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LINGUISTICS

The morphosemantics of selected English doublets: Synchrony and diachrony¹

WERONIKA KAMOLA-UBERMAN

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Abstract

Doublets are “etymological siblings”, and, even though the term suggests it, they do not necessarily only form pairs. In English, where – because of its history of extensive influence exerted by speakers of different languages – the lexicon is extremely broad and complex, there are many cases of multiplets, i.e., whole word families with a common etymological root which can often be traced back to Proto-Indo-European. Usually their meanings are similar (e.g. *fragile* and *frail*), in other cases, though, the meaning can be very different or even opposite (e.g. *host* and *guest*). The aim of this paper is to highlight the scope of semantic evolution of lexemes of the same origin, as there is no place for absolute synonymy in a language. Similarities, or shared semantic scopes connecting the words, will also be provided.

Key words

doublet, etymology, synonym, semantic change

¹ This paper is based on the present author’s master’s thesis written in 2014 under the guidance of Prof. Olga Sokółowska at the University of Gdańsk.

Synchroniczna i diachroniczna morfosemantyka wybranych angielskich dubletów

Abstrakt

Dublety są „etymologicznym rodzeństwem” i, mimo że sama nazwa to sugeruje, niekoniecznie występują jedynie w parach. W języku angielskim, którego słownictwo jest niezwykle bogate i zróżnicowane z powodu wieloletniego mieszania się języków zdobywców Anglii i autochtonów, występuje wiele przypadków multipletów, czyli całych rodzin słów o tej samej etymologii. Znaczenia dubletów są zazwyczaj podobne (np. *frail* ‘wąty, drobny’ i *fragile* ‘kruchy, delikatny’), lecz w niektórych przypadkach mogą się znacznie różnić, lub być nawet przeciwne (np. *host* ‘gospodarz’ i *guest* ‘gość’). W większości przypadków możemy prześledzić pochodzenie tych słów aż do języka praindoeuropejskiego, który jest językiem-matką wszystkich dzisiejszych języków indoeuropejskich. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest unaocznienie zakresu zmian semantycznych pomiędzy słowami o tym samym pochodzeniu, gdyż nie ma w języku miejsca na absolutną synonimię. Podobieństwa i pojęcia łączące te słowa również zostaną podane.

Słowa kluczowe

dublet, etymologia, synonim, zmiany semantyczne

1. Introduction

Absolute synonymy is redundant in any language. Thus, when we encounter synonyms they must differ in some way, be it register, connotations, emotive responses, meaning spectrum or poetic value. English, being abundant in synonyms – due to the British Isles’ history of multiple conquests by speakers of different languages, intensive trade and colonialism – possesses a large number of doublets, so-called “etymological siblings” or, according to Walter Skeat (1887: 414) “examples of *dimorphism*, or the appearance of the same word under a double

form”. Even though the term suggests it, a doublet may (and in most cases it indeed does) involve not two, but many more words of the same origin, that is, words which share the same etymological root; words, which started their existence as one item in Proto-Indo-European (or in Proto-Germanic) and over the course of time split into two (or more) different words. Of course, most certainly doublets exist in all human languages. Nevertheless, the purpose of this paper is to discuss such lexemes and their semantic change in English.

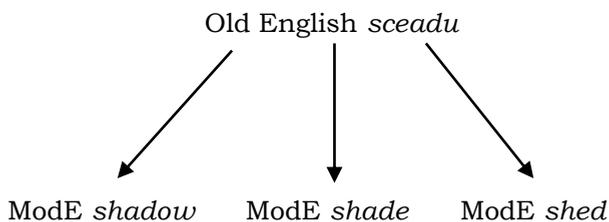
Doublet participants may share very similar form and meaning (e.g. *frail* and *fragile*), they may also vary in form and meaning significantly (e.g. *host* and *guest*).

There are many different cases of doublets in English. We can classify them in terms of the language of provenance of a word (or words) constituting doublet parts or with regards to the route through which they entered English.

2. Origin of doublets

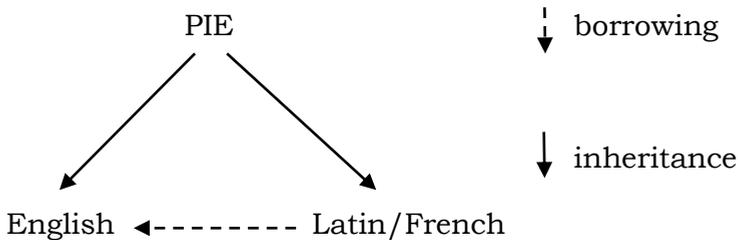
2.1. Native-native origin

A doublet may evolve from a single word which at some point in time split into two or more separate lexemes slightly diverged in meaning, usually by means of specialisation or metonymy, with all those words remaining in the language, e.g. *shadow*, *shade* and *shed*, which come from the Old English *sceadu* ‘shadow, shade’ and thus are of “native” origin.

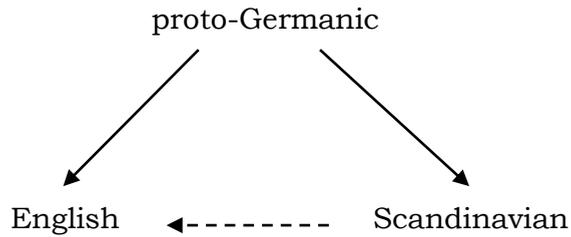


2.2. Native-borrowed origin

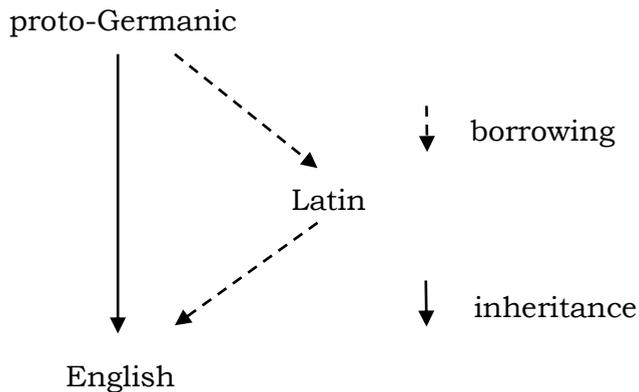
In other cases, doublets are formed by pairs where one word is “native” – i.e. descended directly from a parent language (from PIE to Proto-Germanic, and then to English) – and the other is a cognate (a word in a different language descended from the same source) borrowed from a sister or cousin tongue. Thus, a doublet is formed by a “native” and a “borrowed” word. As far as English is concerned, in most cases the parent language is Proto-Indo-European and the cousin language Latin or French, e.g. the Germanic *cow* and the Romance *beef* (both from the PIE root **gwou-* ‘cow, ox, bull’).



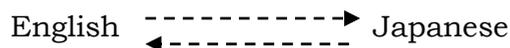
There are also borrowings in which the parent language is Proto-Germanic and the sister language – Old Norse, e.g. the English *shirt* and the Scandinavian-based *skirt* (both from the P.Gmc. **skurtijon* ‘a short garment’ and ultimately from the PIE **(s)ker-* (1) ‘to cut’).



There are also cases of Latin or French words of Germanic origin borrowed into English, which form doublets with English words inherited directly from Proto-Germanic. e.g. the native *ban* and the Latin borrowing of Germanic origin via French *abandon* (both from the PIE root **bha-* (2) ‘to speak’).

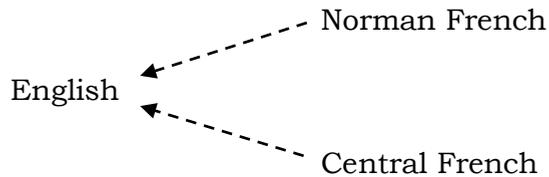


In the rarest cases, English words are borrowed by another language and then re-borrowed forming a doublet with the original word, e.g. the English *animation* and the Japanese *anime* ‘Japanese animation’.

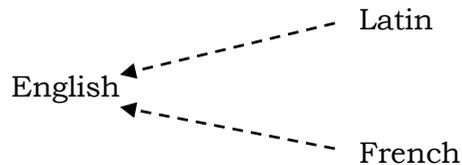


2.3. Borrowed-borrowed origin

Numerous doublets are formed by words borrowed twice from the same language but spanning a considerable period of time (e.g. borrowings from Norman French after the Norman Invasion in the 11th c. and from Central French from the 14th c. on, such as the NF *warden* and the CF *guardian*, both from the Frankish **warding-* ‘keeper, custodian’).

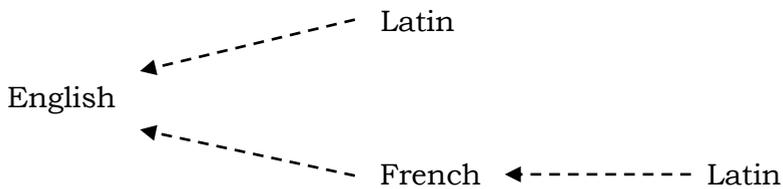
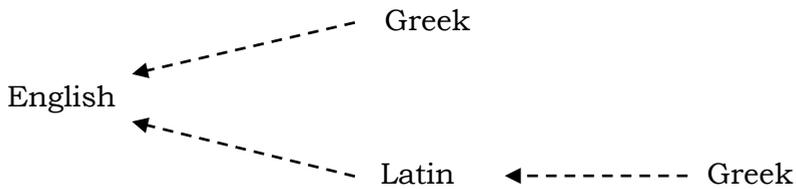


Doublets may also include words borrowed from a certain language and its daughter tongue, e.g. Latin and French. There are many doublets of such origin, as most loan words in English have been borrowed exactly from these two languages; e.g. the French-based *flame* and the Latin-based *conflagration* (both from PIE **bhleg-* ‘to shine, flash’).

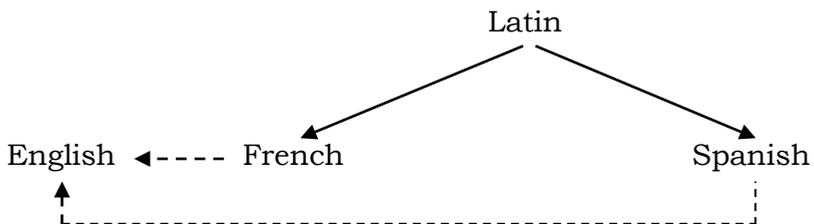


There are also cases of direct and indirect borrowing, that is, one doublet member is borrowed directly from Latin and a second member is borrowed indirectly from Latin via French; or one word may be borrowed directly from Greek and the other indirectly from Greek via Latin, e.g. the immediate Greek

borrowing *cyclone*, the Greek via Latin borrowing *cycle* and the Latin via French borrowing *circle* (all from PIE **k(w)e-k(w)lo-* ‘wheel, circle’).



Less commonly, cognates from different languages may be borrowed to form a doublet in a target language, e.g. *sauce* (Old French) and *salsa* (Spanish), both ultimately from Latin.



↓ borrowing ↓ inheritance

3. Routes through which doublets entered English

3.1. Words of Latinate origin

The influence of Latin upon the English lexicon is extremely significant. English speakers borrowed from Latin in several different periods of time. The first period occurred even before the Germanic tribes settled on the isle of Britannia, as it was called by the Romans. Those tribes spoke Old Low German and not yet English, which originated from the fusion of closely related dialects, now collectively termed Old English, which were brought to the eastern coast of Great Britain by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the 5th century (since 449). The contact and trade of these tribes with the Roman merchants on the European continent resulted in borrowings related to commonplace concrete objects rather than to abstractions, for example: *plant*, *mule*, *cheese*, *belt*, *pillow*, *wall*, *sickle*, *mile*, *tribute*, *camp*, *minster* (Brinton, Arnovick 2006: 166).

We find these early borrowings both in Old English and in Old High German because communities speaking those languages had not yet separated at the time of the borrowing. As Brinton and Arnovick (2006: 167) claim,

it appears that the Romans had a higher standard of living and more refinements than the Germanic people, and that the contact between them was of an intimate kind. The loan words are generally [...] in a familiar rather than formal variety of language, suggesting that the borrowings were popular and oral rather than written.

It is easy to distinguish the early borrowings from the late ones because the former underwent all the sound changes that occurred in Old English, and the latter did not.

The second period of borrowing from Latin occurred after the Germanic conquest, during the early Anglo-Saxon period, in the 5th century. The following words may have entered English

through Latinised Celtic, or they may have been borrowed directly from Latin, for example:

- *port* 'harbor, gate, town' (Lat. *portus*);
- *mont* 'mountain' (Lat. *montus*);
- *torr* 'tower, rock' (Lat. *turris*).

The third period was concomitant to the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons at the end of the 6th century. It was the Roman missionaries who introduced the new vocabulary, thus these borrowings were learned words related to religion and scholarship, as the priests and monks were responsible for education and introducing literacy to the British Isles at that point in time. Some examples of such words are: *cross*, *creed*, *mass*, *monk*, *holy*, *accent*, *chapter*, *notary*, *temple*, *organ*.

The subsequent borrowing period followed the Norman Conquest. Due to a serious change that English underwent as a result of a substantial admixture of Norman-French, from this point on historians refer to Middle English instead of Old English. Still, Latin was a significant source of loan words, even though it is not easy to distinguish between direct borrowings and borrowings via French. It is believed that the learned words and specialised vocabulary concerning law, religion, scholarship, medicine, science and literature, were borrowed directly from Latin (Brinton, Arnovick 2006). Some examples of such words are: *immortal*, *scripture*, *client*, *homicide*, *legal*, *testimony*, *desk*, *formal*, *history*, *index*, *imaginary*.

Borrowing simultaneously from Latin and French produced three levels of synonyms in English, which differ in register. The words of Germanic origin tend to be colloquial or informal, whereas words of French origin are literary and finally those derived from Latin are scholarly.

Borrowing from Latin continues to the present day, chiefly in the world of science, to describe newly discovered plants, chemicals, new inventions etc. We observe that even though

Latin is a dead language, it survives through the borrowings which are used by speakers of contemporary tongues.

Table 1 presents some examples of doublets containing a word of native Germanic origin and a cognate borrowed from Latin.

Table 1
Doublets formed by borrowing a cognate from Latin

Germanic origin	Borrowing from Latin	PIE root
hemp	cannabis	* <i>kan(n)abi</i> ‘cannabis’
corn, kernel	grain (from Lat. <i>granum</i>)	* <i>gr̥anom</i> ‘grain’
foot(man)	ped(estrian) (from Lat. <i>pedes</i> ‘one who goes on foot’, from <i>pes</i> ‘foot’)	* <i>ped-</i> ‘foot’
under(world)	infern(al) (from Lat. <i>infernalis</i> ‘of the lower regions’)	* <i>andhero-</i> ‘under’
father(ly)	pater(nal) (from Lat. <i>pater</i> ‘father’)	* <i>p̥ater</i> ‘father’
raw (from Old Eng. hreaw)	cruel (from Lat. <i>cruor</i> ‘thick blood’) crude (from Lat. <i>crudus</i> ‘not cooked’)	* <i>kreu̯ə</i> ‘raw meat, blood’
light	lucid (from Lat. <i>lux</i> (gen. <i>lucis</i>) ‘light’)	* <i>leuk-</i> ‘to shine, be bright’
eat(able)	edible (from Lat. <i>edo</i>)	* <i>ed-</i> ‘eat’
word	verb (from Lat. <i>verbum</i>)	* <i>wer̥ə-</i> ‘to speak’
naked	nude (from Lat. <i>nudus</i>)	* <i>nog^{w-}</i> ‘naked’
short	curt (from Latin <i>curtus</i> ‘(cut) short, shortened, incomplete’)	* <i>(s)ker-</i> ‘to cut,’ with notion of ‘something cut off’

3.2. Words of French origin

The Norman Conquest of 1066 exerted a massive influence on the English language. After the invasion, for about two hundred years, the English rulers were primarily monolingual French speakers (Brinton and Arnovick 2006: 233). Neither the majority of aristocracy and higher church officials, nor the Norman troops garrisoned by the king, spoke English. This resulted in an exceptionally low number of literary works and records accomplished in English. During that entire time, English was primarily a spoken rather than written language, and that may have caused the great change it underwent. As Brinton and Arnovick (2006: 233) indicate,

change originates in variation in the spoken language, and languages which are not written tend to change more rapidly to those that are. One of the strongest forces of change in Middle English, then, was the infrequency of keeping records in English during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

French became a fashionable and prestigious language. People who knew French as their second language, or were bilingual, very often used foreign words to enrich their expression. Later, from the 15th to the 19th century, the impact that French exerted on English became even greater – France was the epicenter of fashion, style, and art trends which everyone wanted to follow. This is why the word stock of English overflows with French vocabulary.

French words could have been borrowed into English twice or multiple times. Normally, the first borrowing was a Norman French word, and in a later period its cognate was borrowed from Central French. We can distinguish these borrowings by phonetic differences presented in Table 2.

This led to the emergence of many pairs of doublets of Norman French/Central French origin, some examples of which are presented in Table 3.

Table 2
Sound changes in borrowings of Norman
French and Central French origin

Norman French-based words	Central French-based words
[k] (velar voiceless stop) before <i>a</i> remained pronounced as [k]	[k] before <i>a</i> became pronounced as [tʃ] (postalveolar voiceless affricate)
[w] (voiced labial-velar approximant) remained pronounced as [w]	[w] became pronounced as [g] (velar voiced stop)

Table 3
Doublets of Norman French and Central French origin

Norman French origin [k], [w]	Central French origin [tʃ], [g]	Origin of both
cattle	chattel	Medieval Latin <i>capitale</i> 'property, stock'
cant	chant	Latin <i>cantare</i> , frequentative of <i>canere</i> 'to sing'
canal	channel	Latin <i>canalis</i> 'groove, channel, waterpipe'
car	chariot	Late Latin <i>carrum</i> 'chariot'
castle	chateau (late borrowing, instead of [tʃ] there is [ʃ])	Latin <i>castellum</i> 'castle'
catch	chase	Latin <i>captare</i> 'to take, hold'
warranty	guarantee	from a Germanic source, from Proto-Germanic <i>*war-</i> 'to warn, guard, protect'
warden reward wardrobe	guardian regard garderobe	Proto-Germanic <i>*wardon</i> 'to guard'
wimple	gimp	Old French <i>guimple</i> 'wimple, headdress, veil' (12c.), from Frankish <i>*wimpil-</i> , Proto-Germanic <i>*wimpilaz</i>
wallop	galop	Proto-Germanic <i>*hlaupan</i> 'leap'

We can also differentiate doublets of French origin determined by the difference in the time that they entered English – in the medieval era or in the modern one. We can easily distinguish these words because the early borrowings underwent the

process of nativisation, that is, they existed in English long enough to acquire more typically English sounds. Those phonetic changes are presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Sound changes in words of French origin
which entered English in different time periods

Early borrowings	Late borrowings
[ʃ] (postalveolar voiceless fricative) became pronounced as [tʃ] (postalveolar voiceless affricate)	[ʃ] remained pronounced as [ʃ]
[ʒ] (postalveolar voiced fricative) became pronounced as [dʒ] (postalveolar voiced affricate)	[ʒ] remained pronounced as [ʒ]
stress pattern: irregular	stress pattern: oxytone (on the last syllable)

Table 5 presents some examples of doublets formed by borrowing French words twice in different periods of time.

Other examples of doublets of French origin are words that lost the original [s] (alveolar voiceless fricative) before [t] (dental voiceless stop); there are some words borrowed before and after this shift, as presented in Table 6.

3.3. Words of Scandinavian origin

Anglo-Saxon England was invaded in the 8th century by the Vikings. By the mid-ninth century they began to winter in England, slowly transforming robbing raids into colonisation. A vast territory called the Danelaw, situated in northern and eastern England, stayed under the jurisdiction of the Scandinavians who ruled in England for 26 years. Thus, the conquest had a significant influence on the indigenous language.

Table 5

Doublets constituted by words of French origin borrowed into English twice in different periods of time

Earlier borrowing [tʃ, dʒ]	Later borrowing [ʃ, ʒ]	Origin of both
chief	chef	Old French <i>chief</i> 'leader, ruler, head'
chain	chignon (from French <i>chignon</i> 'nape of the neck', from Old French <i>chaignon</i> 'iron collar, shackles, noose')	Latin <i>catena</i> 'chain, fetter, restraint'
gender	genre	Old French <i>gendre, genre</i> 'kind, species; character; gender'
burgess	bourgeoisie	Old French <i>burgeis, borjois</i> 'town dweller'

Earlier borrowing (English stress pattern)	Later borrowing (French stress pattern)	
moral	morale	Latin <i>moralis</i> 'proper behavior of a person in society'
gentle	genteel	Old French <i>gentil</i> 'high-born, noble'
liquor	liqueur	French <i>liqueur</i> 'liquor, liquid'
salon	saloon	French <i>salon</i> 'reception room'
dragon	dragoon (from French <i>dragon</i> 'carbine, musket', because the guns the soldiers carried 'breathed fire' like dragons)	Old French <i>dragon</i> 'huge serpent, dragon'
caddie (Scottish form of French <i>cadet</i>)	cadet	French <i>cadet</i> 'military student officer'
cream	crème	Old French <i>crisme</i> 'chrism, holy oil'

Table 6
 Doublets of French origin borrowed
 before and after the loss of [s] before [t]

Earlier borrowing: with [s]	Later borrowing: without [s]	Origin of both
feast	fete	Old French <i>feste</i> 'feast, celebration'
beast	bete (noir)	Old French <i>beste</i> 'animal, wild beast'
hostel	hotel	Old French <i>ostel, hostel</i> 'a lodging'
crisp	crepes	Old French <i>crespe</i> , from Latin <i>crispus</i> 'curled, wrinkled, having curly hair' (It began to mean 'brittle' 1520s, for obscure reasons, perhaps based on what happens to flat things when they are cooked.)
(e)squire	equerry	Old French <i>esquier</i> 'squire', literally 'shield carrier'

The North Germanic dialects spoken by the Scandinavians were closely enough related to the West Germanic dialects of the Anglo-Saxons to permit communication. The Scandinavians settled in significant numbers in areas of Northern England [...] and seem to have assimilated and adopted well to Anglo-Saxon society; there was undoubtedly intermarriage between the two groups. (Brinton, Arnovick 2006: 170)

As a result, there is a vast number of words of Scandinavian origin in English. About 1000 of them are place names, personal names ending with *-son* and *-sen*, specialised words connected with seafaring, law and warfare, as well as the names of everyday objects and even some function words (e.g. the plural pronouns *they*, *their*, *them*). Some of these words completely replaced their Old English counterparts, but others stayed on to function as synonyms and many of them formed doublets with native Anglo-Saxon lexemes. For example, the Old Norse word *kirkja* gave rise to the regional Scottish form

kirk in contrast to the Modern English *church*, and *hale* (from O.N. *heill*) is the Scottish and northern English form of *whole*. Some words underwent the process of specialisation, as in the case of Scandinavian-based *skirt* (a garment worn below the waist) and the native *shirt* (a garment worn on the upper part of body), both from the P.Gmc. **skurtijon* ‘a short garment’ (Etymonline, access 04.2018). Further examples of doublets in which one is of Scandinavian origin are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Doublets formed by borrowing a cognate from Scandinavian

English	Scandinavian-based	Origin of both
shirt	<i>skirt</i> (from O.N. <i>skyrta</i> ‘shirt,’)	P.Gmc. <i>*skurtijon</i> ‘a short garment’
from	<i>fro</i> (from O.N. <i>fra</i> ‘from’)	P.Gmc. <i>*fr-</i> , PIE <i>*pr-</i>
rear	<i>raise</i> (from O.N. <i>reisa</i> ‘to raise,’)	P.Gmc. <i>*raizjan</i>
no	<i>nay</i> (from O.N. <i>nei</i> , compound of <i>ne</i> ‘not’ + <i>ei</i> ‘ever.’)	P.Gmc. <i>*ne</i> , PIE root <i>*ne-</i> ‘no, not’
draw	<i>drag</i> (from O.N. <i>draga</i> ‘to draw’)	P.Gmc. <i>*dragan</i> ‘to draw, pull,’ from PIE root <i>*dhragh-</i> ‘to draw, drag on the ground’
shout	<i>scout</i> (‘to reject with scorn’)	from PIE root <i>*skeud-</i> ‘to shoot, chase, throw’

It may prove difficult to distinguish a Scandinavian loan from an original Old English word. However, there are certain phonological changes which native lexemes underwent while Scandinavian ones did not. Those changes are presented in Table 8.

Table 8
Sound changes of words of Old English
origin and of Scandinavian origin

Word of Old English origin	Word of Scandinavian origin
Palatalisation of [sk] to [ʃ] (postalveolar voiceless fricative), e.g. <i>shirt</i>	No palatalisation of [sk], e.g. <i>skirt</i>
Change of [g] (velar voiced stop) to [j] (palatal approximant) <i>yet, day</i> (compare: Old English <i>get</i> ; Old E. <i>dæg</i> , Norwegian <i>dag</i>)	No change of [g] e.g. <i>guild, girth</i>
Change of [k] (velar voiceless stop) to [tʃ] (postalveolar voiceless affricate) e.g. <i>child</i> from Old E. <i>cild</i>	No change of [k] e.g. <i>kid</i> 'young goat'

4. Semantic change

It is common for the meaning of words to change over time. The resulting differences in meaning may be slight or major, depending on a variety of factors and the changes can be assigned to a variety of categories.

Generalisation is a process by which a word acquires a broader meaning than it originally had. This widening of the scope of a word's meaning indicates that specific aspects of its designation must have been dropped. For example, the word *holiday* formerly referred only to 'holy days', i.e. 'days of religious celebrations', but now it refers to any non-work day, not necessarily anything sacred or related to religious practices. Some other examples comprise:

- *box*, formerly 'a small container of boxwood';
- *scent*, formerly 'an animal odor used for tracking';
- *carry*, formerly 'to transport in a vehicle';
- *butcher*, formerly 'one who slaughters goats'.

Specialisation is the opposite process. It leads to narrowing down the meaning of a word, making it name a subcategory of

the category it originally named. It often happens that specialisation of a word coincides with the borrowing a foreign word. The semantic scope of a corresponding native word shrinks, so that the borrowed word can stay in the language and bear a portion of the original, native meaning. The example from English that Brinton and Arnovick (2006: 77) provide is the Germanic word *lust*, which originally referred to 'desire in general', a meaning now expressed by the French borrowing *desire*. *Lust* is now specialised to 'sexual desire'. "Whether this process is a matter of the borrowed word forcing the native word to be specialised or, conversely, the specialisation causing a need for a more general term to be borrowed is not entirely clear" (Brinton and Arnovick 2006: 79). Other examples of specialisation are as follows:

- *acorn*, formerly 'wild fruit';
- *adder*, formerly 'a snake';
- *adventure*, formerly 'happening';
- *meat*, formerly 'food'.

Pejoration is the process by which the meaning of a word becomes negative, or less elevated, over a period of time. It often coincides with specialisation. Some examples of pejoration are the following:

- *villain*, formerly 'a low-born or common person';
- *clown*, formerly 'a rural person';
- *smug*, formerly 'neat';
- *poison*, formerly 'potion, drink'.

Amelioration, in contrast, consists of acquiring a more positively charged meaning, which may involve a change in denotation or connotation. It also often coincides with specialisation. Some examples are as follows:

- *queen*, formerly 'a woman of good birth';
- *jolly*, formerly 'arrogant, wanton, lustful';

- *spill*, formerly ‘to shed blood’;
- *nice*, formerly ‘silly, simple’;
- *engineer*, formerly ‘a plotter, schemer’.

Weakening and **strengthening** also occur when a speaker uses a *weaker* or a *stronger* word than required by the circumstances. Strengthening and weakening have to do with the *force* of word meaning, with its *intensity*. “In general, strengthening is rarer in language than weakening – evidence that people are more prone to exaggeration (which tends to weaken meanings) than to understatement (which tends to strengthen meanings)” (Millward 1988:181-182). Instead of using a taboo word, that is, a word describing topics people find it difficult to talk about, such as unpleasant jobs, parts of the body, sex, pregnancy, birth, bodily functions, disease, old age and death, they tend to use socially accepted words called *euphemisms* (from the Greek word meaning ‘to speak favourably’). Examples of weakening are the following:

- *adore* from ‘worship as divine’ to ‘like’;
- *swelter* from ‘faint from excessive heat’ to ‘be hot’;
- *starve* from ‘die from lack of food’ to ‘be hungry’.

An example of strengthening is:

- *molest* acquired the denotation ‘to subject to unwanted or improper sexual activity’.

5. Methodology

An etymological dictionary is an indispensable aid for the task of recognizing and studying doublets. Such a dictionary provides the earliest attested use of a word, the route through which it entered English, e.g. via French or Latin or directly from Proto-Germanic and Proto-Indo-European; cognates in other languages, semantic changes the word underwent and

sometimes some additional information, e.g. collocations with other words or useful expressions with the given word.

For the purpose of this paper, the main source of information was Online Etymology Dictionary, an exceptionally thorough compilation of a vast number of written sources, based mainly on Weekley's *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, Klein's *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition), *Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*, Holt-hausen's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache*, and Kipfer and Chapman's *Dictionary of American Slang*. Apart from these main sources, there are a considerable number of others, which can be found at the following web address: <https://www.etymonline.com/columns/post/sources> [accessed 04.2018].

The pairs of words analysed below have been selected randomly out of the pool of available doublets, some of which have already been given as examples earlier in this paper or from other collections which the present author has gathered them. The doublets have been classified into a number of categories discussed in detail in part 2. These categories are:

1. Doublets where both words are of native origin.
2. Doublets where one of the words is of native origin and the other is a borrowing:
 - a) of Latinate origin;
 - b) of Scandinavian origin;
 - c) a foreign word of Germanic origin borrowed into English.
3. Doublets where both words are of borrowed origin.
 - a) one word is of Norman-French origin and the other is of Central-French origin;
 - b) the words are borrowed from a certain language and its daughter language, e.g. Latin and French;
 - c) one word is borrowed from a certain language and the other is borrowed from the same source via a different language.

For each category, one pair of doublets has been selected as its example.

The words forming respective doublets have been studied in terms of their earliest attested use in an ancestral language, their way of entering English and the semantic change they underwent.

6. A comparison of selected doublets

6.1. Both words are of native English origin

As was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, such pairs include a native word which at some point in time split into two separate lexemes slightly diverged in meaning, and both of these words have remained in the language.

Table 9
Comparison of *shadow* and *shade*

	Shadow	Shade
borrowed from	native Germanic	native Germanic
entered English	N/A (not applicable)	N/A
common origin	Old English <i>scead</i> 'partial darkness; shelter, protection', <i>sceadu</i> 'shade, shadow, darkness; shady place, arbor, protection from glare or heat' both from Proto-Germanic <i>*skadwaz</i> , from PIE <i>*skotwo-</i> , from root <i>*skot-</i> 'dark, shade'	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	From mid-13c. as 'darkened area created by shadows, shade.' From early 13c. in the sense 'anything unreal'; mid-14c. as 'a ghost'; late 14c. as 'a foreshadowing, prefiguration'.	Meaning 'a ghost' is from 1610s. Sense of 'window blind' first recorded in 1845. Meaning 'cover to protect the eyes' is from 1801. Meaning 'grade of colour' first recorded 1680s; that of 'degree or gradation of darkness in a colour' is from 1680s.

semantic change	From OE <i>sceadu</i> 'shade, shadow, darkness; shady place, arbour, protection from glare or heat' to OE <i>sceadwe</i> , <i>sceaduwe</i> 'the effect of interception of sunlight, dark image cast by someone or something when interposed between an object and a source of light' to ModE <i>shadow</i> 'the dark shape that sb/sth's form makes on a surface (...) when they are between the light and the surface' (Oxford Dictionary 2010: 1402).	From OE <i>sceadu</i> 'shade, shadow, darkness; shady place, arbour, protection from glare or heat' to late OE <i>scead</i> 'partial darkness; shelter, protection' to ModE <i>shade</i> 'an area which is dark and cool under or behind sth (...) because the sun's light does not get to it' (Oxford Dictionary 2010: 1402).
comment	The two words bear opposite axiological loads: <i>shadow</i> evokes rather negative connotations, whereas <i>shade</i> gives rise to rather positive ones. The "parent" word, thus, may have covered both meanings which were later distributed between two separate lexemes. What can be observed in this case is specialisation, rather than a considerable change in meaning.	

6.2. One word is of native origin and the other is a borrowing

The next example of a doublet is a pair of words, one of which is inherited directly from a parent language (from PIE to Proto-Germanic, and then to English) and the other is a cognate borrowed from a sister or cousin tongue.

6.2.1. Native word – Latin borrowing

Table 10
Comparison of *cow* and *beef*

	Cow	Beef
borrowed from	native Germanic	Latin via Old French
entered English	N/A	c.1300
common origin	from PIE root <i>*gwou-</i> 'cow, ox, bull'	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	In Germanic and Celtic, of females only; in most other languages, of either gender. Other 'cow' words sometimes are from roots meaning 'horn, horned,' such as Lithuanian <i>karve</i> , Old Church Slavonic <i>krava</i> .	Original plural was <i>beeves</i> . Modern French <i>boeuf</i> .
semantic change	From PIE <i>*gwous</i> 'cow' to Proto-Germanic <i>*kwom</i> to <i>*kwon</i> 'cow' to Old English <i>cu</i> 'cow,' to ModE 'cow'.	From PIE <i>*gwous</i> 'cow, ox, bull' to Latin <i>bovem</i> (nominative <i>bos</i> , genitive <i>bovis</i>) 'ox, cow', to Old French <i>boef</i> 'ox, beef, ox hide' to ModE 'the meet of a cow'.
comment	<i>Beef</i> underwent specialisation of meaning on the basis of a metonymic relation: the name of the animal came to represent the meat of the animal. <i>Cow</i> did not undergo any semantic change, or it may be onomatopoeic, imitative of lowing. If so, then it also is an instance of metonymy: the sound emitted by an animal represents the animal.	

6.2.2. Native word – Scandinavian borrowing

Table 11
Comparison of *shirt* and *skirt*

	Shirt	Skirt
borrowed from	native Germanic	Old Norse
entered English	N/A	Early 14c.
common origin	from Proto-Germanic <i>*skurtjon</i> ‘a short garment’, from PIE <i>*(s)ker-</i> (1) ‘to cut’.	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	Related to Old English <i>scort</i> , <i>sceort</i> ‘short’. Formerly of the chief garment worn by both sexes, but in modern use only of that for men.	Sense development from ‘shirt’ to ‘skirt’ is possibly related to the long shirts of peasant garb (compare Low German cognate <i>Schört</i> , in some dialects ‘woman’s gown’).
semantic change	From PGmc <i>*skurtjon</i> ‘a short garment’ to OE <i>scyrte</i> ‘skirt, tunic,’ ModE <i>shirt</i> ‘a piece of clothing (usually for men), worn on the upper part of body, made of light cloth, with sleeves and usually with a collar and buttons down the front’ (Oxford Dictionary 2010:1412).	From PGmc <i>*skurtjon</i> ‘a short garment’ to Old Norse <i>skyrta</i> ‘shirt, a kind of kirtle’ to MidE <i>skirt</i> ‘lower part of a woman’s dress’ to ModE <i>skirt</i> ‘a piece of clothing for a woman or girl that hangs from the waist’ (Oxford Dictionary 2012:1443).
comment	When compared to the first common ancestor, the meaning of the above two words did not change considerably: both <i>shirt</i> and <i>skirt</i> name a short garment (from the waist up or down), the words specialised. In comparison to the older ancestor, PIE <i>*(s)ker-</i> (1) ‘to cut’, their meaning changes more considerably, but a connection is easily observable: a ‘short garment’ has to be ‘cut’ to become short.	

6.2.3. Native word – foreign word of Germanic origin borrowed into English

There are cases of Latin or French words of Germanic origin borrowed into English, which form doublets with English words inherited directly from Proto-Germanic.

6.2.3.1. Native word – Germanic borrowing via Latin and French

Table 12

Comparison of *ban* and *abandon*

	Ban	Abandon
borrowed from	native Germanic	Frankish via Latin and French
entered English	N/A	Late 14c.
common origin	from Proto-Germanic <i>*bannan</i> ‘proclaim, command, forbid’; originally ‘to speak publicly,’ from PIE root <i>*bha-</i> (2) ‘to speak’.	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	Main modern sense ‘to prohibit’ (late 14c.) is from Old Norse cognate <i>banna</i> ‘to curse, prohibit’, and probably in part from Old French <i>ban</i> , which meant, among other things, ‘outlawry, banishment’ and was a borrowing from Germanic. The sense evolution in Germanic was from ‘speak’ to ‘proclaim a threat’ to (in Norse, German, etc.) ‘curse’.	Etymologically, the word carries the sense ‘put someone under someone else’s control.’ Meaning ‘to give up absolutely’ is from late 14c.

semantic change	From PGmc <i>*bannan</i> ‘proclaim, command, forbid’ to OE <i>bannan</i> ‘to summon, command, proclaim’, to ModE <i>ban</i> ‘to prohibit’, the last sense is a semantic loan from Old Norse and probably from Old French.	From PGmc <i>*bannan</i> ‘proclaim, command, forbid’ to Latin <i>bannum</i> ‘proclamation’ to Old French <i>abandoner</i> (12c.), from adverbial phrase <i>à bandon</i> ‘at will, at discretion,’ from <i>à</i> ‘at, to’ + <i>bandon</i> ‘power, jurisdiction’, to MidE ‘to give up, surrender (oneself or something), give over utterly; to yield (oneself) utterly (to religion, fornication, etc.)’, to ModE ‘to leave completely and finally; forsake utterly; desert’.
comment	The semantic change of <i>ban</i> is rather moderate. Its meaning specialised from ‘proclaim, command, forbid’ to the current ‘prohibit, forbid’. <i>Abandon</i> , on the other hand, has changed considerably in the semantic respect.	

6.2.3.2. Native word – Germanic borrowing via French

Table 13

Comparison of *ring* and *arrange*

	Ring	Arrange
borrowed from	native Germanic	Old French
entered English	N/A	late 14c.
common origin	from Proto-Germanic <i>*hringaz</i> ‘circle, ring, something curved’	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	From PIE <i>*(s)kregh-</i> nasalized form of <i>(s)kregh-</i> , from root <i>*(s)ker-</i> (3) ‘to turn, bend,’ with wide-ranging derivative senses.	A rare word until the meaning generalized to ‘to place things in order’ c.1780-1800.

semantic change	From PGmc <i>*hringaz</i> ‘circle, ring, something curved’ to OE <i>hring</i> ‘small circlet, especially one of metal for wearing on the finger or as part of a mail coat; anything circular’, to ModE ‘circular band’.	From PGmc <i>*hringaz</i> ‘circle, ring, something curved’, to Frankish <i>*hring</i> ‘circle, ring’, to OFr <i>arengier</i> (12c.), from <i>a-</i> ‘to’ + <i>rangier</i> ‘set in a row’ (Modern French <i>ranger</i>), from <i>rang</i> ‘rank’, to Middle English ‘draw up a line of battle’, to ModE ‘place things in order’.
comment	The semantic change of <i>ring</i> is very slight, nowadays it also carries a very broad meaning, as seems to have been the case in Proto-Germanic. <i>Arrange</i> , on the other hand, has changed its meaning considerably. The sense which connects it to the other member of the doublet is ‘to neatly place as around a circle’.	

6.3. Both words are borrowings

6.3.1. One word is of Norman-French origin and the other is of Central-French origin

Table 14

Comparison of *catch* and *chase*

	Catch	Chase
borrowed from	Anglo-French or Old North French (Norman French)	Old French (Central French)
entered English	C.1200	C.1300
common origin	from Vulgar Latin <i>*captiare</i> ‘try to seize, chase’	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	Old French <i>chacier</i> ‘hunt, pursue, drive (animals),’ Modern French <i>chasser</i> ‘to hunt’. Senses in early Middle English also included ‘chase, hunt,’ which later went with <i>chase</i> .	Meaning ‘run after’ developed mid-14c.

semantic change	From Latin <i>captare</i> 'to take, hold' to Vulgar Latin <i>*captiare</i> 'try to seize, chase' to Old North French <i>cachier</i> 'catch, capture' to ModE <i>catch</i> 'to take, capture'.	From Latin <i>captare</i> 'to take, hold' to Vulgar Latin <i>captiare</i> 'try to seize, chase' to OFr <i>chacier</i> 'to hunt, ride swiftly, strive for' to OE <i>chacen</i> 'to hunt; to cause to go away; put to flight' to ModE <i>chase</i> 'to run, drive, etc. after sb/sth in order to catch them' (Oxford Dictionary 2012:245).
comment	Both words underwent specialisation. The notions of chasing something and catching something are strongly related. They both participate in the Idealised Cognitive Model of a hunt, as whence the polysemy of the original Latin word.	

6.3.2. Words borrowed from a certain language and its daughter language, e.g. Latin and French

Table 15

Comparison of *flame* and *flagrant*

	Flame	Flagrant
borrowed from	Latin via Franch	Latin
entered English	Mid-14c.	C.1500
common origin	from PIE <i>*bhleg-</i> 'to shine, flash,' from root <i>*bhel-</i> (1) 'to shine, flash, burn'	
semantic change	From PIE <i>*bhleg-</i> 'to shine, flash, burn' to Latin <i>flamma</i> 'flame, blazing fire' to Latin <i>flammula</i> 'small flame' to OFr <i>flamme</i> and ModE <i>flame</i> 'a hot bright stream of burning gas that comes from sth that is on fire' (Oxford Dictionary 2010:585).	From PIE <i>*bhleg-</i> 'to shine, flash, burn' to Latin <i>flagrans</i> 'to burn, blaze, glow' to figurative 'glowing with passion, eager, vehement' to Early ModE 'resplendent' to ModE <i>flagrant</i> 'shocking because it is done in a very obvious way and shows no respect for people, laws, etc.' (Oxford Dictionary 2010:585).
comment	The meaning of <i>flame</i> has remained almost unchanged. <i>Flagrant</i> has assumed a figurative sense – instead of real fire it describes a passionate thing, a deed accomplished with a negative kind of passion, a temper which is "as hot as fire".	

6.3.3. One word is borrowed from a certain language and the other is borrowed from the same source via a different language.

Table 16
Comparison of *cyclone* and *cycle*

	Cyclone	Cycle
borrowed from	Greek	Greek via Latin
entered English	1848	Late 14c.
common origin	from Greek <i>kyklos</i> 'circle, wheel, any circular body, circular motion, cycle of events' from PIE <i>kw(e)-kwl-o-</i> , suffixed, reduplicated form of root <i>*kwel-</i> (1), also <i>*kwele-</i> , 'to roll, to move around, wheel'	
additional information (from Etymonline http://www.etymonline.com [access 04.2018])	Coined by British East India Company official Henry Piddington to describe the devastating storm of December 1789 in Coringa, India. Applied to tornadoes from 1856. Irregularly formed from Greek <i>kyklon</i> 'moving in a circle, whirling around,' present participle of <i>kykloun</i> 'move in a circle, whirl,'	
semantic change	From Gr <i>kyklos</i> 'circle' to Gr <i>kykloun</i> 'move in a circle, whirl' to ModE <i>cyclone</i> 'a violent tropical storm in which strong winds move in a circle'.	From Gr <i>kyklos</i> 'circle, wheel, any circular body, circular motion, cycle of events', to ModE <i>cycle</i> 'a set of repeated series or events'.
comment	<i>Cyclone</i> is a comparatively recent borrowing, but its meaning changed considerably due to specialisation and the association of a type of wind moving in circles with a circle itself. <i>Cycle</i> has also changed its meaning to a figurative one, as in <i>nature moving in a circle</i> , <i>a circle of life</i> ; a series of events regularly following one another (as if they were rolling around).	

7. Conclusion

It is interesting to observe the evolution of meaning of certain words, especially those sharing the same etymology. Back-tracking the semantics of a word and comparing it with its etymological ‘siblings’ and ancestors gives an insight into the evolution of language in general and helps us to understand the processes which have caused language users to make words represent senses different from the original sense.

It is only too natural that doublet participants underwent semantic change, be it a slight change, as in the case of *frail* (usually describing people) and *fragile* (usually describing objects), or a considerable change, as in the case of *clock* (in Medieval Latin *clocca* literally meant ‘bell’) and *cloak* ‘a garment in the shape of a bell’. The fascinating examples provided above are only the tip of the iceberg in the task of describing semantic change in words of common etymology.

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**Beyond dance:
Inflectional marking
on terminological borrowings
in classical ballet**

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Abstract

Most classical ballet terminology comes from French. English and Slovene adopt the designations for ballet movements without any word-formational or orthographic modifications. This paper presents a study into the behaviour of such unmodified borrowings in written texts from the point of view of inflectional marking. The research involved two questions: the choice between the donor-language and recipient-language marking and the placement of the inflection in syntactically complex terms. The main point of interest was the marking of number. The research shows that only Slovene employs native inflections on the borrowed terms while English adopts the ready-made French plurals. The behaviour of the terms in Slovene texts was further examined from the points of view of gender/case marking and declension class assignment. The usual placement of the inflection is on the postmodifier closest to the headword.

Key words

classical ballet, terminology, borrowing, inflectional marking, English, Slovene

**Poza tańcem:
Fleksyjne znakowanie zapożyczeń
w terminologii klasycznego baletu**

Abstrakt

Większość klasycznej terminologii baletowej pochodzi z języka francuskiego. Angielski i słoweński przyswajają nazwy baletowe bez żadnych modyfikacji słowotwórczych lub ortograficznych. W artykule przedstawiono badanie takich niezmodyfikowanych zapożyczeń w tekstach pisanych z punktu widzenia fleksyjnego znakowania. Badania obejmowały dwie kwestie: wybór pomiędzy oznaczeniem języka źródłowego a języka odbiorcy oraz fleksja w terminach składniowo złożonych. Głównym punktem zainteresowania była kategoria liczby. Badania pokazały, że tylko Słoweńcy używają rodzimej odmiany zapożyczonych terminów, podczas gdy angielski przyjmuje gotowe francuskie formy gramatyczne liczby mnogiej. Terminy w tekstach słoweńskich zostały dodatkowo zbadane pod kątem przypisania rodzaju/przypadków i klasy deklinacyjnej.

Słowa kluczowe

balet klasyczny, terminologia, zapożyczanie, fleksja, angielski, słoweński

1. Introduction

The origins of classical ballet go back to 15th-century Renaissance Italy, but this form of dance developed most prominently in the French court under King Louis XIV. The Sun King, who was a passionate dancer himself and a great lover of art in general, founded the Royal Academy of Dance (today's Paris Opera Ballet) in 1661. This is where the designations for ballet movements were created that were then adopted by languages all around the globe in their unchanged French form, a reflection of French dominance in the spheres of art and science (cf. Jackson and Zé Amvela 2007: 46). French terms remain the

norm in ballet education and training, and dancers who have used them from a young age perceive them as the most natural part of the ballet jargon.

Terms are conventional symbols that occur in special language discourse to designate concepts pertaining to special disciplines and activities (Cabré 1998: 80-81). A term that belongs to a special subject field is not necessarily restricted to that field and may be used in other fields as well (Cabré 1998: 80-81). The lexicon of a special language also contains items of general reference, which are not specific to any discipline and should be perceived as words rather than terms (Sager 1990: 19).

From a formal point of view, terms behave very much like words and are governed by the same rules of the language system. In phrasal terms (terminological phrases), words combine according to the same rules of syntax as those in (non-terminological) complex phrases. However, phrasal terms are not free syntactic combinations but lexical structures with a terminological value (Cabré 1989: 85-86, 90-93).

From a communicative point of view, terms are clearly distinct from words. For an expert in a special subject field, a term is first and foremost the name of a concept which they want to communicate: thus a term must be clear, unambiguous, transparent and consistent (Cabré 1998: 11-12, Sager 1990: 57). The extent to which the term conforms to the rules of the language system is of secondary importance. Or, as observed by Cabré (1998: 11-12), “[s]pecialists use terminology regardless of whether a term is appropriate within a particular language system or not”.

The terms belonging to the field of classical dance are a case in point. Languages do not invent their own designations for ballet movements but adopt the established French terms irrespective of their phonetic, orthographic and morphosyntactic “appropriateness” within the system of the recipient language. Tuleja (1998), whose dictionary includes French ballet terms (alongside Italian musical terms) as “special categories”, refers to them as “foreignisms”. However, the designation “borrowing”

will be used throughout the paper following the view that the terminological distinction between modified borrowings (loan-words) and unmodified ones (foreignisms), which is based on the German tradition (cf. *Lehnwörter* vs. *Fremdwörter*), is often superfluous and need not be observed (Fischer 2008: 9, Haspelmath 2009: 43).

Terminological borrowings pose an exciting challenge to a linguist studying the way(s) borrowings get adapted to the system of the recipient language. Sager (1990: 90) mentions the possibility of direct borrowing with the “highly specialised and relatively rare occurrence of naming internationally agreed concepts”, especially when the term can be easily integrated into the structure of the recipient language. Haspelmath (2009: 42) points out that the degree of adaptation varies because the properties of the words in the donor language often do not fit into the system of the recipient language. The findings by Schultz (2012: 498), who investigated the French contribution to English vocabulary in the 20th century, show that highly specialized technical terms are adapted to a considerably smaller degree than borrowings belonging to the core vocabulary.

The present paper is concerned with the behaviour of classical ballet terminology from the point of view of inflectional marking in the recipient language. The French terms, which are highly specialized, occur in English and Slovene¹ without any word-formational or orthographic adaptations. The study presented by the paper looks into the strategies adopted by the two languages in the marking of the inflectional categories. The research questions and the methodology are presented in section 3.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 offers a brief insight into the structure of ballet terms. Sections 3.1–3.3 focus on the study itself, presenting the research questions, the methodology and the findings. The findings are discussed in

¹ The exceptions in this respect are the naturalized forms *arabeska* and *pirueta*. See also section 4.

more detail in section 4. The main findings are summarized in section 5, the conclusion.

2. The structure of ballet terms

Figure 1 shows a movement called *battement tendu jeté*. The dancer throws the working leg to a height of 30-45 degrees and closes it behind the supporting leg. This results in a beating movement (*battement*) of the working leg, which is outstretched (*tendu*) and thrown (*jeté*) in the air. The movement can be executed to the side, to the front and to the back.

In accordance with the view that the structure of phrasal terms is analogous to that of complex phrases (cf. Cabré 1998), *battement tendu jeté* contains a headword and two postmodifiers. The headword names the basic type of movement and the postmodifiers specify its character:

(1)	H	PostM	PostM
	battement	[tendu]	[jeté]
	‘beating’	‘outstretched’	‘thrown’
		CHARACTER	

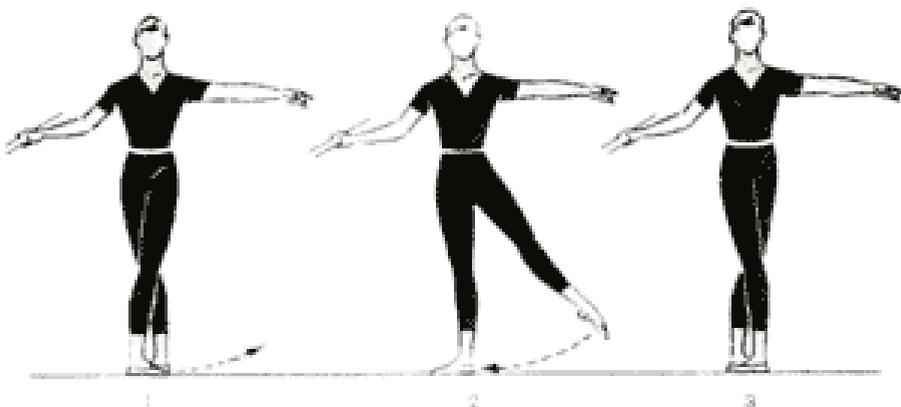


Figure 1
Battement tendu jeté

The terms may become quite complex, possibly containing premodifiers and several postmodifiers pertaining to different aspects of the designated movement. For example:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| (2) | [grand] | battement | [jeté] | [piqué] | [en croix] |
| | 'large' | 'beating' | 'thrown' | 'pricked' | 'cross-shaped' |
| | EXTENT | | CHARACTER | | PATH |
| | | | | | |
| (3) | [double] | rond | [de jambe] | [en l'air] | [en dehors] |
| | 'double' | 'circle' | 'of leg' | 'in the air' | 'outwards' |
| | QUANTITY | | BODY PART | MEDIUM | DIRECTION |

The order of postmodifiers reflects their position on a central-to-peripheral cline. *En croix* in (2) is a peripheral modifier referring to the front-side-back-side-front pattern in which the working leg moves along its path. Similarly, *en dehors* in (3) indicates movement in an outward direction (as opposed to *en dedans*). *En l'air* in (3) means that the leg moves through the air (as opposed to *par terre*). It is less peripheral than *en dehors*, but still not as central as *de jambe*.

The premodifiers express extent and measure. *Grand* in (2) indicates that the working leg is at a height of 90 degrees or more, and *double* in (3) refers to the number of circles. *Double*, however, differs in function from the numeral *two*. It has a classifying function and is used to designate a sequence of two small circles executed in the air. The difference between the classifier *double* and the determiner *two* is easiest to explain in the context of *pirouettes*: a *double pirouette* is not two *pirouettes* but a single *pirouette* involving two complete turns. It is, of course, possible to execute two *double pirouettes*, i.e. two separate *pirouettes* involving two turns each.

As to their form, the majority of postmodifiers are past participles. They refer largely to leg action and the way it defines the movement. Another well-established group of postmodifiers is prepositional phrases, which may express central as well as more peripheral properties. Some PPs headed by *de* ('of') define

the movement on the basis of comparison (e.g. *pas de chat* designates a leap resembling that of a cat). For illustration:

- (4) (a) battement tendu ('outstretched') / fondu ('melted') / frappé ('struck') / soutenu ('sustained')
- (b) pas jeté ('thrown') / échappé ('slipped') / fermé ('closed') / assemblé ('brought together')
- (c) pas de chat ('of cat') / de basque ('of tambourine') / de bourrée ('of hurrying')
- (d) rond de jambe par terre ('of leg' + 'on floor')
- (e) tour en dedans sur le cou-de-pied ('outwards' + 'on the ankle')

It should be noted at this point that participial postmodifiers can take over as heads and get reclassified as nouns. For example, *battement fondu* turns into *fondu*, and the lengthy *pas assemblé soutenu en dehors en tournant* becomes *assemblé soutenu en dehors en tournant*. They can be further converted into verbs (*to fondu* / *assemble* / *frappé* etc.).

3. The study

3.1. Research questions

As borrowings from French, ballet terms present a problem for inflectional marking in both languages under research (English and Slovene). For example, in order to refer to a series of movements, the given term must be used in the plural. One option is retaining the French plural, where all adjectival and participial modifiers acquire plural markers through agreement with the head (e.g. *battements tendus jetés, grands battements jetés piqués en croix, doubles ronds de jambe en l'air en dehors*). The other option is conforming to the recipient language marking. It should be noted at this point that Slovene, like French, exhibits modifier – head agreement, but that plays no role in the present study. For illustration, the Slovene plural of *grand battement* is *grand battement_i* and not **grand_i battement_i* (cf. *grands battements* in French). The ad-

jective *grand* ('big') behaves like an invariable constituent of a compound and is not marked inflectionally through agreement.

The problem posed by adopting the recipient language marking lies in the placement of the inflection. In noun phrases (syntactic units) the inflectional marker is placed on the headword. In noun compounds (lexical items) it is usually attached to the last element because the compound is perceived as a simple noun (Quirk et al. 1985: 313). Many compounds, however, resemble phrases in that one of their component parts can be recognized as the head. In cases where the head is not the last item in the compound, the inflection may be attached to the head rather than the last element. A case in point is the pluralization of compounds that include postmodifiers or final particles, e.g. *notary public* > *notaries public*, *man-of-war* > *men-of-war*, *passer-by* > *passers-by* (Quirk et al. 1985: 313). Some of them allow both plural forms (e.g. *court martial* > *courts martial* or *court martials*).

As "lexical structures" (Cabré 1998: 91), ballet terms display properties of both syntactic units and lexical items, so it is reasonable to expect that the inflection will be placed either on the headword or on the last item. For illustration:

- (5) (a) Do four *battements*̄ *tendu jeté* / *battement* *tendu jetés*̄ to the side. ↔ [Pl.]
 (b) Naredi štiri *battementē*̄ *tendu jeté* / *battement* *tendu jetéje*̄ vstran. ↔ [masc. Acc. Pl.]

Sentence (5b) is the Slovene equivalent of sentence (5a). As is evident from the notation in (5b), the Slovene inflection shows not only number but also gender and case distinctions. The form of the inflection depends on the declension class that the term belongs to in Slovene. This accords with Haspelmath's (2009: 42) observation that "languages with gender and inflection classes need to assign each word to a gender and inflection class".

Taking all of this into consideration, the following research questions have been formulated:

- (i) To what extent does the given recipient language (i.e. English or Slovene) retain the donor language (i.e. French) plural forms?
- (ii) What is the usual placement of the (recipient language) inflection in complex terms?
- (iii) What are the challenges of gender and case marking in Slovene?

3.2. Methodology

In order to investigate the morphological behaviour of terminological borrowings in the field of classical ballet, a selection of literature on classical ballet technique was made in which ballet terms occurred in grammatical environments supporting the use of inflectional forms (i.e. the plural form and, specifically for Slovene, also the dual form and the case forms other than the nominative). Nine works were selected as sources for the English part of the research and six works for the Slovene. It should be noted at this point that Slovene literature in the field (be it original texts or translations) is sadly scarce. The English sources included four translations from Russian, and the Slovene sources included one translation from Russian and one translation from French. Vaganova's seminal textbook on the Russian method of classical ballet was used, in translation, in both parts of the research (3rd and 5th editions respectively). All sources are listed in the Sources section.

In accordance with Cabré (1998: 83), who points out that the written form is of primary importance for terminology because it forms the basis for standardization, the research was restricted to written use. The sources were searched for ballet terms and their inflectional forms, which were then examined with regard to the research questions. The purpose of the research was not to perform a quantitative analysis but rather to recognize the prevailing patterns and tendencies.

3.3. Findings

The research produced a rather unexpected result: the English sources contained almost exclusively French plurals (e.g. *battements tendus jetés*), suggesting that the English plural is practically non-existent in writing. The only exceptions in this respect are three instances of English marking, all coming from the same source (Fay 2003): *two slow battement tendus*; *one or two battement fondus*; *all the demi-rond de jambes*. The inflection is placed on the (only) postmodifier. The rest of the pluralized terms in the same source are French plurals.

The Slovene sources, by contrast, show a predominance of Slovene marking. In fact, French plurals are restricted to use in isolation (titles, section headings, captions, etc.). The Slovene inflection carries not only information about number, but also information about gender and case. As far as its placement is concerned, the findings are as follows:

- (i) The plural – dual distinction plays no role in the placement of the inflection.
- (ii) The inflection is normally placed on the first PostM (e.g. *grand battement tendu_{ji} jeté piqué*; *rond de jamb_i par terre en dedans*).
- (iii) The inflection is placed on the headword in the following cases:
 - with a less central prepositional PostM (e.g. *rond_i en dehors*; *tour_i sur le cou-de-pied*);
 - with a nominalized participle as H (e.g. *assemblé_{ji} soutenu*; *developpé_{ji} tombé*).
- (iv) The inflection is never placed on the headword in *rond de jambe* (*rond de jamb_i*) and in *pas+X* (e.g. *pas de bourrée_{ji}*; *pas échappé_{ji}*).

The above tendencies have been observed also with case marking on singular terms (e.g. *kot pri² battement tendu_{ju} jeté piqué* [masc. Loc. Sg.]). Nevertheless, singular terms seem to allow

² *Kot pri* corresponds to 'as in'. The preposition *pri* (literally 'at') governs the locative case.

case marking on less central PostMs more readily than plural ones (e.g. *kot pri rond en dehorsu* [masc. Loc. Sg.] vs. *kot pri rondih en dehors* [masc. Loc. Pl.]).

Zero case marking occurs with the feminine terms belonging to declension class III (e.g. *kot pri arabesque/pirouette/attitudeØ/preparationØ* [fem. Loc. Sg.]). The research has shown that it is also common (yet optional) with nominalized PPs functioning as complements to prepositions (e.g. *kot pri en dedansØ/par terreØ/sur le cou-de-piedØ*).

Gender class assignment follows the gender in French. Accordingly, most ballet terms are treated as masculine and belong to masculine declension class I. The terms *arabesque*, *attitude*, *pirouette* and *préparation* are treated as feminine and belong to the feminine declension class III. Nevertheless, the research has shown that an occasional gender shift occurs with *attitude* and *préparation*, which can be reclassified as masculine (e.g. *kot pri attitudu/préparationu* [masc. Loc. Sg.]).

4. Discussion

The findings point to two diametrically opposite strategies of expressing the grammatical number of terminological borrowings in the recipient language. Slovene takes a foreign term and equips it with a native inflection, whereas English employs the foreign plural. However, the strategy in English is not adopting the singular term and applying the French marking to it but rather adopting the ready-made plural form and inserting it into the text. As to the English marking, only three instances have been found, all of them marked for the plural on the (only) postmodifier. Needless to say, they are hardly of any relevance to the study since they are too few in number to allow any generalizations or conclusions.

In Slovene, the overall tendency is to place the inflection on the central postmodifier closest to the head, which supports the view that the two together are treated as a unit. This further manifests itself in the postmodifier occasionally taking over the role of the head (e.g. *pas assembléji soutenu* > as-

sembléji soutenu [masc. Nom. Pl.]). Conversely, PPs as post-modifiers do not follow this pattern (e.g. ?*tour en dedansi sur le cou-de-pied* > **en dedansi sur le cou-de-pied*; correct: *tourj en dedans sur le cou-de-pied* [masc. Nom. Pl.]) although they can be found in nominal function as complements to prepositions (e.g. *kot pri en dedansu/sur le cou-de-piedu* [masc. Loc. Sg.]; zero case marking is also an option - see below). *Rond de jambe* and *pas de bourrée* are obviously perceived as compounds, with the inflection invariably placed on the last element.

As to the gender and case marking, nominalized PPs seem to allow overt as well as zero marking (e.g. *kot pri en dedansu /kot pri en dedansØ* [masc. Loc. Sg.]). Nonetheless, the absence of overt marking on PPs following prepositions can also be due to ellipsis (*tako pri touru en dehors kot pri ~~touru~~ en dedans* 'in *tour en dehors* as well as *en dedans*').

Zero marking is used with the feminine terms *arabesque*, *pirouette*, *attitude* and *preparation*. *Attitude* and *preparation* are occasionally reclassified as masculine (e.g. *kot pri attitudu* [masc. Loc. Sg.]). As pointed out by the Slovene translators of Vaganova's textbook in the foreword, this shift in gender is in fact very common among dancers and is found with all four terms (Vaganova 1999: 9-10). *Arabesque* and *pirouette* resist reclassification in writing. Both have naturalized Slovene counterparts (*arabeska* and *pirueta* respectively), which are avoided in a strictly technical written use. The Slovene nouns belong to the feminine declension class I and obtain overt inflections (e.g. *kot pri arabeski/pirueti* [fem. Loc. Sg.]).

The use of ballet terms in speech is beyond the scope of the present study, but it can be assumed that textbooks and technical manuals do not give the real picture of what is actually said in class. In connection with the gender shift, for example, another phenomenon can be observed in speech: a feminine term is reclassified as masculine, but receives no overt marking (see (6c) below). Compare:

- (6) (a) S tvojo *preparation*Ø nisem zadovoljna. ↔ [fem. Instr. Sg.]
 (b) S tvojim *preparationom* nisem zadovoljna. ↔ [masc. Instr. Sg.]
 (c) S tvojim *preparation*Ø nisem zadovoljna. ↔ [masc. Instr. Sg.]
 (teacher to dancer) 'I'm not satisfied with your *preparation*.'

In (6b) and (6c), the possessive pronoun *tvoj* ('your') obtains its masculine form through agreement with the head, which means that *preparation* must be masculine in both sentences. The feminine *preparation* has been reclassified as a masculine noun that can be declined according to declension class I (6b) or declension class III (6c). This variation in declension class is in fact recognized by the Slovene grammar: masculine nouns belonging to declension class III may be declined also according to declension class I, especially when the gender is not clear due to the absence of a modifier or predicator showing agreement (Toporišič 2004: 289, Toporišič et al. 2001: 88, 93).

Discrepancies between written and spoken usage are also observed in the placement of the inflection. With a view towards finding implications for further research, a short experiment was conducted. Nine ballet teachers, all native speakers, were asked to insert the term *grand battement jeté piqué* in the sentence *Naredi dva X* ('Do two X').³ The sentence was meant as an instruction to be uttered in class. The results were as follows. Eight teachers placed the inflection on the last item (X = *grand battement jeté piquéja*), and one used no overt marking (X = *grand battement jeté piqué*). Crucially, not one of the teachers placed the inflection on the first postmodifier (X = *grand battement jetéja piqué*), a result that does not accord with the findings pertaining to written texts.

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As to the treatment of French terms in English, the research has shown that almost exclusively French plurals occur in writing. Nonetheless, the number distinction is easily lost in speech because the French plural marker *-s* is not pronounced unless the next word begins with a vowel. It can therefore be assumed that English marking is preferred in speech for the sake of clarity.

All these observations call for a complementary study focusing on the behaviour of ballet terms in speech, that is, in oral communication between dance professionals. This, however, raises some methodological issues that require careful consideration. A major challenge lies in creating a reliable database. Ballet class recordings, for instance, cannot ensure an adequate number of phrasal terms needed for the analysis. *Two jetés to the front, two to the side, two to the back* – this is what is usually heard in class; it is rather unlikely that a basic movement like *battement tendu jeté* will be referred to by its full name. Gapfill tasks and acceptability judgement tasks look more promising in this respect, for they can, in principle, include all existing terms. Nonetheless, a possible drawback of such methods could be the informants' preoccupation with the rules and failing to produce the most natural solutions.

5. Conclusion

English and Slovene employ opposite strategies in expressing the grammatical number of French terminological borrowings in the field of classical ballet. The terms retain the French marking in English texts but acquire the Slovene marking in Slovene texts. The Slovene inflection shows not only number, but also gender and case distinctions, and is normally placed on the postmodifier closest to the head. A few terms display a shift in gender (from feminine to masculine) and/or declension class (from 1st declension with overt marking to 3rd declension with zero marking).

The findings of the study pertain to written use, so any generalizations are open to challenge since the grammatical forms

occurring in writing do not necessarily correspond to those used in oral communication. Informal discussions with ballet teachers, as well as the author's own experience in the field, point towards discrepancies between writing and speech in this respect and offer implications for further research.

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On attitudes towards code-switching among English Philology students

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse attitudes towards, and reasons for, code-switching among English Philology students. The authors show the evolution in the perception of code-switching by linguists. In the past it was seen as a violation of the linguistic norm, whereas today it is often perceived as an indispensable tool in the process of communication among bi- and multilingual speakers. The attitudes of linguists have been compared with those of students and laypeople. It appears that code-switching may be both a valuable linguistic tool which enlarges one's linguistic repertoire and a sign of linguistic incompetence, which is reflected in the mixed attitudes towards this phenomenon among English Philology students, who usually present a high level of linguistic awareness.

Key words

code-switching, attitude, Polish students, German students, English Philology

Stosunek do przełączania kodu językowego wśród studentów filologii angielskiej

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest opis i analiza stosunku studentów filologii angielskiej do przełączania kodu językowego oraz motywacji dla jego użycia. Autorzy przedstawiają ewolucję w postrzeganiu go przez językoznawców: w przeszłości jako rażącego łamania normy językowej, dziś zaś jako często niezastąpionego narzędzia w procesie komunikacji w sytuacji dwu- i wielojęzyczności. Postawy językoznawców porównane zostały z postawami laików oraz studentów. Wydaje się, że przełączanie kodów może być zarówno cennym narzędziem lingwistycznym, które poszerza repertuar językowy, jak i znakiem braku kompetencji, co znajduje odzwierciedlenie w niejednoznacznych postawach wobec tego zjawiska wśród studentów filologii angielskiej, którzy zazwyczaj wykazują wysoką świadomość lingwistyczną.

Słowa kluczowe

przełączanie kodu językowego, postawy, polscy studenci, niemieccy studenci, filologia angielska

1. Introduction

Bilingual and multilingual speakers are known for their ability to interchangeably use words, phrases, sentences or blocks of sentences from two (or more) different languages or language varieties in the course of one conversation. This ability is referred to as *code-switching* by linguists.¹ This paper will use

¹ Usually this term refers to any switch within the course of a single conversation, whether at the word or sentence level or at the level of blocks of speech. It is sometimes used in a broader sense and includes switching at a situational level i.e. applying different codes depending on situation, even if no switches in the course of one conversation occur. Some linguists also use the term code-mixing, e.g. McArthur differentiates between code-switching and code-mixing by claiming that “the term code-mixing emphasises hybridization, and the term code-switching emphasises movement from one langua-

the definition provided by *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (2004):

code-switching refers to instances when speakers switch between codes (languages, or language varieties) in the course of conversation. Switches may involve different amounts of speech and different linguistic units – from several consecutive utterances to individual words and morphemes (Swann et al. 2004: 40).

Code-switching has been the object of numerous linguistic studies in recent years, including descriptions of the linguistic behaviour of English Philology students in Poland (Niżegorodcew 2000, Gabryś-Barker 2007, Golubiewski 2012, Dąbrowska 2013).

The aim of this paper is to present the attitudes towards code-switching (CS) among English Philology students and to confront these attitudes with the views of linguists and laypeople. It seems worthwhile to have a closer look at this aspect of CS, since it has not received proper attention so far. Moreover, motivations for using code-switching will be analyzed. The examples and opinions have been collected from English Philology students, both at the University of Gdańsk in Poland and at the University of Koblenz-Landau in Germany (campus Landau),² who are proficient in both their mother-tongue and in English, i.e. they “can produce monolingual well-formed sentences in either language, even if they show more ability in one language than the other” (Myers-Scotton 1995: 73). At

ge to another” (McArthur 1992: 228). Code-mixing is sometimes treated as a synonymous term to intra-sentential code-switching (e.g. Muysken 2000: 1).

² The statements concerning CS practices among English Philology students at the University of Gdańsk are based on observations from two different perspectives: a member of the students’ community in the years 2006-2010 and 2013-2015 (Marta Noińska) and a lecturer in the English Department (Michał Golubiewski), as well as interviews with students, examples collected by students in the years 2010-2017 and surveys conducted in 2010 (50 surveys). The statements concerning CS practices at the University of Koblenz-Landau are based on observations made by Marta Noińska during her studies in Landau in 2009-2010 and surveys conducted in 2010 (50 surveys).

both universities all of the lectures and classes are conducted in English, therefore the students use both English and their mother tongue on a daily basis. The vast majority of students fall into the category of the so-called *elite* bilinguals who acquired the second language with the help of teachers' instruction and decided to learn it for personal or professional gain.

2. Attitudes towards CS – an outline

It is interesting to analyze attitudes towards code-switching due to its controversial status – it is considered to be a sign of high linguistic competence by numerous linguists, but it is discouraged and viewed as a violation of linguistic norms by others, especially language purists (compare: Bullock and Toribio 2012: 1).

Uriel Weinreich, a pioneer of bilingualism studies, in his book *Languages in Contact* describes code-switching within one linguistic unit as a “deviation from the norms” resulting from poor linguistic upbringing. He labels it as interference and accepts switches only in the case of a change of the interlocutor or a change of situation, and never within the same sentence (Weinreich 1953: 72). Even though the perception of CS by linguists has become increasingly positive over the years, both mono- and multilingual speakers' attitudes towards this phenomenon are still rather negative and resemble Weinreich's views. CS is often perceived as a sign of laziness, linguistic incompetence and impurity (Edwards 1995: 75, Bullock and Toribio 2012: 11).

Jan-Petter Blom and John Joseph Gumperz's paper (1972) *Social meaning in linguistic structures* contributed to the change in opinions concerning CS. Blom and Gumperz not only distinguished between situational and metaphorical code-switching, but also introduced the notions of *we-code/they-code* and listed code-switching functions.³ Thanks to this pub-

³ Situational switching is switching triggered by a change of situation and is employed by bilingual speakers in order to maintain the appropriateness

lication, CS became the focus of interest for a great number of researchers (Auer 1998: 1).

Considering the varied purposes it might serve, a significant number of contemporary sociolinguists perceive code-switching as “a valuable linguistic tool, which very often has its purpose and logic” (Baker 2006: 109). It can be used as a means of expressing identity or reflecting a *we-code* – *they-code* opposition. For instance, “to gain acceptance or status, a person may deliberately and consciously use a minority language as a form of affiliation or belonging to a group” (Baker 2006: 7). One can also use a more prestigious language to express identification with a higher strata of society, or in order to underline a new identity (e.g. in the case of emigrants). McArthur also notices that CS serves a number of social functions, such as marking ethnic and group boundaries, expressing speakers’ attitudes towards what is being said or showing knowledge of the out-group/ dominant language with higher status (McArthur 1992: 229).

Bernard Spolsky underlines the linguistic possibilities that switching between languages gives to bilingual speakers:

The election of a language by a bilingual, especially when speaking to another bilingual, carries a wealth of social meaning. Each language becomes a virtual guise for the bilingual speaker, who can change identity as easily as changing a hat, and can use language choice as a way of negotiating social relations with an interlocutor (Spolsky 1998: 50).

McCormick points out that proficient bilingual speakers “are able to draw on a bigger linguistic pool than they would be if they and their interlocutors were monolingual” (McCormick 2001: 453). Carol Myers-Scotton and Janice Jake note that it

of a conversation. Metaphorical switching, by contrast, reveals a special communicative intent; for instance, it can signal a change in relationship role. *We-code* is a minority language used to mark the in-group, informal, and personalized activities, while *they-code* is employed to speak about out-group, more formal, and distant events (McArthur 1992: 229).

is possible to search for organizing principles in CS within the Matrix Language Frame and propose “a set of principled predictions” about “what does and does not occur in CS” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2012: 336-357). This is very important, since CS has often been misunderstood and seen as an “uncontrolled speech form” where languages are randomly mixed (Bullock and Toribio 2012:13).

Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio express views typical of representatives of American descriptivism, and juxtapose the descriptive linguists’ approach towards CS and the prescriptive approach of laypeople:

While CS is viewed as an index of bilingual proficiency among linguists, it is more commonly perceived by the general public as indicative of language degradation. This disparity can be best understood by reference to notions of grammar. Most laypeople define grammar as a set of statements about how we should correctly use our language. Such an understanding of grammar is properly called *prescriptive*, because it attempts to mandate or prescribe the language should be used. Linguists, who study language objectively, are more interested in descriptive grammars, which represent speakers’ unconscious knowledge of their languages as manifested in their actual linguistic behaviour. (Bullock and Toribio 2012:1)

Most research on code-switching thus far has been based on analyses of the linguistic material collected in multilingual communities outside of Europe as well as communities of immigrants in Europe and the US, where code-switching is often associated with insufficient linguistic competence. Attitudes towards CS within such communities are generally negative, which does not change the fact that their members inadvertently deploy it (Bullock and Toribio 2012: 11). McArthur points out that:

Some communities have special names, often pejorative or facetious, or both, for a hybrid variety: in India, *Hindlish* and *Hinglish* are used for the widespread mixing of Hindi and English; in Nige-

ria, *amulumala* (verbalsalad) is used for English and Yoruba mixing and switching; in the Philippines, the continuum of possibilities is covered by the terms *Tagalog—Engalog—Taglish—English*, in Quebec, by *français—français—Frenghish—English* (McArthur 1992: 229).

The reasons for such a situation may be found in both language ideology and in the educational process of foreign language acquisition. Even though multilingualism is present in most communities around the world, it is monolingualism that is often seen as more natural. This is due to the prevalent monolingualist language ideology according to which “each ethnic group has a language of its own and by virtue of this difference deserves political autonomy” (Gal 2007:149). Such a view of language implies that multilingualism is connected with political unreliability or mixed loyalty. In recent years this ideology has been partly undermined by the creation and extension of the European Union, as well as by increasing globalization. This is especially the case with English as a global language of business, scholarship and diplomacy (Gal 2007: 153). Speaking English in addition to one’s mother tongue is seen as advantageous and modern. Yet, as Susan Gal remarks, multilingual migrants are often stigmatized for using more than one language, particularly for code-switching, which is usually considered insufficiently “pure” (Gal 2007: 153).

In numerous cases, CS is perceived as an instance of transfer in a foreign language classroom. Students who do not know, or forget, a given word often insert a word from their mother tongue and expect the teacher to provide them with the right lexeme in English. This can be viewed as an instance of insufficient linguistic competence, however such a scenario is by far not the only case in which CS is used.⁴ Barbara E. Bull-ock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio note that:

⁴ Some researchers would not label such instances as CS. For instance, Carol Myers-Scotton defines CS more narrowly and draws a line between L1/L2 interference and CS (Myers-Scotton 1995: 73).

[...] particularly in the early stages of acquisition, CS results from an inability to produce a target form. Due to temporary or permanent lapses in knowledge, learners may switch to the native language, a process referred to as *crutching*. But as their proficiency develops, CS among second language learners and folk bilinguals, if attested, will resemble that of more fluent bilinguals.

The lack of mother-tongue insertions is associated with higher linguistic competence, which tends to shape negative attitudes towards transfer.

3. Code-switching among English Philology students

CS is a constant practice at the University of Gdańsk and at the University of Koblenz-Landau among both students and lecturers of English Philology. The teachers usually use their mother tongue when talking about organizational issues and switch to English when they start the lecture proper. They will also employ their L1 to repeat difficult pieces of information in order to facilitate understanding, or to achieve a comic effect. The students also code-switch frequently during classes, for instance, when asked to work in groups they insert English literary or grammar terms from books and articles into sentences in their mother tongue. It is also common for students to forget a word in English and switch to German or Polish.

Outside of the lecture-halls, students' code-switching has a different character. It is mostly tag-switching in their mother tongue. English words are used mainly as means of emphasis or as humorous elements, making the style of speaking more vivid. Moreover, it serves as a group identification marker, since CS is characteristic of most English Philology students' idiolects.

The respondents of the survey were asked to write down the foreign inclusions they and their fellow students used most frequently. Table 1 shows the most commonly used words (noted by at least 3 respondents).

Table 1

Respondents				Respondents' colleagues			
Polish		German		Polish		German	
<i>research</i>	12	<i>cool</i>	6	<i>fuck</i>	9	<i>fuck</i>	9
<i>fuck</i>	10	<i>whatever</i>	5	<i>whatever</i>	8	<i>shit</i>	8
<i>whatever</i>	8	<i>please</i>	4	<i>research</i>	7	<i>sorry</i>	7
<i>ok</i>	7	<i>damn</i>	3	<i>ok</i>	6	<i>cool</i>	6
<i>sorry</i>	7	<i>honey</i>	3	<i>oh my god</i>	4	<i>whatever</i>	5
<i>WTF (what the fuck)</i>	5	<i>party</i>	3	<i>dude</i>	3		
<i>hello</i>	4	<i>people</i>	3	<i>WTF (what the fuck)</i>	3		
<i>Jesus</i>	4	<i>thanks</i>	3				
<i>cool</i>	3						
<i>handout</i>	3						
<i>indeed</i>	3						
<i>oh my god</i>	3						
<i>speech</i>	3						

Analyzing English Philology students' linguistic behaviour shows that CS is a natural phenomenon among multilingual speakers, not only among immigrants or in multilingual countries, but also among people who simply use two (or more) languages frequently. This analysis confirms that CS is not necessarily connected with linguistic incompetence, since the students are without a doubt proficient in their L1.

3.1. Attitudes towards code-switching among English Philology students

Generally, the attitudes of English Philology students towards CS are more positive (especially among German students) than

those of immigrants, which reflects the high status ascribed to the English language.

42% of the German students and 54% of the Polish students expressed a neutral attitude or mixed feelings towards CS, marking it as positive as long as it is not used too frequently or in order to show off. Only 8% of the German students perceived it as negative. They gave the following reasons:

- *Sometimes it sounds weird and you get the impression that people want to seem cool.*
- *I feel angry about it because the quality of the German language becomes bad.*

24% of the Polish students considered code-switching to be a negative phenomenon producing insufficiently “pure” language. They mentioned the following reasons for such a perception of CS:

- *We should use our native language.*
- *We should speak proper Polish.*
- *It's silly and proves you don't speak your own language correctly.*
- *It's a sign of laziness and clumsiness of language - people don't try to be accurate.*
- *Our native language is so beautiful that we shouldn't trash it with borrowing.*
- *It doesn't sound natural when you speak Polish and suddenly you use an English word.*
- *You forget Polish words.*
- *Students who code-switch sometimes seem to boast about their knowledge of English.*

Such statements show that many Polish students regard CS as impure and detrimental. Negative attitudes among the German students are not as common, even though they are also present. The German students surveyed usually considered CS to be a neutral phenomenon ubiquitous in the English Department. The reason for a more positive attitude towards CS is

that the English language and code-switching are very popular in Germany, not only among students of English, but also on TV, on the radio and in newspapers. It is usually perceived as modern and fashionable. 50% of the German survey respondents considered it to be a positive phenomenon, compared with only 22% of the Polish respondents. One of the German students wrote:

- *It is positive because it is a sign of globalization and open-mindedness.*

Some Polish students also expressed positive attitudes towards CS and noticed the linguistic possibilities that it gives them:

- *CS is positive and funny. Utterances are more vivid.*
- *It is positive because people who code-switch have a broader spectrum of phrases to choose from and they are able to directly convey their message.*
- *It is positive because it demands more involvement and knowledge from the interlocutor.*

The attitudes of the students resemble a general trend in the perception of CS. Disregarded as impure by some, it is also admired as a sign of “linguistic virtuosity” and seen as a creative process (Bullock and Toribio 2012:11).

3.2. Reasons for code-switching among English Philology students

At this point, it seems worthwhile to have a closer look at the reasons for using CS named by the students themselves, since these reasons reflect the students’ attitudes towards this phenomenon.

Anna Nizęgorodcew (2000: 154-155) mentions naming new reality connected with studies and playing with language as the main reasons for code-switching among English Philology students. She also notices that students often code-switch

without any obvious reason or use English grammatical structures in Polish. Danuta Gabryś-Barker points out that the latter could be a sign of language attrition, however this idea requires further investigation (Gabryś-Barker 2007: 301).

Gabryś-Barker (2007), following Baker (1997), analyses CS functions at the semantic and sociocultural levels. Among probable reasons for students' CS she lists: faster lexical access, manifesting group-identity, inability to find a synonymous expression in the other language and linguistic sloppiness (Gabryś-Barker 2007: 304).

The most common cause for CS which was mentioned by the surveyed and interviewed students is forgetting or not knowing a given word in the other language (not necessarily in the L2). Here, switching is the result of either a linguistic incompetence (especially when a word in the L2 is not known) or a sign that someone uses the other language more often while talking about certain topics.

Another reason very frequently mentioned by both Polish and German students is that a foreign expression better matches a given context as there is no exact equivalent in the other language. As the respondents expressed it:

- *Because it sounds better sometimes.*
- *If a word sounds better in English than in German.*

An inserted word seems to sound better because it can fully express the message that the speaker wants to convey, e.g.

- *Chcesz obejrzeć jakiś horror?*
- *Dzięki, nie. Ten ostatni film był taki **creepy**, że nie mam ochoty na więcej.*
- *OK, **drama queen**, przestań wreszcie płakać.*
- *To nie będzie **student-friendly** sesja.*

Students at both universities code-switch back into their mother-tongue in order to make a statement clear, to explain

what they meant. This is also the technique used by lecturers for explaining complicated notions or difficult tasks.

Many of the Polish students wrote that they code-switch for humorous reasons. It seems that a comic effect can be achieved thanks to Polish being a highly inflectional language, e.g.

- *Przyniosłeś mi piwo? Ale **śłitaśnie** (= sweet).*
- *Mam nadzieję, że wieczór masz wolny, bo idziemy **densić** (= dance) na Pokład.*
- *Co powiesz na mały **plazing** dziś wieczorem?*

Laziness is another reason mentioned only by the Polish students. It is probably caused by the fact that, as mentioned in the previous section, the attitudes of many Polish students towards code-switching are rather negative (unlike the German students).

By contrast, the German students claim that they code-switch to sound more modern and because it is fashionable. There were no similar statements among the surveyed Poles.

The students at both universities noticed that they code-switch mostly while talking to friends or to their fellow students, which is consistent with the linguists' observation of the bilingual speakers' linguistic behaviours.⁵ Both the German and the Polish survey respondents mentioned that their emotions influence their code-switching, as evidenced in the following situations: *when I talk about something emotionally important; when I'm very excited about a subject; when I am nervous.*

CS can be used to make the utterance more vivid and emotional, e.g.

⁵ Weinreich (1953) noticed that when bilingual speakers talk to each other switching occurs very often, whereas when they talk to monolingual speakers the number of "interferences" is much smaller. This observation has been developed in Francois Grosjean's theory of bilingual modes of speech (compare: Grosjean 2006: 37).

- Co za **fail**. Zapomniałam zrobić pracę domową.
- Byłam na nartach. Było **awesome**.
- Dobra, to moja wina. **Guilty as fuck**.

The respondents were also asked about the reasons why their fellow students code-switch. The most frequently mentioned causes, beginning with the most frequent, were: forgetting words/ lack of vocabulary, linguistic economy, accuracy, comic effect, showing off, sounding cool, laziness, habit, expressing group identity, adding emphasis, and making the conversation more interesting.

Most of the answers mentioned above overlap with the answers given to explain self-code-switching. Predictably, the students gave a few more reasons than in the case of their own code-switching, such as showing off or sounding cool. Another interesting observation is that the Polish survey respondents mentioned comic effect much more frequently than the German ones.

4. Conclusion

It appears that code-switching may be both a valuable linguistic tool which enlarges one's linguistic repertoire and a sign of linguistic incompetence. It can be used as a means of achieving greater accuracy, linguistic economy, for emphasis, or in order to make one's utterance humorous. Bilingual speakers often code-switch in order to express a concept that has no equivalent in the culture of the other language or when the other language contains the more accurate term (Gardner-Chloros 2009:32). In the case of a lack of a given term in the matrix language, code-switching can be seen as the first stage of borrowing.

It is important to note that even though many switches are purposeful, some seem to be merely a byproduct of bilingual communication or simple instances of transfer since they are not a sign of linguistic creativity or accuracy, nor do they serve any specific conversational purpose. The vast majority of stu-

dents code-switch when they forget a word in the other language. The amount of the “unwanted” switches may be reduced by expanding vocabulary in both languages. This helps to explain the mixed attitudes towards this phenomenon among English Philology students, who usually present a high level of linguistic awareness.

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Metaphor in selected items of World War II propaganda¹

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Abstract

The development of cognitive sciences has led to the emergence of a number of theories concerning the possible connections between the mental and linguistic capacities of the human mind. One such theory proposes that metaphor is an important tool for understanding a vast array of concepts by means of metaphors, which is reflected in the figurative language that ordinary speakers use every day. The conceptual metaphor theory, as can be indicated by the evidence included in the present paper, is helpful in analysing the cognitive value of not only linguistic expressions, but also that of pictorial representations.

Keywords

metaphor, conceptual metaphor, cognitive linguistics, propaganda, semantics

¹ This paper is an abridged version of the author's MA thesis which was written under the supervision of Prof. UG, Dr hab. Olga Sokołowska.

Metafora w wybranych przykładach propagandy II wojny światowej

Abstrakt

Rozwój nauk kognitywnych doprowadził do sformułowania szeregu teorii dotyczących możliwych powiązań pomiędzy zdolnościami mentalnymi i językowymi ludzkiego umysłu. Jedną z tych teorii mówi o ważnej roli metafory dla ludzkiego rozumienia, czego dowodem jest język pełen wyrażenń przenośnych, którego używamy na co dzień. W świetle przedstawionych niżej dowodów można stwierdzić, że teoria metafory pojęciowej jest pomocna nie tylko w analizowaniu wartości poznawczej wyrażenń językowych, ale także przedstawień wizualnych.

Słowa kluczowe

metafora, metafora pojęciowa, językoznawstwo kognitywne, propaganda, semantyka

1. Methodology

The following analysis is ultimately based on the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which assumes that, by means of metaphorical projections, it is possible for the human mind to facilitate the understanding of many complex concepts in terms of other, less convoluted ideas. The theory itself bears a great resemblance to the earlier observations of a British-American philosopher Max Black (1954, 1979), whose seven central claims of his interaction theory of metaphor can be well identified, at some points, as almost identical to what was later proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Also, the later findings of Lakoff (1987), i.e. the Ideal Cognitive Model theory, prove to be helpful in identifying and specifying the organised character of the source and target domains which are present in the metaphorical projections involved in the successful readings of the analysed propaganda posters. Due to some shortcomings of the conceptual metaphor theory,

when analysing figurative expressions, as noted by Ungerer and Schmid (2006), it is at times useful to refer to the conceptual blending theory by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). This theory postulates the introduction of an active element of information processing for comprehending novel or less prevalent metaphors that are highly context-dependent. Among the limited number of sources on pictorial metaphor, the works of Charles Forceville (1994, 2007) deserve special attention. One of Forceville's observations is that pictures may connote more information than the words denoting the depicted objects, people or phenomena. Thus, it is argued that for some specific purposes, such as war-time propaganda, it is more appropriate to use posters with pictures in order to achieve the desired effect upon the public, as pictorial representations may serve as richer sources of information for some concepts involved in metaphorical projections.

As propaganda is a complex and intriguing phenomenon in itself, to discuss it at any great length is beyond the scope of this paper. However, Golubiewski (2016), in his article on recruitment posters in World War 1, has briefly pointed out several characteristics of a standard and successful propaganda piece. These inherent properties of propaganda which have been covered in his article are by all means relevant to the posters analysed in the present paper.

2. An analysis of World War II propaganda items

The following analysis takes into consideration several examples of spoken and visual propaganda of World War II. The body of pictorial representations has been selected according to its implicit metaphorical value, which is going to be revealed in the course of the successive argument. Furthermore, in order to prove that a particular metaphor theme is active not only in the sphere of visuals, but also in that of language, instances of metaphorical expressions will be presented as evidence. However, it must be stressed that the main focus of the

analysis is the propaganda posters, since the general aim of this thesis is to indicate the conceptual link between visual representations and metaphorical processing. Due to the limited nature of this article, only the theme of labour will be considered. The theories of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending briefly described in the preceding section are going to be employed in accordance with the rationale of the present work.

2.1. War and labour

First of all, it is necessary to point out the relevant similarities between the concepts of war and labour which, if paired together, provide enough cognitive material for a rich body of metaphorical expressions and representations. A range of propaganda posters revolve around the central theme of labour, and it is assumed that the underlying metaphor LABOUR IS WAR does indeed involve the projection of a substantial number of correspondences from the domain of labour onto the domain of war. One such correspondence, which appears to be the most salient when the two ideas are being juxtaposed, is the aspect of physical effort. Many of the posters that are the subject of the analysis depict people engaged in demanding tasks. Very often, the men and women shown in the posters are participating in activities associated with heavy industry, which provides valuable resources for waging modern war. Obviously, working in the heavy “war industry” demands considerable physical effort and may be correlated with the arduous task of serving as an infantryman on the front line. It is beyond all question that fighting has always been a duty destined for men and women capable of enduring not only physical, but also exceptional mental stress. Thus, the correlation between physical effort in the domains of war and labour proves to be motivated by a well-entrenched experiential basis. Another aspect which is readily recognizable as shared by the two considered concepts is the idea of collecti-

ty. Undoubtedly, wars have always been fought by large armies rather than individuals. Even if particular people, such as politicians, were responsible for issuing the formal declarations of war, the conspicuous nature of armed hostilities is marked by their involvement of great masses of soldiers and civilians. Therefore, the propaganda posters usually show people engaged in tasks which cannot possibly be completed by a single person. Building a bomber or manufacturing explosives can be accomplished only through the cooperation of a great number of workers participating in the war effort of their nation. This fact testifies to the correlation between the collective character of the two undertakings.. But what is also important is the fact that in order to work productively and fight effectively, the people involved should recognise a common goal that can be achieved only if it is pursued by honest and purposeful means. In other words, in order to win a war and to produce the end result of any labour there must be a certain degree of commitment displayed by those engaged in production and in fighting. For instance, throughout history, many soldiers have performed outstanding acts of bravery, very often taking life-threatening risks in order to eventually defeat their enemy. The act of committing oneself to some cause can also be directly linked to the concept of labour. An effective, dedicated worker is often motivated by some external factors, such as financial gain or by some more sophisticated, abstract ideals as in the case of some social or political activists. Also, the idea of sacrifice can be related in a way to the aspect of dedication. As has already been mentioned, a soldier may die in the line of duty, thus making the ultimate sacrifice. On the other hand, the people engaged in demanding, physical labour are very often prone to hazards resulting from the exertion they endure. Furthermore, both armies and teams of workers have a common trait which is their organised nature. In a factory, there is usually a person who is responsible for the way the work is carried out. There are foremen, supervisors, bosses, chiefs, managers, inspectors, administrators and many other

people whose main task is to watch and direct other workers in order for the work to be done appropriately. What is especially important about this microcosm of a workplace is the fact that there is a strict hierarchy of all the people involved. A group of people give instructions to others, and this state of affairs cannot be reversed without resulting in disarray and work being left uncompleted. Exactly the same rules apply to the realm of uniformed services around the world. Generally, there is a chief of the armed forces, such as the president or some sort of an authoritarian figure who is responsible for making the original decisions which determine further, genuine, military actions. Then there are the generals who command whole armies through other men such as the commissioned officers. Similar to a well-managed factory, there has to be a hierarchy which enables whole armies to achieve their goals and ultimately secure victory. Another correlation between the phenomena of war and labour is the fact that both involve the employment of specialist equipment. Heavy industry workers are equipped with a variety of tools which make it possible for them to complete their tasks. As shown in propaganda posters, some of the labourers are equipped with hammers, rivet guns or wrenches. Soldiers, analogously, are provided with a wide array of weaponry, such as firearms, grenades, rockets etc. One of the posters which will be analysed in the following section, makes a direct analogy between the equipment of a heavy industry worker and that of an infantryman, as it expresses a visible parallel between a riveting gun and a machine gun. Also, workers are often clad in some kind of special clothing which protects them from the hazards of their workplace. Such clothes are usually uniform, or nearly so, in their composition. With the creation of regular fighting armies, the idea of wearing protective uniforms emerged. Such uniforms, similar to the clothes worn by industrial workers, are designed mostly with utilitarian purposes in mind while their aesthetic values are often deemed to be irrelevant. Thus, all the above-mentioned correlations constitute sufficient evi-

dence to assume that the phenomena of war and the phenomena of labour bear enough experiential correspondence to each other that the conceptual metaphor LABOUR IS WAR is valid for further analysis. Furthermore, such a digression on the nature of the two phenomena involved is inescapable as it is necessary to find all the possible motivations that would prompt the emergence of the metaphorical instantiations which are considered in this article.

Although the general theme of the following collection of posters revolves around the concepts of labour and war, some posters do not exhibit explicit metaphorical relationships between the text and the picture. For example, the British "Attack Begins in the Factory" series of posters depict scenes of aerial bombardment (1a), maritime warfare (1b), a coastal assault (1c), and the landing of airborne troops (1d). All of the posters are supplemented with a large caption reading "THE ATTACK BEGINS IN THE FACTORY" and a short statement printed in very small font directly below the picture. The slogan alludes to the connection between the production of military equipment and the fight that goes on in the Europe, and Mediterranean theatres of war. Undoubtedly, no military campaign can be fought successfully without the proper and continuous supply of all sorts of combat equipment, thus the general message of the posters is indeed valid in terms of the reality of warfare. However, obviously no attack as such begins in any factory. Why, then, did such an utterance make its way onto the posters? Since the poster is a part of the war-time propaganda effort, its intended reading was meant to produce the effect that labour would be perceived as part of the actual fight. If fighting was likened to labour, then some of its features were meant to be transferred onto the realm of labour. Thus, I believe that the conceptual metaphor LABOUR IS WAR underlies the conceptual motivation for the emergence of the caption which accompanies each poster. The propaganda effect was to convince the working force that without their effort, victory would be impossible. Only through hard work would

they eventually defeat the Axis forces. This particular series of posters does not lend itself to a study within the sphere of visual metaphors, since the only source of metaphorical message is the caption itself. Even without the accompanying pictures, the poster would still maintain its metaphorical character.

The following collection of posters, unlike those mentioned earlier, make explicit use of visuals and employ metonymy, which in most cases becomes an inseparable part of their message. A Canadian poster (2) balances the significance of the visual and textual components and exhibits a substantial metaphorical and less apparent metonymic character. It depicts the same man in two different ways – in the foreground he is holding a hammer, in the background he is wearing a helmet, probably a uniform, and is holding a rifle. His facial expression is identical, showing composure and steadfast resolve presumably while facing the hardships of war. The accompanying caption says: “WHATEVER YOUR JOB MAY BE FIGHT” and is written in black, bold capitals. Again, the conceptual metaphor which belies the utterance is **LABOUR IS WAR** where the features of the source domain of war are projected onto the target domain of working. If there were no picture, just the caption itself, it would still make perfect sense to put up such a slogan inside a wartime factory to achieve a similar propagandistic effect, i.e., to make people believe that their work is a genuine fight. However, in this case, the visual component does not merely provide a simple illustration to the phrase, but carries metaphorical and metonymic meaning. First of all, the single man stands metonymically for the aggregate of people that constitute a given social group. In other words, the man dressed as a soldier represents all of the military men and women participating in the war, whereas the apparent blue-collar worker stands for all of the labourers who contribute to the war effort in factories. Thus, the **PART FOR WHOLE** metonymy has been employed to the effect described above. Moreover, another metonymy is manifested in the objects the two figures are holding. A soldier and a heavy indus-

try worker do not always wield rifles and hammers. There are many other tasks in their line of work aside from shooting and hammering, so both individuals may handle a variety of objects. The hammer and the rifle stand for general activities which we associate with the two prototypical characters in the poster. Consequently, another metonymy involved in the composition is OBJECT FOR ACTION. The colours, which serve as the background for the two figures, are nothing but symbolic. In western culture, red carries the implicit connotations of blood and death, thus it is not surprising that this colour accompanies the soldier. The blue colour, which accompanies the labourer, is associated with the working people and is derived from the colour of their uniforms, which in turn has inspired the idiom *blue-collar worker*, which is well-established in the English lexicon. Also, it may reflect the less violent nature of the task that the workers undertake. Although, both colours are presumably metonymically associated with blood and the natural environment respectively, as blue is the colour of clear skies or water which are both related with tranquillity, in this case the symbolism is much deeper than that of the hammer and the rifle. This is because both colours acquired their symbolic status a very long time ago and they are more conceptually salient in this role.

From here on, the gradual significance of the pictorial element in the overall design of the posters becomes more apparent since the subsequent pieces of propaganda art would make little to no sense if they were deprived of the visuals. Again, the posters rely heavily on the notion of metonymy, yet the central metaphor which dictates their internal coherence is still based on the interplay of the ideas of war and labour. The most compositionally economical collection of posters is the "More Production" series. One of the posters (3a) shows a bomb-shaped object aimed at the Nazi swastika embedded in the flag of Imperial Japan. On the bomb itself there is a large caption saying "MORE PRODUCTION", and one of the stabilizing fins bears a small "USA" inscription. Given the significance of the objects

and the symbols included in the poster, it can be assumed that there are a substantial number of inferences that must be made in order to read the intended message correctly. The prevailing conceptual metaphor which constitutes the cognitive background for comprehending the poster is FIGHTING THE ENEMY IS PRODUCING, where the domain of fighting is represented by the image of a bomb, and the symbols stand metonymically for the Germans and the Japanese, while the context of production is supplied by the caption. Similarly, as in the previous examples, the manufacturing of armaments and supplying them to the fighting forces binds the phenomena of war and labour. The causal inference is that by producing armaments, the war with the enemy can be continued to the point of securing victory. In this case, if the textual element was isolated from the picture, its sole presence would not serve any great purpose of propaganda. Also, another interesting fact is that the metonymically manifested phenomena are capable of providing enough conceptual input for the emergence of a conceptual metaphor. In other words, this poster is a good example of how the two cognitive devices can work in unison. The above-presented conclusions may, however, prompt a question similar to that posed by the critics of the conceptual metaphor theory. Is understanding the poster actually based on the interaction of metaphor and metonymy ultimately being dependent on a single, fundamental conceptual metaphor? In order to explain the cognitive processes involved in comprehending the poster, one may resort to the theory of conceptual blending as well. Although the LABOUR IS WAR conceptual metaphor is psychologically real and may influence one's reasoning, the reading of this particular poster involves an element of dynamic processing of the conceptual input embedded in a certain, relevant context which is one of the defining characteristics of the blending theory.

Another poster (3b) from the aforementioned series depicts a bowling ball striking three bowling pins. The ball carries the "MORE PRODUCTION" slogan, and above the scene is the

“BOWL THEM OVER” caption. The heads of the pins bear the cartoonish faces of the three major leaders of the Axis alliance, Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito. This poster is one of many examples where mockery is employed in order to discredit the enemy and belittle their political position. Once more, the visual and textual components must be presented together for the purpose of maintaining the internal logic of the poster. The element of metonymy is manifested by the faces which stand for the three men, and then the particular figures which stand for the armies engaged in the hostilities, since the depicted trio did not take part in any actual fighting during World War II. The conceptual metaphor which underlies the message of the poster is VICTORY IS INTENSIFIED PRODUCTION. Such a metaphoric theme has been chosen on the grounds that the visual and textual input provide at least three salient domains which are then conceptually elaborated in order to form a coherent mental representation. The aforementioned domains are war, production or labour, and game. Each of these three domains contributes to the overall understanding of the message. The general fusion of the concepts may be well attributed to the workings of the mechanism of blending. The fact that the visual theme of the poster is explicitly related to a game-like activity may also hint, in this case, that war is perceived in terms of competition, downplaying the less appealing aspects of warfare. Also, in order to succeed in a game of bowling, it is necessary to strike as many pins as possible. Since the poster shows all three pins falling down, it can be assumed that the aspect of victory has also been given much prominence. Furthermore, industrial production, which is the main theme of this series of posters, is metaphorically represented by the bowling ball which is the carrier of the force that acts on the pins. All the aforementioned observations fused together by a series of causal links eventually comprise a unified, cognitive structure, which, by achieving its propagandistic effect, may lead to the formation of a novel outlook on the idea of war.

The last poster (3c) of the “More Production” series shows three men running down a slope trying to escape from a giant snowball which is rolling down. The three men are again Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, and once more the aspect of ridicule is remarkably palpable. Hitler and Hirohito watch helplessly as the huge ball of snow rolls towards them, and Mussolini, whose corpulence is somewhat exaggerated, has fallen over and is about to be crushed by the snowball. The fact that Mussolini is in such a predicament may reflect the actual, historical situation of that time as it was his regime that started to fall first. Similarly, as in the previously discussed poster, the political figures stand metonymically for the three nations of the Axis coalition. The “MORE PRODUCTION” caption comprises the entire textual component of the poster and it represents the domain of labour. Of interest is the fact that military production has been likened to a devastating force of nature which will inevitably wipe out the Axis forces. Thus, in this case, the conceptual metaphor can be identified as PRODUCTION IS A DEVASTATING ELEMENT.

Another poster (4), which does not belong to the above-presented series but also exploits the concept of labour, shows an industrial building with two tall chimneys exuding plumes of black smoke. The perspective is specifically oriented on the chimneys, as they are inextricably associated with what is written above them. The smoke coming out of the chimneys seems to keep afloat a large caption reading “BIG GUNS OF THE HOME FRONT”. At the bottom of the poster is written “ACTION STATIONS Everyone” in black and red font of varied styles. Here, the metaphorical connotation of the textual and pictorial component is obvious, as the “big guns of the home front” stand for the chimneys of the apparent military production facility. Furthermore, the metonymic semblance between an industrial chimney and the barrel of an artillery piece, speaks on behalf of the aforementioned observation that metonymy cooperating with metaphor is efficient in creating a meaningful mental representation. The conceptual metaphor

which motivates the emergence of such a combination of text and image is FACTORIES ARE GUNS, which fits well into the overall LABOUR IS WAR metaphorical narration. Factories, similar to guns, must be manned by a crew whose task is to operate them in order to complete a certain goal. The crew in both cases must be qualified for their job and they act in accordance with fixed rules and hierarchy. If it is assumed that the factory depicted in the poster produces ammunition, the final output of both the factory and the metaphorical gun barrel is associated with artillery shells, with the only difference being that a factory produces them from raw materials, whereas a gun delivers them onto the battlefield. Also, the intended message of the bottom caption may be directly associated with the LABOUR IS WAR metaphor since it states that everyone is involved in the war effort in the face of a conflict. Furthermore, the purpose of this poster, in terms of the intended propaganda effect, is twofold. First, it attempts to convince the public that by working in military industry they are actually fighting the enemy. This may have exerted some influence on how people thought about their work during wartime. Second, it is interesting to see how the font style changes from a black, dull and rough "ACTION STATIONS" to a curvy, flamboyant, pink "Everyone". Such a choice of font-style was surely intentional, and it is associated with the industrial strategy which was pursued in many countries whose populations took part in World War II. Since most of those who were directly engaged in combat were military-aged men, the heavy industry factories and other workplaces which employed a male workforce usually suffered from manpower shortages. The governments of both the Allied and the Axis states were well aware of the consequences of a general draft and had to invent a solution to the problem of the insufficient number of labourers. Thus, in order to keep the factories in active and efficient operation, it became necessary for women to enter professions which were commonly perceived as strictly masculine. The font style and colour of the word "Everyone" are typically ascribed to the general aes-

thetic taste of females, thus it might have been the intention of the author of the poster to appeal to women and encourage them to partake in the industrial war effort.

Another poster (5), which demonstrates the usefulness of the conceptual blending theory, depicts two figures, each of them operating an object which is indicative of their occupation. Again, some minute features in the appearance of the two individuals suggest that they may be the same person, only dressed differently. The labourer with a handheld rivet gun is shown in a more detailed manner, whereas only a dark silhouette of a man wearing a helmet can be seen below. The bottom figure is apparently a soldier, which is indicated by the presence of a helmet and the fact that he is looking down the sights of a portable machine-gun. The caption accompanying the picture says "GIVE 'EM BOTH BARRELS". In this case, the textual and visual components are inseparable and supplement each other, since if either were absent, the poster would not serve any apparent purpose of propaganda. Although the general theme of the poster revolves around the importance of labour in the wartime economy, and the workings of the LABOUR IS WAR conceptual metaphor are still recognizable, the reading of the poster may well be attributed to the mechanism of conceptual blending. The input spaces of war and labour are represented by the two distinct figures who are themselves representative of the people involved in the military and industrial efforts of World War II. What renders the fusion of the two concepts possible is the accompanying caption, which refers to the mechanical properties of the two items held by the characters. Both a rivet gun and a machine-gun utilise a long, cylindrical shaft, which is essential for the correct operation of both. In the case of the machine-gun that hollow cylindrical shaft is called a *barrel*. Since no information on the technical details of a rivet gun is readily available, it is assumed that the tip of the rivet gun, which is in contact with a rivet and flattens it by the actuation of highly pressurised air, bears enough resemblance to the actual machine-gun barrel that the same

term can be used for both. However, if no part of a rivet gun has ever been called by that name, the explanation may rely on the metaphorical assumptions provoked by the external similarity of a machine gun and a rivet gun. Also, the interpretation of this poster must take into consideration the historical context of World War II, since the abbreviated pronoun “them” refers to the nations which at that point in history were hostile to the Allies. The blended space, which is the result of fusing the concepts of war and labour together through the causal and metaphorical implications, gives rise to a mental representation where the two phenomena are equalled in their importance. In other words, the two different figures, who most likely represent the same man, prompt the metaphorical correspondence between the realm of fighting and working. Even though it may be suggested that the poster attempts to equate the two concepts, it is the author’s impression that the intended message of the poster was not meant to imply a reciprocal relationship, but rather a one-way correspondence. Since the specific message of this poster was probably supposed to appeal to workers, and not to soldiers, it is more likely that the target domain is that of labour and not of fighting. However, in order to achieve a different propaganda purpose, such as downplaying the less appealing aspects of taking part in war, the situation can be reversed, as politicians often speak of war as if it were a matter of performing a job. Thus the target and source domains become inverted on such occasions.

Presenting the significance of industrial production during wartime was universal among the nations that were engaged in the conflict, regardless of their side. Some of the German propaganda posters of that period give examples of this significance of industrial production. One such poster (6) shows a German soldier and an industrial worker who is apparently passing a bundle of hand grenades to the soldier. The composition of the poster is organised vertically, as the backgrounds for the two figures differ from each other. What can be seen in the background accompanying the labourer is a vast industrial

complex, while the soldier is shown in the midst of a battle. The caption reading “Schafft Waffen für die Front”, which translates into English as “Produce weapons for the front”, is divided into two graphically equivalent parts, one of them is hovering above the labourer, and the other directly below the soldier. Also, the two halves of the caption correspond with what the people in the poster are currently occupied with, as “Schafft Waffen” is on the left very close to the worker, and “für die Front” is positioned on the right side of the poster where the soldier is. Although the textual component of this propaganda piece is rather straightforward in its meaning and does not exhibit much metaphorical character, the image of the two men being in such close proximity supplemented with the scenes of a battle and an industrial area renders much more interesting conclusions. The manner in which the visual components of the poster are organised makes the caption redundant since the pictorial composition itself is so conceptually powerful that it would be possible for the image to stand completely on its own. The aforementioned conceptual potency is realised throughout the employment of a genuine visual metaphor which is evident even without much elaborate insight. First of all, the two domains which are heavily articulated by the visual context are those of labour and war, however, the specific aspects of both are manifested throughout the act of passing the hand grenades. The two scenes, the one of a raging battle, and the other of a busy industrial complex, are presented in surreal proximity. Although the poster depicts the men physically performing the act of passing munitions, the two places cannot be merged in any possible manner. It is understandable that the two characters stand metonymically for the general body of workers and soldiers respectively, and their backdrops are meant to show the causal connection between the work of heavy industry and the progress of actual fighting. The act of passing the hand grenades is the ultimate, metaphorical indicator of how labourers contribute to the military effort, thus the conceptual metaphor, which underlies the

message of the poster, and, also fits well in the LABOUR IS WAR general theme, can be identified as PRODUCING MUNITIONS IS SUPPORTING THE FIGHT.

During World War II, a kind of persuasive rhetoric, which permeated the domain of spoken discourse, was very often focused on the concept of labour as the politicians on both sides of the conflict on numerous occasions spoke about conducting warfare in terms of work. As far as political speeches and their nature is concerned, it is not surprising that metaphor was employed. However, when both speeches and posters are juxtaposed, an interesting fact can be observed. Since the analysed posters are thematically focused on labour, labour naturally becomes the target concept for all of the observed metaphorical projections involved in the posters. By contrast, in the spoken medium war is usually treated as the primary subject. As a result, the status of both concepts as the target and source domains is reversed, and as war receives more primacy, the metaphorical projection also undergoes a change. Such a state of affairs is a consequence of the pragmatic goals which are supposed to be fulfilled by the particular type of propaganda, as both the posters and the speeches are meant to shape a specific outlook based on their major themes. The following excerpts come from the speeches of major political figures of the time, and serve as proof for the employment of metaphorical language which, in terms of successful propaganda, may be indicative of how warfare was meant to be perceived.

Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, and every year he would give a speech on the anniversary of his appointment as Reich Chancellor. On January 30, 1940, during one of these speeches he said:

[...] Indeed, Britain did not want to be the sole champion of God, so it always invited others to come join this noble fight. It did not even try to carry the main burden alone; if you are doing work mandated by God like this, allies can always be sought. [...]

One of these sentences includes at least two metaphors which are related to the idea of war. First, the phrase “carry the main burden” was used to the effect that the aforementioned “noble fight” is seen as a physical weight which has to be carried, and thus physical effort must be exerted. A second, more important quote is: “if you are doing work mandated by God like this, allies can always be sought”. What preceded this passage was an sarcastic comment on the British double standards regarding their attitude towards war. Hitler had pointed out that British politicians had no reservations about waging colonial wars in Africa but, at the same time, they abhorred the imperialistic ambitions of Germany. The presence of the word *work* within the context supplied by the aforementioned quote suggests that it is possible for acts of warfare to be referred to in terms of simple labour. Thus, the conceptual metaphor WAR IS LABOUR may be responsible for the emergence of such linguistic constructs.

Another series of quotes whose metaphorical meaning suggests the workings of the aforementioned conceptual metaphor indicate that it is universal among the speakers of different languages, as both the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler refer to the fighting of military forces as “work”:

[...] Many of our soldiers coming back have not seen the air force at work. They only saw the bombers which escaped their protective attack. This was a great trial of strength between the British and German Air Forces. [...] ²

[...] Now there are U-boats on all the oceans of the world, now you will see how our submarines carry out their work, and however they may look, we are armed for everything, from North to South, from East to West. [...] There is just one thing which I must emphasize again and again; that is our infantry. And behind these forces stands a gigantic communications organization with tens of thousands of motor vehicles and railroads, and they are all going

² From the speech by Winston Churchill delivered to the House of Commons on June 4th, 1940.

to work and will master even the hardest problems. [...] And I want to assure them at this point, insofar as those who are on that icy front can hear me today: I know the work you are doing. And I know also that the hardest lies behind us. Today is January 30. The winter is the big hope of the Eastern enemy. [...]³

As has already been stated, the particular aim of propaganda dictates what metaphor is likely to be used in order to achieve the desired effect. In the following quote, Winston Churchill makes a profound comparison between acts of war and the efforts of the civilian population who supply the military with the necessary provisions and equipment:

[...] There is another more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women and children. The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug in the towns and streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred. The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers with different weapons but the same courage. These are great and distinctive changes from what many of us saw in the struggle of a quarter of a century ago. There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and the resources of the British nation and the British Empire; and that, once we get properly equipped and properly started, a war of this kind will be more favourable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele. [...]⁴

For the purpose of emphasising the importance of the work done by the civilian population, Churchill bluntly describes their work in terms of actual military action. The result is similar to the one achieved by the propaganda posters discussed earlier, as factories, and “towns and streets” become the metaphorical battlefields. Also of interest is Churchill’s implication

³ From the speech by Adolf Hitler delivered to the German Reichstag on 30th January, 1942.

⁴ From the speech by Winston Churchill delivered to the House of Commons on 20th August, 1940.

that the current conflict will result in fewer casualties than the Great War did, because of the technological progress and the industrial potential of Britain which will minimise the losses sustained by the military.

The examples presented above indicate that World War II propaganda was prone to exploit the themes of war and labour together for its own ends. The reason for this exploitation may be the very close, conceptual relationship between the two ideas. Nevertheless, the metaphorical and metonymical representations which have been examined testify to the omnipresence and efficiency of such devices in the realm of public discourse regarding the phenomenon of warfare.

3. Conclusions

The general aim of the present work has been to show that metaphorical thought permeates the discourse concerning the phenomenon of warfare. Furthermore, the theories of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Fauconnier and Turner (2002) have proved to be useful in analysing not only spoken, but also visual metaphors. This testifies to the versatility and validity of these theories. As has been indicated, the major political figures of World War II used metaphor in their speeches to an effect which cannot be ultimately resolved upon, however, it is evident that, as propaganda is designed to exert influence over people's beliefs and actions, metaphor, due to its cognitive significance, becomes an ideal tool for this purpose. This is most visible in the analysis of the metaphors involved in the propaganda posters whose purpose eludes any ambiguity. What speaks to the conceptual power of metaphor is the fact that the posters considered in this thesis are rich in the use of this trope in their composition. Although not all of the presented examples of propaganda posters employ genuine visual metaphors, it is my conviction that none of them would have emerged without the human ability of metaphorical thought, as the theories which have been used in order to conduct the

analysis, even though originally concerned with language, proved to be applicable to visual representations too. Such observations may be indicative of the future direction of cognitive studies, that is, for a complete understanding of human reasoning, all spheres of human experience should be considered, with language being one part of many.

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Appendix



Figure 1a



Figure 1b

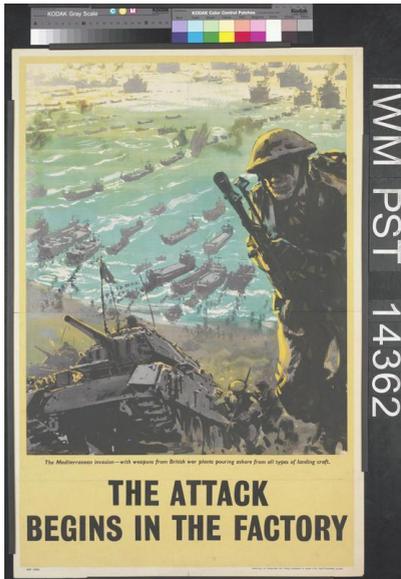


Figure 1c

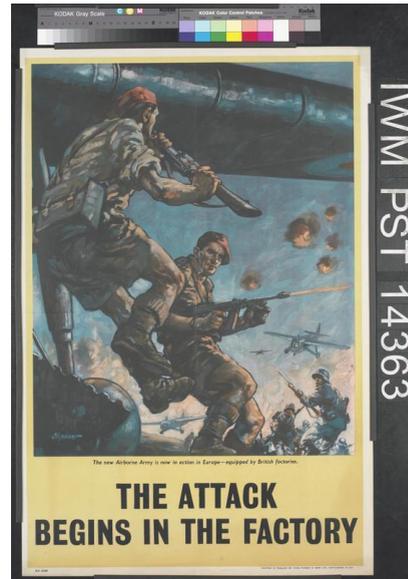


Figure 1d

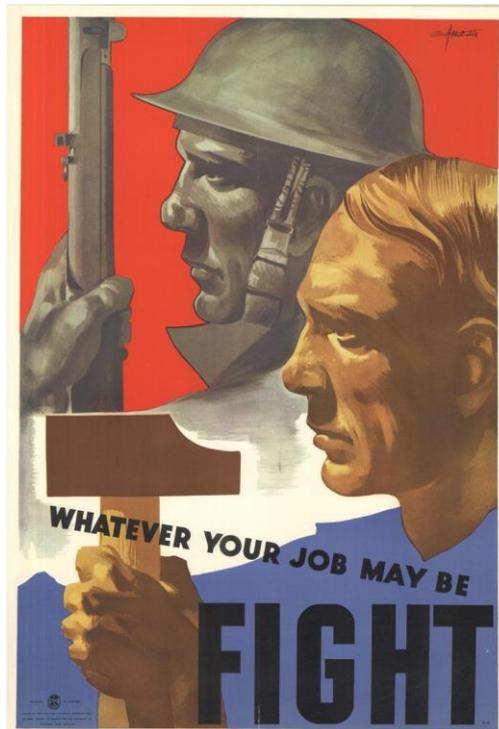


Figure 2

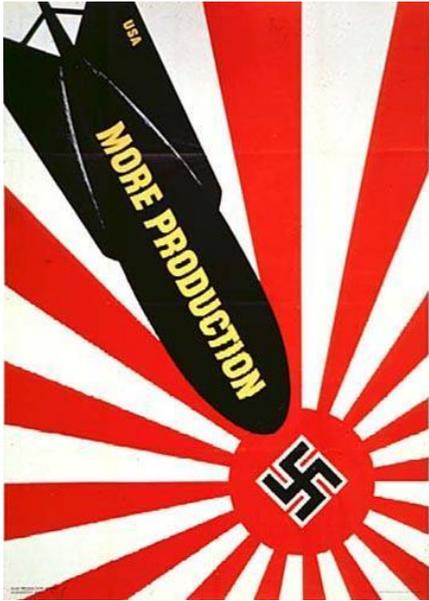


Figure 3a

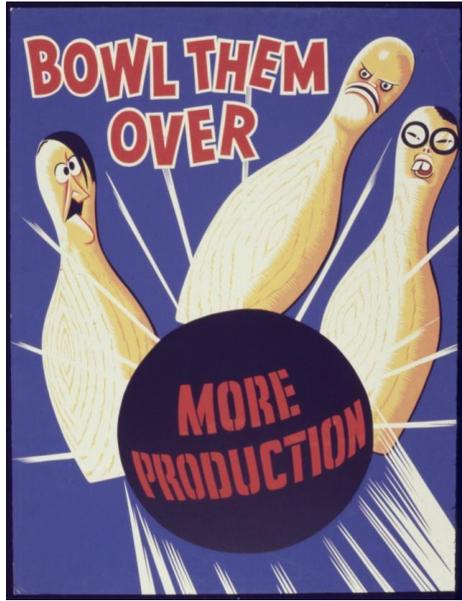


Figure 3b

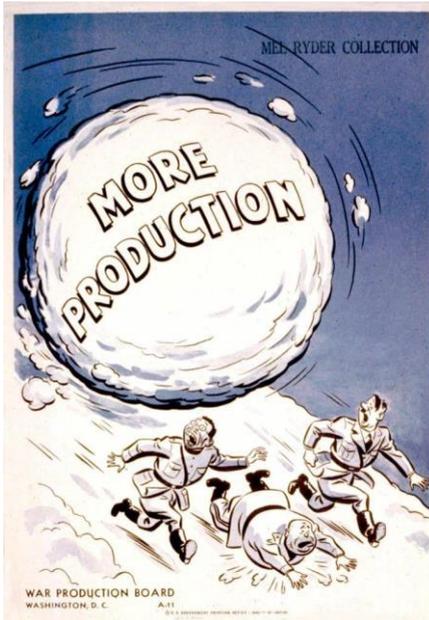


Figure 3c



Figure 4



Figure 5

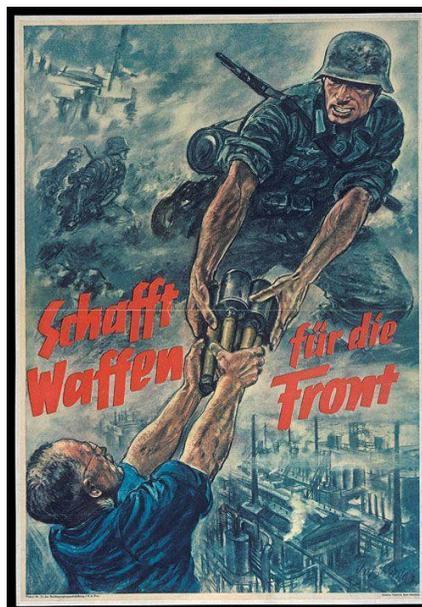


Figure 6

Appendix: Sources

Figure 1a: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/148/media148585/large.jpg?action=d&cat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1b: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/150/media150595/large.jpg?action=d&cat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1c: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/156/media156595/large.jpg>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1d: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/148/media148759/large.jpg?action=dcat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 2: available at <<http://www.fortmissoulamuseum.org/WWII/images/posters/1986.004.003.jpg>>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3a: available at <http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/stamp_em_out/image_html/images/more_production.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3b: available at <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bb/Bowl_them_Over._More_Production_-_NARA_-_534570.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3c: available at <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wpcontent/uploads/sites/16/2014/06/wwii_us-553.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016

Figure 4: available at <<http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/images/LC/biggunsofthehomefront.jpg>>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

Figure 5: available at <http://uh8yh30148rpize52xh0q1o6i.wpengine.netdnacdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/34408_d01768ab83f5b10b_b.jpg>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

Figure 6: available at <<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/01/db/95/01db952a9701bec370c5989b3ad02f1b.jpg>>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

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LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

A comparison of lexical access in teenagers' spontaneous speech and recitation of poetry

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Abstract

In spontaneous speech the problem of lexical access can occur as the use of incorrect lexemes. The various types of incorrect lexemes can be based on semantic and phonetic similarity, caused by grammatical reasons, mixed idioms or compression report. They can also occur in telling the poems learnt by heart. The incorrect lexemes occurring in these situations have common elements and differences, but the question is to what extent.

A series of experiments was carried out with the participation of secondary-school children. Their improved and unimproved incorrect words selected from their spontaneous speech patterns, and their poems learnt by heart were analysed in quantitative and qualitative terms (frequency, types, word orders) both by Praat program and by statistics.

The results have confirmed the preliminary assumption and they can offer new input into serving teenagers whose development of typical language mental lexicons may serve for comparison testing of atypical language development.

Keywords

mental lexicon, lexical access, incorrect lexeme, spontaneous speech, poem learnt by heart

Porównanie dostępu leksykalnego w spontanicznej mowie nastolatków i w recytacji wierszy

Abstrakt

W mowie spontanicznej problem dostępu leksykalnego może wystąpić w formie użycia niewłaściwych leksemów. Różne ich typy mogą być związane z podobieństwem semantycznym i fonetycznym, spowodowanym względami gramatycznymi, pomieszaniem idiomów lub zjawiskiem kompresji. Mogą również wystąpić w recytowaniu wierszy uczonych na pamięć. Niepoprawne leksemy występujące w tych sytuacjach mają wspólne elementy i różnice, ale pytanie brzmi, w jakim stopniu one występują.

Przeprowadzono serię eksperymentów z udziałem uczniów szkół średnich. Poprawiane i niepoprawiane błędne słowa wybrane z ich spontanicznych wzorców mowy i ich wyuczonych na pamięć wierszy analizowano pod względem ilościowym i jakościowym (częstotliwość, rodzaje, szyk) z użyciem programu Praat i narzędzi statystycznych.

Wyniki badania potwierdziły nasze wstępne założenia i mogą wnieść nowy wkład w pomaganie nastolatkom, a także użycie badań typowego rozwoju mentalnego leksykonu w badaniach z nietypowego rozwoju języka.

Słowa kluczowe

leksykon mentalny, dostęp leksykalny, niepoprawny leksem, spontaniczna mowa, wiersz uczony na pamięć

1. Introduction

The mental lexicon is a brain storage system which includes all language units from phonology to semantics (Aitchison 2003, Bonin 2004), rules (Emmorey-Fromkin 1988), and all of the speaker's knowledge about words in his or her language(s) (Singleton 1999, Roux 2013).

The mental lexicon can be organized by sounds (phonological similarity), or by meaning (semantic similarity) (Kraut et al. 2002), but the age at which the word is acquired, or the

frequency of its use can also influence its organization. The words are represented in long-term memory mainly as part of a network of related words (Bruza et al. 2009). When a word is activated, other words of similar form (Stamer-Vitevitch 2012), meaning (Mirman 2011), syntax (Kim-Lai 2012), orthography (Carreiras et al. 2013) or emotional content (Bayer et al. 2012) are also activated.

The mental lexicon is of crucial importance in speech production (Levelt 1989) which begins with the speaker focusing on a target concept and ends with articulation. The main part of speech production is the lexical selection when the speaker accesses the appropriate lexical item in the lexicon. The lexical recall is determined as the selection of the right lexical concept and tagged form design (phonological form). The activation of the lexicon happens on “lemma and lexeme” levels (Aitchison 2003, Garrett 1980, Levelt 2001), as the “word stored in the mind” can contain two components: a semantic component called a lemma, and a formal component referred to as a lexeme. The lemma component includes the information on the word’s meaning, its connotations, style, and syntactic pattern, but the lexeme component contains the word’s morphology, phonology and orthography (Levelt 2001). The error analysis including the “tip of the tongue” (TOT) phenomenon, selection errors known as malapropisms and also the mistakes of aphasic patients show the two-level structure of the internal lexical storage system (Fromkin 1999, Aitchison 2012).

Levelt also assumes that lexical selection is competitive and constrained by grammatical class (1999). Lexical access in the speech production process is not always successful for the speakers, mainly because of competitive structures during the lexical selection. In the tip of the tongue phenomenon, the speaker knows the concept of the word, but he or she is not able to recall the correct lexeme. The speaker knows what the word is and can provide semantic information about it, but cannot remember the exact phonological form, as the lemma has been accessed, but the phonological representation has

not. Incorrect lexemes (false starts, false lexemes) can occur in the surface structure of speech production as the result of simultaneously competed structures speaking a different intention, and they can occur both on the lemma and lexeme levels (Aitchison 2012, Huszár 2005, Gósy 2001, Levelt 2001). These substitution errors are based on semantic or phonetic similarity and semantic substitutions or phonologically related substitutions (malapropism). Semantic substitutions come from selecting the wrong lemma, but phonologically related substitutions occur during the selection of the phonological representation (Fromkin-Ratner 1993, Levelt 2001). In the utterance of a Hungarian speaker beginning with “The American attack or the Japanese attack the America” the lemma is not successful, the incorrect word is different from the target both semantically and phonologically. In the utterance beginning with “A lot of time it was □ Esperanza or Esmaralda” the lemma was correct, but the speaker made a mistake in recalling the lexeme (□ represents the silent period), so the incorrect word and the target word have semantic and phonetic similarities. Incorrect lexemes in the speech production process are mainly caused by grammatical reasoning as there is syntactic planning during the process. When speaking, one must put one’s words in a certain order and add grammatical elements to the utterance. The example *There is a lot of violence from the films* shows when the incorrect preposition *from* is used instead of the correct one *in*. Incorrect lexemes can sometimes occur because of a speech situation as the outside reason or as the result of mixing idioms or a compression report (Evellei 2009). Incorrect lexemes can be monitored and possibly corrected by the speaker. The ratio of incorrect lexemes depends on the age of the speaker and the types of words. In a comparison of the false lexemes in spontaneous speech between young people and older people, the ratio of false lexemes was higher among the older people. The older people had an extremely high number of false lexemes when

retrieving various types of nouns, especially proper names (Evellei 2009).

Reciting a poem learnt by heart is a special kind of communication as the planning, the concept, and the linguistic form are given by the author and it is not necessary for the speaker to create them. The speaker does not have to select the competitive concepts, lexemes and structures as they speak. Consequently, the lexical selection procedure is absent for the speaker, but he or she has to access the corresponding articulatory gestures. Poems feature rhymes which can have a strong impact on lexical access (Rapp and Samuel 2002). Incorrect lexemes can also occur in the process of reciting a poem learnt by heart in spite of the appropriate verbal and semantic memory operation which are necessary in order to retell the poem's lexical units correctly.

This work is focused on the analysis of lexical access in teenagers' spontaneous speech and their poems learnt by heart concerning their L1 mental lexicons. The aim of this work is to examine the incorrect lexemes as substitution errors which can occur in both procedures. The preliminary assumption was that incorrect/false lexemes in both procedures have common elements, but that they also differ from each other and the question is to what extent. The goal was to answer the question with the analysis in quantitative and qualitative aspects.

2. Participants, method and material

The series of experiments was carried out with the participation of secondary school students (between the ages of 15.3 and 16.1). There were two groups of thirty students each. Their mother tongue was Hungarian, they had no mental problems, speech disorders, or hearing loss.

The experiment was divided into two parts. In the first part, the spontaneous speech samples were digitally recorded and in the second, the students' poems were also recorded. In the

spontaneous speech sample, the students were given a minute to consider their prompt question: "What is your favourite film?" In the second part, they had to learn to recite by heart a provided poem by a Hungarian poet. They were given two weeks to memorize the poem. Both speech samples for analyses were approximately three minutes long.

The first data analysis was the collection of all word substitution (incorrect lexemes) errors from both the spontaneous speech and the poem recitation. Then the mistakes were categorized as corrected or uncorrected by the students. For further analysis, the number of syllables was taken into account, as were the category of the part of speech of the pronounced false and target lexemes, and the types of interrelations between the two examined words.

In the spontaneous speech section there were 70 mistakes, and 62.9% of them were corrected by the speakers, with 37.1% uncorrected. From reciting the poems, 107 mistakes were collected and all were uncorrected by the speakers. The statistical analysis was done by the SPSS program (13.00 version).

3. Results

Figure 1 shows the ratio of students with and without mistakes in the two kinds of communication.

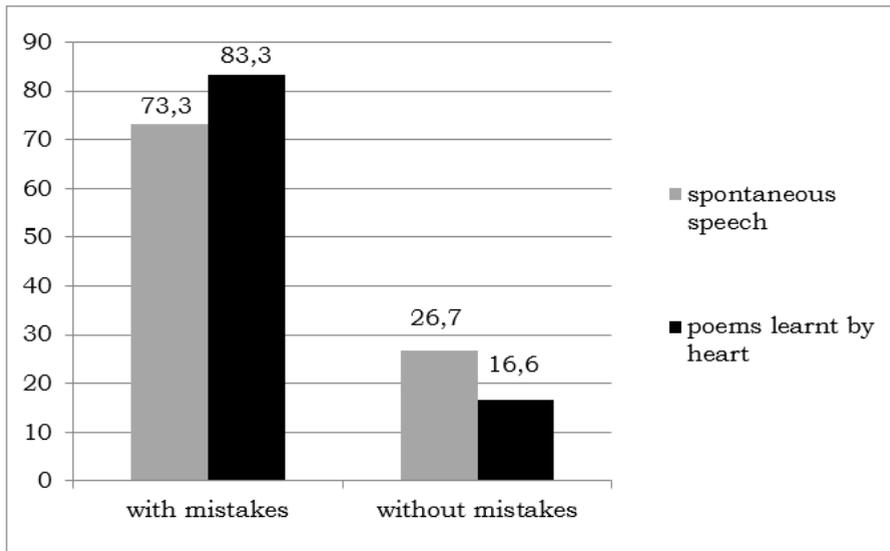


Figure 1

The ratio of students with and without mistakes in the two kind of situations (%)

The results showed the opposite tendency of what had been expected. In the spontaneous speech process there was a higher number of students without mistakes than in the poem recitation. Conversely, in the poem recitation, there was a higher number of students with mistakes than in spontaneous speech, however the differences were not proved statistically. This ratio was also followed in terms of gender analysis (Figure 2), when the differences could be seen a little more strongly.

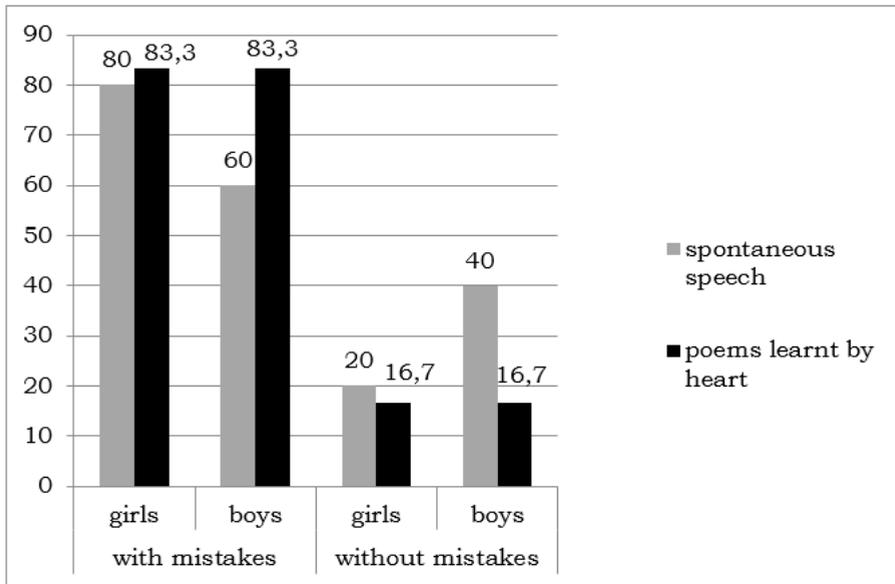


Figure 2

The ratio of girls and boys with and without mistakes (%)

Among the students without mistakes there was no difference regarding the ratio of girls and boys in reciting the poem. In spontaneous speech, the ratio of boys without incorrect lexemes was twice that of the girls' ratio. The difference was also proved by statistical analysis (One-Sample T test: $t(3)=3.523$, $p=0.039$). Among the students with mistakes, the boys' number was much lower in spontaneous speech compared to the number of girls. Again, there was no difference among the girls and boys in reciting the poems. On the basis of the data obtained it is worth concluding that during the spontaneous speech planning, both finding the appropriate concept and the linguistic form is difficult for the teenagers (especially for the girls) taking part in this experiment. Reciting the poem learnt by heart without mistakes is more complicated for them in spite of the fact that the planning process has been done for them. It is also important to remark that the errors may be related to a weak memory. This possible statement is also in-

licated by the number of mistakes per students, which showed differences between the two situations, as in spontaneous speech the number of mistakes per student was 3.18, but in reciting the poem it was a little bit higher, 4.28.

Substitution errors were analysed in terms of similarity, comparing the false lexemes to target ones (Figure 3).

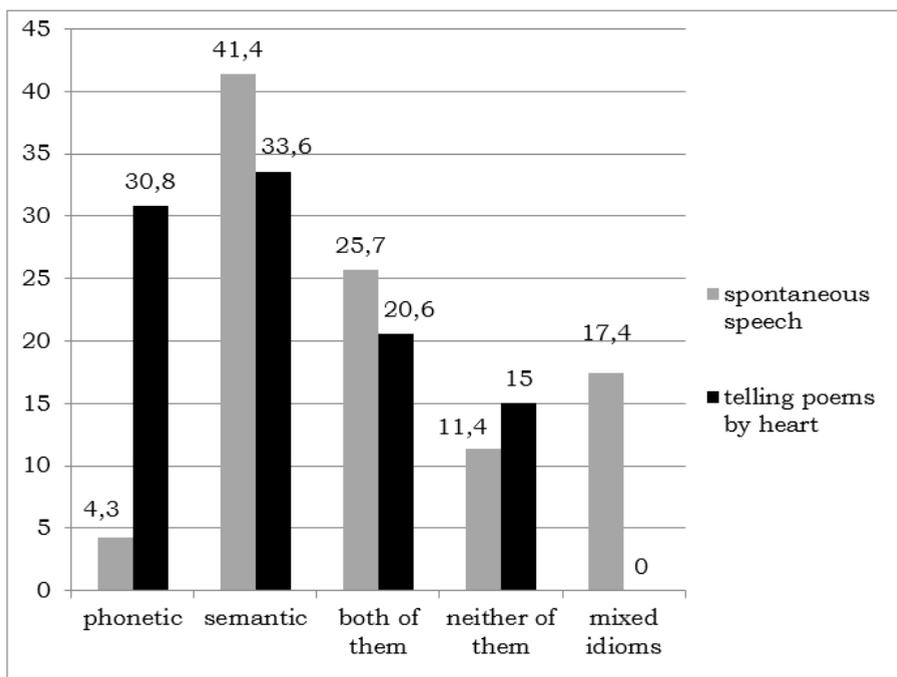


Figure 3

The types of incorrect lexemes regarding the interrelation between the false and target words (%)

In spontaneous speech the highest ratio of false lexemes occurred where there was a strong semantic similarity to target words like in this example: *Eminem is a famous musician* □ *rapper*. The second highest ratio of false lexemes occurred when a semantic and a phonetic similarity can be seen be-

tween the false and target lexemes (*we write them on* □ *write them out CD-s and look at them*). The third highest ratio of false lexemes occurred in relation to mixed idioms. This kind of order of mistakes can be seen in earlier studies (Fromkin 1999, Horváth-Gyarmathy 2010). In the poems learnt by heart there was a similar tendency especially in terms of semantic similarity and in the case of semantic and phonetic similarity, however the ratios were a little bit lower than in spontaneous speech. Some strong differences were also found between the two examined situations. In reciting the poem, the ratio of false lexemes showing phonetic similarity to target ones was much higher than in spontaneous speech (If all can eat (in Hungarian : *ehet*)/if all can take (*vehet*). There were no instances of mixed idioms. On the basis of the data obtained, it is worth concluding that the selection of lemmas can be the most difficult aspect for the students in both styles of communication. In other words, they might have difficulties during the selection of the appropriate lexeme regarding its meaning, connotations, style, and its syntactic pattern independent of the style of communication. The high ratio of those incorrect lexemes which have both semantic and phonetic similarity to the target ones can indicate the problems with both the lemma and the lexeme components. It means the students have difficulties not only with the meaning of the lexeme but also with its morphology, or phonology, again independent of the style of communication. The high ratio of those false lexemes which have phonetic similarity to target ones in reciting the poems learnt by heart suggests difficulties in remembering the exact phonetic representation of words occurring in the learnt text in spite of the lemma containing semantic information being accessed by the students. This finding was also proved by statistical analysis (One-Sample T test: $t(1)=3,134$, $p=0,035$). Further, it is important to remark that the high ratio of false words which have a strong phonetic similarity to target ones can show the influence of rhyme on lexical access which has been found and emphasized in other studies (Rapp and Samuel 2002).

The analysis of the word classes of both the false and target lexemes (Figure 4) also showed similar tendencies in the examined situations.

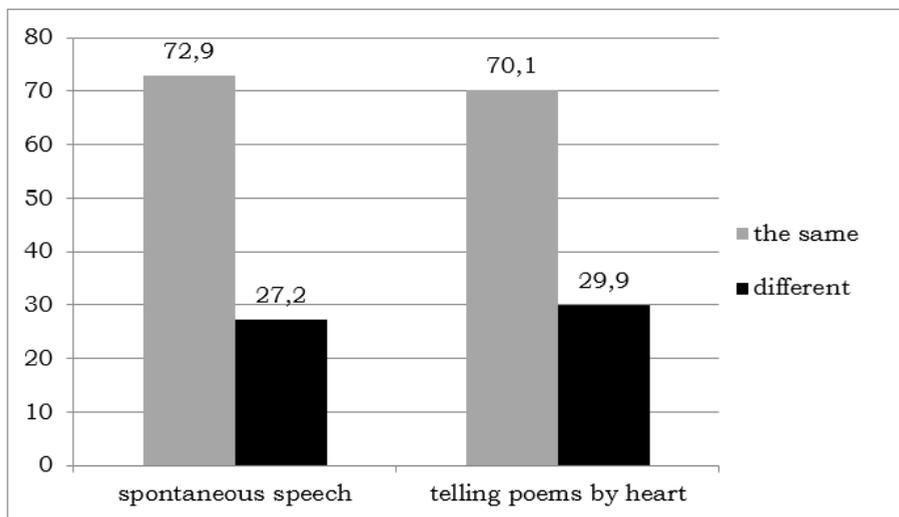


Figure 4

The word classes of the false and target lexemes (%)

Both in the spontaneous speech and in the poems, the words tend to be exchanged with other words of the same syntactic class in most cases, as also seen in other studies, where the target word and the error word were of the same grammatical category in 99% of the cases (Fay and Cutler 1977). The question is, what is the ratio of content and function words belonging to the same part of the speech in the examined situations?

The exchange errors where the false and the target lexeme belonged to the same syntactic class/part of the speech, were analysed separately, as were those which had different syntactic classes. When the parts of speech of the false and the target lexemes were the same (Figure 5) the most common exchange errors in spontaneous speech were the nouns among the con-

tent words, and the pronouns among the function words. In the poems the ratio of noun exchanges were also the highest among the content words, but the highest among the function words were verb prefixes, however there was also a larger difference between the ratios. The ratio of adverb exchange errors like mistakes from content words was roughly the same in both communication styles.

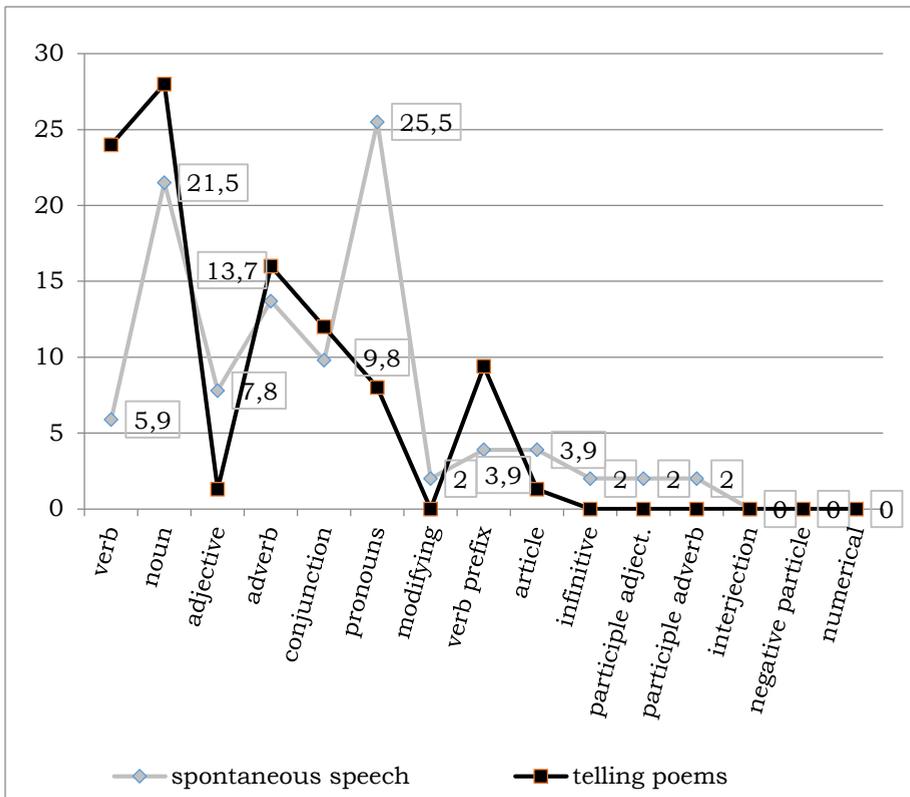


Figure 5

The ratio of parts of speech – when the false and target lexemes belong to the same syntactic classes

When the syntactic class of false and target lexemes were different (Figure 6) in spontaneous speech the ratio of mistakes was the highest regarding nouns, adverbs and participles from content words, but the ratios were much lower than in the previous case. Among the function words, the highest ratio of mistakes was again from pronouns. In the poems, the ratio of adverbs was the highest regarding the content words, but the ratio of interjections among function words. (This kind of categorization was based on the speech part of target lexemes).

Comparing all the data obtained regarding communication style and syntactic classes of target and false lexemes at a time it is worth emphasizing that false lexemes as the word exchanging errors can occur among content words in a higher extent independent of the style of communication. The ratio of errors among function words also was high, and it can depend on the type of syntactic class of target and false lexeme. The ratio of mistakes from content words like nouns was also independent from the situation, however the ratio of mistakes of function words depends on that one when the syntactic class of false and target lexemes is equal. When the syntactic class of target and false lexemes is different, both content and function words' mistakes can depend on the style of communication.

The analyses of the number of false and target lexemes' syllables (Figure 7) showed the opposite tendency between the two kind of situations.

In spontaneous speech, the number of false and target lexemes was different in two thirds of cases, contrasting with reciting the poem learnt by heart, when the number of syllables of the two words were the same. The number of false and target lexemes can be in close interrelation with the planning process of the examined situations. In spontaneous speech, to find the semantic information is much more difficult for the students than to remember the phonological information, whereas by contrast in the situation of reciting the poem learnt by heart remembering the correct phonological form of the lex-

emes learnt and stored in the mind is much more difficult, however the number of syllable of words might have the strong effect on the lexical access (cf. Rapp-Samuel 2002).

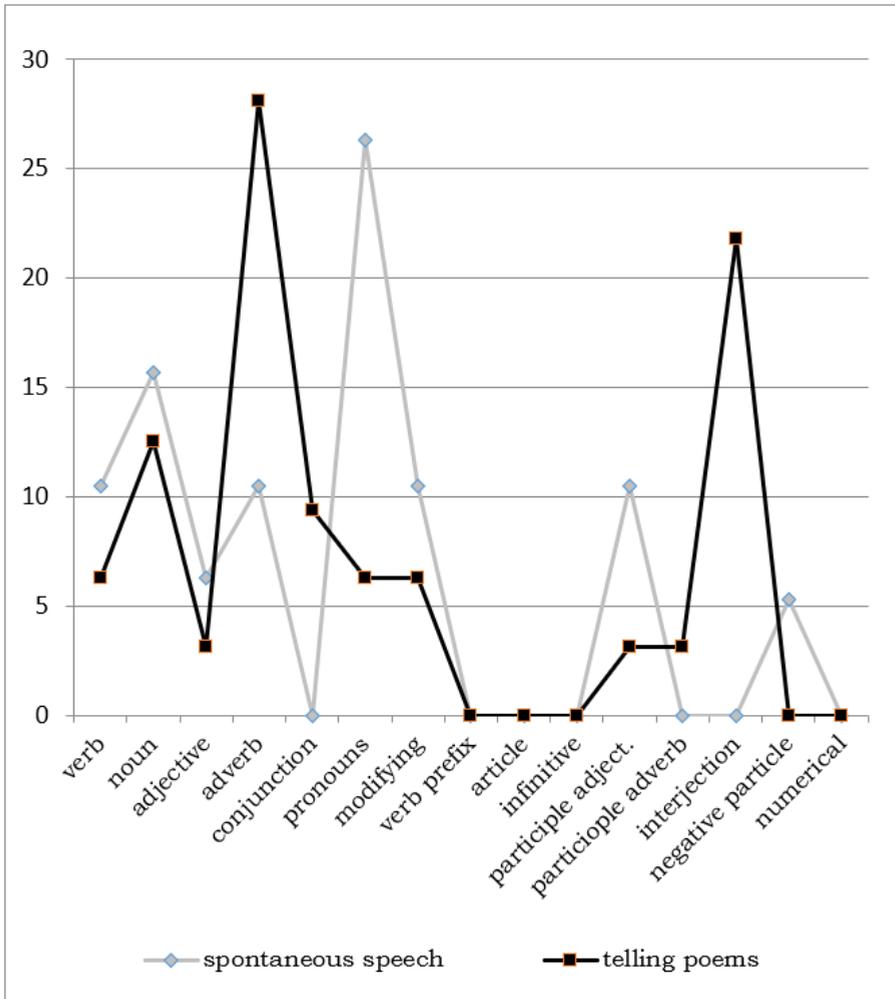


Figure 6

The ratio of parts of speech – when the false and target lexemes belong not to the same syntactic classes

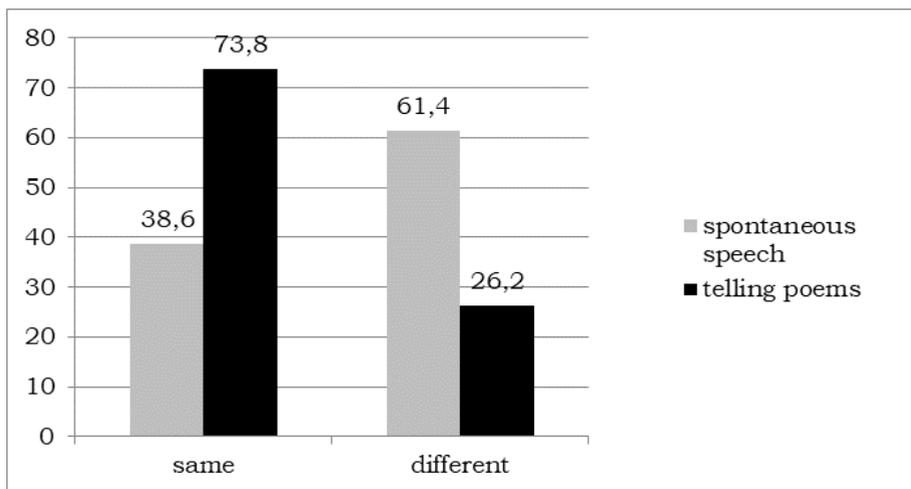


Figure 7

The number of syllables of false and target lexemes

Those substitution errors were analysed separately in terms of the similarity when the number of syllables between the false and target lexeme is different (Figure 8).

The types of false lexemes were similar to those which were found in the analysis concerning the whole corpus in both situations. In spontaneous speech the highest ratio was of those false lexemes where there was a semantic similarity to the target ones and the lowest number was when there was a phonetic similarity between the two words. A similar tendency was found in the poems learnt by heart. However, the ratios of various types were a bit higher than in spontaneous speech except the ratio of semantic similarities where there was the opposite tendency. The ratio of false lexemes when there was a phonetic similarity between the false and target lexemes was also higher than in spontaneous speech. The data obtained confirmed the previous hypothesis, that during the spontaneous speech activating the lemma was rather difficult for the students taking part in the study. This was underlined by the ratio of mixed idioms as well. In reciting the poem learnt by

heart, the main problem was for them to activate the phonetic information of the given word and sometimes both the punctual semantic and phonetic information of the given word.

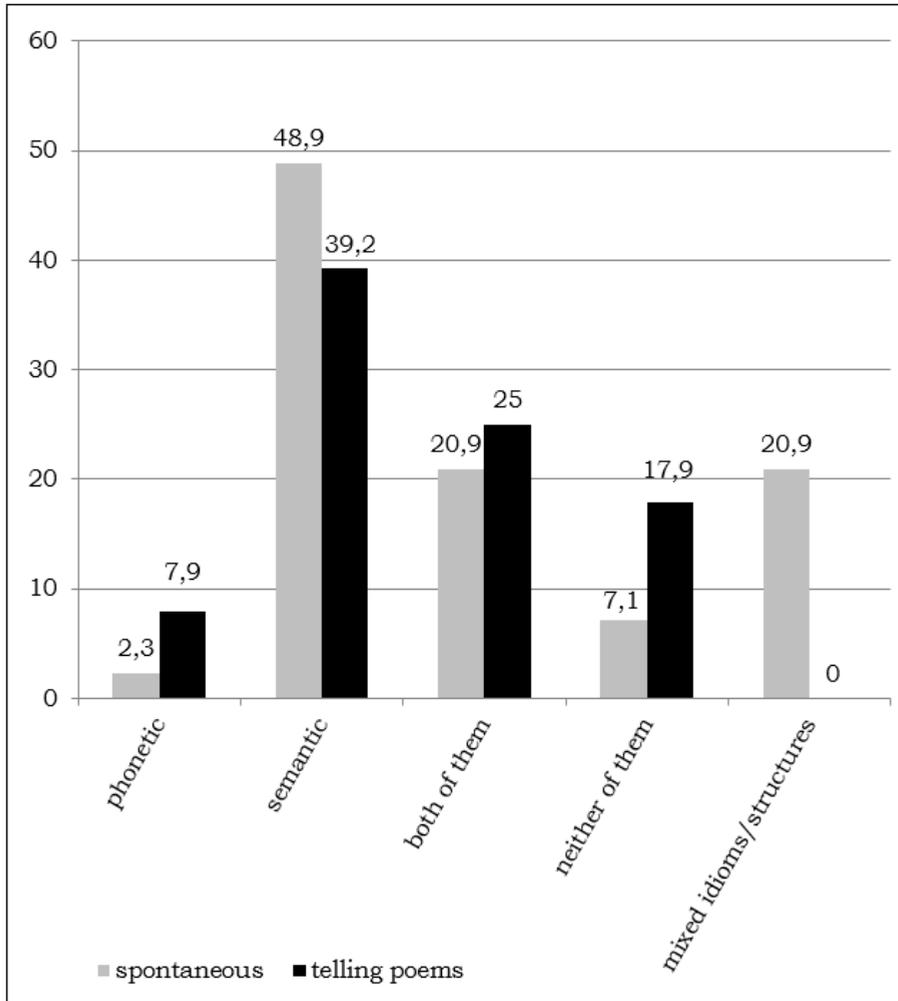


Figure 8

The interrelation of false and target lexemes when the number of syllables is different (%)

4. Discussion

In this paper the aim was to analyse the lexical access process in different communication styles in terms of lexeme substitution errors both in quantitative and qualitative aspects.

The hypothesis was that these kinds of lexeme substitution errors can occur in both spontaneous speech production process and in the process of reciting a poem learnt by heart, but not to the same extent. It was also thought that these kind of errors could be described by common and different characteristic features because of the different planning process in the two examined situations.

The hypothesis was completely confirmed by the analysis as the substitution errors occurred in both of the examined teenagers' communication styles, however the ratio and the types of errors depended on the situation. As the ratio of incorrect lexemes was higher in telling the poem than it was in spontaneous speech and the gender analysis only showed an influence on the ratio of errors in spontaneous speech, it seems appropriate to conclude that reciting the poem learnt by heart can be a much more difficult task for teenagers than to think of a concept and find the appropriate linguistic form of it in spontaneous speech production. It means that to retrieval the accurate learnt and stored lexemes, that is to remember their phonological representation and meanings, is much more complicated for them than the lexicalisation (that is the process of turning the semantic representation of words into the phonological specification). The high number of exchange errors of lexemes in reciting the poem learnt by heart might be connected to with the students' weak semantic memories as well, in spite of the different planning process comparing it to the spontaneous speech. It was also proved by the types of false lexemes, regarding their interrelation with the target ones, as in spontaneous speech, that there were more numbers of types when the semantic similarity was found between the false and target lexemes. Conversely in the poems learnt

by heart the high number of the false lexeme types occurred when the phonetic similarity was found between the two lexemes. As a result, in spontaneous speech the mistakes may occur more often on the level of lemma, however in reciting the poem, the mistakes may occur more often on the level of lexeme. In reciting the poems, the strong effect of rhyme on the lexical access was also proved as in most of the cases the number of syllables of false and target lexemas was the same. This would suggest that lexical access can be influenced by a combination of form and meaning, independent of the style of communication, so the lexical retrieval in spontaneous speech and in poems learnt by heart have some similar characteristics.

The analysis of syntactic classes of target and false lexemes showed that the retrieval problem can describe mainly the function words independent of the style of communication and it can occur especially during the lexical access in terms of nouns. This result and the data obtained regarding the same syntactic class of false and target lexemes in both of the examined situations can prove that most substitution errors can occur in the selection of semantic information in the different styles of communication. The high ratio of mistakes regarding the function words and the fact that they can occur independent of the communication style, can prove that function words can be stored not only as function words in the lexicon but also in other ways.

5. Conclusion

In terms of pedagogical aspects it is worth emphasizing the extension of teenagers' vocabulary continuously progresses with the development of the words' meaning. This process is necessary for the children in primary school but also for the older students in the secondary school, especially in the age of modern technology and digital tools, when the students' oral communication is less and they read less. The procedure of

their vocabulary extension needs a lot of types of exercises which include the development of their verbal memories. It is also important to remark upon the role of memoriters (e.g. poems) both in primary and secondary school in order to develop the students' semantic memories.

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**“How languages are learned”:
Revisiting the phenomenon of learners
being oppressed in the English classrooms
from the view of critical pedagogy**

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Abstract

This paper deals with a controversial perspective of language teaching and learning from the view of critical theories. From the assumption of the oppressed (learners) and the oppressors (teachers in the language classroom), the authors propose the idea to revisit the issues relevant to how languages are learned. The paper discusses the reality of language learning from the narrow view of non-European practitioners and learners to discuss the phenomenon of teaching from the oppressive perspectives. From that, proposals for different language classrooms with equality, ignorance-free, and especially real demands were suggested to be the main motivation for communication. Additionally, the paper also indicates that the issues of lexicon and learners' fears were not the main reasons for communication failure. The authors borrow the terms from and grasp the literal implications of Lightbown and Spada (2006) and simultaneously employ the critical theories of Freire (2005) and Rancière (1991) as a counterbalance in the call to revisit “how languages should be

learned” in the new era of technology and the matter of learning and teaching from critical perspectives.

Keywords

language classroom, critical theories, learners’ demands, ignorant schoolmaster in language teaching

„Jak uczy się języków?” Powrót do zjawiska opresji uczniów na zajęciach z języka angielskiego z punktu widzenia pedagogiki krytycznej

W niniejszym artykule ukazano kontrowersyjną perspektywę nauczania i uczenia się języków z punktu widzenia teorii krytycznych. Z założenia istnienia uciśnionych – uczących się i ciemniejących – nauczycieli w klasie językowej, autorzy zaproponowali pomysły, aby ponownie przeanalizować kwestie związane ze sposobem nauczania języków. W artykule omówiono rzeczywistość uczenia się języków z wąskiej wizji pozaeuropejskich praktyków i uczniów, aby omówić zjawisko nauczania z perspektywy opresyjnej. W efekcie wysunięto sugestię, że główną motywacją do komunikacji są propozycje różnych zajęć językowych uwzględniających równość, pozbawionych ignorancji, a zwłaszcza biorących pod uwagę rzeczywiste potrzeby. Poza tym wykazuje się, że problemy leksykalne i lęki uczniów nie były głównymi przyczynami niepowodzenia w komunikacji. Autorzy zapożyczyli terminy i implikacje z publikacji *How Languages are Learnt* (Lightbown i Spada 2006), a jednocześnie wykorzystali krytyczne teorie (Freire 2005, Rancière 1991) jako przeciwwagę w wezwaniu do ponownego przyjrzenia się „jak należy się uczyć języków” w nowej erze technologii oraz kwestii uczenia się i nauczania z krytycznych perspektyw.

Słowa kluczowe

klasa językowa, teorie krytyczne, wymagania uczących się, ignorancji nauczyciel w nauczaniu języków obcych

1. Introduction

The idea for this paper arose from the discussion between the presentations at the International Conference of Educational Roles of Language (ERL) in 2016 at the University of Gdańsk, Poland, under the critical perspective theory about how languages should be learned in the contemporary context. Being fully active participants in the third session of personal experience of language on the first day and in the second session of language activity of children on the second day, we heard several hot issues regarding teaching and learning languages which were proposed. The direction to broader concerns of those in international academic community could be seen as their by-product. For example, “sto języków dziecka” [100 languages of the child] means the care about lexical recall, the fear of speaking English of Polish learners, the unconscious language acquisition, “Magos Method”, and the extreme concerns about “accuracy”. As suggested by the work of Lightbown and Spada (2006), this can be claimed that the current interests of the researchers regarding their personal experience and activities for language teaching and learning are relevant to the aspects of how the languages are learned.

According to Lightbown and Spada, language acquisition needs conditions, instructed methods and processes of learning. However, teaching and learning English under the views and concerns about lexical recall, the fear of language speaking or other issues in the light of Lightbown and Spada (2006) seem to be unrealistic in the contemporary era. It is recognized from this research that teachers being too dominant for their roles in language education may lead to a decrease in the learner’s potential and competence. The students may focus on their fear of errors rather than practicing and refining their communication skills. Instead of this view, it should be clarified that regardless how the learners are instructed, they begin to use the language only when they need to, and the demands of communication are higher than any other barriers.

From the views of mostly selected research presentations, speaking English could become problematic when learners make mistakes or are not able to sound like native speakers. This may lead them to a decision of keeping silent and avoiding the risk of making themselves sound stupid in front of their friends and their “excellent and intelligent modeling teachers” (Ranci re 1991). It would be an overgeneralization to conclude that the cares and concerns in language teaching and learning, as in Lightbown and Spada, are not efficient for the learners or for the teachers to help them overcome their mentioned problems, even as fear and errors increased. In fact, the problems regarding the fear of making mistakes (Harmer 1991, Zua 2008, Teseng 2012 and Hieu 2011), the factors influencing learners of English (Long 1983, Nguyen and Tran 2005, and Nation and Newton 2009), and the teachers’ perspectives and possible solutions (Latha and Ramesh 2012 and Nguyen, Phan and Ly 2011) have been widely researched. Compatible views are recognized from the aforementioned context of the first ERL Conference in comparison to this relevant research and the research of Lightbown and Spada (2006). However, the authors of this paper would like to classify these views of language teaching and learning as an outdated perspective, although it is globally and contemporarily appreciated, accepted and applied.

The reasons for these anti-global perspectives of teaching and learning English originate from a critical view of education regarding the linguistic area. The first important point is that teachers of English do not recognize themselves as the oppressors in the classroom, oppressing their learners (Freire 2005). Teachers are also not aware of being oppressed as slaves of the mind to imitate and do what the native English speakers deem to be standard for the language. Learners of English or other languages unintentionally put pressure on themselves during this learning process. It is not teachers’ faults, but the influences of the historical and traditional philosophies of education and language teaching, in particular. It would be hard to convince teachers to accept the view that they themselves have

been under pressure for a long time. However, following Rancière’s *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* (1991), this paper would like to describe how languages should be learned from the critical perspective of the learners’ emancipation, with neither fear nor oppression in the future.

In *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, Rancière uses the metaphor of the ignorant schoolmaster and borrows the case of the French teacher, Jacotot, to distinguish the language teaching both with and without explication from language teachers and the common language of communication between teachers and learners. In his work, the teachers who can tell students what to do, explain what is written in the textbooks and care about errors, mistakes or standards rather than about their learners’ development as an end, are the “intelligent teachers”. These teachers are different from Jacotot in the sense that they stultify the “know-nothing” learners by their intelligence, instead of emancipating the learners as Jacotot does. The learners, in somewhat similar conditions to the contemporary era, are being oppressed with the transmission of knowledge from the teachers without any sense of practical things.

This paper would borrow the image of an auto-vacuum machine from Professor Gert Biesta¹ about the metaphor for learners and learning that focus on correcting mistakes, for learners to be autonomous and adaptable to the environment. This metaphor can be applied to the reality of teaching and learning second or foreign languages nowadays. As it was presented in the ERL Conference, learners are frequently expected to be aware of mistakes and everything must be accurate to the standard of the native speakers. As a result, the learners feel the need to be autonomous and adaptable to the different barriers and problems around them in the environment for their learning. From that point of view, students learn to become an auto-vacuum machine, which could partly explain

¹ The author of *The Beautiful Risk of Education* (2013) who was invited to University of Gdańsk to give lectures about learning, teaching, emancipation, and so on from his experience and his book in March 2017.

why they are scared of expressing themselves and making mistakes.

Therefore, this paper will mainly focus on a proposal to call for the language teachers and practitioners to revisit the aspects of language acquisition from the side of the learners and their demands, examining the roles of the teachers from a critical perspective, and certainly not from the oppressive and standardized manner of the native speakers of any languages.

2. What should be revisited in light of how languages are learned?

Referring back to the purposes of this paper, the authors want to revisit the issues raised during the conference regarding how languages are learned from the critical perspectives. This section concentrates on the discussions about environmental factors to explain the Polish students' fear of speaking English, the natural settings of language acquisition, the role of accuracy in terms of language varieties, and the central role of learners in their learning.

2.1. The environmental, cultural, and oppressing factors explaining the Polish students' fear of speaking English

The theories of languages learning would give some explanation to the scenario that Daszkiewicz² found about the Polish students' fear of speaking English, regarding anxiety, which is defined as a feeling of tension and nervousness related to the situation of learning a foreign language (Horwitz et al. 1986). While language anxiety is mainly discussed from the views of the teachers (oppressors) or the views of the learners (oppressed), this paper would like to propose the view of the issue from the critical aspects in which the learners and the teach-

² Dr M. Daszkiewicz – a presenter and organizer of the 1st Conference “Educational Roles of Language”.

ers are equal in terms of pursuing the same purposes of learners' learning (Rancière 1991).

The learners' anxiety in language learning is absolutely not new, as in the following views or research. Theoretically, communication apprehension, which is connected with learners' ability to interact with other language learners or the teacher in the target language, is considered one of the main causes of learners' anxiety in language learning (Horwitz and Cope 1986, cited in Zhao 2007). It can influence the quality of oral language production and make individuals appear less fluent than they really are. A fear of being negatively evaluated by their peers, their teachers and other “intelligent people”³ is another cause for learners' anxiety (Liu 2007, Zhou et al. 2004). The learners' verbal interactive inability is caused by shyness which is an emotional fear which many students suffer from when they are required to speak in front of the class. According to Bowen (2005) and Robby (2010), learners' shyness is the result of their quiet nature. It is one of the more common phobias that language learners have and shyness makes their mind become blank or makes them forget what to say. Learners' shyness is their perception of their own ability. In addition, Saurik (2011) states that the majority of English language learners feel shy when they speak the language because they think they cannot avoid making mistakes while talking. Therefore, they are also afraid of being laughed at by their peers.

Nevertheless, although we must agree with Daszkiewicz that Polish students are shy in their English utterances with foreigners, this shyness is not connected with the fear of making mistakes which causes the subsequent laziness of constructing communication when the communicative partners may not bring them any practical benefits. As Vietnamese, the authors of this paper fully discerned the feeling of being ignored by Polish students, which may be explained by their classification of the authors. People might think that this would be not ethi-

³ A metaphor, which borrowed from Rancière (1991), indicates those who do not care about the feeling of people around them.

cal and that it is too over-generalized to bring this phenomenon to a discussion without scientific evidence to prove these perceptions at the moment. However, what happened in the classrooms of Polish students and international students would help explain somehow this common behavior. The cases were that Polish students chose to separate their seats or rows from international students. If the teachers in these classes had not organized interactional activities, the students would not have any eagerness to communicate with each other. The students had no problems with their English speaking capacity while engaged in interactional activities; however, they intentionally switched back to Polish to talk to their own peers outside of classroom activities. As an assumption, although it is accepted that some students are shy, most of them actively decided not to speak English because they did not have any need to. It is not only the matter of shyness, but laziness to communicate with non-native English speakers. The further communication among them with such kinds of interlocutors may lead to nothing better for them, so it may be better not to make any conversation which may risk mistakes. This phenomenon can be seen from our own perspectives as that they find no sense to be equal with the partners from other cultures. And this may be wrong because of other effects of the generation gaps. However, it can be simply understood that there is no need to communicate when it is not for their interests and demands. As a result, being the non-native speakers obviously decreases our chances to practice.

Of course, people may criticize this view or debate that these students from Asia are not confident enough to speak with the non-native speakers of English. However, a similar phenomenon happened with our efforts to speak in Polish and the desire to improve Polish competence in a Polish speaking country. In fact, people tend to use their English more to talk with international students from Northern Europe. Although this was not a result from a study with sound methodology, our lives were embedded within the environment and realized the barriers and borders for the sake of our learning explora-

tion. This is not meant to include all Polish students, but it was from our real feeling and reality of a possible signal of discrimination in the environment of English as a foreign language there. The situation could have arisen from the personality, nationalism, generation gap, discrimination or even the nonsense of pursuing any communication. It was merely their unwillingness to make such communication. In short, less communication in English was not because of the language instruction.

In addition, the educational environments of being oppressed, as in Freire, partly formulate the learning styles of some Polish students. It seems that Polish education cares so much about early education so that children have the best possible environments for learning and growth. However, when they enter secondary and high school, the matter of discipline and traditional teaching widely affect their learning routines. Before entering university, the majority of students may be too familiar with listening to teachers, taking notes and accepting what has been taught. Of course, the same scenarios will not be found all over Poland. Being oppressed under the disciplines of some teachers in the long process from secondary to higher school might shape these personalities with respect to the fear of doing something wrong or saying something stupid.

In short, although the open policies and qualification controls of education in Poland may have both negative and positive features, each student is actually an individual with diversified exposure to different educational and living environments which would lead each to be unique. Being shy as a feature of inhibition, introverted people, lazy or oppressed by speaking English would not be the case of every student, but the majority of those we have worked with, and the problem actually stems from their needs of using English.

2.2. The roles of accuracy from the oppressors versus lingua franca and language varieties

Language accuracy was emphasized to the extreme in the ERL conference, as were suggestions for ways for the teachers to deal with it. This issue triggered a hot discussion in that section because the world of English speakers is not standardized by a set of English rules and criteria. However, the view of accuracy in terms of any native standards of English should be concerned with the aspects of the language variety of dialects. If communication is one of the first important purposes of a language, the standards coming from any native countries of that language should not become the oppressing features.

The natural settings and cultural factors for a learner to acquire languages have created different versions of non-native English speakers. If one considers English as a means of communication, British English standards of accent and pronunciation would both demotivate and motivate learners in other parts of the world. If one considers English as a model or standard, the English teachers who chase the notion of accuracy at all costs scare the learners from the oppressors' points of view both with and without their attention.

Learners in natural settings have advantages over those in traditional settings. Facilitation of the natural setting in language learning and language acquisition is so widely-known that it is odd to make a conclusion based on it. Natural language acquisition in non-native English environments is differently characterized by natural communicative interactions where the learners are exposed to their own demands of consciousness in a wide variety of localized vocabulary and structures. They encounter proficient speakers, and language events, and must respond to questions. Learners may be able to access modified input in many one-to-one conversations. This setting is usually available in the countries which speak the target language or in a place where the target language is the second language, not a foreign language as in Europe.

Learners' errors are rarely corrected because the feedback-givers see it as rude behaviors.

Generally speaking, learners in natural settings are given more favorable conditions to develop their language-use ability when surrounded by the target language. Learners figure out what and how they went wrong in their language production since their errors are rarely corrected. Their ability in reflecting their own language discourse, in their authentic failures, and in success in previously-employed language knowledge will be formed and developed, thereby improving their future language performance. From the above-mentioned features of language learners' learning process in the natural setting, it leads to the implication that if people live or work in the environment where the target language is spoken, their likelihood of speaking the language is much higher than those who are not surrounded by native or proficient speakers of that language. For that reason, accuracy should become an additional but intensive encouragement to language learners in places where native speakers of English are not surrounding them. The real world needs English and other languages for the sake of communication and understanding, not for the focus on errors or accuracy although the latter may help decrease the possible misunderstanding among the users.

2.3. The core influence on the learners' learning is not connected with the effects of their characteristics and the teachers' explication

Studying a new language in the same learning setting, being taught with the limited alternative teaching methods and exposure to the same language material, learners might show their differences in their language learning techniques. Some might deal with their language learning easily and more effectively than others. However, the learning problems should be mainly understood from their primary reasons of being oppressed by authoritarian or traditional teachers. These dis-

crepancies are caused by the “intelligent teachers” rather than by the learners’ individual different characteristics.

At first, it seems that influences are researched and found from the teachers’ explication and learners’ characteristics, such as age, personality, motivation, attitude, intelligence, and so on. However, the real hidden influence of language learners relies on the teachers’ mindsets of teaching language, the wrong assumptions about how languages are learned regarding the dubious but widely acceptable acquisition theories and the dominant roles of the teachers as explicators or knowledge transmitters.

Referring back to the language classroom of Jacotot in Rancière (1991), he does teach the language as the explicator. Although this matter causes numerous controversial debates, we would share this view from the sense of making the best understanding and practices for learners’ realistic and effective learning. Jacotot and the language learners do not “master” the only available bilingual textbook at that time – the *Télémaque* – and do not share a common language for communication. However, the demands of communication and the teachers’ activities, not the teachers’ teaching or explicating, require both the students and the teacher to process their learning to master the language in a different way. The language is not mastered from the instruction given by the intelligent master, but by the “ignorant one”. The classroom does not happen with the process of teachers – oppressors – telling or explaining to the learners – the oppressed – what is right and what something means in the textbook. The learners learn from their needs and the appropriate view of equality in education which promote the learning process to be carried out.

Obviously, this should not be a direct attack on the foundation of language acquisition and the sake of how languages are learned from the long history of linguistic pedagogy. In addition, the effect of learners’ characteristics should not be underestimated. However, from our critical perspectives and the positions of the oppressed in language learning, the core factor is the teachers’ mindset of linguistic education from the op-

pressors’ positions and behavior under the oppressive standards.

3. How should languages be learned from critical perspectives?

If the aforementioned key aspects raise some awareness of the language teachers and learners, we should be allowed to introduce the reconstruction of how languages should be learned, not from the acquisition theories, but the from critical theories. This part will be unfolded by answering the direct questions from the readers and critics of this paper.

3.1. If the teachers do not teach in the classroom, how do students learn the language?

When people ask this question, it is possible that the language contents and curriculum satisfaction are still the main concerns of the teachers, not the idea of the learners as the centres of their learning. Why do we need the teachers – explicators – when any explanations from the textbooks and exercises can be found or can be asked for preferences from a variety of online communities and Google? At this moment, people may voice their objection to our view. People still need the language teachers and more language centres are open hourly in the world. There must be reasons. The reasons originate from the solid foundations of standardization, the effects of capitalism and learnification (Biesta 2013) before the stage of emancipation of the learners. The learners should not fear the world of language speaking and non-standardization.

Back to the question, learners learn from their use of the languages, interactions and the demands of communication. Learners really need teachers when they do not know how to carry out the learning process, from which they improve their language competence. They need teachers to mentor them, to lead them to go to find their own ways of learning a language, and to facilitate their emancipation not only for the language,

but also from the explication of what is written in the textbook and the correct answers to the exercises. More importantly, teachers help learners connect with each other so that they can be involved in the conversation.

In short, if teachers want learners to acquire a language as the central goal, the oppression tradition should be eliminated. If teachers want learners to be able to use their language well, teachers should encourage them not to be afraid of making mistakes during their learning process and guide them to light their own will of learning for communication and understanding of a better life. Therefore, teachers of languages need to change their views first and stop being annoyed when the issues of how languages are learned are brought up.

3.2. What are the roles of teachers in the language classroom from this view?

From this view, the roles of teachers should not be similar to the available tools supporting language learning and global interaction because the world may provide even more genuine sources of language than in the classroom.

However, language teachers should be available to support their learners' process of learning with a focus on their demands for communication and language use, not accuracy and the over-focus on language contents.

From our view, teachers in the language classroom should be different in the sense of being coaches, mentors and promoters of the incubation of ideas for circulation and interaction with the use of the target language. Teachers and learners should be equal and on the same side in finding new ideas, new applications of the target language, and the creation of the environment for the language to be used.

3.3. What really motivates students in language learning?

To answer this question, we would like to narrow but not eliminate the other motivations of language learning in the past or recent research. The motivation of learners should be from their larger demands of making survival or essential forms of communication. Learners should be motivated by their needs with no better solutions than using the target language although there would be some barriers at the beginning. However, without proper encouragement and emancipated teachers, learners would understand that their many years of language learning in secondary school would be absolutely useless for practical communication. They would not be able to communicate because of the psychological freezes which could occur before they could use their verbal skills or even signals from their body language. A procedure should be created and become the motivation for the learners not to be so scared of making mistakes first. Then, they can be able to figure out their own ways to continue their path of language learning.

3.4. What are the roles of the learners in language learning from this view?

Learners can play any roles from being the centres of their own learning demands and being responsible for teaching themselves the ways to achieve their goals with the equality and side influences from their teachers.

From our view, the students play an active role in their learning and in the classroom while in the process of making errors within the error-free environment. Learners will be supported with the process of using the language to express the exploration of their own praxis. When teachers are able to eliminate the view of oppressed learners, learners become interested in expressing themselves and want to communicate with other users, and their own praxis may help the language be generated faster and more efficiently.

In fact, these proposed goals of language learners are derived from the critical theories. However, we must point out that the main concept of learners is borrowed and adapted from more social theories rather than linguistic ones.

3.5. How should the learning process happen?

This question provokes controversial answers because the context of language as a foreign language and language as a second language provide significant different conditions for learners. For example, our Polish language capacity remained unchanged with respect to the speaking skills while we were living in Poland and learning Polish as our fourth language. We only needed to speak it at a basic survival level. The motivation from the environment was lower than the demand of the learners.

For the learning process to happen, learners must define their demands and needs to be facilitated to the goals. No interaction with the language in the communication manners and personal demands of learners, no improvement in language competence would be achieved even by learners of English staying within the isolated community of their mother tongue in the United States because of the lack of motivation or their own needs.

4. Conclusion

We have revisited the issues related to Lightbown and Spada's (2006) work and the reality of language teaching and learning. We have used critical theories to debate inappropriateness. We are aware that this proposed issue would not be easily tolerated by language teachers, the risks would be long lasting to tell people that they should not teach language in an oppressive way. It is accepted that without pressuring students to learn to be accurate, to master grammar and to pass tests, they would be confused about what they should do in their own roles in their language classrooms.

It would be an over-generalization to conclude with anything related to the facts or rumors of Polish language learners or perceptions about language learning. However, this paper has aimed to discuss the matters of how languages are learned from the perspectives of outsiders to Polish or European contexts with controversial views from the theories of Freire in education and Rancière in language teaching. We should assume that learners play a central role learning a language with ease if talking about topics of their high interests. That is because, in order to gain learners' active involvement and develop their motivation in learning, they are given the power to make the decision on tasks and learning methods. Regardless of the fact that the method has not been successful with adult learners who focus more on the rules of linguistic operation and social interactions, they have ample time to perform oral tasks in the target language. Therefore, learners do not suffer from being pressured in making their linguistic production adequate at all cost or as standardized as demanded by their teachers or oppressive English native speakers (excluding those who value any small efforts of the learner's skills of the language that is different from their mother tongue in the process of learnification). Language learners will be deprived of opportunities to reflect on their language discourse and to produce more language adjustments more expressively unless they experiment with language use in an authentic language environment.

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REPORTS

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**26th Annual Conference of the Polish
Association for the Study of English
“Epistemological Canons in Language,
Literature and Cultural Studies”,
Gdańsk, 22-24 June 2017¹**

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In 2017, the most significant of the activities pursued by the Polish Association for the Study of English was the annual conference. This time it was the Institute of English and American Studies of the University of Gdańsk, The Polish Association for the Study of English and the Polish Society for the Study of European Romanticism, who were the organisers of the 26th Annual Conference of the Polish Association for the Study of English. It took place at the University of Gdańsk on the 22–24 June. The leading theme of the conference was “Epistemological Canons in Language, Literature and Cultural Studies”. The conference was stimulated and inspired by the theme of cognition in language studies, literature, translation and culture studies. As proposed by the organisers and expressed by the academic presentations delivered, the confer-

¹ An earlier version of this report appeared in the 2017 Newsletter of the Polish Association for the Study of English.

ence centred around the issues of cognition and understanding in the theories of literary and cultural studies, in language theories and studies, defining/re-defining/extending literary canons, cognition and the language of drama, changing methodologies and canons in translation, issues of psychological, sociological and cultural aspects of bi-/multilingualism as well as foreign language teaching/learning and cognition in these processes among many others. Dr hab. Mirosława Modrzewska (Director of the Institute of English and American Studies), responsible for the conference together with the Organising Committee (Dr hab. Tomasz Wiśniewski, Dr Maria Fengler, Dr Magdalena Wawrzyniak-Śliwska, Dr Magdalena Bielenia-Grąjewska, Dr Karolina Janczukowicz, Dr Małgorzata Smentek, Dr Agnieszka Wawrzyniak, Dr Grzegorz Welizarowicz, Tadeusz Wolański, MA), offered us an unforgettable time both in academic terms of the standards and quality of discussion and as social entertainment. The conference was honoured by the presence of Prof. Jerzy Limon, Director of the Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre and the University of Gdańsk officials.

The plenary talks at the conference were given by the following scholars:

- Prof. Christoph Bode (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München) on “Wordsworth and epistemology: Why changes of perspective matter and why reading cannot do without”;
- Prof. Marek Wilczyński (Gdańsk University) on “The eye looks back: Seeing and being seen from Bartram to Lovecraft”;
- Prof. Christina Schäffner (Aston University, Birmingham) on “Translation Studies and its object(s) of research”;
- Prof. Małgorzata Grzegorzewska (Warsaw University) on “The givenness of being and language”.

The excellent choice of the plenary speakers, the topics of their talks and their interdisciplinary character, engaged not only those of us working in a given field of research but also crossed various domain boundaries resulting in interesting and lively discussions and polemics.



Conference poster
Photo: Danuta Stanulewicz

We believe that the 26th Annual PASE Conference demonstrated high academic standards in, first of all, the exciting plenary lectures presented but also in the individual papers delivered during the thematically organized sessions, which were chaired by senior colleagues. Traditionally, the parallel sessions were organized into literature, linguistics, applied linguistics and film and translation studies presentations. There were eighty-nine individual presentations given in four parallel sessions:

- literature, culture, theatre and film (50 presentations);
- linguistics, applied linguistics and translation (39 presentations).²

² The Conference Programme is available at <<http://www.ptsner.ug.edu.pl/pase-2017/programme>> and the Book of Abstracts at <<http://www.ptsner.ug.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/PASE-2017-Book-of-abstracts.pdf>>. Accessed 20.02.2018.

Apart from the academic enjoyment of the conference participation, we had a chance to listen to a lively jazz performance of two renowned musicians, Cezary Paciorek and Piotr Lemań-czyk, on the first evening of the conference. Many thanks to the organisers for making it possible for us to enjoy this musical experience!

The fact that everything went smoothly and that the participants enjoyed the academic presentations, the subsequent discussions and the opportunities for socialising with colleagues from other universities was, most of all, due to the intensive preparation before the conference. We therefore take this opportunity to thank the members of the Organising Committee of PASE 2017. We would also like to show our appreciation to others involved in, among other things, conference materials preparation and organisation of the musical entertainment.

This year's conference marks a change of the time for the event, moving it from April to June, which seems to be more convenient for the universities due to the room availability. It seems that the following PASE conferences will also take place in June every year. The venues for the 27nd and 28th PASE Conferences will be the University of Łódź and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, respectively.

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