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A typological shift in the phonological history of German from the perspective of licensing scales

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Abstract

The paper argues that the typological shift of German from a syllable language to a word language (Szczepaniak 2007) can be accounted for through reference to a change at the level of the nuclei and their licensing abilities (Cyran 2003, 2010). Old High German used full nuclei in all positions of the word. In the late Old High German period, unstressed vowel reduction took place and entailed a domino effect of further changes. Reduced vowels were granted more licensing potential, and empty nuclei were strengthened too. This parametric shift is assumed to lie at the heart of the whole typological shift. There is no need to state that Old High German "profiled" the syllable, while Modern High German "profiles" the word, since most of the associated phenomena can be explained with more basic mechanisms.

Key words

syllables, licensing scales, CVCV, German, phonological typology

Zmiana typologiczna w fonologicznej historii języka niemieckiego z perspektywy skal licencjonowania

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest dowiedzenie, że przemiana typologiczna w historii języka niemieckiego z języka sylabowego w język wyrazowy (Szczepaniak 2007) może zostać wyjaśniona za pomocą odniesienia do zmiany na poziomie ośrodków sylabicznych oraz ich zdolności do licencjonowania (Cyran 2003, 2010). Język starowysokoniemiecki używał pełnych ośrodków we wszystkich pozycjach wyrazu. W późniejszym okresie języka starowysokoniemieckiego na sile przybrały procesy redukcji samogłosek, które pociągnęły za sobą dalsze zmiany w systemie fonologicznym. Samogłoski zredukowane oraz ośrodki puste zwiększyły swoje możliwości licencjonujące. Ta zmiana parametryczna jest podstawą całej przesuwki typologicznej. Nie ma więc potrzeby zakładania, że język starowysokoniemiecki „profilował" sylabę, podczas gdy współczesny język niemiecki „profiluje" wyraz, ponieważ większość związanych z tą zmianą zjawisk da się wyjaśnić poprzez odniesienie do bardziej podstawowych mechanizmów.

Słowa kluczowe

sylaby, skale licencjonowania, CVCV, język niemiecki, typologia fonologiczna

1. Introduction

Szczepaniak (2007) provides an excellent analysis of the phonological development of German from a typological perspective. She argues that Old High German (henceforth OHG) was a canonical "syllable language" whereas Modern High German (henceforth ModHG) is a prime example of a "word language". Middle High German (MHG) was a transition period.

The aim of this paper is to argue that this shift, albeit indubitably "real", is actually a reflection of a more basic shift in the vocalic system of the language. The explanation will be

formulated within the Complexity Scales and Licensing (henceforth CSL) framework (Cyran 2003, 2010).

Section 2 will include an introduction to the typology of "syllable" and "word languages", upon which Szczepaniak's (2007) seminal work is based. Section 3 will introduce readers to the model of Complexity Scales and Licensing, developed in Cyran (2003, 2010). Finally, Section 4 will contain a reanalysis of various phonological changes between OHG and later periods through the prism of CSL.

2. Syllable languages and word languages

According to the proponents of the approach to phonological typology distinguishing between "syllable" and "word" languages (Donegan and Stampe 1983, Dauer 1983, Auer 1993, Reina and Szczepaniak 2014), not all units of the Prosodic Hierarchy are treated on a par within a language. Each language chooses one prosodic category and decides to organise its phonology around it. Thus, some languages "profile" the syllable, while others optimise and emphasise the Phonological Word.

The distinction between "syllable" and "word" languages is a new incarnation of the old dichotomy between "syllable-timing" and "stress-timing" (Pike 1953, Abercrombie 1967). Nonetheless, whereas the old theory was based on the phenomenon of rhythm only, the new approach has a much wider scope. It specifies quite clearly what phonological phenomena are characteristic of each type.

Thus, one of the principal features of syllable languages is simple syllable structure. Canonical syllable languages tend to possess either only CV syllables or syllables which fall relatively close to this ideal unmarked shape. Syllable structure is also the same for all word positions, with no visible preferences concerning, for example, the presence of stress. In contrast, word languages archetypally make use of more marked syllabic structures, e.g. closed syllables. They often have large

consonant clusters, which may violate typical sonority-based generalisations (and which often get repaired through epenthesis in syllable languages). They also may not treat stressed and unstressed syllables equally, with stressed syllables being significantly more "robust" and allowing more variation than the unstressed ones.

There are also significant differences in the behaviour of vocalic systems in both types of language. Syllable languages usually do not exhibit vowel reduction in unstressed positions. They may even contrast vocalic length in unstressed syllables. Such a phenomenon is unlikely to be found in a word language, since word languages place severe limitations on the unstressed vocalism, sometimes limiting it to just one reduced vowel.

Syllable languages are much more likely to use vowel harmony, tone, or geminates. They also often resyllabify consonants across morphosyntactic boundaries. Word languages very rarely display such properties.

How the alleged "profiling" and "optimisation" manifest themselves should naturally follow from the short explanation given above. All of the enumerated regularities found in syllable languages appear to have one common goal: to bring each syllable as close to the CV-shape as possible. On the other hand, the features found in word languages seem to have the emphasis of the Phonological Word as their objective. Each word in such a language has phonological properties which mark its discreteness in the speech chain. It typically has one stressed syllable, the word boundaries are often marked by distinct phonotactic patterns, and they do not get obliterated by resyllabification.

3. Complexity Scales and Licensing

Cyran's (2003, 2010) *Complexity Scales and Licensing* theory is a derivative of Government Phonology, and more precisely of its CVCV implementation. It is an avantgarde model of phonol-

ogy in that its constituent structure is markedly different from mainstream models. Like other CVCV-related models, it does not grant recognition to traditional units of Prosodic Hierarchy, such as the syllable. The constituent structure is flat, which means that skeletal slots are not dominated by any higher-order prosodic units. The smallest unit manipulated by phonology is a CV-slot. C stands for consonant (onset), V for vowel (nucleus). It is not possible to refer to a C or V on its own, since they form an indivisible prosodic unit. Nevertheless, some CV slots may remain unassociated with phonetic substance (melody). In such a case they remain unpronounced. Figure 1 illustrates a CVCV representation of English "guarantee".

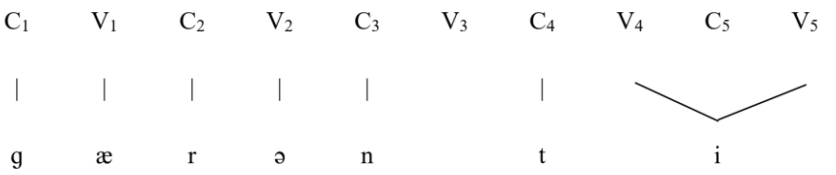

Figure 1
Guarantee in CVCV

As we can see, the consonant cluster /nt/ extends over two CV-slots. There is a V-position in between, which happens to not be associated with melody (hence a cluster on the surface). Likewise, the long vowel /i:/ contains an empty onset position.

Even though there are no *syllables*, there is *syllable structure*. This means that CVCV can still express a contrast e.g. between a closed and an open syllable, or explain syllable-based phonotactics restrictions. All of the observations conventionally accounted for by means of syllabic arborescence are attributed here to the workings of *lateral forces*. Lateral forces are defined as relations between prosodic positions in

a string. The inventory of recognized lateral forces is a matter of dispute. Within the limits of this paper, we will review only the lateral forces found in the CSL model.

In the absence of branching constituents (onsets, rhymes), the existence of all consonant clusters follows from the so-called interonset relations contracted between C-positions across an intervening V-slot. It is typically a matter of the sonority profiles of participating consonants whether the sequence at hand is parsed as a branching onset or a coda-onset cluster. The stronger, i.e. the less sonorous member of the cluster, becomes the head of a relation called Interonset Government. If the consonant on the left is stronger, the contracted relation is referred to as Rightward InterOnset Government (RIO) and a branching onset arises. In the opposite case, consonants form a coda-onset cluster by establishing a Leftward InterOnset Government (LIO) relationship.

One more later force, licensing, plays an important role in CSL. Licensing is a property of nuclei and is a condition on the existence of all consonantal structures. Every single consonant needs to be licensed by the following nucleus. For instance, in the word *cat* /ˈkæt/ the nucleus /æ/ licenses the preceding /k/, whereas /t/ is licensed by the *following empty nucleus*. Please keep in mind that consonant-final words need to be assumed to end in empty nuclei, if the CV-slot is the smallest prosodic unit. Licensing is also a condition *sine qua non* for clusters. For LIO or RIO to be contracted, the potential governor needs to be licensed to govern by the following nucleus. This relation is known as Government-Licensing. Figure 2 contains a graphical illustration for all of the hitherto discussed formal mechanisms.

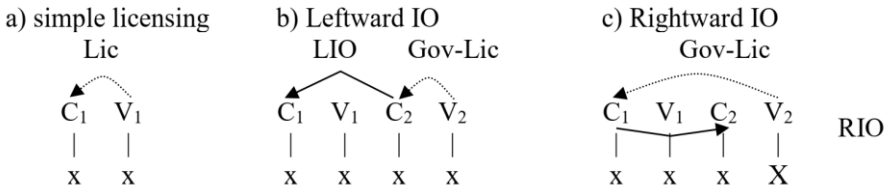

Figure 2
Interonset relations in Cyran (2010)

Not all of the structures in (2) are equally easy to licence. Note that the single consonant (2a) is the most common situation, in which a nucleus licences a single onset. In (2b) the nucleus licenses two consonants, which is a more difficult task. Finally, in (2c) the nucleus is responsible for two consonants as well, but its licensee is more distant from it. This relation is not only a theoretical construct, since it mirrors the scale of markedness put forward in Kaye and Lowenstamm (1981) as a cross-linguistically prevalent universal. Single onsets are indeed the least marked structures, with coda-onset clusters being more marked and branching onsets as the last step of the scale.

According to CSL, this set of implications belongs to the core of phonological UG and is regulated parametrically in various languages. Should a language possess coda-onset clusters, it necessarily also has singleton onsets. If it has branching onsets, it must also display both singleton onsets and coda-onset sequences. Figure 3 displays the relations.

	Structure	Example	example language
I	*Ca*	ba**by**	Desano
II	*RTa*	wi**nte**r	Japanese
III	*TRa*	**tra**p	English

Figure 3
Licensing strength of nuclei in Cyran (2010: 93)

C in Figures 3 and 4 refers to any consonant, RT is a sequence of any sonorant followed by any obstruent (i.e. a typical coda-onset cluster), whereas TR is its reverse, i.e. a canonical branching onset. The following figures use the same conventions.

The last important concept in CSL is the strength of the nuclei which carry out the job of licensing. That is, a full vowel is always inherently stronger, and can license more (or at least not *less*) than a reduced vowel. Analogously, an empty nucleus is even weaker than a reduced vowel, so it will never license more than a reduced, or a full, vowel. Figure 4 contains a full demonstration of the implicational relationships lying at the heart of the CSL model.

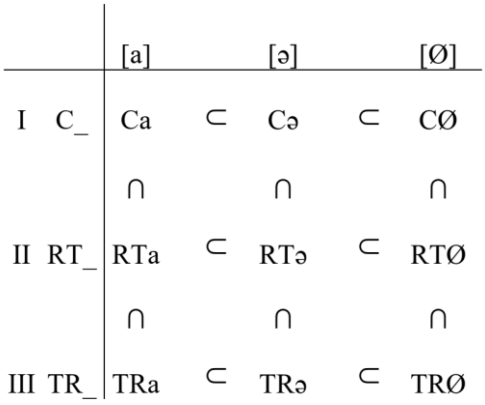

Figure 4
The full net of syllable structure relations in CSL

It does not take much to notice that the theory of CSL is quite a comprehensive proposal, since it aspires to account for virtually all aspects of syllabic organisation. It is also fully falsifiable. In the remainder of the paper we will see that it provides enough formalism to explain the typological shift which apparently took place in German.

4. Phonological-typological shift in the history of German

Our analysis of the shift will consist in juxtaposing the OHG phonological system and the developments which it underwent in the subsequent periods. We will principally concentrate on the changes in the nucleus inventory and the distribution of nuclei. Then we will attempt to relate these changes to other phonological developments and to show that they are often interconnected.

4.1. The properties of nuclei in OHG

The vocalism of OHG was that of a typical syllable language. OHG contrasted long and short vowels in both stressed and unstressed positions. Most probably, there was no vowel reduction, at least until the late OHG period.

The inventory of vowels in stressed positions contained five short vowels /a, ë, i, o, u/, five long vowels /ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/, and six diphthongs /ei, ou, io, iu, ie, uo/. In unstressed positions the inventory was not much smaller. There was some dialectal variation, but except for the fact that the use of diphthongs in unstressed positions was very rare, most of the long and short monophthongs could occur in unstressed positions too.

In CSL terms, OHG made use of only two levels of licensors: full nuclei and empty nuclei (at the end of word). However, when we take a look at the licensing skills of the nuclei, we would expect to see mainly singleton consonants in a syllable language. From the qualitative point of view, this is clearly not the case. Simmler (1981) prepared an exhaustive list of the consonant clusters found in various positions of the word in Otfrid of Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch*. It turned out that OHG had both two-member clusters and three-member clusters in all positions of the word (such as *nst*, *rpf*, *rts* etc.).

At the beginning of the word, the clusters mostly consist of two members, and typically do not transcend beyond what we traditionally call "branching onsets". As a possible third mem-

ber, we may find /s/ at the left edge. Word-internally, the system displays a wide variety of two-member and three-member clusters. There are even two four-member clusters attested (*rsgt*, *nsgt*). The right edge of the word also features two- and three-member groups, but apparently no clusters ending in a sonorant (the so-called word-final branching onsets).

On this basis, we could conclude that OHG principally had word-language phonotactics, but a closer analysis makes the whole picture quite murky. Some of the clusters included by Simmler (1981) contain a morpheme boundary, which means that they may contain a laterally potent empty nucleus creating its own licensing domain (this is true of both of the attested word-internal four-member clusters). What is more, many of these big clusters contain sibilants, which are the *enfant terrible* of phonotactics and often form consonant groups which do not fit the remainder of the phonological system at hand, and thus could be exempt from generalisations. Finally, many of them are in fact contour segments (esp. *pf*, *ts*) and should not be treated as clusters at all.

Another factor which influences our interpretation of the OHG consonantism is token frequency of the "big clusters". Frey (1988) offers a statistical evaluation of the frequency of all of the syllabic configurations. It appears that word-internal clusters made of three or four clusters have an extremely low token frequency. Less than 1.4% of the words in the tested corpus possess a word-internal cluster with more than two members (there is no data about the morphological structure of these clusters; it is possible that some of the examples could be dismissed on this basis too). Hence, clusters bigger than two consonants are a very marked situation in OHG, if unambiguous examples can be identified at all.

There are some further phenomena which give us hints concerning the licensing potential of OHG nuclei. Very many clusters display epenthetic vowels on some occasions. The epenthesis seems to be independent of the position of the cluster within the word. Thus, a vowel may be inserted word-

initially (*chraft* > *charaft* 'strength', *swarz* > *sowarz* 'black'), word-internally (*farwa* > *farawa* 'color', *malha* > *malaha* 'bag'), and word-finally (*swert* > *sweret* 'sword', *kisiht* > *kisihit* 'vision'). Epenthesis also often took place at a morpheme boundary after concatenation (*spil* 'play, music' + *hūs* 'house' > *spilihūs* 'theater'). Syncope, on the other hand, was very rare in OHG, and when it took place, then it was only to create geminates. The CSL interpretation of these facts is that all OHG licensors have a strong preference for singleton onsets. Consonant clusters, even though not entirely non-existent, are not very well embedded in the system.

The licensing potential of the OHG can thus be generalised in the following way:

a) Full nuclei can license all three levels of syllabic complexity (singleton onsets/coda-onset clusters/branching onsets), however, the system has a strong preference for singleton onsets and enforces such structures on many occasions.
b) Empty nuclei can license two levels of syllabic complexity (singleton onsets and coda-onset clusters), but they feature a similar bias towards simple onsets as the most unmarked situation.

Note, however, that employing empty nuclei as licensors was dispreferred, when better options were available. In postlexical contexts it was possible to readjust the syllable structure in a way which would maximize the role of the full nucleus. Consider for example, gemination of a word-final consonant before a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. *kan inan* > *kann inan* 'can him' (Braune 2004: 96).

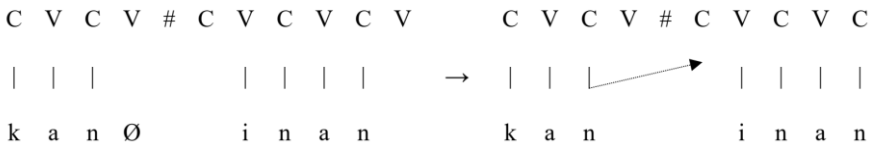

Figure 5
Postlexical gemination in OHG

At the initial stage, a single consonant was licensed by an empty nucleus. Since an empty C-position followed by a better licensor became available after concatenation, melody from the word-final C spread onto it, forming a LIO domain licensed by the initial vowel of *inan*. Apparently, a more complex structure with a full vowel in the licensor role was preferred over a single consonant licensed by an empty nucleus.

OHG also had some other processes characteristic of syllable languages. Full vocalism in all positions often lays foundations for the existence of vowel harmony. OHG indeed harmonised some of its vowels in the phenomenon of *i-umlaut*, which was still productive back then and came to be visible in MHG after phonemicization (OHG *mahtīg* > MHG *mähtec* 'mighty'). Also epenthetic vowels tended to adapt to the quality of the preceding or following stem vowel (cf. the examples quoted above: *chraft* > *charaft* 'strength' vs. *swert* > *sweret* 'sword').

All of these facts contribute to the classification of Old High German as a syllable language in terms of the theory of prosodic profiling. In terms of CSL, the same combination of factors could be described by the strong pressure of the system to emphasise full nuclei. The most preferred licensing relation was that which existed between a nucleus and a singleton onset. Other syllabic configurations were also present, but the system had several techniques of eliminating them and enforcing the favoured CV-structure.

4.2. The typological shift in late OHG and MHG

The end of the OHG period was marked by a very significant change at the level of phonological representation. Namely, vowel reduction in unstressed syllables took place. German started losing the hitherto prevalent opposition between long and short nuclei in unaccented positions, replacing all of the old unstressed vocalism by reduced nuclei.

Following the assumptions of CSL, we need to assume that the shift was a parametric change at the level of I-language. When vowel reduction got phonologized, the inventory of licensors was enriched to accommodate the third type of licensor: the reduced vowel. At the same time, *i-umlaut* vowels lost their conditioning environment and became phonologized too. The inventory of stressed nuclei increased, while the set of unstressed nuclei was decreased.

This change was the step which provided the conditions for the subsequent remodelling of the whole phonological system of German. A prominent modification took place at the foot level, since emphasising the difference between stressed and unstressed nuclei caused the trochee to become the dominant foot type in MHG. Every phonological word acquired a strong tendency to accommodate exactly one foot (Szczepaniak 2007: 149).

In what way did the vowel reduction influence the licensing relations? Note that virtually all full unstressed nuclei (except the ones in compounds) were replaced by reduced vowels. Essentially, the new licensors inherited the consonantal structures of their historical predecessors.

At the same time, however, vowel reduction proceeded further. Some of the reductions ended in vowel loss. As a consequence, increasingly bigger consonantal structures arose, and they needed to be licensed by increasingly weaker licensors. Numerous MHG syncopes and apocopes are the primary symptom of a change at the level of licensors and their respective strengths.

Let us take a look at the development of several medial unstressed vowels from OHG to MHG (data collected from Szczepaniak 2007, Paul 1998, Löhken 1997: 229).

(1) OHG *zunga* > MHG *zung*[ə] 'tongue, nom. sg.'
OHG *korōti* > MHG *kor*[ə]*t*[ə] 'recognize, 3p.sg.past.subj.'
OHG *salbōta* > MHG *salb*[ə]*t*[ə] 'anoint, 3p.sg.past'
OHG *kelbirum* > MHG *kelb*[ə]*r*[ə]*n* 'calves, dat.pl.'
OHG *zungōno* > MHG *zung*[ə]*n*[ə] 'tongue, gen.pl.'

These examples, at least at the initial stage of the reduction process, did not involve any change in the licensing relations. We can only see that the full nuclei (long and short ones) were supplanted by /ə/, which continued to license the same consonantal structures.

Over the course of time, however, further reductions took place. The examples in (2) demonstrate how some of word-internal schwas were dropped and created new consonant clusters:

(2) OHG *gimeinida* > MHG *gemeinde* 'community'
MHG *kelb*[ə]*r*[ə]*n* > *kelb*[ə]*rn* 'calves, dat. pl.'
MHG *ner*[ə]*n* > *nern* 'heal, inf.'
MHG *nim*[ə]*t* > *nimt* 'take, 3p. sg. pres.'
MHG *hilf*[ə]*t* > *hilft* 'help, 3p. sg. pres.'
MHG *gib*[ə]*t* > *gibt* 'give, 3p. sg. pres.'
OHG *miluh* > MHG *milch* 'milk'
OHG *magad* > MHG *maget* > *magt* 'maid'

These stress-driven syncopations led to quite a wide-ranging role shift in the system of licensors. For instance, in OHG *gimeinida* 'community' the full vowel /i/ was responsible for just one preceding consonant /n/. After it was syncopated (probably with the intermediate stage of reduction to schwa), the V-slot became empty. In order for the position to remain unpronounced, the next vocalic slot (which in OHG hosted /a/, but just /ə/ in MHG) needed to take over the job of licens-

ing *two* preceding consonants. Let us analyse the change in the representation in Figure 6.

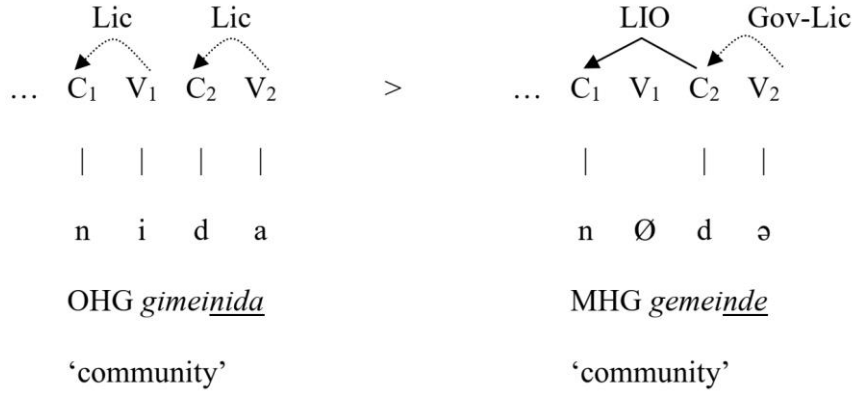

Figure 6
Licensing responsibility shift from OHG to MHG

The remaining examples from (2) point towards a significant rise of the role of empty nuclei in the system. Final empty nuclei, which licensed only single consonants in (2) before syncope, became burdened with the duty of licensing whole clusters. The battery of syncopations remarkably raised the ratio of word-final consonant clusters in the language.

Beside word-internal schwas, numerous word-final ones got left out too. Many words ending in a vowel became consonant-final. This was another factor leading to the boosting of the role of final empty nuclei. Consider the following data:

(3) MHG *zung*[ə]*n*[ə] > *zung*[ə]*n* 'tongue, gen. pl.'
MHG *eng*[ə]*l*[ə] > *eng*[ə]*l* 'angel, nom. sg.'
MHG *vruhtbær*[ə] > *vruhtbær* 'fertile'
MHG *spæte* > *spæt* 'late'
MHG *lære* > *lær* 'empty'

Not only were the final empty nuclei granted more licensing duties, but also their prevalence in the lexicon significantly rose.

Note that the syncope and apocope phenomena were independent of the morphological structure of the word – all unstressed vowels could be lost, regardless of whether they belonged to the stem, to a derivational affix or to an inflectional affix. The resulting clusters are also not always canonical coda clusters, since syncope can even generate obstruent sequences, e.g. *magt*.

All other phonological development which took place in the Middle High German period can be derived from the change at the nuclear level. For instance, MHG lost vowel harmony – i-umlaut became morphologised, umlauted vowels were phonemicised. This fact can be directly accounted for by the reduction of the conditioning environment (i.e. all /i/s) to schwa. If unstressed nuclei undergo reduction, it follows that they can no longer express the same range of contrasts which they could before. Consequently, the full nuclei take over the role of lexical contrast bearers. Even though /i/ was no longer distinguishable from other unstressed nuclei, the contrasts which it was responsible for were transferred to the stressed vowel.

Another process which started manifesting itself in the Middle High German period was final devoicing. Devoicing is traditionally perceived in the German linguistic tradition as final fortition (*Auslautsverhärtung*), rather than weakening. Nowadays, this perspective is still embraced by many linguists (see e.g. Iverson and Salmons 2007, but also Harris 2009 for the opposing view). Iverson and Salmons (2007) postulate that the German final devoicing is best analysed as [spread] feature addition. However, the addition of a feature, or fortition in general, is not a process which could be expected from a weak position, like the word-final one, hence the account seems

paradoxical.[1] When we assume that the word-final empty nuclei were strengthened in the transition from OHG to MHG, we may as well link to it the development of *Auslautsverhärtung.* Final empty nuclei were granted more licensing potential and they needed a way to express it. In consequence, German acquired a process of feature addition in the word-final position.

To sum up the Middle High German period from the viewpoint of CSL, first of all it needs to be stated that it was characterized by the introduction of a new type of licensor: reduced vowels. This was the fundamental change, which, although it may have originated in phonetics, essentially involved a parameter resetting. It was the first and most crucial step of the typological shift. The system was also plagued by frequent deletions of unstressed vowels. As a result, the licensing skills of the nuclei which stayed in the system (reduced and empty nuclei) underwent a significant upgrade.

4.3. Between MHG and ModHG

In the early ModHG period, the phonological system of German manifested the features of a typical word language even more explicitly than before. For instance, the stressed nuclei gained more prominence after the process of Open Syllable Lengthening was completed (Szulc 1987: 124, Schmidt 1993: 237). There were only a few developments which are relevant from the point of view of licensing relations in the language.

For instance, many words ending in a single consonant acquired an additional coronal at the right edge (Szczepaniak 2007: 250-51):

(4) MHG *ieman* > eModHG *jemand* 'somebody'
MHG *saf* > eModHG *saft* 'juice'
MHG *obez* > eModHG *obest*/*obst* 'fruit'
MHG *letz* > eModHG *letzt* 'last'

[1] Note that there Iverson and Salmons do not conflate all cases of word-final devoicing as fortition – only the ones for which some evidence for feature addition can be adduced.

In Szczepaniak's terms, the reason behind the process was highlighting the word boundary. In CVCV, the right-edge epenthesis may be attributed to the same factor which was responsible for the emergence of final devoicing. The rise in the licensing potential of final empty nuclei (FENs) led to further modification of the right edge of some words. Their FENs became so strong and potent, that the possibility to license a LIO became an unmarked option. In some cases, the boosted potential of the empty nuclei had to remain unexpressed, or it only caused final fortition. However, sometimes it also led to a right-edge epenthesis.

The strength of FENs may be also one of the reasons why no resyllabification across word and morpheme boundaries takes place in Modern High German (unlike in Old High German). Consider, for example, morphologically complex words like *üb+lich* [ˈyːp.lɪç] 'usual' or *Rad+achse* [ˈʀaːt.ˌʔakslə] 'axle', which could potentially form single domains, pronounced as *[ˈyː.blɪç] and *[ˈʀaː.ˌdakslə] respectively. However, the FENs at the right edge of each base are sufficiently independent to prevent such a process from taking place.

5. Conclusion

Unlike the proponents of the syllable vs. word language dichotomy, we assume that the vowel reduction in late Old High German was not a *result* of a typological shift in the phonology of the language. It was rather the only shift in the I-language terms, and the remaining changes followed from it.

This analysis is different from the traditional ones, in that it is based upon completely different theoretical assumptions. It rejects the idea espoused literally in the prosodic profiling literature, according to which one prosodic category is selected by the system and the whole phonology of the language is centered upon it. There are independent reasons to assume that the syllable is not the primary category of human language (Scheer 2004), and that the Prosodic Hierarchy is only a dia-

critic, the aim of which is to represent morphosyntactic information in phonology (Scheer 2012). Having embraced the achievements of the CVCV theory, it is useful to attempt to reformulate some old generalisations in a new guise, testing at the same time CVCV on the ability to express them with the same explanatory power. It is hoped that this paper shows that CVCV, in Cyran's CSL implementation, is not at a loss when confronted with such topics as phonological typology or comprehensive diachronic reorganisations of the phonological system.

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Me nem nesa: Investigating the reception of constructed languages in different age groups

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Abstract

The concept of artificially created languages is not new, but, owing to pop culture, it has recently received more attention. Constructed languages, or *conlangs*, are present in books, movies and video games, aimed at recipients of all ages. Contrary to natural languages, which emerged without conscious planning, constructed languages are designed to serve a certain purpose.

There are many motives triggering the creation of new languages, from linguistic experiments and language games to making communication easier. However, the most common reason behind the emergence of artificial languages during the last twenty years appears to be the enrichment of the world they belong to. Interestingly, the response of the audience varies depending on age. The aim of this paper is to examine samples of constructed languages present in recent pop culture and the effects they have on both their respective target groups and the rest of the audience.

Key words

constructed language, conlang, Minionese, Atlantean, Na'vi, Dothraki

Me nem nesa: Badanie recepcji języków sztucznych przez różne grupy wiekowe

Abstrakt

Zjawisko sztucznie tworzonych języków nie jest nowe, ale dzięki popkulturze cieszy się ostatnio większą uwagą. Języki sztuczne, znane pod nazwą *conlang,* są obecne w książkach, filmach oraz grach wideo skierowanych zarówno do młodych, jak i dojrzałych odbiorców. W przeciwieństwie do języków naturalnych, które powstały bez świadomego planowania, języki sztuczne zostały zaprojektowane przez autorów aby spełnić określony cel.

Istnieje wiele motywów powodujących powstawanie nowych języków, od eksperymentów i gier językowych po ułatwianie komunikacji. Jednak najczęstszym powodem tworzenia sztucznych języków w ciągu ostatnich dwudziestu lat wydaje się być wzbogacenie świata, w którym występują. Interesujące jest to, że reakcja publiczności różni się zależności od wieku. Celem niniejszego tekstu jest zbadanie przykładów języków sztucznych obecnych w najnowszej popkulturze i reakcji zarówno docelowej grupy widzów, jak i pozostałych odbiorców.

Słowa kluczowe

język sztuczny, conlang, Minion, Atlantean, Na'vi, Dothraki

1. Introduction

According to the 20th edition of *Ethnologue*, released on February 21st 2017, there are currently 7,099 living languages (Simons 2017), all of which have a common ancestry. They were not "invented", they evolved, mutually influencing each other. As Okrent (2009: 5) states,

> Someone said something a certain way, someone else picked up on it, and someone else embellished. A tendency turned into a habit, and somewhere along the way a system came to be. [...]

> This is the way all natural languages are born – organically, spontaneously.

Natural development is what makes these languages fundamentally different from the so-called constructed languages. Calling certain groups of languages "families" is no accident since at some point in the history they had a common ancestor, cf. the Indo-European languages. A similar set of relationships cannot be drawn between constructed languages.

A constructed language can be defined in many ways. Based on the available literature, the most basic definition that applies to the majority of conlangs is the following:

> A language which has not developed naturally and whose grammar, vocabulary and phonology have been consciously devised by the creator.

Looking at the development process, two types of such languages can be distinguished: *a priori* and *a posteriori* conlangs. The *a priori* type refers to languages whose features are not based on an existing language. *A posteriori* languages are the opposite, they borrow from or are built upon another language. And yet, assigning any given constructed language to one of those two types typically causes many difficulties as the majority fall between *a priori* and *a posteriori*.

Even naming artificially made languages causes problems. The majority of studies use the name *constructed languages* for the system and *conlangers* for the authors, however terms like "fictional", "planned" or "invented" are also used, most likely to avoid repetitions, although on some occasions using a synonym changes the intended meaning.

The phenomenon is not a new one; the so-called "debate over language creation" dates back to ancient Greece (Boozer 2013: 1). According to Okrent (2009: 10), the first well-documented constructed language is called *Lingua Ignota* (Lat. 'unknown language') and is attributed to Hildegard von Bing-

en. The nun claimed that the language was revealed to her by God in one of her visions. Vocabulary sample of Lingua Ignota:

(1) *Aieganz* 'angel'
Dı́uueliz 'devil'
Vanix 'woman'
Jur 'man'
(Boozer 2013: 2)

Over the centuries, numerous constructed languages followed. The purpose of their creation varied, depending on the era, but typically the main goal was to improve a natural language in order to ease communication. As Adams (2011: 3) claims,

> The origin and development of each invented language illustrates its inventor's sense of language, what it is, and what it should do, in linguistic and historical terms; each also implies its inventors' and users' dissatisfactions with the language(s) already available to them.

Without any doubt, the most popular constructed language is Esperanto. Its creator, Ludwik Zamenhof, was not interested in redesigning an existing language. He longed for a peaceful world and believed that a common language, which would eliminate the sense of belonging to a certain country, was a significant step towards peace. Zamenhof's legacy is remarkable; a hundred years after his death, Esperanto is recognized as practically equal with natural languages and has around two million native speakers (Boozer 2013: 3). So far it is the only constructed language in history to achieve that.

Another possible reason behind language creation is a linguistic experiment to prove or test a theory, as in the case of Toki Pona and Loglan, or simply an exercise for students. However, such languages usually receive little recognition.

During the last few years a certain trend in pop-culture can be observed. Constructed languages have received renewed interest thanks to fantasy media. They emerge to enrich the worlds they belong to. Such creations are called "artistic con-

langs" and belong to the most rapidly growing sub-group. The most prominent examples are Klingon, Quenya and Sindarin. Those conlangs have much in common: they were all designed for a fantasy/sci-fi universe, are deeply imbedded in culture, and were coined by professional linguists who put much effort in developing them. In a letter from 1916, J. R. R. Tolkien mentions:

> I have done some touches to my nonsense fairy language – to its improvement. I often long to work at it and don't let myself 'cause though I love it so it does seem such a mad hobby!
> (Carpenter and Tolkien 2006)

That statement shows that for this author conlanging was a form of entertainment, a challenging hobby. Stockwell (2006: 8) notes that some conlangs "are worked out far beyond the requirements of the fictional world they occupy" and Tolkien's numerous invented languages are excellent examples; they are perfectly suitable for their respective native speakers and, in the case of Quenya and Sindarin, even have an internal history of development.

Despite the unparalleled position which Klingon and the Elvish languages have among the artistic conlangs, younger generations tend to treat them as relics of the past. Conlangs have entered a modern era owing to the Internet, where a thriving community from all around the world can talk about this peculiar hobby. Moreover, in 2007 the Language Creation Society was established to promote the art of language creation. The members publish their findings in journals and present their papers at dedicated conferences.

2. The experiment

During my own presentations on Tolkien's conlangs I noticed different reactions from the audience: everybody knew that languages such as Quenya and Sindarin exist, but Khuzdul always confused the interlocutors. This encouraged me to con-

duct an experiment examining the reception of less-known constructed languages.

The first stage of the experiment took place in December 2016 and April 2017. Originally the participants were divided into two groups: "children" and "adults". When, during the summer of 2017 the number of examined people grew, a new age group was recognized:

- Group 1: "children" – 5 subjects aged 5-15;
- Group 2: "young adults" – 6 subjects aged 19-30;
- Group 3: "adults" – 8 subjects aged 35-50.

None of the subjects had any interest in the field of constructed languages or linguistics. Three of them were native speakers of English, the others were Polish, but this factor proved to be insignificant.

The subjects were informed that they had taken part in an experiment only after giving their responses. The follow-up questions blended smoothly into a normal conversation. The subjects were asked to watch three movies and four episodes of a TV series, each of which featured an artificial language. During the research I focused on answering the following questions:

- Did the subject notice the presence of an artificial language?
- What was the reaction of the viewers to the presence of an artificial language?
- Did the language influence the fandom and/or merchandise surrounding the movie in any way?
- Was the language needed in the movie/TV series?

The examples of languages were chosen from those of low popularity. Thus, the study disregarded languages such as Klingon or the Elvish languages, which are treated as prototypical examples. Instead, conlangs such as Minionese, Atlantean, Na'vi and Dothraki were selected.

3. Minionese

The first of these is officially called the Minion language, or Minionese, but it was also dubbed "Banana language". It appears in the *Despicable Me* movie franchise and is spoken by little yellow creatures called Minions.

The creation of the Minion language appears quite simple and accidental. The majority of the vocabulary came from the directors, Pierre Coffin and Chris Renaud. Neither of them has any linguistic background, and they did not seek any professional assistance. In *Despicable Me 2* production notes (2013: 15), Coffin remarks:

> So, these words pop out, and I have them speak Indian, French, English, Spanish and Italian. I mix up all these ridiculous sounding words just because they sound good, not because they necessarily mean something.

Renaud continues (2013: 15):

> Their language sounds silly, but when you believe that they're actually communicating that's what makes it funnier. What's great about the Minion language, while it is gibberish, it sounds real because Pierre puts in words from many languages and does the lion's share of the Minion recordings.

Because of the randomness of the creation process, recognizing any grammatical rules of Minionese is impossible. Hence, all available dictionaries and translations are made by fans rather than linguists, and based only on the material from the movies and fan-theories. Examples:

(2) *Bakayarou* 'stupid' (Jap. *bakayarou,* 'stupid', used as an insult)
Tulaliloo ti amo 'we love you' (It. *ti amo,* 'I love you')
Babble 'apple'
Bee do bee do 'fire'

According to the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), the series was rated PG – parental guidance suggested, which indicates the target audience is children aged 6+. Despite that, the movies are also popular among older audiences.

Not all of the participants in my study had seen any Minion-related movie before watching one as a part of the research, although, surprisingly, everyone was familiar with the Minions, presumably due to global merchandise. The movie selected was the 2015 *Minions* as it features the most examples of the language.

Characteristically, the youngest subjects in group 1 were most enthusiastic about hearing the Minion language. Their focus, however, was on sounds and the volume of the dialogue rather than its content. Repetitions and attempts at creating new words in Minionese were also very common and mostly took the form of onomatopoeic expressions.

The responses of members of group 2 ("young adults") were quite similar to those of the "children". The difference was that the participants recognized the vocabulary as coming from Japanese, Italian, etc., and they did not pay so much attention to the way the dialogues were delivered. Out of six participants, four took considerable interest in the language and later searched for more information about Minionese.

The "adults" found the whole concept of the Minions ridiculous. Obviously, they were never the target audience of the movie, however, as shown by the "young adults" group, even the older public can enjoy it. Some of the words were recognized as coming from natural languages, but only one of the participants wanted to know more about Minionese.

There is no denying that the Minions draw attention not only because of the way they look, but also because of the way they talk. The aim of this barely intelligible, nonsensical language is to add a comical element, and enrich both their personality and the movie.

4. Atlantean

The second language selected for the study has a more "professional" background. This time placing a constructed language in a movie production carried a deeper meaning. The Atlantean language was created for the 2001 Disney animation *Atlantis: The Lost Empire*, for the native inhabitants of Atlantis. The movie follows the adventures of Milo Thatch, who dreams of finding Atlantis with the help of the mysterious Shepherd's Journal. The producer, Don Hahn, had a fixed idea about the native inhabitants of Atlantis and hired a professional linguist, Marc Okrand, to help him achieve his goal:

> What the directors and I wanted to do with the movie was create an Atlantis that was a mother civilization both in terms of its language and its architecture. We wanted to create a civilization that really felt like it was the wellspring of all other civilizations and that's how it's described in a lot of mythology. […] Marc Okrand who did the Klingon language for *Star Trek* came in and helped us develop a spoken dialect for the Atlanteans that was the same thing, kind of a primitive dialect that you could imagine was like the dialects people spoke before the Tower of Babel – a 'root' dialect. (Henning 2008)

Dr. Marc Okrand is famous for creating two constructed languages for the *Star Trek* universe, Klingon and the less-known Vulcan. He started working on Atlantean around 1996. His attention to detail resulted not only in a set of vocabulary and expressions needed for the dialogues, but also provided a complex phonology, grammar and writing script. The symbols were supposed to be similar to alphabets like Phoenician and Sanskrit. Here is a sample sentence in Atlantean:

(3) *Nishentop Adlantisag, kelobtem Gabrin karoklimik bet gim demottem net getunosentem bernotlimik bet kagib lewidyoh.*
'Spirits of Atlantis, forgive me for defiling your chamber and bringing intruders into the land.'

The alphabet plays a significant role in the movie. The Atlanteans were illiterate and upon his arrival, Milo was the only one who could read the ancient script and help the Atlanteans restore their kingdom to its former glory. He had to reconstruct the long-forgotten language in order to read the Journal.

It should be noted that in the majority of children's movies, the issue of foreign languages is usually disregarded; the characters simply speak the same language or are able to understand each other. In *Atlantis* (Trousdale and Wise 2001), however, the problem is logically explained:

(4) Audrey: How do they know all these languages?
Milo: Their language must be based on a root dialect. It's just like the Tower of Babel.

The scene of the first meeting between Milo's expedition and the Atlanteans is fascinating also because of how fluently Milo and princess Kida move from speaking Atlantean to English. It shows how closely the Romance languages are connected: the interlocutors move through Latin, Italian and arrive at French. Then, the explorers come to the conclusion that the natives might know English as well. As a result, Atlantean is both fictional and based on historical reconstructions, which gives it even more credibility.

Atlantis: The Lost Empire was rated PG, although the target audience remains unclear. Since the movie was not a great success for Disney, it is no wonder that none of the subjects in my study was familiar with this animation.

There are quite a few dialogues in the movie conducted entirely in Atlantean and subtitled in English. Therefore, even the youngest study group noticed the presence of a foreign language. But aside from being aware of it, the subjects in all three groups ignored Atlantean and not one of them asked about it later. Only the children mentioned that they liked the "weird-looking" alphabet.

Based on these responses, it seems that a certain amount of knowledge about historical linguistics is required to fully ap-

preciate the constructed language in this case. The lack of any interest amongst all age groups shows that, for an average viewer, giving the Atlanteans their vernacular was unnecessary.

5. Na'vi

The third language chosen for the study was that of the humanoid aliens from James Cameron's award-winning movie *Avatar.* Na'vi was created by a professional linguist, Paul Frommer, who claims that the director had a specific vision about what the language should look and sound like:

> He wanted a complete language, with a totally consistent sound system, morphology, syntax, he wanted it to sound good — he wanted it to be pleasant, he wanted it to be appealing to the audience (Montagne 2009).

Dr. Frommer was first approached in 2005 and given around 30-40 sample words to work with. It helped him to see what the director had in mind when it came to phonology (Milani 2009). Upon *Avatar*'s release in 2009, the language had around a thousand words. Now, eight years later, the most popular website about Na'vi (learnnavi.org) claims that this number has doubled.[1]

The target audience for *Avatar* is the more mature public as it was rated PG-13 (parents strongly cautioned). What makes the younger viewers interested is mostly the animation and the created world of Pandora, full of colours and extraordinary creatures. All of my participants had seen the movie multiple times before, but no one objected to watching it again; it is still the symbol of a new era in science-fiction productions because of the outstanding visual effects.

Like in the case of Atlantean, the "children" noticed the harsh-sounding foreign language right away, but this time they asked the parents if the creatures were speaking an "In-

[1] <learnnavi.org>, July 2017.

dian language". Based on the Na'vi's look, behaviour and the sounds of their language, it is possible that for the youngest audience the members of the alien tribe seemed similar to Native Americans.

Study groups 2 and 3 unanimously found the language interesting only as an element of culture. The "young adults" briefly wondered about the origins of Na'vi, however, their interest did not exceed that. It is true that the movie offers very few samples of the vernacular as even the dialogues between the Na'vi are conducted almost entirely in English. This might be the reason why for an average viewer there was not enough language input to draw more attention. The plot shows that the Na'vi were taught English at some point and were relatively fluent in it, therefore creating an entirely new language for them was not obligatory. Once again, a conlang was an important element of giving the people an identity, but not the only element. Examples:

(5) *Kaltxì* 'hello' (casual)
Oel ngati kameie 'I see you' (hello, familiar greeting)
Irayo 'thanks'

The creation of the Na'vi language was a kind of revival of constructed languages as it was the first relatively popular conlang to appear in many decades. Multiple tutorials and language courses were available soon after the release of *Avatar*. People from around the world were learning Na'vi and conversing in it. In an interview from 2009, Frommer shared his hopes about Na'vi achieving a status similar to Klingon (Montagne 2009). He maintains a blog where he regularly posts about linguistic changes and novelties. This conlang's popularity has been steadily decreasing over the last few years; however, with at least two new movies set in the *Avatar* universe to be released in the future, this scenario is once again becoming a possibility.

6. Dothraki

The last language, Dothraki, is the one which has gained the most popularity in recent years. Created by a linguist, David J. Peterson, one of the founding fathers of Language Creation Society, it appears in George R.R. Martin's *A Song of Ice and Fire* saga and HBO's *Game of Thrones* TV series. "In designing Dothraki, I wanted to remain as faithful as possible to the extant material in George R.R. Martin's series," Peterson claims, and names Russian, Turkish, Estonian, Inuktitut and Swahili as his inspiration (*Official HBO release* 2010*)*.

As the language of a nomadic tribe of horsemen, Dothraki lacks any writing system and features rather guttural and harsh sounds. It is not the only conlang Peterson was asked to create for *Game of Thrones*. During the last few seasons, we have had the opportunity to hear the more elegant-sounding Valyrian as well.

Game of Thrones is obviously aimed at a mature audience; thus, in the case of the youngest study group, we watched only the scenes where the dragons appear. Unfortunately, the lengthy Dothraki dialogues are only subtitled, which made them quite irritating for the youngest subjects who found the need to read annoying and paid no attention to the language itself.

Among the older audience from groups 2 and 3, the majority are *Game of Thrones* fans. Four subjects from "young adults" and four "adults" did some research about the language's background. All thought that it is "appropriate" for the Dothraki people, and somewhat savage. Examples:

(6) *Me nem nesa* 'it is known'
Yer Jalan Atthirari Anni 'moon of my life'
Shekh Ma Shieraki Anni 'my sun and stars'

Recently Valyrian has taken Dothraki's place when it comes to frequency of use, but despite that, the popularity of the latter is still enormous. Expressions such as *me nem nesa* are com-

monly used not only by die-hard fans, but also by people who simply enjoy the series. An official Dothraki course was released in 2014, and it is possible that one for Valyrian will follow. Peterson has become quite an expert when it comes to language creation for modern-day media. Aside from his *Game of Thrones* projects, he has also created conlangs for Marvel's *Thor: The Dark World*, *Doctor Strange, The Shannara Chronicles* and many others. It is due to his attention to details that his creations fit their native speakers and seem as real as natural languages for the audience.

7. Conclusions

The results of the study are collected in Table 1, which presents the audience response to the four discussed languages.

As the data shows, in all cases the presence of a constructed language in the movie or TV series was noticed by every age group. The differences are found in the audience reactions. Some of them were expected (e.g. the positive reaction of the youngest participants in the case of Minionese), the others were quite a surprise (e.g. the equally enthusiastic response of the young adults). It was interesting to see that the responses differed even between groups 2 and 3, where the participants were all adults and their reactions could have been identical. The most concerning is the lack of response to the Atlantean language; it appears that the characteristics chosen by the author did not appeal to the audience. On the other hand, it is possible that the decisive factor was the movie's mediocre popularity and rather unsuccessful marketing campaign. The ability to understand a conlang either via subtitles or following explanations also seems to be essential to fully appreciate what it brings to the production. In the majority of the cases, creating an artificial language was by no means obligatory, but its presence made a significant contribution to the way the movie or TV series was received.

Table 1
Results of the experiment

Question		Minionese	Atlantean	Na'vi	Dothraki
Noticed?		all: yes	all: yes	all: yes	all: yes
Reaction?	children	positive	indifferent	indifferent/ positive	negative
	young adults	positive	indifferent	positive	positive
	adults	indifferent	indifferent	positive	positive
Influence?		extremely significant	scarce	very significant	significant
Needed?		yes	no	no	yes/no

Looking at the artistic conlangs, it is practically impossible to find one which is disliked by the majority of the public. Conlangs have become an essential element of every fantasy or science-fiction universe, and with the growing number of new publications such as books, movies, TV series and video games we can expect more conlangs to appear.

At present, constructed languages are on the rise. The main purpose behind their inventions is no longer the ease of communication or trying to find the language of the Tower of Babel. As Stockwell (2006: 6) remarks, "[i]nventing new languages is not simply the preserve of literary fiction". We observe an extraordinary triumph of the artistic conlangs and this phenomenon deserves attention as there is still much research to be done. The issues such as what makes a constructed language appealing, the importance of the level of familiarity or the pattern for creating a successful constructed language will hopefully be explored by enthusiastic conlangers in the near future.

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The compliment as a speech act in Russian: A lexical-pragmatic study

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to identify the linguistic exponents of Russian compliments. The examples which will be analyzed come from contemporary Russian.

We will consider direct and indirect compliments, paying attention to such phenomena as presupposition and implicature as well as to the pragmatic functions of utterances. An analysis of communication strategies will allow us to present the specific features and role of compliments in linguistic communication in Russia.

Key words

compliment, praise, Russian, speech act, pragmatics, presupposition, implicature

Komplement jako akt mowy w języku rosyjskim: Badanie leksykalno-pragmatyczne

Celem artykułu jest zbadanie językowych eksponentów rosyjskich komplementów. Przykłady, które będą analizowane, pochodzą ze współczesnego języka rosyjskiego.

Rozważymy bezpośrednie i pośrednie komplementy, zwracając uwagę na takie zjawiska, jak presupozycja i implikatura, a także na pragmatyczne funkcje wypowiedzi. Analiza strategii komunikacyjnych pozwoli nam przedstawić charakterystyczne cechy komplementów i ich rolę w komunikacji językowej w Rosji.

Słowa kluczowe

komplement, pochwała, język rosyjski, akt mowy, pragmatyka, presupozycja, implikatura

1. The compliment as a speech act

The aim of this paper is to present the compliment as a speech act (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) in the modern Russian language.

Compliments – as a sociolinguistic phenomenon – have been of great interest to researchers, especially those investigating the English language. English compliment have been examined by, *inter alia*, Robert Herbert (1991), Janet Holmes (1986, 1988), Nessa Wolfson (1984), Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes (1980), Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989) and Angela Creese (1991).

Russian compliments have been investigated by, *inter alia*, Mariâ Bezâeva (2002) and Nataliâ Formanovskaâ (1994, 2007). However, in pragmalinguistic studies, researchers deal with the issue of compliments mainly while discussing other speech acts, such as praising. Taking into consideration the previous studies, publications concerning this subject are not numerous. As far as we know, no monograph on Russian compliments has been released so far. The considerations presented in this paper are supposed to be an introduction to a more detailed study of the compliment as a speech act in contemporary Russian.

In this paper, the speech act of compliment is defined as follows: it is a language action that is performed in order to influence the recipient and make a positive impression. It is the action of, for example, expressing the opinion that the recipient of the compliment looks attractive, he/she has acted or performed well. In other words, the speech act of compliment, due to the positive evaluation of the recipient, is to affect him/her positively and provoke a favourable reaction.

The speech act of compliment is usually connected with evaluating physical characteristics and qualities, appearance, style and outlook, as well as personality traits, peculiar qualities in somebody's character, abilities and skills. We consider the compliment being semantically close to the praise as a speech act. But we still see the difference between these two. As mentioned, compliments refer to a person's physical and mental features, while praises are connected with actions being taken, e.g.

(1) *Ольга, ты очень мудрая девушка.* (compliment) 'Olga, you are a very wise girl.'
(2) *Ольга, ты очень мудро поступила в этой ситуации.* (praise) 'Olga, you did very wisely in this situation.'

It should be noted that a praise can have an official character and can appear in the written form. We acknowledge though that the difference between complimenting and praising in Russian is sometimes very subtle. In the present study, our attention will be focused on the speech act of compliment, and the speech act of praise will be considered in another study.

Taking into account the issue of truth, two basic types of compliments can be distinguished: one of them occurs when the sender pays a compliment sincerely, according to his/her beliefs; in the other case, the sender, opposite to his/her opinion, pays compliments for a certain purpose. For instance, this takes place when the sender appeals to his/her supervisor to gain favour, or to his/her friend in order to create a pleasant atmosphere. Here we deal with so called *white*

lies.[1] For example, a person visits his friend who has recently been ill; the recovered girl looks bad; however, he does not want to hurt her and avoids this with the help of a white lie, paying the following compliment: *You look amazing!*

2. The structure of the compliment as a speech act

Although compliments are frequently expressed with constructions containing evaluative lexemes, it is difficult to clearly state what the universal structure of compliments is in Russian. However, certain basic structures can be identified and illustrated with selected examples.[2]

2.1. Adverbs

The group of adverbs expressing positive evaluation is quite large in Russian, ranging from quite formal expressions to informal or slang words. The use of the latter is not only considerable but also constantly increasing. It should be noted that their English equivalents used in conversations are not adverbs, but adjectives.

(3) *Сногсшибательно!* 'Knocking!'
(4) *Потрясающе!* 'Shocking!'
(5) *Изумительно!* 'Astonishing!'
(6) *Восхитительно!* 'Fascinating!'
(7) *Прекрасно!* 'Beautiful!'
(8) *Чудесно!* 'Wonderful!'
(9) *Бесподобно!* 'Extraordinary!'
(10) *Блестяще!* 'Great!'
(11) *Великолепно!* 'Great!'

[1] The research on the phenomenon of lying in verbal communication was carried out by Jolanta Antas in her book *O kłamstwie i kłamaniu* [*On Lies and Lying*] (2008). The author discusses the following communication strategies: partial judgments, false conclusions, misleading silence, secrets, half-truth, compliments, white lies and nonverbal lies.

[2] Some examples are excerpted from a dictionary of Russian speech etiquette (Bakalaj 2007).

(12) *Здорово!* 'Neat!', 'Sound!'
(13) *Необыкновенно!* 'Extraordinary!'
(14) *Неплохо!* 'Not bad!'
(15) *Неотразимо!* 'Charming!'
(16) *Обворожительно!* 'Charming!'
(17) *Ослепительно!* 'Brilliant!'
(18) *Отлично!* 'Excellent!'
(19) *Отменно!* 'Excellent!'
(20) *Шикарно!* 'Elegant!'
(21) *Потрясно!* 'Shocking!'
(22) *Классно!* 'Classy!'
(23) *Клево!* 'Fine!', 'Great!' (slang)

2.2. Nouns

The use of evaluative nouns may be enforced by the use of exclamatory particles such as *ну*, *ну и*, *просто*, and interjections like *ей-богу*, *ой*, *ай*, *эх, ах*, for instance,

(24) *Ангел!* 'Angel!'
(25) *Ангелок!* 'Angel!' (dim.)
(26) *Ангелочек!* 'Angel!' (dim.)
(27) *Восторг!* 'Admiration!'
(28) *Загляденье!* 'Wonder!'
(29) *Класс!* 'Class!'
(30) *Просто куколка!* 'Simply a doll (dim.)!' (compliment paid to an attractively looking girl)
(31) *Отпад!* 'Fall-out!' (slang)
(32) *Чудо!* 'Wonder!'
(33) *Пять с плюсом!* 'Five plus!' (a school mark)
(34) *Шик!* 'Elegance!'
(35) *Ну, блеск!* 'What shine (i.e. excellence)!'
(36) *Ах, богиня!* 'What a goddess!'
(37) *Верх совершенства, ей-богу!* 'Top of excellence, I swear!'
(38) *Эх, краса да и только!* 'What a beauty (and only beauty)!'
(39) *Ой, красавец мужчина!* 'What a handsome man!'
(40) *Ай, светлая голова!* 'What an intellect!'

2.3. Constructions

Let us now present the most common constructions used in compliments.

– **Construction *что за* + noun:**

Unlike its English equivalent "*what a* + noun", in Russian constructions of this type may sound quite unnatural in everyday informal conversations, but they are widely used in literature.

(41) *Что за прелесть!* 'What a wonder!'
(42) *Ну что за чудо!* 'What a wonder!'

– **Noun + possessive pronoun:**

(43) *Красавица моя!* 'My beautiful (one)!'
(44) *Милашка моя!* 'My nice (one)!'
(45) *Сокровище ты мое!* 'My treasure!'

– **Nominal phrase:**

(46) *Золотая голова!* '(What an) intellect!'
(47) *Большое сердце* (*у вас*)*!* '(You have a) good heart!'
(48) *Золотое сердце* (*у вас*)*!* '(You have a) golden heart!'

– **Simple sentence with a nominal/adjectival predicate:**

(49) *Вы ангел!* 'You're an angel!
(50) *Вы – идеал!* 'You're an ideal!'
(51) *Вы сама доброта.* 'You're only goodness!'
(52) *Вы великолепны!* 'You're great!'
(53) *Вы очень внимательны / так добры / любезны!* 'You're very kind / so good / nice!'
(54) *Я в восторге / в восхищении!* 'I'm full of admiration!'

– **Simple sentence with a compound nominal predicate:**

(55) *Вы редкий мужчина.* 'You're an exceptional man.'
(56) *Вы умный человек.* 'You're a wise person.'
(57) *Вы само очарование.* 'You're charming.'

– **Modal constructions:**

(58) *Обалдеть можно!* 'One may go silly!'
(59) *С ума сойти можно!* 'One may go mad!'

– **Verb in the indicative mood:**

(60) *Закачаешься!* 'Sit down because you'll fall!'
(61) *Залюбуешься!* 'You'll be full of admiration!'
(62) *Лучше не бывает / не придумаешь!* 'You'll come up with nothing better!'

– **Sentence with a verb in the imperative mood:**

(63) *Оставайтесь такой же молодой / красивой.* 'Always be so young / beautiful.'
(64) *Примите мое восхищение.* 'Accept my admiration.'
(65) *Разрешите выразить мое восхищение.* 'Let me express my admiration.'
(66) *Зашибись!* 'Hit yourself!' (slang)

– **Sentence with a verb in the subjunctive mood:**

(67) *Никогда не дал бы Вам столько лет.* 'I would never say that you are so many years old.'
(68) *Будь я моложе, сразу бы женился на этой красавице.* 'If I were younger, I would marry this beauty.'

– **Personal pronouns *вы* 'you' (pl.) and *ты* 'you' (sing.) in the nominative case + (adverb) + verb:**

(69) *Вы всё хорошеете.* 'You're becoming more beautiful.'
(70) *Ты молодо выглядишь.* 'You look young.'
(71) *Вы ничуть не изменились.* 'You haven't changed at all.'
(72) (*Ты*) *симпатично выглядишь.* 'You look nice.'
(73) *Вы сегодня выглядите намного лучше.* 'Today you look much better.'
(74) *Ты хорошо выглядишь.* 'You look good.'

In the last example, the evaluative adverb *хорошо* 'good' may be substituted with other adverbs of the same nature, depending on the sender's intention to emotionally strengthen the utterance. These could be the following adverbs (whose English equivalents are adjectives): *сногсшибательно* 'knocking', *потрясающе* 'shocking', *изумительно* 'astonishing', *восхитительно* 'fascinating', *прекрасно* 'beautiful', *чудесно* 'wonderful', *бесподобно* 'extraordinary' and *великолепно* 'great'. The mentioned adverbs are quite frequently accompanied by the modifying adverb *просто* 'simply':

(75) *Ты выглядишь просто бесподобно!* 'You simply look extraordinary!'

It is worth mentioning that the insertion of the adverb *просто* causes the change of word order, e.g.

(76) *Ты замечательно выглядишь.* 'You look great.' (lit. you great look)
(77) *Ты выглядишь просто замечательно.* 'You look simply great.' (lit. you look simply great)

Adding the modifying adverb and moving the adverbial phrase to the end of the sentence causes the strengthening of the illocutionary force of the second compliment (example 77).

– **Personal pronouns *вы* 'you' (pl.) and *ты* 'you' (sing.) in the genitive/dative case + verb + object:**

(78) *Вам идет это платье / стрижка / цвет.* 'This dress / haircut / colour suits you.'
(79) *Тебе не дашь твоих лет.* 'No one will say you're your age.'
(80) *Вас красит эта прическа.* 'This hairdo makes you beautiful.'
(81) *Вас молодит эта стрижка.* 'This haircut makes you look younger.'
(82) *Тебе к лицу это платье / этот образ.* 'This dress / image suits you.'

– **Personal pronoun *я* 'I' in the nominative case + verb + object:**

(83) *Я восхищаюсь Вашим талантом.* 'I admire your talent.'
(84) *Я не могу на тебя налюбоваться.* 'I cannot stop enjoying your looks.'
(85) *Я не устаю восторгаться вами.* 'I do not stop admiring you.'

– **Constructions with *как* 'how':**

(86) *Как вы добры / хороши / красивы!* 'How good / handsome / beautiful you are!'
(87) *Ой, как хорошо!* 'Oh, how good!'
(88) *Как вы молодо / хорошо / великолепно выглядите.* 'How young / good / great you look.'
(89) *Как ты выросла / похорошела!* 'How you have grown / become beautiful!'
(90) *Как вы расцвели!* 'How you have blossomed!'
(91) *Как вы прекрасно танцуете!* 'How splendidly you can dance!'

– **Constructions with *какой/какая* 'what':**

(92) *Какая прелесть / краля / краса / красавица / красота / лапонька / лапочка / милашка!* 'What a wonder / nice girl

/ beauty / beautiful girl/woman / beauty / hand (dim.) / beloved (one)!'

(93) *Какой молодец / талант / красавец / умница!* 'What a nice young man / talent / handsome man / clever person!'

(94) *Какая чудесная улыбка / красивая кофточка!* 'What a wonderful smile!'

(95) *Какая красивая кофточка!* 'What a beautiful blouse!'

(96) *Какая вы красивая!* 'How beautiful you are!'

(97) *Какой вы добрый / милый / любезный!* 'How good / nice / kind you are!'

– **Rhetorical questions:**

This pattern can be realized in different ways. Quite a common type is a question with negation:

(98) *Разве она не прекрасна?* 'Isn't she beautiful?'

(99) *Ну не талант?* 'Isn't it a talent?'

Besides, sentences with a modal component are frequently used to perform the action of complimenting:

(100) *Можно ли быть прекраснее?* 'Is it possible to be more beautiful?'

(101) *Как можно было родиться таким красивым?* 'Was it possible to be born more beautiful?'

– **Interjections:**

Being a language means to express emotions and different sentiments, interjections are frequently accompanied by non-verbal means of compliment expression.

(102) *Во!* (accompanied by the gesture "thumb up") 'Yes!', 'Wow!'

(103) *Вот это да!* 'This is it!'

(104) *Надо же!* 'Who could think so?'

(105) *Ничего себе!* 'Not bad!'

(106) *О-о-о!* 'Oh!'
(107) *Ого!* 'Oh!'
(108) *С ума сойти!* 'Go mad!'
(109) *Ну вы посмотрите!* 'Look!'

Indeed, facial expressions, gestures and the posture can signalize and strengthen the language action of complimenting. For example, raising eyebrows as if one is surprised together with evaluative lexemes may express complimenting. A similar effect is achieved by approving gestures, such as keeping the thumb up or connecting the thumb and forefinger in a circle and holding the other fingers straight.

3. Orientation

The functions of the speech act of compliment may be divided according to its orientation. Thus, compliments may be addressed to the interlocutor, the third person through the interlocutor and oneself. The first type of compliments is the most common in Russian conversations. With the second type, positive evaluation reaches not only the third person but also the interlocutor who hears this compliment. For example, when a mother receives a compliment on her daughter's beauty or intelligence, the direct addressee of the compliment is the daughter. However, the mother may also take it as a compliment for herself, as the daughter takes after her in appearance, has inherited intelligence or her achievements are the result of the mother's enormous efforts to give her child excellent education. The third type of compliments, those targeted at oneself, are usually of humorous nature and are expressed indirectly, so that the speaker does not sound too proud of him/herself. However, the speaker may openly boast on purpose to look humorous and create a friendly atmosphere. Selected examples of all three types of compliments are presented below.

– **Compliments addressed to the other person:**

(110) *Вероника, ты очень красивая!* 'Veronica, you are very beautiful!'
(111) *Хорошо выглядишь, удачно подобрала это платье!* 'You look good, you have successfully picked up the dress!'
(112) *Тебе идёт этот цвет!* 'This colour suits you!'
(113) *Наташа, ты прекрасная хозяйка!* 'Natasha, you are a wonderful hostess!'

– **Compliments addressed to the third person through the interlocutor:**

(114) *Какая у Вас красивая дочь!* 'What a beautiful daughter you have!'
(115) *Знаешь, я очень рада за твою Оленьку. Они с Димой очень хорошая пара. Наверно, никак не можешь нарадоваться своим зятем?* 'You know, I am so happy for your Olga. She and Dima make such a great couple. Seems like you can't be happier with your son-in-law.'
(116) *Что бы ни говорили, а сосед у тебя просто замечательный.* 'Whatever they say, but you have the most wonderful neighbour.'

– **Compliments addressed to oneself:**

(117) *Я самая обаятельная и привлекательная.* 'I am the most charming and attractive.'
(118) *У моего мужа хороший вкус, иначе как бы он выбрал такую жену?* 'My husband has good taste, otherwise how could he be able to choose a wife like me?'
(119) *Лучшего мужчину на свете пришлось родить самой* (о своём сыне). 'I happened to give birth to the best man in the world' (about one's own son).

4. Pragmatic aspects of the functioning of the speech act of compliment

The use of compliments becomes a kind of complementary action that enhances other language actions.

4.1. Phatic speech acts

With phatic speech acts, such as greetings and farewells, a compliment fulfills the function of appreciation, creating a good image and especially maintaining a pleasant atmosphere. These acts are at the border of complements and politeness formulas. The veracity of the utterance does not occupy a crucial role here; its objective is to create a positive atmosphere.

Selected examples:

(120) *Доброе утро, Тамара Александровна!* ***Как вы прекрасно выглядите! Как загорели-то!*** 'Good morning, Tamara! You look wonderful! How tanned you are!'

(121) *Пока!* ***Оставайся всегда такой же красивой!*** 'Bye! Stay so beautiful forever!'

4.2. Nonbinding directive acts[3]

With directive speech acts, the double intention of the utterance may appear: in the acts of requesting, offering and

[3] In the study *Pragmatyka dyrektywnych aktów mowy w języku polskim. Pragmatik von Aufforderungshandlungen im Deutschen, Polnischen und Russischen. Прагматика побудительнх речевых актов в немецком, польском и русском языках*, directive speech acts are divided into two basic groups – binding and nonbinding directive speech acts. The criterion of the division is based on the pragmatic value of the speech acts towards the necessity or absence of necessity to accomplish a suggested action. With the nonbinding speech acts, the receiver may but does not have to perform the proposed action, and the denial does not lead to any undesirable consequences. The denial may only affect further relations. With binding speech acts, however, failure to perform a suggested action causes certain sanctions (Komorowska et al. 2008: 27).

advising, a compliment serves an additional argumentative function, which intensifies the directive action.

Selected examples:

(122) *Надежна Ивановна, у Вас случайно не будет немного сахару? Я забыла купить, а* ***Вы всегда такая запасливая****…* 'Nadezhda Ivanovna, don't you happen to have some sugar? I forgot to buy some, and **you are, as far as I know, always so provident**…'

(123) *Может, поедем вместе в Испанию?* ***Ты превосходно говоришь по-испански!*** 'Maybe we should go to Spain together? **You speak Spanish very well!**'

(124) *Я бы тебе посоветовала забыть его. Он того не стоит.* ***Ты ведь такая умная и красивая женщина!*** 'I would advise you to forget him. He's not worth it. **You are such an intelligent and beautiful woman!**'

4.3. Binding directive acts

As opposed to the speech acts mentioned above, in binding directive acts, such as demanding, ordering and commanding, compliments carry out a different function of mitigating the utterance. That is why in the situation when disobedience may lead to undesirable consequences, the receiver understands the importance of performing the action; however, he/she may feel the speaker's support and approval.

Selected examples:

(125) *Я требую приложить максимум усилий, чтобы выиграть эту игру.* ***Ведь наша команда лучшая!*** 'I demand the best efforts to win the game. **After all, our team is the best!**'

(126) *Павел, проект должен быть окончен до среды.* ***Кто, как не Вы, может подойти ответственно к этому делу?*** 'Paul, the project should be done by Wednesday. **Who else but you can deal with this issue responsibly**?'

(127) *Приказываю Вам немедленно взять себя в руки! Насколько я помню****, вашему самообладанию всегда***

можно было позавидовать. 'I order you to immediately pull yourself together! As far as I remember, **one could always envy you for your self-control**.'

4.4. Acts of disapproval and threatening

Similarly to the above-mentioned binding directive acts, the use of compliments with the acts of disapproval and threatening causes weakening of the action force. It is worth mentioning that with this type of speech acts, compliments usually appear at the end of the utterance. This position of compliments may be caused by the observation of the nonverbal behaviour of the interlocutor that makes the sender mitigate the utterance when he/she notices, for example, the redness of the interlocutor's face, shaking hands and anxiety in the eyes.

Selected examples:

(128) *Не могу поверить, что ты так некрасиво поступил с Николаем. Что на тебя нашло?* ***Ты ведь самый верный друг на свете!*** 'I can't believe that you acted so badly with Nikolai. What got into you? **You are the most loyal friend in the world!**'

(129) *Если немедленно не уберёшь у себя в комнате, то никогда из неё не выйдешь!* ***Ты ведь умная девочка и сама понимаешь, как важно поддерживать порядок.*** 'If you don't clean up your room, you are never going to leave it! **You are a smart girl and understand how important it is to keep it clean**.'

5. The importance of context

Speech act theory opened a new research perspective for language study as it shifted the focus from the structural analysis of an utterance to the context in which it is uttered.[4]

[4] As Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953) states, a word gains its meaning through its use.

This approach shows that besides grammatical competence, one should also acquire the knowledge of conventions and communication rules. Thus, developing this awareness is crucial, for breaking the above-mentioned conventions may lead to the failure of intercultural communication. Now and again in a communicative situation, the disruption in understanding the sender's intentions may occur, for example:

(130) A: *Какой красивый ребёнок!*
B: *Говорят, весь в меня.*
A: *Нет, совсем не похож.*
'A: What a beautiful baby!
B: They say he takes after me.
A: No, he doesn't look like you at all.'

In example (130), the mother acknowledges a compliment to her son. Undoubtedly, such compliments please every mother. However, the woman may also seek to hear nice words about her as well. That is why she gives a hint. The recipient does not understand her intention of receiving a compliment, and this causes failure to achieve the expected purpose. Let us consider another example.

(131) *Это платье тебя стройнит!* 'This dress makes you look slim!'

Example (131) implies that the compliment refers to a temporary quality of the recipient, but normally her look is worse. Thus, this compliment has a double meaning and it cannot affect the hearer as positively as may be intended.

6. Conclusion

As the conducted analysis shows, the compliment as a speech act is accomplished with various language actions, starting from greetings and farewells, through nonbinding directive speech acts such as requests and offers, to binding speech

acts like orders and commands, or the speech act of threatening. The realization of the speech act of compliment is implemented due to various lexical units and grammatical constructions. It is worth emphasizing that the speech act of compliment fulfills an approbatory function, becoming a means of manipulation and language games.

The considerations presented in this paper are – as has already been signalled – an introduction to a more detailed study of the compliment as a speech act in contemporary Russian.

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Levels of categorization in animal idiomatic expressions

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Abstract

The departure point for the considerations presented below is Lakoff's (1982, 1987) remark about the "greater cultural significance" of categories of the basic level of cognition, which can be recognized by a variety of criteria, among others – the criterion of their lexical labels functioning as basic terms in language. To verify that idea and to apply it to the important aspect of the cognized world constituted by the fauna, it is assumed that cultural significance should be confirmed by the occurrence of images of animals representing a certain level of classification in pictorial art and, also, by the occurrence of basic animal terms referring to basic animal categories in some kinds of literary works of art and, above all, in idiomatic expressions typically representing metaphorical meaning. The survey of a sample of English idioms provided by a selected dictionary largely confirms Lakoff's statement as, indeed, basic category terms are the most common ones functioning in established idiomatic English animal expressions, although more specific subcategory names, especially as regards the class of birds, also appear in them in a significant number,. What can also be concluded from the analyzed material is the fact that the basic level of categorization, termed by Lakoff the *folk generic level* only very loosely corresponds to the scientific generic level, which is basic in the Linnaean taxonomy. The scientific levels corresponding to the folk basic one can range from those of *class*

(birds), through *order* (bats), *family* (hares), *genus* (rats), to *species* (dogs, cats, horses). The reason seems to be the fact that folk animal categories are determined by properties which are relevant in casual, practical-use-oriented cognition, which, nevertheless, need not be significant for establishing scientific taxonomies.

Key words

categorization, basic level, idiom, connotation, folk and scientific taxonomy

Poziomy kategoryzacji w zwrotach idiomatycznych odnoszących się do zwierząt

Abstrakt

Punktem wyjścia dla przedstawionych poniżej rozważań jest uwaga Lakoffa (1982, 1987) o szczególnie istotnym znaczeniu kulturowym kategorii podstawowych poznania, które mogą być rozpoznane przy pomocy szeregu kryteriów. Jednym z nich jest osiągnięcie statusu podstawowych terminów języka przez etykiety leksykalne takich kategorii. W celu zweryfikowania tego stwierdzenia i odniesienia go do ważnego aspektu przedmiotu ludzkiego poznania, jakim jest świat fauny, przyjęta została teza, że znaczenie dla kultury określonego poziomu kategoryzacji zwierząt powinno być potwierdzone przez jego odbicie w sztuce figuratywnej, a także przez występowanie podstawowych terminów odnoszących się do podstawowych kategorii zwierzęcych w literaturze oraz, przede wszystkim, w ustabilizowanych idiomach typowo reprezentujących znaczenie metaforyczne. Analiza próbki zwrotów „zwierzęcych" zaczerpniętych z wybranego słownika idiomów angielskich potwierdza tezę Lakoffa wskazując iż, rzeczywiście, nazwy zwierząt poziomu podstawowego są najczęściej występującymi w idiomach terminami odnoszącymi się do fauny, chociaż swoją znaczącą liczebnie obecność zaznaczają też nazwy kategorii bardziej szczegółowego poziomu niższego niż podstawowy, szczególnie, jeśli chodzi o klasę ptaków. Inny ważny wniosek wypływający z przeprowadzonej analizy to stwierdzenie faktu, że podstawowy poziom kategoryzacji odzwierciedlany przez język potoczny, nazwany przez Lakoffa poziomem „ludowym", jest tylko bardzo luźno przysta-

jący do poziomu rodzaju (*genus*), który jest bazowy w naukowej taksonomii organizmów żywych wywodzącej się z tradycji linneuszowskiej. Kategorie opisu naukowego odpowiadające podstawowemu poziomowi „ludowemu" obejmują naukowe jednostki taksonomiczne od *klasy* (ptaki), poprzez *rząd* (nietoperze), *rodzinę* (zające) i *rodzaj* (szczury), po *gatunek* (psy, koty, konie). Przyczyną tych rozbieżności wydaje się być to, że „ludowe" kategorie zwierzęce ustanowione są na podstawie identyfikacji cech istotnych w poznaniu codziennym, potocznym, nastawionym na cele praktyczne, które to cechy nie muszą mieć znaczenia w budowaniu taksonomii naukowej.

Słowa kluczowe

kategoryzacja, poziom podstawowy, idiom, konotacja, taksonomia „ludowa" i naukowa

1. Introduction

As a most relevant and inseparable part of the reality in which every human community functions, animals inspire conceptions that are inherent in the model of the world created by the human mind. Since it is predominantly language that offers access to that mental model, it seems worthwhile to consider the image of fauna representatives recorded in its important aspect, such as idiomatic expressions, which, in turn, are closely related to culture, within which any language operates.

2. Basic cognitive categories and basic language terms

The idea of human-determined basic levels of cognition and categorization is, next to that of category prototypes, a fundamental assumption in cognitive epistemology and, consequently, approach to language. Indeed, the discovery that the human mind operates most efficiently when it deals with categories of a certain degree of schematicity/specificity (neither too schematic nor too specific), which was the result of the research into human cognition accomplished by the anthropolo-

gist Brent Berlin and the psychologist Eleanor Rosch is, next to the discovery of the significance of prototypes in categorization, a cornerstone in the development of cognitive linguistics (cf. Lakoff 1987: 46-54). It is especially relevant to lexical semantics, as it explains not only the special status of lexemes referring to them entertained in everyday conversations as well as language acquisition and learning, but also the morphological shape of lexemes and their usually unproblematic translatability. Thus, the so-called basic terms are not only used more frequently and learnt sooner, but they also assume simpler, as it were, easier to pronounce morphological forms and, additionally, there is a high chance of their cross-language equivalence. Their formal functionality is strictly connected with informative efficiency which is, as observed by Taylor (2002: 132), "maximal". This results from the fact that they name categories that exhibit optimal combinations of characteristics recognized as most relevant from the human point of view. As indicated by Lakoff (1987: 269), "[human] experience is preconceptually structured at that level". It is also at this level that categories are represented by the clearest Idealized Cognitive Models constituting readily manageable mental gestalts. Such facts lead to the conclusion that the priority given to certain categories in human cognition is determined not only by those categories themselves (they typically constitute good perceptual gestalts) but also by the capacities of the human mind. Moreover, it is important to note, as Lakoff does (1987: 270) that "we have basic level concepts not only for objects but also for actions and properties as well".

3. The cultural relevance of basic level categories

It is of course, impossible to empirically explore conceptions as such, therefore the basicness of specific categories must be recognized with respect to certain explicit, verifiable criteria. Thus, Lakoff (1987: 33), proposing that the categories recognized by the human mind at what he calls, after Berlin, folk-

generic level, are psychologically basic, specifies certain criteria that testify for that status as follows:

1. People name things more readily at that level.
2. Languages have simpler names for things at that level.
3. Categories at that level have greater cultural significance.
4. Things are remembered more readily at that level.
5. At that level, things are perceived holistically, as a single gestalt […].

Apart from the strict connection between basic conceptions and basic language terms referring to them mentioned in the above-mentioned list, the criterion which is of particular relevance to the purposes of the present paper is specified in the third point, which concerns cultural significance. However, unlike the remaining criteria, which have been experimentally verified by Brown and Berlin (cf. Lakoff 1987: 31-34), this one is somewhat vague and calls for some elaboration and explanation as to what "cultural significance" actually means.

Indeed, the notion of culture seems to be one of the imponderables that cannot be briefly and conclusively defined. One of the reasons is probably the fact that it encompasses practically every aspect of human activity. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the present paper it is useful to consider part of the definition provided by Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, which states that culture comprises "ideas, customs, skills, arts, etc. of a given people in a given time, [and] civilization".

Some aspects of culture so defined, in which the relevance of basic level animal categories seem to be particularly recognizable, are the following:

- pictorial representations, in e.g., art, heraldry, road signs and other popular pictograms and ideograms;
- language: apart from the common use of basic animal terms in everyday conversations, references to them in literature as well as in fixed expressions, such as idioms and proverbs.

As regards animal literary characters, perhaps the most typical genre in which they can be found is fables, whose long tradition was established in Ancient Greece by Aesop and has thereafter been continued in European literature (La Fontaine, Krasicki). A brief look at several selected titles of such texts confirms the cultural relevance of basic animal terms employed in them, which indeed evoke rich images laden with characteristics vital for the fables' moralizing function. Some examples are: *The Bear and the Bees*; *The Fox and the Lion*; *The Peacock's Complaint*; *The Tiger and the Crane*; *The Tortoise and the Hare*; *The Wolf and the Crane* (Aesop), and *The Ass and the Dog*; *The Cat and the Sparrows*; *The Crow and the Fox*; *The Dove and the Ant*; *The Fox and the Stork*; *The Fox and the Turkeys*; *The Lion, the Wolf and the Fox*; *The Monkey and the Cat*; *The Monkey and the Leopard*; *The Two Pigeons*; *The Rat and the Elephant*; *The Vultures and the Pigeons*; *The Wolf and the Dog* (La Fontaine).

It should be emphasized that the animal terms involved refer to the basic (folk generic) level of categorization and, as such, evoke the optimal amount of casual, popular knowledge contained within the respective animals' ICMs. A small but notable exception to this general tendency is constituted by ornithological terms, which describe their referents at a level more specific than basic, referred to by the lexeme *bird.* This issue will be tackled in the subsequent parts of the present paper.

3.1. Animal cognitive models

Animal categories are some of the most popular ones addressed when illustrating the ideas of prototypes and basic cognitive levels with examples is at issue. The reason seems to be the fact that they constitute specifically conspicuous and important elements of the surrounding reality. In casual human cognition it is unproblematic to recognize the similarities between the members of the same basic level animal category

and assign the status of prototypes to those of its members that display the maximum number of attributes relevant to that category's function in the human mental model of the world. By the same token, it is equally unproblematic for the human eye to discern dissimilarities between distinct basic level animal categories. However, what is relevant to categorization and naming specific phenomena by language is the establishing of conceptions inspired by experience with real representatives of the fauna, i.e., their idealized cognitive models.

Thus, animal cognitive models, labelled by language terms, comprise extensive, often casual or naïve, knowledge (in terms of a number of lower-order conceptions, i.e., cognitive domains) accumulated on the basis of experience. Some of these domains constitute what is traditionally referred to as the *designation* of a given word, while some others are identifiable as its *connotations*. In cognitive linguistics, connotations are not considered to be an additional or secondary aspect of meaning, but rather, to constitute an integral part of the semantic structure represented by a given lexeme (cf. Taylor 2002: 201-202). It seems that the "cultural significance" of certain basic-level categories, especially animal ones, is determined by those lower-order conceptions involved in a specific cognitive model that would traditionally be identified as connotations of a respective word. Among the lexemes referring to all kinds of natural phenomena established in each language it is those concerning certain animals closely connected with humans and their lifestyle that activate specifically rich connotations, which, in turn, determines the common use of the respective animal terms in popular idioms and sayings.

3.2. Animal cognitive models as source domains in metaphorical mappings

Anthropomorphizing animals has found its expression in folk tradition (fairy tales) as well as literature (fables). Many stereotypes of animals, especially of those which are particularly

close to human experience, include conceptions of human attributes. This probably results from the interpretation of certain natural forms of behaviour of specific kinds of creatures. As a result, there emerge popular convictions of the "courage" of lions, the "nobility" of eagles, the "slyness" of foxes, the "wisdom" of owls, the "treacherousness" of snakes, etc. It seems to be the axiological evaluation of those attributes in humans that predestines particular animal models endowed with them as source domains in metaphorical mappings on which the meaning of idiomatic expressions is based. The following fable by Ignacy Krasicki *Lew i zwierzęta* 'The Lion and the Animals' constitutes a good illustration of connotative associations ascribed to particular creatures which participate in their respective idealized cognitive models (an attempt at translation from Polish by the present author[1]):

When all the animals came the lion to see
They held debate: what trait in creatures best should be?
The elephant cherished prudence, the bison – gravity,
The camels – self-restraint, the leopards – audacity,
The bear spoke up for power, the horse – for shapely frame,
The wolf – for skill to track and catch his game,
The roe praised subtle beauty, the hart fair horns extolled,
The hare was all for fleetness, the lynx – for raiment bold,
The dog commended loyalty, the fox – a clever brain,
The sheep exalted meekness, the ass – hard work and strain.
At last, announced the lion, "Truly, of every beast
That one is the worthiest that brags the least."

4. Idioms and proverbs

As has been indicated, another important aspect of culture in which basic level categories acquire a special significance is the inventory of idioms and proverbs functioning in the language on which a given culture is based. Although the two cat-

[1] I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Jean Ward of the University of Gdansk for her help in rendering Krasicki's verses in English.

egories seem to be very much alike, they in fact serve quite different functions in discourse. Idioms, which are used as a form of expression, implicitly attend to the representative (expositive) illocutionary force of utterances of which they are part, i.e., they participate in descriptions of situations as conceived by speakers, thus entering into the words-to-world relationship (cf. Searle 1977). Proverbs, which by capturing popular truths offer advice about the way to live a life, constitute implicit directives meant to establish the world-to-words arrangement. Nevertheless, there are indubitable similarities between both categories of phraseological units, whose meaning is "greater" than their propositional contents, i.e., it is non-compositional. The relevant, intended to be communicated, meaning of proverbs is in fact idiomatic since it is different from the literal. Moreover, the sense of both types of expressions is usually figurative, metaphorical. When it comes to the actual metaphorical mappings involved in idioms as well as proverbs which, making use of animal terms, refer to various representatives of the fauna as source domains, the target notions are invariably constituted by humans: human properties, human ways of behaviour, human concerns, etc. The following study of idiomatic expressions pertaining to the category of phenomena in question, i.e., animals, is based on the material provided by the selected source, *The Penguin Dictionary of English Idioms* by Daphne M. Gulland and David G. Hinds-Howell (1986).

4.1. The study material

When considering the animal-appealing idiomatic and proverbial phrases with regard to the source domains in the metaphorical mappings which they involve, their number is indeed considerable. A quick glance at the thematic sections into which the language material provided by the above-mentioned source is divided, reveals that the sections comprising idioms based on faunal terms (the category labelled "animals" has

been distinguished from those referring to "birds", "fish" and "insects") is second in size (~390) only to the section involving terms for human body parts (~730), and larger than those concerning foods (~170), clothes (~160) and furniture or household articles (~120). Indubitably, one's own body constitutes a source domain that is the closest of all to human experience, therefore it participates in metaphorical mappings on which many idioms are based. Nevertheless, the fact that the fauna constitutes the second most prolific reservoir of inspirations for such expressions strongly supports the assumption of its significance in the mental model of the world constructed by language speakers. Of course, the considered idiom dictionary provides only examples from English, but there is no reason to assume that other languages are considerably different in this respect.

The aforementioned traditional dictionary, a solid, printed source from which to excerpt a limited sample of animal expressions has been selected for heuristic reasons. Firstly, it provides a manageable number of examples compiled by native speakers of British English, secondly, depending upon it alleviates the necessity of deciding what is and what is not an idiom. The latter issue has become especially problematic in view of Turner and Fauconnier's theory of conceptual blends (1995), which proposes that practically any complex expression in a language represents a meaning in the recognition of which circumstantial knowledge (mental context) plays a vital role.

The sample comprises a total number of 365 expressions, each of which involves a word referring to a real animal. The few expressions which involve fictitious creatures like the Cheshire Cat, the March Hare or dragons, or involve terms for phenomena related to animals, such as, *wing*, *nest*, *caviar*, rather than entire animal conceptions have been omitted. This number is most probably only a fraction of idiomatic animal phrases coined by speakers of English, and certainly new ones have appeared since the book was first published (1986). Nevertheless, the sample size seems sufficient for a study designed

to confirm Lakoff's statement that basic level categories labelled by basic language terms are indeed culturally more significant that non-basic ones.

All in all, despite its limitations, the selected source provides a dependable sample of expressions of confirmed idiomatic character. This sample has constituted the basis for the analysis described below and certain conclusion that have been drawn therefrom.

5. Animal terms and models in selected English idiomatic expressions

As already mentioned, the idiomatic expressions which involve animal terms in the selected source are only second in number to those concerning human body parts. They have been further divided into four groups according to criteria based on common, folk taxonomy of the fauna, as the listed expressions are grouped into those mentioning ANIMALS, BIRDS, FISH and INSECTS (curiously, the few provided idioms involving terms for mollusks, such as *snail, leech* or *limpet* are included in the INSECT category). Their total number approaches 400 but a few refer not to specific creatures but to notions such as wings, nests, molehills, caviar, cobwebs, which, nevertheless, participate in higher-order basic animal concepts. A study of actual terms involved in the expressions taken into consideration, i.e., those which relate to basic level animal cognitive models generally confirms the assumption of special cultural significance of such models, due to their superiority in numbers over non-basic categories, but in at least two cases their dominance is not unquestionable. The basic terms have been identified with regard to the criteria specified by Berlin and Kay (in Lakoff 1987: 25) for basic colour nomenclature, indicating that such words should be morphologically simple, broadly applicable as well as common or generally known, and also acquired early by children. Such terms evoke basic cognitive animal categories, which are characterized by internal

similarity, that is, they are associated with a specific general, overall shape (gestalt), typical modes of behaviour, interactions with humans, etc., as well as external dissimilarity, i.e., are easily distinguished from other animal categories. They are also, of course, prototype-centered. The results of the survey are presented and discussed below.

5.1. "Animals"

In the selected source, the term *animals* applies, in accordance with its popular usage, only to mammals, especially the familiar, commonly known ones. Figure 1 illustrates the occurrences of terms referring to different category levels in the surveyed sample of expressions.

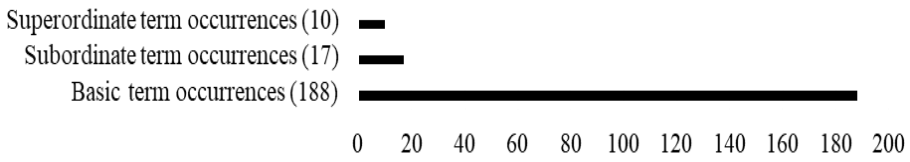

Figure 1
Animal (mammal) terms in the surveyed sample
of idiomatic expressions (215 in general)

As could be expected, the largest number of expressions involve references to common domestic animals – the dog (43), the horse (28), the cat (25), and the pig (12). It is these most common animal categories that are addressed also at subordinate levels: out of 43 references to the dog, 36 are realized by the basic word *dog*, 4 by the subordinate terms *puppy*, *hound* and *poodle*. The basic term *cat* is used 23 times and terms subordinate to it are used twice (*kitten* and *pussy*). A few idioms (4) contain the subcategory terms *calf* and *lamb*, while the clearly distinguished subcategory of pigs is that of hogs. The reference to subcategories is motivated by the need to highlight

a property that is not prominent in the model represented by a more general term. Thus, from among the numerous dog breeds, it is poodles who are stereotypically the most likely to perform tricks on command (perhaps due to their popularity with circus dog trainers, which, in turn, is caused by the breed's exceptional docility), and this property is exploited in the expression *to be nobody's poodle*. The ability to run very fast on a hunt is typically associated with hounds rather than with all dogs, hence the subcategory is mentioned in *to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, hare and hounds* (game). The subcategory terms like *puppy, kitten, calf, lamb* are used when such properties as plumpness, inexperience, weakness, and helplessness need to be highlighted. A subcategory of pigs, i.e., hogs (castrated, fattened males) is mentioned so as to highlight the property of immoderation and/or bulkiness, as in: *a road-hog*, *to hog (a conversation, food, attention)*, *to go the whole hog.*

In a significant number of cases the conception evoked by a superordinate term related to the fauna, such as *animal*; *creature*; *beast* involves a characteristic that, although very general, is sufficient as a source notion in terms of which a specific target domain can be portrayed. Thus, the conception represented by *animal*, which involves the lower-order characteristics "untamed", "controlled by instincts" seems to be the basis of such idioms as *behave like* (*worse than*) *an animal*, *political animal*, *animal spirits*, *animal passions.* The relevant domain in the representation of *creature* is "being alive" (highlighted by *creature comforts*), while *beast* apparently activates the notion of "being inferior, non-human". It is this notion that seems to be highlighted by the expressions: *the nature of the beast*, *the beast of burden*.

Rich animal ICMs – the example of the dog

The ICMs of domestic animals are especially abundant in lower-order conceptions, so that specific aspects of those concep-

tions, rather than whole mental images can be used as source domains in metaphorical mappings on which the meaning of idioms is based. The WHOLE FOR PART type of metonymy is involved here. For example, the stereotypical characteristic of the inferior status of dogs is exploited in expressions like *every dog has his day*, *any stick will serve to beat a dog with*, *give a dog a bad name and hang him*, *dog's life*, *not to have a dog's chance*, *to be in the dog-house*, *dog-tired*, *die like a dog*, *go to the dogs*. Another characteristic – that of dogs' tendency to fight for their place in a pack is highlighted by *top dog*; *dog-fight, dog doesn't eat dog*, while their various typical activities are referred to in *a dog in the manger*, *dog's dinner*, *sick as a dog*, *let sleeping dogs lie*, *don't keep a dog and bark yourself*, *his bark is worse than his bite,* and *you can't teach an old dog new tricks*.

5.2. "Birds"

The study of bird terms in the selected sample, whose results are presented in Figure 2, does not directly contradict the assumption of the special cultural significance of basic-level categories, but provides evidence for the relevance of more specific, subordinate categories, at least as regards the avian part of the animal kingdom.

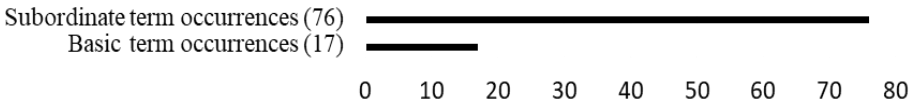

Figure 2
Bird terms in the surveyed sample of idiomatic expressions (93 in general)

In Rosch's pioneering research into human cognition (cf. Lakoff 1987), the category marked by the term *bird* was chosen as one of the first objects of experiments which resulted in developing the notion of a category prototype. This fact indicates that the category marked by that term was instinctively assumed to represent a cognitive basic-level, despite the fact that in the biological classification, the category of birds is identified as an entire class rather than a genus, the latter category being two steps below the former, while in between there are the levels of order and family. In the biological scientific taxonomy, the class category corresponding to Birds (*Aves*) is that of Mammals (*Mammalia*), which by no means can be considered a basic-level class category. It is understandable that the category BIRDS represents a basic level in human cognition because, unlike its taxonomic counterpart MAMMALS, it is identifiable as a mental gestalt associated with a certain overall shape, as well as with a sufficient number of relevant outstanding properties. Nevertheless, as a study of idiomatic expressions involving bird terms indicates, the more specific categories, e.g., LARK, CUCKOO, DOVE, PEACOCK, PARROT, and especially those closest to human experience – CHICKEN, COCK, DUCK, GOOSE, are referred to much more frequently as source domains in metaphoric mappings than the basic one (BIRD). The simple reason is that when it comes to highlighting certain human properties, such as pugnaciousness, timidity, miserableness or vulnerability, they are more likely to be found in stereotypically detail-laden ICMs of popular bird genera and species. The class term *bird*, which evokes a more general and sketchy model is of less use in such cases.

5.3. "Fish"

As the evidence of idiomatic expressions indicates, in the case of aquatic organisms, the folk basic level of categorization is not as specific as that of genus. As in the case of birds, the class term *fish* evokes a cognitive model sufficiently equipped

with relevant properties which can support a fair number of metaphoric mappings. As is usual, more specific generic terms, labelling cognitively subordinate categories are used in idiomatic expressions when a characteristic relevant in a given situation is not prominent in the stereotype of the more general category FISH, for example slipperiness in *as slippery as an eel,* being a popular canned food in *packed like sardines*, greed, and fierceness in *to be a shark.* Consequently, as Figure 3 illustrates, the more specific ICMs are evoked in idiomatic expressions almost as frequently as the more general folk basic one. Therefore, in the case of birds and fish the basic level ICM is rather scanty, which indicates that in human cognition these categories of animals are approached with less scrutiny than mammals.

Figure 3
Fish terms in the surveyed sample of idiomatic expressions
(23 in general)

5.4. "Insects"

In the considered sample of idiomatic expressions, the number of occurrences of superordinate folk terms for small, creepy-crawly creatures, i.e., *worm*, *bug,* which cover insects but also spiders and small mollusks, such as limpets or leeches, is almost equal to the number of occurrences of generic terms (*fly*, *bee*, *wasp*, *flea*) referring to the cognitive basic level categories in this section of the animal world. Terms for subordinate insect categories are used just twice – *drone*, *nit* – to highlight relevant properties, those of the monotonousness of emitted

sound and unpleasantness combined with small size, respectively.

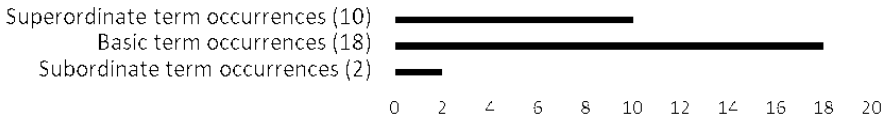

Figure 4
Insect terms in the surveyed sample of idiomatic expressions (30 in general)

6. Conclusions

The claim that basic-level categories (in the selected example of animals) named by basic language terms have greater cultural significance is confirmed by the study of the use of terms referring to them in fixed, highly conventionalized idiomatic expressions whose meaning is typically metaphorical in nature. However, the claim that the folk generic level coincides with the scientific generic level, as suggested by the outcome of the research into the Tzeltal plant classification, reported in Lakoff (1987), as well as in Ungerer and Schmid (1996), is slightly far-fetched.

Nevertheless, the study of the selected sample of linguistic material indicates that, as regards the English fauna terminology, basic language terms show that basic-level cognitive categories are established exclusively from the practical human perspective. They function at the folk-generic level which does not need to coincide with the scientific generic level at all, as could be assumed. In fact it is scientists who "borrow" common folk terms constituting basic terms in a language and apply them to categories which they evaluate as basic or generic, taking into account criteria which are not always relevant or even discernible in casual cognition.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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A school performance: A teaching tool or real art?

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Abstract

The article addresses the question of whether in using a school performance as a tool in ELT it is possible to achieve true artistic effects through it. It analyses the problem from the point of view of focusing on the value of the *outcome* rather than just the *process* of implementing theatre in ELT. The issues are discussed according to Bruner's criteria (1971) of artistic experience and Wenzel's conditions (2001) for authenticity in speaking in an ELT classroom. Furthermore, the notion of cognitive appeal is put forward as a key feature in achieving a shift in students' attitude towards performing, which may in turn result in achieving a truly artistic effect.

Key words

artistic experience, authentic speaking, automatic speaking, amateur production, cognitive appeal

Szkolne przedstawienie: narzędzie w nauczaniu czy prawdziwa sztuka?

Abstrakt

Artykuł odnosi się do kwestii wykorzystania przedstawienia szkolnego w nauczaniu języka angielskiego i czy dzięki niemu można osiągnąć prawdziwie artystyczny efekt. Omawia ten problem z punktu widzenia skupiania się na wartości *efektu końcowego* a nie na samym *procesie* wdrażania teatru jako narzędzia. Kwestie te są omawiane w odniesieniu do kryteriów przeżycia artystycznego Brunera (1971) oraz do warunków autentyczności mówienia w nauczaniu języka angielskiego przedstawionych przez Wenzla (2001). Ponadto jako kryterium kluczowe przedstawione jest pojęcie *apelatora poznawczego*. Pojawienie się jego właśnie może skutkować zmianą nastawienia uczniów do wystawianej sztuki, a co za tym idzie dzięki niemu można osiągnąć efekt naprawdę artystyczny.

Słowa kluczowe

doświadczenie artystyczne, mówienie autentyczne, mówienie automatyczne, przedstawienie amatorskie, apelator poznawczy

1. Introduction

A need for adding a "creative aspect" to a regular classroom experience has been articulated for many years. However, it is usually expected to materialise in forms that merely break up the classroom routine so as to force students to have a fresh outlook on the learning material. In this way it is hoped that they are able to see the whole process of learning in a new light and become more active participants in the process.[1] Furthermore, the accepted viewpoint seems to be that for the sake of learning a second language it is the process, i.e. rehearsals, rather than the final outcome, that is most valuable when it

[1] Piasecka, Liliana (2017). "Creativity and foreign language learning". Paper delivered during PASE conference in Gdańsk on 23.06.2017.

comes to ELT objectives (Maley and Duff 1978: 104). The following discussion attempts to change this perspective on the phenomenon of using theatre in ELT.

The phrase *creative aspect of learning* may have a direct reference to those elements that deal with an appreciation of art, where a huge potential lies in using prose, poetry or drama as authentic resources. If the choice of such materials matches the linguistic capabilities of students, a teacher may bring about a moment of true artistic discovery in some of the students. Bruner (1971: 87) presents four aspects of artistic experience; namely, (1) a synergy of experiences through understanding a work of art, (2) an effort that we make to grasp it, (3) being emotionally "moved" by it and (4) the question of the universal understanding of what we might consider as beautiful. When trying to apply his distinction to an ELT classroom, the criteria of (2) and (3) seem most relevant in this context, but, as will be revealed later, all four criteria can be involved when using works of art in teaching English.

2. A school performance as a true artistic experience

As far as the criterion (2) is concerned, the effort to grasp the artistic significance of a work of art can form a synergy with the intellectual effort to linguistically comprehend a poem, a piece of prose or a play. Seen in this perspective, staging a play becomes potentially even more rewarding than the other artistic forms mentioned, as the intellectual effort of overcoming linguistic difficulties is combined not only with the artistic element, but also with the actual physical effort of performing in all its complexities. It then becomes easier to experience Bruner's criterion (3), namely, the emotional involvement, as well as the experience of beauty thanks to it (criterion 4). Needless to say, the synergy of different experiences (criterion 1) becomes an even stronger element not in spite of but because of the fact that it is channelled through a second language and not a mother tongue.

Naturally, there remains the question of the general purpose of such an activity; if our aim is art, part of the answer has already been given; it is possible to appreciate a piece of literature because of the effort that we make to achieve it, the emotional involvement in the process of discovering its significance, the sense of beauty that it may give us and a synergy of experiences that are involved in grasping it. If, however, we stage a play with a group of English learners in order to teach them English, what do we actually aim at? A likely response to that question is that through memorising the script, students can perfect their pronunciation, expand vocabulary or practice certain set phrases, by repeating language chunks. However, one potential teaching aim that does not appear as the most obvious, may turn out to be one of the greatest linguistic benefits of setting up a school performance, namely, speaking.

3. A school performance as a speaking activity

A performance of a play may not seem to be the most obvious example of a way to teach speaking in a second language. What we usually understand by true speaking is what Wygotski (1989) has described as a situation where an utterance is constructed as the thoughts are being formed in the mind of the speaker. However, from the point of view of using a second language, we cannot perceive all spoken utterances as either completely real (i.e. authentic), or artificial (i.e. automatic). When learning to speak in a foreign language we usually move along a spectrum from simpler, more automatic language to more complex and more authentic expressions. Wenzel (2001) presented five criteria, according to which we could judge the nature of a particular spoken utterance in an ELT classroom:

(1) the degree of the teacher's control over the content of the utterance,
(2) the presence or absence of the message in the exercise,
(3) the degree of the student's spontaneity and free will to speak,

(4) the extratextual circumstances of interaction,
(5) the student's mental involvement in the content of the utterance, i.e. the degree of its cognitive appeal.
(Wenzel 2001: 62-63)

If we apply these criteria to a school performance, we can see to what extent it has the potential for authentic speech. In Wenzel's understanding of these criteria, they should be regarded independently (Wenzel 2001: 63), so even though the first criterion seems to disqualify a performance, as the written script leaves the student with no choice as to the content of what he or she says, there are still other criteria to be considered. Moreover, even in this case, we should treat the question of content within the limits of the convention of a theatre play, so the interpretation of the character, the choice of costume, the sound and other elements of an actual adaptation become as much a part of the content of the play as the script itself. Treated in this respect, a school performance does leave the actors with choice as to the content.

As far as the presence of the message is concerned (criterion 2), it depends largely on how the play is directed. If the teacher/director focuses on the linguistic aspects, such as pronunciation, then the language and not the message of the play will become the centre of attention.[2] If, however, it is clear to the participants that the goal of the event is the play itself, then the attention is shifted to the message. This criterion is directly related to the criterion 5, "the mental involvement in the content", as it also largely depends on the extent to which the teacher directs the participants' attention to it.[3]

The remaining criteria – (3) student's spontaneity and (4) the extratextual circumstances – depend on yet another circumstance that remains for the teacher to ensure during the

[2] For a more detailed description of ways in which a school performance can be used to teach linguistic aspects, such as pronunciation, see Janczukowicz (2014: 127-132).

[3] This element, however, will be separately discussed in section 6, devoted to the role of "cognitive appeal" in achieving artistic effects.

production. The circumstance in question is the extracurricular nature of participating in the play and the addition of various elements that normally appear during a professional production (Janczukowicz 2014: 122-127). Spontaneity can become a very natural aspect of the production of the play if the student joins the performance on a voluntary basis; furthermore, the extratextual circumstances turn it into a real performance, as long as this is taken to mean not only free will on the part of the actors, but also a professional stage, lighting, costumes, etc. as well as the audience's reception of the play.

Consequently, although it is impossible to guarantee that a school performance will always be an example of authentic speech, it can become so, depending on the way in which it is directed, the physical reality in which it is performed, and the general attitude of the participants.

4. A school performance as an example of an amateur production

One may wonder whether, given the Polish reality, it is possible to achieve the conditions described above. The accepted expectations of the potential recipients of any form of art is that it is done either by "professionals", i.e. people with a degree in a particular discipline, or done as an exercise, either in cultural centres or as a school activity. In the second instance, it is usually only watched by school or family members, and only because of the fact that it has been done in that particular place or performed by those exact people. If this particular piece of art had been created anywhere else, by anyone else, the audience would not have attended that event. As a result, most artists who do not have appropriate qualifications, either because they have a different profession or, as in our case, because they are still young students – too young to have any degree – find it extremely hard to obtain an audience for their work.

The situation appears even more difficult in the case of a play in English as the language barrier makes it even harder to find someone willing to watch a play for its own sake. However, this is not always the case, as English speakers (either native speakers or simply people well acquainted with Anglo-Saxon culture) are much more familiar with the convention of an *amateur production*. The phrase may refer to a whole range of activities, but in this paper it will be understood as a non-profit event that involves a mix of both professionals and amateurs. In reality, it very often involves people whose passion or hobby is a particular field of art and who aim to master the technique through cooperation with people educated in the field. Such productions may involve not only theatre but also music, ballet or dance groups and are a fairly common phenomenon in English speaking countries.

The English adjective *amateur* can have positive associations which focus on the fact that something is done for love or without payment (e.g. an amateur sportsman) in contrast with the clearly derogatory adjective *amateurish* (e.g. her amateurish interviewing technique),[4] indicating a lack of professionalism. Interestingly enough, the Polish adjective misses this distinction and is left with only one option *amatorski*, which covers both meanings. However, both positive and negative associations are present in other derivatives, e.g. *amator* meaning an amateur with a mild positive implication and clearly negative *amatorszczyzna* indicating the quality of being amateurish.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion above is that although amateur performances are more common in English-speaking countries than in Poland, the potential for their place in the lives of ordinary people is present in Poland as well. Moreover, it could be through plays in English that the very idea stands a chance of being successfully im-

[4] All the examples are taken from *The New Oxford English Dictionary* (1998).

plemented in Poland, since such productions already are so much more a part of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Furthermore, when it comes to acting, all instances of professionalism are intermingled with amateurism since a professional actor is not always a professional singer or athlete at the same time. This mixture of professionalism and amateurism in many fields and at many levels is best exemplified in Polish amateur theatre productions in English, where a native speaker of English (in a way "a professional speaker of English") is an amateur actor while a professional Polish actor who has joined the group may not be fully proficient in English. The same may be said of dancers who have to sing and singers who dance. The diversity of the levels of expertise presented by the participants is an inevitable part of all theatre, both professional and amateur. However, it is in the amateur productions that it is more or less expected and the audience, which is acquainted with them, has come to accept this "unevenness" as a part of the convention. Having accepted it, members of the audience can appreciate such a play as a true piece of art according to all four criteria stipulated by Bruner (1971).

5. The acting reality in a classroom situation

What has been said earlier about amateur plays appears in the context of school performances to be almost like unrealistic idealism. Students' deficiencies in certain vital skills, such as articulation of speech or general acting skills make some teacher-directors give up from the start. They end up focusing on teaching English and involuntarily turn their play into an extended English lesson.[5] Each play is an individual matter

[5] As far as directing is concerned, an awareness of technical elements that make a play accessible to the audience, such as movement on stage, the need for certain tempo or an ability to control it, etc. are very helpful. However, what makes the difference between directing a professional play and a school performance is that the work with students involves discovering artistic talent and revealing potential acting skills. In this way, a teacher-

taken up by a unique cast of actors, so it is impossible to make valid generalisations. However, there are certain factors that make it more likely to bring out the most talent in the students and, consequently, which may result in a true artistic experience for both – the actors and the audience.

One of the most important elements that enables students to become actors is making all aspects of the performance as real as possible. This means involving students in staging, lights, props and costumes. The less "lesson-like" the rehearsals are, the more likely the students are to develop true involvement in the personality and the story of their character. If, on the other hand they are made to practice their lines in their own English classroom, moving very little and only pretending to be holding objects or doing something, e.g. pretending to be drinking from imaginary cups, writing with imaginary pens etc. they will emotionally remain only students who pretend to be actors.

Looking back at Wenzel's criteria for achieving authenticity in classroom speaking activities, which were discussed in Section 3, criterion 4 – the extratextual circumstances of interaction – become particularly relevant. Not only speech as a classroom activity, but also speech in other aspects, such as the performance of a play, will largely depend on the external circumstances. The physical space in which the text is being delivered, the actor's awareness of the audience's ability to understand what is being said, the tangible objects that the actors are holding or even the costumes that they are wearing, all contribute to the actor's sense of the authenticity (rather than the artificiality) of the situation.

For the sake of achieving such authenticity, it is really helpful to remove the scripts from the rehearsals as soon as possi-

director also becomes an educator. Still, rehearsals can seldom be transformed into a full scale acting workshop so the practical side frequently forces such a director not only to build on whatever hidden talent he or she has discovered, but also to skilfully hide students' deficiencies. Consequently, perceptiveness in noticing students' potential and constant openness to their suggestions become very important features of the teacher-director's work.

ble, even if the text is then delivered with more hesitation. The moment the students start establishing eye-contact with other characters, they become aware of the actual tensions and the relationships between them. Such a moment frequently coincides with an improvement in their acting. This 'stepping into the character' is, however, a very individual moment and should be supported by the teacher with the other elements already mentioned, such as the stage, the costumes and props. They all help the student-actors to become the characters they act. Furthermore, the stage-lights blind them a little, so after a moment of getting used to the light, students can focus on the stage reality more since they are not able to see the audience.

In order to illustrate how important it is to use such elements in a production, we can compare two photographs of the same moment in one play[6] conducted on two different types of stage. Photograph 1 shows a makeshift stage in a school library and Photograph 2 a professional stage.

Photograph 1

[6] *In the Shadow of the Glen* by J. M. Synge (2002). Performance directed by Karolina Wenzel. Elbląg: Teatr Dramatyczny; Ronneby; Sweden: Knut Hahnskolan. Photographs are taken from the author's private collection.

Photograph 2

Although the two photographs clearly present the same moment of the play, the crucial elements (props and stage lights) mentioned earlier, are missing from the first picture, while many distracting elements are present instead. The computer and the books in the background of photograph 1 distract the audience's attention, light coming from the window dissipates the light that falls on the actors while the furniture and the glasses visible in photograph 1 seem makeshift as they are more modern than the content of the play or the costumes would indicate. Consequently, it is much easier to focus one's attention on the people visible in photograph 2 than in 1 and for them it is much easier to create a stage reality in which they forget that they are students (or teachers) of English. This in turn can enable them to step into the parts they play and in this way they become real actors.

Nevertheless, it is equally important to mention one other factor invisible in both pictures; namely, the audience that was there and could follow the play in both cases. It was thanks to

their responses, heard or "sensed" during both performances, that the play became an authentic experience for the actors. The audience is the factor that can tip the balance one way or the other in spite of the fact that, ideally, the actors should not see it. Part of the actors' minds will be acutely sensitive to minute signals that will indicate whether their audience understands the action and what their emotional response is. Professional actors are also sensitive to the audience's reception, but their experience and skill usually allow them to perform well regardless of such signals. For amateur actors, the audience's reception becomes the factor that can either make or mar the performance, and in this way it is the final feature that can transform an English lesson into a true amateur production.

6. Cognitive appeal as a factor in building the authenticity of the play

So far, several factors have been mentioned which are likely to contribute to the authenticity of the theatre experience. The aspect that should still be discussed is the relation of the students to the content of the play. Unlike the previously discussed factors, the success of which is within the control of the teacher, the relationship between the students and the text is a much more individual and even personal matter. It can be twofold; namely, either the students will remain emotionally uninvolved and will treat it as yet another teaching material, or their attention may become so focused on the fictional reality created that the stage becomes an actual space, while the feelings become true emotions in the same way that professional actors utilise their own emotions to express those of the characters they play. If that happens, the play becomes not only an authentic speaking experience but it also becomes an artistic experience.

In order to achieve that shift in the focus of attention, one factor must be added to the elements described in the previous

sections; namely, the factor of *cognitive appeal*. Wenzel describes it as "the appeal of the context of the text to the cognitive structure of the student which leads to changes in the structure and results in true learning process" (2001: 27). When describing it, he also mentions the shift in focus from participating in a language lesson to the content of the text (2001: 26). It can also be defined as "a quality of a given text or utterance that influences the cognitive processes in the student's mind in an authentic manner" (Aleksandrowska 2015: 57). Although this notion usually appears in the context of using language materials in an ELT classroom[1], it is also a vital element that is decisive as to the nature of the students' attitude towards the play in which they are performing.

Firstly, the necessity of the shift of attention is present in both situations. Apart from all the external factors, which may or may not bring about this change of attitude, it is the content of the play that will determine it. The student-actors may find actual pleasure in enacting the story, emotions and speech of their characters. Once they do, everything they say becomes their own. Furthermore, when they say 'their own' text, it changes their cognitive structures and, as a result, becomes a true learning process. However, certain conditions need to be met in order for the content of the play to be appealing at the cognitive level. Rychło (2008: 72) mentions three; namely, the focus on the content, an inspiration for discussion or reflection, and reference to an issue important for the student. Needless to say, all three conditions are interdependent. If the matter of the play is important for the students, it will be more likely to inspire true reflection. Then the student stands a greater chance of shifting his attention to the content, and away from the fact that the whole process involves learning English in a way.

[1] Wenzel (2001), Rychło (2008), Janczukowicz (2011) and Aleksandrowska (2015a, 2015b).

7. Concluding remarks

While most people would admit that using theatre can be beneficial for learning English, the way to obtain these learning benefits is not obvious. For many teachers and ELT scholars (e.g. Maley and Duff 1978), it will be the focus on the process of staging the play rather than the final outcome that can bring about the most important learning benefits. As far as such aspects of learning a second language as vocabulary, pronunciation or even speaking skills are concerned, they may be right. However, when we attempt to engage the less tangible but still crucial factors that contribute to the overall success of learning a second language, such as motivation, emotional and personal involvement (Daszkiewicz 2015: 107) or long term memory, it is the focus on the actual play and having real art as the goal that can achieve this success. Interestingly enough, aiming at a true artistic performance does not happen at the expense of the more 'basic' educational goals. On the contrary, a certain synergy appears, because the students speak in a more authentic way, remember the vocabulary better and may practice pronunciation with greater determination and perseverance.

All in all, a certain paradox appears; in order to achieve better artistic results, the students must 'forget' that they are taking part in an English language activity. It is thanks to this that they emotionally engage in the play better, and, as a result, any language learning that takes place then becomes far more effective. Consequently, when trying to answer the question of whether school performances are only teaching tools or real art, one has to admit that under certain conditions they can become pieces of art, but only when they reach that point, do they become most successful as teaching tools.

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The importance of formal grammar skills: Reflections on Polish students learning Norwegian

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Abstract

Norwegian and Scandinavian languages in general have grown quite popular among Polish students in recent years and more and more Polish universities are trying to offer Bachelor's and even Master's programmes in a Scandinavian language.

Based on experience as a teacher of a Norwegian grammar course at the University of Szczecin and as a teacher of grammar at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences which in 2016/2017 hosted around twenty Erasmus+ students from Szczecin, some of the challenges for Polish students of academic Norwegian will be reflected upon, as well as some of the challenges for a teacher of Norwegian who has very little knowledge of Polish. The main purpose of this paper will be to argue for the importance of grammar skills in language education and especially in language teacher education. This study is a contribution to the Educational Role of Language network.

Key words

foreign language teaching, foreign language learning, language didactics, grammar skills, teacher education, educational role of language

Znaczenie znajomości gramatyki formalnej: Refleksje na temat polskich studentów uczących się języka norweskiego

Abstrakt

Język norweskie i inne języki skandynawskie stały się w ostatnich latach bardzo popularne wśród polskich studentów, a coraz więcej polskich uczelni stara się oferować programy licencjackie, a nawet magisterskie w językach skandynawskich.

Bazując na swoim doświadczeniu nauczyciela kursu z gramatyki języka norweskiego na Uniwersytecie Szczecińskim oraz nauczyciela gramatyki na Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, gdzie w roku akademickim 2016/2017 goszczono około dwudziestu studentów programu Erasmus+ ze Szczecina, opisuję niektóre wyzwania stojące przed polskimi studentami, jak również wyzwania stojące przed nauczycielem języka norweskiego mającego bardzo małą znajomość języka polskiego. Głównym celem tego artykułu jest zwrócenie uwagi na znaczenie umiejętności gramatycznych w edukacji językowej, a zwłaszcza w edukacji nauczycieli języków obcych. Niniejsze opracowanie stanowi wkład w sieć Educational Role of Language.

Słowa kluczowe

nauczanie języków obcych, nauka języków obcych, dydaktyka językowa, gramatyka, edukacja nauczycieli, edukacyjna rola języka

1. Introduction

This paper was presented at the Second International Conference "Educational Role of Language, Social and Cultural Determinants" at the University of Gdansk in June 2017 (ERL 2, 2017). The Division of Research on Childhood and School at the Department of Education organises an international network of researchers (ERL Network, 2017) that collaborates in order to answer a variety of questions related to the educational role of language (ERL). The key objective of the second

ERL conference and the ERL network was to study the educational role of language from the perspective of different nations and continents.

The present contribution to the ERL network has its background in the situation that Norwegian and Scandinavian languages in general have grown quite popular among Polish students in recent years, with an increasing number of Polish universities offering undergraduate and even graduate programmes in a Scandinavian language. The University of Szczecin (2013) and some private universities in Warsaw and Kraków are the most recent providers of academic studies in Norwegian, while the study programmes at the universities of Gdansk and Poznan are well established in that field.

During 2016/2017, I taught Norwegian grammar courses at the University of Szczecin. I have also been a teacher of Norwegian grammar at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences where we in 2016/2017 hosted around twenty Erasmus+ students from Szczecin. In the present paper, "grammar" is used as a general term covering the grammatical disciplines of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

Based on the experiences with teaching Norwegian grammar on an academic level to foreign students, some of the challenges for Polish students of academic Norwegian will be reflected upon, as well as some of the challenges for a teacher of Norwegian who has very little knowledge of Polish. The main question in this paper is as simple as asking what a language teacher actually needs to know. In the "real world" of language teaching, many students, and also many teachers, seem to have a preference for the literature and cultural part of the language they are studying or teaching. The main goal of asking about professional competences is to draw attention to the formal education of language teachers and to raise awareness regarding the need for formal linguistic skills in language teacher education. In the next section, we will look at some more questions related to the goals of the ERL network.

2. Methodological and theoretical foundations: The Educational Role of Language (ERL) network

The ERL network was established in 2016, following an initiative from the Division of Research on Childhood and School, Department of Education at the University of Gdansk. This network consists of researchers from many fields, not only pedagogy, language teaching and linguistics, but also psychology, philosophy and other disciplines that may have a broader interest in the role of language. The main goal of the ERL network is to bring together academics whose work and interests combine language and educational science. Following the rationale of the "linguistic turn", network members jointly study how language shapes our understanding of the world and how people function in it. There are various projects with different perspectives on language beliefs, language activity, language experience and/or language matrices of world interpretation. Hence, the network projects fall within the worldview, psychomotor, affective and/or cognitive domain.

To systematise the scope of the ERL network, four key areas were established when the project started in 2016:

1. Potential of Language for General Education
2. Language Activity of Children
3. Personal Experience of Language
4. Language Matrixes of Reality Interpretation

In order to make room for more academics to join the network, these key areas were later renamed:

1. Language Beliefs (formerly: Potential of Language for General Education)
2. Language Activity (formerly: Language Activity of Children)
3. Language Experience (formerly: Personal Experience of Language)
4. Language Matrixes (formerly: Language Matrixes of Reality Interpretation)

Since the present project started before the key areas were renamed, the former area names will be used. The topic of this paper is mainly related to areas 1, 2, and 3 of the ERL network. Each ERL key area comes with a set of guiding research questions. For the present project, questions from almost every key area were relevant.

Area 1, Potential of Language for General Education, has the following guiding research questions:

1. What function of language is assigned by educational systems of different countries?
2. What approach to language do teachers of different nationalities represent?
3. To what extent is the teaching of the native language bound with that of the foreign one?
4. What approaches to language in education are taken across different cultures?

When it comes to the Polish students, questions 2 and 3 are most relevant in a broader perspective. So far, the ERL network has not conducted any formal comparison between teachers in different countries when it comes to approaches to language. This paper may serve as one example from Norway. As for question 3, this will be a topic in this paper since I, as the teacher under investigation, lack skills in the native language (Polish) of the students.

Area 2, Language Activity of Children, has the following guiding research questions:

1. How is children's language activity valued and assessed in educational systems of different countries?
2. What evidence is viewed in different countries as reasons for promoting pupils' language activity?
3. What hinders the development of pupils' language competence in different societies and cultures?
4. By what means is the language of children encouraged in particular countries?

In the present study, the terms *children* and *pupils* must be replaced with *students*. All four questions are relevant in a broader perspective. However, again, there is no comparative study at the present stage and this paper has to be seen as a perspective from one institution and one country (Norway). Question 3 may be of special interest since different countries might have different pedagogical views on formal grammar learning and second language learning. All four questions from this area are relevant and interesting for future research, but I will only be able to touch on certain aspects of these questions in this study.

Area 3, Personal Experience of Language, has the following guiding research questions:

1. How do children of particular nationalities experience their contact with and use of language?
2. Which language skills are appreciated the most in different countries?
3. To what extent is the personal experience of language determined by social practices?
4. What differences can be observed in pupils' approach to their native and foreign languages?

Here, too, the terms *children* and *pupils* have been replaced with *students*. All four questions are relevant for the present study, even though I can only address certain aspects of them.

3. Polish students studying Norwegian

According to Wikipedia, there are more than 55 million native speakers of Polish (in 2010) and Poland has a rather large population (approximately 38 million in 2017). In comparison, Norway has a population of only a little more than 5 million and there are approximately 5 million native speakers of Norwegian (in 2014). In this respect, Norway is a rather small country and Norwegian is a rather small language compared to Polish. On Wikipedia's "List of Languages by number of native

speakers", one finds Polish at number 30, Swedish at number 91 (approximately 8.7 million native speakers) and Norwegian is not on this list of 100 entries at all. Still, there are several universities in Poland that offer Scandinavian studies with Norwegian as one of the Scandinavian languages, and interest seems to be growing.

4. Motivation

Motivation is one of the key concepts in language learning and in learning in general (e.g. Dörneyi and Schmidt 2001; Lasagabaster, Doiz and Sierra 2014; Oxford 1996). As Laudari (2015: 1) puts it,

> It [= motivation] plays a significant role in a person's choices, actions, and persistence in an action. It indicates the 'direction and magnitude of human behavior' (Dörneyi, 2001a, p.8) and seeks to answer why people behave the way they do (Dörneyi, 2005, p.66). Motivation in learning an additional language plays an important role as it influences the desire to start learning the language, and the effort put to sustain this task of learning (Ellis, 1997; Ortega, 2009, p. 168). So it is regarded to be the impetus to initiation to second language (L2) learning and the force to sustain it in its long and tedious process (Dörneyi, 2005; Pintrich & Schunk, 1996).

Given the fact that Norway lies far to the north of Europe, a relevant question would be what motivation might Polish students have for studying Norwegian instead of, for instance, German. For students from Gdansk and especially Szczecin in the north of Poland, the most common answer from the students themselves is the contact with the Scandinavian countries on the other side of the Baltic Sea and the desire to work within the import/export field. The University of Szczecin offers language studies with a business component. There is also the common motivation connected to the general appeal of the country, the culture and the language itself from a more

tourist-oriented perspective. Many students seem to be attracted by the wild nature of Norway or possibly by certain parts of Norwegian culture, like for instance the Viking heritage (boosted by modern TV series and movies) or Norwegian music genres. However, there is a major difference between those who actually move to Norway to work, like the thousands of craftsmen that come to Norway each year (according to Statistics Norway (2017), there are more than 100, 000 Polish people living in Norway in 2017), and those who embark on several years of academic studies directly after school to learn the Norwegian language with no more concrete plans beyond that.

Among the students in the present study, there seem to be few who show clear signs of increased learning efforts because of a genuine motivation to learn Norwegian. That being said, one has to keep in mind that learning about the language and culture of another country is different from attending academic courses in linguistics. From this perspective, the Polish students do not differ much from Norwegian grammar students. Generally, one could say that most students, both Norwegian and Polish, are not fond of learning formal grammar. Grammar studies are seen as "a necessary evil" in the curriculum. Hence, the motivation is accordingly low.

5. Language teaching and grammar skills

This paper is going to point at the importance of formal grammar skills in language education; with grammar skills meaning formal knowledge of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantic and pragmatics. Since grammar studies frequently do not have a high "status" among language students, the motivation for acquiring grammar skills is generally low and consequently many language teachers do not feel too competent in the field of formal grammar and, therefore, choose to focus on culture and literature in their teaching.

Since most of the Norwegian students in the present study are student teachers who plan to have a future in teaching the Norwegian language in one way or the other, it is interesting to look at some areas where formal grammar skills are important.

6. Slavic languages versus Germanic languages

One challenge for Polish students studying Norwegian – or for a teacher who wants to teach Norwegian to students from Poland – is the difference between the two languages and their language families. Polish is a member of the Slavic language family with the respective phonological system and an augmented Latin alphabet with sounds and diacritic signs that are unfamiliar to a Norwegian. For instance, the initial consonant combination in the words *Szczecin* and *Gdansk* would not be possible in Norwegian. Norwegian, on the other hand, is a member of the Germanic language family and is closely related to languages such as German and English. The only Nordic letter augmentations which might cause difficulties for Polish students are *æ*, *ø*, and *å.* Since most Polish students are already familiar with English and possibly German, Norwegian is not too difficult for them to access from that perspective. By comparison, it is uncommon in Norway to learn Slavic languages in school, even though some secondary schools offer Russian in addition to more "popular" languages like Spanish, French or German. Learning Polish would demand much more effort from a Norwegian student in comparison to a Polish student learning Norwegian after having learned English and possibly German. As a language teacher, one would need some general knowledge about language typology and the fact that Slavic languages and Germanic languages are different in certain respects. Furthermore, one would also need to be aware of the possibility of transfer from English and/or German in the language of their Polish students. When it comes to Norwegian, one needs to keep in mind that students might not be able to distinguish between the two written variants of Norwe-

gian (Bokmål and Nynorsk, see e.g. Wardhaugh 2010: chap. 2) and the difference between oral speech, which is mostly dialect based, and official written language(s). However, it has not been possible to detect influences from oral speech in the present study. This is most likely due to the fact that the Polish students did not practise much Norwegian outside of the classroom.

As for Area 2 of the ERL network, Language Activity of Children [Students], question 3 would be relevant to ask: "What hinders the development of pupils' [students'] language competence in different societies and cultures?" For the Polish students in Poland, Norwegian would be a foreign language and learning it would mostly be a classroom activity. Norwegian would not be used outside of the classroom, and the language is not necessary in Polish society. For the Polish students in Norway, Norwegian would, potentially, be a second language from a learning perspective. Even though the students would meet Norwegian grammar in the classroom, the language is also used in most domains outside of the classroom and it would be expected to be necessary almost everywhere. However, there are some relevant questions to be asked about both learning situations. Most teachers of Norwegian in Poland are Polish, i.e. they are not native speakers of Norwegian, which might be a question of quality in some cases. Another aspect would be that it turns out to be rather difficult to get access to learning material in Norwegian. But that is more of a structural problem. As for the learning situation in Norway, one might ask to what extent the students actually are part of Norwegian society while they are on exchange. Quite often, they live in student homes together with other foreign students and they actually speak Polish or English outside of the classroom rather than Norwegian. This should be expected. Aside from the fact that the students normally need to pass their examination(s) in Norwegian, Norwegian is not necessarily something the students actually need during their stay in Norway since it is not a problem to use English in most contexts. This means

that the learning situation is not entirely optimal from a practical and motivational perspective.

As for Area 1 of the ERL network, Potential of Language for General Education, the following guiding research questions are relevant to ask when it comes to the Polish students of Norwegian: "What approach to language do teachers of different nationalities represent? To what extent is the teaching of the native language bound with that of the foreign one? And what approaches to language in education are taken across different cultures?

It is not possible to say anything general about the approach of different nationalities. But from the perspective of a Norwegian language teacher trying to teach Norwegian to Polish students and to Norwegian student teachers who potentially might teach foreign students in the future, it is only natural to have a contrastive approach to language teaching.

7. Contrastive analysis and transfer

This is not the place to discuss contrastive analysis, based on Lado (1957), in general. As a language teacher, one would be interested in the practical and didactic aspects of contrastive analysis and transfer. In the present paper, the intention is to show that general linguistic knowledge and skills are important for teachers in order to understand errors and help language students.

Having very poor knowledge of Polish, how would one approach certain aspects of the language as a language teacher and language learner? Take the word *Szczecin*. From a Norwegian point of view, the combination of the four consonants in the beginning of the word is impossible to pronounce. The four letters as a whole are an impossible combination, and there is no <sz>, <zc> nor <cz> in Norwegian either. In fact, the letters <c> and <z> are only used in certain names and loanwords. Now, as a language teacher, one is supposed to have knowledge of general linguistics, including phonology, i.e. the

part of grammar that deals with how the sounds of a given language are part of a grammatical system. One would also know that neither Norwegian, English nor German have a single letter that in all cases represents the sound and potential phoneme [ʃ]. In Norwegian, there are different letters and combinations of letters that may represent this phoneme/sound, e.g. <sk> in *ski* ('ski'), <skj> in *skje* ('happen'), <sj> in *sjel* ('soul'), <s> when preceding <l> as in *Oslo* (the capital) or <s> when following <r> as in *Lars* (the name 'Lars'). In English and German, the most common combination of letters to represent the sound and potential phoneme [ʃ] would be <sh> as in *shine* and <sch> as in *Schein*. Based on this knowledge, one might start with the hypothesis that the four letters in the word *Szczecin* only represent two phonemes in Polish. This alone is a huge help for a language teacher (and learner). Some teachers might also know German and the German name for the town *Szczecin*, *Stettin*. Seeing these two names side by side makes it easier to hypothesize that we are most likely dealing with two phonemes in the beginning of the word. It also helps to know that the combination of <s> and <t> would be pronounced [ʃt] in German in the initial position of a word (it would be [st] in Norwegian). All this does not mean that the hypotheses are actually 100 % right, but it would certainly help a lot when trying to understand the language system of another language. As for the word *Szczecin*, it seems that the pronunciation is actually [ʃtʃ]. Learning this, one would now be able to work on one's own understanding of the differences between Norwegian and Polish. Looking for similar words in Norwegian and Polish, for instance, <sjal> versus <szal> ('scarf'), one would soon find out that these two words indeed match each other very well when it comes to the representation of the sound [ʃ]. And, when checking the Italian loanword <cello> [tʃello], which usually is pronounced [ʃello] in Norwegian, one would find that Polish has the longer version <wiolonczela>, with the combination <cz> for [tʃ]. Apparently, con-

trastive analysis and the potential of transfer might be helpful for the language teacher and learner.

As a language teacher and as a language learner, one would also benefit from having some general knowledge of syntax and the syntactic differences between Norwegian and Polish. A typical problem for learners of Norwegian as a foreign or second language is related to the fact that Norwegian is a verb second (V2) language. This means that the finite verb (present tense or past tense) has to be located in the second position in main sentences. To understand this, one would also need to know about phrases or constituents. Since the V2 rule is a rather strict rule with few exceptions one would think it would be easy to remember and easy to use. Still, most learners of Norwegian struggle with placing the verb in the right position. As a language teacher, one would need to know how to help one's students. The "problem" arises, for instance when there is a time adverbial in the sentence, as in:

(1)	*I dag*	***skal***	*vi*	***lære***	*litt*	*om*
	today	shall	we	learn	(a) little	about
	norsk	*syntaks.*				
	Norwegian	syntax				

As a language teacher and learner, one would need to be able to understand that the first two words (*i dag*) belong to the same phrase and constituent and therefore have to occupy only one space in the sentence. The finite verb (*skal*) is, therefore, correctly placed in the second position (V2). Now, German is also a V2-language, when it comes to main clauses, e.g.:

(2)	*Heute*	***wollen***	*wir*	*ein bisschen*	***über***	*norwegische*
	today	shall	we	a little	about	Norwegian
	Syntax	*lernen.*				
	syntax	learn				

Interestingly, German learners of Norwegian make the same word order mistakes when it comes to the V2-rule as Polish

learners. The obvious reason would be that both groups of learners struggle with transfer from another foreign/second language they have learned before and that they are exposed to more frequently, namely English. English, however, is not a V2-language:

(3) *Today we **shall** learn a little about Norwegian syntax.*

Consequently, both German and Polish learners of Norwegian quite often produce the following word order in Norwegian sentences (which we now know is incorrect):

(4)	**I dag*	*vi*	***skal***	***lære***	*litt*	*om*
	today	we	shall	learn	(a) little	about
	norsk		*syntaks.*			
	Norwegian		syntax			

When trying to analyse different word order mistakes made by my Polish students, one student in the present study argued that Polish is a so-called free word order language. He actually claimed that all single words could in principle be placed anywhere in a sentence. Even with no prior knowledge of Polish, one should doubt the student's statement on theoretical grounds. Real free word order would be counterintuitive since there at least should be constraints when it comes to constituents and information structure. A deeper discussion about Polish grammar was, however, not possible with that student. In general, it may seem that most students know little about the formal grammar of their own language and lack basic knowledge of common grammatical terms like inflection, word classes, sentence constituents and functions. According to the Polish Language Blog (2011): "Basic word order in Polish is SVO, however, as it is a morpheme rich language, it is possible to move words around in the sentence, and to drop the subject, object or even sometimes verb, if they are obvious from context". Apparently, Polish has the same basic word order as Norwegian and English (and German in main clauses), i.e.

subject – verb – object (SVO). Language blogger Kasia also provided some examples (Polish Language Blog 2011):

> These sentences mean more or less the same ("Kasia has a cat"), but different shades of meaning are emphasized by selecting different word orders:
> **Kasia ma kota** – Kasia has a cat (when spoken with a different sentence tempo and accentuation, this sentence can be understood as mildly offensive idiom "Kasia is crazy" or "Kasia is a loony").
> **Kasia kota ma** – Kasia does have (own) a cat (and has not borrowed it)
> **Kota ma Kasia** – The/a cat is owned by Kasia
> **Ma Kasia kota** – Kasia really does have a cat
> **Kota Kasia ma** – It is just the cat that Kasia really has
> **Ma kota Kasia** – The relationship of Kasia to the cat is one of ownership (and not temporary possession)
> However, only the first three examples sound natural in Polish, and others should be used for special emphasis only, if at all.

As interesting as these examples might be, they are made up of single word phrases. Therefore, it is not that easy to see the full potential of possible free word order. Checking Wikipedia for further information on Polish grammar, one would find that

> The grammar of the Polish language is characterized by a high degree of inflection, and has relatively free word order, although the dominant arrangement is subject–verb–object (SVO). There are no articles, and there is frequent dropping of subject pronouns. Distinctive features include the different treatment of masculine personal nouns in the plural, and the complex grammar of numerals and quantifiers.

Acquiring a minimum of knowledge of the grammar of the students' mother tongue would help the teacher in giving them better guidance.

8. Data and discussion: Error examples from student examinations

We will now look at some examples of errors from student examinations and try to analyse them.

(5) *De mest kjent reformer var i 1900-tallet og de mest kjent språkdebater var i 1800-tallet.*
'The most known (language) reforms happened in the 20th century and the most known language debates happened in the 19th century.'

Here, the field of grammar which a language teacher needs to have knowledge of is morphology. The student has no problem with keeping the words of the constituents <de mest kjent reformer> and <de mest kjent språkdebater> together, but there is an agreement problem since <kjent> is supposed to be inflected in the plural form: <kjente>. A teacher should point out that it is more common to use the so-called double definite form in Norwegian, i.e. <de … reformene> and <de … debattene>. The student has also chosen the wrong preposition in front of the word for centuries (tallet). While English (and German) would use <in> before the corresponding time expressions, Norwegian would have "on", i.e. <på>. Actually, Norwegian differentiates between the use of prepositions (<i 1813> vs. <på 1800-talet> ('in 1814 vs. in the 18 hundreds')). The last error in this example has to do with phonology and orthography. The student writes <debater> instead of <debatter> with two t's. Since the corresponding word is <debata> in Polish and <debate> in English, this error is most likely due to transfer from the mother tongue or English. However, a teacher of Norwegian would also inform the student about the spelling rule in Norwegian that states that double consonants are used to mark short vowels. Even though there are many exceptions to this rule in Norwegian, this rule could be useful for the student.

Another example is the following:

(6) *Vi har mange reformene har.*
'We have many reforms here.'

One problem in this sentence is the wrong use of the definite form of the noun <reformene>, which should have the indefinite form <reformer> in this case. The double definite form of nouns in Norwegian is a challenge for many foreigners, but for a language teacher, the wrong spelling of <har>, which should be <her>, is more interesting. In order to understand this mistake one would need to have knowledge of phonology. While English has the spelling <here> and the pronunciation [hi:r], Norwegian has the spelling <her> and the pronunciation [hæ:r]. Apparently, the Polish student had some trouble distinguishing the low front vowel [æ] from [a]. Consequently, the teacher should suggest a study of the Norwegian vowel system and special training in distinguishing difficult vowels (for instance also the Norwegian vowel [y] versus [ʉ]).

In the following example:

(7) *… i landsbygda utviklet seg forskjellig norske dialekter...*
'… in the countryside different dialects developed …'

the student chose the wrong Norwegian preposition (<i> instead of <på>) and missed the plural ending in <forskjellig[e]>. In many instances, the use of prepositions has to be learned from case to case and can even vary. The more interesting error in this sentence, however, is the lack of the formal subject <det> ('it'). So, in order to be able to help this student the teacher would need to have knowledge of Norwegian syntax. The Polish language seems to lack a formal or expletive subject. Therefore, the teacher would have to explain the concept of a formal subject and would need to know ways of showing why and where the expletive subject is supposed to appear (directly behind the finite verb or in first position).

The next example is related to the field of phonology:

(8) *… offisjelle skriftlige versjoner …*
'official written versions'

The Norwegian spelling of 'official' is (here the plural form) <offisielle> and the pronunciation would be [ɔfisi'elə]. One might think that there could be an (orthographic) transfer from the correctly spelled word <versjoner> ('versions') in the same phrase with <sj> for the sound [ʃ], but that does not match the Norwegian pronunciation. For the teacher, it would help to know that the Polish spellings exhibit a <j> in both cases: <oficjalna wersja>. However, the Polish pronunciation of the same phrase is not that distant from the Norwegian pronunciation. Thus, the <j> would be the only sign that the transfer could come from Polish itself. Instead, the error may originate in a transfer from English pronunciation, where we, despite the different spellings, find the [ʃ] sound in both words: <official versions>.

Another example is from syntax, i.e. constituent order:

(9) *… å bringe nærmere begge språkene til hverandre*
'… to bring closer both languages to each other'

Instead of just telling the students that this would not be a possible word/constituent order in Norwegian (or English), even though it might work in Polish, the teacher should explain that Norwegian is not only an SVO language, but that it would, in fact, be SVOA, i.e. subject – verb – object – adverbial. The phrase <nærmere> ('closer') being an adverbial can therefore not precede the object <begge språkene> ('both languages').

The last example in the present study is most likely related to semantics and lexicon:

(10) *Jeg skal nevne om begreper språkpolitikk og språknormering som er knyttet med dette temaet*
'I will name/mention (/talk about) the concepts language policy and language standardization that are tied to this topic'

Here, it is actually not easy to find out what might have caused the student to make the first error (<nevne om begreper> ('mention/discuss concepts)), but the second error (<knyttet med> ('tied/connected to')) is easier to understand. In the latter, the right preposition would have been <til> ('to'). Both relevant English expressions, 'connected to' and 'tied to', would have the preposition <to>, which we would think would lead the student to choose Norwegian <til>. When the student chose the preposition <med> ('with'), a hypothesis would be that the Polish preposition <z> could correspond to different prepositions in other languages and that the student just chose a random preposition. It might also be interesting to look at the fact that the verb <knytte> ('tie/connect') would look rather unfamiliar for a student with English as a potential reference language. The corresponding linguistic relative would be 'knit'. Semantically, we can see how 'knit together' is related to 'tie together/to' or 'connect to'. In the same semantic field, we would find 'associated with', with the preposition <with>, which would correspond to Norwegian <med>. Here, however, it seems that the transfer comes from Polish, which, in its turn, should make the language teacher want to acquire some basic knowledge of the grammar system of the students' first language. As for the error <nevne om>, one may suspect that there must be some semantic and syntactic transfer, too. But, we observe again that the student does not choose the obvious solution via looking at English. The verb <name> does not take a preposition in English (either), nor do the other relevant verbs in this context, <mention> or <discuss>. A hypothesis would be that the student does not have a full understanding of the verb <nevne> ('name'>) and that it might be used with the meaning 'talk/write about' in this sentence. The corresponding Norwegian expressions would be <snakke/skrive

om>. Hence, the preposition <om> ('about'). General knowledge of grammar and error analysis, thus, would be of great help when trying to guide language students.

A meta comment from a student's examination paper about the topic of multilingualism may serve to conclude the discussion on error analysis and transfer:

(11) For eksempel: jeg er utvekslingstudent fra Polen. Det er mange polske studenter som er med. Hvis jeg snakker med dem, trenger jeg ikke å bruke et annet språk enn polsk (det er jo ikke flerspråklighet), men hvis jeg snakker med nordmenn eller andre personer som er på erasmus (på forelesning eller felles kjøkkenet) bruker jeg norsk eller engelsk (det er flerspråklighet).
'For instance: I am an exchange student from Poland. There are many (other) students there. When I talk to them I don't need another language than Polish (that's not multilingualism). But when I talk to Norwegians or other people who are on Erasmus (exchange) (during lectures or in the common kitchen), I use Norwegian or English (that's multilingualism).'

This illustrates the learning conditions for exchange students and shows how some of them mainly use Polish outside of the classroom. Norwegian may often be the last choice after English. Hence, transfer from Polish and English may happen on a regular basis.

9. Conclusions

This paper has tried to emphasize the importance of grammar knowledge for both language teachers and students. At the same time, it is a contribution to the work of the ERL network when touching on some of the key areas and their guiding questions.

ERL network area 1, Potential of Language for General Education:

1. What function of language is assigned by educational systems of different countries?
2. What approach to language do teachers of different nationalities represent?
3. To what extent is the teaching of the native language bound with that of the foreign one?
4. What approaches to language in education are taken across different cultures?

Since the case is about teachers of Norwegian grammar in higher education (college/university level), one also has to deal with the Norwegian educational system in general. At college/university level, a language study is most often more or less equally divided into grammar and literature (and possibly culture) with separate grades and study credits. In primary and secondary school, however, there has been more focus on practical skills when it comes to language use rather than theoretical skills in grammar. Hence, pupils and students usually have relatively little knowledge of formal grammar when starting on a language study. One might say that the Norwegian educational system seems to emphasize speaking and understanding in general instead of speaking and writing as grammatically correctly as possible. The function of grammar in teaching and learning might be under-communicated. This also impacts teacher education and teachers. With less grammatical knowledge from school and teacher education, younger teachers often have even less focus on grammar; thus, they become a part of a vicious cycle. As for question 3, on the other hand, many teachers are able to contrast teaching of the mother tongue with another language, preferably English. Teaching Norwegian to Polish students benefits from contrasting with English and possibly Polish, given that the teacher has some basic understanding of Polish grammar. As for question 4, it was already mentioned that literature and cul-

ture seem to have gained ground when it comes to the functional approach to language learning. This paper attempted to point out that a contrastive approach with error analysis should find its way back into the classroom.

ERL network area 2, Language Activity of Children [students]:

1. How is children's language activity valued and assessed in educational systems of different countries?
2. What evidence is viewed in different countries as reasons for promoting pupils' language activity?
3. What hinders the development of pupils' language competence in different societies and cultures?
4. By what means is the language of children encouraged in particular countries?

When it comes to language studies at the college/university level, grammar disciplines are usually valued and assessed on their own terms. However, many students seem to underestimate the value and importance of grammar, regarding it more as a necessary evil without actually seeing the point to it. One reason might be the fact that grammar has less focus in previous education with emphasis placed on average communication skills. Another reason could be that language education on college and university level is very traditional with a 19th century perspective on grammar as being a discipline in its own right. Since most language students end up in the educational system in one way or the other, it would be important to focus on the didactic perspectives of language teaching also when teaching grammar. As for the questions 2 and 4 of this area, in Norway there has been a tendency to choose Spanish as a second foreign language (after English, which is mandatory for all pupils). Traditional languages like German and French have lost ground in secondary schools in Norway and consequently at the college and university level since recruiting fails. Even though Germany is Norway's most important

trade partner and one would think that pupils and students would try to get an advantage in future working life by learning German, pupils (and parents) would often choose Spanish because they go to Spain on vacation. Learning a foreign language other than English, then, is first of all connected to pleasure and not to professional benefits. Governmental attempts to promote German and French have not been very successful. As for the Polish students studying Norwegian at the university level, there is obviously a practical motivation in most cases, since many of the students seek jobs within the import/export domain. However, there seem to be quite a few students who just happen to like the country and the culture. As for question 3, Polish exchange students are often hindered or slowed down in their language learning by the fact that they stick together with other Polish students or other international students which causes them to use Polish or English in their time outside the classroom.

ERL network area 3, Personal Experience of Language:

1. How do children of particular nationalities experience their contact with and use of language?
2. Which language skills are appreciated the most in different countries?
3. To what extent is the personal experience of language determined by social practices?
4. What differences can be observed in pupils' approach to their native and foreign languages?

There is nothing to say about question 1 in the present discussion. As for question 2, it has already been mentioned that one has a functional approach in Norway with a focus on oral / communicative skills while grammar skills usually are seen as a necessary evil, not only by the pupils/students but also by the teachers. When it comes to question 3, the perspective has been on teaching and learning grammar in this study. Neither foreign students, like the Polish, nor

Norwegian students have much personal experience with grammar. In the formal study of Norwegian, grammar is an educational discipline that is assessed and credited with official papers. The Polish students struggle with acquiring grammatical rules in order to learn Norwegian, while the Norwegian students struggle with acquiring rules in order to be able to explain them. Neither group seems to make a great effort to include grammar in social practices like in study groups. Even when with other international students who need to learn Norwegian, most students choose English to communicate outside of the classroom. As for question 4, the Norwegian students already know how to speak and write Norwegian more or less correctly. Hence, they have difficulties understanding the need for formal grammar knowledge about their own language, which is rather unfortunate if they are planning a career as a language teacher. The Polish students frequently have poor formal knowledge about the grammar of their own language and they struggle with all the aspects of learning the Norwegian language, literature, and culture. Grammar being the least accessible part of their studies, and requiring more effort than just understanding the words and the meaning, is usually unpopular and many students postpone and reduce grammar studies to a minimum. They have this attitude in common with the Norwegian students.

In the present study, it has been shown that most students are not very motivated to study grammar and that the school system does not support grammar studies very much, either. Nevertheless, it is obvious that grammar skills are important for teachers and learners. As for the level of grammar skills, language teachers should have good grammar skills in the target language and some general linguistic knowledge in order to help their students understand and learn the language. Language teacher education should have a special focus on language didactics.

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Developing intercultural competence in an academic foreign language classroom

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the issue of developing intercultural communicative competence (ICC) in a higher education context, with a special focus put on teaching advanced foreign language (FL) students. First, the concept of ICC is discussed on the basis of Byram's (1997) theory, which is still considered the most comprehensive model for describing the principles of developing and assessing intercultural competence in foreign language teaching. Next, a short overview of studies related to teaching ICC conducted by Polish researchers is presented. This is followed by a description of an Intercultural Communication course designed for university students and conducted by the author of the paper. In this report, the theoretical principles, the main aims of the course along with the techniques applied in teaching and evaluating students are discussed. It is hoped that the paper will be a useful contribution to discussions concerning developing ICC and will stimulate further research in this interesting area of education.

Key words

intercultural communicative competence, teaching in academia, Byram's model, evaluating intercultural competence

Kształcenie kompetencji interkulturowej u studentów filologii angielskiej

Abstrakt

Artykuł jest kolejnym głosem w dyskusji dotyczącej rozwoju interkulturowej kompetencji komunikacyjnej (IKK), tym razem w kontekście kształcenia studentów filologii angielskiej. Na wstępie wyjaśnione jest pojęcie IKK w odniesieniu do modelu Byrama (1997), którego kompleksowa teoria nadal uważana jest za szczególnie przydatną w badaniach dotyczących kształtowania i oceniania tej kompetencji. Następnie przedstawiony jest krótki przegląd badań przeprowadzonych w Polsce dotyczących nauczania IKK. Główną część artykułu stanowi opis kursu, który został przeprowadzony przez autorkę artykułu w szkole wyższej. Omówione są zasady teoretyczne, główne cele kursu oraz techniki stosowane w czasie nauczania i oceniania studentów. Autorka ma nadzieję, że artykuł zachęci nauczycieli i badaczy do dalszych badań w tej interesującej dziedzinie edukacji.

Słowa kluczowe

interkulturowa kompetencja komunikacyjna, nauczanie w szkole wyższej, model Byrama, ocenianie kompetencji interkulturowej

1. Introduction – the importance of developing ICC in academia

Developing intercultural communicative competence (ICC) has become an important goal of foreign language (FL) education. The role of school instruction is not only to equip FL learners with appropriate language skills, but also to prepare students to understand FL cultures and successfully communicate with their representatives. As they regard higher education, the clear aims concerning this aspect of education are explained in *National Qualifications Framework for Higher Education* (in Polish *Krajowe Ramy Kwalifikacyjne*) which, since 2012, has

served as a qualifications framework for all study programmes in higher education institutions in Poland.

According to the above-mentioned document, during their studies students should acquire specialized knowledge and develop a wide range of abilities, one of which is being able to communicate in an international environment. Although the present paper is concerned with enhancing ICC in English philology students, it goes without saying that students of other faculties should also be trained in this skill.

Intercultural communicative competence has become a focus of a number of studies conducted within the discipline of academic teaching, examined both in more theoretically oriented studies and in those aiming to approach this subject area in a more practical manner. This paper will discuss only the studies that focus on practical aspects related to teaching.

With regard to the theoretical principles of developing ICC, most of the studies presented below refer to Byram's (1997) model of intercultural communicative competence, the theory recommended in *The Common European Framework* (The Council of Europe) as a basis for defining the competencies of FL learners. In brief, the aforementioned model defines ICC as a combination of five elements that should be developed in FL teaching: attitudes, acquiring knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, and critical cultural awareness. Developing attitudes embraces showing learners how to be open and willing to communicate. Acquiring knowledge refers to learning about one's own and other cultures, their products and policies, daily life, history, art, institutions and non-verbal behavior. Developing skills of interpreting and relating involves equipping students with the ability to interpret a document or event from another culture as well as showing students how to explain and relate to documents or events from one's own culture. Training skills of discovery and interaction means developing an understanding of a new environment and an ability to interact with its representatives. A crucial aim of the intercultural approach suggested by

Byram (1997), in my opinion especially important in teaching adult learners, is enhancing critical cultural awareness. It entails practicing critical thinking in relation to one's own culture and the foreign one, which results in viewing other cultures in a more objective way and being aware of potential areas of conflict. The guidelines highlighted in the model have served as a point of reference for educators in their efforts to design curricula based on the intercultural approach. The model has also been a source of inspiration in the process of designing classroom activities.

2. The intercultural approach in the Polish educational context

A substantial number of studies focus on practical issues related to incorporating the intercultural component in FL teaching, such as materials and techniques applied in teaching, and problems encountered by teachers and learners. A selection of teaching-oriented studies conducted by Polish researchers is presented below.

Siek-Piskozub (2016) stresses the advantages of a micro-etnographic approach, which involves studying text or watching video materials and discussing their intercultural content. Media is also a crucial component of the approach suggested by Wilczyńska (2013). Following *The Recommendation of the European Parliament on key competences for lifelong learning*, she suggests an integrated approach in which learners develop media communication skills along with intercultural competence. Wilczyńska (2013: 182) explains that "IC competence implies personal development, openness and critical thinking, all of these contributing to the improvement of cross-cultural communication in our global village." Also Piotrowska-Paprocka (2007) suggests that students watch TV commercials and newspaper advertisements, e.g. based on stereotypes. Exchanging opinions about stereotypical ideas expressed in the given material is likely to raise students' awareness about their

own knowledge of other cultures and facilitate their understanding of possible sources of intercultural conflicts.

A similar technique that can enable students to challenge their attitudes to foreign cultures is acultural training suggested by Jankowska and Bodzioch (2016). The training is based on simulations that illustrate situations that may lead to intercultural problems. For example, by playing the roles of members of two different cultures: monochronic (demanding punctuality from others) and polychronic (not respecting rules concerning time), students can experience problems that the two cultures may encounter and talk about their understanding of the problematic situation.

As emphasized earlier, a crucial element of building intercultural competence is developing awareness of one's own culture. Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2009) suggests activities that can encourage learners to gain insights into their own culture, such as examining their daily routines, social practices and non-verbal behavior. Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2009: 32) believes, referring to Kapuściński (2006: 14), that: "to understand yourself better, you have to learn about the Others, because they are the mirror in which we see ourselves. Through looking at the Other we may better understand our own culture, behavior and emotions, and only then can we try to explain ourselves to the Other."

Strugielska (2016) and Dryjańska (2016) recommend a linguistic perspective as a theoretical foundation for developing ICC. Strugielska (2016) bases her approach on cognitive linguistics and Kramsch's (2010) idea that in analysing culture one needs to look at abstract concepts (such as democracy or pluralism) that function in a given culture. Strugielska's course "Metaphors across Europe: language, culture and the mind", which was prepared for an international group of Erasmus Plus students, is an example of how both cognitive linguistics and intercultural communication theories can be successfully integrated in intercultural training. Drawing on Wierzbicka's (2013) cross-cultural linguistics, Dryjańska

(2016) advocates a reflective approach to one's native language and a foreign language. For example, students can be asked to reflect on the meaning of value words, i.e. vocabulary items that express certain values, taken from different languages, e.g. *friend* (Eng.) and *przyjaciel* (Polish).

An interesting type of research project focusing on ICC is the international project, conducted by educational institutions. An example is a joint project of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland and the National University in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, entitled: *Developing intercultural competence through English*. The outcome of the project is a collection of essays edited by Niżegorodcew, Bystrov, Kleban (2011), in which Polish and Ukrainian writers, both scholars and university students, discussed issues about their culture which could be of interest to foreigners. Aleksandrowicz-Pędich (2011) , the reviewer of the book, observed an interesting difference between the authors of the essays: Ukrainians wrote about the attractive aspects of their own culture, such as Ukrainian customs and traditions; whereas Polish authors focused on problematic and difficult issues, e.g. the attitude of Polish people towards religion. It is worth emphasizing that several essays produced by students within this international project became an important part of the Intercultural Communication (IC) course which is the focus of this paper and which is described in the next section of the text.

3. A description of the IC course conducted in an academic classroom

3.1. Course participants

The "Intercultural Communication" course consisted of 20 classes of 45 minutes each. Although it was not implemented as a part of a practical English class, its subsidiary aim was to enable the students to develop their FL competence. The participants were first year students of English philology; most of

them planning to join an "English in business" specialization in their second year of studies. Their level of English was upper-intermediate (CEFR B2). There were 40 students taught as 2 groups, each consisting of 20 students. It is important to emphasize that the course was not homogenous – 20 students were Ukrainian, 15 students were Polish and 5 students were Spanish Erasmus students.

3.2. Theoretical principles of the course: Contrasting student and teacher understanding of culture and intercultural communication

Before embarking on the task of designing the course and preparing teaching materials, I considered it crucial to define the concepts of culture and intercultural communication as well as to decide on how these concepts would be operationalized in the course. I also found it useful to interview my students about their understanding of the two concepts.

At the beginning of the course, the students were asked two questions. First: "How do you understand the terms *culture* and *intercultural communication*?" and second: "What would you like to learn during the course?" The students were asked to discuss these questions in small groups, followed by a class discussion. This short exercise revealed that for most of the students *culture* meant the culture of a foreign country and *intercultural communication* involved being able to communicate with foreigners. The students considered intercultural communication skills to be useful both in travelling abroad and in their future jobs. It is interesting to note that my students' understanding of culture was similar to the opinions expressed by the students of Piller (2007), who in her publication presents similar experiences from teaching an IC course.

In contrast to the students' views, my definition of culture was not limited to nationality. Following Scollon and Scollon (2000) and their discourse approach , grounded in interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, I assumed that dis-

tinct cultural groups manifest specific discourses and that intercultural communication can be viewed as interdiscourse communication. For the purpose of the course, I decided to operationalize the concept of culture in a clear way, which helped me in the process of selecting materials and designing activities. When teaching the course, I drew on the assumption that a specific culture is constructed by members of a group or a community through their own ways of thinking, behaviors (routines) and ways of communicating within a group (members of the group) as well as with representatives of other groups/communities (outsiders). As regards Intercultural Communication Competence, following Byram (1997) I viewed it as a combination of three components: knowledge, skills and attitudes. Thus, developing ICC meant both developing knowledge, skills and attitudes that can facilitate understanding of one's culture and the culture of the other, as well as developing the ability to communicate with the members of one's group and with representatives of other groups.

3.3. Course aims

In FL education, Intercultural Training bears some similarity to CLIL (content and language learning learning). Both approaches aim at developing learners' FL competence and knowledge of the subject, which in the case of intercultural training is culture. Therefore, the aims of the course would embrace both FL competence and the intercultural content. IC content would refer to the following:

- *Knowledge*, i.e. learning more about different cultures (e.g. countries, groups of people) and their customs, traditions, ways of thinking;
- *Skills*, i.e. improving the skills of discussing various aspects of intercultural communication; becoming more aware of possible conflicts between different cultures; reflecting on the culture of one's own country; reflecting on oneself as a mem-

ber of certain cultures and one's skills to communicate with other cultures;
- *Attitudes*, i.e. developing tolerance towards members of other cultures (i.e. those to which students do not belong).

In reference to FL competence, the aims would focus on developing reading skills (also reading the Internet materials), writing skills, speaking skills, presentation skills and the ability to cooperate with other students.

3.4. Content and materials

A variety of material was used in the course. While there is merit to introducing a linguistic perspective in teaching university students, as Dryjańska (2016) did, ultimately that option was not taken in this course. The primary reason for excluding the linguistic perspective was the fact that the participants of the course were the first year students and their level of FL competence was an unknown factor. Instead, it was determined that a potentially more effective approach would be to introduce elements of personalization. With reference to input, it would mean having students watch materials in which people of their age were the main characters and reading texts concerning issues important to the students, and, if possible, also written by other students. In reference to output, the personalization would entail inviting the students to express their opinions about issues which they considered interesting and worth discussing. A list of the main materials along with the topics and teaching goals are enumerated below in Table 1. It is important to emphasize that most of these materials facilitated personalization. The chapters from "Developing intercultural competence through English: Focus on Ukrainian and Polish cultures" are essays written by Polish and Ukrainian students, "Educating Rita" is a film about an unusual student, and the POLANDIA videos are interviews with young foreigners, often university students who, during their visit to Poland, present their opinions about Poland and their native countries.

Although the intention was not to overburden the students with theories underpinning contemporary intercultural research, such as the Hofstede model of dimensions of national cultures, the Hofstede model was implemented in a very practical way by encouraging the class to reflect on certain differences between countries.

Table 1

The content of the IC classes (topics and materials)

Topics and materials	Activities	Aims
What is culture? What is intercultural communication? What culture do we belong to? What culture(s) do we construct and how do we do it?	class discussion guided by the teacher	- to encourage students to verbalize their own understandings of the main concepts of the course, i.e. culture and intercultural communication
selected chapters from Niżegorodcew, Bystrov, Kleban (eds.), "Developing intercultural competence through English: Focus on Ukrainian and Polish cultures"	reading the texts, group and class discussions	- to sensitize students to the phenomenon of positive and negative stereotypes, e.g. stereotypes about Ukrainian men and women - to encourage students to reflect on their role in a community of university students by discussing the question whether Polish students cheat at exams
"Educating Rita", a film available on YouTube	watching the film, discussions, writing an essay (a homework assignment)	- to enable students to see factors contributing to various kinds of conflicts (between family members, friends, social classes) - to invite students to reflect on themselves as those who "participate" in conflict situations

"POLANDIA" – interviews with foreigners about Poland; films available on YouTube	watching the interview with the Norwegian girl studying in Poland, discussions	- to discuss the opinions expressed by the Norwegian girl concerning various aspects of Polish culture - to discuss the meaning of tolerance as a feature in intercultural communication
"18 surprising things you didn't know about Poland", a film available on YouTube	watching the video, discussions	- to practice the skill to distinguish facts from opinions
differences between countries on the basis of the comparisons made by Hofstede – materials available online	discussing the graphs concerning differences between Poland, the United Kingdom and Germany in the following features: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation and indulgence	- to encourage students to express their opinions about the differences between countries suggested by Hofstede - to practice the skill to justify opinions presented in the discussion
the nature of a culture shock and the process of adjustment	class discussion stimulated by the teacher	- to encourage students to talk about their own experiences related to a culture shock

An important component of the course was the use of home-work assignments. The first assignment was to write an essay: "Educating Rita is a film about intercultural conflicts. Discuss." The next assignment was to prepare a powerpoint presentation, in pairs or small groups, about any intercultural issue which the students found interesting and present it to the whole group.

4. Course evaluation – the students' voice

In order to obtain the students' opinions about the classes, a questionnaire was administered at the end of the course (see the Appendix). Unfortunately only 17 students completed it; the others were absent. The students were asked to express their opinions about various elements of the course and evaluate the effectiveness of the classes in relation to their own intercultural competence. Table 2 presents the results obtained related to the particular sections of the questionnaire; the numbers provided stand for the mean scores of the data obtained. The results are ordered from the items that obtained the highest mean scores to those that obtained the lowest ones.

Table 2
The results of the questionnaire
the students completed after the course

To what extent the IC classes helped the students to develop the following aspects of IC competence (questions 1-8): - understanding why different cultures may experience difficulty in communicating: 4.24 - understanding members of other cultures: 4.24 - learning about different cultures, their customs, traditions, ways of thinking: 4.12 - developing tolerance towards members of other cultures: 4.06 - reflecting on oneself as a member of some cultures and skills to communicate with other cultures: 3.88 - improving the skills of discussing various aspects of intercultural communication: 3.76 - becoming aware of possible conflicts between different cultures: 3.65 - reflecting on the culture of my own country: 3.65
What elements of FL competence the students developed during the IC classes (questions 10-14): - speaking skills: 4.47 - cooperating with other students: 4.35 - presentation skills: 4.29 - writing skills: 4.12 - reading skills (also reading the Internet materials): 3.53

Evaluation of the topics discussed during the IC classes (questions 15-21): - stereotypes about Ukrainian men and women: 4.41 - 18 interesting things about Poland (a fact or a stereotype): 4.29 - the interview with the Norwegian girl studying in Poland: 4.24 - intercultural conflicts in 'Educating Rita': 4.18 - Polish students cheating at exams: 4.06 - differences between different countries: 3.53 - the nature of an intercultural shock: 3.18
Evaluation of the activities of the IC classes (questions 22-29): - watching a film: 4.88 - watching YouTube videos: 4.53 - the teacher's presentation: 4.41 - discussions about the material read or watched: 4.41 - watching other students' presentations: 4.29 - writing an essay: 3.88 - reading articles: 3.82 - preparing and conducting the presentation: 3.76

With respect to developing IC competence, on the basis of the mean scores, it can be implied that the students observed improvement in all the skills[1] enumerated in the questionnaire, although to different degrees. For example, "understanding why different cultures may experience difficulty in communicating" and "learning about different cultures" received the highest scores. However, "becoming more aware of possible conflicts between different cultures" and "reflecting on the culture of one's own country" were the skills that the students improved to the lesser extent.

The analysis of the answers concerning how the IC classes helped the students to develop their FL competence (questions 10-14) showed that in the students' opinions, speaking skills and cooperating with other students are the skills that the students developed to a greater degree than writing and reading. Questions 15-21 asked the students to evaluate the topics discussed during the classes. The results showed that "ste-

[1] For the sake of simplification, in this analysis only the term "skill" is used without distinguishing between attitudes, knowledge and skills.

reotypes about Ukrainian men and women" were the most popular, while "discussing differences between countries" and "the nature of an intercultural shock" were the least popular. Regarding the activities of the classes, the mean scores showed that watching YouTube videos, the teacher's presentations and the class discussions were the most valued by the students. Preparing and conducting the presentation, writing and reading activities were evaluated as the least valued.

The students were also asked a few open questions. They commented on the presentations they were required to prepare and gave their suggestions concerning the IC course. The students liked the following aspects of the presentation task: the opportunity to cooperate with other students, working on topics of the students' choice, and searching for information on the internet. The following quotations emphasize some other advantages of this form of learning: "it was fun to see the reaction of some students when they heard some facts about their culture", "it was a new experience for me". There were some things the students did not like about the presentation task, such as stress before the presentation, not having enough time to present everything which had been prepared, technical problems with cooperating with other classmates and problems with finding appropriate materials.

The students suggested the following topics that they would have liked to discuss if they were to take the course again: how one's upbringing can influence the way he/she behaves later, Afro-American culture, hip-hop culture, cultural differences that influence intercultural terrorism, English as lingua franca, how the internet influences communication in the world, taboo topics ("they are still around us") and more information about Poland and Ukraine (since " it can help us to communicate with each other"). For activities in the IC course, the students indicated that they would have appreciated more discussions, and watching interviews with foreigners, but definitely wanted to do less reading. The last question elicited general comments about the course. The most interesting comments

were: “I was impressed by how multicultural our groups were”, “the classes were relaxing”, “we did not have to write a test”.

5. Course reflection – the teacher’s voice

An evaluation of the course is presented below. In it, I draw upon my observation of the classes, reflect on my role as a teacher, and consider the students’ participation. I also refer to the answers elicited from the students in the questionnaire.

With respect to the aims concerning developing FL competence and IC, it is difficult to evaluate to what extent they were achieved. During the course I observed genuine interest on the part of the students in the topics discussed – the students were eager to do all the tasks, particularly those which involved watching films or YouTube videos and discussions. However, I noticed certain problems the students had when reading the texts and approaching cultural topics from a more theoretical perspective, e.g. discussing differences between countries according to the Hofstede classification. My observations were confirmed by the results obtained from the questionnaire (see Table 2) which show that reading and writing activities were ranked as those that the students liked the least. To conclude, since there was no test measuring students’ FL competence before and after the classes, it is impossible to say to what extent the students developed their FL skills. It seems that the activities based on watching films were perceived by the students as easier and thus more attractive, which can mean that they could have been more effective as materials meant to enhance students’ ICC.

An important question to answer is to what extent did the IC classes help the students to develop IC competence. I was glad to see that the students’ answers obtained in the first section of the questionnaire imply that the learners developed all of the intercultural skills enumerated in the questionnaire, although not to the same extent. The skills that were ranked as those developed to a lesser degree are the skill of being

aware of possible conflicts between different cultures and the skill of reflecting on the culture of one's own country. It is difficult to explain this result. Although undoubtedly the course created many opportunities for the students to enhance their IC skills, it is hard to say which activities were more effective in this particular respect.

It is worth focusing on the presentations which the students prepared and performed in class. The answers from the questionnaire show that this task was stressful for some students; they preferred watching other students' presentations to preparing and conducting their own presentation. Although it seems that the learners found the presentation task difficult, their performance and the quality of the presented materials was quite good. The students presented on a wide variety of topics, not directly connected with those discussed during the classes, such as: reading habits in different countries, Polish – Ukrainian cuisine, education, body language, migration problems, changing attitudes to marriage, intercultural couples, Polish – Spanish stereotypes, celebrating festivals in different countries, the role of music in our life, football fans, and religion. All of the presentations reflected the students' personal understanding of what intercultural issues are and their genuine involvement in the task.

Another advantage of observing the presentations is that they enabled me to see incidents which can be treated as evidence of the students' developing their ICC. One example is the use of the word "normal" by the speaker, e.g. in the phrases "normal religion", "normal church") and the pronoun "we", "our". Although the author of the presentation was confident in using the words, the audience seemed not to understand and demanded clarification of what exactly the speaker meant. This example shows that the students are critical listeners and demonstrates their ability to discuss the issue. It seems that this situation raised the students' awareness that it is difficult to be objective when discussing intercultural issues. The other incident concerns evaluation of the data that

the author of the presentation found on the internet. A Polish student decided to prepare a presentation about Ukrainian customs on the basis of the materials found on the internet. To his great surprise, most of the information was evaluated by the Ukrainian students as not true. This incident raised the students' awareness of the quality of the internet as a source of information, developing their media competence.

6. Conclusions

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this report. With respect to teaching, the course confirmed the effectiveness of the internet materials, especially the interviews with foreigners which were available on YouTube, as a factor motivating learners to "meet" members of different cultures. Additionally, the presence of guest-students in the group proved very beneficial; the Erasmus students created a real life environment in which students could practice their intercultural communication skills. In fact, the intercultural composition of the group was evaluated in a very positive way by the students themselves (question 9 in the questionnaire received a high mean score of 4.59). An activity that was extremely effective was asking students to prepare presentations based on their own topic. It allowed personalization – an approach that seems important particularly in intercultural training.

It is important to stress the role of the questionnaire in this study. It was a useful tool and provided valuable feedback from the students, which will be useful in preparing new courses in the future. The results obtained from the questionnaire and the observations of the classes underline a necessity to view this area of teaching within a more integrated perspective (cf. Wilczyńska 2013). Developing ICC as a goal in FL education involves focusing on a number of skills – those related to intercultural competence and those concerning FL competence, critical thinking and media competence, to mention just a few. All of these should be addressed by educators at the

course designing stage. It is also crucial to realize that developing ICC is a personal experience that sometimes can be surprising or unpleasant for learners; as Byram (1997) assumes, it may involve experiencing rapid changes in one's attitudes.

The main goal of the course described in the present paper was to design classes which would enhance students' intercultural competence. Although the instruments applied did not allow the measurement of the learners' competence in a numerical way, the conclusions drawn from the questionnaire and observation of the classes imply that the students changed their ideas of what intercultural communication is. The comments they produced during the classes and in the questionnaire suggest that their ideas are more complex than the ones which they expressed at the beginning of the course, which may indicate a positive change in the development of their ICC.

It is hoped that this paper will contribute to discussions that focus on developing ICC. More research is needed to investigate the role of personalization and individualization in ICC courses. More focus should be placed on techniques required to evaluate students' existing ICC and its development.

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Appendix

The questionnaire for the students to evaluate the course

The aim of this questionnaire is to know your opinions about the Intercultural Communication classes you had last semester. Please, read the statements below and in each case mark the answer that best suits your opinion. The questionnaire is anonymous.

Nationality: .....
Age: .....
Sex: .....

I. For the following statements circle the number that reflects how much you agree with them.

1 - I totally disagree; 2 - I disagree to some extent; 3 - I don't know; 4 - I agree to some extent; 5 - I completely agree

1. The classes helped me to learn more about different cultures (e.g. countries, groups of people) and their customs, traditions, ways of thinking.	1 2 3 4 5
2. The classes helped me to become more aware of possible conflicts between different cultures.	1 2 3 4 5
3. The classes helped me to understand better why different cultures may experience difficulty in communicating.	1 2 3 4 5

4. The classes helped me to understand better members of other cultures (other countries, communities).	1 2 3 4 5
5. The classes helped me to reflect on myself as a member of some cultures (e.g. your country, some communities) and my skills to communicate with other cultures.	1 2 3 4 5
6. The classes helped me to develop tolerance towards members of other cultures (i.e. those to which I don't belong).	1 2 3 4 5
7. The classes encouraged me to reflect on (think more about) the culture of my own country.	1 2 3 4 5
8. The classes helped me to improve the skills of discussing various aspects of intercultural communication.	1 2 3 4 5
9. The fact the group consisted of students coming from different countries (Poland, Ukraine) made the classes more interesting.	1 2 3 4 5

The classes helped me to practice:

10. reading skills (also reading the Internet materials)	1 2 3 4 5
11. writing skills	1 2 3 4 5
12. speaking skills	1 2 3 4 5
13. presentation skills	1 2 3 4 5
14. cooperating with other students	1 2 3 4 5

II. Evaluate the following topics discussed during the classes. For each example, circle one number:

1 - I didn't like it at all; 2 - I didn't like it; 3 - It's difficult to say; 4 - I liked it to some extent; 5 - I definitely liked it

15. The interview with the Norwegian girl studying in Poland	1 2 3 4 5
16. Intercultural conflicts in "Educating Rita"	1 2 3 4 5
17. Stereotypes about Ukrainian men and women	1 2 3 4 5
18. Do Polish students cheat at exams?	1 2 3 4 5
19. The nature of an intercultural shock	1 2 3 4 5
20. Differences between different countries	1 2 3 4 5
21. 18 surprising things you didn't know about Poland (a fact or a stereotype)	1 2 3 4 5

III. Evaluate the following activities we did during the classes. For each example, circle one number.

22. The teacher's presentation	1 2 3 4 5
23. Watching a film	1 2 3 4 5
24. Writing an essay	1 2 3 4 5

25. Watching YouTube videos	1 2 3 4 5
26. Reading articles	1 2 3 4 5
27. Preparing and conducting the presentation	1 2 3 4 5
28. Watching other students' presentations	1 2 3 4 5
29. Discussions about the material read or watched	1 2 3 4 5

IV. Answer the following questions in English or Polish.

What did you like about the fact that you had to prepare a presentation?
What didn't you like about this task?
If you were to take the course again, what other topics connected with Intercultural Communication would you like to discuss?
What activities would you like to do?
Other comments about the classes: .....

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Polish in supplementary schools in Great Britain: A case study of the Polish School of Manchester

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present and discuss the results of a small-scale pilot study of attitudes towards Polish and English conducted at a Polish supplementary school in Manchester, England. The introductory part of the paper presents definitions of bilingualism and bilingual education as well as a variety of approaches and policies concerning bilingual education in the world. This is followed by some basic data on Polish immigrants living in the UK and Polish supplementary schools in the UK. The questionnaire used to elicit the data consists of two sets of questions: one concerns Polish and the other English. The questions and the answers elicited are discussed and compared, with the final concluding part focused on attitudes to Polish, which is the native language of the informants' families.

Key words

bilingualism, bilingual education, immigration, sociolinguistics

Język polski w szkołach uzupełniających w Wielkiej Brytanii na przykładzie Polskiej Szkoły Ojczystej w Manchesterze

Abstract

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest prezentacja i omówienie wyników przeprowadzonego na niewielką skalę pilotażowego badania poglądów na języki polski i angielski, które przeprowadzono w Polskiej Szkole Ojczystej w Manchesterze w Anglii. We wstępie zdefiniowano pojęcia dwujęzyczności i edukacji dwujęzycznej oraz opisano różne podejścia i rozwiązania polityczne dotyczące edukacji dwujęzycznej w świecie. Następnie przedstawiono pokrótce podstawowe dane o polskich imigrantach mieszkających w Zjednoczonym Królestwie oraz o polskojęzycznych szkołach w tym kraju. Kwestionariusz użyty do uzyskania danych zawiera dwa zestawy pytań – jeden o języku polskim i drugi o angielskim. Pytania i uzyskane odpowiedzi zostały omówione i porównane. Ostatnia część zawiera wnioski skupiające się na języku polskim, czyli ojczystym kodzie rodzin respondentów.

Słowa kluczowe

dwujęzyczność, edukacja dwujęzyczna, imigracja, socjolingwistyka

1. Bilingual education and bilingualism

In world history bilingualism of individual speakers, ethnic minorities and entire societies has been the norm rather than an exception. While the inhabitants of nation-states such as Poland or the Czech Republic are accustomed to the prevailing monolingualism in their societies, English-speaking countries, e.g. the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and the United States, have always been multicultural, multiethnic and therefore multilingual. Thus English, although spoken by the powerful majority and used as a standardised language in formal contexts, has never been the only language used by all its speakers as their everyday vernacular. Nevertheless, in Western Europe some languages appeared fairly recently, and the

arrival of thousands of Polish speakers in the UK, some of them initially unable to speak English, which took place following Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, was unprecedented in modern British history. Now that the country's immigration policy is further complicated by the prospect of Brexit, we find it particularly important to study speakers' attitudes towards the use of minority languages in education across the UK. This paper presents a small-scale pilot study of Polish students' attitudes towards Polish, the language of their parents, and English, the majority language around them, with a focus on the educational context. Since the number of respondents is small, this is but a prelude to a larger scale study planned to take place in the future; hence we make no claims to exhaustiveness.

For centuries, bilingualism and multilingualism have posed a challenge to education which has been dealt with in various ways. Attempts at forced assimilation, often based on corporal punishment of children speaking a language other than the one required at school may remind one of a distant past or wartime occupation; but in fact such methods are still in use. Romaine (1995: 242-244) provides instances of schoolmasters punishing children for speaking Tok Pisin in Papua New-Guinea and Kurdish in Turkey. She also describes cases where immigrants in Sweden, upon being deprived of parental rights, had their children placed in Swedish-speaking foster families and were forbidden to communicate with their children using their mother tongue. As regards the Kurds, for example, discrimination against their language continues. The Kurdish Human Rights Project, in its briefing paper of July 2011, describes the restricted language learning opportunities that speakers of Kurdish have, including the fact that Turkey now allows Kurdish courses for adults but no schools or courses with Kurdish as the medium of instruction. This discrimination is enforced by Turkish law: in 2011 two students who had protested about the ban on minority language education were sentenced to over ten years in prison. Iraq appears to be the

only country where instruction in Kurdish is permitted and available albeit insufficiently financed, so that few Kurdish children have access to their mother tongue at school (KHRP July 2011: 14-17).

The opposite extreme of this spectrum consists of full freedom of language (ethnic) minorities regarding education either in their mother tongue or in balanced proportions of the minority language and the official language (majority language). This includes systems wherein members of the linguistic majority are required to study the language of a minority. Such is the case in Canada, where the English-speaking students study French, which is employed as the language of instruction in so-called immersion programmes (Romaine 1995: 253-254, see also García 1996: 407). The most vivid instance of a policy of this type in Europe is the Swedish-language schooling system in Finland, where certain areas (i.e. the Åland Islands and parts of the Baltic coast) have long been populated by a minority speaking local varieties of Swedish (*finlandssvenska*). Children from Swedish-speaking families can attend schools that use exclusively Swedish as the language of instruction and where Finnish as a second language is taught at all levels of education (Romaine 1995: 245). Likewise, children from the Finnish-speaking majority attending mainstream Finnish schools across the country are obliged to study Swedish as a second language (called *pakkoruotsi* 'mandatory Swedish'). This equal treatment of Finnish and Swedish, including mandatory Swedish, results from the history of Finland as a land that was under Swedish rule for several centuries; it also meets with opposition on the part of some Finnish speakers (Wojan 2016: 86). Another example of interest is New Zealand. García (1996: 406) describes the system of Maori-language schooling which has been developed since the 1970s. Such schools use Maori as the medium of instruction and teach English as a second language.

Prior to a presentation of the research conducted we find it appropriate to define the terms *bilingualism* and *bilingual edu-*

cation, since they are described in a variety of ways in the reference sources dealing with the topic. What we mean by bilingualism is not the idealistic concept based on the metaphor THE MIND IS A CONTAINER[1] which consists in 'filling' the speaker's mind with two languages so that he/she is equally proficient in both, and knows and uses them as well as any monolingual native speaker of either of these languages (Martin-Jones and Romaine 1985: 32, cited in Romaine 1995: 263). By contrast, what we mean is different combinations of a speaker's mother tongue (a first or home language, L1) and the official language of a given nation or speech community (a second language, L2), which does not always enable the speaker to acquire identical skills in both of these languages. Below is a series of sample scenarios of language competences in children of immigrants, as exemplified by Polish children in an English-speaking country such as the UK.

Table 1

Examples of language competences in children of Polish immigrants in an English-speaking country

No.	Parent 1	Parent 2	Home languages	Children's languages
1.	Polish	Polish	Polish	L1: Polish, L2: English
2.	Polish	English	Polish, English	L1: Polish and English
3.	Polish	English	English (non-native for P1)	L1: English (partly influenced by non-native English)
4.	Polish	other	Polish, other	L1: Polish and other, L2: English
5.	Polish	other	English (non-native for both P1 and P2)	L1: English influenced by non-native English

[1] It is part of the conceptual CONDUIT metaphor, which has been described by cognitive linguists, e.g. Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1980). It is worth pointing out that THE MIND IS A CONTAINER was not originally meant to describe bilingualism but the storage of thoughts, ideas, memories and knowledge in general.

Table 1 contains the mother tongues (first languages) of both parents, the languages that the parents use to raise their children and the languages that children acquire at home and elsewhere. Needless to say, the table is overly simplified. Firstly, it does not take into account different proportions of the two languages used at home (e.g. whether each parent uses just one language consistently). Secondly, it does not show whether Polish-speaking parents teach their children literacy skills or merely spoken language. Thirdly, it omits the amount of time that children spend in Polish-speaking environments such as Polish clubs or whether they spend their entire summer holidays in Poland – in fact, one may also include watching television or reading/listening to Polish on the Internet. Fourthly, some parents who decide to raise their children in English speak the language fluently and accurately, while others have only basic communicative skills; thus the linguistic models that such parents provide to their children are varied when compared to the standard or vernacular native-speaker norms. Also, it is possible to find families in which the non-Polish parent speaks Polish and at least occasionally uses it when speaking to the child. Finally, there is a large group of variables affecting language acquisition that should also be taken into account, namely speech impediments, dyslexia, limited hearing capacity and different forms of intellectual/ learning disability. All of the aforementioned factors are far too complex to be shown in a brief table.

Table 1 illustrates the situations of children born in an English-speaking country. However, one should bear in mind that immigrants arrive in their new country of residence with children of different ages. Consequently, numerous students attending bilingual schools or supplementary education may not, strictly speaking, be bilingual, for English might as well be their second or even foreign language.

1. Children born in the UK (English L1 or L2);
2. Children who left Poland while acquiring Polish as their L1, e.g. at the age of two (English L1 or L2);

3. Children who left Poland after having acquired Polish as their L1, e.g. at the age of six (English L2);
4. Children who learnt to read and write Polish and began to learn English as a foreign language in Poland, e.g. at the age of ten (English FL > L2?).

Schools across the United Kingdom teach immigrant children with varied language competences (here we do not discuss indigenous language minorities such as speakers of Welsh in Wales or Irish in Northern Ireland). Hence authorities need to implement consistent educational policies and provide more than one option for immigrant parents to select, since not all immigrants are keen on bilingual education. In fact, some members of linguistic minorities are in favour of full linguistic assimilation of their children rather than using a minority language as a medium of instruction. They fear that bilingual education is an obstacle that impedes young people's educational attainment compared to native speakers of the majority language and therefore lowers their chances of being admitted to a good university or college and finding a job that would match their qualifications (Romaine 1995: 251, 260 provides examples of such attitudes from the USA and Germany). It is essential to realise that education for children of immigrants and other linguistic minorities has a wide range of objectives, some of them directly opposing others. The aims in question range from shaping monolingual native-speaker competence in the majority language with gradual attrition of mother tongue skills (the 'submersion' method) to preserving and developing mother tongue skills ('language maintenance', see Romaine 1995: 257-258) combined with simultaneous development of study skills in the language of the majority. A detailed classification of bilingual education is included in García (1996: 410-416).

A noteworthy and fairly recent concept that describes the multiplicity and multimodality of bilingual speakers' lives is that of *translanguaging*, i.e. the use of whatever linguistic means native speakers of two or more languages have at their

disposal. Instead of focusing on speakers lacking words or structures in one language and thus borrowing them from another, the switching and mixing of separate codes, translanguaging stresses the crossing of traditionally understood linguistic borders and as such has often been applied to the study of education (Vogel and García 2016: 3).

We thus arrive at a definition of bilingual education. It is, we understand, the use of two languages as means of instruction and allows for a fairly balanced maintenance of students' mother tongue and as well as development of majority language competences that are as close as possible to those of its monolingual native speakers at the same stage of education. Contrary to the view derived from the metaphor THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, we do not mean that a bilingual speaker (student) should become 'a double monolingual' speaker, i.e. one who knows and speaks two languages just as well as a monolingual speaker who devoted his/her entire early childhood to the acquisition of one language. Occasional calques, such as verbatim translation of collocations, idioms or structures, an audible foreign accent in either language, and code switching or mixing in different situational contexts are not symptoms of the failure of bilingual education or so-called semilingualism unless they seriously impede understanding and cause breakdowns in communication. Bilingual education should enable students to function well in communities of native speakers of both languages and continue their education in either language. In an ideal situation, minority students enrolled in a bilingual programme socialise with the other students, their groups are often integrated and bilingual programme teachers are either bilingual or highly proficient in both languages (García 1996: 418); for example, Polish teachers at a school for Polish children in an English-speaking country could be expected to speak English at the native or CEFR C2 level. This extended definition of bilingual education excludes the following: schools with an extended English curriculum in Poland, since in this context English is merely a foreign language and

not an official or majority language in the country; virtually total immersion in a minority language as in Swedish-language schools in Finland; a gradual change from using students' mother tongue to teaching in the majority language, known as 'transitional bilingualism' (Romaine 1995: 245, see also García 1996: 412); let alone submersion, whose aim is to force students to use the majority language only.

Supplementary (Saturday) schools are one of the most widely available forms of bilingual education. Students attending an ordinary majority-language school on weekdays also go to a separate educational establishment where they study in the language of their community – this form is well-known (García 1996: 414). In their report Evans and Gillan-Thomas provide a description of supplementary schools in the UK (see also Gościmska 2017: 132):

Supplementary schools, sometimes known as complementary schools, provide part-time educational opportunities for children and young people, primarily from Black and minority ethnic communities. They commonly offer mother-tongue language classes, faith and cultural studies, alongside activities such as sport, music, dance and drama, as well as supporting National Curriculum subjects. They are established and managed by community members, often on a voluntary basis, and operate from community centres, youth clubs, religious institutions and mainstream schools. While many supplementary schools are small local groups run by parents, others are part of larger organisations that provide a range of services. There are an estimated 3,000-5,000 such schools in England. (Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015: 3)

The Polish school in Manchester, where we conducted our study, is one of these supplementary weekend schools.

2. Polish-language education in Great Britain

According to the British Office for National Statistics, the UK is inhabited by 831,000 (± 41,000) people born in Poland, which

makes Poles the largest ethnic minority in the country. This number does not include the children of Polish citizens who were born in the UK. An article published in *The Guardian* in 2014 stated that 16,000 Polish children were enrolled in a total of 150 Polish schools throughout the country (Sobków 2014). Over 130 of these schools belong to the Polish Educational Society (Polska Macierz Szkolna), an association of Polish supplementary schools in Great Britain and Northern Ireland which also promotes Polish education and culture in the UK and runs an examination centre which allows candidates to take GCSE and A-level examinations in the Polish language (PES website).

3. Questionnaire-based study

Our study was conducted in English at the Polish School of Manchester (Polska Szkoła Ojczysta). Printed questionnaires were given to eleven students (seven boys and four girls of ages 11-17, the average age being 14) attending the school in April 2017. All but one were born in Poland, emigrated to the UK before the age of five, and were raised in well-educated families. The students answered two sets of questions about English and Polish. The first set consisted of 11 questions regarding learning Polish, and the second set consisted of 15 questions regarding learning English. Half of each set contained open-ended, non-multiple choice questions. In the other half, the questions were provided with two options: multiple choice and 'other', an option with a space that could be filled with the informant's own answer. The introductory part contained questions about the gender, grade, age and native language(s) as well as foreign languages studied by the informants. The students were informed about the aim of the anonymous questionnaire. In the question regarding their native languages eight students selected only Polish as their mother tongue. Three students selected both languages (Polish and English) as their mother tongues. Furthermore, six students were learning

at least one additional language, mainly French although Russian and Spanish were also being acquired.

Some of the questions that we asked referred to "correctness". We decided to use this prescriptivist term since schoolchildren and teenagers are familiar with the notion of correctness in the objectivist sense; arguably, using terms such as *grammaticality*, *standard* or *non-standard usage* would have rendered the questions incomprehensible even to adult informants.

4. Data presentation

4.1. Attitudes towards Polish

In the part regarding the informants' attitudes towards Polish and learning the language we posed the questions enumerated below and formulated preliminary conclusions which we realise require both further research on a wider scale and a deeper, more detailed analysis. The questions are presented in the order of appearance on the questionnaire.

Why do you learn Polish at school and outside school?

Four students claimed that they learned Polish due to their parents. Three students claimed that their only motivation was individual self-motivation to master Polish in practice. Two students provided arguments concerning a return to Poland. Only one 12-year-old student claimed that he learned Polish because he is a Pole.

What is your strength as regards your Polish language skills?

Four students considered only speaking Polish as their only strength. Moreover, two students claimed that aside from speaking they had other strong skills in Polish. Five students

claimed writing as their strength and five other informants mentioned reading comprehension.

What is your weakness as regards your Polish language skills?

Six students believed grammar to be their weakness in Polish (two of them mentioned grammar only). Similarly, six students claimed that spelling and punctuation in Polish were their major weaknesses. Only one student regarded speaking as his weakness and another one reading comprehension.

What kind of testing of your progress in Polish do you find the most appropriate?

The majority of the students (e.g. five) wrote that a written form of testing their progress in Polish was the most appropriate (e.g. written tests or dictations). Although six students claimed that speaking was their strength in Polish, there were no consequences of this choice which would be reflected in the methods of measuring their L1 skills. Only one student regarded speaking as the most appropriate method to test his Polish. Three students did not answer this question.

How often do you assess the correctness of your own spoken utterances in Polish?

Only three informants claimed that they always reflected on the correctness of their spoken utterances in Polish. Two students did not answer this question. None of them admitted that he/she never assessed the correctness of his/her own spoken utterances. The six remaining informants did so rarely, occasionally or often.

How often do you judge the correctness of other people's utterances in Polish?

Only one student did not answer this question. Three students claimed that they never assessed or judged other people's utterances in Polish. Three students did it often or invariably. The others judged the Polish of other speakers rarely or sometimes.

Who is the most important authority on Polish usage to you?

For nine of the informants the most important authorities on Polish were their parents (six answers), or their mother only (three). Only one student claimed that the teacher provided the most authoritative model of Polish. The informants who chose their mother rather than both parents may be those whose father is not Polish or they simply believe that their mother speaks a more standard or 'correct' variety of Polish. Note also that no one chose only their father.

Is the mastery of correctness in Polish more important to you than knowledge of foreign languages?

The replies showed a lack of agreement on this issue: four of the respondents admit that correctness in Polish is more important, while four others think otherwise. Three respondents did not answer this question.

Can a good knowledge of Polish help people to learn foreign languages?

Five of the students agreed that a good knowledge of Polish can help people to learn foreign languages.

Are you interested in studying Polish at university?

The majority of the students, namely nine, claimed that they were not interested in studying Polish at university. The aim of this question was to find whether the informants were interested in Polish not only as a means of communication but also as a focus of their future career. We also asked an analogical question about English.

Do you like learning Polish?

Most of the students (seven) liked learning Polish. However, it would be difficult to see whether their positive attitude towards learning the language of their parents is a consequence of attending a Polish school or the reason why they originally decided to enroll in such a school.

4.2. Attitudes towards English

We attempted to make the part concerning English as similar as possible to the part on Polish discussed above. As can be seen, not all the questions are identical, since they had to take into account the fact that the respondents were raised in an English-speaking country and English was also the primary language of their education. As in section 4.1, the questions are presented in order of appearance and each is provided with a summary of the results.

Why do you learn English?

The informants' motivation to learn English was varied, but the most typical answer to this question, written by five students, was that they learnt English simply owing to their place of residence and their attendance at an English-language school.

What is your strength as regards your English?

The majority of the students (eight) believed speaking to be their strength in English – this was similar to their analogical answer concerning Polish. Only five students considered reading to be their strong point.

What is your weakness as regards your English?

For four of the students writing in English was difficult. Similarly, four other students had difficulties assessing their major weakness.

What kind of testing of your progress in English do you find the most appropriate?

The answers to this question varied considerably. The students mentioned the following methods: oral examinations, different written forms and self-assessment. Three students did not provide any answer and two others found written tests the most appropriate form of English language assessment.

How often do you assess the correctness of your own spoken utterances in English?

Three informants self-assessed the correctness of their own English utterances only rarely and one student claimed that he never did so. Five students chose the options 'always', 'often' or 'sometimes'.

How often do you judge the correctness of other people's English?

Seven students claimed that they judged other speakers' English more often than rarely, namely: always, often or sometimes.

Who is the most important authority on English usage to you?

Five students claimed that their most important authority on English usage was their teacher (their English teacher or other teachers as well). The remaining respondents mentioned the following: a dictionary, nobody, 'everyday life', friends, schoolmates etc. In Poland the traditional authorities on Polish usage are the best known prescriptive linguists such as Jan Miodek or Jerzy Bralczyk, and thus Polish teenagers living in Poland are likely to have heard of them. In Great Britain the prescriptive approach to English was a subject of popular debate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whereas currently popular linguistics focuses on aspects of sociolinguistics (e.g. the works by David Crystal) rather than the prescriptive notion of 'good' English. In other words there are no household names among prescriptive linguists whose popularity could be compared to that of Miodek or Bralczyk.

What is the most difficult part of English to you?

Spelling and punctuation proved to be the most challenging aspects of English usage for the respondents.

Is knowledge of foreign languages more important to you than the mastery of correctness in your native language?

More than half the students (six) did not answer this question. Two students claimed that knowledge of foreign languages was not more important than mastering Polish usage and three students claimed that it was more important.

How often, when speaking English to someone, can you recognise correctly that he/she is a native speaker of English?

Five students claimed that they were always able to correctly recognise if they were dealing with a native or a non-native speaker of English. Seven students could do so often or sometimes. We asked this question as we felt that identifying a native speaker of a given language correctly was a significant aspect of bilingual competence, particularly in the case of children or adolescents. In adults this skill is perhaps of less significance since fluent speakers of a foreign language can also develop this ability.

Are you interested in studying English or American studies at university?

Four students were interested, while four other students were not. Perhaps the age of the respondents made the question less relevant than it would have been in a larger group of students aged sixteen to eighteen.

Do you like learning English?

Eight students admitted that they liked learning English.

5. Discussion

None of the respondents failed to answer the question about why he/she is learning Polish at school and outside the school. Statistically speaking (much as we realise that the number of filled-in questionnaires has been small so far), we note that pressure or encouragement on the part of the parents as well as willingness to return to Poland in the future are the most common reasons why Polish adolescents attend schools with Polish as the medium of instruction.

The informants consider speaking to be their best developed skill in Polish, while their weakest points are grammar, vocabulary and spelling (including punctuation). These results may suggest a typically school-oriented approach to language skills,

in that speaking is spontaneous in nature whereas grammar, vocabulary and spelling are skills that are linked to conscious linguistic effort for which grades are assigned at school.

The respondents self-reflect on the correctness of their Polish; however, few of them do so frequently or invariably. Generally, they assess their own spoken Polish more than English. They also judge other people's language and as far as English is concerned, they are able to discern a native speaker from a non-native one.

5. Conclusions

Several years ago Błasiak (2011) described the linguistic situation of a sizeable group of Polish speakers in the UK (128 respondents). On the basis of the questionnaires obtained, Błasiak concluded that for the vast majority of the respondents both languages, Polish and English, were 'valuable and desirable' [our translation, p. 71] and their mastery a worthy pursuit. All of the respondents except for one reported that they were perfecting both languages. Also, a quarter of the speakers admitted they used code mixing, a variety known as Polglish or Ponglish, to communicate with other Polish speakers. This latter observation, one may note in passing, appears to illustrate the aforementioned concept of translanguaging.

Supplementary schools arguably play a significant role in the maintaining of national identity in the youngest generation of Poles living in the UK. Our study, though only preliminary, shows that the informants make a conscious effort to perfect their Polish language skills. They also pay attention to linguistic correctness (in the prescriptivist sense of the term) in Polish and its use in everyday life as expatriates as well as in Poland.

We fully agree with Sibiga (1999: 15), who claims thus: 'Research into the language of students attending Polish schools abroad would prove useful not only in ethnic minority education but also in describing the attitudes of the young generation [of Polish speakers] towards Polish, the state of the lan-

guage overseas and trends in language change' [our translation]. We hope that our study pursues the goals described by Sibiga to a certain extent and that it may become a starting point for a larger study of attitudes towards the Polish language in Polish diasporas abroad.

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REPORTS

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The 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences "Locality and Globality in the World of Names", Debrecen 2017

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1. The venue and organizers

The 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences "Locality and Globality in the World of Names" was held in Debrecen, Hungary, from 27 August to 1 September 2017.[1] This Congress was hosted at the University of Debrecen for the first time.[2]

Chaired by Valéria Tóth, the organizing team included Isván Hoffmann, Erzsébet Győrffy, Anita Rácz, Rita Póczos, Katalin Reszegi, Barbara Bába, Éva Kovács, Melinda Szőke, Katalin E. Nagy, Csilla Katona, István Bátori, Éva Hankusz and thirteen student volunteers.

[1] The Congress's website: <http://icos2017.unideb.hu/en/welcome/>, accessed 10.09.2017.

[2] ICOS congresses date back to 1938. They are organized every three years. The first was held in Paris and the 13th in Kraków in 1978. The complete list of Congresses can be viewed at their website: <https://icosweb.net/drupal/conferences> accessed 10.09.2017. The proceedings of each Congress are published by the organizers.

2. The participants and their presentations

The 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences was attended by 241 participants, who presented 161 papers. Debrecen attracted scholars from six continents. Some countries were represented by only one scholar (Malaysia, South Korea, Kazakhstan, Ghana, Zambia or Portugal), while other countries provided a large number of onomasticians (Hungary, United Kingdom, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Romania, Germany and Austria).

University of Debrecen.
Photo: Martyna Gibka

Apart from papers and symposia, the participants could listen to three plenary lectures:

(1) "The symbolic meanings of names" by Professor Grant W. Smith (Eastern Washington University, Cheney, Wash.);
(2) "Place-name policy in Scandinavia and elsewhere" by Professor Staffan Nyström (Uppsala University, Uppsala);
(3) "Theoretical issues of toponym typology" by Professor István Hoffmann (University of Debrecen, Hungary) and Professor Valéria Tóth (University of Debrecen, Hungary).

Although the main area of interest for this Congress was locality and globality in the world of names, the papers (presented mainly in English, but also in French and German) addressed a number of other onomastic topics:

(1) General Onomastics (papers by Evgeny Shokhenmayer, Pavol Odaloš and Elena Vallová, Andrea Bölcskei, Malgorzata Mandola, Artur Gałkowski, Luzius Thöny, Natalia Vasileva);
(2) Toponomastics: theoretical issues, name-giving in the past, name changes, language contacts and name systems (papers by Aleh Kopach, Peder Gammeltoft, Katalin Reszegi, Csilla Katona, John Baker, Melinda Szőke, Éva Kovács, Tiina Laansalu, Urszula Bijak, Saule Imanberdiyeva, Sabina-Nicoleta Rotenştein, Annamária Ulla Szabó T., Harald Bichlmeier, Rita Póczos, David Uher, Eila Williamson, Wolfgang P. Ahrens and Sheila M. Embleton, Ivan Roksandic, Adelina Emilia Mihali, Zane Cekula, Botolv Helleland, Soňa Wojnarová, Joan Tort-Donada, Mats Wahlberg, Sofia Evemalm, Vladislav Alpatov, Inge Særheim, Patxi Salaberri, Brittnee Leysen, Josefin Devine, Åke Engsheden, Carole Hough, Barbara Bába, Sanda Rapa, Thomas Stolz and Nataliya Levkovych, Sauvant Michel, Michel A. Rateau, Anita Rácz, Magdolna Csomortáni, Eszter Ditrói, Christian Wartena and Hans-Peter Ederberg, Joan Tort-Donada, Jaroslav David, Rebecca Gregory, Jayne Carroll, Gunter Schaarschmidt, Meri Josifovska, Roberto Fontanot, Maria Tsinkoburova, Adriana Lima and Patricia Carvalhinhos, Riemer Reinsma, Keith Briggs);
(3) Anthroponomastics: theoretical issues, name giving in the past, first (given) names, surnames (papers by Osward

Chanda Penda, Atoma T. Batoma, Ifeoma Emmanuela Udoye, Grasilda Blažienė, Renāte Siliņa-Piņķe, Karl Hohensinner and Hubert Bergmann, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, Birgit Eggert, Lars-Jakob Harding Kællerød, Ilona Mickienė and Rita Baranauskienė, Alexander Pustyakov, Dóra Sitkei, Alice Crook, Gergana Petkova, Willy Van Langendonck, Tamás Farkas, János N. Fodor, Zsuzsanna Fábián, Maria Sarhemaa, This Michel Fetzer, Malka Muchnik, Annika Hussar and Tiina Rüütmaa, Laimute Balode, Brgles Branimir, Jaakko Raunamaa, Ilga Jansone, Masahiko Mutsukawa, Tereza Slaměníková, NadiaNicoleta Morărașu, Borbála Vitányi, István Boda and Judit Porkoláb and Éva Máté, Maria Giovanna Arcamone, Gabriele Rodriguez and Thomas Liebecke, Daiva Sinkevičiūtė);

(4) Name policy, name planning (papers by Přemysl Mácha, Jiří Martínek, Patricia Carvalhinhos and Maria Célia Lima-Hernandes, Csaba Bártfai, Pavel Štěpán, Katharina Leibring, Zoltán Megyeri-Pálffi, Mariann Slíz, Iryna Sofinska, Blasco Torres and Ana Isabel, Stephane Gendron);

(5) Names in literature (papers by Richard Coates, Jeremy Parrott, Veronika Robustova, Martyna Katarzyna Gibka, Giacomo Giuntoli, Pavol Odaloš and Elena Vallová, Joan Tort-Donada, Ayokunmi Oladele Ojebode, Marie Antoinette Rieger);

(6) Socio-onomastics (papers by Giacomo Luigi Morando, Veslava Sidaravičienė, Jaromír Krško and Alena Záborská, EmiliaAldrin and Linnea Gustafsson, Katalin E. Nagy, Anni Magga-Eira, Tracy Fey, Anna Tsepkova, Gugulethu Brightness Mazibuko, Dietlind Kremer, Zsuzsanna Ágnes Berényi, Nobuhle Purity Hlongwa, Zac Smith, Iker Salaberri, Fiorenza Fischer and Holger Wochele, Anna Maria Kochanowska);

(7) Systemic relations between toponyms and anthroponyms (papers by Halszka Górny, Peeter Päll, Jaakko Raunamaa, Unni-Päivä Leino, Sofia Evemalm, Valéria Tóth, Pavel Štěpán, Eleanor Rye, Thomas Stolz and Ingo H. Warnke and Nataliya Levkovych);

(8) Status and tasks of socio-onomastics (papers by Erzsébet Győrffy, Magdolna Nemes, Väinö Syrjälä, Réka Imreh, Selene Jiménez Segura, Franco López and Guillermina Yolanda, Angelika Bergien, Lidia Becker, Johanna Virkkula, Linnea Gustafsson);

(9) Contacts of name systems in Central Europe (papers by Paul Woodman, Andrea Bölcskei, Peter Jordan, Christian

Zschieschang, Evar Saar, Milan Harvalík, Justyna B. Walkowiak, Oliviu Felecan);

(10) International onomastic cooperation and projects (papers by Tamás Farkas, Inge Saerheim and Emilia Aldrin and Väinö Syrjälä, Milan Harvalík and Iveta Valentová, Sara Liana Uckelman, Agostinho Salgueiro and José Pedro Ferreira and Margarita Correia, Artur Gałkowski, Evgeny Shokhenmayer, Pierre Darlu and Pascal Chareille and Gerrit Bloothooft and Anna Degioanni and Jean Germain et al., Peder Gammeltoft);

(11) Applied onomastics and applied onomastics in practice (papers by Mariann Slíz, Katalin Reszegi, Magda T. Somogyi, Terhi Ainiala and Johanna Lehtonen, Judit Kecskés, Justyna B. Walkowiak, Lisa Spira, Ilia Baranov, Sergey Goryaev, Tatyana Petrovna Sokolova, Paula Sjöblom and Ulla Hakala, Alexandra Petrulevich and Agnieszka Backman, Irina Martynenko, Svetlana Nasakina, Ana-Maria Gînsac and Mădălina Ungureanu, Dinu Moscal, Regina Kvašytė, Anikó Szilágyi-Kósa);

(12) Other names (papers by Simona Goicu-Cealmof, Marina Golomidova, Peter K W Tan, Mariko Faster, Arthur Roland Valentin Tegelaar, Edgar Hoffmann, Oxana Issers, Terhi Ainiala, Luisa Caiazzo, Judit Kozma, Sami Bruno Suviranta, Hirofumi Nakaba and Toyomi Nakaba, Giovanni Pietro Vitali);

(13) Digital name culture (papers by Olena Fomenko, Lasse Hämäläinen, Daiana Felecan and Alina Bugheşiu, Bertie Neethling).

Apart from addressing the issues of proper names in different areas of human life, the participants discussed proper names in and from different languages, including, *inter alia*, Polish, Zambian, Czech, Lithuanian, Old Elamite, Russian, Kazakh, Swedish, Hungarian, Medieval Hungarian, Old Hungarian, Estonian and Finnish.

Professor Carole Hough presenting her paper entitled "Place-name evidence for Old English dialects". Photo: Alice Crook

Professor Tamás Farkas presenting his paper entitled "A Hungarian surname typology project: The lessons of the distribution of the most frequent surnames". Photo: Alice Crook

The complete programme of the 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences shows that the sections most popular with the participants were (2) Toponymy and (3) Anthroponymy. Among the toponomastic papers which largely dominated the Congress, one could list for instance: "The Sigmatics of Place Naming" presented by Aleh Kopach (Belarusian State University), "Toponyms as Sources of Historical Phonology" by Csilla Katona (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences), "Peculiarities of naming the Kazakh toponyms" by Saule Imanberdiyeva (Almaty Management University), "Colour terms 'gold' and 'silver' in Finnish and Czech toponyms" by Soňa Wojnarová (Charles University in Prague), "Place-name evidence for Old English dialects" by Carole Hough (University of Glasgow) and "Introduced Pākehā place-names in New Zealand's Otago region" by Brittnee Leysen (University of Glasgow). Similarly diversified were the papers on personal proper names (anthroponyms), which can be illustrated with a few examples: "The gender use of Hebrew personal names" by Malka Muchnik (Bar-Ilan University), "Female anthroponyms in medieval Finland" by Jaakko Raunamaa (University of Helsinki), "The usage of middle names in early modern Scotland" by Alice Crook (University of Glasgow), "Bulgarian masculine personal names, derived from a Roman cognomen" by Gergana Petkova (Medical University of Plovdiv) and "A distinctive local usage of middle names in Denmark" by Lars-Jakob Harding Kællerød (University of Copenhagen).

On the other hand (5) Names in literature and (13) Digital name culture had the fewest scholarly contributions. This numeric distribution reflects the division of onomasticians into branches of the study of names and the problem of names of fictional entities being considered unworthy of attention by many onomasticians.

3. The social programme

For the benefit of the participants, the organizers offered not only academic discussions held from early mornings until early evenings, but also social and cultural attractions afterward the discussions. The second day of the Congress ended with

a “Fröccs” Party at the Water Tower Garden. The scholars could try a famous Hungarian drink called Fröcc which is made from white wine and soda water. They could also eat some Hungarian “street food”, and all this at the beautiful location of the Water Tower with its garden charmingly lit during the night.

The third day of the Congress was the excursion day. The participants could choose between four destinations. They could go sightseeing in Eger (the town has several world-famous museums and monuments, among them the classical basilica and the castle of Eger) or they could go to Hortobágy to see the largest flat grassland of Central Europe. They could also choose a trip to the historic wine-producing area of Tokaj-Hegyalja or a visit to the gates of the Danube Bend and the towns of Szentendre and Visegrád.

Thursday, the fourth day of the Congress, ended with a classical music concert. In the Liszt Hall at the Faculty of Music, Rudolf Fátyol (Romania) and Mihály Duffek (Hungary) played the violin and the piano and took the audience on a trip to the world of classical music for over an hour. The concert program included: Louis-Nicholas Clerambault’s *Adagio et Allegro*, W.A. Mozart’s *C major Sonata for violin and piano*, Niccolo Paganini’s *Romance*, Jules Massenet’s *Thais Meditation*, Béla Bartók and Endre Gertler’s *Sonatina*, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály’s *Kálló Double Dance* and Johannes Brahms’s *Scherzo*. The musicians received a standing ovation.

The 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences ended with a banquet held in the main building of the university. With so many onomasticians from all around the world, from the start of the conference until its conclusion, further discussions were taken from the lectures to restaurants afterwards and continued long into the night.

The Liszt Hall at the Faculty of Music
Photo: Alice Crook

5. Final remarks

The 26th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences "Locality and Globality in the World of Names" proved to be an inspiring conference. The participants had a chance to share the findings of their research carried out in the last three years, and they also presented their theses on new projects. Some new theoretical approaches to unsolved issues were also proposed. A valuable addition to all papers and lectures were the (international) onomastic databases that are the first step to fill the gap of gathered and catalogued onomastic data. Some tangible results of this Congress were also a new Board of Directors as well as Calls for Papers for two international projects on literary onomastics.[3]

[3] The CfPs are available at <http://www.gibka.pl/pratchett.html> and <http://www.gibka.pl/handbook.html> accessed on 10.09.2017.

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CLARIN-PL workshops and lectures in Gdańsk, 18–19 May 2018

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1. CLARIN-PL

CLARIN-PL is part of CLARIN (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure), a European research infrastructure. Its aim is to facilitate work with large collections of texts in the humanities and social sciences (see <http://clarin-pl.eu>, <http://clarin-pl.eu/en/home-page/>). The partners of CLARIN-PL include the following institutions:

- Grupa Technologii Językowych G4.19 Politechniki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław University of Science and Technology;
- The Linguistic Engineering Group, Polish Academy of Sciences;
- Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology, Institute of Computer Science;
- Instytut Slawistyki PAN, Polish Academy of Sciences;
- University of Łódź;
- University of Wrocław.

The website of CLARIN-PL (<http://clarin-pl.eu>) hosts numerous language resources, including, *inter alia*:

- Paralela, a Polish-English parallel corpus, available at <http://paralela.clarin-pl.eu/>;
- ChronoPress: Chronologiczny Korpus Polskich Tekstów Prasowych (1945-1954), a corpus of Polish press texts 1945-1954, available at <http://chronopress.clarin-pl.eu>;
- Słowa Dnia (Words of the Day), the most frequent words in the Polish press, available at <http://slowadnia.clarin-pl.eu/#/default/1060>;
- Słowosieć (Pl Wordnet), available at <http://plwordnet.pwr.wroc.pl/wordnet/>;
- Walenty, a valency dictionary of the Polish language, available at <http://walenty.ipipan.waw.pl/>;
- Spokes, conversational data resources, available at <http://spokes.clarin-pl.eu/>.

On the CLARIN-PL website, one may also find tools for analyzing language, including, *inter alia*,

- Nowy Morfeusz, a tool used for morphological analysis, available at <http://sgjp.pl/morfeusz/>;
- Inforex, a system used for editing of annotated corpora, available at <https://inforex.clarin-pl.eu/>;
- Mapa Literacka, used to recognize references of geographical names, available at <http://litmap.clarin-pl.eu/>;
- Transkrypcja Fonetyczna, a tool used for phonetic transcription, available at <http://mowa.clarin-pl.eu/transcriber/>;
- Chunker, a tool used for syntactic analysis, available at <http://ws.clarin-pl.eu/chunker.shtml>;
- Mowa, a speech processing tool, available at <http://ws.clarin-pl.eu/chunker.shtml>;
- Parser, used to analize the Polish language, available at <http://ws.clarin-pl.eu/parser.shtml>.

2. The lectures and workshops

On 18-19 May 2018, the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Gdańsk, hosted the workshops and lectures “CLARIN-PL w praktyce badawczej: Cyfrowe narzędzia

do analizy języka w naukach humanistycznych i społecznych [CLARIN-PL in research practice: IT tools used in language analysis in the humanities and social sciences]". It should be added that it was the 7th cycle of the CLARIN-PL workshops and lectures.[1]

The participants – university lecturers and students as well as employees at IT companies from all over the country – had a splendid opportunity to attend numerous workshops and lectures offered by specialists in natural language processing and IT technology.

The participants were warmly welcomed by the host, Prof. Maciej Michalski, the Dean of the Faculty of Languages, and by Dr Maciej Piasecki, representing CLARIN-PL. Then they were introduced to the topic of the workshops, listening to a lecture presenting the possibilities offered by CLARIN-PL:

(1) "CLARIN – infrastruktura naukowa technologii językowych – wprowadzenie [CLARIN – the research infrastructure of language technologies: An introduction" by Maciej Piasecki.

The lectures and workshops that followed were divided into three sections, one of which was designed for students of Natural Language Processing, a specialty offered to MA students by the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Gdańsk. It should be added that other students also participated in the workshops.

During the two days of the conference, CLARIN-PL offered the following workshops and lectures:

(2) "Zasoby leksykalne CLARIN-PL: wielki relacyjny słownik semantyczny – Słowosieć, Słowosieć polsko-angielska, Słownik znakowany wydźwiękiem emocjonalnym, Walenty – słownik walencyjny [CLARIN-PL's lexical resources: the great relational semantic dictionary Słowosieć, the Polish-English wordnet,

[1] See our report of the CLARIN-PL workshops and lectures at the University of Łódź which were held in February 2017 (Redzimska, Stanulewicz and Wawrzyniak-Śliwska 2017).

the sentiment dictionary, the valence dictionary Walenty]" run by Agnieszka Dziob, Ewa Rudnicka, Tomasz Naskręt and Elżbieta Hajnicz;

(3) "Tworzenie, przeglądanie i anotacja korpusów tekstów przy użyciu narzędzi: Korpusomat, DSpace, Inforex [Creating, using and annotating text corpora using tools including Korpusomat, DSpace, Inforex]" by Marcin Oleksy, Michał Marcińczuk and Zbigniew Gawłowicz;

(4) "Narzędzia i zasoby do przetwarzania mowy: korpusy, segmentacja, rozpoznawanie i analiza mowy; transkrypcja [Tools and resources for speech processing: corpora, segmentation, speech recognition and analysis; transcription]" run by Danijel Koržinek;

(5) "Analiza semantyczna tekstu, wydobywanie informacji (stylometria, proste statystyki tekstu, modelowanie tematyczne, rozpoznawanie nazw własnych, rozpoznawanie terminów, analiza wydźwięku LEM, WebSty, TermoPL) [Semantic analysis of the text, information extraction (stylometry, simple text statistics, thematic modeling, recognition of proper names, recognition of terms, LEM sentiment analysis, WebSty, TermoPL)]" run by Maciej Piasecki, Tomasz Walkowiak and Agnieszka Mykowiecka;

(6) "Korzystanie z korpusów konwersacyjnych i równoległych: SPOKES i Paralela [Use of conversational and parallel corpora: SPOKES and Paralela]" run by Piotr Pęzik;

(7) "Analizy chronologiczne z wykorzystaniem webserwisu Chrono Press [Chronological analyzes using the web service ChronoPress]" run by Adam Pawłowski.

The students had an opportunity to participate in the following lectures and workshops which were run by Jan Wieczorek and other scholars who conducted the workshops enumerated above:

(8) Narzędzia i zasoby do przetwarzania mowy: korpusy, segmentacja, rozpoznawanie i analiza mowy; transkrypcja [Tools and resources for speech processing: corpora, segmentation, speech recognition and analysis; transcription]";

(9) Analiza semantyczna tekstu, wydobywanie informacji (stylometria, proste statystyki tekstu, modelowanie tematyczne,

rozpoznawanie terminów, analiza wydźwięku LEM, WebSty, TermoPL) [Semantic analysis of the text, information extraction (stylometry, simple text statistics, thematic modeling, recognition of terms, LEM sentiment analysis, WebSty, TermoPL);

(10) Tworzenie oraz zarządzanie korpusami tekstów (DSpace, Inforex, Korpusomat) [Creation and management of text corpora (DSpace, Inforex, Korpusomat)];

(11) Zasoby leksykalne CLARIN-PL: wielki relacyjny słownik semantyczny – Słowosieć, Słowosieć polsko-angielska, Słownik znakowany wydźwiękiem emocjonalnym, Walenty – słownik walencyjny [CLARIN-PL's lexical resources: the great relational semantic dictionary Słowosieć, the Polish-English wordnet, the sentiment dictionary, the valence dictionary Walenty]".

3. A final word

The workshops offered by CLARIN-PL provided their participants – especially the students of Natural Language Processing as well as other students of the University of Gdańsk – with an excellent opportunity to get acquainted with the different language resources and tools available on its website. Undoubtedly, the students will use these resources and tools in their projects, including preparing their MA theses.

References

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