berbère d'abord […] *Nous avons trois amours :* *Abraham, Jésus…et Mohammed!* *[…]* Nous pourrions aussi évoquer nos ancêtres illustres : *Jugurtha, trahi, est mort à Rome, loin de sa terre ;* *La Kahina, notre reine des Aurès, vaincue, s'est tué auprès d'un puits ;* *Abdelkader, expatrié, s'est éteint à Damas, auprès* *d'Ibn Arbi !* (Italics in the original) (2002: 78)	*We have three languages, and the earliest is Berber […]* *We have three venerated saints:* *Abraham, Jesus … and Mohammed!* *[…]* We may also mention our illustrious ancestors: *Jugurtha, betrayed, died in Rome, far from his land;* *The Kahina, our Queen of the Aurés mountains, vanquished, killed near a well;* *Abdelkader, an expatriate, died in Damascus, nearby Ibn Arbi!*

Against the hymn preaching homogeneity through Arabization, Islamization, and nationalization, which are the fundamental principles of the postcolonial policies in Algeria, the narrator-author and her friend celebrate cultural mixedness. Through the revision of the hymn of homogeneity, Djebar's text emphasizes the need to blur the boundaries between languages, religions, territories, and genders in order to overcome the reiteration of colonial violence. The novel attempts to challenge this violence in a text that also blurs the boundaries between past, present, and future through a retrospective representation of the present and the past to warn against the perpetuation of violence in the future.

In this paper, I focus on Djebar's use of language and her strategies to overcome linguistic boundaries. The close analysis of how the author deals with language in the novel can provide insight into the translingual transformations and the

transcultural connections resulting from contact between Algerian orality and French. Through the close reading of selected passages from the novel, this paper elaborates on how French is modified by Algerian orality and how Algerian orality is modified by French, using FID representing thought and voice. The reading is focused on showing the potentialities of translingual practices to create transcultural connections.

Analysis

FID and the representation of thought

According to Fludernik (1993), one of the common uses of FID occurs in narratives rendered in the third-person omniscient voice to represent thought. The representation of thought occurs when the narrator enters the mind of the character and represents his or her thoughts verbatim. In the novel, not only does the narrator provide information through omniscient narration, but the characters speak for themselves in FID in internal focalization narratives, reflected through the consciousness of a character focalizer. In such narratives, a character's "deictic centre" prevails as the major narrative orientation point. The "deictic centre" is a term used by Ann Banfield to describe those aspects of an utterance that refer to and depend upon the situation in which an utterance is made. Banfield defines the "deictic system" as follows: "The deictic system is thus internally divided between those terms which represent the (personal) subject – I in speech, he, she, or a human they in the writing of the novel – and those which represent only a subjective centre – the deictic adverbials of time and place" (qtd in Fludernik 1993: 381). According to Fludernik, in omniscient narration, the most obvious markers of FID are shift of pronominal reference and shift in tense (1993: 107, 193), "syntactic deviations" with "claims to expressivity" (1993: 223), and pragmatic categories including question and exclamation marks, dashes and quotation marks.

For instance, in the second chapter of the novel entitled *Où trouver le corps de ma mère?* [Where Shall I Find My Mother's Body?], we find significant instances of FID representing the thoughts of Zoulikha's elder daughter, Hania, within an internal focalization narrative. The chapter starts with a third-person narrative rendered in indirect and direct speech representing a conversation between Zoulikha's daughters and their "visitor" collecting the story of their mother. Gradually, the third-person voice relinquishes, allowing the reader to have access to Hania's thoughts and then to her voice as a storyteller. The overlap between Hania's thoughts and voice and the narrator's voice in FID stands for the translingual shift to the oral represented by the voice of Hania, which intrudes

the standard French text representing the omniscient narrator's language. To represent the reflecting mind of Hania, pronominal shift, shift in tense, and a set of syntactic expressive features underscore the shift from the narrator's to Hania's perspective. These shifts constitute new syntactical and grammatical structures underscoring the modification of French by Algerian orality represented in the voice of the character focalizer, Hania.

FID marked by shift in pronominal reference, which points to the modification of the grammatical structure of the French text by orality, allows the reader to have a direct access to Hania's troubled consciousness. Thus, we can notice the narrative interrupted by the voice of the character Hania in a first-person reference without any indication to the reader that such a change is about to occur. The reader is, however, allowed a direct access to the thoughts of the character as they unfold. For instance, in "L'insomnie habituelle, se dit-elle, et maintenant, me voici droite sur mes jambes jusqu'à l'aurore !" (2002: 54) ["The usual insomnia, she thought, and now here I am right on my legs until dawn!"], we see no clear boundaries between the direct speech of Hania and its indirect representation. Here, even if the use of "se dit-elle" sets off Hania's thoughts, the text introduces Hania's thoughts without the use of the usual marker of direct speech since these thoughts are neither preceded by dashes nor enclosed in quotation marks. They are, however, marked by a shift in pronominal reference obvious in the use of the first person instead of the third person expected in an indirect discourse representation. Indeed, with the use of "I", we are introduced directly into Hania's mind and thoughts represented in her own voice. The pronominal shift highlights the weariness of the character and incites the reader to think about the causes of this weariness at such an early stage in the novel.

The thoughts unfold to show that Hania's consciousness is troubled by her reluctance to speak with her "visitor" about a harmful past. Therefore, FID marked by syntactic deviations and pragmatic categories – which are also marks of the modification of French by orality – highlights the troubled consciousness of Hania, as the extract below shows:

Comme d'autres fois, Mina reviendra avant la première chaleur éclatée du jour […].	As usual, Mina returns before the first bursting heat of the day […].
Elle rentra avec l'une des fillettes de la maison d'en face, celle qui la suit comme son ombre : Yasmina s'installera dans un coin pour jouer aux osselets (ceux qu'avait dans l'enfance Mina et que Hania lui a conservés). Yasmina demandera à « l'Algéroise » - elle appelle ainsi	She returns with one of the girls of the house across the street; this girl follows her like a shadow: Yasmina stays in a corner to play the dice (those that Mina had in childhood and that Hania has preserved). Yasmina asked "the Algeroise" – as she calls

Mina, ce qui ne plait pas tellement à Hania - une musique ni traditionnelle, ni chansonnettes à la mode, 'la musique', dit-elle, après qu'elle a entendu une sonate de Mozart, et elles s'enfermeront dans la pièce d'en haut.	Mina, which does not please Hania – neither traditional music nor songs in fashion, "music", she says, after having listened to a Mozart sonata, and they went into a room upstairs.
Ainsi, songe Hania, ma sœur, fille de Zoulikha, l'héroïne de Césarée, est presque en train de devenir une femme d'Alger. Ce n'est pas juste ! […] Hania, de nuit, de jour, ainsi se tourmente. […] Elle espère parfois : Et si Mina prenait enfin époux ? Avec un époux, pourquoi ne reprendrait-elle pas sa place, ici, dans la maison de sa mère ? (2002: 54–56)	So, thinks Hania, my sister, Zoulikha's daughter, the heroine of Cesaree, is almost becoming a woman of Algiers. It's not fair! […]. Likewise, Hania, night and day, agonizes. […]. She sometimes hopes: if Mina finally chose a husband? With a husband, why wouldn't she return here to the house of her mother?

Many syntactic deviations relate to the deictic centre of the reported consciousness (i.e. Hania's consciousness) and underscore the modification of French by orality. For instance, we notice the alignment of some time and place adverbials to the deictic centre of Hania as in "comme d'autresfois" "la piece d'en haut", "ici, dans la maison de sa mere". These temporal and spatial adverbs indicate a time and a place from Hania's perspective. In some sentences, the representation of Hania's consciousness is rendered through the use of exclamatory constructions and questions, which retain their syntactically direct inverted form representing Hania's words and thoughts. Yet, she is not speaking or thinking them at this moment. It is the narrator who is "listening to them" and using them to translate Hania's thoughts.

Besides these syntactic features of expressivity, some pragmatic categories make the shift, from the reported consciousness to the narrative proper, more explicit. Actually, many typographical features help separate those sentences that relate to the deictic centre of the character from the narrative proper. These include dashes, semicolons, parentheses, and quotation marks. For instance, the dash in "– elle appelle ainsi Mina …" marks the shift from Hania's perspective to that of the narrator. The parentheses in "(ceux…)" have a similar function. The use of quotation marks with the words "l'Algéroise" and "la musique" mark what Fludernik calls "loanings from the character's lexis" (1993: 227).

Eventually, through its use of FID underscored by shift of pronominal reference, syntactical deviations, and pragmatic categories, the text can weave in and out of Hania's mind. It can glide from narrator to character and back again without perceptible transitions. Two linguistic levels, the character's inner thought and the author's report, are fused into one so that the same current situation seems to pass through narrating and figural consciousness allowing the creation of new grammatical and syntactical structures. The overlap between Hania's thoughts

and the narrator's voice in FID emphasize the translingual shift to the oral represented by the voice of Hania, which intrudes and changes the standard French text representing the omniscient narrator's language in the passage above.

Djebar finds in FID representing thought an ideal strategy allowing her to create a channel of communication between the narrator and her reluctant informants, who find it difficult to speak about the past whose violence has cut off their voices. Used to represent the thoughts of a character focalizer at an initial stage, FID allows the omniscient narrator to enter the mind of reluctant informants and to represent their thoughts verbatim while allowing them to speak for themselves from within the narration.

To sum up, the translingual shift achieved through FID representing thought generates new grammatical and syntactical structures, which stand as markers of transcultural relations pointing to the modification of French by Algerian orality. Allowing fusion at the linguistic level, FID allows Algerian orality to appropriate, modify, and reinvent French, which turns for the author from an instrument of "oppression", being the colonizer's language, to a viable medium to create connections with her hesitant informants who are allowed to speak in their own accents and idioms.

While using FID to represent thought has made the translingual shift possible as it created chances for a better communication between the narrator-author and the reluctant informants, Djebar experiments further with FID, used to represent voice, achieving further possibilities of switching between languages and further chances of communication and exchange.

FID and the representation of voice

The shift from the representation of thought to the representation of voice marks the gradual liberation of the character focalizers' voices allowing the gradual disappearance of the narrator's voice. Thus, after being allowed to intrude the narrative through the representation of their thoughts, the character focalizers are allowed further possibilities to speak in narratives where the narrator turns into an attentive "listener." The emergent narratives swing between the representation of voices of two types. One type represents voices *haunting* the minds of the character focalizers overheard by the narrator. The second type represents voices liberated by immersion in the past and empowered by the active reception of the narrator, who nearly disappears from the text. Djebar uses the narrator to transmit characters' voices rendered in a mix of direct, indirect, and FID, which allows the incorporation of Algerian dialectical morphology, syntax, and lexical peculiarities as well as the modification of the oral.

The narration relies on the power of listening and translating. Djebar's use of FID preserves the sense of listening as the characters' voices are presented as

being heard. In this context, Djebar's use of FID corresponds to the definition of Gilbert D. Chaitin, who describes FID as a matter of listening and retransmitting; "style indirect libre paved the way for the invasion of narrative […] by dialogue, the progressive effacement of narrative voice, by making narration a matter of listening rather than speaking, of echoing, receiving and retransmitting" (1999: 1023–1024). Chaitin emphasizes that FID "marks the transformation of the narrator from the traditional authoritative role of the one who knows (the past, the truth, etc.) to the receptive function of the one who listens". The narrator's role in FID is thus not restricted to "simple recording and transmitting; […] 'it is marked by an active reception of the other speaker's speech'" (1999: 1029–1030). The narrator in *La Femme* is an attentive "listener" who listens patiently and vigilantly so that she could overhear even low and tiny voices still imprisoned in the informants' minds. She is skilful enough to encourage these confined voices to "speak".

Representing overheard voices

The representation of the voices which haunt the minds of characters relies on the skills of the attentive "listener" who could overhear the haunting voices and then translate them into a language which allows character focalizers to speak from within the narration, resulting in the incorporation of dialect in French and the modification of the oral.

For instance, the narrative in the chapter "Où trouver le corps de ma mère?" ends with the representation of a voice, described as "parole menue, basse" (2002: 63) [a tiny, low voice]. This tiny voice haunts the mind of Hania, rendered in a mix of indirect and FID, marked by the incorporation of some lexical items from Algerian Arabic.

Elle sait. Etre habitée: d'autres femmes, autrefois, disait-on, étaient "peuplées", "habitées" – en arabe, on les surnommait les *meskounates* –, mais il s'agissait à l'époque d'un djinn, bon ou mauvais esprit avec lequel ces malheureuses devaient composer, ou se soumettre en silence, quelquefois tout au long de leur vie. (2002: 65)	She knows. To be inhabited; in the past, some women, it was said, were "populated", "inhabited" – in Arabic, they were called the *meskounates* –, but this could mean at that time the existence of a djinn, good or bad spirit with which these unfortunate women were to compromise, or to submit in silence, sometimes throughout all their lives.

Here, the narration is invaded by Algerian lexical items. Djebar represents Hania's silent speech haunting her mind in a manner that fits perfectly well with

Fludernik's description of how, through FID, an author might provide "the precise flavor of the original utterance or consciousness that is 'true' to a character's mind. One prominent and pervasive manner of doing so is to incorporate lexical items from the character's or reported speaker's idiolect, sociolect, dialect or (foreign) language" (1993: 255). Djebar represents what is true to Hania's mind by incorporating lexical items from her idiolect (Algerian Arabic). Many lexical peculiarities are clearly part of Hania's private language as "peuplées" "habitées" which are literal translations from Algerian Arabic to French of the lexical item "meskounates", transposed from Algerian Arabic, meaning 'haunted'. The word "habitée", meaning 'haunted', recurs many times in the novel but with opposing connotations.

It is used to convey the negative connotations of being haunted by a *djinn* or a ghost, which in the past frightened women and silenced them. This word is used in the passage above reflecting Hania's consciousness, who in another passage claims with some anxiety in direct speech "j'en suis *habitéé*" (2002: 92; my emphasis) 'I am *inhabited*', meaning that she is haunted. In these two occurrences, "habitée" bears the same negative connotations as the transposed word "*mekounates*" suggests. Being "habitée" frightens Hania and reduces her voice to silence just as it used to frighten and silence the unfortunate women called "meskounates".

"Habitée" is later used as an equivalent of being haunted but with positive connotations. It is used in an indirect speech passage by the narrator-author, who appears with a first-person voice marking an abrupt authorial intrusion in the middle of the novel. This authorial voice claims with comfort: "je raconte ma nuit, *habitée* encore par ces récits de Zoulikha" (2002: 123; my emphasis) 'I recount my night, still *inhabited* by narratives about Zoulikha'. "Habitée" is also used in a narrative focalized by the narrator, who adopts a particularly colloquial and even dialectal style, suggesting the merging of the voice of narrator with the voices of characters, "Tandis que Mina, […] conduit en silence, son amie qu'on peut supposer somnolente, mais en réalité *habitée* entièrement par les derniers récits de la veille" (2002: 164; my emphasis) 'While Mina […], drives in silence, her friend seems sleepy, but in reality she was entirely *inhabited* by the latest narratives of the day'. The lexical item is later used in a passage focalized by Mina, "puisque cette femme reste ainsi *habitée* par l'histoire de Zoulikha, pourquoi, dès lors, sa hâte soudaine à partir?" (2002: 165; my emphasis) 'Since this woman is still *inhabited* by the story of Zoulikha, why, then, this sudden rush to leave?' After the authorial intrusion to modify the meaning of "*habitée*", both narratorial and character's – Mina's – voices seem satisfied with the emergent new meaning, which is suggested through the repetition of a lexical item with similar positive connotations.

After the negotiation of its meaning, "habitée" is liberated of negative connotations. It acquires new positive connotations for women of postcolonial Algeria, represented by the narrator author and Zoulikha's daughters. Djebar

asserts the legitimacy of being haunted, or "*habitée*", by voices, and she repeats and reverses all the negative connotations that tradition has associated with it. To be haunted, or "*habitée*", the equivalent of "meskounates" in tradition, does not frighten the narrator-author and her friend Mina, and even less Hania, who, at the end of the novel, seems less anxious about being "*habitée*", as a consequence of liberating the voice which haunts her. Liberating the lexical item from negative connotations through an act of translation relying on negotiating meanings across languages and across cultures allows the oral to acquire new meanings. From "meskounates" to "*habitée*", to the legitimacy of being haunted suggested through the recurrence of the word "*habitée*" with positive connotations, new meanings emerge. A fundamental emergent meaning is emphasis on the legitimacy for women to speak their minds against the silence imposed by such traditional irrational taboos as those embedded in "meskounates" or being haunted, or "*habitée*" by a *djinn*.

Allowing the Arabic lexical item to acquire new meanings through contact with French is reciprocal to the liberation of women's voices. French language has been appropriated and reinvented to vibrate with Algerian orality, which has also acquired new meanings as the "haunting" metaphor shows.[3] The new meanings could liberate women's voices, which – as Hania's voice – have been tiny and low ("parole menue, basse") but which could gradually get liberated through negotiating meanings cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. The liberation of the oral through contact with French underlines the potentialities of *choosing* translingual practices to write the oral, of choosing a French text to recover the silenced oral voices.

While the use of FID has allowed the liberation of the oral through the negotiation of meanings across languages and across cultures, FID has also been used to represent "speaking" oral voices offering further possibilities of mutual influence between languages and further chances for transcultural connection and exchange.

Representing "speaking" voices

In texts presented as oral narratives, separated from written discourse by the heading "voice of …" followed by the name of a character focalizer approximate to a storyteller, the translingual shift is achieved through a FID marked by the doubling of voices. Here, the narrator's voice intrudes the oral narrative in the voice of the storyteller emphasizing the modification of the oral.

The example I propose to illustrate the translingual transformations with in oral narratives is a narrative told by Zohra Oudai. In the extract below, the

3 The lexical item "habitée" recurs in another novel with the new emergent meaning and the claim for voice against silence. See *Le Blanc de L'Algérie*, p. 56.

reader discovers Zohra as an excellent translingual storyteller, who could switch between languages, Arabic, Berber, and even French, which merge harmoniously in her oral narrative.

A cette époque-là, Zoulikha restait souvent avec moi au refuge. (Ce mot « refuge » est prononcé à la Française, mot étrange au milieu de ce parler en arabe populaire, gauchi par un accent particulier aux gens de ces montagnes plutôt berberophones. […]) Quand le commissaire politique (encore deux mots en français !) survenait, il notait par écrit tout ce que Zoulikha apportait. Ils écrivaient […] ici même, sur ma *meida* : cette table, si elle avait une âme, comme elle aurait parlé !… ” (2002: 82–83; last ellipsis in the original)	At that time, Zoulikha often stayed with me at the refuge. (This word “refuge” is pronounced in French, a strange word in the middle of this popular Arabic speech, warped by a particular accent to the people of these rather Berber-speaking mountains.) […] When the political officer (again! two words in French) would come by, he used to note down everything that Zoulikha had brought. They wrote […] here on my *meida*: this table, if it had a soul, how much would it speak…!

While the two parenthetical comments of the narrative commentary underscore the storyteller's ease in alternating between languages, the oral narrative of the extract offers excellent examples of switching languages. Importantly, Zohra's translingual shift apparent in the use of French words “refuge” “commissaire politique” pronounced with specific intonational markers underscore the modification of the oral, which generates new lexical structures. Additionally, the FID sentence “ici même, … parlé !…” marked by the doubling of voices – the voice of the storyteller and that of the narrator – offers other significant instances of Djebar's translingual practices. In this sentence, the narrator intrudes Zohra's narrative to transpose, then retranslate the lexical item *meida* (the Algerian word for a short-legged table with multiple uses). The Arabic lexical item is transposed in French, then retranslated into “cette table” as a substitute for the earlier translation “cette table basse” in an earlier narrative told by Zohra:

“Si cette table basse pouvait parler… Elle est le seul souvenir qu'il me reste de ma demeure incendiée. (Après un silence :) Quand Zoulikha venait au douar, elle apportait les médicaments, elle apportait la poudre, elle apportait l'argent ! …” (2002: 80; ellipsis in the original)	“If this coffee table could speak … It is the only memorial left of my burnt house. (After some time:) When Zoulikha came to the village, she used to bring medicines, she brought powder, she brought money! …”

Through this two-way translingual shift, characterized by movement between French and Algerian orality achieved through translating, transposing, and retranslating, better chances of communication are created. In the above extract, the cultural item "cette table basse" is a reminder of a burnt house and colonial violence in a translation focused on preserving the purity of the French language. As a consequence, Zohra's voice is hesitating, reluctant, and interrupted by silences, suggesting the impossibility of the recuperation of the forgotten and the impossibility of communication between the women who lived through the colonial turmoil – Zohra – and the women of postcolonial Algeria – the visitor collecting history. In the second translation, through the two-way translingual shift in "ma *meida*: cette table", the lexical item acquires a different function. It helps the storyteller to recover and reconcile with the past, and the translingual speaker is a happier storyteller as she could overcome both colonial violence and the deceptiveness of the present to focus on the recuperation of key moments of this past. This was a time when gender boundaries were dislocated, when both women and men were equally actively engaged in the decolonization struggle as suggested through the image of "le commissaire politique" writing down over "ma *meida*", what Zoulikha has brought. The politician registers the contribution of the female freedom fighter to the revolutionary struggle over the multi-tasking translingual *meida-table* which survived colonial violence.

Here, we may also emphasize that Djebar's translingual practices in oral narratives seem to reflect upon the switching of languages common in Algerian oral languages. Indeed, after contact with French due to the colonial presence in Algeria, many French words have been incorporated in the oral languages. These words are being used with special intonational peculiarities. One of these words is the word "table", which was incorporated in Algerian orality as another alternative for "meida", which is an appropriation from literary Arabic, yet pronounced with specific intonation. Two words travelling from two different languages to translate the same item for a people who might have lost their mother tongue word for this item. Yet, they appropriated two words and two languages to create new words so that they could communicate across languages and across cultures. To sum up, the two-way translingual shift achieved through FID representing voice generates new lexical structures and new meanings, which promote transcultural relations.

Conclusions

To conclude, the in-depth analysis of the use of language in one of Djebar's novels, focused on demonstrating the mutual influence between Algerian orality and French, has enabled us to explore linguistic as well as cultural transformations resulting from historical changes. Some major findings emerged out of this study.

First, contact between orality and French results in new meanings, new grammatical, syntactical, and lexical structures which underscore the mutual influence between the languages in contact. Selected passages from the novel under scrutiny show that French is modified by Algerian orality, which is equally modified by French. The texts achieve this mutual influence through a mix between direct, indirect, and free indirect discourses. FID allows the overlap between characters' and narrator's voices, allowing Algerian orality imbedded in characters' voices to modify the narrator's French while being modified by it. Such modifications noticed in the selected passages include the shift of pronominal reference, syntactical deviations, and the use of special typographical features in addition to the incorporation of Arabic lexical items.

Second, through this attempt to demonstrate the mutual influence between orality and French in a sample novel, the transformations evident in the text can be interpreted as justifying translingual rather than multilingual practices. Even if the generalization of such finding requires the examination of Djebar's other work, it is perhaps possible to say that the Arabic lexical items and the syntactic structures in Djebar's work can aim to achieve deeper relations than those achieved through multilingual practices. The latter treat languages additively as a "combination of separate languages", allowing no synergy between the layers of a resulting "palimpsest". Therefore, interpreting the presence of Arabic in Djebar's novels as structures added in Djebar's text to "deterritorialize" or to "reterritorialize" French oversimplifies the relation between orality and French in Djebar's work.

Third, reinvented through translingual practices relying on the mutual influence between languages, Djebar's French is sufficiently modified to promote transcultural connections. The latter are viable to promote communication in a postcolonial Algeria reduced to violence as a consequence of the language policies imposing linguistic purity on past and present. Such language policies cut all channels of communication between Algerians instructed towards a preference for Arabic, those who overemphasize the 'civilizing' value of French and those who want to reinvent a long-neglected Berber mother tongue.

Against homogeneity and linguistic purity, Djebar proposes the contact among "three languages" to write Algeria. Consequently, Djebar's choice to use a language which switches between "three languages" to resuscitate female voices and recover the past finds an adequate justification. Neither the language imposed by the colonizer nor the language imposed by the postcolonial leadership, not even the long-neglected Berber language could resuscitate those voices that have ever communicated through strategic negotiations across languages. Such a choice allows for the creation of cross-cultural commonalities that discourses of homogeneity and exclusion have always tried to crash and silence. To achieve her project of resuscitating the past and the female voice,

Djebar chooses a *qalam*, which, although held by "a hand of mutilation" (1993: 226) offered by the colonizer, is not bound by linguistic purity requirements. Djebar's linguistic choice creates channels of communication and coexistence to overcome homogeneity and exclusion using a three-lingual translingual *qalam* to write Algeria and its women.

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Representation of Immigrants in British and American Newspapers

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Abstract. One of the major functions newspapers have is that of (re)presenting reality for their readers and thus explain events and promote specific values; newspapers are multimodal texts, which resort both to language and images to convey their message. The paper analyses a British and a North American newspaper article and has two aims. Firstly, to investigate the strategies used by journalists to represent immigrants in a positive way and, secondly, to draw a comparative analysis between the articles in terms of these strategies. The theoretical part defines the concept of racism and the ways in which it is nowadays expressed and lists some of the strategies that are frequently used to present immigrants (such as topic, referential strategies, intensifying, extensivization, victimization, personalization, voices heard, argumentation, etc.) with the use of pictures. The second part identifies strategies used in these two articles. The conclusions present a comparison between them in terms of similarities (values upheld, type of argumentation) and differences (intensification and nomination strategies, quotation patterns).

Keywords: immigrants, racism, linguistic strategies, pictures.

1. Introduction

Newspapers have a social, political, and educational role. By being exposed to news, people try to understand and explain how events reported in the media relate to society as a whole and how these events can be interpreted. News is the report or recontextualization of an event since the treatment of any topic always depends on the way in which it is framed and on whose perspectives and opinions are presented. News, therefore, is not an objective representation of facts but a cultural construct that encodes fixed values; news is socially and culturally determined, being described as the partial, ideologically framed report of the event (Caldas Coulthard 2003: 273–274). As such, newspapers promote social and moral values, which they legitimate (Chibnall 1977).

Newspapers are multimodal ways of communication as they also convey their messages by means of visual elements, such as font size and photographs, whose colours, focus, and depth are significant (Kress–van Leeuwen 1996).

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Immigration

According to Wise, migration is the population movement "occasioned by the lack of proper living and working conditions, or life-threatening political and social conditions" (Wise 2010: 174). However, today, migration is defined as "a conflation of forced and economic migration" (Philo–Briant–Donald 2013: 3). On the one hand, immigrants are considered as a burden for the host country because they are said to take the jobs of the host country's citizens, to increase the criminality rate, to be unable to adapt. On the other hand, they are believed to represent an advantage for the economy of the host country as they do the hard jobs for less money, do the jobs that the citizens of the host country do not want, pay taxes and, by bringing their own traditions, customs, mentalities, and arts, they also make a cultural contribution. Moreover, they send money home, thus increasing the living standard in the poorer countries while politically they strengthen the ties between the home and the host countries. These two contradictory perspectives are reflected in mass media, which have portrayed immigrants in two extreme ways – as a threat or opportunity.

2.2. Racism

Racism is defined as a "system of ethnic or racial dominance […] or systematic power abuse" over other kinds of groups, such as ethnic minorities, immigrants, or refugees (Van Dijk 2011: 15). It is also described as the illegitimate exercise of power resulting in social inequality, which involves the exclusive or preferential access to, or control over, scarce social resources, such as residence, housing, employment, health care, income, status, knowledge, and respect (van Dijk 2008). The system of ethnic domination has two major dimensions: social and cognitive. The former consists of everyday social practices of discrimination – exclusion from or being provided with limited access to social resources or human rights; the latter consists of the ethnic beliefs, stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies which justify these discriminatory practices; thus, newspapers represent one way in which the cognitive dimension is achieved (van Dijk 2008). In Europe, since the 80s, openly expressed racism has become "politically incorrect", but it has found other ways of expression: the negative views of socially oppressed

groups are presented as reasonable or justified based on objective facts coming from the speakers' own experience, who are thus protected against the charge of being prejudiced or racist (Barker 1981). There are heated debates within the academic literature as to what precisely counts as racist (van den Berg–Houtkoop-Steenstra–Wetherell 2003), and it has been claimed that what can be interpreted as racism is actually political or ideological conservatism (Sniderman–Tetlock 1986). Conversely, the denial of the existence of racism and prejudice has been interpreted as indicating racist views.

2.3. Linguistic strategies

Wodak (2009: 40) defines strategy as "a (more or less accurate and more or less intentional) plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal", to support a particular view of an event, situation, or group of people. The list below includes some of the most frequently used linguistic strategies that are used to present immigrants in newspapers in either a positive or a negative way:

– topic or subject of the article (van Dijk 1991);

– lexicalization, terms that are frequently used in order to influence the readers to adopt a particular attitude (van Dijk 2000);

– categorization, labels used for identification;

– roles assigned, the position of the person described; migrants are usually passive, being presented as a threat or burden;

– perspectivation, the means by which speakers express their involvement in discourse and the point of view in reporting, describing, narrating, or quoting (Wodak 2009);

– referential or nomination strategies, the ways in which social actors are constructed and represented; they include the use of metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches (Reisigl–Wodak 2001);

– predicational strategies, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates; predicational strategies cannot be neatly separated from nomination ones (Reisigl–Wodak 2001);

– intensifying and mitigation strategies, which qualify and modify the epistemic status (Wodak 2009: 20);

– quotation patterns, the voices that are or are not heard in a text (van Dijk 2009);

– argumentation strategies, which can resort to ethos (the arguer presenting him/herself as a particular type of person), pathos or emotion (aiming to influence the audiences' emotions), and logos (appeals to reason);

– topoi, parts of the explicit or inferable premise in argumentation; several kinds of topoi have been identified such as advantage/usefulness, danger/threat,

definition/name-interpretation, burdening/weighing down, law/right, culture, abuse, and authority (Reisigl–Wodak 2001: 75);

– personalization/impersonalization, emphasis or lack of emphasis on particular features of individuals (Khosravinik 2010: 7);

– metaphors, used to make abstract or complex meanings more concrete and understandable (van Dijk 2009);

– victimization, focus on an individual's fears or struggles presented in such a way as to arouse the readers' sympathy (Koshravinik 2010: 20);

– extensivization, the detailed presentation of horrible or tragic events in which an individual is involved (Koshravinik 2010: 22).

The British and the American articles are analysed below based on the following strategies: topic, lexicalization, nomination strategies, quotation patterns, individualization, victimization, and extensivization (the last one being opposed to detailed presentations of people and their situation). The aim is to identify similarities and differences between the two articles; this analysis represents a starting point which could be further expanded into a content analysis with a view to generalizing positive ways of representing immigrants in British and North American newspapers.

3. Article analysis

The two articles studied below are taken from the on-line editions of *The Independent* and *The Washington Post*. The British article is entitled *Finsbury Park mosque terror attack: Victim Makram Ali's family describe trauma of losing "peaceful" grandfather*, written by Lizzie Dearden and uploaded on 2 February 2018. The second article is entitled *I can't take that place. An Arizona family struggles with a mother's deportation*, written by Samantha Schmidt and uploaded on 2 February 2017. These texts were selected because they deal with immigrants, the journalists adopt a similar position, and were published at a rather short interval one after the other.

3.1. Analysis of the British article

The topic of the article is the terrorist attack mounted on the Muslim community in Finsburk Park by Darren Osborn. Actually, this article is part of a longer series which describes the event, the trial, the reaction of the victim's family, Muslim community, and officials.

Makram Ali went to pray at the mosque and, before reaching it, he fell down in the street; the other community members gathered around him to help; at this moment Darren Osborne drove into the crowd around Makram Ali, killing him

and injuring several other people. The journalist's position is sympathetic to the victim and to the Muslim community.

In terms of referential strategies, Makram Ali is described as a family man – husband, father of six, and grandfather of two: "The beloved 'family man' lived with his wife nearby and had six children and two grandchildren" (Dearden 2018). The family "has tragically lost a husband, father and grandfather" (Dearden 2018). He is a "peaceful grandfather", a "quiet and gentle man, who was loved and respected by all those he knew", a "peaceful and simple man", who "had no bad thoughts for anyone", a "sincere and warm person", "always full of laughter and immense love for his family", a man who "lived his life without enemies" (Dearden 2018).

The effects of Makram Ali's death on his family are presented in detail: one of his daughters is "struggling not to fall apart" (Dearden 2018) under the weight of her grief, his wife is too scared to leave the house, and one of his grandchildren keeps asking about his grandfather as he cannot understand why he is missing.

He is presented as a victim – in the headline, the first word used to describe him is victim and only then comes his name, "Victim Makram Ali" –, and his death is described in strong words – he "died of 'catastrophic' internal injuries caused by being run over" (Dearden 2018). The article provides a gradual perspective on the murder – moving from a narrower perspective (family and community) to a wider one (government).

The terrorist attack has affected the Muslim community in many ways: the people hurt in the attack are depicted as innocent victims, helpless people, who have no bad intentions. They are described in detail: "the victims injured by Mr. Osborne included men and women of all ages, a group of deaf people and a man who was knocked out of his wheelchair" (Dearden 2018). The Muslim community is affected not only physically but also emotionally: some are severely wounded – "sustaining life-changing injuries" –, others cannot overcome the memory – they have recurring flashbacks, nightmares and trauma, which leave them "unable to sleep and in constant fear", and a few victims have lost their jobs as a result of "physical and mental toll" (Dearden 2018). They are afraid for themselves and their children, do not want to leave their house, and fear attacks because of the mere reason of being Muslims. The ordeal continues during the trial too, described as traumatic, "grueling", and bringing back painful memories.

The opposition of victim vs aggressor is strongly emphasized in the article in several ways: the victims are peaceful, kind, honest, and compassionate, while the aggressor is driven by hate and does not assume responsibility for his crime. This contrast is stressed by the words of one of the Muslim victims who was hit by the van while trying to help Makram Ali; Sharij Xamza states: "it was human to help another human – and then you too become a victim of attack" (Dearden 2018).

However, the community is strong and supportive of their members: they do not yield to the impulse of punishing the attacker themselves but defer him to

justice, are determined to continue living a normal life, fighting victimization and violence, and offering to the police "tremendous support and understanding" (Dearden 2018).

Another perspective offered is that of the British authorities: the police, the Court, and the Home Secretary, who speak on behalf of the British government; their attitude indicates compassion for the victims and determination to see justice served. The article is a combination of facts and quotations, leaving the impression of utter objectivity, but actually they are all supporting the Muslim community.

The voice of Makram Ali's daughter is often heard as she speaks about her father. Other sources quoted in the newspapers are: Sharij Xamza, one of the victims, lawyer Dushal Mehta, who praises the Muslim community and describes their reaction to the attack, Justice Cheema-Grubb, who praises the victim and criticizes the terrorist act, Commander Dean Haydon, Head of the Department of Counter Terrorism in the Metropolitan Police, who expresses his appreciation for the support received during the investigation from the family and the community, and finally Amber Rudd, Home Secretary, who states the government will protect the British way of life against terrorism.

The British officials' quotes include modals and vague words such as *must* or *whatever*. Commander Dean Haydon states: "I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Ali's family and the local community in Finsbury Park, for their tremendous support and understanding with our investigation during what must have been an extremely difficult time for them" (Dearden 2018), where the use of *must* may indicate logical deduction. Similarly, the Home Secretary states the Government's position, which will be of "combating all forms of terrorism, whatever the underlying motivation" (Dearden 2018) – an adverbial clause of concession, which mitigates the cause of this particular attack.

The type of argumentation is a combination of appeals to feeling as the situation is presented from the point of view of the family and Muslim community and appeals to logic as the article provides facts and quotations. The values upheld in this article are love (for the family), peacefulness, legality, moderation, and cooperation for the Muslim community, while legality, cooperation, order, constructiveness, openness, honesty, rationality, impartiality, and fairness for the authorities. They are opposed to the attacker's values which are linked to illegality, extremism, dogmatism, chaos, intolerance, destructiveness, and irrationality.

The pictures[1] related to the family, the community, and British official institutions support and enhance the message of the article. The first picture is of the victim's family making a statement outside the court. The colours are dark, suggesting grief, and the man and two women look downwards or sideways, not

1 Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/finsbury-park-mosque-attack-victim-makram-ali-terror-grandfather-loss-trauma-osborne-darren-terror-a8191731.html (last accessed on 28 September 2018).

into the readers' eyes, which indicates pain. The next picture is of the police on the night of the attack, and it is part of a set of 14 pictures which can be read as the visual narrative of the attack; others present the Muslim community's reaction – a young man with raised hands, which can signify that what he sees is painful and difficult to understand, pictures of the Muslim community praying on the sidewalk, Londoners of other ethnicities, all deeply affected and shocked by the attack. The last picture in the article is of Makram Ali, who appears to be quiet and peaceful, as his family and friends describe him. Like the other members of his family, he does not look forward but sideways, which may indicate lack of connection with the readers. The colours are soft and restrained.

In conclusion, the article uses as main strategies individualization (as Makram Ali is presented in detail), victimization (the family's and the community's struggle), perspectivization (family, community, and British officials – all in favour of the Muslim community), intensification (the effects of the attack on the family and community are amply depicted), and extensivation (the family's and community's tragic losses). The type of argumentation is a mixture of feeling and reason.

3.2. Analysis of the US article

The topic of the article is the deportation of Guadalupe Garcia de Rayos and its effects on her family. The referential strategies indicate that Guadalupe Garcia de Rayos is first of all a mother and a wife. It is worth noticing that the indefinite article *an* is used in the headline and in the body of the article: "*An* Arizona family", "*a* mother's deportation" (Schmidt 2017), which suggests that this is a case similar to many others.

Guadalupe Garcia de Rayos is presented as a caring wife and loving mother whose main concern is to provide a good home to her family. She is sometimes referred to as "Lupita" by her husband or very frequently as "mother" by her children. She is a humble, hard-working woman, deeply religious, honest, and selfless – she works as a volunteer at church carnivals. The last part of the article presents a different side of Garcia de Rayos, namely no longer through the eyes of her family but as an independent individual; interviewed after her deportation to Mexico, she states that she feels sad when she thinks of her family being without her, but, on the other hand, she would not have changed anything. She declares that given the choice of missing an appointment with the legal authorities or attending it and run the risk of being deported, she decided to go and was thus deported: she says "it was the right thing to do, even if it had consequences" (Schmidt 2017). She assumes responsibility for her actions and has the strength to reconsider her position from a wider perspective, talking about herself as one of the many Mexicans in the same situation. "I knew they could have arrested me. But this was as much for me as it was for everyone else" (Schmidt 2017).

Garcia de Rayos's husband and children are presented as deeply affected by her deportation: her husband is afraid that he cannot take proper care of the children and cannot take his wife's place in the relation with their daughter, a 14-year-old girl, who at this age needs her mother near her: "He worries most about Jacqueline, barely on the cusp of womanhood, a time in her life when she most needs the advice of a mother" (Schmidt 2017). Angel, the 16-year-old son, admits he cannot focus at school sometimes, while the daughter tries to be brave and hide her sorrow in public, but when she is alone she cries and completely loses control. The lexical field suggests sorrow and worry from its very beginning, as indicated by words such as silent and empty: "The house was nearly silent as the father stood in the empty kitchen" (Schmidt 2017).

The family's position is presented as opposed to the official one. The children grieve for their mother and have to restructure their lives now that she is no longer with them, while Garcia de Rayos is officially considered a criminal. "People like their mother apparently weren't welcome here. As a country reevaluated its position on undocumented immigrants, they would have to reevaluate a life without the one who mattered most to them" (Schmidt 2017).

The same opposition is further discussed in the article – Garcia de Rayos's case has become famous, and supporters of harsh illegal immigration law consider that her crime, that of having forged a false social security card, should be punished; moreover, they state that Garcia de Rayos has been turned into a "political martyr". Again, the official position is contrasted to that of the family: "[b]ut to her husband and children, Garcia de Rayos is no criminal. She made up her Social Security number to help provide for the kids, her husband says, a choice many undocumented immigrants resort to across the country" (Schmidt 2017). The linguistic structures used are antonymic, as indicated by the parallel structures and the use of *but*.

There are three levels in the article – the first is the family, the second the Mexican community, where many members face very similar situation, and the third one is related to the US immigration laws. The Mexican community is presented as undergoing a difficult period, as they are afraid of the increasingly harsh immigration rules and of the way these are enforced; the adjective used to describe their situation is "re-traumatizing", indicating continuous suffering. They resort to the community for support and attend meetings on human rights in an attempt to identify ways to protect themselves.

The third level is the political one; the journalist does not openly criticize US immigration rules and President Trump's most recent regulations, but the framing and the quotations do. Thus, the article states that the US immigration rules were unevenly enforced, which "alienated both the country's citizens and the customs officers" (Schmidt 2017) and resulted in desperate situations such as the one presented in the article. The journalist supports a more individual

enforcement of law against undocumented immigrants; the ones "living in the country productively" (Schmidt 2017) should benefit from a different treatment. A more open critique is made by the comparison between Joe Arpaio, the former sheriff of Maricopa County, an officer famous for the strictness of his raids, and President Trump, who entertains a similar attitude and who is called "Arpaio in the White House" (Schmidt 2017). The SB 1070 law, which states that it is the police's responsibility to establish the status of the arrested person, is described as "hotly contested", while Garcia de Rayos is described as "a nonviolent offender" who forged the papers to help to support her family.

All the sources quoted in the article represent the Mexican perspective. The family members are very often quoted directly, thus making the readers understand and sympathize with them. Other voices heard in the article are those of Francisca Porchas and Natally Cruz, leaders of a Phoenix group that fights for immigrants' rights. They comment on the opposition between the personal and official positions: "The sad part about it [undocumented immigrants being advised how to fight for their rights] is that we're going to find out how it works but lose people in the process" (Schmidt 2017).

The arguments brought in this article mainly appeal to feelings as they describe the difficulties undergone by the entire family and by the community but also to reason as the story seems to be told objectively. The values upheld in the article are tolerance, compassion, and family relations. One of the main strategies is extensivization as the effects of the mother's absence on the family are presented in detail and intensification, as indicated by the use of words such as "traumatizing", "high level of anxiety", "lose people", and "we're destroyed" (Schmidt 2017).

The pictures[2] suggest the idea that the family is trying to cope with their new life but apparently cannot. The first picture in the article is of the incomplete family – the father and the two children under a painting of the Virgin Mary. The father is sitting between the two children, with his arms around his daughter's shoulder, suggesting a protective stance. Another picture is of the family with the mother in the middle, an indication of her important part in the family – she holds the child, and the husband is very close to her; above their head is a starred sky, which indicates that the family is deeply religious. The last but one photo in the article shifts the emphasis from the family to the community – the photo presents a meeting of the Mexican community discussing ways of protecting themselves against immigration rules. Most of the people in the picture are with the back towards the reader, which may be interpreted as a severed connection with the town where they live.

2 Available at: https://www. washingtonpost. com/national/i-cant-take-that-place-an-arizona-family-struggles-with-a-mothers-deportation/2017/02/27/e0b0d0de-fa0e-11e6-bf01-d47f8cf9b643_story.html?utm_term=. a17da5a02534 (last accessed on 28 September 2018).

The main strategies used in this article are intensification (as indicated by the adjectives used to present the effects of Garcia de Rayos's deportation on her family), extensivization (the detailed presentation of these effects), and victimization (the unjust way Garcia de Rayos is treated by US authorities).

4. Conclusions

Both articles offer a positive representation of immigrants as they describe the hardships these communities go through: the British article depicts a terrorist attack against the Muslims, while the US article presents the consequences of enforcing the US recent immigration law on the Mexican community. Both articles provide a very detailed account of the situation, with intensification strategies used more frequently in the UK article.

The nomination strategies are slightly different – more official in the British newspaper and less official in the US one. In both articles, the victims are presented as having important family roles – parent, spouse, grandfather –, and all the characters are presented as people living very similar lives to that of the readers so that the readers can identify with them easily.

In both articles, the movement is from the individual perspective, which is described in the largest part of the article, to the community, and then to the official one. The individual and the official levels are presented as being in contradiction in the US article, which is also critical of the immigrants' current situation.

The quotation pattern is different as more sources are quoted in the British newspaper. The journalists' positions are distinct – in the British article, the official point of view is fully supported, while in the US it is admitted that laws should be enforced but taking into account individual situations and adopting a more humane approach. Both articles represent a combination of appeals to feeling and reason, with a stronger sentimental tendency in the US one, therefore a slightly different type of argumentation.

The comparative analysis of the pictures indicates that the message of both articles is strengthened by the use of photographs. The ones in the UK newspaper point to the individual features of the Muslim community in terms of clothes and traditions – one of the pictures is of Muslims praying in the street; generally, the colours are dark. The photographs in the US article suggest more regular activities and things: a family's house, objects, and routines. The colours are bright and the people are sometimes smiling, which suggests a more humane and compassionate attitude.

Overall, the US article adopts a more personal approach, appeals more to feelings, and has a more critical attitude of the authorities.

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"Borders" in the Writing of Academic Texts: Investigating Informativeness in Academic Journal Abstracts

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Abstract: When researchers write academic journal abstracts, they need to meet the requirements of the publisher, which may very well mean that they need to be aware of "the meaning and functions of borders" within which their work is presented in this type of academic text. This paper reports on an investigation of the use of vague language (VL) and IMRaD moves (Introduction, Method, Results, and Discussion) showing the degree of informativeness of academic journal abstracts published in the "Bulletin of Transilvania University" of Braşov between 2010 and 2017. The areas of research these articles focus on range from linguistics and literature to business studies, medicine, and engineering. The analysis of the data, based on Cutting's (2012) analytical framework, revealed that abstract authors use vague language (e.g.: "universal general nouns" and "research general nouns") and that their abstracts mostly consist of introduction, method, and discussion moves. Results of similar research into the writing of article abstracts may be informative for both novice academic text writers and expert writers guiding their work.

Keywords: vague language, IMRaD moves, degree of informativeness, universal general nouns, research general nouns.

1. Introduction

Academic discourse appears to be a common concern for research in many areas of English studies. In most of the more modern studies in this field, researchers focus on the social function of academic writing since such texts seem to involve interactions between writers and readers (Hyland 2004). Writers and readers of academic texts are members of scientific communities of practice, and the language they have in common may sometimes have specific characteristics. In

this respect, in the recent years, there has been a growing interest among language researchers in vague language (VL) in academic written discourse. Despite the relatively large number of studies examining the use of vague language in English written academic discourse, there are not very many studies investigating this issue in relation to scientific paper abstracts and even less focusing on the Romanian context. This study, therefore, is an attempt to bridge such a gap.

Before dealing with some definitions of vague language which I am drawing on in the analysis of the data I will present further on, I need to say that "[v]agueness is present in a great deal of language use, and (…) therefore a complete theory of language must have vagueness as an integral component" (Channell 1994: 5). In the same line of thought, the author adds that in the literature "[t]here appear to have been two contradictory points of view: one that vagueness in language is a bad thing, the other, that it is a good thing". My discussion in this paper starts from the premise that vague language is a good thing, and it is very much worth examining.

2. Vague language (VL): Definitions

This section is an attempt at defining the concept of vague language. This is purposefully "an attempt" because there seems to be "more than one perception and definition of vague language (VL), and […] it can have an informal, socially cohesive function" (Cutting 2007: 3). Thus, according to Channell (1994: 193), since "[a]ny social group sharing interests and knowledge employs non-specificity in talking about their shared interest", this "non-specificity", i.e. VL, can be understood as a central characteristic of the use of both written and spoken language in daily life. Channell (1994: 20) also affirms that an expression or word is vague if "(a) it can be contrasted with another word or expression which appears to render the same proposition; (b) it is purposely and unabashedly vague or (c) the meaning arises from intrinsic uncertainty".

Lack of precision and fuzziness are characteristics of VL that Cutting (2012: 284) also focuses on in her definition. In this author's words, "… vague language (VL) [is] defined as forms that are intentionally fuzzy, general, and imprecise … and are heavily dependent on shared contextual knowledge for their meaning". The other important feature of VL, which is clear in her view, is its dependence on both the writer's/speaker's and reader's/listener's common knowledge of the context.

In a similar line of thought, Trappes-Lomax (2007: 122) contends that users and receivers of VL do so on purpose in order to give their understanding of what actually happens in the process of communication, the degree of preciseness that is necessary for the interaction to be meaningful without unnecessary detail. He, therefore, states that "an instance of VL [is] any *purposive* choice of language designed to make the degree of *accuracy, preciseness, certainty or clarity* with

which a referent or situation (event, state, process) is described *less* than it might have been" (my emphasis).

3. Vague language (VL): Forms and functions

While the definition of VL seems to be a matter of fine-tuning among specialists in the field, so do their efforts to agree on a taxonomy of the various types of VL. This may be because, in Drave's (2001: 26) terms, they "share the property of propositional imprecision".

Any discussion of VL would not be complete if the name of Channell (1983, 1985, 1990, 1994) and her work in the domain were not mentioned. Her work on the use of VL in both spoken and written language has been inspirational for many other researchers. Drave (2001: 26), for example, adopts Channell's analytical framework in his investigation of intercultural conversations. He describes the following types of VL: number approximations such as "*about* 12, 5 *or* 6". Here he mentions a "sub-category of 'partial specifiers' [that] indicates that the approximation is either more or less than the named figure, e.g. *at least* 20, *under* 100". The next category is that of non-numerical vague quantifiers, and the author states that here "[v]agueness is indicated by vague words or phrases rather than by using numbers e.g. *several* people, *a lot of* books". Vague category markers represent another category of VL, and they consist of vague "tag[s]" added to lexical items in order to show that such items are examples of the category itself. Drave exemplifies with "fish *or something*, lectures *and so on*". The final category this author defines is that of "placeholder words", whose role is to replace words with a more specific meaning. His examples are "*thing*, *stuff*".

Cutting (2012: 284) also reviews various works on VL and claims that it seems that researchers' interest in the area of VL in written academic English resides mainly in vague quantifiers and hedging devices; general nouns and general extenders ("list completers") have also been the focus of some research, whereas general verbs and indefinite pronouns appear to have attracted less attention.

In this paper, I adopt Cutting's (2012) analytical framework, the investigation of the types of VL, and their functions in analysis of the data in the corpus this paper reports on. This author deals with several categories of VL in her work on conference abstracts. Here, I only give details on those types of VL described in the literature (see, for example: Kennedy 1987, Channell 1994, Ruzaite 2004, Cutting 2012).

Thus, *vague quantifiers* are seen as being used as a matter of convenience when language users feel that more precision is not necessary. Cutting's (2012: 285) examples are "'*about 30 subjects', 'around 18 million', 'a great deal of time', 'a number of samples*'". The category of *hedging devices* is represented by language

items which are primarily used by language users to show their "commitment to the truth value of their proposition". To exemplify, the author states that "[s]uch hedges are: catenatives (verbs taking non-finite complements, e.g.: *appear to, suggest that*), modal operators (*might*), and modal nouns (*probability*), adjectives (*likely*) or adverbs (*possibly*)". These types of VL were also the focus of research by Hyland (1996) and Salager-Meyer (1994).

Finally, I will give some more attention to the category of general nouns which was best represented in the data analysed in this study. Halliday–Kirkwood–Hasan (1976) consider that they are "dummy" nouns such as *thing, people*, and *place*. For Mahlberg (2005), general nouns are high-frequency nouns whose meaning is related to the functions of texts or to co-text. In Cutting's work (2007: 224), [t]he general nouns … are ones that are not lexically cohesive and they refer to a specific entity known by speaker and hearer", or writer and reader in the case of written academic writing. Moreover, she considers that this category of vague nouns can have two sub-divisions: "universal general nouns as: *feature(s), factor(s), issue(s)*" and "research general nouns" such as: "*aim, research, analysis, method*" (2012). The author also states that in her research on conference abstracts both universal general nouns and research general nouns are either pre- or post-modified or both, which does not necessarily make their meaning less vague. Here are some examples she gives to this effect: "*significantly better performance*" or "*aspects of meaning*" (2012, emphasis in the original).

A review of the literature of VL suggests that there are two major *functions* of various forms of VL, i.e. to provide textual cohesion and to show membership of a community of practice. Firstly, Cutting (2012: 285) shows that the provision of textual cohesion is mainly a function of general nouns "which gain meaning from cohesion". A major function of general words is to provide textual cohesion. Similarly, Aktas–Cortes (2008) agree that general nouns gain meaning from cohesion and call them 'shell nouns' since they both enclose and anticipate the surrounding text. Flowerdew (2003) names these nouns 'signalling nouns' and explains that they signal a relationship with the surrounding text. Ivanic (1991: 109) also deals with VL and explains that such language is "imbued with both a constant dictionary meaning and a variable specific meaning, dependent on the context". She observes that "on occasion a meaning cannot be recovered from the surrounding discourse". The study I am reporting on here focuses on those general nouns which gain their meaning from textual cohesion.

Secondly, the other major function of VL is to show membership of a community of practice, i.e. it has an interpersonal function. This is discussed below from the perspective of Cutting's (2012: 285) work on conference abstracts and in relation to what she calls: "hedging devices whose functions may be: *courtesy, modesty, caution*" and "non-hedging devices whose functions may be: *convenience, self-defence, power*, and *anticipation*" (emphasis in the original). Briefly, according to

this author, the hedging function of "courtesy" is present in writing, which shows that writers are "certain of their assertions but choose to use either positive or negative politeness strategies out of respect for the assumed prior knowledge of the audience". The function of "modesty" characterizes the work of those authors who "are certain of their assertions" but prefer "to hedge by using an imprecise reference to display humility in order to minimise the threat to their own face". The third hedging function that Cutting (2012: 285) details is "caution". In this situation, the researcher refers to her work on conference abstracts and claims that writers' use of VL "can express tentativeness about inconclusive data, which may be the case when hedging is the strongest claim a careful researcher can make – VL is used to honestly express scientific scepticism and doubt". In the larger category of the non-hedging functions of VL, the first one described by Cutting is that of "convenience", which shows that authors may use VL "possibly because they feel that further precision would not contribute substantially to their argument". Next, "self-defence" is a function which points to the author's move to avoid precision in order to "minimise the threat to their own face".

One very interesting function of VL is that of exerting "power", which is a function that is quite the opposite of hedging. In this area, the seminal work of Fairclough (1989: 82–83) must be mentioned. This author states that "texts that exert an influence over the reader impose implicit assumptions upon the audience by encouraging them to bring the same assumptions to the process of interpretation". And finally on the functions of VL in academic writing: the last of the non-hedging functions described by Cutting (2012: 285) – "anticipation" – appears to fit well with the "promissory nature" of academic journal abstracts I deal with in this paper. This is so because authors may use VL because they "prefer not to talk in detail about their results [and] they do not want to give away the denouement of their study", and in this way they wish to rouse the curiosity of the reader leafing through an academic journal.

4. IMRaD structure of academic journal article abstracts

If the pervious sections have dealt with the first major perspective from which I investigate academic journal abstracts, i.e. the use of VL, in this section, I focus on the structure of these texts based on what representatives of the literature in the field (Kaplan et al. 1994, Swales–Feak 2009, Cutting 2012) discuss as IMRaD structure. IMRaD, therefore, is considered to be a norm for the structure of an academic text such as a journal abstract. It focuses on the organization of the content of the text and stipulates that there are sections, or "moves", in such texts which authors need to abide by in order for their abstracts to meet the required "degree of informativeness in terms of the referential explicitness of

academic text" (Cutting 2012). In other words, IMRaD structure is meant to set certain "borders" within which academic texts are placed. Moreover, since the abstract supposed to function as an autonomous text, the "moves" it consists of are: the Introduction, in which a reader should find the context of the study the author reports on, its aims, and a very brief literature review which places the work in the area it belongs to. In the Method move, the author "explains how the data was collected and analysed". The Results move "provides summaries of findings". Finally, the Discussion move "offers interpretations, implications, and applications" (2012: 284).

5. Data in this study and corpus

The data corpus investigated in this study consists of a number of 2,349 academic journal article abstracts. The source of these data was the electronic version of the Bulletin of Transilvania University of Braşov, Romania, Series I to IX, Nos 1 and 2 published between 2010 and 2017. The language of this version of scientific publication is English. The areas of research the Bulletin focuses on and the number of abstracts collected from each series are: Series I – Engineering sciences (272 abstracts), Series II – Forestry. Wood industry. Agricultural food engineering (229 abstracts), Series III – Mathematics. Informatics. Physics (230 abstracts), Series IV – Philology and cultural studies (241 abstracts), Series V – Economic sciences (467 abstracts), Series VI – Medical sciences (202 abstracts), Series VII – Social sciences and law (350 abstracts), Series VIII – Performing arts (174 abstracts), and Series IX – Sciences of human kinetics (184 abstracts).

These data are analysed in what follows from the two perspectives detailed in the previous sections of this paper: a) use of vague language and b) degree of informativeness in terms of IMRaD moves.

6. Data analysis

In what follows, I discuss the forms and functions of VL identified in the data and the IMRaD organization of the academic journal abstracts this study investigates. The paper addresses the following questions:

1. What are the forms and functions of VL identified in the corpus?
2. What is the distribution of IMRaD moves in the abstract corpus?
3. How are IMRaD moves and forms and functions of VL related?

Besides setting the boundaries of this study, the first two questions are aimed at guiding the analysis of the data in terms of both the identification and discussion of forms and functions of VL and the examination of the abstracts in the corpus

from the perspective of the distribution of the moves that may or may not give them the required degrees of informativeness such a text is supposed to offer to interested readers. Question three, on the other hand, directs attention towards the presence or absence of VL in the four moves these abstracts may consist of.

6.1. Vague language (VL) forms and functions: This study

In this section, the analysis focuses on forms and functions of VL, and the examples discussed here come from article abstracts published in some of the nine series of the Bulletin of Transilvania University of Braşov. In the examples below, vague structures are bolded, and at the end of each abstract extract, in between round brackets, the name of the bulletin series is mentioned.

That both speakers and writers use vague language is common knowledge. In Cutting's words (2007: 6), this is the use of "intentional vagueness, which occurs by choice". It is the abstract authors' "choice" to use VL that is exemplified and discussed below. However, from the beginning of this discussion, mention needs be made that when it comes to the types of VL identified in this study, while the categories of vague quantifiers and hedging devices are not very much noticeable, those of universal general nouns and research general nouns pervade most of the abstracts in the corpus.

The examples below are of abstract authors' use of vague quantifiers:

> (1) Which choice is to be considered adequate is to be discussed on the basis of **several** theoretical points of view appropriate to the field of translation criticism. (Philology and Cultural Studies: Language and Linguistics)

> (2) Histological study of muscle and bone in the same patient shows a clear lesion parallelism, proving that **some** of the blame for the production of the fracture falls upon the muscle and bone. (Medical Sciences)

> (3) Satellite images are taken with a wide variety of sensors placed on platforms at altitudes between 400 and 950 km. They are characterized by **a number** of elements specific to each satellite program amongst which the most important are resolution (spatial, spectral, radiometric, temporal), setting size, applications where records can be used, the image cost. (Forestry)

As already stated, in this corpus, very few such instances of use of vague quantifiers ("several", "some", and "a number of" in the examples above) were identified, and their functions appear to be either "convenience" or "caution" (Cutting 2012). Convenience then, a non-hedging function, indicates that authors

may show that further precision would not contribute to their arguments. Caution, on the other hand, is a hedging function showing that the author expresses tentativeness about their research and honestly expresses scepticism and doubt.

An interesting case here is the use of "at least" in example (4) below. This is a "partial specifier" (Channell 1994) indicating that authors use it to state that the named figure is either more or less than it actually shows. The functions of such a quantifier may again be caution.

> (4) The Ahlfors Q-regular spaces are a natural setting for the theory of quasiconformal mappings since in these spaces the three definitions of quasiconformality in Euclidean spaces of dimension **at least** two, can be formulated, but they are not equivalent.

Examples (5) and (6) illustrate authors' use of hedging devices:

> (5) Also, empirical approaches in the skylines design process **may** lead to poor technical solutions with repercussions both on work safety as well as on the installation maintenance. (Forestry)

> (6) What could we **possibly** learn from a 70 year correspondence from the years of the Second World War, when the course of subsequent history has already been known? The sociologist is interested in seeing how an event unfolds, how it generates other actions, how the actors are driven by, what their strategies are and how they interact. (Social Sciences)

In the two examples above, the hedging devices ("may" – a modal operator and "possibly" – an adverb) are used to qualify the authors' commitment to the truth value of their claims. Their functions may be either modesty in that the authors prefer to hedge in order to show humility and to minimize the threat to their own face or caution, which indicates that the authors show they are responsible and honest researchers and express some scientific doubt in relation to the quality of technical solutions in Example (4) or the implications of sociological research in Example (5).

Next, in the examination of VL forms and their functions, this section deals with the two categories of general nouns detailed by Cutting (2012), i.e. universal general nouns and research general nouns. These two types of vague language are best represented throughout the journal article abstract corpus under examination in this paper. The universal general nouns most often used in this corpus in either their singular or plural forms were: *feature(s)*, *factors*, *context*, *practices*, *implications*, *actions*, *activities*, *feature(s)*, *situation(s)*, *resource(s)*, *aspect(s)*, and *effect(s)*. On the other hand, the research general nouns most favoured by

the authors were: *aim*, *study*, *research*, *data*, *analysis*, *finding(s)*, *result(s)*, *project*, *investigation*, *method*, *methodology*, *objective*, *procedure*, and *conclusion*. A large proportion of both universal general nouns and research general nouns identified in the corpus have a variety of either pre-head modifiers or post-head modifiers or both, which seem to serve nouns to gain little meaning or to limit the categories of meaning, and thus they remain relatively vague. Both categories of general nouns examined here collocate with such verbs as *demonstrate*, *indicate*, *obtain*, *include*, or *show*. Below, there are two examples of the use of universal general nouns.

> (7) Retirement, the dissolution of the social network, the essential rearrangement of the "marriage nest" are the **causing factors** of the change or loss of identity during the third age, which can lead to the perception of senior citizens' lives in a way that is totally different from what is considered to be normal from a social point of view. (Social Sciences)

> (8) The most important **usability aspects of integrating** such a sensing dimension to modern vacuum cleaners have been explored in this paper, along with a trivial implementation, to assure the portability and compactness of the cleaning appliances. (Engineering Sciences)

In Example (7) (and in most of the corpus), the pre-head modifier simply limits the category of meaning, which gives the noun a relatively vague sense. Readers have to conclude from the co-text what these *factors* are. Here the function may be convenience or anticipation. In (8), there is an example of general noun having a post-head modifier, which seems to equate to partitives with a support function. Importantly, the authors of all abstracts in this corpus used general nouns in similar ways.

A clearly distinguishing feature of the academic journal abstracts examined in this study is their quite high density of what Cutting (2012) calls "research general nouns". The research general nouns most frequently present in the data were exemplified above. Examples (9) and (10) below contain research general nouns whose functions may be convenience (in 9) because the author addresses a reader who is presumably knowledgeable in the area of research methodology and anticipation (in 10) since the pre-head modifier *additional* does not make the noun less vague and the structure itself goes in line with the "promissory nature" (Cutting 2012: 286) of the abstract.

> (9) The **results** of the **analysis** show that, although some protectionist tendencies have been recorded both in extra[-] and intra-EU trade, trade relations which are provided among member states are of significant importance all the time. (Economic Sciences)

(10) **Additional research** is needed to disclose the interaction between the dysfunction of the lower urinary tract and practicing of sport. (Sciences of Human Kinetics)

After having dealt with ways in which VL is used by writers of academic journal abstracts, I next discuss the structure of the abstracts in the corpus in terms of the distribution of the IMRaD moves in these texts.

6.2. IMRaD moves in academic journal article abstracts: This study

That scientific article abstracts must be well structured in order to be informative and therefore helpful for interested readers is a common point made by specialists in the domain. Studies dealing with academic paper abstracts (Kaplan et al. 1994, Swales–Feak 2009, Cutting 2012) have shown that in order for such texts to meet the required degree of informativeness they have to abide by a certain distribution of IMRaD moves (Introduction, Method, Results, and Discussion). In some more detail and in relation to the examples below, the Introduction move includes information about context, aims, and literature review (coded here as: [Intr.: context, aims, lit rev.]), the Method move gives details about data collection and analysis (coded here as [Meth.]), the Results move focuses on findings (coded here as [Res.]), and the Discussion move contains explanations, implications, and applications (coded here as [Disc.]).

Before the discussion of IMRaD moves in the abstracts examined in this study, in Example (11) below, there are instructions to authors who decide to publish their work in the *Bulletin of Transilvania University*.

(11) *Abstract:* These instructions are meant to help with the template for the articles published in the scientific journal Bulletin of Transilvania University of Braşov. The material presents the camera-ready template for the articles. The abstract should synthetically outline all the pertinent results in a short but intelligible form. The abstract should begin by clearly stating the purpose of the paper and should end by formulating the most important conclusions. Short, direct and complete sentences will be used and they will be written in a single paragraph, without "tab"-s. The abstract will be 7-10 lines long.

One can easily see that these instructions seem to focus on the introduction, the results, and the discussion sections of the articles and disregard the methodology move. Moving on to the abstracts in the corpus examined here, as anticipated, their IMRaD structure did not have an equal distribution of moves.

Table 1 below gives a quantitative view of the distribution of IMRaD moves in the corpus. First, the most interesting point here seems to be that the difference between the number of abstracts displaying all four moves (535) and those that only contain one such move (583) is not that great, which might mean that at the two extremes there are authors who are either well informed in what concerns the writing of abstracts or have other concerns in mind than the writing of these article introductory texts. Second, the distribution of IMRaD abstract moves among the nine series of the publication shows considerable variety, which might be a matter of concern for its editors.

Table 1. *Distribution of IMRaD moves in the corpus*

No of moves & no of abstracts	**Bulletin of Transilvania University/ Series**
All 4 moves = 535	IV. Phil. & CS; V. Ec. sc.; VI. Med. Sc.; VII. Soc.sc.; IX Hu. Kin.
3 moves (Introduction, Method, and Discussion) = 742	I. En. sc.; II. For.; III. Math.; IV. L&L; V. Ec. sc.; VII. Soc. sc.; VIII. Perf. arts
2 moves (Introduction and Discussion) = 489	I. En. sc.; II. For.; III. Math.; IV. Phil. & CS.; V. Ec. sc.; VI. Med. Sc.; VII. Soc. sc.; IX Hu. Kin.
1 move (Introduction/ Methodology/Discussion) = 583	I. En. sc.; II. For.; III. Math.; IV. Phil. & CS.; V. Ec. sc.; VI. Med. sc VII. Soc. sc.; VIII. Perf. arts; IX Hu. Kin.

The examples below are full abstracts in which the distribution of moves ranges from all four to only one. Moreover, in these four abstracts, the bolded words are examples of VL use, and in the discussion of each abstract they are related to the move they belong to.

> (12) [Intro: context] The present **study** aims to explore the manner in which women political leaders construct their public and personal identity in and through the media, by identifying the **topics** discussed and the discursive strategies employed. [Meth.: data collection and analysis] The **corpus** is formed by 15 media interviews given by and articles about two Italian women politicians, Emma Bonino and Laura Boldrini. The **framework** applied is the discursive-historical **approach** (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2009). [Res.] The results show that the women speakers attempt to construct their identity in a composite manner, uniting values such as firmness and courage with empathy and sensitiveness to **social issues**. [Disc.: implications] Such self-presentations aim to project the speakers as role models and to encourage social change. (Philology and Cultural Studies)

Example (12) is an abstract that contains all four IMRaD moves. The introduction provides the context of the study, then the method clearly shows what data the study relies on and how they were analysed. The results and discussion moves lead the reader towards an idea of the findings and the implications of such a study. In what VL is concerned, this example is also representative for the majority of the corpus since the author uses mostly research general nouns with a relatively vague meaning. Moreover, these instances of VL use are present in all four moves in the abstract.

> (13) [Intr.: aim] The **aim** of this **study** was to analyse the relationship between the expression of the bcl-2 proto-oncogene and the histological grading of prostate cancer according to the Gleason score. [Meth.] To study the prognostic significance of Bcl-2 over expression in prostate cancer, 36 consecutive radical prostatectomy specimens were examined by immunohistochemistry. Bcl-2 was associated with malignant phenotype. Bcl-2 over expression (found in 14 – 38.89% tumours) was associated with high Gleason score. [Disc.] These data **suggest that** altered expression of Bcl-2 plays a role in prostate cancer progression. (Medical Sciences)

> (14) [Intr.] Up to this day, **many cost-effective vision systems** have been successfully used in various **domains** (such as manufacturing, human machine interaction, robotics, automotive and so on) to provide a new sensing dimension of the working environment. However, there are no such **systems** implemented for modern manual-controlled vacuum cleaners. [Meth.] The most important **usability aspects** of integrating such a sensing dimension to modern vacuum cleaners have been explored in this paper, along with a trivial implementation, to assure the portability and compactness of the cleaning appliances. (Engineering Sciences)

> (15) [Meth.] In this paper we **study** the geometry of the complex indicatrix of a complex Cartan space. We prove that the intrinsec Chern-Cartan complex nonlinear connection of the indicatrix coincides with the induced Chern-Cartan complex nonlinear connection. Also, the induced Chern-Cartan linear connection on the complexified indicatrix is studied and the existence of an **almost hermitian contact** structure is proved. The **notions** are introduced in similar manner with the corresponding **results** from complex Finsler geometry. (Mathematics)

Other than representing examples of those abstracts in the corpus in which less than four moves were identified, excerpts (13), (14), and (15) also show the use of VL, i.e. universal general nouns, research general nouns, and vague quantifiers.

7. Conclusions

To conclude, I now go back to the questions in section 6 in an attempt to answer them. As the analysis of the data shows, the scientific journal abstracts investigated here mainly consisted of "introduction", "method", and "discussion" (IMRaD) moves. The "results" move seems not to be very popular with the authors of these abstracts. In these moves, the VL forms are mostly universal general nouns (e.g.: *feature(s)*, *factors*, *context*, *practices*, *implications*) and research general nouns (e.g.: *aim*, *study*, *research*, *data*, *analysis*, *finding(s)*, *result(s)*). Both universal general nouns and research general nouns had pre-head modifiers and less often post-head modifiers that did not add much meaning. In addition to the function of textual cohesion, general nouns fulfilled hedging ("courtesy" and "caution") and non-hedging ("convenience" and "anticipation") functions.

This study is of an exploratory type, wherefore the conclusions of the analysis of the data corpus are not generalizable. However, the fact that the data are drawn from nine areas of academic research may give the study an internal validity. In terms of the applicability of its results, it may be that such research into the writing of article abstracts will benefit both novice academic text writers and academics guiding their work. Finally, further research dealing with data (abstracts) from similar research areas published in other national or international scientific journals could explore how their IMRaD moves and use of VL differ from those investigated in this study, and thus a certain degree of external validity could be reached. Moreover, coding and analysis of data by a second researcher could give reliability to the results.

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The Boundaries of Discourse Markers – Drawing Lines through Manual and Automatic Annotation

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Abstract. Discourse markers are non-propositional linguistic items that are notoriously difficult to identify as well as to categorize. We can observe several borderline phenomena and overlaps with other formal and functional categories, e.g. inserts, adverbials, contextualization cues, pragmatic force modifiers, etc. By way of addressing such overlaps as well as the disambiguation between DM uses and their source categories, the paper presents a comparison of automated and manual annotation of oral discourse markers (DMs). Firstly, an overview of the criterial features of DMs that are relevant to disambiguation are presented. Secondly, the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) and its disambiguation methods are briefly discussed. In the third part of the paper, manual and automatic decisions about categorization are compared with a view to addressing the margin of error reported to apply in general semantic annotation as well as the question of what formal-functional properties of the relevant DMs might explain possible differences between manual and automatic annotation.

Keywords: discourse markers, automated semantic annotation, manual annotation, D-function ratio, inter-annotator agreement.

1. Introduction, the problem

Despite the rapidly growing body of research on discourse markers (DMs), experts in the field observe over and over again that there are still a number of fundamental questions that need to be answered (cf. e.g. Schourup 1999, Fraser 1999, Dér 2010, Heine 2013). Some of the issues include the lack of generally accepted terminologies and classifications, uncertainty regarding essential formal, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics, as well as the absence of a model in which DMs can be related to general linguistic categories in an integrated way.

In the present paper, I am going to address the issue of categorization and category membership, i.e. demarcating boundaries between lexical items that are DMs and distinguishing them from non-DM uses of the source categories. Describing the characteristics of the functional class of DMs and developing criteria for deciding for every given instance whether it is a DM or not have been major preoccupations in recent DM research. Authors usually provide exhaustive lists of the formal, functional, and stylistic criteria that are associated with DMs as a functional class (cf. e.g. Schourup 1999, Fraser 1999, Beeching 2016); still, few provide (and many claim it is impossible to provide) an exhaustive list of criterial features that can be used to identify all instances of DMs in a given corpus. An even more challenging task is to develop annotation software that can automatically identify DMs in oral discourse and filter out non-DM tokens of lexical items that are frequently used as DM types (e.g. adverbial uses of *well* or *now*, prepositional uses of *like*, etc.). Moreover, to date, no previous attempt has been made to use automatic means of identification involving semantic criteria and semantic fields.

Accordingly, the present paper will explore the utility of using an automated semantic tagging software, USAS, as a pre-annotation tool for the identification of oral DMs, including interpersonal as well as textual markers. After an overview of the formal and functional features that can be used for manual annotation and after comparing the results of manual and automatic annotation of selected DMs, the paper will argue that automatic semantic annotation (ASA) can be an effective tool for the disambiguation between DM and non-DM uses with regard to certain items but needs to be complemented by extensive manual error correction and filtering.

2. Characteristics of DMs, criteria for DM status[1]

2.1. Non-propositionality and optionality

Many scholars (cf. Schourup 1999) consider non-propositionality (non-truth-conditionality) as a sine qua non for DM status; yet, others include propositional items such as *then* and *after that*. While it is generally agreed that certain DMs (e.g. *well*, *however*, etc.) contribute nothing to the truth-conditions of the proposition expressed by an utterance, the non-truth conditionality of others (*frankly, I think*) have generated a great deal of controversy (cf. Infantidou-Trouki 1992).

Blakemore (1987: 106) argues that a distinction has to be made between *truth-conditional* and *non-truth-conditional* meaning, on the one hand, and *conceptual* vs *procedural* meaning, on the other. Thus, many of the controversies

1 Parts of Section 2 of the paper were previously published in Furkó 2014.

stem from the fact that certain scholars confuse the two distinctions and use them interchangeably. Schourup (1999), for example, uses the *compositionality* test to argue in favour of the *truth-conditionality* of *in addition*:

> (1a) Owens is a respected drama critic. I tell you *in addition* that she has written …
> (1b) Owens is a respected drama critic. *In addition*, she has written …

While *in addition* is indeed truth-conditional, the above test would predict that *frankly* is also truth-conditional, whereas Blakemore (2002) would argue that DM uses of *frankly* are non-truth-conditional but *conceptual*. It is, therefore, important to point out that the compositionality test will be a useful tool in deciding whether individual DMs have *conceptual* or *procedural* meaning; the *truth-functionality* of DMs is tested more efficiently in terms of whether they retain their original meaning when embedded in *if-clauses* or under the scope of factive connectives such as *because*:

> (2a) *Allegedly* / *Obviously* / *Frankly*, the cook has poisoned the soup.
> (2b) If the cook has *allegedly* / ?*obviously* / **frankly* poisoned the soup, we can eat the meal without worrying.
> (2c) We shouldn't eat the soup, because the cook has *allegedly/?obviously/ *frankly* poisoned it.

The uncertainty with regard to whether or not *obviously* retains its original meaning in (2c) once again suggests that the truth-functionality–non-truth functionality distinction should be viewed as a *continuum*, rather than a dichotomy, which is consistent with the finding in grammaticalization theory that due to the diachronic grammaticalization processes that are synchronically manifested in the use of pragmatic markers there is a fuzzy boundary between uses that are non-truth-conditional and (omissible) and those that are not (for a detailed discussion, cf. Blakemore 2002 and Andersen 2001).

Optionality as a distinguishing feature is in many respects derivative of the previously discussed criterion of non-propositionality; DMs are considered optional from the perspective of sentence meaning because their absence does not change the conditions under which the sentence is true.

There are, however, two further senses in which DMs are claimed to be optional. Firstly, they may be seen as *syntactically optional* in the sense that the removal of a DM does not alter the grammaticality of its host sentence. Secondly, they are optional in the sense that if a DM is omitted, the relationship it signals is still available to the hearer though no longer explicitly cued (cf. Schourup 1999: 231).

The above statement does not entail that DMs are useless; rather, it reflects the view according to which DMs guide the hearer toward a particular interpretation of the connection between a sequence of utterances and at the same time rule out unintended interpretations.

2.2. Context-dependence

DMs' extreme context-dependence is frequently identified with their inherent indexicality. Aijmer, for example, considers indexicality as the most important property of DMs, a property whereby DMs are linked to attitudes, evaluation, types of speakers, and other features of the communicative situation (cf. Aijmer 2002: 5). In this respect, DMs can be compared to deictics, i.e. another borderline phenomenon can be observed if we look at some of the definitions of deictic expressions, which often overlap with those of DMs. Both categories are usually defined in terms of context-dependence, i.e. in terms of having meaning only by virtue of an indexical connection to some aspect of the speech event (cf. e.g. Sidnell: 1998). Levinson (2004), in fact, considers DMs as discourse deictics, other subgroups including spatial, temporal, and social deictics.

Similarities between indexicals and DMs are also recognized by proponents of Relevance Theory. Carston, for example, notes that the two seemingly disparate phenomena are brought together by the fact that both encode a *procedure* rather than a *concept* and both play a role in guiding the hearer in the pragmatic inferential phase of understanding an utterance (Carston 1998: 24). The difference between the two sets of phenomena, according to Carston, is that indexicals constrain the inferential construction of *explicatures* and DMs (discourse connectives in RT terms) constrain the derivation of *implicatures* (in other words, intended contextual assumptions and contextual effects).

2.3. Multifunctionality

In addition to playing a role in pragmatic inferencing, individual DMs are also associated with a plethora of functions, including hedging and politeness functions. What is more, they can also be salient in conversational exchanges as openers, turn-taking devices, hesitation devices, backchannels, markers of topic shift and of receipt of information, and so on (cf. e.g. Beeching 2016: 4ff). DMs are multifunctional and ambiguous by design since there is a lot of *interpersonal* and *discourse* burden on their signalling capacity. DMs signal interpersonal and discourse functions simultaneously, and thus they are ambiguous between the two levels; on the other hand, they are vague with regard to signalling particular relations on a given level as well (ibid.).

The multifunctionality of DMs also brings up the question of whether different uses of a given marker are to be considered incidental and unrelated (maximalist approach) or motivated and related (minimalist approach) and whether there is an invariant "core meaning" of DMs that is context-independent and preserves some components of the lexeme's original semantic meaning. Since the focus of the present paper is on finding the boundaries between DM and non-DM uses of a given item, further discussion will not ensue on the multifunctionality of DM uses. However, multifunctionality can be used as an important criterial feature in the course of manual annotation, as we will see in the following sections.

2.4. Weak clause association, phonological reduction, variable scope

It is frequently observed in the literature that DMs usually occur either outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it (cf. e.g. Crible 2017). Quirk et al. classify many linguistic items that are elsewhere included among DMs as *conjuncts* (e.g. *nonetheless*), which are considered to be clause elements but to have a detached role relative to other, more closely interrelated clause elements such as subject, complement, and object: "Conjuncts are more like disjuncts than adjuncts in having a relatively detached and 'superordinate' role as compared with other clause elements" (Quirk et al. 1985: 631). In addition, some of the items that Quirk et al. refer to as "disjuncts" (e.g. *obviously*, sentence-initial *surprisingly* and *frankly*) also display a whole range of properties associated with the functional class of DMs.

It is important to note that the property of weak clause association is relative to elements *external* to the DM's form since several DMs clearly have their own internal syntactic structure (e.g. *on the other hand*) and others (e.g. *y'know, I mean*) are clausal from a syntactic point of view despite the fact that they are no longer considered to be compositional but procedural (cf. e.g. Furkó 2014).

Weak clause association is frequently discussed in relation to phonological independence: DMs often constitute independent tone units or are set off from the main clause by 'comma intonation' (cf. Hansen 1997: 156).

Adding *weak clause association* and a corresponding *lack of intonational integration* to our list of criteria is also justified from the perspective of grammaticalization theory. An important clause of the definition of grammaticalization states that it takes place in special *morpho-syntactic environments*. In the case of DMs, this environment can be associated with sentence-initial position, hence many scholars regard quasi-initiality as yet another distinguishing feature of DMs (cf. e.g. Schourup 1999). However, once DMs enter an advanced stage of grammaticalization, they become syntactically independent and can appear at various parts of the sentence, with an accompanying 'comma intonation'; thus, this criterion is not always helpful in the course of manual annotation.

DMs' position in an utterance also influences their *scope*, which is *variable*, as is illustrated by (3a) and (3b):

> (3a) Interviewer: I know how close you are to your mom. How old is she?
> Interviewee: *Well*, she probably doesn't want me to say…
> (3b) You're not going to have quality if you can't sleep and you itch and you bitch and you weep and you cry and you bloat and you can't remember anything and you don't have a, *well*, sex drive. (examples taken from Furkó: 2014)

As the examples above show, the size of the linguistic unit *well* can take in its scope ranges from a whole sentence to a single word. Waltereit (2006) observes that this variability is a remarkable property, but it is not an exclusive feature of DMs since conjunctions as a word-class (and even some individual conjunctions as a lexical item) can also have variable scope, giving the following sentences as examples:

> (4a) Ed and Doris loved each other.
> (4b) Ed worked at the barber's, and Doris worked in a department store.

In (4a), *and* has scope over two NPs; in (4b), it has scope over two clauses. However, the difference between *and* used as a conjunction and its DM use lies in the fact that the scope of the conjunction *and* can always be determined in *grammatical terms*. It could be defined as ranging over two constituents of the same type adjacent to *and*, which, in turn, make up a constituent of again the same type. The scope of DMs, in contrast, cannot be determined in grammatical terms, as is clear from (5) below:

> (5) My husband got a notice t'go into the service
> ***and*** we moved it up.
> ***And*** my father died the week … after we got married.
> ***And*** I just felt, that move was meant to be. (Schiffrin 1987: 53, emphasis in the original)

Schiffrin (1987) concludes that *and* has "freedom of scope", rather than "variable scope", since "we can no more use *and* to identify the interactional unit that is being continued than we can use *and* to identify the idea that is being coordinated" (Schiffrin 1987: 150).

Traugott (1995) relates the feature of variable scope to grammaticalization and argues that in addition to Nominal clines (nominal adposition > case) and verbal clines (main verb > tense, aspect, mood marker), which are "staples of

grammaticalization theory", a further cline: Clause internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle should be added to the inventory (Traugott 1995: 1). According to Traugott, this cline involves increased *syntactic freedom* and *scope*.

2.5. Procedural meaning/non-compositionality

Although most scholars (for an overview, cf. Schourup 1999) treat non-compositionality as a property of DMs per se, Blakemore (2002) associates DMs with procedural meaning and uses non-compositionality as a *test* to decide whether individual items are conceptual or procedural.

Blakemore also claims that if DMs are synonymous with their non-DM counterparts, they encode conceptual meaning. Thus, *seriously* and *in other* words in (6a) and (7a) encode a concept parallel to (6b) and (7b), respectively. On the other hand, *well* (as in 8a) encodes a procedure since it is not synonymous with *well* in (8b):

(6a) *Seriously*, you will have to leave.
(6b) He looked at me very *seriously*.
(7a) *In other words*, you're banned.
(7b) She asked me to try and put it *in other words*.
(8a) A: What time should we leave?
B: *Well*, the train leaves at 11.23.
(8b) You haven't ironed this very *well*.

A second test Blakemore uses is to see if a given item can combine with linguistic items encoding conceptual meaning to produce complex expressions.

As far as the question of synonymity is concerned, it is important to note that the fact that, on the basis of native intuitions, no correspondence can be found between the adverbial *well* and its DM counterpart does not mean that such a relationship is absent (cf. e.g. Furkó 2013). Native intuitions, naturally, disregard diachronic aspects of individual lexical and grammatical items, and it is exactly these aspects that account for the fuzziness of the category of DMs.

2.6. High frequency, orality, stigmatization

In this section, some of the stylistic features, core members of the functional class of DM display are considered. While semantic-functional properties are more important in determining class membership than formal and stylistic ones, stylistic criteria can also be helpful in determining DM status and differentiating between DM and non-DM tokens.

It is important to note that the high frequency of use is the *backbone* of various processes of grammaticalization as well as pragmaticalization (cf. e.g. Furkó 2014). In other words, the more frequently an item is used, the more likely it is that its formal-functional properties are going to change, and once it has entered the process of grammaticalization, the faster it is going to go through the substages of that process.

A number of studies on DMs observe that the frequency of DMs can be primarily observed in speech (e.g. Beeching 2016); what is more, one of the most salient features of oral style is the use of items such as *well*, *right*, *ok*, *you know*, etc. For example, in their classical study, Brown and Yule (1983: 17) label *well*, *erm*, *I think*, *you know*, *if you see what I mean*, *I mean*, and *of course* "prefabricated fillers", when drawing up a list of contrasting characteristics of spoken and written language. They also point out that these items' overuse is often stigmatized by prescriptivists (ibid.).

Despite the stigmatization of many oral DMs, it is easy to illustrate the meaningfulness and the distinctive (as opposed to random) use of even the two most used DMs, *you know* and *I mean*. As Fox Tree and Schrock (2002: 731) illustrate, it matters where *you know* or *I mean* appear in an utterance, and they are not interchangeable:

> (9a) Original: me and the Edinburgh girl got together after dinner late in the evening and decided they'd really got us along to make it look right, *you know* they had after all had candidates from other universities.
> Alternative: me and the Edinburgh girl got together after dinner *you know* late in the evening and decided they'd really got us along to make it look right, they had after all had candidates from other universities.
> (9b) Original: but I don't think it's feasible. *I mean* I know this is the first time I've done it, and I'm not in a main line paper, but I'm sure it'll take me all my time to do it in three weeks.
> Alternative: but I don't think it's feasible. I know *I mean* this is the first time I've done it, and I'm not in a main line paper, but I'm sure it'll take me all my time to do it in three weeks (example taken from Fox Tree and Schrock 2002: 731).

In (9a) Original, *you know* comments on what is meant by "look right", whereas in (9a) Alternative it comments on what "after dinner" means (in other words, they differ in what they take within their *scope*; see Section 2.5 above). In (9b) Original, *I mean* comments on why the speaker says "I don't think it's feasible", without overwriting the statement, but in (9b) Alternative *I mean* comments on "I know", retrospectively treating it as a false start.

In addition, as both manual and automatic annotation will illustrate, there is no principled basis on which one could exclude from the functional class of DMs connectives such as *however*, *after all*, *consequently*, and a whole range of other items characteristic of written style, some of which (e.g. *besides*, *however*, *moreover*) are in fact included in Brown and Yule's above mentioned list of characteristics of *written* language.

3. Automatic semantic annotation: Testing its methods and precision

There are a variety of computerized semantic tagging (CST) systems, including artificial intelligence-based, knowledge-based, corpus-based, and semantic taxonomy-based systems (for an overview, cf. e.g. Prentice 2010). The present analysis draws on the results gained from the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), which has the major advantage of combining these approaches. Furthermore, USAS groups lexical items in terms of a taxonomy of semantic fields and assigns semantic categories to all words, including grammatical and other procedural (non-propositional) items, which is relevant for the present study in view of the fact that the lexical items under scrutiny are highly procedural and semantically bleached (cf. Section 2 above).

USAS system uses an automatic coding scheme of 21 semantic fields, subdivided into 232 subcategories. For reasons of brevity, only the tags that have been associated with the DM types under analysis will be discussed – the complete coding scheme can be found at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/. USAS uses disambiguation methods including part-of-speech tagging, general likelihood ranking, multi-word-expression extraction, domain of discourse identification, and contextual rules (for a detailed discussion, cf. Rayson et al. 2004). Previous evaluations of the accuracy of the system reported a precision value of 91% (ibid.), i.e. a 9% margin of error applying to lexical items across the board (including propositional and non-propositional items).

The research questions in the present study are as follows:

1. Are the disambiguation methods USAS uses sufficient for filtering out non-DM tokens of the most frequent DM types?

2. Does the margin of error reported to apply in general apply to the identification of DMs as well?

3. Are individual DMs identified/tagged with a similar margin of error?

4. If individual DMs are tagged with varying precisions by USAS, what formal-functional properties of the relevant DMs might explain the differences?

4. Corpus and methodology

In the course of the research, two sub-corpora of the same size (100,000 words each) were used:

– a corpus of the official transcripts of 37 confrontational type of mediatized political interviews (henceforth MPI sub-corpus) selected from BBC's *HardTalk* and *Newsnight* (available at: http://bbc.co.uk);

– a corpus of the official transcripts of 50 celebrity interviews (henceforth CI sub-corpus) downsampled from CNN's *Larry King Live* (available at: http://www.cnn.com).

The two sub-corpora have been extensively studied in previous research; thus, the results of automatic tagging have been compared to findings based on manual annotation and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (cf. Furkó and Abuczki 2014, 2015). Previous research was aimed at finding genre-specific patterns of DM use in the two sub-corpora, which has informed the present paper in terms of the D-values as well as the functional distribution of individual lexical items (see Section 5 below).

The research process has been as follows: in order to identify and compare the USAS tags of oral DMs in the two sub-corpora, the semantic tags assigned to frequent DMs (e.g. *I mean*, *you know*, *in other words*, *so*, *well*) were considered, and then these semantic tags were used to identify further types and tokens relevant to discourse marking. What was found was that 95.1% of the instances of DMs trawled from the two sub-corpora through this method are either tagged with Z4, described in the USAS manual as the "discourse bin" (including items such as *oh*, *I mean*, *you know*, *basically*, *obviously*, *right*, *yeah*, *yes*) or with A5.x, described as "evaluative terms depicting quality" (including DMs such as *well*, *OK*, *okay*, *good*, *right*, *alright*). The frequency of the relevant tags across the two sub-corpora was compared as well as the ratio between DM-relevant tags (i.e. Z4 and A5.x) and non-DM relevant tags (e.g. B2, I1.1, T1.3, etc.; see below for details).

In the second stage, a representative sample of 400 tokens in the MPI sub-corpus were manually annotated using a numeric code of 1 for DM and 2 for non-DM tokens with a view to comparing the results of automatic and manual tagging. When deciding if an individual token is a DM or not, the criterial features described above (see Section 2) were applied by a single expert annotator. The tokens that were selected for the sample were weighted for their frequency in the corpus, while DM and non-DM tokens were included in equal proportions. For example, the 429 tokens of *well* comprise 19.6% of all automatically tagged items, and thus 78 tokens, (39 A5.1-tagged and 39 non-A5.1 tagged by USAS) were included in the sample.

5. Findings

Table 1 below summarizes the raw frequency of the relevant lexical items' DM- and non-DM-related USAS tags. Since both sub-corpora were compiled in a way that they are of the same size of 100,000 words, these raw frequencies can be compared as if normalized.

Table 1. *Summary of DM- and non-DM-related semantic tags assigned to the most frequent DM types in the MPI and CI sub-corpora*

Lexical item	Frequency of DM-related tag in the MPI	Frequency of DM-related tag in the CI	Frequency of non-DM-related tag in the MPI	Frequency of non-DM-related tag in the CI
well (429)	360xA5.1	312xA5.1	14xI1.1, 55xN5	1xA7, 2xB2, 24xN5
sort (38)	14xZ4	25xZ4	21xA4.1, 3xA1.1.1	10xA4.1
now (299)	4xZ4	1xZ4	288xT1.1.2, 7xZ5	229xT1.1.2, 6xZ5
(you) know (346)	205xZ4	455xZ4	140xX2.2, 1xZ6	307xX2.2
like (97)	6xZ4	17xZ4	51xZ5, 40xE2+	238xZ5, 139xE2+
(I) mean (141)	114xZ4	201xZ4	27xQ1.1	30xQ1.1, 5xS2.2.2
(in other) words (11)	4xZ4	13xZ4	7xQ.3	7xQ.3
actually (165)	165xA5.4	72xA5.4	0	0
(I) think (549)	126xZ4	121xZ4	423xX2.1	319xX2.1
right (114)	55xZ4, 53xA5.3	211xZ4, 98xA5.3	6xT1.1.2	12xN3.8, 16xS7.4, 15xT1.1.2

As a first step, the ratio of DM and non-DM tokens of individual items was compared with the results of previous research, in the course of which DMs in the same sub-corpora were manually annotated (cf. Furkó and Abuczki 2014). In order to gauge the categorial multifunctionality of DMs, the measure of D-function ratio or D-value (a term proposed by Stenström 1990) was used. An individual item's D-value is calculated as a quotient of the number of tokens that fulfil discourse-pragmatic functions and the total number of occurrences in a given corpus. The D-value of *oh*, for example, is 1 (100%) in the London-Lund Corpus since it is used exclusively as a DM, whereas *well* showed a D-value of 0.86 as 14% of its tokens serve non-DM (adverbial, nominal, etc.) functions (ibid.).

If we calculate the D-values of individual DMs based on the above values and compare them to the findings of previous research, we see that the results of automatic annotation and manual annotation converge to a great extent. *Mean*, for example, has a D-value of 0.808 in the MPI corpus based on automatic annotation (calculated as the number of Z4 tags divided by all tokens of *mean*, i.e. 141), while manual annotation yielded a D-value of 0.797 (cf. Furkó and Abuczki 2014: 50). Similarly, manual annotation yielded a D-value of 0.82 for *well* in the MPI corpus (Furkó and Abuczki 2014: 54), while *Table 1* yields a D-value of 0.839 for this lexical item (360 Z4 tags divided by the total number of tokens, i.e. 429).

The table also correctly predicts that most of the lexical items under scrutiny have higher D-values in the CI sub-corpus than in the MPI sub-corpus, which is explained by the fact that there is a higher degree of conversationalization in celebrity interviews, i.e. they are more similar to spontaneous, informal, face-to-face conversations (cf. Furkó 2017). For example, the D-value of *well* is 0.92, the D-value of *mean* is 0.851 in the CI sub-corpus based on automatic annotation (312 A5.1 tags divided by a total of 339 tokens, 201 Z4 tags divided by a total of 236 tokens, respectively).

In the second stage of the research, a representative sample of tokens in the MPI were manually annotated using numeric 1 for DM tokens and 2 for non-DM uses. With a view to comparing the results of automatic and manual annotation, all DM-related tags (Z4 and A5.x) yielded by USAS were re-coded as numeric 1, while non-DM tags (B2, I1.1, T1.3, etc.) were re-coded as 2. Consequently, the extracted list of the corresponding manual and automated tags was entered into a reliability calculator (Freelon's ReCal 2 for 2 coders) in order to calculate inter-annotator agreement statistics. *Table 2* below shows the result.

Table 2. *Inter-annotator agreement between automated and manual tagging of DM/non-DM tokens*

	Percent Agreement	**Scott's Pi**	**Cohen's Kappa**	**N Agree-ments**	**N Disagree-ments**	**N Cases**	**N Decisions**
Variable (DM/non-DM)	92.75	0.854519	0.854527	371	29	400	800

Although the above intercoder agreement values appear high (cf. Spooren and Degand 2010), it is important to note that there is a great degree of variation in the precision with which individual DMs are tagged by USAS. On the one hand, there are DMs, such as *I mean* and *you know,* whose DM and non-DM uses are disambiguated with surprising precision (resulting in a kappa score of <.98, i.e. close to perfect intercoder agreement between USAS and the human annotator). This is probably due to two of the disambiguation methods USAS

applies: firstly, its multi-word-expression extraction algorithm and its core component of MWE lexicon (cf. Rayson et al. 2004) and, secondly, the fact that POS tagging enables the parser to differentiate between syntactically integrated tokens that are monotransitive (and are thus followed by their nominal or clausal complements) and syntactically non-integrated ones that are marked by the absence of complements. On the other hand, there are lexical items that are invariably tagged with the same (sometimes DM-relevant, other times non-DM relevant) tags regardless of their syntactic (non-)integration and functional scope. For space considerations, only two examples will be given, one for DM-relevant invariant tagging and one for non-DM-relevant invariant tagging.

An example for the former is *actually*, which might be used as a DM that has the ensuing discourse unit in its scope (10a) or as an adverbial modifier that has scope over the verb it modifies as in 10b below (all extracts are from the USAS-tagged CI corpus, emphases are mine):

> (10a) No_Z4 ,_PUNC that_Z8 was_A3+ n't_Z6 exactly_A4.2+ the_Z5 reason_A2.2 ._PUNC ***Actually_A5.4+ ,***_PUNC what_Z8 it_Z8 was_A3+ ,_PUNC is_Z5 I_Z8mf felt_X2.1 that_Z5 films_Q4.3 were_Z5 getting_A9+ they_Z8mfn started_T2+ to_Z5 be_Z5 repeating_N6+ ._PUNC
> (10b) They_Z8mfn 're_A3+ one_T3 of_Z5 the_Z5 few_N5- cats_L2mfn in_Z5 the_Z5
> world_W1 that_Z8 can_A7+ ***actually_A5.4***+ swim_M4 under_M4[i619.2.1 water_M4[i619.2.2

An example for non-DM relevant invariant tagging is *now*, which can be used as a DM that marks topic shift (11a) or as a circumstance adverb (11b). However, USAS does not usually distinguish between DM and non-DM uses of *now*, both being labelled as T1.1.2, i.e. as "general terms relating to a present period/point in time":

> (11a) Good_Z4[i297.2.1 heavens_Z4[i297.2.2 ,_PUNC such_Z5 an_Z5 intelligent_X9.1+ man_S2.2m is_Z5 excited_X5.2+ about_Z5 a_Z5 movie_Q4.3 star_W1 ?_PUNC ***Now_T1.1.2*** what_Z8 about_Z5 her_Z8f and_Z5 the_Z5 Kennedy_Z1mf 's_Z5 ?
> (11b) Somebody_Z8mfc explain_Q2.2/A7+ to_Z5 Paris_Z2 and_Z5 Nicole_Z1f ,_PUNC live_L1+ means_X4.2 we_Z8 're_A3+ on_Z5 television_Q4.3 right_T1.1.2[i7.2.1 ***now_T1.1.2***[i7.2.2 ._PUNC

6. Conclusions, utility and limitations of using USAS as a pre-annotation tool

In the paper, it was argued that discourse markers are notoriously difficult to identify for humans and computers alike; there are several borderline phenomena, fuzzy boundaries, and cases of ambiguity resulting from DMs' inherent, criterial features. In answer to the research questions posed in Section 3 above, it can be observed that the disambiguation methods' automatic annotation uses are efficient for filtering out non-DM tokens of the most frequent DM types: thus, automatized annotation enables the researcher to obtain an adequate global picture of the D-values of most of the lexical items that are frequently used as DM types.

We have also seen that the margin of error reported to apply in general also applies to the identification of DMs collectively, and, in the case, of multi-word units, such as *you know* and *I mean*, individually as well. However, we find a great degree of variation in the precision/margin of error with which non-multi word DMs are tagged. Such varying precisions are mostly due to DMs' criterial features of source category layering, syntactic non-integration, variable/functional scope, all of which challenge the disambiguation methods USAS applies, with special reference to part-of-speech tagging, general likelihood ranking, and multi-word-expression extraction.

While DMs will continue to puzzle humans and computers alike, we can safely say that automatized methods can take us one step closer to drawing boundaries between propositional and non-propositional, syntactically-semantically integrated and interpersonal-textual uses of lexical items, which, in addition to some issues in genre analysis discussed above, might have important implications for applied linguistic concerns as far apart as language acquisition, natural language processing, and critical discourse analysis (cf. Furkó 2017).

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The Effective and/or the Reasonable: Border Crossing in Strategic Maneuvering[1]

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Abstract. The main aim of an argumentative speech act complex, as defined in argumentation theory, is to resolve a difference of opinion by advancing a constellation of reasons brought up by the arguer in order to justify the acceptability of a standpoint. In order to achieve one's goal, the arguer is entitled to employ strategic maneuvering, a process through which a balance between reasonableness and effectiveness is to be established, and the aim of which is to move towards the best position in the actual context of argumentation. A prototypical example of applying strategic maneuvering is that of political speeches where speakers frequently achieve their goals by the rhetorical means of persuasion and manipulation, by misleading language use. The speaker's orientation towards finding the best position will be followed through the analysis of dialogues taken from the TV series *House of Cards*.

Keywords: argumentation, strategic maneuvering, effective, reasonable, manipulation

Introduction

In this paper, speech acts are approached from the point of view of argumentation theory as developed by Frans van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst (1984, 1992, 2004) and further extended by van Eemeren (2010, 2015). First, I start from the basic concepts of speech act theory, the illocutionary and the perlocutionary act, and their relation to argumentation theory. Next, I turn to the definition of strategic maneuvering the aim of which is for the arguer to move towards the best position in the actual context of argumentation. A prototypical example of applying strategic maneuvering is that of political speeches where speakers frequently achieve their goals by the rhetorical means of persuasion and manipulation, by

1 This study has been conducted within the research project entitled "Stranger" (2017–2018) financed by the Institute of Research Programmes of Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania.

misleading language use. This theoretical approach is then employed in some selected conversations from *House of Cards*, one of the most popular television series of recent times.

Theoretical background

As it is known from Grice (1975), the Cooperative Principle stands at the foundation of all types of interpersonal communication. According to this prescriptive rule (Grice 1975: 45), interlocutors are supposed to speak appropriately according to the conversation they are involved in. It goes without saying that if one adopts the CP, one will also adopt the four conversational maxims as well: the maxim of quantity (referring to the quantity of information to be provided), the maxim of quality (concerning the truthfulness of the contribution), the maxim of relation (concerning the pertinence and relevance of the contribution), and the maxim of manner (regarding the way of what is said).

When speakers address each other, they do not only wish their words to be understood by their interlocutor(s), but they also want themselves to be accepted and dealt with accordingly. Language users performing different kinds of speech acts express themselves not only with the intention to make themselves recognized what speech act they used, but they also hope to elicit a particular (verbal or non-verbal) response from their addressees. Therefore, the way they use language must/will serve both a communicative and an interactional purpose. The communicative purpose can be interpreted as the speaker's attempt to create the *illocutionary effect of* ***understanding***, while the interactional purpose can be regarded as the speaker's attempt to create a *perlocutionary effect of* ***accepting*** (van Eemeren–Grootendorst 1984: 23–29).

An illocutionary act (as a communicative act) is felicitous if it achieves the effect that the listener understands the communicative (illocutionary) force and the propositional content of the utterance. On the other hand, a perlocutionary act (as an interactional act) is felicitous only if not simply its acceptance but another (a further) desired effect on the addressee occurs. A distinction must be made between effects of utterances **intended** by the speaker and consequences of utterances which are only brought about **accidentally** by the speaker (van Eemeren 2010: 37). Speech acts themselves (as opposed to mere behaviour) are defined as "conscious, purposive activities based on rational considerations for which the actor can be held accountable" (van Eemeren 2010: 37).

Argumentation is basically aimed at resolving a difference of opinion about the acceptability of a standpoint by making an appeal to the other party's reasonableness (van Eemeren–Grootendorst 2004: 11–18). The process of argumentation that is put forward in a discussion or a debate is designed in

such a way as "to achieve precisely defined verbally externalized illocutionary and perlocutionary effects immediately related to the complex speech act performed" (van Eemeren 2010: 37). The acceptance of the speech act by the addressee is defined as inherent perlocutionary i.e. a minimal effect, while all other consequences that a speech act may have are defined as consecutive perlocutionary consequences, i.e. optimal effects.

In argumentation, mainly within the domain of politics, there may be cases when one's intended perlocutionary effect is for the speaker to find his best strategic position which would prove to be effective and reasonable enough to control his/her interlocutor. This is what pragma-dialecticians call strategic maneuvering, i.e. "moving towards the best position in view of the argumentative circumstances" (van Eemeren 2010: 40). Strategic maneuvering (the concept introduced in van Eemeren–Houtlosser 1997) is defined in argumentation theory as "the management of argumentative discourse to maintain the balance between pursuing one's 'rhetorical objective' of having one's own position accepted and complying at the same time with one's professed 'dialectical objective' of resolving a difference of opinion in a reasonable way" (van Eemeren 2005: xiii). It is the process of continual efforts carried out in argumentative discourse in order to keep the balance between reasonableness and effectiveness, i.e. to maintain reasonableness and achieving effectiveness at the same time (van Eemeren 2010: 40). The term "maneuver" denotes a planned movement to win or to get to an advantageous position, while "strategic" refers to the way a goal is reached by clever and skilful planning, "doing optimal justice to both reasonableness and effectiveness" (van Eemeren 2010: 41). Strategic maneuvering in argumentative discourse is viewed as a means for arguers to realize their rhetorical aims (wanting to be effective) while complying with the requirements of resolving differences of opinion (wanting to be reasonable).

However, in the case of political discourses, strategic maneuvering is just one step away from manipulation. Persuasion can be distinguished from manipulation in that the addressee has the freedom to respond to the attempt of convincing them. The speaker's intention for persuasion is clearly perceived by the addressee and, as such, he/she can react to it. On the other hand, in manipulative discourse, this intention is covert, it remains undetectable, and thus the speaker is unaware of it. Manipulative discourse in fact flouts the ethical and rational means of persuasion. Van Eemeren (2005: xii) claims that "manipulation in discourse boils down to intentionally deceiving one's addressees by persuading them of something that is foremost in one's interest through the covert use of communicative devices that are not in agreement with generally acknowledged critical standards of reasonableness".

How can one verbally deceive one's interlocutor? One serious mode to do so is by manipulating pragmatic inferences, for instance, by insinuating or misinformation.

House of Cards – The series

All these theoretical considerations have been presented here in order to get a better grip of the maneuvering strategies and manipulative moves of the two protagonists of the American political drama in the form of the web (Netflix) television series entitled *House of Cards*. The American series (as well as its earlier British counterpart with the same title, 1990–1995) are adaptations of the novel of the same title by Michael Dobbs. So far, six seasons have been aired, the first having been released in 2013, the last one starting in autumn 2018. The series is set in Washington D.C. and is the story of Congressman Frank Underwood (also called Francis by his wife) (played by Kevin Spacey) striving for higher and higher social positions: first, he is the party leader of the Democrats, but soon we find him in the position of Secretary of State. Aided by his wife, Claire Underwood (played by Robin Wright), they plot against the current President in order to gain more power, finally Frank becoming the President of the United States. He manages to ascend to political power through ruthless pragmatism and manipulation, mainly achieved through argumentative discussions he and his wife carry out with Frank's political allies and enemies. In shaping the diabolic character of the Underwoods, their verbal behaviour is constructed in such a way that it intentionally, even hyperbolically emphasizes the way they manage to manipulate both their political allies and their enemies.

Methodology

The script of the series is considered to be an authentic corpus based on which the characters' linguistic behaviour is studied within their context. By analysing selected conversations from the first three seasons of the series, we are trying to investigate what strategic moves Frank and Claire Underwood employ in order to covertly persuade their interacting partners to speak or act according to the couple's wants, enhancing their ascension to the highest political power. The study of fictional exchanges can provide useful insights into the mechanisms of real-life interactions.

The analyses

Speakers – according to the Cooperative Principle – need to play the resolution game by the rules, they have to observe the rules of correctness (reasonableness) because they may be held committed to what they have earlier said, assumed, or implicated, all this against their wanting to have their point of view accepted

(effectiveness) (van Eemeren 2010: 42). In the case of the Underwoods, they frequently use power (political power in their case) to persuade their interlocutor of their standpoint. As one of the characters claims: "Power is the old stone building that stands for centuries" (2.04).

Frank Underwood continuously employs the speech act complex of argumentation, together with its different sub-acts performed in the process of convincing his interlocutors, with the help of which he aims at bringing about the perlocutionary effect of acceptance of his current standpoint in a seemingly reasonable (i.e. acceptable) way. The phrase "strategic maneuvering" is used intentionally here as it perfectly suits our aim to describe the Underwoods' well-planned, cleverly and skilfully elaborated moves and verbal behaviour. In an emblematic conversation, Frank Underwood, already President of the US, the Vice-President, Donald Blythe, and Frank's chief of staff, Seth, are preparing to release the President's new government programme called "America Works".

> (1) Vice President Donald Blythe: You need a word that goes beyond America Works. Something that can be used for anything. /…/
> Seth: What about 'vision'?
> Frank: Isn't that too generic?
> Seth: That's what we want. I mean, the more generic, the better. People can project anything they want on 'vision'. (3.37)[2]

Seth explicitly explains why the word "vision" is the perfect choice to describe the programme: it is general enough for a wide variety of implicatures from the part of those who release it, and it leaves plenty of room for inferences for the people, the intended addressees of the campaign: "they can project anything they want" in the message. This is exactly the intention of those in power: to say one thing in such a way that afterwards they cannot be blamed for saying it because they can claim that they did not mean it that way, that their audience inferred the wrong message. Due to the fact that the addressee cannot be aware of the speaker's intention, this pragmatic act is non-overt and deniable at any time (Sorlin 2016: 78, Bell 1997).

This idea is overtly expressed in Claire's utterance:

> (2) Claire: It's just words, words you can *disown*[3] the moment you're back on US soil. (3.32)

She addresses her words to Michael Corrigan, an arrested gay activist protesting in Moscow against Russian anti-gay laws. He is to be released by Russian

2 The numbers denote the season and the episode the quote is taken from.
3 My emphasis, Zs. A.

President Petrov on condition that he makes a statement in which he apologizes to the citizens of the Russian Federation for breaking the country's laws. As the Russians are not able to convince him, Claire Underwood travels to the Russian capital to persuade him to make this apology because this act would bring the Underwoods political capital to build on. Her later words also signal that in her attitude there is a huge difference between what is said (the locutionary act) and what is meant (the illocutionary act). "Words thus become empty shells that serve as mere pragmatic tools" (Sorlin 2016: 92). She tries to urge her interlocutor to separate the utterance itself from the responsibility undertaken by uttering the speech act of apologizing:

> (3) Claire (*later on*): A statement for the Russian media, that's all. You don't have to mean it, you just have to say it. (3.32)

As Claire's utterance shows, "the Underwoods who have no difficulty sorting pragmatic function from propositional content. Francis cynically confesses about politicians: 'No writer worth his salt can resist a good story, just as no politician can resist making promises he can't keep.'" (3.31) (Sorlin 2018: 93).

"[P]olitical discussions are in fact no more than a one-way traffic of leaders talking down to their voters, and only when elections are close do politicians adjust their campaigns, sometimes in a blatantly opportunistic way, to the opinions of their voters" (van Eemeren 2010: 3). In politics, lying is taken for granted, as Frank Underwood reveals unashamed:

> (4) Claire: We've been lying for a long time.
> Frank: Of course we have. Imagine what the voters would think if we started telling the truth. (3.39)

These are the cases when speakers do not even want their interlocutors to see through their intentions. For Frances and Claire Underwood, a conversation succeeds only when it satisfies their own personal motives and self-advancement (Sorlin 2016: 116). They address their words to their interlocutors in such a covert way that their real intention can be denied later. Frank frequently resorts to using the strategy of stepping back, not taking responsibility for his previous promises. Peter Russo, candidate for the Congress, had promised his electorate to keep a shipyard open, but later Frank Underwood, Vice-President at the time, requires it to be closed. He justifies his decision with the ultimate but not the real, only a covering reason: politics.

> (5) Francis: I'm sure you've done splendid work, but unfortunately it can't come to fruition.

Peter: Why?
Francis: Politics. There's forces bigger than either of us at play here. (1.4)

Francis appeals to a higher entity than himself, resorting to action in the name of politics that nobody can control but can only be controlled by. Covering his true intention, he manipulates his interlocutor and presents himself being in a similar position to Russo, while in reality he is the one who pulls the strings. In a similar vein, he invokes politics to justify why not telling the whole truth to his political enemy can be an acceptable act:

(6) Bob: Has Marty Spinella seen this?
Frank: Not the version I showed him.
Bob: So, you lied to his face.
Frank: No. I revised the parameters of my promise.
Bob: Which is lying.
Frank: Which is politics, the sort you're well versed in, Bob. (1.4)

Frank's wife, Claire, who employs similar manipulative moves, commits an act of insinuating[4] with the First Lady, Patricia Walker. She attempts to raise doubts about a possible relationship between Patricia's husband, the President at the time of the conversation, and Christina, his secretary (now working for the President, but who was her earlier employer, Peter Russo's girlfriend and secretary until the latter's death):

(7) First Lady (*addressing Claire after an exchange about the president's schedule*
with Christina who just left): I know you want Garrett there, but with this energy crisis…
Claire: No, it's (.) not that.
First Lady: What?
Claire: (*pause: 2 s*) I shouldn't say anything.
First Lady: Well, now you have to tell me.
Claire: I've just (.) never been fond of her. Christina.
First Lady: Why not?
Claire: Peter Russo? I just have a thing about women who sleep with their bosses. Anyway, I'm sure whatever they had was genuine. It's none of my business, cause if she's doing a good job, that's all that matters, right?
First Lady: Garrett seems to think she is.
Claire: Then I should just keep my feelings to myself. (2.19)

4 Insinuation is the act where the speaker wants his interlocutor to think something bad about the figure or target (cf. Culpeper—Haugh 2014: 149).

By directly not revealing her true intention, Claire manages to attract the First Lady's curiosity, making her want to know more about what she is insinuating. She finally expresses her doubts concerning Christina, pretending it is none of her business to question the President's choice if the secretary is acknowledged to be doing a good job. Claire manages to have the First Lady perceive Christina differently by classifying her among the "women who sleep with their bosses". Naturally, Claire does not risk implying a relationship between Christina and her new boss, she merely reminds her interlocutor of the secretary's history. She wants the First Lady "to think something bad" about Christina, hoping to stir suspicion in her mind. This is a well-planned maneuver as the President's relation with his wife has been weakened lately, so the doubt cast into her easily turns into real and bitter suspicion. In this way, Claire wants to ensure that she cannot be held accountable for saying or even meaning anything negative about a trustworthy person (Christina), still she manages to denigrate her in front of the First Lady. She sounds reasonable, but effectiveness overtakes in her words.

Conclusions

Starting from the basic claims of speech act theory, the present study has crossed the border towards argumentation theory by reviewing some of the basic concepts of the latter: strategic maneuvering, reasonableness and effectiveness, as well as an argumentation theoretical perspective on illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. These concepts have been employed in some brief analyses conducted on excerpts from the script of the TV series *House of Cards*. It is hoped that the empirical attitude has revealed that a speaker's strife for effectiveness in the process of argumentation, as Goffman (1970: 86, qtd in van Eemeren 2010: 41) has put it, can easily shift into manipulation because "effectiveness" can be identified with the maximization of gain that represents one sense in which an actor is said to be "rational".

On the other hand, such film dialogues, in spite of their fictional character, are inspired from real-life political machinations. As Declan Kiberd (2017: 495) claims: "politicians […] betrayed our public trust", which brought about disillusionment regarding the power of politics. The insights gained from such analyses can reveal the real intentions behind verbal (and political) maneuvers and can shed light on the true face of political moves.

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More Than a Facebook Share: Exploring Virtual Linguistic Landscape

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Abstract. This paper seeks to cross the boundaries of what we consider linguistic landscape (LL) and open new spaces, thus examining the Internet as a complex set of linguistic landscapes. The present study is the result of an exploratory research. Virtual linguistic landscape (VLL) provides opportunities for language display that are rare in the geographical LL. This study investigates multilingualism and language practices present on the periphery of cyberscapes analysed in this research (namely the social media), based on questionnaires carried out among bilingual university students at Sapientia University. The conclusion will offer suggestions for further research on how to extend the boundaries of LL studies to the digital domain.

Keywords: virtual linguistic landscape, bilinguals, social media, multilingual practices.

1. Introduction

The paper investigates the virtual linguistic landscape analysed in this research (namely the social media, considered as a public space) and aims to reveal digital language practices regarding L2, L3, etc. language choice of bilingual university students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (henceforth: Sapientia HUT).

Linguistic landscape studies have expanded their boundaries since the well-known milestone study by Landry–Bourhis (1997). The very early approaches of quantitative surveys and sign counting have moved towards a complex relationship between language, place, and people (Barni–Bagna 2015). Linguistic landscape "provides a prism of languages embedded in societies and situated in humanistic, social and political ecology of those who share, form, influence and are influenced by it" (Shohamy–Waksman 2009: 314). A more "global" approach to LL has been developed, leading to an expansion in the topics of analysis. The term 'linguistic' is

now no longer limited to verbal and written languages but embraces the complexity of semiotic spaces as well as of people who are authors, actors, and users, all of which are part of LL analysis. The study of linguistic landscapes does not focus exclusively on displays of visible written language, but also multimodal, semiotic, other visual and even oral elements can be included in order to provide important insights and a different perspective on language awareness and multilingualism. For the study of multilingualism, LL offers a subfield of research, namely of minority languages and multilingualism within a minority setting. These data clarify the complex interaction of language, society, identity, and power. They mainly focus on how the linguistic landscape can elucidate power relationships between majority and minority groups of speakers (Gorter–Cenoz 2017: 238). Starting from "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on governmental buildings" originally listed by Landry–Bourhis (1997) in their pioneer article, linguistic landscape studies arrived at a point where studies have already included as their interest of investigation a wide range of phenomena from graffiti (Pennycook 2010) to the language of tourist postcards (Jaworski 2010) or signs of classroom walls (Laihonen–Tódor 2017, Laihonen–Szabó 2017, Biró 2016); even sounds, music, and smells are incorporated nowadays. Finally, studies have come to analyse the phenomenon of the cyberspace (e.g. Ivković–Lotherington 2009, Troyer 2012). The term "cyberspace" was coined in the above mentioned Ivković–Lotherington article, and it refers to computer-mediated communication which takes place on the Web.

This paper aims to investigate the multilingual practices and language choices of minority bilingual students in the public context of the social media as part of the virtual linguistic landscape. The article is structured as follows: after explaining the definition of virtual linguistic landscape, the context of the research – the bilingual minority speakers and language learners at Sapientia HUT – is presented in order to contextualize the presence or absence, the need or the rejection of multilingualism and language learning practices created in the virtual linguistic landscape. This is followed by the description of the methodology and data. Then, the findings are presented, and, finally, the suggestions for further research to extend the boundaries of LL studies to the digital domain are discussed.

2. Defining virtual linguistic landscape

If we consider the virtual space as another dimension of communication, then it can be stated that virtual linguistic landscape defines the linguistic landscape of the virtual space just as linguistic landscape describes the linguistic cityscape or schoolscape, etc. However, there are some obvious characteristics which distinguish VLL from the traditional LL (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. *Distinction between linguistic landscape (LL) and virtual linguistic landscape (VLL)*

LL	VLL
It is based on physical geographical environment.	It is a virtual world in which computer-mediated communication (CMC) takes place.
The elements of LL reflect spoken language situations of the real world.	VLL does not necessarily reflect the spoken language situations of the real world.
Signage is typically more fixed and stable.	Signage is transitory, dynamic, can be updated on a day-to-day basis, generally at low costs.
Speakers are interacting within demarcated spatial boundaries.	VLL speakers are delocalized and anyone from anywhere (with access to the Internet) can enter and engage in it.

The concrete distinction between the physical (geographical) linguistic landscape and the virtual linguistic landscape (term also used by Ivković–Lotherington in their article in 2009) has become relevant since studies focused on public signage in the online world in the context of LL. Ivković–Lotherington point out that online signage, online communication "transfer lived experiences onto the virtual domain" (2009: 20). Each space offers opportunities to use language, to construct and design space in very creative ways; therefore, landscapes become "web of significances where languages are used in different ways, conveying different meanings and with different aims in mind" (Gorter–Cenoz 2014: 167). By including the virtual signage in broadening linguistic landscape studies, more insights into language practices, signage creations, and language learning attempts of individuals, groups, or communities can be gained. In this environment, in this virtual linguistic landscape, multilingual communication takes place (Ivković–Lotherington 2009). VLL leads to an increased breadth of multilingual interaction as it can be related to the diversity of languages "out there" or to the particular groups of users with the language resources at their disposal, while multilingual discourses can also be characterized by translanguaging, code-switching, or code-mixing. Moreover, Vandergriff states that these changes, namely the online digital practices, have turned the attention of language learning researchers towards the heightened importance of learner agency, and these views can inform language learning and language teaching in ways that pedagogy-driven approaches may not (Vandergiff 2016: 24). Vandergriff points out the importance of learner engagement with L2 or multilingual communities which initiate learners into L2 digital practices. Furthermore, online communicative practices may impact curricular expectations as online practices and online target-language communities cannot be excluded anymore. "The emergence of Web 2.0 and the

growing access it provides to users across the globe affects how people learn an additional language. It has become easier than ever before to find and access instructional language-learning materials of all types and the web also offers an ever-increasing wealth of authentic materials" (Vandergiff 2016: 5). In the 21st century, foreign languages' curricula must include the competence to participate in virtual communities. "L2 users will be expected to be able to navigate online spaces in order to find, evaluate, use, share and create content" (Vandergiff 2016: 6). Thus, technology transforms language learning and teaching by connecting learners with others in online multilingual spaces. The intersection of VLL and language learning may enhance students to experience increased language awareness due to vastly different conversational structures vs those encountered in formal educational settings, other opportunities for language choice and code-switching, together with the clash of various personal, social, and cultural values. Because digital tools enable a dialogic process among learners and interlocutors, they have merged as the most promising way to foster extended learner discourse, and students have the opportunity to develop their repertoire. Multilingual practices of the virtual world are shaped by two constraints: first of all, being member of the virtual world means *being networked*, being digitally connected to others, and it requires a two-way communication. Secondly, it also means *being in the network*, being part of the virtual linguistic landscape of the social media, and of the Web in general, which refers to a one-way communication itself. Sites and apps designed for language learning (e.g. Duolingo) provide practice and materials or even facilitate connections between learners and other users, and even Facebook has groups dedicated to language learning.

Table 2. *Some general features of the web evolution*

Web 1.0	Web 2.0	Web 3.0
Mostly read-only	Widely read-write	Portable and personal/ semantic web
Home pages	Wikis/Blogs	Live streams
Web forms	Web applications	Smart applications
Directories	Tagging	User behaviour
One-way communication	Two-way communication/social media	Three-way communication/ social media facilitates communication

The evolution of the web leaves no doubt that the inclusion of researching its linguistic landscape provides various research topics. The earlier web (Web 1.0) allowed users to connect to static websites, while Web 2.0 allows users to interact with the web. At the moment, we are already experiencing the facilities

of Web 3.0 with its smart applications; and communication has already shown a three-way mode, where the social media facilitates communication (see *Table 3*). The next step, Web 4.0 has not arrived yet, but it is predicted that it would refer to the Internet of things (IoT), a symbiotic web which will allow the interaction between humans and machines in a symbiosis.

Therefore, virtual linguistic landscape research may take various routes. In order to study the virtual signage and its role in communication, the linguistic landscape of virtual/computer games, the overall linguistic landscape of the Internet (cyberscape of websites) can be considered. Linguistic landscape can also be defined by the specific physical places converging with their virtual counterparts (referring to digital linguistic landscape – geotagging, geographical metadata). Furthermore, virtual linguistic landscape studies may include the research of various social media, studying multilingualism in social networks, as we do not know very much about L2, L3 discourse on social media sites.

3. The context of the research and data collection

The research presented in this paper is a preliminary examination of the virtual linguistic landscape created and used by undergraduate bilingual students of Sapientia HUT. The majority of the students are from the three counties of Romania where Hungarians comprise the majority of the population: Covasna, Harghita, and Mureş counties. There are students from other regions of Romania, and some come from the neighbouring countries (see: Fazakas 2014). As the participants of this study are at different levels of bilingualism, the concept of individual bilingualism[1] as defined by Skutnabb-Kangas–McCarty (2008: 4-5) is used to indicate different levels of L2 proficiency. Individual bilingualism refers to the use of two or more languages by an individual. Throughout this paper, the term "first language" (L1) is used to refer to Hungarian as the language "best known and/or most used" by the speakers in question, also called "mother tongue" and contrasted with the second language (L2), in our case, Romanian (Skutnabb-Kangas–McCarty 2008: 6).

The research was carried out in March 2018. A total of 118 questionnaires were filled in by 1st- and 2nd-year undergraduate students. As the present study is considered a pioneer survey, the number of the students is not a representative one. Therefore, the findings of this survey cannot be generalized, but major trends based on the collected data could be identified. The items of the questionnaire

1 Individual bi-/multilingualism, sometimes called plurilingualism, involves proficiency in and use of two or more languages by an individual. The term used by the authors does not always imply an equally high level of proficiency in all the relevant languages (Skutnabb-Kangas–McCarty 2008).

referred to personal background data (studies, year, gender, age); self-assessment (digital literacy, Romanian (L2) and English/German (L3) language proficiency); use and ownership of digital tools (e.g. *How often do you use digital tools during language learning?*); use of mobile applications, computer games for language learning (*Do you consider playing computer games useful for language learning*?); membership and use of the social media (*Do you read English/Romanian posts?*, *Do you share English/Romanian posts?*) as well as opinion regarding usefulness of social media in the process of language learning (*Do you consider useful to integrate the social media (e.g. Facebook) into the practice of language learning – to share readings, relevant information*?). Using data gained from participants' self-assessed language proficiency is an alternative type of assessment. An official definition of language proficiency was provided by the Council of Europe in the form of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages from 2001. This form is used in schools at the end of schooling as part of the final exam series during high school graduation. Therefore, it provides a reliable background for the participants of the research. They could reach back to it when they self-assessed their language proficiency. Second-language speakers believe more in a higher second-language proficiency than their actual level of proficiency as it provides them with functional communication within the context (Dörnyei–Ushioda 2011). Therefore, they reported a higher English proficiency than the actual level of their English knowledge, being able to communicate now and then with foreigners, able to watch movies in English, etc. Their Romanian proficiency, on the other hand, is lower, according to their self-assessment, as not being able to perform in daily communicative contexts. These data were completed by a snapshot Facebook profile case study of the participants (62 profiles), referring to the visual linguistic elements and signs of language choice of the participants included in the survey. Due to time restrictions, the following factors were taken into consideration: the languages used in Facebook profiles during this period; the language of the shared contents, the language of the descriptions accompanying their shares; the language choice of their public comments on the particular page.

In this present paper, the research questions refer to the following hypotheses: A. If we assume that VLL is multilingual, then social media use should show signs of multilingualism; B. If we assume that the users of the social media are multilinguals, then VLL builds up a huge virtual linguistic input/resource, which ultimately serves as language resource and educational platform for language learning.

4. Discussion of the results. Multilingual practices and the virtual linguistic landscape

There were 42 male and 76 female students who participated in the survey with an age range between 19 and 28 years. They can be considered bilinguals, with Hungarian as L1 and with different levels of L2 (Romanian) language proficiency. According to their major (*Chart 1*), there were Agricultural Engineering students (from Sfântu-Gheorghe), students from Translating and Interpreting, Communication and Public Relations (from Târgu-Mureş) as well as students from Economics/Genetic Engineering, Romanian Language and Literature/ English Language and Literature, Universal Literature/English Language and Literature (from Miercurea Ciuc).

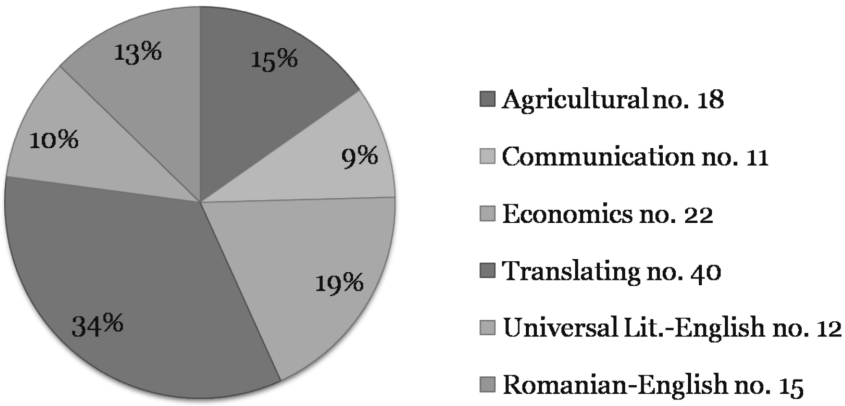

Chart 1. *Percentage of students participating in the survey based on their studies*

The majority of the respondents described themselves as being on an intermediate-advanced level regarding digital literacy (76 students out of 118). Digital literacy was previously explained to them, stating that it refers to the ability of using the Internet and software such as Word or Excel. Their language proficiency was based on self-assessment (*Chart 2*). The Translating/Interpreting students and language students reported at least intermediate language proficiency, both in Romanian and English, as their studies required advanced language proficiency.

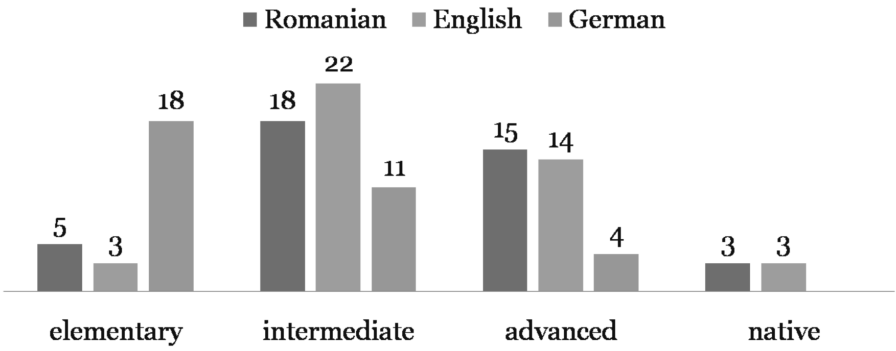

Chart 2. *Translating and Interpreting students' (a total of 40 students) self-reported language proficiency in Romanian, English, and German*

Agricultural Engineering students reported the lowest language proficiency, partially due to the non-existing prerequisite of advanced language command (English) at the start of their university studies. They live in Romanian villages or cities where the majority of the population is Hungarian, and therefore they lack the possibility of practising Romanian in their everyday communication (*Chart 3*).

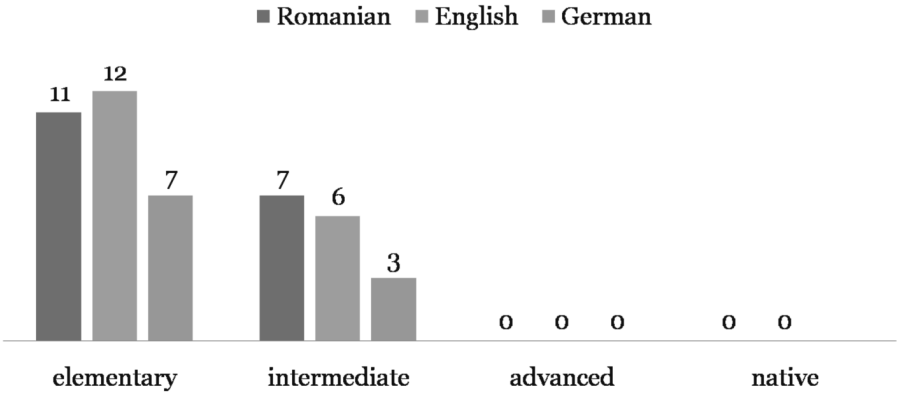

Chart 3. *Agricultural Engineering students' (a total of 18 students) self-reported language proficiency in Romanian, English, and German*

Keyboard-and-screen technologies are needed to build up the VLL in order to be networked and to be in the network. According to the data of the present research, 100% of the participants own a smartphone and laptop, while PCs and tablets are less popular – 43% of the students own a PC, and 27% of them have a tablet. They often use these devices to collect and study information online and use them during their academic studies. Due to their lack of language command either in

Romanian or English or both, 15% of the participants do not collect information in Romanian or English. However, this percentage has to be dealt with care as most of the participants are language students with intermediate or advanced language proficiency in L2 and L3. Regarding the conscious use of applications for language learning, they tend to use some of them, for example Duolingo. The majority of the students, 79% of them, consider these apps "not useful". They play or used to play computer games, but the majority finds them "not useful" in the process of language learning (62%). The results of the questionnaire revealed their membership in one or more social media, with Facebook membership on the top (52%), followed by Instagram (32%), Snapchat (11%), and Twitter (5%). They continuously share and read contents on social platforms, e.g. Facebook; however, the majority shares and reads exclusively Hungarian contents; even language students exceed the majority only by 6%. A total of 30% often reads and shares in other languages than Hungarian; however, 60% rarely reads and shares anything else than Hungarian contents, while 10% never reads or shares in any other languages except for their mother tongue. Their opinion about the usefulness of social media in the process of language learning (*Do you consider useful to integrate the social media (e.g. Facebook) into the practice of language learning?*) revealed that 51% of the participants considers that it would be useful, 33% suggests that it would be useful to a certain degree, while 13% does not really find it useful, and 3% of them finds it totally useless. It can be stated that university students at Sapientia HUT use the Internet and the social media extensively to collect, read, and share information, although the extent of this use is determined by their language proficiency level. The use of applications has not gained popularity either because it requires a long-term perseverance or it presents an inconvenient way of language learning. However, the majority would take into consideration the further use of social media in language learning processes, which takes us back to the already mentioned learner agency, where the learner engagement with L2 or multilingual communities initiates learners into L2 or L3 digital practices (see: Vandergriff 2016: 24).

Data completed by a random sampling of public Facebook profiles of the participants served as a snapshot of the visual linguistic elements and signs of language choice of the participants. Their Facebook profiles build up the virtual linguistic landscape, which is public in nature but reflects the individual decisions of the account holder. As already mentioned, the following factors were taken into consideration: the languages used in Facebook profiles during this period; the language of the shared contents, the language of the descriptions accompanying their shares; the language choice of their public comments on a certain page. According to the findings, there were three types of users. The first type of users is language-confident (either in Romanian or in English or in both). Their Facebook content shows signs of language mixing, sharing in all languages

they know; the descriptions are multilingual as well. However, their comments are generally Hungarian, rarely Romanian and only if the communication situation requires it, i.e. the partner speaks Romanian. The second type of users, mostly those who are not language students, share multilingual contents, sometimes even with multilingual descriptions or quotes. These are mainly used for creating their Facebook identities, therefore serving as a self-fashioning practice. However, they do not engage in other language practices than Hungarian. The third group of users is a group of typically Hungarian-based content builders; they rarely share anything in other languages. The members of this group are networked by Hungarian counterparts and are in the network of a virtual linguistic landscape with Hungarian linguistic elements. Future research will focus on the detailed analysis of the content of these profiles in order to gain more insight into the multilingual character of these virtual landscapes.

5. Conclusions and implications for future work

Assuming that VLL is multilingual, social media use should show signs of multilingualism. However, lack of language proficiency is still an obstacle to creating and using elements of the VLL. Sharing and reading in foreign languages is less prevalent than expected, and the content is used in identity creation or self-fashioning. A multilingual/bilingual user is trendy, and it should be peer- and group-supported. The identity created on social media pages is not an isolated phenomenon but it is characterized by intersubjectivity[2] based on online interactions, called the collaborative authorship of the self. Theoretically, the multilingual virtual space created by the individual speakers provides more opportunity for multilingual practices, with content sharing, comments, etc.; still, the significant body of the contents is pragmatic-oriented and fulfils the needs of a monolingual community. The virtual linguistic landscape can build up a huge virtual linguistic input/linguistic resource which can serve as language resource and educational platform for language learning by imitating spontaneous LL language learning possibilities, creating endless possibilities of foreign language input for any language learners. Learners can choose the most adequate input for their personal needs and personal character. However, VLL in our study delineates – indicates – the boundaries of a linguistic community and marks the language status among coexisting language choices. Finding and sharing information in different languages does not really promote multilingualism for the students. Using the VLL as means of language learning is still far away from the everyday virtual linguistic practice. Speakers of a minority language will choose their

2 Intersubjectivity here refers to a relation between the self and other, which can mediate discourses of the self and of the social sharings in the social media.

native language in order to be in the network and being networked. Therefore, the virtual linguistic landscape can be seen as a vehicle for the presentation of the self and as a community identity marker with the patterns of social interaction in which people engage in this particular space.

The study presented in this paper raises a number of questions. The reliability of the data is an issue as the study presented in this paper relies on self-reported data rather than direct observation. Future work needs to address the issue of small sample size in order to facilitate rigorous statistical analysis, in particular to verify the preliminary results suggested by the current data. Further research could directly examine the actual language practice of bilingual speakers coupled with a mapping of the languages of contacts in their online network. While this approach is likely to provide a rich source of data, the methodological and ethical issues require careful consideration. Moreover, the next research topics should cover the relationship between the multilingual practices and language learning of bilingual speakers. VLL can serve to a certain extent as an informal language learning environment where the actors of this landscape create their own "shares" and, together with other semiotic resources, become involved in the symbolic construction of multilingual spaces. Crossing the border between linguistic landscape and virtual linguistic landscape, a Facebook share will imply more than content sharing with all of its future possibilities.

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Book Review

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Nóra Csontos – Csilla Ilona Dér *Pragmatika a magyar mint idegen nyelv oktatásában*

(*Pragmatics in Teaching Hungarian as a Foreign Language*), pp. 92
Budapest: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem – L'Harmattan Publishing House, 2018

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For a long time, pragmatics, and especially studies in speech acts "have suffered from astonishing ethnocentrism" (Wierzbicka 2003: 25); the observations made by researchers on the English language use having been extended to language use in general. The book presented in this review continues the line of studies and books that go against this trend (see, for instance, Thomas 1983, Wierzbicka 1985, Holmes 1995) as it brings into discussion pragmatic knowledge also from a Hungarian perspective. A result of a fruitful collaboration between Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church (Budapest, Hungary) and Ferenc Rákóczy II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute (Beregszász, the Ukraine), the series of books on Hungarian linguistics – edited by Orsolya Nádor – is designed to offer help to teachers of Hungarian as a foreign language.

Heavily relying on contemporary international and Hungarian research, the present volume presents the most important and basic information on the state-of-the-art of pragmatics through an intercultural lens. Pragmatics is regarded as a verbal activity embedded in diverse cognitive, social, and cultural contexts. In twelve chapters, the authors, Nóra Csontos and Csilla Ilona Dér, advance from more general information on pragmatics as a branch of linguistics towards the peculiarities of Hungarian pragmatics. Starting with a general description of the verbal activity, through chapters on context, written and oral discourses, deixis and co-reference, Grice's conversational maxims and theory of implicature,

speech acts, and pragmatic politeness, the second main part of the volume gives an overview of the most significant results of research on politeness and speech acts in Hungarian, especially highlighting the questions of requests, refusals and praises, and ways of representing these speech acts in three different student's books teaching Hungarian as a foreign language (*MagyarOK*, *Lépésenként magyarul* [*Step by Step in Hungarian*] and *Halló, itt Magyarország* [*Hello, This Is Hungary*]). Chapters 10 and 11 summarize the general and communicative (linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic) competences that a language learner is supposed to acquire and the deficiencies of pragmatic competence, i.e. pragmatic failure and pragmatic mistakes. Finally, the book concludes with a list of topics (frames, scripts), strategies, and discourse types that appear in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR 2001) for all the levels, starting with A1 (beginner level) up to C2 (proficiency level), enlisting the social and cultural competences that need to be acquired while learning a foreign language: everyday living, living conditions, interpersonal relations, including relations of power and solidarity, values, beliefs and attitudes (here special emphasis is laid on those situations which might cause offence or which are different in other cultures), body language, and social conventions.

One of the strengths of the volume is that it draws attention to the Hungarian verbally and culturally defined, phonological, grammatical differences, pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic strategies that need to be acquired when learning it as a foreign language. First and foremost, a student of Hungarian needs to be aware of the linguistic markers of attitude deixis, i.e. the T/V distinction present in the more or less formal ways of addressing (*te/ön/maga*, similar to the German *du/Sie* or the French *tu/Vous*). In addition, there are typical Hungarian formal greetings, such as *Csókolom* ('I kiss you'), *Kezét csókolom* ('I kiss your hand'), or special formal requests of the type *tetszik* + infinitive ('like + infinitive') (e.g. *Tetszik kérni?* [Would you like some?], *Tetszik venni?* [Would you like to have some?]. Similarly, direct refusal of a request, explicit way of saying 'no' counts as very impolite in Hungarian. Instead, Hungarians prefer to use three main strategies: giving explanations for the refusal, denial, and expressing sorry. The discussion concludes with the remark that the degree of directness is in strong connection with the cultural habits.

The phonological differences in the expression of spatial deixis also require special attention from learners of Hungarian as the deictic expressions to show location close to the speaker, i.e. to the deictic centre, require the front unrounded vowel /i/ (*itt* 'here' and *ez* 'this'), while deictic expressions pointing to entities at a distance from the speaker require the open back vowel /a/ or /o/ (*ott* 'there', *az* 'that'). This feature is very similar to English deictic expressions, and therefore it might foster English students' learning Hungarian.

The book also draws attention to the correct use of the greeting *hello* in Hungarian, used for both meeting and departing, while in English it is used only for the former situation. Being unaware of this distinction may lead to pragmalinguistic failure (see also Csatlós 2014).

Sociopragmatic failure (Leech 1983) can similarly occur if students of a foreign language are not taught about certain topics that are considered taboos in the target culture. They need to learn to be culturally sensitive to acceptable vs non-acceptable topics in a given situation. In Hungarian, for instance, it is not fitting to talk about religious, political, racial, sexual topics, financial matters in formal situations, even if it is possible to touch upon these problems more openly in the learner's culture.

As Wierzbicka claims (2003: viii), research into differences between cultural norms associated with different languages is essential for peaceful co-existence, mutual tolerance, necessary understanding in the workplace and in other walks of life in the increasingly "global" and yet in many places increasingly diversified world. Today, when Hungarian is studied by a growing number of learners all over the world, the book especially addressing teachers of Hungarian as a foreign language is an invaluable tool in making them and their students aware of the generalities and pitfalls that might occur in their teaching practice.

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