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The speech act of threatening in German and Polish: Semantic and pragmatic aspects

JOANNA MISIUKAJTIS

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Abstract

The major objectives of this study are to attempt to situate the speech act of threatening in the classification of speech acts and – on the basis of the linguistic and social factors conditioning the use of this speech act – to define the speech act of threatening for the purpose of analyzing the linguistic material. Additionally, the paper seeks to propose the main structure of the aforementioned speech act and a variety of factors conditioning its use in modern German and Polish.

The primary object of research in this work is the speech act of threatening analysed within the methodology of pragmalinguistics. The research material is composed of examples of the speech act of threatening in modern spoken Polish and German.

The analysis of the speech act of threatening presented in this study is an introduction and it will be further elaborated on in a monograph study of this topic.

Keywords

speech act, threatening, pragmalinguistics, directive speech acts

Akt mowy *groźba* we języku niemieckim i polskim: Aspekty semantyczno-pragmatyczne

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest z jednej strony próba usytuowania aktu mowy *groźba* w klasyfikacji aktów mowy i na podstawie językowo-społecznych uwarunkowań funkcjonowania tego aktu zdefiniowanie aktu mowy *groźba* dla potrzeb materiału, z drugiej zaś strony przedstawienie propozycji zasadniczej struktury danego aktu i jego różnorodnych uwarunkowań funkcjonowania we współczesnym języku niemieckim i polskim.

Materiał badawczy stanowić będą przykłady użycia aktu mowy *groźba* we współczesnym języku polskim i niemieckim. Podstawą doboru materiału badawczego jest polski i niemiecki język mówiony, zawierający groźbę w różnych kontekstach językowych.

Prześledzona analiza aktu mowy *groźba* stanowi wprowadzenie w bogate pragmatycznie zagadnienie funkcjonowania aktu mowy *groźba* w języku polskim i niemieckim. Przedstawiona problematyka znajdzie szerszy opis w przygotowywanej monografii na ten temat.

Słowa kluczowe

akty mowy, dyrektywne akty mowy, groźba, pragmalingwistyka

1. Introduction

The primary object of research in this work is the speech act of threatening analysed within the methodological framework of pragmalinguistics. The research material consists of examples of the speech act of threatening in modern Polish and German. The spoken Polish and German language samples containing the threat in various linguistic contexts are subject to scrutiny.

The major objective of this study is twofold. First of all, it attempts to situate the speech act of threatening in the classification of speech acts and – on the basis of the linguistic and social factors conditioning the use of this speech act – to

define the speech act of threatening for the purpose of analyzing the linguistic material. Secondly, the paper also seeks to propose the main structure of the aforementioned speech act and a variety of factors conditioning its use in modern German and Polish.

In Polish and German linguistics, the pragmatics of speech acts has been the object of research for, among others, Awdiejew (2004), Havryliv (2009: 99-109), Kantorczyk (2008), Komorowska (2006: 293-300, 2008), Marcjanik (2007), Nęcki (2005), Ożóg (1982: 259-266), Pisarkowa (1976), Prokop (2010), Pytel-Pandey (2014: 357-366) and Wierzbicka (1973), to mention just a few.

2. The speech act of threatening in the classification of speech acts

The speech act of threatening is an act which is usually related to commissive speech acts (according to the division introduced by both Austin (1962) and Searle (1999)). Commissive speech acts (also known as commissives) – as seen for example, by Searle (1999) – are a kind of addresser's obligation to take specific action in the future. Austin expands this definition and claims that the obligations towards the addressee are linked to promising something or to disclosing some intentions, which means that they are related to plans of future action (Prokop 2010). Such speech acts as pledges, promises, oaths and obligations belong to the commissive category. The meaning which is derived from the definition of this speech act implies that it is one of the commissive speech acts. A threat is thus seen as some kind of obligation on the part of the addresser to perform specific actions. However, this obligation may not bring any benefits to the addressee, as in the case of the speech act of promising. Instead, the threat can bring sanctions which may be anticipated by the addressee if some predefined conditions are not met. Wunderlich (1978) is one of the linguists who classify the speech act of threatening as an example of commissive speech acts.

Some linguists, among them Prokop (2010) and Awdiejew (2004), question the placement of the speech act of threatening among the commissive speech acts, claiming that in the speech act of threatening, there are some factors which are typical of a different speech act group, namely directive speech acts. It is worthwhile to stress that the specific character of threats, which makes this speech act different from other commissive speech acts, was already noticed by Searle (1999), who emphasized the difference in referring a given speech act to benefits or to the lack of benefits in the performance of this speech act. Thus, in such speech acts as promise, oath or obligation, what can be seen is the activity for the benefit of the addressee. However, in the case of the speech act of threatening, it is not the benefit of the addressee but rather potential acts against the addressee, to his or her detriment. Therefore, this speech act is not fully compatible with the definition of the other speech acts which form the group of commissives.

Interestingly enough, the directive speech act seems to be semantically closer to the speech act of threatening. Directive speech acts (directives) [1] are acts urging the addressee to perform specific actions or conversely to stop performing them. To put it differently, "the essence of directive speech acts is the addresser's will to control the addressee in terms of stimulating him/her to perform certain physical or psychological actions" (Kantorczyk and Komorowska 2008: 26, trans. Walczyński). Thus, the speech act of threatening can be understood in this way since it aims to urge the addressee to perform some activity. In their study entitled *Pragmatyka dyrektywnych aktów mowy w języku niemieckim, polskim i rosyjskim*, Komorowska and Kantorczyk (2008: 28) offer the division of directive speech acts into two major groups:

[1] "In the linguistic literature, there is no terminological unanimity related to the so-called "directive speech acts". There are several different designations: "the speech acts stimulating activity", "directive speech acts", "exercitives", "acts controlling behaviours", "urging" or "demanding"" (Komorowska 2008: 24, trans. Walczyński).

obliging speech acts and non-obliging speech acts with the division criterion being the fulfilment of the basic condition "pointing to the sanctions which can be imposed on the addressee in case the activity is not performed" (trans. Walczyński). Non-obliging speech acts are speech acts in which "the non-performance of the activity is related to no sanction" (trans. Walczyński), e.g. request, offer, advice. In the case of obliging speech acts, "the non-performance of the activity entails some sanctions" (trans. Walczyński), e.g. demand, order, ban. Although among the specified linguistic behaviours the authors did not analyse the speech act of threatening, this speech act is a member of the group of obliging directive speech acts. The scholars also used another criterion in their classification. They defined three semantic properties of the directive speech acts which involved specifying the benefits which are derived from performing some activity (Kantorczyk and Komorowska 2008: 28). Three possible variations of the benefits derived from performing the activity were distinguished: in the interests of the speaker (request, demand, order), in the interests of the addressee (advice, recommendation, explanation), in the interests of both interlocutors (offer) (Kantorczyk and Komorowska 2008: 29).

The division presented above shows that the speech act of threatening in terms of its semantic meaning belongs to the group of the activities performed in the interests of the speaker (Hindelang 1983). Awdiejew (2004: 138) sees the speech act of threatening (in Polish "akt mowy *pogróżka*"[2]) as the speech act which is close to the directive function of demanding. By this, Awdiejew confirms that the speech act of threatening belongs to the directives and – at the same time – he shows its semantic relation with demanding. Awdiejew claims that "it may be observed that the function of the threat is related to the overlapping function of demanding. The major difference lies in the fact that in the threat the focus is moved onto the addresser's promise, connected with performing a sanction

[2] Threat – threatening with revenge, punishment, retaliation (*Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*, edited by Dunaj: 788).

which is placed in the background in the speech act of demanding. In this way, the performance of the demand included in the offer becomes the condition for avoiding the sanction. The performance of the threat involves, most of all, the exposition of this condition even if the sanctions are not specified: *Spróbuj tylko nie przyjść na zebranie, to zobaczysz!* (*Just you try not to come to the meeting and you'll see!*) (Awdiejew 2004: 138, trans. Walczyński).

Discussing speech acts, Prokop distinguishes between symmetric and asymmetric communication. "Symmetric communication is communication (a communicative event) when the addresser and the addressee have the same rights and obligations" (Prokop 2010: 15, trans. Walczyński). Asymmetric communication is communication "in which one of the partners has more rights than obligations" (Prokop 2010: 16, trans. Walczyński). In the speech act of threatening, the communication is asymmetric because the addresser is superior to the addressee and has made a decision about potential sanctions and their enforcement.[3] The advantage of the addresser over the addressee can result from, for instance, the social roles they play, their professional hierarchy, emotional factors known by the addresser and the addressee, or emotional dependence.

The occurrence of the speech act of threatening is also related to a presupposed condition or conditions known to the addresser and the addressee which let the addresser threaten and the addressee accept the speech act of threatening as an act resulting from a situation which previously took place. For example, the addressee knows that he or she borrowed money from the addresser and that is why he or she is aware of the fact that the addresser has a reason for demanding the repayment. Sometimes the occurrence of the speech act of

[3] Though the addresser usually has the advantage over the addressee, the reverse situation can always occur. In such a situation, the person who – in theory – is dependent may become the addresser in a given situation. For instance, if a mistreated woman runs into the kitchen, grabs a knife and threatens to kill her husband if he ever touches her again.

threatening is situationally conditioned, for instance, an unknown person who unexpectedly threatens us:

(1)(a) *Dawaj kasę, bo ci wpierdolę!*
(1)(b) *Raus mit der Kohle, sonst haue ich dir eine auf die Fresse!*
'Give me the dough or I'll beat the shit out of you!'

2. Defining the speech act of threatening

After analysing the semantic and pragmatic conditions of the speech act of threatening for the purpose of studying the research material, it is possible to use to the following definition of the speech act of threatening:

> Threatening is a directive speech act which has the character of an obligation, which means that it is a speech act, in which the non-performance of the activities demanded by the addresser is linked to sanctions on the addressee and which is an activity for the benefit of the addresser who is in asymmetric communication with the addressee.

The speech act of threatening is characterised by the fact that there is typically no use of the verb "threaten" in the performative function, e.g. *ja ci grożę* (*Ich drohe dir* / *I'm threatening you*) or *My wam grozimy* (*Wir drohen euch* / *We are threatening you*). This suggests that this verb is not used in the first person singular or plural in the performative function. It may be accounted for by the meaning of threat which, because of the semantics of aggression included in it, is usually a covert speech act, from which – by implication and contextualisation – the actual threatening intention of the addresser, *i.e.* the illocution of the speech act threat, is derived. An expression such as *Ja ci grożę* (*Ich drohe dir* / *I'm* threatening *you*) is so incongruous as a real speech act of threatening that its contextual use can perform the function of a joke or be the exponent of the interlocutors' wordplay. For example, in the joking conversations of spouses:

(2)(a) *Jak mnie teraz nie pocałujesz, to nie będzie obiadu! To jest groźba!*
(2)(b) *Wenn du mich nicht sofort küsst, gibt es kein Mittagessen! Das ist eine Drohung!*
'If you don't kiss me now, don't expect any dinner! It's a threat!'

A wife saying to her husband:

(3)(a) *Jak mnie nie zabierzesz do Paryża w przyszłym tygodniu, to pojadę sama i znajdę sobie jakiegoś miłego Francuza. Mówię poważnie!*
(3)(b) *Wenn du mit mir nächste Woche nicht nach Paris fährst, werde ich alleine fahren und mir einen netten Franzosen suchen. Das meine ich ernst!*
'If you don't take me to Paris next week, I'll go alone and find myself some nice French guy. Seriously!'

In a dialogue between friends:

(4)(a) *Nie uśmiechaj się tak intensywnie do mojego narzeczonego. Ja wszystko widzę! On jest już mój. Uważaj!*
(4)(b) *Lächle meinen Verlobten nicht so intensiv an! Ich sehe alles! Er ist schon vergeben! Pass auf!*
'Don't you smile so intently at my fiancé. I can see everything! He's mine already. Watch out!'

Apparently in such a communicative situation a significant role is played by the appropriate intonation of the joke and by extralinguistic means such as facial expressions, squinting eyes, smiling etc.

However, as mentioned earlier, in the speech act of threatening, usually the verb "threaten" is not implemented in the performative function and the intention of the threat is derived by inference from the addresser's utterance. In the dialogic form, we can bring the meaning of threatening to the surface of language, for instance:

(5)(a) *Czy ty mi grozisz?*
(5)(b) *Drohst du mir?*
'Are you threatening me?'

The interlocutor's response can be varied depending on the situation, including responses with the use of the performative verb, for example:

(6)(a) *Tak, właśnie ci grożę.*
(6)(b) *Ja, ich drohe dir gerade.*
'Damn right, I am threatening you.'

or without the performative verb:

(7)(a) *Co ty opowiadasz? Co się wygłupiasz?* etc.
(7)(b) *Was redest du denn? Sag mal, spinnst du?*
'What are you talking about? You are talking nonsense' etc.
(Misiukajtis 2008: 109)

In the speech act of threatening, there is usually no use of the "threaten" verb in the performative function. In verbal communication, it is the character of the speech act of threatening involving the pragmatic complexity that assumes the function of the performative. This act can be expressed by employing the exponents of other directive speech acts such as request, advice and offer, for example:

(8)(a) *Ja cię grzecznie proszę, zostaw mnie w spokoju, bo ci zajebię.*
(8)(b) *Ich bitte dich ganz höflich, lass mich in Ruhe, sonst haue ich dir eine auf die Fresse.*
'I'm asking you nicely to leave me alone or else I'll fucking beat you up.'
(9)(a) *Ja ci dobrze radzę, oddaj mi kasę, bo wypadki chodzą po ludziach.*
(9)(b) *Ich rate dir, gib mir die Kohle zurück, sonst könnte ein Unglück passieren.*
'Take my advice, give me my dough back. Shit happens, you know.'

(10)(a) *Proponuję ci współpracę, bo skończysz tak, jak twój kolega, który nie skorzystał z tej oferty.*

(10)(b) *Ich biete dir eine Zusammenarbeit an, sonst könntest du so enden wie dein Kumpel, der das Angebot nicht angenommen hat.*
'I'm offering you cooperation or you'll end up like this friend of yours who hasn't accepted my offer.'

The complex character of the speech act of threatening results not only from the use of the exponents of other directive speech acts but is also strengthened by proper intonation, tone of voice and extralinguistic means such as threatening gestures, facial expressions, the addresser's posture etc.

3. The structure of the speech act of threatening

The linguistic material presented above shows that the speech act of threatening is composed of three major components:

- **The first major component of the speech act of threatening (C1)** is the situational context which can be an existing or repeating situation, or other factors influencing the addresser. This situational context can have criminal, psychological or emotional roots.
- **The second major component of the speech act of threatening (C2)** is the imposition of the condition of the demand on the addressee by the addresser.
- **The third major component of the speech act of threatening (C3)** is the sanctions or consequences which will take place in the event that the addressee does not fulfil the condition/s imposed by the addresser.

The proposed structure of the speech act of threatening can be visualised as follows:

component 1 (C1) + component 2 (C2) + component 3 (C3)

The first component of the speech act of threatening is the situational context (SC) which is made up of the situational

and contextual knowledge (world knowledge, knowledge of conditions and experience as well as knowledge of a given situation). Moreover, this component is also constituted by pragmatic factors such as the relations between the addresser and the addressee, their social roles, the emotional relationship between them, the presupposed knowledge related to a given conflict situation, the essence of the conflict etc. The situational context is non-verbal in character. It allows the condition of the speech act of threatening to be understood.

The second and third components are the major components of the speech act of threatening which are constituted by the addresser's demand from the addressee and the specification of the sanctions which will take place if the addresser's demand is unfulfilled.

In the linguistic material of the speech act of threatening under analysis, we can distinguish the basic structure of this act which can be represented schematically in the following way:

C1[SC (situational context)] + C2 [AR (addresser) imposes Con (condition) AE (on addressee)
and if the AE (addressee) does not fulfil it, AR threatens AE saying:
B (no + behaviour)], then+ C3 [S (sanction)]

Abbreviations:

CS – situational context
AR – addresser
Con – condition
AE – addressee
B – behaviour
S – sanction

4. The patterns of the structure of the speech act of threatening

C1[CS (A father comes home after a parents' meeting at school and finds his son on the internet)**] + C2 [AR** (The father) imposes **Con** (condition) A (on the son): If B (if you do not start learning), then**], then + C3 [S** (I will not buy a new computer for you)**]**

C1[SC (The son's classmate continually provokes the addresser's son, threatening him**] + C2 [AR** (The threatened boy's father) imposes **Con** (condition) A (on the son's classmate who provokes and threatens the son) saying:

> If B (you do not stop provoking and threatening my son), then**], then + C3 [S** (I will call the police).

Selected examples:

(11)(a) *Jeśli będziesz mi Pan dalej groził, zgłoszę sprawę na policję.*
(11)(b) *Wenn Sie mir weiter drohen, melde ich es bei der Polizei.*
'If you keep threatening me, I will tell the police.'
(12)(a) *Jeśli spróbujesz wsiąść pijany za kierownicę, zgłoszę to na policję.*
(12)(b) *Wenn du versuchst, dich betrunken hinter das Steuer zu setzen, zeige ich dich an.*
'If you even try to drink drive, I will tell the police.'
(13)(a) *Jeśli nie oddasz mi pieniędzy do piątku, powiem wszystkim, że jesteś hazardzistą.*
(13)(b) *Wenn du mir das Geld bis Freitag nicht zurückgibst, sage ich allen, dass du spielsüchtig bist.*
'If you don't give me my money back by Friday, I will tell everyone that you are a gambler.'

The speech act of threatening can contextually include various additional pieces of information which – on the one hand – situates this act within the group of directive acts and – on the

other hand – accentuates the conditions for its occurrence. The brevity of this paper does not allow for the presentation of the entirety of the exponents and conditions of the speech act of threatening and therefore in this study only selected aspects of the verbalisation of this speech act are presented.

One of these aspects is the presupposition that there is emotive and/or situation specific information which can be coded by various pragmatic frameworks, depending on the emotions.

"I am not satisfied with it/ I do not like it/ I criticise it*, that you do/you do not stop doing* (B) and if this does not change, I will do (S)"

Selected examples:

A mother saying to her daughter:

(14)(a) *Nie podoba mi się to, co robisz. Kilka razy cię prosiłam, abyś nie spotykała się z tym chłopakiem. Ale ty ciągle się z nim umawiasz. Jeśli nie zakończysz tej znajomości, to zastosuję areszt domowy i zabiorę ci komórkę.*

(14)(b) *Es gefällt mir nicht, was du machst. Ich habe dich mehrmals darum gebeten, dich nicht mit diesem Jungen zu treffen. Und du triffst dich ständig mit ihm. Wenn du diese Bekanntschaft trotzdem nicht beendest, bekommst du Hausarrest und ich nehme dir dein Handy weg.*
'I don't like what you're doing. I've asked you a couple of times not to meet this guy and you still keep seeing him. If you don't break up with him, I will ground you and take your mobile.'

A teacher saying to a student:

(15)(a) *Nie podoba mi się, że uciekasz z lekcji. Jeśli nie przestaniesz, to wezwę twoich rodziców.*

(15)(b) *Es gefällt mir nicht, dass du die Schule schwänzt. Wenn du damit nicht aufhörst, werde ich deine Eltern darüber informieren.*
'I don't like it when you play truant. If you keep doing it, I'll call your parents.'

A mother saying to her son:

(16)(a) *Nie podoba mi się, że tak się wyrażasz. Nie lubię tego. Jeśli będziesz przeklinał, to zabiorę ci kieszonkowe.*
(16)(b) *Es gefällt mir nicht, dass du solche Ausdrücke benutzt. Ich mag es nicht. Wenn du weiter fluchst, dann werde ich dein Taschengeld streichen.*
'I don't like it when you use that language. I don't. If you keep swearing, I will take your pocket money.'

A manager saying to his employee:

(17)(a) *Nie podoba mi się, że ciągle rozmawia pani przez swój prywatny telefon w pracy. Nie będę tego tolerował. Proszę skoncentrować się na pracy, inaczej dostanie pani upomnienie!*
(17)(b) *Es gefällt mir nicht, dass Sie ständig mit Ihrem privaten Handy auf der Arbeit telefonieren. Ich werde es nicht hinnehmen. Konzentrieren Sie sich auf Ihre Arbeit, sonst bekommen Sie eine Abmahnung!*
'I don't like it when you're always talking on your phone at work. I won't put up with it. Please focus on your work or you'll be reprimanded.'

"I am sorry that you are doing it/you are not stopping it (B) and if this does not change, I will do (S)"

Selected examples:

(18)(a) *Martwię się o ciebie, ale jeśli nadal będziesz pił i nie podejmiesz leczenia, odejdę.*

(18)(b) *Ich mache mir Sorgen um dich, aber wenn du nicht aufhörst zu trinken und keine Therapie machst, werde ich mich von dir trennen.*
'I'm worried about you. If you keep drinking and avoiding rehab, I will leave.'

"I am sorry that you are doing it/you are not stopping it (B) and if this does not change, I will do (S)"

Selected examples:

(19)(a) *Przykro mi, że nie masz czasu na trening. Jeśli nie poprawisz wkrótce wyników, to wyrzucę cię z drużyny.*
(19)(b) *Es tut mir leid, dass du keine Zeit zum Trainieren hast. Aber wenn du deine Leistungen nicht bald verbesserst, werde ich dich von der Mannschaft ausschließen.*
'I'm sorry that you cannot find the time for your training. If you don't improve your results, you will be off the team.'

"*I am sorry that you do/you do not stop doing* (B) and if this does not change, I will do (S)"

Selected examples:

(20)(a) *Jestem oburzona tymi pomówieniami. Jeśli tego nie odwołasz, to poinformuję szefa o twoich błędach w raporcie.*
(20)(b) *Ich bin empört über diese Verleumdungen. Wenn du sie nicht zurücknimmst, werde ich den Chef über deine Fehler im Bericht informieren.*
'These unfounded allegations are outrageous. If you don't take them back, I'll inform the boss about the mistakes in your report.'

It is worth stressing that the presupposed information is strengthened by the adverbial lexemes confirming the continuity or frequency of the situations: *nieustannie* 'continually', *ciągle* 'all the time', *bez przerwy* 'continuously', *notorycznie* 'notoriously' etc.

Selected examples:

(21)(a) *Ty notorycznie kłamiesz! Jeśli mnie jeszcze raz oszukasz, zerwę z tobą wszelkie kontakty.*

(21)(b) *Du lügst ständig! Wenn du mich noch mal anlügst, breche ich den Kontakt ab.*
'You are a notorious liar! If you cheat me again, I will sever all contacts with you.'

(22)(a) *Pani cały czas rozmawia! Jak pani nie przestanie przeszkadzać, to wyrzucę panią z sali.*

(22)(b) *Sie reden die ganze Zeit! Wenn Sie nicht aufhören zu stören, schmeiße ich Sie raus.*
'You are talking all the time! If you keep disturbing everyone, I'll throw you out of the classroom.'

(23)(a) *Ciągle gubisz gdzieś swoje rzeczy! Jeśli jeszcze raz coś zgubisz, odkupisz to ze swojego kieszonkowego.*

(23)(b) *Du verlierst ständig deine Sachen! Wenn du noch einmal etwas verlierst, wirst du es dir von deinem Taschengeld selbst kaufen.*
'You are always losing your stuff! Do it again and you'll have to buy what you lost out of your own pocket money.'

The semantic conditions of the speech act of threatening presented above also provide typical structural frameworks. These are usually such conditional clauses as:

N: **"If you do not do/do not stop doing/do not come to your senses** etc. (B), then I will use the sanction (S).

Selected examples:

(24)(a) *Jeśli nie przestaniesz palić, to możesz zapomnieć o kieszonkowym.*

(24)(b) *Wenn du nicht aufhörst zu rauchen, dann kannst du das Taschengeld vergesse*n.
'If you don't quit smoking, you can forget about your pocket money.'

(25)(a) *Jeśli nie przestaniesz pić, rozwiodę się z tobą!*
(25)(b) *Wenn du nicht aufhörst zu trinken, dann lasse ich mich von dir scheiden.*
'If you keep drinking, I'll divorce you.'
(26)(a) *Jeśli nie posprzątasz pokoju, to na pewno nie pójdziesz jutro do kina!*
(26)(b) *Wenn du das Zimmer nicht aufräumst, dann gehst du morgen bestimmt nicht ins Kino.*
'If you don't tidy your room, don't even think of going to the cinema tomorrow.'

Another essential semantic issue is the kind of sanction the author of the threat chooses to inflict on the addressee. Undoubtedly, these are not be situations which are favourable to the addressee. On the contrary, there are some negative sanctions that may refer to a variety of spheres: the physical sanctions (beating), the psychological sanctions (persecuting), depriving someone of something or impeding their activities.

Selected examples:

(27)(a) *Jak będziesz obrażał moją siostrę, to dostaniesz w mordę!*
(27)(b) *Wenn du meine Schwester beleidigst, haue ich dir eine auf die Fresse!*
'If you keep insulting my sister, I'll smash your face!'
(28)(a) *Jeśli nie posprzątasz w pokoju, to wyrzucę twoje zabawki!*
(28)(b) *Wenn du dein Zimmer nicht aufräumst, schmeiße ich dein Spielzeug weg!*
'If you don't tidy your room, I'll throw away your toys!'
(29)(a) *Jeśli będziesz robił imprezy w mieszkaniu, wyrzucę cię!*
(29)(b) *Wenn du in der Wohnung nur Partys machst, schmeiße ich dich raus!*
'If you have a party in the flat, I will kick you out!'

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the speech act of threatening presented in this paper has demonstrated that it is possible to resituate this act

within the classification of speech acts. Typically, the speech act of threatening is classified with commissive speech acts – acts of obligation. However, what could be observed in the above analysis is that these are a different type of obligation which do not bring any benefits to the addressee, as is the case with the speech act of *promising*. The speech act of threatening involves some sanctions which can be expected if the addressee does not fulfil the predefined requirements. Arguably this act is, most of all, a directive speech act persuading the addressee to perform particular activities or to stop performing them. Thus, a threat is a speech act of obligation, in which the non-performance of an activity ordered by the addresser – the threatening person – is linked to some sanctions imposed on the addressee – the threatened person. It is an act of asymmetric communication, in which one of the partners has more rights than obligations which – he or she may think – allows him or her to impose some requirements on the addressee.

The functioning of the speech act of threatening shows its semantic complexity which is related to the fact that this act may be expressed by means of the exponents of other directive speech acts such as request, advice, proposal etc. Furthermore, a proposed structure of the speech act of threatening has been offered which not only presents the verbalisation of the threat but also takes into account the broad situational context of a given activity and the linguistic and social conditioning of its functioning in modern German and Polish.

Translated by Marcin Walczyński

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Brexit – and now what? A post-referendum survey into linguistic and national attitudes in Gibraltar

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Abstract

The present paper sets out to gauge the post-Brexit referendum attitudes of Gibraltarians concerning language and political outlooks. A survey was created in order to gather the necessary qualitative and quantitative data. It was spread using Facebook groups and a total of 38 questionnaires were collected. The results of the research suggest that Gibraltar is still highly conflicted over Brexit, there is an ongoing attrition of Spanish, and English seems to be continuously gaining linguistic ground. More detailed research is, however, needed to evaluate the ongoing changes with greater certainty.

Keywords

Gibraltar, Brexit, sociolinguistics, survey, identity

Brexit – i co teraz? Badanie ankietowe językowych i narodowych nastrojów po referendum na Gibraltarze

Abstrakt

Niniejsze badanie miało na celu zmierzenie nastrojów politycznych i językowych na Gibraltarze po referendum dotyczącym Brexitu. W celu zebrania odpowiednich danych zarówno jakościowych, jak i ilościowych została utworzona ankieta, którą później rozpowszechniono przy użyciu Facebooka. Badanie zainteresowało 38 respondentów, którzy wypełnili kwestionariusz ankiety. Dane w ten sposób uzyskane pozwalają zauważyć następujące trendy: Brexit jest wciąż tematem debaty wśród mieszkańców Gibraltaru, język hiszpański wydaje się być w całkowitym odwrocie, a w jego miejsce wkracza język angielski. Jednak potrzebne są bardziej szczegółowe badania, aby z większą dozą pewności określić zmiany zachodzące na Gibraltarze.

Słowa kluczowe

Gibraltar, Brexit, językoznawstwo, społeczeństwo, tożsamość

1. Historical overview, socio-political and linguistic situation of Gibraltar

1.1. Gibraltar: A brief history

Gibraltar, also known as “The Rock”, is a tiny speck of land southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, overlooking the Straits of Gibraltar between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Not surprisingly, with such a strategic location comes a tumultuous history. Its name derives from the Arabic *Jabal Tariq* ‘mountain of Tariq’, referring to the general who launched the Muslim conquest of Iberia in 711. Muslim rulers retained control over Gibraltar for the next 750 years, before losing it to the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1462 (Howes 1946).

A long period of stability followed in Gibraltar which, however, came to an abrupt halt with the onset of the Spanish War of Succession (1702–1713). Following the death of King Charles II of Spain, two contestants claimed the throne, namely Duke Philip of Anjou and Archduke Charles of Austria. The British decided to support the Archduke, since Duke Philip's victory would have given the Bourbons a dominant position in Europe. An alliance was formed to support the Habsburgs, and an Anglo-Dutch fleet conquered Gibraltar in 1704. The war itself lasted almost another decade, until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which, in article X, formally declared Gibraltar a British property:

> The Catholic King does hereby, for himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire propriety of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications, and forts thereunto belonging; and he gives up the said propriety to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever.

This loss was not taken easily by the Bourbons and Spain, and many attempts were made to regain Gibraltar. The last Spanish effort to take Gibraltar with the use of military force, known as the Great Siege, lasted from 1779 to 1783. The Spanish defeat generated immense national pride among the British and helped offset their losses in the American War of Independence. Thereafter, the British population increasingly shared in the sentiment of keeping Gibraltar "British" (Constantine 2013).

The First World War brought no significant unrest to Gibraltar, as Spain was neutral in the conflict, but the Second World War had important effects on Gibraltar that cannot be overlooked. As the position of Gibraltar was of paramount importance for British military operations, it became highly perilous for the civilian population, much of which had to be relocated to the United Kingdom or other Crown dependencies,

such as Jamaica. Many people were exposed to native use of the English language and the British education system for the first time, which in turn promoted a sense of British national identity among Gibraltarians (Levey 2008). The war also inspired important political changes due to the fact that the process of repatriation was fraught with difficulties: some evacuees managed to return to Gibraltar by 1944, but others had to wait until as late as 1949. Some Gibraltarians felt ill-treated by the British authorities and called for some measure of local independence. The first Gibraltarian political party, the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (AACR), came into being and succeeded at dominating the political scene for the next forty years (Constantine 2013).

In 1967 the first Gibraltarian national referendum was organized following a request made by the United Nations General Assembly in 1965. The referendum was to establish whether the people of Gibraltar preferred to remain British or wanted to accept Spanish sovereignty. The results sapped Spanish pride immensely as 12,138 citizens of Gibraltar voted to remain under British rule compared with just 44 votes for Spain. Political tensions followed in the wake of the 1967 referendum, when Spain instituted a blockade of the land border. Border activity was stopped overnight in order to diminish the role of Gibraltar and destroy it both economically and morally. The real impact of the blockage was quite the opposite, however, as Gibraltar flourished with British help, while the bordering Spanish *Campo area* suffered heavily. Owing to the lack of everyday influx of Spanish labor into Gibraltar, the role of the Spanish language diminished and it became endangered (Levey 2008). The blockade ended in 1982, but cross-border movement and activity has still not returned to its original levels.

1.2. Sociolinguistic studies of Gibraltar

As might be expected from the short historical overview in section 1.1, the demographics of Gibraltar reflect its rather

colourful history. These days, The Rock is inhabited by approximately 30,000 people, mainly of Spanish, Italian, English and Portuguese ethnic backgrounds. Other important minorities, amongst them Jews, Maltese and Moroccans have also left an indelible mark on the culture of Gibraltar (Kellermann 2001).

Despite a wealth of sociolinguistic research possibilities, surprisingly little scholarship has been done in the area of language variation and code switching in Gibraltar. Weston (2011) suggests that this might be due to Gibraltar's status as a colonial remnant, which may make it unworthy of study in the eyes of numerous linguists. The only monographs devoted to the sociolinguistic situation in Gibraltar are Cavilla (1978), Kramer (1986), Kellermann (2001) and Levey (2008). In addition, there also exist several unpublished theses and articles such as Alameda Hernández (2006), Ballantine (1983), Lipski (1986), Moyer (1993) and Weston (2011). The status of Gibraltar as a relative blank spot on the map of postcolonial varieties of English may be illustrated by its absence from such authoritative recent references on world and postcolonial dialects of English as Kortmann and Schneider (2008) or Schreier et al. (2010), or its omission from Trudgill's groundbreaking study of new dialect formation in the English-speaking world (Trudgill 2006).

The research project conducted by Kellermann (2001) found that there existed a general distrust towards Spain, which in turn had an immense influence on the linguistic situation. The survey showed no integrative attitudes towards Spain: 43% of the people were pro-British, 34% felt Gibraltarian, and 23% both British and Gibraltarian. Kellermann (2001: 122) present data which suggested that *mother tongue* in Gibraltar cannot be equated with *first language*, as more than 50% of the respondents perceived English as their *mother tongue* but only about 10% gave it as their *first language*, with Spanish being the declared first language of almost 80% of the participants. English also seemed to be on the constant upswing, with

Spanish losing ground because of the deep distrust towards Spain in Gibraltarian society.

More recent studies, however, suggest that it is specifically the local variety of English that is gaining prominence due to the growing integrative attitude towards Gibraltar. The study conducted by Levey (2008) focused on the phonetics of Gibraltarian English, and concluded that Gibraltarian English seems to be following British norms but adding a layer of its own peculiarities. He also observed that Yanito and Spanish still seem to be dominating the informal linguistic scene of Gibraltar, and many children come into their first contact with English only upon entering the education system. Yanito is defined by Levey (2008) as:

> [...] an Andalusian dominant Spanish form of oral expression which integrates mainly English lexical and syntactic elements as well as some local vocabulary.

Further research into the situation of English and Spanish is clearly necessary, as at the time of Levey's study it was mostly children (9-12 years old) who felt the most comfortable speaking English, suggesting an ongoing process of language shift.

1.3. Current political status of Gibraltar

The socio-political and linguistic spheres in Gibraltar have become even more complex due to the Brexit referendum held in 2016. Gibraltarians voted overwhelmingly in favour of the "Remain" camp (96%) and now may be forced to leave the auspices of the European Union against the will of an overwhelming majority of the local population. The way the campaign before the referendum was conducted was completely different to that seen in the United Kingdom, as Gibraltarians have always felt more positive towards the idea of the European Union. This may be reflected in the fact that

they willingly change their registration plates and IDs, something which never happened in the UK (Garcia 2016).

The fear of Spain harnessing more political power swept through Gibraltar when the results of the referendum were announced, as Spanish foreign minister Alfonso Dastis declared that if Gibraltar decided to stay within the EU, the solution could be shared sovereignty (against which Gibraltar voted in the referendum of 2002). Additionally, he failed to assure Gibraltarians that Spain would leave the borders open, thereby conjuring up fears of a repeat of the blockade of 1969-1982 (Garcia 2016).

Such events are called Events X by Schneider (2007) and may be defined as moments at which the citizens of a subordinate territory realize that the importance they ascribed to their motherland is not reciprocated. Usually, at the beginning, the subordinate territory may feel abandoned and confused; later on, however, those feelings might be transformed into a struggle for independence. It is suggested by Weston (2011) that Gibraltar had already been through such events, but that none of the previous events had turned out to be significant enough to create a strong sense of separate local identity.

Taking all of the facts and recent developments into consideration, it seems that a new sociolinguistic research project needs to be conducted in order to scrutinize the processes of code switching and language shifting currently taking place in Gibraltar. The remainder of the present paper describes the results of an online survey conducted to determine whether such changes are indeed taking place in the sociolinguistic landscape of Gibraltar.

2. Data analysis

2.1. Methodology

The data was collected using a questionnaire designed to gather information on attitudes towards the languages spoken

in Gibraltar and post-Brexit attitudes toward international relations. The survey was supposed to take no more than 5 minutes, as people using the Internet might quickly become indifferent and bored. Later, it was posted on Facebook groups associated with Gibraltar. A total of 38 questionnaires were collected. One questionnaire had to be excluded from the general statistical analysis as the author deliberately provided nonsensical information. The number may seem unimpressive, but one has to bear in mind the total number of Gibraltar's inhabitants (about 30,000), which is similar to the population of a small town in a typical European country.

2.2. Analysis

68.4% of the respondents were male and 31.6% were female. The respondents were divided into 4 different age groups:

- below the age of 19: 4 respondents,
- 19 – 28 years old: 5 respondents,
- 29 – 50 years old: 11 respondents,
- 51+ years old: 18 respondents.

Interestingly, the questionnaire managed to reach people who normally seem to be underrepresented on the Internet, namely people 51 years of age or older. It is important to note that this group came of age during the blockade of 1967-1982, so the people in this age group are likely to remember the event well and thus may have a different perspective on the current developing situation.

Most people taking part in the survey claimed to have a secondary (50%) or tertiary education (42%). Most of the respondents were born in Gibraltar, and all of them were officially recognized residents.

As far as declared mother tongue, 73.7% of the respondents claimed English, 21.1% Yanito (Llanito), and the remaining 5.3% chose Spanish. The data overlapped quite well with the

answers provided to the question concerning the language whose command was the best (see Figure 1).

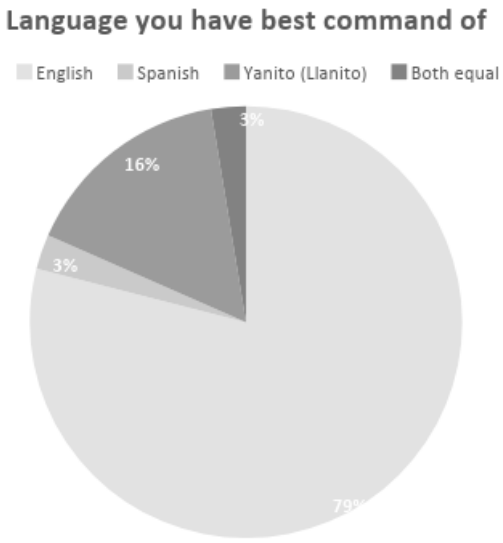

Figure 1

Interestingly, only one person declared Spanish as the language they can speak best. This aligns with Kellermann's (2001: 131) findings, which suggested that Gibraltarians generally feel highly insecure about their variety of Spanish.

The first question was concerned with the change of attitudes towards Gibraltar's political situation after the Brexit referendum of 2016. The question was motivated by Schneider's Events X as the referendum could potentially push Gibraltarians towards feeling a greater sense of local identity and pride. The answers provided can be divided into four basic groups: positive (3 respondents), negative (11 respondents), other (6 respondents), no change/no opinion (10 respondents). It is important to pay close attention to the answers which indicated a perceived change in people's attitudes. The survey indicates that many people feel generally insecure about the new situation in which they now find themselves:

- "I feel unprotected by my mother country UK, leaving the EU, we are less protected by the law";
- "It is more important than ever to ensure we have stable, effective government";
- "I consider we are due for some problems once Brexit occurs";
- "We are powerless";
- "Made me worry about my future".

Some respondents also alluded to the distrust towards Spain pointed out by Kellermann (2001), e.g.

- "Spain's belief that Brexit meant that Gibraltar would revert back to them";
- "That the EU granting a veto to Spain was a betrayal to Gibraltar";
- "Spain has expressed its interest in Gib (Gibraltar) many times but now it's trying to go a step further, making the government more responsible and slightly volatile".

The second question attempted to collect people's opinions on whether their attitude towards the role of English in Gibraltar has changed after Brexit, and if so, how. This was also motivated by Schneider's aforementioned (2007) concept. Some respondents seemed confused and failed to understand that the question pertained to the English language, not the English (British) people. Quite a few people, however, mentioned the growing importance of English in Gibraltar:

- "English is taking over, the youth will only speak English";
- "No, there's actually more English speaking people here recently since a lot of Indians and people from other British Commonwealth countries started to come here for work";
- "My attitude to English hasn't changed. If anything, I feel that it's becoming more important due to globalisation";
- "It is good to know a 2nd language or more, but our identity is British, therefore English is on the ascendancy with upcoming generations".

One participant in particular claimed that there seemed to be more children in Gibraltar who speak neither Spanish nor Yanito; however, the person added that they were commenting on the situation prior to Brexit, therefore implicitly suggesting that the situation may be affected by Brexit.

The third question checked whether people's attitudes towards the role of Spanish have changed after the Brexit referendum. As Kellermann (2001) pointed out Gibraltarians generally felt great distrust towards Spain and thus, also towards the Spanish language. The referendum and the realisation of Gibraltar's lack of political power might have provided a positive push towards Spain and its language. As with the second question, this seems to have also been misinterpreted by some respondents as a question about Spanish nationals, rather than the Spanish language. A considerable number of participants pointed out the degeneration of Spanish in Gibraltar:

- "(…) I think more kids who don't speak Spanish and more shops where the staff only speak English";
- "I am concerned that the quality of Spanish is very low and dropping fast".

Again, the distrust towards Spain could be sensed in some of the answers provided:

- "The Spanish have NO role to play in Gib (Gibraltar) today or never";
- "Gibraltar will never be Spanish […]";
- "Spain is lights [years] away from democracy".

It is especially interesting to look at the following position, which draws a comparison between the current Spanish government and General Franco:

- "Yes, the new far right PP Spanish government is awful, and most people here are terrified of them like they were of Franco. The few Spanish people who do live here in Gibraltar are

> mostly refugees from the Franco dictatorship, so they're rather concerned about recent statements coming out of his descendant party, the PP."

The fourth question was concerned with the role of Yanito in post-Brexit Gibraltar. The researcher felt it was important to inquire about the state of Yanito as Levey (2008) suggested that, together with Spanish, it was still claiming dominion over the social and informal scene of Gibraltarian life. Most people suggested that there was no change, but it is important to take a closer look at some of the answers:

- "Not really, it's becoming more popular that's it";
- "I think so yes. Llanito needs to be fostered and encouraged. We mustn't lose it";
- "No change, it is part of our identity".

These respondents seem to suggest that Yanito is still used as an act of identity, as described by Levey (2008). Some, however, claimed the contrary:

- "As with Spanish, in 2 generations Llanito will barely exist in Gibraltar";
- "Shame to lose it but it's archaic anyway. Nobody really uses it anyway".

An initial hypothesis was formulated that older respondents would be more likely to claim Yanito as their mother tongue. The data, however, fails to support such a claim, as the distribution of Yanito proved to be unrelated to age: the chi-square statistic is 0.3046, the p-value is .858732, and the result is not significant at $p < .05$. Interestingly, however, the combination of the two youngest groups (up to the age of 28) unanimously chose English as the language they have the best command of. The other two age groups together tended to have slightly more variation (20% Yanito), with one respondent choosing both English and Spanish, and one respondent opting for just Spanish. The correlation between these two age

groups and best-spoken language returns a *p* value of 0.07616, which is not far below the threshold of statistical significance.

3. Conclusions

Despite the low number of respondents and its being conducted online , the questionnaire described above was able to detect certain important sociolinguistic and socio-political processes taking place in Gibraltar. English is apparently taking over in the official linguistic sphere of Gibraltar. It is, however, important to gather more data on what is happening in unofficial contexts, as some answers suggest that Yanito may still covertly enjoy high prestige.

Growing distrust towards the contemporary Spanish government seems to go hand in hand with the attrition of Spanish, which according to the data has lost the status as a first language of the majority which it once had. Nevertheless, one cannot treat the results of the data as conclusive and more work has to be done offline with fieldwork on the ground.

It seems that Gibraltarians are still highly conflicted over Brexit; as was pointed out by one of the respondents: "It hasn't affected me that much as I haven't noticed anything different yet." Even more than the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, the Gibraltarians cannot yet fully grasp the consequences of the ongoing Brexit negotiations. Thus, it seems vital to pay close attention to the situation in Gibraltar, as the more the local population learns about the inner workings of Brexit, the more likely it is that public opinion will change.

Given how volatile the current state of affairs is, a new sociolinguistic project should be conducted in Gibraltar as soon as possible to determine the relation between these developments, the growth of local identity, and language use. If Gibraltarians are forced to leave the European Union against their will, the their affiliation with the United Kingdom may be severely weakened, and this, in turn, may lead to the higher status of local language forms and the increased frequency of local code-switching discourse. These changes are taking place

in a unique speech community, the sole British colony in continental Europe, and it is high time for researchers to turn their attention to Gibraltar.

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Interactive alignment in Polish: A CMC-based study

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Abstract

One of the focuses of psycholinguistic research has been producing and understanding language (c.f. Griffin and Ferreira 2006; Pardo and Remez 2006). Until very recently (Bock 1986), such research primarily concerned understanding or producing isolated sentences or words. However, using language in isolation constitutes a minor part of how people interact. In response, Pickering and Garrod proposed the *interactive alignment model*, which is supposed to explain the processes which are engaged in comprehension and production in dialogue. This paper addresses the issue of the interactive alignment model in Polish in computer-mediated communication. The article first outlines the theoretical background for the research by describing the semantic and syntactic aspects of language production and comprehension. Next, it introduces the concept of the interactive alignment model and lays down its main tenets. Finally, the paper describes the research method and the qualitative analysis of the results of the experiment conducted for the purposes of the study.

Keywords

syntactic alignment, computer-mediated communication, conversation analysis, syntactic priming

Dopasowanie interakcyjne w komunikacji internetowej

Abstrakt

Psycholingwistyka od lat zajmuje się badaniem procesów związanych z wytwarzaniem i rozumieniem języka (por. Griffin i Ferreira 2006; Pardo i Remez 2006). Do niedawna (np. Bock 1986) badania tego rodzaju skupiały się głównie na wytwarzaniu bądź rozumieniu pojedynczych, wyizolowanych zdań. Jednakże taki kontekst występowania języka stanowi jedynie mały procent sposobu używania języka i interakcji. W odpowiedzi na taki stań badań Pickering i Garrod (2004) sformułowali *model dopasowania interakcyjnego* (ang. *the interactive alignment model*), który według autorów ma tłumaczyć procesy rozumienia i produkcji języka, zachodzące w konwersacji. Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu zbadanie tego modelu w środowisku komunikacji internetowej prowadzonej w języku polskim. Na artykuł składają się dwie części. Pierwsza, czyli teoretyczna, część artykułu omawia składniowe oraz semantyczne zagadnienia konwersacji, jak i również przedstawia model dopasowania. Druga część artykułu przedstawia sposób zbierania danych, metodologię oraz wyniki badania.

Słowa kluczowe

dopasowanie składniowe, komunikacja internetowa, analiza konwersacji, torowanie składniowe

1. Introduction

The means by which people produce and understand linguistic messages is the main focus of psycholinguistic research (Griffin and Ferreira 2006; Pardo and Remez 2006). Although initially studied only in monologue (Bock 1986; Branigan et al. 1995), production and comprehension started to be investigated from the dialogical perspective, too (Branigan et al. 2000). This turn was highlighted by Pickering and Garrod's notion of the *interactive alignment account* (2004). The model assumes that in dialogue, there is a parity between production and

comprehension and that speakers *align* their representations at different levels: phonological, lexical, syntactic, and situational (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 1). The paper tests the *interactive alignment account* (and, most notably its syntactic and lexical components) against data obtained from dialogues conducted in Polish via computer-mediated communication. Importantly, this experiment is the first of its kind to be conducted with participants communicating in Polish.

2. Lexical and syntactic priming

Lexical and syntactic priming are both significant concepts in psycholinguistics. From the perspective of this study, they are also key to understanding the interactive alignment account, as these two mechanisms participate in aligning representations. By the same token, both mechanisms are phenomena which influence language comprehension and production.

Lexical (or semantic) priming refers to a situation in which if individuals are exposed to a certain lexical element, it is easier for them to process another word from a related category; thus, if one is exposed to the word *fruit*, it is easier to process *raspberry*. Moreover, this type of priming also accounts for choosing particular interpretations of polysemous words; hence, if the subject of a conversation is about making a reservation in a restaurant, the word *book* will be analysed and used as a verb meaning *to make a reservation* (Foss 1982: 590–591). This phenomenon is theorised to stem from activation processes (e.g. Reisberg 1997, Neely 1977, Lavigne et al. 2016).

There are two explanations of this phenomenon. Firstly, lexical priming is explained by the fact that lexical access is modified. Since a related category is activated, the representation of a word is "left in a state of increased accessibility" (Forster and Davis 1984: 680). The other explanation states that it is connected with memory processes. Here, an exposure to a certain word leaves a trace in episodic

memory which is reactivated whenever the same word occurs (Forster and Davis 1984: 60).

Syntactic priming describes the phenomenon in which the structure of one utterance influences the structure of other utterances which are not necessarily related in semantic terms (Branigan et al. 1995: 490). Importantly, the resemblance in structure may provide some insights into how the cognitive system works: if, in terms of sentence structure, the cognitive system recognises the relationship between two utterances, and the first utterance influences the other utterance in terms of syntax only, it means that the cognitive system is sensitive to the sentence structure and recognises the two utterances "as related within that dimension" (Branigan et al. 1995: 491). Consider:

(1) *The professor gave the student a grade.*
(2) *The boy gave the dog a treat.*

Although semantically and lexically distinct, these two sentences are syntactically related, i.e. both of them are derived from the following rules: S → NP VP; VP → V NP NP; NP → Det N and give the following double-object structure:

$[[\text{Det N}]_{\text{NP}}\ [\text{V}\ [\text{Det N}]_{\text{NP}}\ [\text{Det N}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{VP}}]_{\text{S}}$

Based on the syntactic representation of examples (1) and (2), it is clear that both sentences are identical in terms of structure. Hence, if the processing of sentence (1) influences the processing of sentence (2), the cognitive system might be assumed to be sensitive to syntactic information and able to recognise the two sentences as being similar. Priming can be subdivided into three categories.

The first type is *production-to-production* priming. It was first observed and empirically tested by Bock (1986). The author started her research on the aspect of structure in sentence production because, as she stated, although speakers have the capacity to generate an unlimited set of

strings, they still tend to use the same structure in sentences (Bock 1986: 355–356). She found that demonstrating either a double-object or a prepositional-object construction resulted in re-employing the same structure in the next utterances of a single speaker (Branigan et al. 1995: 494). Other experiments (Pickering and Branigan 1995) found that the same phenomenon occurs in the written modality.

Next comes *comprehension-to-comprehension priming*. Experimental evidence presented by Mehler et al. (1967), Frazier et al. (1984) and Branigan et al. (1995) suggests that exposure to an utterance facilitates the subsequent processing of similar utterances. Consider the typical garden-path sentences below:

(3) *The old man the boat.*
(4) *The prime number few.*

Having been exposed to utterance (3), participants of experiments generally read utterance (4) faster and have fewer or no problems with providing the right interpretation. Such effects are not present across sentences which are semantically and lexically related but syntactically unrelated (Branigan et al. 1995: 496).

The last type of priming discerned by Branigan et al. (1995) is *comprehension-to-production* priming. Two experiments have shown that priming also occurs between comprehension and production. First of all, it is evident in interaction, when the form of the question influences the form of the answer. For example, if one is asked: *What time do you close?* the answer is *5 o'clock*, whereas if one is asked *At what time do you close?* the answer is *At 5 o'clock* (Levelt and Kelter 1982). This phenomenon can be explained by making an assumption that in question-answer pairs, the answer inherits the verb and the syntactic structure of the question. Such observations have also been made for semantically unrelated sentences (Pickering and Branigan 1995). When participants of experiments had to finish written sentences, they typically used the

same structure which was employed in the previous sentence (Branigan et al. 1995: 498).

Priming, apart from being a significant element of the interactive alignment account, primarily yields two important assumptions for sentence processing and for linguistic theory as a whole (Branigan et al. 1995: 498).

Concerning sentence processing, priming shows that previous sentences are taken into consideration by the processor in analysing sentences. As laid out above, it is clearly visible in experiments in which participants have to read garden-path sentences. (Branigan et al. 1995: 498). Furthermore, Branigan et al. (1995) suggest that the priming mechanism could reveal what information is used by speakers when they analyse and produce sentences. Firstly, the process probably employs some of the features which phrase structure grammars describe and it also proves that since, notwithstanding the verb, structure is re-employed, it means that syntactic information is attached to a class of verbs rather than to individual lexemes (Branigan et al. 1995: 500).

Although it does not have any significance for linguistic theory conceived in formalist terms, priming does play an important role for cognitive linguistics because it provides the type of characterisation which cognitive linguistic theories seek to depict. Priming provides this characterisation by assuming that since one structure influences another, both in production and in comprehension, then they must reside in the same mental category and must be somehow related. Furthermore, these structures must draw upon the same type of information. Branigan et al. (1995: 502) propose that this information is syntactic.

3. Lexical choices

What is also important in the *interactive alignment account*, apart from syntactic information, is the lexemes interlocutors use and what motivates them to choose a particular word with

a particular referent. *Conceptual pacts*, as formulated by Brennan and Clark (1996) provide the answer to the issue.

Initially there were two competing theories explaining why particular words are chosen in conversations: ahistorical and historical. The first theory stated that the only aspect that speakers take into consideration while choosing an appropriate word is information saliency. The information provided by one speaker should allow the other one to distinguish an element from a set of similar elements. Thus, if there is a large set of shoes, one has to identify types, for example *loafers*. On the other hand, if the set is not so extensive, or if only one pair of shoes is visible, the speaker may simply use the label *shoes* (Brennan and Clark 1996: 1482). However, since the interactive alignment model states that earlier information participates in the work of the sentence processor, the historical model is a more appropriate model of referring.

The historical model of referring, on the other hand, enumerates four key factors which play a role in choosing a referent: *recency, frequency of use, provisionality* and *partner specificity*. Information saliency is thus backgrounded. The first factor in choosing a referent is recency. Conceptualisations of referents are generally expected to be the same as in their most recent use. This assumption is in line with Garrod and Anderson's (1987) input/output model, which states that interlocutors create a new message applying the same semantic rules they have used to interpret the received message. Next comes frequency of use. It simply means that if a speaker uses a given conceptualisation of a referent more often, the memory of a mental representation is clearer. Coupled with recency, it explains situations in which speakers provide more informationally salient lexemes than required. For instance, if one recently had to refer on multiple occasions to a pair of shoes as *loafers*, the person will continue using this word also in cases when it is not necessary. Another important factor is provisionality. All conceptualisations in conversations are provisional; they can be accepted, modified

or replaced when they are grounded. Thus, a conceptualisation may differ from the one initially proposed. The final aspect is partner specificity. Speakers tend to adapt to their current interlocutor by entering into a *conceptual pact* with him or her. This pact is defined as a "temporary agreement about how the referent is to be conceptualised". New conceptual pacts are established whenever the conversation partner changes. Importantly, all four features should be treated cumulatively (Brennan and Clark 1991: 1483–1484).

4. Interactive alignment account

The interactive alignment account is an idea proposed by Pickering and Garrod (2004) which explains how speakers successfully communicate in a dialogue. The account goes against traditional psycholinguistic research, which focused primarily on the study of monologue. The picture of language use obtained from this type of research was therefore incomplete. Although researching interaction in psycho-linguistics may appear to be revolutionary, it has been emphasised in a number of publications from other areas of linguistics and philosophy (e.g. Searle 1969, Sacks et al. 1974, Clark 1996).

4.1. Alignment of situation models

A successful dialogue involves interlocutors aligning their representations at different levels (phonetic, phonological, lexical, syntactic and situation model) via a priming mechanism (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 1). A dialogue is successful when the interlocutors' representations are aligned. In effect, the flow of information is easier and processing messages is less costly. If alignment via a priming fails, repair mechanisms get involved. Importantly, the existence of align-ment in dialogue between speakers is inferred from empirical evidence. The following part of the section describes *how* exactly speakers align in dialogue at the aforementioned levels

and describes the model in greater detail (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 7).

To begin with, the first element which may become aligned involves situation models. A *situation model* is defined as a mental representation of the subject of conversation: "the key dimensions encoded in situation models are space, time, causality, intentionality, and reference to main individuals under discussion" (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998 in Pickering and Garrod 2004: 4). The model is believed to encompass all of the information people process when they are engaged in a dialogue. Although their alignment is not essential, the lack thereof renders a conversation highly inefficient. Furthermore, maintaining two different representations of situation models (one's own and the interlocutor's) might be highly costly. Yet, the maintenance of two different situation models is sometimes necessary, as in the case of one interlocutor trying to deceive the other or in arguments where an agreement is not reached—although in such cases speakers do conceptualise other aspects in the same way, for instance designation and reference (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 4–5).

4.2. Alignment mechanism

Although a situation in which speakers align their situation models via overt negotiation is conceivable and possible, it hardly ever happens. The meanings of words are infrequently negotiated and definitions for words are not frequently provided, either. In contrast, it seems that speakers align globally (at the level of situation models) based on local routines (at the linguistic level). Pickering and Garrod suggest that alignment is achieved through a priming mechanism. Within the framework of the interactive alignment account, it means that encountering an utterance tied to a particular aspect of the situation model will make it more likely that same utterance will be used with reference to the same aspect of the situation model. This assumption about producing and comprehending utterances is in line with the *input/output*

principle proposed by Garrod and Anderson (1987) whereby speakers use the same conceptualisations in production and comprehension (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 5).

The bulk of this section has been devoted to the discussion of how alignment of situation models occurs. However, as mentioned earlier, these alignments result from the development of local routines which also need to be discussed in detail in order to obtain a firm grasp of the process.

Experimental evidence (also mentioned in the section devoted to priming) indicates that conversations are full of repeated items, whether syntactic or lexical. These repetitions are evident not only in production, but also in question and answer pairs. Speakers tend to reuse structures and words largely because of priming mechanisms, which were described earlier. Furthermore, as Branigan et al. (2000) say "priming activates representations and not merely procedures that are associated with production (or comprehension)". This statement is important for the interactive alignment account since production and comprehension are assumed to be at parity (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 6).

The priming mechanism works across different levels of representation. For instance, aligning syntax is easier when more words are shared between speakers. The same is true for semantic relations between lexical items. Facilitated alignment is even more visible especially in cases where verbs are repeated. What these facts mean is that alignment is not achieved at each level independently, but that alignment at one level facilitates the same at other levels (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 7).

Another feature which makes this account different from other models of sentence processing and interaction is its view on maintaining common ground. Common ground is understood here as the background information which the speakers share. Traditionally, it has been assumed that in order for interlocutors to convey information successfully, they need to share a common ground. However, the interactive alignment account argues that this process would be too costly

and, in fact, interlocutors base the alignment of situation models on a highly automated process of lower-level alignment. They merely use the implicit common ground to reach the alignment and use the full common ground only when a serious *repair* is necessary (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 10).

The traditional view of the common ground assumed that interlocutors maintain the common ground independently, which means that speaker A has to model both his own and speaker B's situation model and *vice versa*. However, Pickering and Garrod (2004: 10) assume that this would be too costly and, actually, speakers maintain an *implicit common ground*. In this view, speakers model only one situation model which includes the data which has either been produced or comprehended by the speakers. Consequently, both speakers' common ground includes approximately the same information. Initially, there might be some discrepancies between what data each speakers' common ground includes, but over the course of a conversation, this amount decreases. Since there is only one situation model, speakers do not have to infer what their interlocutor's model includes (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 10).

The alignment model is not foolproof and sometimes speakers must recover from misalignment. In such cases, they may rely on interactive repair using either implicit or full common ground, which are described above. The former uses two processes: a) checking the input information against one's own representation and b) if the first attempt is unsuccessful, reformulating the utterance in order to establish implicit common ground. It is evident in cases when speakers reformulate their utterances or in clarification requests. Speakers can be said to draw inferences from dialogue; however, they do so jointly. When this basic mechanism fails to recover the speaker from misalignment, a more complex full common ground repair is employed. In this case, speakers explicitly negotiate their situation models: as in cases of different viewpoints and when one speaker lies to the other (Pickering and Garrod 2004: 11–12).

5. Conversation analysis

In their paper "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation", Sacks et al. (1974) laid out the principles of conversation analysis (CA). Additionally, they noted the importance of turn-taking organisation, inherent to every conversation.

Turn-taking is present in a variety of human activities, ranging from extralinguistic to purely linguistic ones; it organises terms in political offices, moves in games, as well as the structure of conversations and debates. The model of turn-taking organisation assumes that speakers change in a conversation, that an utterance can be classified according to its turn-constructional unit, and that turn-allocation techniques exist (Sacks et al. 1974: 700–701). The authors provide a longer list of features (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 700–701); however, for the purposes of the present paper it is too extensive because the full list is incompatible with the specificity of computer-mediated communication.

All utterances comprise of turn-constructional components, which describe the type of structure speakers use to create a turn. These components include a sentence, clause, phrase and word. Each speaker, by uttering a unit, is entitled to realise it in its entirety. Once the speaker reaches the end of such a unit, a transition-relevance place occurs (cf. Sacks et al. 1974: 702-703).

Turn-allocation techniques can be broken down into two categories: instances when the current speaker selects the next one or instances with self-selection. Importantly, the turn-allocation techniques are governed by rules. These rules state that a shift occurs at a transition-relevance place at the initial point of a turn-constructional unit. Turn-taking can be organised in such a way that the current speaker selects next and anyone selected is obliged to speak. Otherwise self-selection occurs. However, if no-one elects to speak, then the current speaker may continue. Importantly, the current speaker may continue speaking if the two first techniques have

not been applied at a transition-relevance place. Once a turn is finished, the rules re-apply (Sacks et al. 1974: 704).

6. Computer-mediated communication

Since the material analysed in the empirical part of the paper originates from conversations conveyed via a chat client, the peculiarities of computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) require a proper description. CMC is an area of study which has existed for a number of years, but the 1990s marked the milestone for this field due to the proliferation of personal computers (Thurlow et al. 2004: 15).

Thurlow et al. (2004) comment on three distinct definitions of CMC. The one proposed by Santoro (Santoro 1995: 11 in Thurlow et al. 2004: 15) states that this form of communication involves "all computer uses" since monetary analyses, programs and systems all belong to forms of human communication. December (1997 in Thurlow et al. 2004: 15) states that CMC encompasses people communicating via computers and engaging in processes which shape media. Finally, Herring (1996: 1 in Thurlow et al. 2004: 15) simply states that CMC is the communication of people with the use of computers. However, these three definitions are contradicted by areas of interest of journals devoted to CMC, which are primarily concerned with human activity and interaction on the internet (Thurlow et al. 2004: 16).

CMC can be characterised in a number of ways. First of all, CMC can be text-based, graphics-based, audio-visual or include all modalities. Furthermore, it is conducted both in professional and non-professional settings, private or public. Finally, conversation in CMC can be either synchronous or asynchronous; the former means that there is an instant interaction between interlocutors whereas the latter involves a greater span of time between responses (Thurlow et al. 2004: 32).

7. Conversation in CMC

Face-to-face and computer-mediated communication differ for reasons that are clear. Important elements which are present in face-to-face communication may simply be absent in the mediated, text-based version. The most prominent feature which is absent is the lack of non-verbal cues. Furthermore, the adjacency of units and turns is disrupted. (Anderson et al. 2010) Thus, scholars have sought to describe how people adapt to this unnatural medium of communication. One important study into the local management of conversations was conducted by Anderson et al. (2010) in which they tested how people behave conversationally when they use nearly simultaneous text-based chat client.

When it comes to turn-allocating methods found in the experimental data by Anderson et al. (2010), there were instances of all methods: the current speaker selecting the next one, self-selection and continuation all occurred. However, in the majority of cases, speakers self-selected (Anderson et al. 2010).

When it comes to gaps and overlaps, they tend not to occur in natural, face-to-face conversations. In contrast, in CMC they tend to occur quite often. In total, 30% of turns were the ones in which two speakers sent their message at the same time. The authors attributed this to the fact that some participants elected to speak prematurely. These early projections of turns started at a transition-relevance place. The resulting overlaps are typically managed with the use of delayed completion: a conversant produces a part of an utterance and then waits for some time to ensure that other interlocutors are ready to receive the remaining part. Typically, despite the overlap, other participants are able to recognise that what the speaker is saying should be attached to the previous turn (Lerner 1989: 167 in Anderson et al. 2010). Moreover, there were 37 gaps attested in the corpus which were as long as 12 seconds (Anderson et al. 2010).

Finally, the distribution of pauses was not random. Conversation in a text-based CMC is characterised by turns which are followed by lengthier pauses than in face-to-face conversations. Anderson et al. (2010) provide the explanation that "[p]ausing provides opportunities for the participants to decode and encode utterances cognitively, as well as to initiate and respond to talk".

To sum up, turn-taking in CMC differs from turn-taking in face-to-face conversations. Other differences include the predominance of syntactically complete turns (as opposed to phrases and single words which are frequent in face-to-face communication), relying on delayed completion, and using pauses strategically so that others can take time to decode the message.

8. The cooperative principle

Apart from describing the structure of conversation and its organisation, in order to obtain a full picture of the nature of human interaction, it is also necessary to turn to H. P. Grice's "Logic and Conversation" (1975), where the cooperative principle was introduced.

In the paper, Grice observes that human conversation is typically a cooperative effort in which the parties involved recognise that they have a common purpose which they want to achieve. Whether the purpose is known from the very beginning or emerges in the course of a conversation is of little importance. What is important is the fact that at some point certain moves are expected to be made by speakers and behaving in an unexpected way would be found unsuitable. Taking all this into consideration, H. P. Grice summarises the observations in the following way: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" and terms them *the cooperative principle* (CP) (Grice 1975: 45). The CP is further divided into four maxims.

The four maxims are quality, quantity, manner, and relevance. To begin with, the maxim of quality indicates that contributions in a conversation should always be true. Participants should not tell what they believe to be false or give information which lacks evidence. Next, the maxim of quantity requires that contributions should be as informative as necessary. The maxim of relation involves the observation that one conversation turn should be related to the previous one. Last but not least, H. P. Grice specifies the maxim of manner. This implies that speakers should express themselves with clarity and with order (Grice 1975: 45-46). However, maxims are not always observed.

There are situations when speakers do not behave according to the maxims of the CP. These may be instances of *violating*, *opting out*, *clashing*, or *flouting* maxims. The first, violating, involves the possibility of misleading the conversation partner. Opting out means that a person does not want to contribute to the exchange any more. Clashing involves a conflict between two maxims: for instance, sometimes it is necessary to say more (violating the maxim of quantity) in order not to violate the maxim of quality. Finally, a speaker flouts a maxim when he or she "may BLATANTLY fail to fulfil it" (Grice 1975: 49). Flouting a maxim leads to implicature, meaning that the speaker intends something other than what he or she says and the hearer has to discover the intended meaning of the utterance (Grice 1975: 49). This is often the case with metaphors or sarcasm.

The CP is an important concept in the context of this paper because (1) in the experiment, not only do speakers share a common communicative goal, but also an extra-linguistic one, and (2) there might be a mapping between the maxims and the interactive alignment model, most visibly in the maxim of manner, in which speakers try to be orderly and avoid ambiguity by opting for the use of related lexical items and structures.

9. Experiment

The sections below discuss the experiment's design, methods and procedure. What follows is an analysis and discussion of the results.

9.1. Participants

Ten native Polish speakers were divided into five pairs. Each participant worked with a different person from the group. The participants did not know who their interlocutor was because their names were encoded (either MP0XX or FP0XX for *Male Participant* and *Female Participant* respectively, with X standing for the number of the participant). All of the participants were in their mid-twenties and most of them were either currently enrolled at the university level or university graduates.

9.2. Procedure and design

The experiment involved 10 participants in pairs. The participants were seated in different rooms, each of them with their own computer. The participants of the experiment were given instructions for the experiment. Their task was to inform their interlocutor where a blue square, a green square and a red square were on a maze template. They also had to negotiate who was to start giving instructions and to ask for clarifications if they were unsure where a given square was. They were free to choose their own terminology for the description of the maze and the order of interaction was also free, i.e. either one participant could describe his or her maze at once and then ask the other participant to do so, or they could exchange their interaction. The task ended when both participants told the position of their squares and, if necessary, requested clarification. Having finished the task, the participants were supposed to say goodbye and disconnect

from the service. The whole interaction was conducted in Polish.

10. Analysis

The data collected during the experiment can be categorized into three prominent groups and a few instances which did not have a parallel representation in the corpus. The prominent groups include alignment of verb phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases and word order. The groups with lower representation in the corpus comprise information structure and morphology.

10.1. Verb phrases and complementation patterns

All types of priming were attested for verb phrases in the collected corpus. Although not instantly visible, alignment is evident upon closer inspection. This is clear in the first conversation where speaker MP001 displayed production-to-production priming; the utterances he produced had an alignment effect on FP001. Production-to-production priming was displayed by FP001, too. Alignment is visible here because of the inflection on the nouns, despite ellipsis of verb phrases by FP001. Examples of production-to-production priming and alignment:

MP001: *ja mam dwa zamknięte pola: czerwone, które jest zamknięte na samej górze pierwszej kolumny od lewej*
'I have two locked fields: a red one-NOM, which is locked at the very top of the first column from the left'
MP001: *oraz niebieskie, które jest zamknięte na samym dole czwartej kolumny od lewej*
'and a blue one-NOM, which is locked at the very bottom of the fourth column from the left'
FP001: *u mnie, czerwone na dole drugiej kolumny od lewej*
'the red one (is) at the bottom of the second column from the left'
FP001: *niebieskie sama góra piątej od lewej*
'the blue one (is at) the very top of the fifth from the left'

As the examples above demonstrate, FP001 used a major verb phrase ellipsis. Still, the speakers were able to communicate without any issues. Though verbs can be said to be complemented in the same way, MP001 uses a relative clause to provide the description of the position of the element of the maze. FP001 does not.

The other pair of participants provided a textbook example of alignment of verb phrases. Again, the verb phrase was ellipted. However, as in the example discussed above, the same verb was omitted, which is indicated by the form of the noun in the direct object.

MP002: *Czwarta kolumna, piaty el. w tej kolumnie na samym dole.*
'Fourth column, the fifth element (is) in the same column at the very bottom'
FP002: *5 kolumna od prawej, czwarty element na samej górze*
'The fifth column from the right, the fourth element (is) at the very top'

The examples above are also in line with the interactive alignment account since both speakers use the same verb, although ellipted. Both production-to-production and comprehension-to-production types of priming work towards alignment, since FP002 uses the input information to produce the output utterance. Interestingly, both speakers also fronted adverbials in their sentences.

Furthermore, alignment of verb phrases was also attested in prototypical adjacency pairs. FP003 produces a message of the shape S + VP + DO and FP004 acknowledges that she understands the message FP003 sent. The interactive alignment account assumes that from this local alignment a global one should result.

FP003: *masz linię poziomą*
'you have a horizontal line'
FP004: *no mam*
'I do, literally: I have'

The data in the corpus suggests that indeed local syntactic alignment resulted in a more global one, since sixteen turns later the same structure occurs and FP004 follows the same complementation pattern FP003 utilised earlier:

FP004: *to jak masz tą poziomą linię*
'so you have this horizontal line'

Another example which illustrates syntactic alignment is the case of using semantically related *to move/to go* verbs. Although superficially these two words in Polish seem different, they are semantically related. Additionally, the participants converged on the aspect and tense of the verb, too.

FP003: *od niej odchodzi 8 "korytarzy"*
'8 'corridors' go-IMPERF-PRESENT from it'
FP004: *to jak masz tą pozioma linie i druga pionowa od lewej, idzie tam sobie do dołu*
'so you have the horizontal line and the second vertical from the left goes-IMPERF-PRESENT to the bottom'

Generally, the inventory of verbs used by speakers in the experiment was quite limited; thus, different participants tended to use the same verbs the others did, despite not interacting with participants from other pairs.

FP005: *ja mam zielone pole po prawej stronie, tam gdzie sa 3 kwadraty*
'I have the green field on the right side, where there are 3 squares'
FP006: *czerwone mam z drugiej strony tzn w pierwszym "łańcuchu"*
'I have the red one from the other side, i.e. in the first "chain"'

As the example above indicates, the speakers aligned in terms of verb choice and therefore in terms of complementation pattern, too. Furthermore, both participants placed the adverbial optional in the final position. The distance between

turns in the example quoted above is 23, so it again shows how local priming leads to global alignment between speakers.

10.2. Noun phrases and morphology

The task the participants had to complete in the experiment required them to be specific in naming entities on the maze. It would seem that because of the requirement, participants would have converged on a single lexical choice and would have persisted with it. However, this was not always the case.

Participants FP002 and MP002, as the evidence indicates, implicitly decided to use the same name for the referent after FP002 explicitly negotiated the label with herself.

FP002: *druga kolumna od prawej strony*
'the second column from the right side'
FP002: *jest pierwszym z trzech elementów tej kolumny*
'(it) is the first element of the three elements of this column'
FP002: *czy rzędu jak to zwać - pierwszy pokój od góry*
'or a row, however you call it – the first room from the top'
MP002: *Pierwsza kolumna, na samej górze pięciu el. tej kolumny.*
'The first column, at the very top of five elements of that column.'

Although FP002 suggests two terms to name one referent, MP002 takes up only one of them, namely *column*, probably because of the layout of the maze: *columns* are vertical whereas *rows* are horizontal.

Another pair of participants used the word *corridor* for their referents throughout the conversation. Despite being more remote from the context of the task than *rows* and *columns*, which are present on the list, this referent also allowed the participants to communicate efficiently.

FP003: *Jeden korytarz jest i na dole i na górze tej linii*
'There is one corridor and at the bottom and at the top of the line'
FP004: *czwarty korytarz od prawej*
'The fourth corridor from the right side'

Alignment between speakers also occurred when either of them used a pro-form instead of a full noun phrase in question-answer pairs.

FP005: *gdzie masz zielone pole?*
'Where do you have the green field?'
FP006: *zielone mam w pierwszym od prawej*
'I have the green (one) in the first from the right'

The reference here is successful because the most crucial information – the colour of the square – is provided by FP006. Furthermore, identifying the colour is the most recent and the most successful strategy of referring. Therefore, repeating the whole phrase is unnecessary and it allows the experiment's participants to save time.

Some speakers also employed another strategy to introduce a new term. In the pair with FP005 and FP006, a new term was introduced by using quotation marks.

FP006: *zielone masz tam w drugiej "alejce" od prawej?*
'do you have the green (one) there in the second "alley" from the right?'
FP005: *mam je po lewej stronie, druga alejka od lewej, na samym…*
'I have it on the left side, the second alley from the left, at the very…'

When the use becomes standardised, the quotation marks are dropped. The previous term might not have been as salient or informative as the new one, so it did not become a part of the shared lexicon (FP006 used the word *chain*). Furthermore, it was subject to provisionality; since *chain* did not provide a successful reference, it was replaced.

Pro-forms are also attested in cases when the first element of adjacency pairs does not have full verb phrase.

FP007: *no to niebieski teraz jest na samym dole*
'so the blue (one) is now at the very bottom'

FP008: *niebieski mam w czwartym*
'I have the blue (one) in the fourth'

The reason for that situation is the fact that it is the most recent term with a successful reference. Furthermore, it carries enough information that both speakers understand each other.

Apart from the aforementioned inflectional morphemes, which also provide information about the ellipted verb, there were suffixes which changed the emotional load of words. The most prominent example of these are diminutives of greetings.

FP004: *Siemka*
'Hi-DIM'
FP003: *hejka*
'hello-DIM'

These examples show the levels at which priming can be said to function. In other cases, diminutives were not used and speakers greeted each other in a more standard manner.

10.3. Prepositional phrases

In contrast to noun phrases and verb phrases, participants used a more limited array of prepositions. The reasons for this will become clear upon a closer inspection of examples from the corpus. The prepositions used by participants varied depending on the way they conceptualised the maze. They were subject to both provisionality and speaker-specificity.

The first example shows two speakers who did not align their representations and their conceptualisations of the maze were different. Thus, nearly every utterance MP002 produced was followed by a clarification request.

FP002: *druga kolumna od prawej strony*
'The second column from the right side'
MP002: *Pierwsza kolumna, na samej górze pięciu el. tej kolumny.*
'The first column, at the very top of five elements of the column'

MP002: *Ósmy rząd, pierwszy u góry*
'The eighth row, the first one at the top'
FP002: *ósmy od lewej?*
'The eighth one from the left side?'

Here, FP002 uses the structure *number of columns + from the left/right side*. MP002 does not. He numbered the rows from 1 to 8 from left side and provided instructions in this fashion. Hence, one might infer that the two speakers had quite different conceptualisations of the maze.

Another fact attested by the corpus is the use of emphatic structures. Significantly, their use was one of the most popular means to indicate the position of a coloured square on the maze across all pairs.

FP002: *drugi rząd od lewej, na samym dole z trzech elementów*
'the second row from the left side, at the very bottom of three elements'
MP002: *Pierwsza kolumna, na samej górze pięciu el. tej kolumny.*
'The first column, at the very bottom of five elements of this column.'

FP005: *na samej górze*
'at the very top'
FP006: *na samym dole*
'at the very bottom'

What this might indicate is the fact that speakers conceptualised the maze in terms of vertical position in the same way. This is supported by the FP002 MP002 pair where, despite not having aligned representations in terms of counting the columns, they did align in terms of describing the vertical position of elements on the maze.

Another example involves the alignment of verbs, complementation pattern, but with a different preposition. Both sentences can be represented by the following pattern: S + V + Adverbial Optional. However, the preposition which indicates the direction is different.

FP003: *idzie tam sobie do dołu*
'it goes towards the bottom'
FP004: *idzie w dół*
'it goes to the bottom'

Such a situation may result from both prepositions belonging to the same semantic class: they denote direction/goal. Hence, despite the superficial lack of alignment in linguistic terms, the speakers in the pair do have their linguistic representations aligned.

10.4. Information structures

Some evidence obtained in the experiment suggests that speakers may also align the way they represent information structures in their utterances. In general, two strategies can be discerned in the corpus. The first fronts the green/red/blue field and then states its location or first states the location and then says which element the participant was describing. However, the order of presenting information is not stable across pairs. The first two examples support the alignment of theme-rheme in conversation.

MP002: *Czwarta kolumna, piaty el. w tej kolumnie na samym dole.*
'The fourth column, the fifth element in this column at the very bottom.'
FP002: *5 kolumna od prawej, czwarty element na samej górze*
'The fifth column from the right, the fourth element at the very top.'

FP009: *moj zielony punkt jest po prawej stronie, pierwszy rząd*
'my green point is at the right side, the first row'
FP010: *mój zielony punkt jest po prawej, trzeci rząd od prawej*
'my green point is at the right side, third row from the right'

In the first case, the first element provided pertains to new information, the knowledge of which the speakers do not

share: only one of them knows where the element is. Only after that do they present given information, which is known to their interlocutor, i.e. they mention the green element. In the second pair, on the other hand, the information about the green element is fronted.

The fact that the order of presenting information is not stable across pairs, but is within a single conversation, may hardly be surprising since the interactive alignment model provides an explanation for this phenomenon. The model assumes that in each encounter, the speakers build new conventions for conversations, which are fortified by the priming mechanism. Here, a specific kind of information structure as a whole is used by the first speaker. Thus, the first speaker primes himself/herself to reuse this structure. By uttering the sentence using this pattern, s/he influences the other speaker's utterance: the comprehension-to-production priming is activated. These two processes lead to the alignment of situation models of the two speakers.

However, there were also some examples where alignment of the whole sentence was not reached initially and the way the information was presented differed within a pair.

FP003: *to czerwone jest na samej górze*
'The red one is at the very top'
FP004: *i to na samym dole w drugiej po lewej to czerwone*
'and at the very bottom in the second one to the left (is) the red one'

Yet, later on the speakers converged on the same word order in the sentence. The reason for that may be that the individual units (such as prepositional phrases and lexemes) are the same; hence, the alignment of word order in utterances is easy to establish.

FP003: *niebieski kwadracik: czwarty korytarz od lewej idzie w dół to na końcu jest niebieski kwadracik*
'the blue square: the fourth corridor from the left goes down and at the end there is a blue square'

FP004: *to teraz niebieski kwadracik u mnie: czwarty korytarz od prawej, na samej górze.*
'so now my blue square: the fourth corridor from the right, at the very top'

In this case, interlocutors aligned the word order of their sentences after some time. This, as mentioned above, was aided because they shared atomic linguistic information.

11. Discussion

The alignment of situation models and linguistic representations via a priming mechanism is evident in the data obtained from the corpus. The repeated use of the verb phrase, even in relative clauses, primed the interlocutor to use the same verb and typically the same complementation pattern. This is also clear in situations where verb phrases were completely ellipted, since the element that followed was declined in a way that indicated the use of the same verb. The use of verbs which have the same root but are different in terms of aspect and tense, but are complemented in the same way (in the case of the corpus with a prepositional phrase) was also attested. This means that a verbatim repetition of verbs may not be necessary in order to reach an alignment because it is enough that the verbs used by speakers are semantically related to a sufficient degree, as it is with the case described above. Similarly, it is possible for prepositions to only belong to the same class so that speakers can align their representations.

The collected data also may suggest that a total alignment of word order is either triggered at the very beginning of a conversation or takes some time to be established. It was shown in the previous section that some pairs of speakers structured the sentences, and hence the order in which they conveyed information, in the same way. However, others initially did not and it took them some time to do so. The fact that in either case, all speakers applied the same order may mean that

structuring information in the same way facilitates conveying information.

The role of sharing linguistic representations and thus aligning situation models is evident in the exchange between FP002 and MP002. MP002 conceptualised the maze as one consisting of columns numbered from left to right and from 1 to 8. FP002, in contrast, conceptualised the maze as having two sides. Typically the participant first provided the side she was counting from and then the number of columns from the given side. As a result, MP002 and FP002 may not be said to have conceptualised the maze in the same way. This is also clear from the number of clarifications FP002 produced.

However, other participants of the experiment aligned their representations at a deeper level, which is substantiated by the fact that they used the same prepositional phrases (or prepositional phrases whose heads are semantically related). The use of the same prepositions to explain spatial relations between elements on a map indicates that the participants conceptualised the maze in the same way.

Another important fact pertains to information structure. It suggests that speakers do not only align their low-level linguistic representations, but that their alignment may also occur at a higher grammatical level. Choosing the given/new information structure strategy may also be a coping strategy that participants used in order to overcome the limitations of the medium and make their instructions easier to follow. However, since the corpus attests both given/new and new/given information structures, studies aimed specifically at this issue should be conducted to provide a final answer.

Lexical pacts emerged in pairs. Here, what must be emphasised is the role of priming in the alignment of lexis. Typically interlocutors converged on the same lexemes because they used the information they received in the input in order to produce the output. Sometimes amendments were suggested, such as the strategy with quotation marks discussed in the analysis, and if they were taken up, interlocutors used them throughout the conversation. In cases where one speaker was

inventive with terms, the conversations were much longer than in situations with a more limited inventory of lexemes.

The fact that the participants shared a common goal might have translated into the fact that they used the same structures, the same lexemes, and the same information structure. This linguistic behaviour may be in line with observing Grice's maxim of manner. By aligning the elements mentioned above, speakers maximise their orderliness and brevity while minimising the ambiguity and obscurity of their contributions.

12. Conclusions

The aim of the experiment was to collect data from CMC conversations in Polish and to use it in order to test Pickering and Garrod's interactive alignment account. The data corroborated, to a degree, assumptions made in the model. Importantly, the link between the different levels of alignment was substantiated in the way that repetitive use of a verb (level of lexemes) led to the alignment of word order (level of syntax), and that there is a direct link between linguistic representation and representation of situation models: in a case where the former was different, updating the situation model required using explicit common ground. Furthermore, the importance of sharing the same linguistic expressions in order to have a successful conversation was also corroborated: the more items shared, the shorter the conversation. Finally, the fact that priming is the basic mechanism leading to alignment, as exemplified in the data from the corpus, was also corroborated.

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Detecting metaphor – what case forms may reveal about a conceptualization

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Abstract

The figurativeness of language expressions is not always obvious. While in rhetoric such unobtrusiveness may be a welcome quality, in linguistic studies, which have proved the important epistemological function of metaphor, it is vital that a reliable method for detecting metaphoricity in language be developed. The MIP proposed by the *Pragglejaz* group of researchers into metaphor, whose main concern is determining whether the sense represented by a given unit in a specific context contrasts or not with its basic, primary, typically "physical" meaning, does not seem to be always reliable since the contrast between a current and a basic meaning is not always evident and may be disputable in the case of words whose meaning is co-determined by context, as, e.g., the sense of the noun *collectors* in the phrase *collectors of stories* referring to the Grimm brothers. This method is also likely allow for the so-called grammatical metaphors, identified by Panther and Thornburg (2009) going unnoticed, since in their case the words involved represent their basic, physical senses. An example of the latter is the peculiar inflection of brand names marked for the masculine gender in Polish. Specifically, this is the issue of obligatory applying the declensional pattern characteristic of masculine animate nouns to masculine brand names referring to commercial products, such as cars,

watches, computers, etc. The point is that the accusative case form of such words functioning as objects of verbs like *buy*, *see*, *have* is equal to the genitive, as is normal of animate nouns, rather than to the nominative, which is typical of animate ones – a group, to which brand names, after all, belong. This peculiar behaviour of a specific category of nouns may be interpreted as a symptom of construing their referents in a way in terms of living creatures, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that many owners develop emotional attitudes to objects of personal use. It is the metaphorical construal that seems to determine the grammatical form of certain nouns referring to them.

Keywords

metaphor identification, grammatical metaphor, declension

Jak rozpoznać metaforę – obrazowanie figuratywne a przypadek gramatyczny

Abstrakt

Rozpoznawalność językowych wyrażeń metaforycznych jest kwestią nieoczywistą; figuratywność niektórych zwrotów jest łatwa do zauważenia, natomiast stwierdzenie jej w przypadku innych, szczególnie wysoce skonwencjonalizowanych, wymaga sporej spostrzegawczości i wprawy. Z punktu widzenia retoryki, stopień rozpoznawalności metaforyczności przez odbiorcę oracji powinien być, dla nadania jej cech wiarygodności, jak najniższy, jednak językoznawcy, wobec bardzo ważnego w podejściu kognitywnym założenia, że analiza języka otwiera drogę do zrozumienia sposobu ludzkiego myślenia, powinni dysponować metodą pozwalającą na niezawodne wykrycie metaforycznego użycia danej jednostki leksykalnej. Taka metoda, opracowana przez grupę badaczy określającą się mianem *Pragglejaz* polega na ustaleniu, czy znaczenie danego wyrazu w konkretnym kontekście kontrastuje w jakiś sposób z jego znaczeniem podstawowym, pierwotnym, najczęściej odnoszącym się do rzeczywistości materialnej. Metoda ta nie wydaje się być, jednak, niezawodną, bowiem nie zawsze jest jasne, czy znaczenie danego słowa w danym użyciu kontrastuje z jego

znaczeniem podstawowym, szczególnie, gdy jest ono doprecyzowane przez kontekst, jak np. znaczenie rzeczownika *collectors* w zwrocie *collectors of stories* określającym braci Grimm. Innym przykładem figuratywności niewykrywalnej dla MIP są tzw. metafory gramatyczne (zob. Panther i Thornburg (2009), bowiem w ich przypadku użyte wyrazy mogą reprezentować swoje podstawowe, „fizyczne" znaczenia. Jako taką właśnie metaforę można uznać specyficzny sposób odmiany przez przypadki pewnego typu rzeczowników rodzaju męskiego w języku polskim. Chodzi tu o stosowanie deklinacji właściwej dla rzeczowników żywotnych rodzaju męskiego do nazw firmowych produktów przemysłowych, takich, jak samochody, zegarki, komputery, etc. – dotyczy to ich formy biernika w roli dopełnienia czasowników przechodnich, np. *kupić*, *zobaczyć*, *mieć*. W przypadku rzeczowników nieżywotnych rodzaju męskiego jest ona prawie zawsze równa mianownikowi, natomiast nazwy firmowe (np. *ford*, *volkswagen*, *rolex*, *samsung*), nieodmiennie przyjmują w tej pozycji formę równą dopełniaczowi, tak samo jak rzeczowniki żywotne. Może to być sygnałem obrazowania produktów przez nie oznaczanych jako istot żywych, co zdaje się potwierdzać fakt, że właściciele często mają do przedmiotów osobistego użytku stosunek emocjonalny. Taki metaforyczny sposób myślenia o przedmiotach określanych nazwami handlowymi wydaje się przesądzać o odmianie takich nazw w sposób właściwy dla rzeczowników żywotnych.

Słowa kluczowe

rozpoznanie metafory, metafora gramatyczna, deklinacja

1. Introduction

The issue of a method to detect metaphor in language has not been directly addressed by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work of 1980. Actually, the authors put the reader immediately, on the very first page, *in medias res* in the process of unfolding their own, novel account of the phenomenon in question and its relevance to not only language, but, especially, to human cognition, comprehension and reasoning. Presenting the account of metaphor as a fun-

damental cognitive strategy, they seem to take it for granted that the linguistic signals of the figurative mode of thinking are self-evident, even though the figurativeness of many of the considered examples could easily escape the notice of even a language-conscious user. Unfortunately, the authors do not provide any clues that could be referred to in recognizing metaphor, even though, as they admit, most examples discussed in their book are conventional, and some of them have even become *dead*. Indeed, it seems that many metaphorical expressions provided in the discussion would not strike most speakers as figurative in nature (e.g., *Inflation is lowering our standard of living*; *You are wasting my time*; *My income rose last year*; *The theory needs more support*).

2. Detecting metaphor

Definitely, some metaphorical mappings are so deeply ingrained in human thinking that the figurative nature of linguistic expressions instantiating them, typically highly conventionalized, is not likely to be noted by casual speakers. What is more, also specialists concerned with providing |a strictly formal account of language and proposing to deal only with its "serious" uses, such as generative grammarians, did not manage to avoid resorting to metaphor explicating their theory (cf. such terms as *embedding*, *deep/shallow structure*, *derivation*, *transformation*, *movement* [of syntactic elements], etc.) Nevertheless, especially inconspicuous seem to be metaphorical extensions of the meaning of prepositions. In fact, they have become so highly conventionalized that it is impossible to avoid them in linguistic descriptions of conceptualized scenes. A classic example is the irrevocable use of spatial prepositions to refer to temporal relations, based on the general TIME IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT mapping, as, e.g., in *I'll be finished in five minutes*, *They arrived on time*; or in Polish *Przyjdę za pięć minut*, literally 'I'll be there behind five minutes'; *Wyjechali na tydzień*, literally 'They left onto a week'. The English examples reflect the conceptualization of a period

of time in terms of a container, and of a point in time – in terms of a spatial location. The Polish sentences, in turn, appear to instantiate conceptualizing a period of time as a large object that may block progress, so it has to be got behind, or as a surface temporarily supporting the referents of the subject pronoun. Indeed, in all probability, pointing to the figurative nature of any of the aforementioned utterances would cause surprise in their users. This brings to mind Monsieur Jourdain, Molière's Bourgeois Gentleman, exclaiming in astonishment "These forty years now, I've been speaking in prose without knowing it!" By the same token, people speak in metaphor without knowing it, which makes the task of bringing its inconspicuous instances to light quite challenging. Nevertheless, it seems that the conceptual metaphor theory put forward by Lakoff and Johnson has become so powerful and influential in part thanks to illustrating it with scores of highly conventionalized, and hence hardly noticeable examples.

In references to metaphor made by linguists prior to the advent of the cognitive account of the phenomenon it seems that the examples provided were chosen intuitively, and they tended to be of obvious figurative nature, e.g. Grice (1975) presented the statement *You are the cream in my coffee* as a case of flouting of the Maxim of Quality, while Lyons (1968) or Palmer (1976), referring to metaphor, were concerned with the evidently figurative senses of words like *eye*, *mouth*, *foot* leaving the less conspicuous instances undiscussed. The latter were brought to the attention of linguistics only by Lakoff and Johnson without, as has already been pointed out, providing clues about their recognition.

2.1. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

Aristotle, the author of the first insightful account of figurative language in the Western world, considered unobtrusiveness to be characteristic of good and effective use of metaphor, as indicated in *The Rhetoric*,

> [1404a]... A word in its prevailing and native meaning and metaphor are alone useful in the lexis of prose. A sign of this is that these are the only kinds of words everybody uses; for all people carry on their conversations with metaphors and words in their native and prevailing meanings. Thus, it is clear that if one composes well, there will be an unfamiliar quality and it escapes notice and will be clear [...]
> (http://people.wku.edu/jan.garrett/401s07/arismeta.html, translated by George A. Kennedy)

As can be concluded from the quoted excerpt, Aristotle was of the opinion that a "well-composed" metaphor will "escape notice", as a result of which a speech in which it is included will sound "native", hence more likely to take the intended persuasive effect. From the point of view of an orator, then, figurative language should appear as much as possible to be plain and undecorated to avoid raising suspicion on the part of the audience.

However, when metaphor was recognized to be first of all a matter of thought and began to be considered a valuable source of information concerning human cognition and reasoning, looking for its signals in language has become an occupation of many a researcher trying to accurately describe the relations holding between language and mind. Thus, the attitude to metaphor of such a researcher appears to be opposite to that of an orator; s/he is avidly interested in bringing it to view rather than in concealing it. Being able to recognize even inconspicuous figurativeness, practically fused with literal meaning is also important in education since the theory of conceptual metaphor has become an integral and important part of academic courses in linguistics, so students

should be able to recognize metaphor used in language on an everyday basis. It seems, therefore, that a reliable method to distinguish metaphor from non-metaphor in utterances is needed. In answer to this need, to avoid relying only on intuitions to detect the figurative nature of language units, which may sometimes prove fallible, a group of researchers calling themselves *Pragglejaz* have presented a method of identifying the metaphoricity of specific expressions used in linguistic communication. It is called the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP) and it involves the following steps:

> 1. recognizing the general meaning (topic) of the text/discourse in which a given expression (lexical unit) occurs (i.e., what the text/discourse concerns),
> 2. distinguishing all the units participating in the given text/discourse,
> 3. (a) recognizing the contextual meaning of a unit, i.e., how it relates to the situation described and how it contributes to the general meaning of the text/discourse, with the immediate co-text of the unit taken into account,
>
> (b) considering whether there exists a more "basic" contemporary meaning of the unit considered. "Basic" meanings tend to be more physical, concrete, immediately related to sensory perception, bodily actions, precise and historically older,
>
> (c) deciding whether the currently recognized meaning of a given unit contrasts with the more basic meaning, but can still be understood in relation to it.
>
> 4. If so, the given unit can be considered to have been used metaphorically. (adapted from http://www.academia.edu/235704/MIP_A_method_for_identifying_metaphorically_used_words_in_discourse)

The original *Pragglejaz* example to which the method has been applied is recognized to involve the following metaphorical expressions, marked by italics: "For years, Sonia Gandhi has *struggled* to convince Indians that she is *fit* to *wear* the *mantle* of the political *dynasty into* which she married, let alone to become premier". The singled out units do, indeed, in this

context represent senses contrasting with the basic ones, so their figurativeness does not seem to raise any doubts.

2.2. The MIP – some problems

The method at the first sight seems simple and error-proof, yet it is likely to be outsmarted by language; an attempt to apply it to another, randomly selected sample of text has raised questions as regards its infallibilty. The text concerns the relevance of oral tradition to culture and runs as follows: "Traditions of storytelling are still *strong in* many parts of the world, but industrialization and urbanization are the *enemies* of oral narratives. […] It is thanks to *collectors following* the example of the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm *in* Germany that many stories *survived*." As before, the italicized words seem to pass the MIP test without difficulty; the senses in which they are used do contrast with basic ones and are still understandable in the provided context. However, the metaphoric nature of the use of the underscored lexeme *collectors* in the quoted example seems to be debatable. As specified by *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, in one of its basic, physical senses the unit refers to a person gathering material objects, like stamps, books, etc., as a hobby (the other senses, related to a person whose work is collecting taxes, overdue bills, etc., or to an element of a technological device, are definitely not involved.) What causes the uncertainty is the fact that stories are not material objects to be collected on a par with stamps or books, but, on the other hand, when they are written down and gathered in a volume, which is what the Grimm brothers probably did *collecting* them, they assume a physical, tangible form and can be treated like other, typical collectibles. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not the currently recognized meaning of *collectors* valid in the provided context contrasts with the more basic meaning of the word simply because in this case the distinction between the basic, i.e., literal and the non-basic, i.e., metaphorical senses cannot be unequivocally drawn. An

example like this may suggest that metaphoricity may be recognized as a measurable quality that characterizes the uses of specific language units in specific contexts to a higher or lower degree. Thus, it might be proposed that the use of the lexeme *collectors* in the quoted excerpt should be qualified as only slightly metaphorical.

As another instance of barely recognizable metaphoricity, rather undetectable for MIP, it is possible to consider the use of the noun *car* as subject of the verb *stopped* in Croft and Cruse's (2004: 210) example *The car stopped in front of a building*. Most researchers would probably consider it an instance of the OBJECT USED FOR USER metonymy, representing the FORM (A)-CONCEPT (A) FOR FORM (B)-CONCEPT (B) type, recognized by Kövecses and Radden (1998). Croft and Cruse, however, point to its indeterminacy as a concrete figure of speech, because the quoted combination of words may as well be indicative of the metaphorical mapping A CAR IS A LIVING CREATURE, i.e., of the animalization of a vehicle, even though the participation of a controller is necessarily involved. It should be observed, nevertheless, that the meaning represented by the verb *stop* considered independently, i.e., 'to block up', 'to cause to cease motion', cf. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, is extremely schematic and does not include any presuppositions concerning the nature of the causing element. Notwithstanding, the prototypical one would be a human consciously performing a controlled action, as in the model of causation presented by Lakoff (1987: 54-55). It is, thus, very difficult to decide whether using the verb *stop* in a predicate complementing a subject referring to a less prototypical "causer", incapable of direct manipulation is metaphorical or not, and a car, as a movable object, is closer to the prototype than, e.g., *fence*, as in *It was only a fence that stopped the skidding car*. Still closer, though unspecific as to the controllability would be *horse* in *The horse stopped by the barn*.

It appears, therefore, that what decides about the degree of metaphoricity impact of certain uses of specific language units

(lexemes) is the higher or lower prototypicality of situations in which their referents are involved; *stop* is non-metaphorical in *The man stopped in front of a building* but in situations in which less prototypical causation is recognized, the degree of metaphoricity (animalization, personification) may rise. By the same token, in the case of the previously discussed example of *collectors*, the metaphoricity is undetectable when the noun is complemented by a phrase referring to prototypical collectibles but its degree may be felt to rise when less prototypical ones, such as stories, jokes, smiles or souls (which Lucifer might be interested in) are at issue.

Another type of figurative construals reflected in language but undetectable by means of the MIP method seems to be the phenomenon that Panther and Thornburg (2009:17-22) describe as *grammatical metaphor*. This term covers instances of metaphorical processes exerting impact on grammar, i.e., the use and distribution of grammatical categories being determined by the mapping of a certain source notion onto a certain target notion. Thus, a grammatical metaphor does not depend on a specific non-standard use of lexical categories, in the case of which it would be traceable by the MIP, but it is rendered by a specific application of grammatical patterns. Such metaphor definitely outsmarts the method in question as the lexemes involved may well be used in their basic, standard senses. An example illustrating the issue provided by P and Th are, among others, the PAST IS PRESENT metaphor involved in the use of the Conversational Historical Present Tense in narration, whereupon a metaphorically used verb referring to a past event may express its standard meaning but assumes the present tense form (e.g., *In June 1812 Napoleon's army invades Russia and retreats by December of the same year*). Another example of grammatical metaphor recognized by P and Th in German is construing certain phenomena deprived of biological sex (a city, art) as females, which is motivated by the feminine grammatical gender of respective German nouns. This construal is indicated by the use of feminine versions of nouns functioning

as complements of such nouns. Its reflection can be observed in other languages that possess the category of grammatical gender, such as Latin or Polish. An illustrative example is the adage *Historia* (fem.) *magistra* (fem.) *vitae est* and its Polish version *Historia* (fem.) *jest nauczycielką* (fem.) *życia* – 'History is life's teacher'.

A similar instance of grammatical metaphor in the case of which animalization of an inanimate entity is marked by a syntactic category (case form) rather than by a non-standard use of a lexeme can be found in Polish. It concerns inflecting by case of certain brand names occurring in the object position in a sentence.

3. Grammatical metaphor signalled by case forms of certain nouns in Polish

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38) provide the example of the sentence *He bought a Ford* as an illustrative instantiation of metonymy of the PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT type. They observe no metaphoric overtones therein carried. However, its exact translation into Polish, i.e., *Kupił forda* may raise questions concerning the actual mode of conceptualizing the situation described by the sentence – due to the grammatical case form of the object noun constituted by a brand name. As Polish is a highly synthetic language employing numerous inflectional patterns applicable to practically any grammatical category of words (only prepositions and adverbs do not submit to them), and because the forms that words assume when participating in larger units, such as phrases and sentences, are not always imposed with regard to only grammatical constraints (governance rules) and irrespectively of their meaning, they may constitute a source of valuable information concerning the construals of described scenes by language users.

Thus, there are disproportions between the declensional patterns to which count nouns (and brand names belong to this nominal subcategory) marked for one of the three

grammatical genders recognized in Polish are submitted, with the evident special position of the masculine. The feminine and neuter nouns assume the same form (declensional suffix) in the accusative case representing the semantic role of the patient or the percept when they follow the Polish equivalents of such transitive verbs as *buy*, *eat*, *have*, *see*, *read*, i.e., when they perform the syntactic role of direct object, no matter whether they are animate or inanimate, e.g., *Zauważył* 'He saw' *dziewczynę* 'a girl-acc.'; *książkę* 'a book-acc.' – feminine, or *dziecko* 'a child-acc.', *krzesło* 'a chair-acc.' – neuter. In the case of neuter nouns the accusative is always equal to the nominative whereas the feminine accusative is not conflated with any other case form.

In contrast to this, the inflection of masculine nouns, such as those occupying the object position in the examples provided below, is determined by their meaning; generally they assume different forms depending whether they are animate (then the accusative form is equal to the genitive) or inanimate (then, in the vast majority of cases the accusative form is equal to the nominative), e.g.,

(1) *Wyprowadził psa* 'He walked the dog' (accusative = genitive)
(2) *Zjadł pieczonego kurczaka* 'He ate a roast chicken' (accusative = genitive)
(3) *Kupił samochód* 'He bought a car' (accusative = nominative)
(4) *Zjadł obfity posiłek* 'He ate a big meal' (accusative = nominative)

It should be noted that the animateness of a roast chicken is at least dubious, yet the syntactic behaviour of the noun *kurczak* 'chicken' seems to be determined by the prototypical, canonical condition of its referent. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that also in the uses in which an animate noun refers to an obviously inanimate object, the form of such a noun in the direct object position is the same as in a prototypical application, cf. *Cynowego koguta* (accusative =

genitive) *odnaleziono w gruzach wewnątrz katedry* 'The tin cock was found in the rubble inside the cathedral'.

It can be mentioned, as a side note, that, despite the fact that inanimate masculine count nouns functioning as objects of transitive verbs normally assume the accusative form equal to the nominative – as in (3) and (4), some of them can take two alternative forms in this position, equal to the nominative or to the genitive, e.g., *Pokrajał pomidor* (acc. = nom.) / *pomidora* (acc. = gen.) 'He cut up a tomato'; *Kupił arbuz* (acc. = nom.) / *arbuza* (acc. = gen.) 'He bought a watermelon'; *Zjadł cukierek* (acc. = nom.) / *cukierka* (acc. = gen.) 'He ate a sweet'. The choice of the case form in such instances is sometimes a matter of style, i.e., using the form equal to the genitive (*pomidora, arbuza, cukierka*) is considered rather informal, colloquial (cf. Bańko 2002, http://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/zje%C5%9B%C4%87%20pomidor.html.), but sometimes choosing a specific case form of an object noun, especially if it refers to a potentially divisible entity, may communicate a difference in conceptualizing its referent. The use of the accusative equal to the nominative is indicative of a holistic construal, e.g., *Zjedliśmy chleb* (masc. acc = nom.) 'We ate the bread', while using the accusative equal to the genitive points to the fragmentary conceptualization of the respective entity, e.g., *Zjedliśmy chleba* (masc. acc = gen.) 'We ate some bread'. The possibility to choose a specific case form to express a holistic or a fragmentary construal of a referent also applies to nouns marked for the feminine or neuter grammatical gender, e.g., *Zjedz zupę* (fem. acc.) 'Eat the soup'; *Przynieś ciasto* (neut. acc. = nom.) 'Bring the cake' vs. *Zjedz zupy* (fem. acc = gen.) 'Eat some soup'; *Przynieś ciasta* (neut. acc. = gen.) 'Bring some cake'.

Generally, however, the animate-inanimate distinction, which appears to be not at all clear-cut, is by far the most consequential in respect to inflecting by case the Polish masculine nouns occurring in the direct object position. Thus, when it comes to inanimate masculine nouns, their accusative form in the object position following transitive verbs pre-

supposing the semantic roles of patient / percept is equal not to the genitive, as is the case with animate ones, but to the nominative, as in the following examples: *Kupił samochód / zegarek / komputer* 'He bought a car / a watch / a computer'. The sentences *Kupił *samochodu / *zegarka / *komputera* (with the accusative equal to the genitive, which would be normal for animate nouns) are definitely ill-formed. Yet, the situation changes when the very same objects are referred to not by means of their generic names (common nouns) but by means of the commercial brands which they represent, e.g. *ford, fiat, opel, mercedes, boeing, rolex, samsung* (in Polish brand names are not capitalized). If the name is of masculine gender, it declines in the same manner as a masculine animate noun, which means that in the object position it assumes the form equal to the genitive rather than the nominative, as the common nouns representing the categories to which such objects belong do, cf. *Kupił samochód / zegarek / komputer* 'He bought a car / a watch / a computer' (accusative = nominative) vs. *Kupił forda / fiata / volkswagena / rolexa / samsunga* 'He bought a Ford / a Fiat / a Volkswagen / a Rolex / a Samsung' (accusative = genitive). Using the accusative form of brand names equal to the nominative, as in *Kupił *ford / *fiat / *rolex / *volkswagen / *samsung* would not be acceptable. What is more, it should be observed that the "animate" declension applies to all masculine brand names, not only eponymous ones, in whose case assuming such a form could in a way be motivated; out of the provided examples only *ford* is an eponym. It seems that the declension of masculine brand names according to the masculine animate pattern can be described as an instance of grammatical metaphor: A BRANDED OBJECT IS A LIVING CREATURE. Consequently, as predicted by Panther and Thornburg (2009: 16), the structure of the figurative language unit is shaped by the source domain, i.e., masculine brand names inflect like masculine animate nouns. In other words, metaphorical animalization of the referents of brand names results in applying the "animate" pattern in their declension.

4. Conceptions represented by brand names

Brand names, though often eponymous in origin, are not proper names, which may be confirmed, among others, by their Polish orthography. However, they seem to be much closer to them than common nouns because they are adopted or devised to single out specific products on the market, therefore, their function is in a way similar to that of proper names. Still, apart from the referential function, typical of all nouns, they maintain some degree of predicability, i.e., they provide categorial information about their referents (cf. Anderson 1997), of which proper names are deprived or at least very short. In their case this is purely pragmatic, circumstantial meaning; for example, it is common knowledge that a Ford or a Volkswagen are cars, and many people are aware that a Rolex is a watch. Yet, brand names represent entire categories of objects rather than individual entities, which is why it is not possible to identify them as proper names *per se*.

Prototypically, proper names are given to people and special animals (predominantly pets), sometimes also to places or objects. Giving a proper or a quasi-proper name, such as, e.g., *Carrie* or *Volks* to such a material object as a car may be indicative of developing a special attitude towards it. It is, perhaps, not too farfetched to say that a so-named vehicle becomes, in a way, its owner's friend or pet, which is a symptom of the application of an animalistic metaphor. In English, a genderless language, the feminine pronoun *she* is sometimes used to refer to a ship or a car, which may also signal a special, emotional attitude of a speaker towards the referent.

Therefore, as it seems, the facts about the declension of masculine brand names in Polish may be invoked to confirm the hypothesis of the metaphorical construal (animalization) of certain inanimate objects. It may be, in other words, suggested that, if masculine brand names are declined according to the same pattern as masculine animate nouns, the objects

represented by them are in a way conceptualized in terms of living creatures.

However, it would be hasty to draw a simple conclusion like the one formulated above because it can only apply to the singular form of respective nouns. The brand names' plural form would not provide any hint whatsoever of a possible metaphorical mapping involved. Simply, the accusative of a brand name in the plural form is equal to the nominative, as in the case of other Polish plural masculine animate or inanimate nouns, e.g. *Mają dwa fordy / psy / domy* 'They have two Fords / dogs / houses'. It is only personal masculine plural nouns that assume the forms equal to the genitive when in object position, e.g. *Mają dwóch synów / doradców* 'They have two sons / advisors'.

Therefore, the syntactic (inflectional) clue about the metaphoric nature of a specific construal of individual branded objects is very subtle and inconspicuous, especially that there are also some common masculine inanimate nouns declined in the "animate" way (typically foodstuffs). On the other hand, individual vehicles (ships, cars), just like other objects dear to their owners, are quite likely to be metaphorically animalized; the owners of machines for personal use (especially computers) often talk about them as if they were living and thinking creatures, e.g., *My car is on its last legs*; *My computer refused to open that file*; *My computer went crazy*. This may lead to the conclusion that some metaphors are full-fledged and clearly involve the mapping of two conception, while in the case of some other ones the mapping is less evident.

5. Conclusions

Despite the fact that the Metaphor Identification Procedure proposed by *Pragglejaz* is a helpful and in many cases effective instrument to be used in detecting metaphorical uses of language units, there are cases in which it does not provide a clear answer to the question whether a given use of a lexeme is figurative or not. It seems, therefore, that metaphors

constitute a natural category comprising prototypical but also less representative examples. A signal of construals that may be of metaphoric nature could be constituted by, among others, certain uses of case forms in Polish constituting an instance of what Panther and Thornburg have termed *grammatical metaphor*, in whose case the lexemes involved represent standard, non-figurative meanings but assume grammatical forms that depart from the standard. All in all, the described facts seem to support the general assumption valid in cognitive linguistics (cf. Langacker 1987) that grammatical patterns (such as, among others, case forms) are meaningful symbolic units.

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Organizational identity construction of the world's top universities: A discourse analysis of university prospectuses

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Abstract

A prospectus, as a kind of self-description of the organization, is specified as one of the attributes of an organization. A university, as a type of organization, makes its prospectus accordingly. A prospectus – as a genre of organizational discourse – has a constructive mechanism. With the synergy of the discourse-historical approach (DHA) and the corpus discourse approach, this article will analyze – using WordSmith – the discursive strategies involved in the construction of the organizational identity of the world's top universities. The analysis reveals that the prospectuses of the world's top 100 universities mainly employ the referential/nomination strategy and predication strategy to construct an identity for themselves as world-renowned, diversified, reputable leading universities which will participate positively in the global market.

Keywords

university prospectus, discursive construction, organizational identity, corpus linguistics, DHA

Budowa tożsamości organizacyjnej najlepszych uniwersytetów na świecie: Analiza dyskursu prospektów uniwersyteckich

Abstrakt

Prospekt jako rodzaj opisu organizacji jest określony jako jeden z atrybutów organizacji. Prospekt, który jest gatunkiem dyskursu organizacyjnego, posiada swój konstruktywny mechanizm. Dzięki synergii podejścia dyskursywno-historycznego i dyskursu korpusowego, artykuł ten przeanalizuje przy pomocy WordSmith strategie dyskursywne wykorzystywane w konstruowaniu tożsamości organizacyjnej najlepszych uniwersytetów na świecie. Analiza pokazuje, że prospekty tych 100 najlepszych uniwersytetów na świecie wykorzystują głównie strategię nominacji i strategię predykatywną, aby budować swój obraz jako uniwersytetu wiodącego, zdywersyfikowanego, renomowanego, który z sukcesem bierze udział w globalnej konkurencji.

Słowa kluczowe

prospekt uniwersytetu, konstrukcja dyskursywna, tożsamość organizacyjna, językoznawstwo korpusowe, podejście dyskursywno-historyczne

1. Introduction

Identity is increasingly used as "an analytic tool for studying important issues of theories and practices in education" (Gee 2001: 100) as it bears value with the unique status of being an ideal interface to liaise the micro discursive features and macro social practice or events (Lemke 2008). In other words, identity can be a very suitable lens through which to integrate discourse and practice, that is, identity-in-discourse and identity-in practice (Varghese et al. 2005). From a micro perspective, identities are also conceived of as being constructed and reflected in discourse.

Organizational identity is defined as a set of statements that organization members perceive to be central, distinctive and enduring to their organization (Albert and Whetten 1985). Organizational identity is seen as a way to distinguish one entity from another, to signify an organization's self-determined, unique social space and to reflect its unique pattern of binding commitments (Whetten 2006: 220).

The prospectus of an organization is both a first impression to others and a way to demonstrate something about the organization itself. Outside of geographical boundaries, communication and collaboration with both domestic and foreign partners is a necessity for universities; therefore, the prospectus is a means of self-introduction which plays a vital role in the construction of organizational identity.

In the hopes of serving as an expedition, this article aims to explore the organizational identity of higher learning institutions by the discursive analysis of university prospectuses. Prospectuses published online are a way for universities to construct identity. Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach will serve as the theoretical framework and permeate the study to interpret organizational identity at the institutional level. The article aims to answer the following research questions: 1. What kind of organizational identity would the university like to construct through its prospectus and 2. What kind of discursive devices have been used to construct this identity.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics (CL), the term first used by Aarts and Meijs (1984), is broadly utilized in linguistic research areas. Owing to the nature of CL "cutting edge change in terms of scientific techniques and methods" (McCarthy 2001), the compiling and design of the corpus needs its specific tools and methods. In response to the critics of CL, compiling specialized small

corpuses for a specific use has become a new trend of corpus analysis due to its advantages for discourse analysis.

Scholars of different research focuses (analyzers of business discourse, media discourse, institutional discourse, professional discourse etc.) try to compile their own specialized corpora for their specific studies. Hyland (2002, 2004) and Flowerdew (2008) built their own specialized corpus for pedagogical purposes. Koester (2010) designed a specialized corpus-ABOT (American and British Office Talk) with 34,000 words from different institutions in Britain and North America. Kristy Beers Fagersten (2010) compiled her own small corpus with 100,000 words from different genres for hip-hop identity analysis, Anna Marchi and Charlotte Taylor (2010) built a 1,340,156 word corpus from different newspapers for identity analysis etc.

The construction of a specialized small corpus is a new trend for discourse analysis due to its merits. In accordance with the above analysis, this article will design a specialized corpus for the purpose of digging out the linguistic devices beyond lines.

2.2. DHA as a branch of CDA

Viennese Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) adopted the historical discourse approach, attempting to render a kind of connection between specific linguistic subsystems and social structure. Wodak's historical discourse approach includes triangulation, meaning that discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from various disciplines (Wodak 2009), and linguistic analysis consisting of strategy analysis and topoi of these two parts.

"Strategy" is a kind of specific intentional scheme oriented to reach distinguished social, political, psychological and linguistic purposes (Wodak and Meyer 2001). According to the Viennese School of discourse analysis, "behavior" is the realization of "strategy" and "strategy" is a way to reach

specific goals. “Discourse strategy” serves as the application of a language system, reflecting different levels of language structures and implying different aims and goals. There are four typical “discourse strategies” adopted by the Viennese School from macro-perspectives: constructive strategies, justificatory strategies, transformative strategies, and destructive strategies. The above macro-strategies have different ways of being realized due to different materials which are analyzed. These four macro discourse strategies can also be divided into six frequently practiced micro-strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, mitigation and intensification. This article will take nomination and predication as two strategies to identify the linguistic devices in the construction of organizational identities.

2.3. Corpus linguistics and DHA

Though combining CDA and CL is not a new endeavor, the combinations performed by previous researchers and scholars have always been unbalanced with either CDA or CL as subservient. One of the most popular combinations is Corpus-Assisted Discourse (CAD). The CAD approach serves as a discourse analyzing method combining the quantitative rigor of corpus linguistics with the qualitative social perspective of more traditional discourse analysis (Marchi and Taylor 2010), which serves CL as technically assisting catering to the discourse analysis. In opposition to the imbalanced combination, Paul Baker and Ruth Wodak (2008) attempt to show that neither CDA nor CL needs to be subservient if there is proper synergy (Wodak and Baker 2008).

The Viennese Critical Discourse Analysis adopts the historical discourse approach, attempting to render a kind of connection between specific linguistic subsystems and social structure. As has been mentioned, Wodak’s historical discourse approach includes triangulation, meaning that

discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from various disciplines (Wodak 2009) and linguistic analysis consisting of strategy analysis and the topoi of these two parts.

A mixed method will be used to analyze the discursive identity construction of the world's top universities. By applying Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical theory and using WordSmith as a technical tool, the article will initially choose linguistic devices such as modality, evaluation, metaphor etc. WordSmith Tool 6.0 (2012) will be employed to search for their distribution in the corpus comprised of the collected texts.

3. Data analysis

3.1. Data sources

A purpose-oriented specific corpus was designed in accordance with the research aims and focus. The dataset for this article consists of 100 university prospectuses. The universities have been taken from the list of top universities, 2018-2019 QS ranking, available at <https://www.topuniversities.com>. All of the descriptions have been retrieved from the official websites of the top 100 universities. The corpus consists of approximately 60,000 words.

3.2. Data content

Most prospectuses contain information about the individual university's mission and value statements, figures, honors and prizes, ranking, history, education/teaching, research, organization, global standing, and notable alumni. From all of these categories, education/teaching, and research are the priorities in prospectuses.

4. Data research and methodology

By "strategy", we generally mean more or less a plan of practices including discursive practices adopted to achieve particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goals. Discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 94). Different discursive strategies applied by universities in their prospectuses will be identified. As has been mentioned, this article explores two discursive strategies: nomination and prediction.

4.1. Nomination/referential strategy

The objective of a nomination/referential strategy is the construction of "in-groups" and "out groups". "Insiders" and "outsiders" are two typical membership identities constructed by referential strategies through different devices such as membership categorization, metaphor and metonymy (Wodak 2001).

4.1.1. Personal pronouns: *we* and *our*

Personal pronouns are some of the most frequently used devices in the referential strategy. They accurately represent the actors' attitudes and orientations – as will be demonstrated in this section. *We*, *they*, *I* and their variants are all used for personal reference with different connotations and meanings. This section will mainly focus on the use of *we* and *our.*

The first person pronouns are widely studied and acknowledged as functional words with different connotations. Generally, linguists claim that the pronoun *we* has two senses: *inclusive* and *exclusive*. Inclusive *we* means that there exists something which may connect the sender and receiver, narrowing the psychological distance and strengthening the cohesion between them. Exclusive *we* is used to

separate the sender and the receiver. Furthermore, in accordance with Wodak (2009), the above categorization remains fairly broad. The use of *we* will be explored in the organizational identity construction.

By making a word list with Wordsmith, it is possible to see that both *we* and *us* are high-frequency words, as in the examples below:

(1) This is the fundamental purpose of the national university, which *we* will remain as long as *we* continue to serve Australia with distinction. (The Australian National University)
(2) *We* expect *our* actions to be consistent with *our* words, and *our* words to be consistent with *our* intentions. (Purdue University)
(3) *We* actively promote equal opportunities for women and men. *We* are also determined to become Germany's most attractive technical university for women. (Technical University of Munich)
(4) *We* champion and support *our* students so they have a memorable university experience. (Monash University)
(5) *We* pioneer innovative research that tackles global problems and expands the human experience. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

It appears that the top 100 universities use *we* to distinguish themselves from others so as to demonstrate their advantages as world-class universities. From the above examples it follows that these universities all use *we* and *our*, creating an "insider" point of reference.

4.1.2. The *we* + V structure

By using the collocate function of Wordsmith, the *we* + V structure will be investigated. We assume that the predicate V may act as the reflection of the sender's emotions.

After searching the pronoun *we* in the *we* + V structure, with the L5 and R5 setting of the search word, the results

demonstrate that *we will* and *we must* are high-frequency strings of words. Fowler (1996) points out that a modal verb, as the expression of human emotions and attitudes greatly reflects the sender's stance on different topics.

Searching the corpus, we find that the pronoun *we* is found to occur with verbs belonging to two categories: the modal verbs (MV) and the notional verbs (NV). The modal verbs *must* and *will* belong to the high and medium value modal verbs, so we can claim that they reflect the universities' determination to take action.

Table 1

Modal Verbs	Notional Verbs
(We) will	explore, continue, strengthen, impact, better, expand, grow, increase, enhance, (actively) pursue, lead, develop, promote, foster, build, remain, seek, revitalize, nurture
(We) must	re-envision, equip, ensure, endeavor, diversify, invest in, insist on, equip, inspire

Table 1 demonstrates that *we will* and *we must* largely co-occur with notional verbs which have positive connotations. The following examples illustrate the use of the structure *we* + MV + NV in the university prospectuses.

(6) *We will continue to explore* new scientific fields while further developing our existing disciplines. (Eindhoven University of Technology)

(7) *We will enhance* their experiences by embedding their education in cutting-edge research. (Imperial College London)

(8) *We will strengthen* our reputation, *increasing* our national and international rankings to secure a position in the top 10 in the UK and top 100 internationally. (The University of Southampton)
(9) *We will have impact* locally, nationally and globally through transformational learning experiences and groundbreaking scholarship. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
(10) In order for our students and staff to positively impact their communities and the world, *we must equip* them and *inspire* them so they can be agents of change in our history. (Monash University).

Analyzing the pronoun *we* and the *we* + MV + NV structure, it is possible to see that these universities attempt to present themselves as highly respected universities which are different from their competitors.

4.2. Predication

Strategies of predication are ways to assign positive and negative attributes to certain people or communities through evaluation systems to demonstrate different attitudes, the baseline objective of which is to label social actors positively or negatively (Reisigl and Wodak 2017). We will explore the ways of constructing organizational identity by analyzing predicates, semiotic prosody and comparison.

4.2.1. Predicate analysis

Predicates (including predicative adjectives and pronouns) are all the discursive realizations of the strategy of nomination. This article will explore the employment of predicates in the university prospectuses.

Taking three high-frequency words – *research*, *education* and *teaching* – as search words, exploring the predicates with the L5 and R5 setting, it is possible to see that the predicates which collocate with the above words are the following: *strengthen*, *enhance*, *focus*, *impact*, *boost*, *leading*, *trans-*

formative, *beneficial*, *inspiring*, *influential*, *transform*, *inspired*, *grow*, e.g.

(11) […] to *boost* its *research capabilities*, a strategy which has helped establish its reputation today as an international centre of research excellence. (University of St Andrews)
(12) These universities are regarded as the nation's *leading research* and comprehensive institutions. (Adelaide University)
(13) To conduct interdisciplinary and *innovative research* that addresses pressing challenges facing the world today. (Zhejiang University)
(14) It strives not only for *improvements in teaching and research* work, but also for the promotion of interaction and mutual promotion among various disciplines. (Peking University)
(15) We are entering a momentous chapter in our history, one that will *transform our teaching*, learning and research spaces. (University of Glasgow)

In these examples, the employed word combinations (*boost* […] *research capabilities*, *innovative research*, *improvements in teaching and research work*, *transform our teaching*, *learning and research spaces*) imply that changes are necessary to improve research and/or teaching at these universities.

4.2.2. Analyzing semiotic prosody

4.2.2.1. Positive semiotic words

Semantically speaking, lexical meaning can be divided into different categories in accordance with different semiotic prosody. Taking *research*, *education* and *teaching* as search words and exploring their collocations with the L5 and R5 setting, we obtain the following adjectives co-occurring with these three words: *meaningful*, *excellent*, *key*, *world-class*, *top*, *powerful*, *strong*, *premier*, *great*, *high-level*, *new*, *cutting-edge*, *prestigious*, *top-level*, *fundamental*, *distinguished*, *exceptional*,

core, *significant*, *world-renowned*, *competitive*, *prestigious* etc. All of them are words of positive semiotic prosody. As the selected examples demonstrate, these words are used mainly to describe the universities as research and teaching institutions.

(16) Penn is one of the world's most *powerful research and teaching institutions*. (Pennsylvania State University)
(17) UM is one of Malaysia's *premier Research Universities* and one of the *leading Research Universities* in Asia. (University of Malaya)
(18) [...] replete with *cutting-edge research equipment* [...] (Korea University)
(19) [...] become a crown jewel as a *top research university* specialized in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM). (Pohang University of Science and Technology)
(20) [...] the University of Zurich belongs to Europe's *most prestigious research institutions*. (University of Zurich)

4.2.2.2. Compound words

Searching the corpus, we have found some compound words: *research-intensive*, *research-led*, *research-driven*, *research-informed*, *research-based*, *research-oriented*, *research-focused*. The lexemes *intensive*, *led*, *driven*, *informed*, *based*, *oriented*, *focused* which follow *research* highlight the importance of research conducted at the universities.

4.2.3. Comparison

Exploring the content of the prospectuses, we find that some of the universities use words which serve them to compare themselves with other universities, their students, their locations etc.: *most*, *highest*, *strongest*, *best*, *first*, *primary* etc. Examples of comparisons are the following:

(21) […] it is now a large, comprehensive public university, grounded in its civic roots in New Zealand's *most diverse city*. (The University of Auckland)
(22) The talents of some of the UK's *most influential political figures* have been nurtured here. (University of Glasgow)
(23) l'X naturally seeks to share the *most up-to-date knowledge* to benefit its students. (Ecole Polytechnique)
(24) CityU has established itself as one of the *most innovative universities* in Asia. (City University of Hong Kong)
(25) […] recognized as North America's *most international university*. (University of British Columbia)

5. Conclusion

This article surveys university identity construction by the methodology of synergizing DHA and CL. From the above analysis, it is possible to see that these top 100 universities use nomination/referential strategy to distinguish themselves from others so as to highlight their own distinctive characteristics and unparalleled reputation. Furthermore, they use the predication strategy to depict themselves as world-renowned, diversified, reputable leading universities who will participate positively in the global market.

There is a close linkage between language and organizational identity construction. Organizational identity can be constructed by different strategies and linguistic devices are technical methods for organizational identity construction.

Additionally, as a successful practice of the combination of DHA and CL in organizational identity study, this article explores the linguistic devices employed in university prospectuses, which opens the way for further study in this area.

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Towards a near-native speaker's pronunciation: The most challenging aspects of English pronunciation for Polish learners and ways of dealing with them: The consonants

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to present an overview of the most common and notorious consonant-related mispronunciations committed by Polish learners of English, which result mainly in a foreign accent, but also occasionally cause confusion or misunderstandings. Apart from identifying the errors, I will try to indicate possible sources of the "favoured" substitutions, as well as suggest a number of practical solutions to solve these errors. Making improvements in the areas discussed below is of paramount value if a near-native pronunciation is to be attained, since at the segmental level it is the consonants that are the basis of a native speaker's pronunciation. For this and other reasons, I will argue that the consonants should be given the greatest care at least by professionals such as English teachers and interpreters, whose English should be near-native not only for the benefit of their students and clients, but also for greater ease and better quality of communication among the entire English speaking community.

Keywords

Polish consonant replacements, typical consonant "near" equivalent changes, basis of native accent, fine-tuning of L2 accent, reducing L1 accent

W kierunku rodowitej wymowy angielskiej: Największe wyzwania angielskiej wymowy dla Polaków i sposoby radzenia sobie z nimi: Spółgłoski

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie najbardziej typowych i najczęściej popełnianych przez Polaków błędów w wymowie związanych z niepoprawnym użyciem spółgłosek języka angielskiego i polskiego. Pomimo, że większość z tych notorycznych „podmianek" spółgłoskowych lub ich mieszania powoduje tylko obcy akcent, to są też i takie, które mogą doprowadzić do nieporozumień. Oprócz przedstawienia i omówienia wyżej wymienionych problemów, postaram się również zdiagnozować ich przyczyny oraz zaproponować praktyczne rozwiązania. W sytuacji gdy celem uczącego się jest osiągnięcie wymowy zbliżonej do wymowy rodowitego anglika, perfekcyjne opanowanie spółgłosek staje się kluczowe, albowiem na poziomie segmentalnym to one stanowią fundament brzmienia rodowitych anglików. Z tego i z innych powodów przedstawionych w artykule, będę twierdził, że precyzyjne opanowanie spółgłosek powinno być bardzo ważnym celem przynajmniej dla nauczycieli języka angielskiego i tłumaczy, których to wymowa powinna być bliska rodowitej wymowy. Skorzystaliby na tym nie tylko ich uczniowie i klienci, ale docelowo wszyscy posługujący się językiem angielskim. Rozumienie i komunikacja staną się łatwiejsze i co za tym idzie efektywniejsze.

Słowa kluczowe

polskie podmiany angielskich spółgłosek, typowe quasi-ekwiwalentne zamiany spółgłosek, doskonalenie akcentu języka obcego, redukcja rodzimego akcentu

1. Introduction

At present, with English used as a lingua franca worldwide, it is extremely important for learners to realise that apart from conveying the message intelligibly, having good pronunciation (devoid of a strong L1 accent), is also crucial for effective communication. One way of approaching this goal is by properly mastering the L2 sound system segments, which are to a large extent responsible for the quality and clarity of one's pronunciation. Good pronunciation results in less effort being required from listeners and facilitates an easier exchange of ideas.

It is common knowledge that learners of English may overlay the sounds of their native tongue onto the sounds of the L2 inventory (Dumville 1909: 10) and thus build L1 English sound "cocoons."[4], creating L1-based accents. Polish learners are no exception and, like any other nationality, have their own "favoured" Polish-specific ways of overlaying. By using Polish "near" equivalent consonants or vowels they give their English a foreign accent and at times, when employing an incorrect or mistaken sound, they can cause confusion, misunderstandings or even communication breakdown.

Having studied the pronunciation of Polish learners of English for most of my over 30 year-long teaching career, I have arrived at the conclusion that the vast majority of their pronunciation problems appear to stem from two main sources. The first is Polish phonology, which I call the "default system" and the second is Polish phonics (rules of decoding/reading spelling). Both of these seem to be unconsciously resorted to whenever learners lack linguistic L2 knowledge or practice regarding a particular pronunciation issue. All English examples used in the paper come from observations in the

[4] I have coined this term to refer to nationalities speaking English with their L1 accents. In mono-lingual groups comprised of teachers and learners, communication in the L2 is easier as there are no other L2 accents involved.

course of my professional career as an English academic teacher, teacher trainer and Cambridge ESOL examiner across all proficiency levels, in particular B2 and C1.

2. Consonants in view of ELT

In this article, I am going to concentrate solely on the English consonants with a view to two of the most common Polish problems: first, the typical fault consisting of replacing certain consonants with incorrect consonant sounds, which produces the L1 accent and potentially difficulties in comprehension. Second, I am going to focus on the "notorious" substitutions of English consonants with their Polish "near" equivalent yielding a merely foreign accent. In addition, I will briefly examine the causes of the above issues and propose some pedagogical solutions to deal with them.

To begin with, it is worth pointing out that a mastery of consonants plays a fundamental role in the pursuit of a near-native pronunciation in any language. Contoids, being far more resistant to change and stable than vowels (Jassem 1976: 84, Wells 1982: 74, Cruttenden 1994: 65-66, O'Connor 1998: 24), seem to perform a special function in the sound system of languages, which I have come to call 'destination' or 'anchorage' points for the more "fluid" and "elusive" vowels. It must be realised that without mastering the consonants, it is not possible to attain a genuinely native sound even if somebody has successfully learnt all the English vowels. Hence, if a Polish learner applies an incorrect Polish consonant sound, e.g. the Polish velar /x/ instead of the English /k/ in the word *choir*, he/she may, in addition to revealing his/her Polish accent (the English /h/ is glottal), be completely misunderstood when he/she pronounces it as /xwajɛ/ unless the context is sufficiently clear.

Speaking of near-native pronunciation, it should also be kept in mind that it is the most frequently occurring sounds in a language – predominantly contoids – which are responsible for the articulatory setting of that language. The 'articulatory

basis' as it is sometimes referred to, in turn, determines the production of speech segments and adds to their particular overall sound. In the case of English,[5] these are the alveolar ridge consonants /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /n/, /l/ that give it its overall alveolarised sound (Honikman 1964). In Polish, the overall sound will be more dentalised since all of these consonants' 'near' equivalents are dental in Polish.[6]

Another reason why consonants are of such importance is that "they form the bones, the skeleton of English words and give them their basic shape" as well as the fact that "they contribute more to making English understood than vowels do" (O'Connor 1998: 24). According to Crystal (1997: 145) "in listening to speech we ignore the vowel differences e.g. the length in "cap" and "cab" and hear the consonant differences". Thus, they are fundamental for the recognition and understanding of words and as a consequence, the content of the whole utterance. "Do you like Polish?" without the vowels would still be roughly decodable to native speakers /d_ j_ l_k p_l_ʃ/, however with the consonants left out /_ʊ _ə _aɪ_ _əʊ__ɪ _/, it would be virtually impossible to make sense of the phrase.

Finally, as regards English and Polish consonants, the statement can be risked that Polish learners generally feel more at ease with them as there are more consonants in Polish (29) than in English (24).[7] As a result, they do not find it hard to assign working "near" equivalents. However, this greater confidence does not mean that consonants are not an issue. As mentioned earlier, Polish and English contoids are not identical, and while "comprehensible", the Polish quasi-

[5] This will be explained in more detail in VI.

[6] Unlike most phoneticians, Reszkiewicz (1981: 90) also classifies the Polish /l/ as dental, and not alveolar.

[7] According to Gussmann (2007), the basic number is 29. However, others, such as Wierzchowska (1980), also include the palatalized variants in the inventory, which then results in a total of 37 consonants.

equivalents sound foreign to an English ear and for that reason should be corrected.[8]

Let us turn our attention now to the consonant-related errors most typical and frequently committed by Polish learners of English. From the pedagogical point of view, it is worth noting that these common mispronunciations are systematic and because of that, they may be considerably minimised if adequate attention is paid to them and practice is applied. Let us begin our review with the segments, which do not occur in the Polish sound system, and are potentially the most problematic.

3. The most "notorious" usual consonant substitutions

I. Replacement of /ð/ with the Polish /z/, /d/, /v/ or /dz/ (the Polish voiced dental affricate does not occur in English) results in:

a) Foreign accent: ***th***e**,** ***th***is, ***th***at, ***th***ese, ***those***, wi***th***, ***th***ough; and of /θ/ with /s/, /t/or /f/: ***th***ousand, bo***th***, ***th***eory, ***th***ank, en***th***usiastic, ***th***riller, me***th***od, ***th***esis, au***th***ority.

b) Possible confusion: ***th***ree - ***f***ree, ***t***ree; ***th***rough - ***t***rue; ***th***ank - ***t***ank - ***s***ank; ***th***ink - ***s***ink; ***th***in - ***f***in - ***t***in - ***s***in; ***th***ick - ***t***ick - ***s***ick.

c) Replacement of /ŋ/ with the Polish nasal dental /n/ or /ɲ/ especially in slow, careful speech resulting in:

c') Foreign accent: pi***n***k, sti***ng***, pu***n***k, ra***n***king, i***n***k, li***n***k, lo***ng*** (/ɪ/ tends to be pronounced as /i/), which results in the pronunciation of the ending as /ink/ or /nk/; or /onk/ as in pi***ng***-po***ng*** /pink-ponk/.

c") Possible confusion: thin, thi***ng*** - /think/; ri***ng*** - /rink/; sin, si***ng*** - /sink/; win, wi***ng*** - /wink/; kin, ki***ng*** - /kink/.

[8] "The sounds of two languages may be identical, but the phonologies are different and overall sound too" (Sapir 1921: 53).

As opposed to the situation twenty or thirty years ago, my teaching experience shows that the production of these English dental fricatives /ð/ and **/θ/** today**,** is not such a common and pervasive issue in Poland as it was in the past. Nowadays, most probably owing to easy access to spoken English via the radio, TV, Internet or audio recordings, most learners tend to pronounce these consonants more or less correctly. Those, however, who have still failed to master the sounds, traditionally tend to replace the /θ/ with /s/, or /f/ or even /t/, e.g. ***th****ousand*, and /ð/ with /z/ or /dz/, or / or even /d/, e.g. in the article *the,* which does not cause major problems with understanding, but creates a foreign accent. Yet, students need to be made aware of the fact that occasionally communication problems may arise, for example, when "thick" happens to be pronounced as "sick", in which case the understanding of the message will rely heavily on the context of the utterance. So, it seems rather obvious that whilst speaking of a person's absence, it would be highly unlikely for someone to say that the person is "thick" and confusion would be avoided. Still, with the words below confusion or even misunderstanding might occur: ***th****in* - ***s****in* - ***t****in* - ***f****in*; ***th****ree*, ***f****ree*, ***t****ree*. One of the most common explanations offered by teachers to students whilst describing the consonants at issue is that they are "lispy" sounds. This rather impressionistic view is hardly precise and sufficient in my opinion. The teacher needs to demonstrate the production of the sounds and follow up with a detailed description of how and where they are made, which should be followed by substantial practice. As mentioned before, the consonants /θ/ and /ð/ represented in spelling by the *th* letter cluster are non-existent in Polish, but rather frequent in English mostly due to the fact that they occur in high-frequency words (Cruttenden 1994: 196).[9]

As far as the nasal consonant /ŋ/ (e.g. *lo****ng****, ra****nk****ing, pu****nk*** or *si****ng***) is concerned, it is occasionally, particularly in slow

[9] Out of the total of 60.78% of consonants in English, /δ/ occurs in 3, 56% whereas /θ/ in only 0.37% of running text.

and careful speech, articulated as the Polish dental /n/ followed by /k/ due to devoicing of the final /g/. It is worth pointing out that the production of this nasal /ŋ/ consonant is not that difficult to explain to Polish students due to the fact that the consonant at issue occurs in Polish as an allophone of the Polish /n/ in words such as *ta**n**go, ba**n**k, r**ę**ka* 'hand', *ł**ą**ka* 'meadow', *ko**n**gres* 'congress', *ty**n**k* 'plaster'. Hence, if necessary, students can be referred to a relatively numerous group of such words for reference and guidance. Speaking of practice and fun, it is always challenging and revealing to learners to pronounce pairs of cognates to detect the subtle differences and resemblances in pronunciation between them in both languages e.g. *tango*, *mango*, *drink*, *congress*, *bank*, *gang*, *ping-pong*, *ranking.*[10]

II. Replacement of /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ /, /dʒ/ with the Polish /ɕ/ or /ɛ/; /ʑ/ or /ʐ/; /t͡ɕ/ or /ɛ/, /d͡ʑ/ or /d͡ʐ/ respectively, resulting in:

a) Foreign accent: ***sh**op*, ***sh**ock*, *spe**ci**al*, *bu**sh***; ***g**enre*, *plea**sur**e*, *lei**sur**e*, *bei**ge***; ***ch**ange*, *pic**tur**e*, *mar**ch***, ***ch**ur**ch***; ***j**azz, ma**j**ority*, *mana**g**er*, *fri**dg**e*.

Even though the frequency of occurrence of these English post-alveolar fricatives and affricates /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ /, /dʒ/, is comparatively low,[11] the Polish replacements do contribute to a noticeable Polish accent. On the whole, Polish learners, at least initially, believe they have a choice as to which Polish consonant to choose. i.e. instead of /tʃ /as in *choice*/t͡ɕ/ or /tɕ/, for /dʒ/ as in *June* /d͡ʑ/ or /dʑ/, for /ʒ/ as in *pleasure* /ʑ/ or /ʐ/, and for /ʃ/ as in *shoes* /ɕ/ or /ɛ/. However as can be

[10] More Polish words for reference and practice of /ŋ/: *fra**n**ki* 'francs', *s**ę**k* 'knot', *dr**ą**g* 'pole', *piose**n**ka* 'song', *Ire**n**ka* 'little Irene', *pu**n**kt* 'point', *szra**n**ki* 'lists', *ba**n**komat* 'cash machine', *dżu**n**gla* 'jungle', *p**ą**k* 'bud', *str**ą**g* 'pod', *ty**n**k* 'plaster', *cy**n**k* 'zink', *ta**n**kowiec* 'tanker', *sukie**n**ka* 'dress', *budy**n**ki* 'buildings'.

[11] /ʃ/ 0.96%, /ʒ/ 0.10%, /tʃ/ 0.41%, /dʒ/ 0.60%; total of 2.07% out of 60.78%.

heard, the overwhelming majority tend to apply the harder ones /t͡ʂ/, /d͡ʐ/, /ʐ/, /ʂ/ rather than the softer consonants /tɕ/, /dʑ/, /ʑ/ and /ɕ/, since the latter sound rather peculiar and amusing even to Polish learners, e.g. *picture* pronounced as /piɕie/ 'drink'. In order to sound more native, students need to be informed as early as possible that neither option is correct: the English consonants are produced in between the Polish two respective variants in terms of place of articulation (Sobkowiak 2008: 77). Thus, learners should be told that the Polish /t͡ʂ/ is dental-alveolar while the English /tʃ / is post-alveolar, and the Polish /tɕ/ palatal; the Polish /d͡ʐ/ is dental-alveolar, English /dʒ/ post-alveolar, and Polish /dʑ/ palatal. Moreover, the Polish /ʂ/ is dental-alveolar, English /ʃ/ post-alveolar, and Polish/ɕ/ is palatal and finally, the Polish /ʐ/ is dental-alveolar, the English /ʒ/ post-alveolar, and Polish /ʑ/ is palatal. These twelve obstruents mark three different points of contact between the tip/blade of the tongue and the top teeth for the Polish /t͡ʂ/, /d͡ʐ/, /ʂ/, /ʐ/,[12] the post-alveolar area for the English /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ (Roach 2002: 49) and finally, the hard palate for the Polish consonants /tɕ/, /dʑ/, /ɕ/ and /ʑ/. Even though the choice of one of the Polish variants is unlikely to stop anyone from being understood,[13] they will sound unnatural and non-native to English speakers. From the pedagogical point of view, an effective and amusing way of demonstrating the differences in sound to students is to ask them to compare and practise saying the English and Polish words and sentences below, first the English way and then the Polish way: 1. once; 2. three times each; 3. only Polish words and sentences; 4. only English words and sentences; 5. Polish words and sentences with the English sounds; 6. English words and sentences with both Polish sounds.

[12] In my own pronunciation I feel them to be more dental-alveolar rather than alveolar as most Polish phoneticians claim (Porzuczek 2016: 31, Gussmann 2007: 6-7).

[13] Usually they choose the dental-alveolar harder variants.

1. ***cz****apa* 'big cap' – ***ch****opper* – ***ci****apa* 'oaf'
   Ale ***cz****apa!* 'What a big cap!'
   What a ***ch****opper!*
   Ale ***ci****apa!* 'What an oaf!'
2. ***J****ohn(ek)* 'little John' – ***J****ohn* – ***dzi****on(ek)* 'little day'
   Ale szczęśliwy ***J****ohn(ek)!* 'What a happy **J**ohn / **J**ohnny!'
   Ale szczęśliwy ***dzi****onek!* 'What a happy little day!'
3. *le****ż****ę* 'I'm lying' – *lei****sur****e* – *le****zi****e* 'He's trudging along'
   *Ja sobie le****ż****ę.* 'I'm having a lie-down.'
   *at lei****sur****e*
   '*On le****zi****e'* 'He's shuffling along'
   *Gdzie mi tu le****zi****e, jak ja le****ż****ę?* 'Where do you think you're going?! I'm in bed.'
4. *pro****sz****ę* 'please' – *pre****ssur****e* – *pro****si****ę* 'pig'
   *Ależ pro****sz****ę!* 'By all means!'
   *Ależ pro****si****ę!* 'What a pig !'
   *Pro****sz****ę to pro****si****ę!* 'I'll take this pig, please!'

As normally happens, Polish learners realize and learn that the English sounds 'localised' between the two Polish consonant places of articulation, though similar, are not identical. Conversely, English students learning Polish will have realized that the English consonants which they have at their disposal, are not sufficient to pronounce Polish words correctly without causing confusion. Hence, they need to master two new sounds 'situated' on both sides of their English consonants to avoid making use of their English post-alveolars to cover in each case the two Polish outwardly similar consonants. In effect they would sound more like native Polish speakers and avoid bringing about confusion or misunderstandings. For instance, *Ja* ***ci****eszę się*/***cz****eszę się* when spoken by an Englishman who has in his segment repertoire only the sound /tʃ/ to substitute for the Polish /tɕ/ or /t͡ʂ/,would most likely be pronounced identically as /tʃeʃə/, as in Cheshire Cat, and could be extremely confusing, not to mention amusing, to Poles who might understand it as 'I comb (my hair)' or 'I am glad'. Likewise, the question /tʃeʃəʃ ʃə?/ might be interpreted

either as ***Ci****eszysz się* meaning 'Are you glad?' or ***Cz****eszesz się?* meaning 'Do you comb (your hair)?'. Fortunately, no such misunderstandings are likely to occur when any of the Polish consonants are used to 'cover' the English ones by Poles, they will only have a foreign accent, which still, in the case of professionals such as English teachers or interpreters should be reduced as much as possible. All in all, it should be stressed that confusion or misunderstandings will be more frequent and common on the English side, when English learners of Polish begin substituting the Polish 'pairs' with their English single consonants.

III. Replacement of /k/ with the Polish /x/ resulting in:

a) Foreign accent: ***ch****emical*, *tec****h****nology*, ***ch****ronology*, *te****ch****nical*, ***ch****aracteristic*, *ar****ch****itecture*, ***ch****emistry*, *polyte****ch****nic*, ***ch****orus*, *te****ch****nique*, *te****ch****nician*, ***ch****aracter*, ***ch****ronic*, *hierar****ch****y*, ***ch****aos*, *te****ch****nological*, ***ch****oir*, ***ch****ronological*, ***ch****arisma*, *maso****ch****ist*, ***ch****olesterol*, ***Ch****ristmas*, ***ch****oral*.

This is a common and frequent substitution made by Poles, which clearly appears to be influenced by the Polish pronunciation of cognates which look and sound similar. Students' attention needs to be constantly drawn to the fact that the English letter cluster *ch* is never pronounced as /h/ or the Polish velar /x/, but predominantly as /tʃ/ e.g. ***ch****air, ba****ch****elor, lun****ch***, or as /k/ shown in the words above. Although it is undeniably tempting and effortless to resort to something learners already know, like reading *ch* as /h/ from Polish instead of embarking upon a new learning process, students should be encouraged to stay alert and to check their pronunciation whenever they encounter words spelt with *ch*. It is important that students realise this small detail might upgrade their English accent considerably if they only remembered to make the switch from /x/ to /k/. In this way, fewer instances of voiceless friction (so characteristic of a Polish accent) would be produced. Learners should be

reminded that the letter cluster *ch* is **never** realized in English as the Polish /x/; /k/ or /tʃ/ are the only available options. Polish phonics, according to which *ch* is read as /x/, must **not** be carelessly followed. Finally, a word of caution: beware of the possible mispronunciation of the word *chore*, which when pronounced the Polish way with /x/ might sound like *whore*.

IV. Replacement of /s/ with the Polish /t͡ʂ/ or /st͡ʂ/ resulting in:

a) Foreign accent: ***c****ertificate*, *con****c****entrate*, *spe****c****ific*, *fa****sc****inating*, *parti****c****ipate*, *con****c****ert*, *di****sc****ipline*, ***sc****enario*, *pharma****c****ist*, ***sc****enery*, *re****c****ipe*, ***sc****issors*, *re****c****ession*, ***c****inema*, *fa****c****ilitate*, *ac****c****ept*, *de****c****ision*, *spe****c****ialist*, *pro****c****ess*, ***c****entre*, ***c****ylinder*, *defi****c****it*, ***c****ity*, ***c****ivic*, ***c****igar*, *re****c****eipt*, *pharma****c****y*.

Another common pronunciation error of Polish learners is the replacement of the English consonant sound /s/ with the Polish consonant /t͡ʂ/ or even pronouncing both sounds one after the other /st͡ʂ/ when the spelling so indicates. Again, in both cases the main cause of the erroneous pronunciations seems to be the spelling. When listening to Polish learners mispronouncing words in this way, it is evident to a Polish native speaker that they simply follow Polish phonics rules when pronouncing English words, ignoring or rather failing to apply the English possibilities (English phonics). Another possible reason for this issue might be the Polish pronunciation of cognates. Everyone tends to resort to this strategy, automatically and frequently adopting the L1 pronunciation as correct in the L2. This approach, which relies upon learners' guesses without recourse to a dictionary check, often leads to the adoption of 'approximate' pronunciations, which become fossilized and extremely difficult to eradicate later on. As regards possible solutions, Polish students should be continually reminded that the letter *c* is **never** read as /t͡ʂ/ as it is in Polish, but is typically read as /*k*/ *e.g.* ***C****anada,* ***c****o****c****a* ***c****ola,* ***c****ross or* as the sound /*s*/ as in the examples above. It

needs to be stressed that nowadays, with computer and online dictionaries available, checking the pronunciation of new words immediately should become a fixed routine for learners to avoid 'inventing' their 'approximate' Polish pronunciations. In addition, learners must be made aware of the fact that there are innumerable cognates in English and Polish, whose pronunciations are deceptive and misleading, e.g. the word *alibi* is pronounced in Polish /a'libi/ and in English /'æləbaɪ/; *region* /'rɛgjən/ in English /'ri:dʒən/; *minister* /mi'nister/ in English /'mɪnɪstə/, *analysis* is /ə'nælɪsɪs/ and not /ana'lizis/, *diploma is* /dɪp'ləʊmə/ in English, not /'dɨpləm/ etc. Because of this, such words should immediately alert students in terms of possible problems with pronunciation.

V. Replacement of /s/ with the Polish /z/ resulting in:

a) Foreign accent: 1) *cri**s**is*, *exclu**s**ive*, *ba**s**is*, *inclu**s**ive*, *i**s**olated*, *fanta**s**y*, *empha**s**is*, *di**s**appear*, *lea**s**ing*, *increa**s**ing*, *u**s**eless*, *clo**s**er*, *e**x**ecute*, *ecsta**s**y*, *relea**s**ing*, *ba**s**e*, *philo**s**ophy*, *di**s**honest*, *u**s**e-noun*, *loo**s**e*, *epi**s**ode*, *analy**s**is*, *di**s**appointing*, *di**s**agree*, *curio**s**ity*, *decrea**s**ing*, *compari**s**on*, *hypno**s**is*, *the**s**is*, *i**s**olate*, *i**s**olation*, *philo**s**ophical*, *adverti**s**ement*, *purcha**s**ing*, *oa**s**is*, *in**s**ist*, *con**s**ist*, *con**s**ist*, *mu**s**(t)n't*, *fa**c**ebook*, *ba**s**eball*.

The next common consonant replacement "notoriously" used by Poles is the English consonant /s/ substituted with the Polish /z/. It must be stressed that this switch might be fairly surprising and somewhat unexpected to an English ear from Poles, and therefore, learners' attention should be drawn to it and action should be taken to eradicate it as soon as possible. It paradoxically creates a foreign, non-Polish accent and, to native speakers, which is perceived predominantly as 'hissy and rustley' in sound, on account of the general tendency of Polish learners to devoice rather than voice. As for the causes of this 'unexpected' substitution, it appears obvious that this time the source of the error is not the spelling. As can be seen, in the majority of the cases in group a), the /z/ voicing

happens in the intervocalic position, which might suggest that voiceless consonants should be voiced in this environment. This however, does not prove to be justified since Polish phonology permits both voiceless and voiced consonants in mid-word position e.g. *pa**s**uje* 'fits', *po**z**uje* 'poses', *na**s**uwa* 'prompts', *na**z**ywa* 'calls'. The main cause of this type of mispronunciation seems to be the Polish pronunciation of cognates where /z/ is used instead /s/ e.g. *exta**s**y*/*ekspta**z**a*, *cri**s**is*/*kry**z**ys*, *ba**s**is*/*ba**z**a*. Another possible explanation could be that Polish learners incorrectly extend the Polish rule concerning compulsory consonant cluster voicing agreement,[14] which does not apply in English. Accordingly, voicing occurs and produces a foreign accent. As for corrective tips, a useful exercise is asking learners to say some Polish words in which they have to replace the medial /s/ with /z/. This allows them to experience how 'odd' such a substitution sounds to native speakers, e.g. *po**s**ada* 'position', *ma**s**ywny* 'massive', *za**s**uwać*, 'to dash along', *ka**s**ować* 'punch (a ticket)', *pra**s**ować* 'to iron'.[15] This unnatural pronunciation for northern Poland (from where the author originates) enables learners to understand how English people might feel when they mispronounce such words in this way.

By way of explanation, it needs to be pointed out that a small set of words exists in which the opposite foreign accent marking process described later in section IX takes place, where loss of voicing occurs. This set is composed of a very limited number of cognates whose Polish pronunciation involves /s/ and the English /z/ e.g. *co**s**metic, co**s**mos, co**s**mopolitan, co**s**mology, re**s**ort, co**s**monaut*, which is misleading to a Polish learner. Moreover, it is also worth

[14] The second sound in a cluster determines the presence or absence of voicing in the preceding consonant, e.g. in the word *po**dg**rupa* 'subgroup' the voiced /g/ keeps the /d/ voiced, but in *po**ds**tawa* `basis`, the voiceless /s/ makes the preceding /d/ into a voiceless /t/. Consequently, the "Polish" pronunciations of *ba**seb**all, bla**ck**bird and foo**tb**all* will contain the clusters /zb/, /gb/ and /db/ respectively instead of /sb/, /kb/ and /tb/.

[15] In Southern Polish though, such voicing is encountered e.g. *po**sz**liśmy* 'we went', *wygrali**ś**my* 'we won', *byli**ś**my* 'we were', ***S**LD* 'Alliance of Democratic Socialists', *je**ś**li* 'if'.

mentioning that with some words both pronunciations /z/ or /s/ are acceptable e.g. *e**x**it*, *ab**s**urd*, *di**s**honest* or *Mu**s**lim*,[16] but this appears to be a regional accent feature – in the standard English of southern Britain it is more common to apply the /s/ pronunciations.

As far as pedagogy is concerned, learners must be made aware of the problems and advised to opt for the safer "northern Polish" pronunciation with /s/ to keep the RP accent consistent, even when two possibilities exist. This /s/ to /z/ switch is also common among Indian speakers of English, which Polish students find amusing to listen to, and therefore may be a factor in whether or not they choose to use it.

VI. Replacement of the alveolar ridge consonants /n, t, d, s, l, z/ with their Polish dental near-equivalents resulting in:

a) Foreign accent

As mentioned earlier, one of the key changes regarding consonants that Polish students should remember to make, but frequently fail to implement, is to move the articulation of the Polish sounds **/n**, **t**, **d**, **s**, **l**, **z**/[17] from the upper teeth to the alveolar ridge. This location is the most vital place of articulation for English and learners should be made aware of it at the earliest possible opportunity. These English alveolar consonants (except when /t/ and /d/ are followed by /r/ in which case, they become post-alveolar) are the most frequently occurring consonants in English, which along with the most common vowels /ə, ɪ, e, aɪ, ʌ, eɪ / (Cruttenden 1994: 136, from Fry 1947) constitute the basis of the English Articulatory setting (Honikman 1964: 76). [18] Although their Polish dentalisation does not bring about a change in meaning, it

[16] Both **/s/** or **/z/** possible: di**s**grace, di**s**miss, foren**s**ic, fanta**s**y, e**x**it, di**s**honest, tran**s**late, ab**s**urd, di**s**may, di**s**order, pro**s**odic, I**s**lamic, Mu**s**lim, per**s**ist, vi**s**a, re**s**ource, ab**s**orb.

[17] I have included /l/ as a dental lateral in Polish after Reszkiewicz (1981: 90). I have observed that the way I pronounce is also more dental.

[18] Honikman includes also the post-alveolar "r" consonant in this group.

clearly creates English with a Polish accent. Indeed, it must be remembered that English native pronunciation is imbued with alveolarisation, which results from the default position of the speech organs, adopted to produce fluent and comfortable English speech (Honikman 1964). For this very reason, it is of the utmost importance to familiarise students with the notion of the articulatory setting for English, as a prerequisite for being able to attain a near-native sound. The articulatory setting could be compared to the foundations of a house, upon which the remaining elements will be built.

Let us look at some exercises and activities which can be conducted to help students become more precise in their pronunciation and to set the lips, tongue and jaw in the English way. The words below contain alveolar ridge sounds to allow students to realise that in English the tongue is held higher in the mouth and that most of the time it hits the alveolar ridge, not the top teeth as in Polish. In order to practise this raised position of the tongue, students should try to practise saying the words first vertically and then horizontally a few times, making sure that the tongue is kept against the alveolar ridge and not the upper teeth.

a) Words

1. ***t**ur**n***	1. ***s**i**n***	1. ***l**aw**n***	1. ***n**o**n**e***	1. ***z**o**ne***	1. ***d**i**ne***
2. ***t**i**de***	2. ***s**ai**d***	2. ***l**oa**d***	2. ***n**o**d***	2. ***z**oome**d***	2. ***d**i**d***
3. ***t**o**ss***	3. ***c**ea**se***	3. ***l**e**ss***	3. ***n**ur**s**e***	3. ***Z**eu**s***	3. ***d**o**s***
4. ***t**ea**se***	4. ***s**ay**s***	4. ***l**o**se***	4. ***kn**ee**s***	4. ***z**oo**s***	4. ***d**oe**s***
5. ***t**igh**t***	5. ***s**a**t***	5. ***l**a**te***	5. ***n**o**t**e***	5. ***z**e**st***	5. ***d**ar**t***
6. ***t**oo**l***	6. ***s**ou**l***	6. ***l**u**ll***	6. ***n**i**l***	6. ***zeal***	6. ***d**o**ll***

Having given the students a taste of how unnatural it feels for Polish speakers to keep the tongue from falling lower, they can move on to phrase and then sentence level conducting group and individual practice to allow students to experience the differences between the English and Polish renditions.

b) Phrases

1. ***te**n **l**ists*
2. ***te**n **te**nts*
3. ***te**n **d**en**t**i**st**s*
4. ***te**n **t**rai**n**s*
5. ***te**n **st**rai**n**s*
6. ***t**we**nt**y **s**o**l**ici**t**or**s***
7. ***t**we**nt**y ru**nn**er**s***
8. ***t**we**nt**y **l**e**ss**o**n**s***
9. ***t**we**nt**y **z**oo**s***
10. ***t**we**nt**y **d**a**nc**e**s***

c) Sentences

1. **N**o, **n**ever. **N**o, I **d**o**n't kn**ow.
2. **T**e**d sp**e**nds** the **n**igh**ts** ou**t** whe**n**ever he **l**ike**s t**o.
3. **L**ook a**t** tho**se t**e**n d**o**lls** o**n** the **z**oo **l**aw**n**.
4. **D**o**n't t**e**ll D**o**n** abou**t** the **s**a**les**.
5. **L**i**z** wa**nt**e**d t**o **s**uppor**t** u**s**, **b**u**t** she **didn't kn**ow how **t**o **d**o i**t**.
6. **Le**t**'s t**alk abou**t** the **l**a**te**s**t t**re**nds** in **s**cie**nc**e **n**ow.

VII. Replacement of /r/ with the Polish /r/ and readiness to pronounce it when the letter "r" occurs resulting in:

a) Foreign accent or non-RP accent: e.g. *i**r**on*, *ba**r***, *a**r**en't*, *pou**r**ed*, *effo**r**t*, *I**r**ish*, *we**r**en't*, *impo**r**tant*, *wo**r**d*, *i**r**ony*, *teache**r***, *pa**r**k*, *so**r**t*, *occu**r***, *wa**r***.

The sound /r/ seems to be the only English consonant which varies in sound quality between different native accents. Although the Polish /r/, an alveolar trill, is not as dramatically different in sound from the English /r/ (post alveolar flap) as e.g. the French or German /r/, there is no doubt that when it is made the Polish way it sounds foreign to an English ear. Polish learners especially at lower levels, guided by the English spelling and Polish phonics tend to pronounce the letter "r" in final and even in pre-consonantal position, e.g. *iron* /ajrɔn/ or in *bar* /bar/ not lengthening the vowel /a/ in the latter, thus sounding more American-like. This strategy may also be caused to some degree by the fact that in Polish there are no long vowels, which in English non-rhotic accents compensate

the pronunciation of the /r/, e.g. *important* /ɪmˈpɔːtənt/. Some learners, on the other hand, may be simply afraid of saying /imˈpɔtɛnt/ meaning *impotent* instead, and therefore to be on the safe side, they decide to pronounce the "r". For pedagogy, students have to be immediately sensitised to the fact that in RP "r"s are not pronounced in such contexts and that the tongue for the production of the English /r/ is further back in the post alveolar region, not on the teeth ridge as for Polish. Additionally, learners have to become used to the idea that words such as *law and lore, paw and pore, caught and court* are homophones in which the "r"s are silent. Paradoxically, a problem of the opposite nature arises when, in fast connected speech, they should pronounce the linking and intrusive /r/, which even high level students fail to do, e.g. *ove**r** and ove**r** again* and *China /r/ and America*.

VIII. Replacement of the aspirated voiceless plosives [p^h, t^h, k^h] with Polish un-aspirated equivalents /p , t , k/ resulting in:

a) Foreign accent: e.g. ***p**o**p***, ***p**o**t***, ***p**ar**k***, ***p**a**p**er*; ***t**igh**t***, ***t**o**p***, ***t**al**k***, ***t**o**tt**er*; ***c**oo**k***, ***c**u**p***, ***c**a**t***, ***k**ic**k**ing*.

Polish learners of English should remember that aspirated consonants are/sound longer and require greater force of articulation (Wells 1982: 75; Reszkiewicz 1981: 63). In spite of the fact that there are some accents in the British Isles which do not use aspiration at least on these word initial plosives, mainly Scotland and Northern England (Catford 1988: 204, Wells 1982: 74), Polish learners of English would benefit remarkably in terms of a near-native RP accent if only the changes described above were successfully mastered and applied. If RP is the goal, it is worth trying to produce these sounds because they are not numerous and could be relatively easily implemented to the satisfaction of both sides of the communication process – the students themselves would sound more English and the English listener would comprehend them more readily. My experience shows that

especially the initial 't' fails to be aspirated by Polish students, as in words such as ***t****ennis* and ***t****enis*, ***t****es****t*** and ***t****es****t***, ***t****en* and ***t****en* 'this' sound identical in Polish. Because of this, students feel amused when they have to produce the words first in the English aspirated way ('spitting' they say) and then the Polish non-aspirated way and then alternately savouring the discrepancies. Ultimately, students should say them correctly and notice the difference in the accent they have acquired. The pairs of words below work equally well in making students aware of the idea of a foreign accent as well as the importance of reducing it for ease of communication.

a) Words

1.	***t****a****tt****oo*	***t****o* ***t****u 'it's here'*
	t*uc****k***	***t****a****k*** *'yes'*
	t*al****k***	***t****o****k*** *'course'*
2.	***P****oland*	***P****ols****k****a*
	p*as****t****a***	*pasta* 'polish'
	p*o****t***	***p****o****t*** 'sweat'
3.	***c****ry*	***k****raj* 'country'
	c*ar*	***k****ara* 'punishment'
	c*o****p***	***k****o****p*** 'dig, kick'

b) Phrases and sentences

1. ***T****wen****t****y* ***t****wo* ***t****igers*
2. ***T****a****k****e the* ***t****rain* ***t****oday*
3. ***P****e****t****er and* ***P****olly* ***P****ic****k****ering*
4. ***P****ost the* ***p****arcel to* ***P****enny*
5. ***Ch****ris and* ***Ch****ris****t****ina* ***C****raig*
6. ***C****ross the* ***c****oun****t****ry* ***c****arefully*
7. ***P****aul and* ***K****a****t****e* ***Th****omas*
8. ***T****wo* ***c****a****t****s in the* ***p****ar****k***
9. ***P****lease,* ***t****al****k*** ***t****o* ***K****aren*
10. *Wha****t****'s the ma****tt****er with this* ***p****ar****t****icular* ***c****om****p****u****t****er?*

IX. Replacement of final /b/, /d/, /g/, /v/, /z/, /ʤ/, /ʒ/ and/ð/ with /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, /ʧ/, /ʃ/ and /θ/ or corresponding Polish "near"-equivalents /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, /t͡ɕ /, /ɕ/ and /t, f, s/ resulting in:

a) A foreign accent: *clu**b**, ro**b**, we**b**; frien**d**, wor**d**, win**d**; bi**g**, le**g**, fo**g**; wa**v**e, dri**v**e, mo**v**e; no**s**e, i**s**, choo**s**e; chan**g**e, fri**dg**e, ju**dg**e; bei**g**e, rou**g**e, colla**g**e; ba**th**e, pa**ths,** clo**thes**.*

b) Confusion or misunderstanding: *pu**b**/pup, mo**b**/mop, ro**b**e/rope; see**d**/seat, ru**d**e/root, co**d**e/coat; lo**g**/lock, clo**g**/clock; pi**g**/pick; li**v**e/life, lo**v**e/laugh, sa**v**e/safe; lo**s**e/loose, rai**s**e/race; eye**s**/ice; ba**dg**e/batch, ri**dg**e/rich, ca**dg**e/catch.*

Interestingly, in English there are extremely few words ending in /ʒ/ and not many finishing in /ʤ/, therefore even when the last consonant becomes substantially devoiced communication is not threatened, only an accent is created. On the other hand, English has an abundance of pairs ending in /z/ and /s/, /d/ and /t/ and /g/ and /k/ potentially causing confusion or misunderstandings. In the examples that follow, the problem for Poles is to keep the voiced consonants voiced or at least partially voiced, since when completely devoiced the Polish way, a different word is likely to be produced.

a) Sentences

1. Watch your knee**s**!	sounds like	Watch your nie**c**e!
2. My eye**s!**	sounds like	My i**c**e!
3. Is this your co**de**?	sounds like	Is this your co**at**?
4. It`s a lo**g**.	sounds like	It`s a lo**ck**.
5. I like the cu**b**.	sounds like	I like the cu**p**.

The problem of losing voicing in the final position is pervasive and heavily impacts the area of English grammatical endings, i.e. voiced plural endings: *pots, rug**s**, match**es***; third person

singular voiced verb endings: *he jumps, he play**s**, he mess**es*** and possessive endings: *Pete's*, *Jane'**s***, *George'**s***. This is also an issue with voiced simple past regular verb endings /d/, /id/, as in *begge**d***, *live**d***, *robbe**d*** /d/ and *want**ed***, *need**ed***, *rent**ed*** /ɪd/, which tend to be pronounced as /t/ and /it/ respectively. It is commonly known, however, that Polish learners have no problems with the pronunciation of the unvoiced English endings as in *walke**d***, worke**d**, booke**d** pronounced as /t/ when they follow the rules of Polish phonology. When it comes to devoicing final obstruents, this normally shows the domino effect leading from one problem to the next, i.e. in the word *bed* when the final /d/ is devoiced to /t/ the plural ending /z/ also becomes devoiced, and consequently the word *beds* becomes pronounced as /bets/, which, when spoken by a Pole, sounds identical to *bets.* The same phenomenon is highly likely to occur with words such as *dock*/*dog*, *rice*/*rise* or *pup*/*pub* and this also may lead to confusion or misunderstandings in some situations. By devoicing the final sound of the base word, we automatically devoice its grammatical ending, and the message may become obscured. For instance, the pronunciation of the word *wait* poses no problem, but that of *waited* does, since the ending tends to be devoiced to /ɛt/. However, in the word *need* the problem begins earlier, i.e. the final sound /d/ pronounced as /t/ yields /ni:t/. When the "ed" marker is attached to it, the devoicing issue moves on to the last sound /d/, which becomes /t/ whilst the /d/ from *nee**d*** is again properly voiced. It is fairly evident that Polish speakers simply follow Polish phonology here so it is always the final voiced consonant that bears the brunt of being devoiced, not the median one.

It is worth noting that due to these Polish-based habitual devoicing issues the overall sound of Polish-accented English is somewhat 'hissy' and 'muffled' when compared to the more 'vocal' and 'buzzy' overall sound of English.[19] This impression

[19] "The voiceless sounds [...] break up the stream of voice with fleeting moments of silence [...] approximately every 4-5th sound is voiceless" (Sapir 1921: 49).

was aptly described by Oscar Wilde who said of Polish "I can hear hissing, rustling and hushing and my ears are bleeding". In Polglish[20] this is a pervasive 'global' problem as Sobkowiak (2008: 57) calls it, and it has to be tackled intensively and practised extensively at every opportunity.

In terms of practical solutions, an amusing technique for explaining the difference in sound between the two languages is to tell students that the English sound more like bees and their speech is buzzing, whereas Polish people sound like snakes and they tend to "hiss" and "rustle" like leaves when they speak. Another entertaining and effective teaching idea for giving Polish learners a taste of how they sound to an English ear with all the devoicing in place, is to ask them to read Polish words and sentences in which voiced consonants (at least in mid position, not initial) are devoiced, e.g. *pod**rz**emałem sobie* 'I had a nap' /*pot**sz**emałem sobie*/, *po**z**mywajcie tale**rz**e* 'wash the plates' /*po**s**my**f**ajcie tale**sz**e*/, *nie ma niko**g**o na**d**e mną* 'there's no one above me' /*nie ma niko**k**o na**t**e mna*/, *bar**dz**o przy**z**woicie* 'decent work' /*bar**c**o przys**f**oicie*/. This convincingly and amusingly shows Polish learners how it feels to be on the receiving end when too much devoicing is produced. Even though most[21] of it is intelligible though "muffled" in sound, over time it can become irritating to a native speaker.

4. Conclusions

As our review has shown, nearly all of the consonant replacements made by Polish learners of English mostly cause a foreign accent with occasional confusion or misunderstanding. The only errors which may sporadically cause

[20] In English continuous speech voicing makes up a greater proportion of utterance than voicelessness and it is also the case with most Western European Languages. The ratio of voiced to voiceless sounds: French 78/22, English 72/28, Polish 64/36, Russian 61/39 (Catford cited in Laver 1994: 194).

[21] *Po**drz**emałem* with the devoiced /d͡ʐ/ to /ʂ/may sound like *pot**rz**ymałem* 'I held/kept'.

misunderstanding are /θ/ and /ð/ in section I and /z/, /g/ and /b/ in section IX. The latter substitutions when devoicing comes into play, happen to be frequently pronounced identically to the words with originally voiceless consonants at the end and hence depending on the context confusion or possibly a misunderstanding may occur e.g. *dies/dice; dog/dock; said/set*. It should be stressed that appropriately made consonants give the English of non-native speakers a near-native speaker quality and refined sound. Since consonants are a fundamental component of near-native pronunciation, the non-native speaker has to be fully aware that a native accent cannot be attained without mastering the consonants even when the vowels are perfectly articulated. Although consonants take native children much longer to master, they stay with them for good, while vowels may be replaced at will, e.g. when native speakers move to a different part of the English speaking world or else, to a different job, which requires them to change their accent. To put it simply, if an English native speaker wishes to change his accent, he only has to learn the new vowels whereas a non-native must master both the L2 new vowels to "convey the meaning" and the L2 consonants to refine his accent. Even if it is true that for the majority of English learners the L1 quasi-equivalent consonants suffice for intelligible communication, it must be emphasized that professionals such as teachers and interpreters should aim higher and make every effort to master the consonants to a near-native standard. This will enable them to be a good model for students and make communication in translation smooth, stress-free and enjoyable.

Bearing in mind the fact that every language is unique in terms of its sound inventory (Sapir 1921: 46, Catford 1988: 188, Abercrombie 1967: 70), which includes the quantity and quality of the "vocal building blocks", suprasegmentals (stress, rhythm and melody patterns) and phonological rules unconsciously acquired by native speakers ("the glue for joining the building blocks"), L1 elements ought to be avoided while speaking English if near-native sound and ease of

communication are the goals. Therefore, I agree with Daniel Jones when he says that when people try to speak each other people's languages in a way that is pleasant to those people,[22] it enhances the communication act itself, not to mention the satisfaction, high self-esteem and confidence the learners gain from it (Kenworthy 1987: 12).

Finally, it should be stressed that good English pronunciation is possible to master if learners genuinely care about how they sound, and are determined and prepared to regularly work hard on it.[23] As Aristotle stated, "Excellence […] is not an act but a habit". Numerous examples among a number of my colleagues and some students demonstrate that even at a later age near-native pronunciation can be achieved. It must be kept in mind that pronunciation is not something that one can leave to learn later, with priority being given to other aspects of language. Incorrect habits of pronunciation, which gradually develop while learners concentrate on the message (grammar and vocabulary) without paying equal attention to accurate pronunciation, quickly become deeply rooted and extremely difficult to eradicate. Moreover, it should be remembered that learning correct pronunciation is a long-term and ongoing process consisting of constant improvements and modifications to one's performance. This process could be compared to native children learning and gradually perfecting the sound system and phonology of their L1 during the initial five or six years of their lives. Gimson and Cruttenden (1994: 96) claim that vowels take up to two and a half years to master while Crystal (1997: 240) maintains that they are finally fixed by the age of four.

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[22] "I gradually came to see that phonetics had an important bearing on human relations – that when people of different nations pronounce each other`s languages really well (even when the vocabulary and grammar are not perfect), it has an astonishing effect on bringing them together, it puts people on terms of equality, a good understanding between them immediately springs up" (Fromkin et al. 2003: 231).

[23] "And make no mistake, your aim must be to acquire a perfect English pronunciation" (O` Connor 1998: 5). But, as Jassem (1976: 97) states, this cannot be achieved without hard regular work.

In this paper I have tried to show that the two major causes of pronunciation errors regarding the consonants are Polish phonology being used as a default system, and the combination of English spelling and Polish phonics, to which learners naturally resort when short of linguistic knowledge. Although this paper deals only with the most common consonant-related difficulties of Polish learners, I believe that English spoken by Poles would improve considerably in terms of attaining a near-native accent if Polish learners were made aware of these pronunciation problems and then practised correcting them extensively perhaps initially by taking advantage of some of the teaching ideas suggested in this paper. Despite the fact that Polish learners on the whole do not develop such conspicuous accents as Spanish, Italian or French learners, they could still make themselves understood more easily by improving their pronunciation of consonants and, consequently, make their contribution to international communication more effective. As for other nationalities, they might also work on their L1 consonantal problems leaving their "L1 cocoons" for the benefit of better international communication in English, so that when faced with other non-native English speakers they would have fewer comprehension problems.

Ultimately, we must not forget that good pronunciation is a prerequisite for effective and enjoyable spoken communication. It is like neat handwriting for written communication, therefore it is worth improving, as it guarantees satisfaction on both sides of the communication act.

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When the first language feels like a second language: Challenges for learners of Norwegian Nynorsk

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Abstract

Norway has two official written language varieties: *Bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian) and *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian). Normally, all Norwegian pupils must learn both varieties of the written Norwegian language in school, and at the end of secondary school, they obtain two separate grades in written Norwegian. However, one of the varieties is considered to be and is taught as the main written language, whereas the other variety is the second or alternative written language.

Approximately 85 percent of the pupils in school have the Dano-Norwegian variety as their main written language and many of these pupils develop antipathies toward the other variety with the result that they do not master it very well at the end of secondary school. In fact, many pupils achieve better results in English than in the alternative variety of their own so-called mother tongue.

In this paper, I will discuss some of the challenges that are related to learning Nynorsk in the Norwegian educational system and society. With reference to Norton (2013) and others, I will argue that these challenges may actually be best understood from the perspectives of identity, social power, motivation, investment and second language acquisition.

Keywords

language teaching, language learning, language acquisition, language didactics, language politics, identity, investment, motivation, social power, Norton, Nynorsk

Kiedy pierwszy język jest bardzo podobny do drugiego języka: Wyzwania dla uczniów norweskiego Nynorsk

Abstrakt

Norwegia ma dwie oficjalne odmiany języka pisanego: Bokmål (Dano-Norwegian) i Nynorsk (New Norwegian). Zwykle wszyscy uczniowie w Norwegii muszą uczyć się obu odmian języka norweskiego pisanego w szkole, a pod koniec szkoły średniej otrzymują dwa oddzielne stopnie z języka norweskiego. Jednak jedna z odmian jest uznawana i nau-czana jako główny język pisany, podczas gdy druga odmiana jest drugim lub alternatywnym językiem pisanym.

Około 85 procent uczniów w szkole uczy się odmiany duńsko-norweskiej jako swojego głównego języka pisanego, a wielu z tych uczniów rozwija u siebie antypatię do drugiej odmiany, w wyniku czego nie opanowują jej zbyt dobrze pod koniec szkoły średniej. W rzeczywistości wielu uczniów osiąga lepsze wyniki w języku angielskim niż w drugiej odmianie własnego języka ojczystego.

W tym artykule omówię niektóre wyzwania związane z nauką Nynorsk w norweskim systemie edukacyjnym i społeczeństwie. Odnosząc się do Nortona (2013) i innych, będę dowodził, że te wyzwania mogą być najlepiej zrozumiane z perspektywy tożsamości, siły społecznej, motywacji, inwestycji i przyswajania drugiego języka.

Słowa kluczowe

nauczanie języka, nauka języków, nabywanie języków, dydaktyka językowa, polityka językowa, tożsamość, inwestycja, motywacja, siła społeczna, Norton, Nynorsk

1. Introduction

This paper was presented at the third international conference "Educational Role of Language" (ERL) at the Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences in Vilnius in June 2018 (ERL 3, 2018). When preparing for this third ERL conference, I decided to have a more theoretical perspective on the topic of my presentation than at the first ERL conference (Haugan 2016, 2017) where I discussed whether Norwegian Nynorsk as an alternative written variety should be seen as the first language (L1) for Norwegian pupils or rather as a second language (L2).

Norway has two official written language varieties: *Bokmål* (Dano-Norwegian) and *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian) (see e.g. Wardhaug 2010: chap. 2; Haugan 2017). Unless one is exempt from learning (to write) the alternative variety (for instance because of dyslexia or because of another first language), all Norwegian pupils must learn both varieties of written Norwegian at school. At the end of secondary school, the pupils obtain two separate grades in written Norwegian. However, one of the varieties is considered and taught as the main written language, whereas the other variety is seen as the second or alternative written language (see Haugan 2017).

Approximately 85 percent of Norwegian pupils have the Dano-Norwegian variety (Bokmål) as their main written language and many of these pupils develop antipathies toward the other variety (Nynorsk) with the result that they do not master it very well at the end of secondary school. In fact, many pupils achieve better results in English than in the alternative variety of their own so-called mother tongue.

Teaching and learning Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian comes with many challenges (see e.g. Haugan 2017, and references there). Therefore, teachers and learners need a better understanding of the conditions for teaching and learning the alternative written language. Since the two written varieties of Norwegian are taught within the same school subject (Norwegian), and since they are

considered to be written varieties of the same first language ("mother tongue"), teachers and learners might not be aware of the benefits of approaches to second language acquisition that might help them to achieve better results.

The main question of this paper is whether it is possible to both understand and explain the challenges for Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian from the theoretical approaches of, among others, Norton (2013) and Dörnyei (2009), who focus on key terms like identity, investment, social power, motivation and the so-called L2 self. I will try to show that these terms could explain why many pupils manage to learn English as a second language rather well while at the same time they meet greater obstacles when it comes to learning Nynorsk as a variety of the first language.

2. Methodological and theoretical foundations

The present paper is a contribution to the work of the Educational Role of Language (ERL) network that was established in 2016 on the basis of an initiative from the Division of Research on Childhood and School, Department of Education at the University of Gdańsk. I have been a member of the ERL network since 2016 and the following short presentation is partly based on Haugan (2018b).

The ERL network consists of researchers from many fields, not only pedagogy, language teaching and linguistics, but also psychology, philosophy and other disciplines that may have an interest in the role of language in a broader perspective. The main goal of the ERL network is to bring together academics whose work and interests combine language and educational science. Following the rationale of the "linguistic turn", network members jointly study how language shapes our understanding of the world and people's functioning in it. There is a variety of projects with different perspectives on language beliefs, language activity, language experience and/or language matrices of world interpretation. Hence, the

network projects fall within the worldview, psychomotor, affective and/or cognitive domain.

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

- Potential of Language for General Education,
- Language Activity of Children,
- Personal Experience of Language,
- Language Matrixes of Reality Interpretation.

In order to make room for more academics to join the network, these key areas were renamed in 2017:

- Language Beliefs,
- Language Activity,
- Language Experience,
- Language Matrixes.

When preparing for the third ERL conference it was relevant to see how my approach to Norwegian Nynorsk as an alternative written variety of Norwegian would fit with the main goals of the Educational Role of Language network. The name of the network opens up three perspectives, which in itself is worth reflecting upon as a starting point.

Educational relates to *education*, i.e. in the context of the ERL network, a planned and organized municipal or state activity where children, adolescents or possibly adults are supposed to acquire and develop knowledge and skills according to certain curricula (see e.g. Schmidt et al. 2001). A curriculum is normally divided into general goals and concrete goals. General goals are often related to a general educational approach, which may be easier to understand by referring to the German distinction between the terms *Bildung* (liberal education) and *Ausbildung* (formal education, schooling) (see e.g. Schaffar and Uljens 2015). Simply put, one might say that the *Bildung* aspect of education is often associated with the general expectations a society may have

with regard to general knowledge about certain subjects. Lack of *Bildung* is often considered a negative personality trait by many members of a modern so-called "knowledge society" (see e.g. Hargreaves 2003, for a discussion on knowledge society). As for Norwegian society, the national curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject (Læreplan i norsk (NOR1-05)) expects all pupils (with certain exceptions) to master both written varieties of Norwegian, Bokmål and Nynorsk, at the end of secondary school, since both varieties are a part of Norwegian society, culture and history. This may be considered the *Bildung* aspect of it. The general part of the curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject, thus, starts with stating that "Norsk er et sentralt fag for kulturforståelse, kommunikasjon, dannelse og identitetsutvikling", i.e. Norwegian is a central subject for cultural understanding, communication, education (here with the meaning of *Bildung*) and identity development. The national curriculum for Norwegian as a school subject furthermore states:

> I Norge er norsk og samisk offisielle språk, og bokmål og nynorsk er likestilte skriftlige målformer. Vi bruker mange ulike dialekter og talemålsvarianter, men også andre språk enn norsk. Det språklige mangfoldet er en ressurs for utviklingen av barn og unges språkkompetanse. Med utgangspunkt i denne språksituasjonen skal barn og unge få et bevisst forhold til språklig mangfold, og lære å lese og skrive både bokmål og nynorsk. Formålet med opplæringen er å styrke elevenes språklige trygghet og identitet, utvikle deres språkforståelse og gi et godt grunnlag for mestring av begge målformene i samfunns- og yrkesliv.
>
> 'Norwegian and Sámi are official languages in Norway, and Bokmål and Nynorsk are equal written varieties. We use many different dialects and variants of oral speech, but also other languages than Norwegian. The linguistic diversity is a resource for the development of children's and adolescents' linguistic competence. Based on this language situation, children and adolescents shall develop a conscious relationship to linguistic diversity and learn to read and write both Bokmål and Nynorsk. The purpose of the education (schooling) is to strengthen the

> students' linguistic self-confidence and identity, develop their understanding of language and provide a good basis for mastering both of the written varieties in the society and in professional life.' (my translation)

When it comes to the *Ausbildung* (formal schooling) aspect of education, much less effort is put into teaching the alternative variety, which for about 85% of the pupils is Nynorsk. From that perspective, one might say that the official educational system in Norway works according to a double standard. By operating with official terms like "main language" (*hovudmål*) and alternative or "side language" (*sidemål*), the official curriculum seemingly treats the two varieties as having different values. This permits an interpretation, by both teachers and students, that the alternative written language is less important than the main language.

Education is obviously also politics. National curricula are a state matter belonging to the Ministry of Education and Research and the Directorate for Education and Training (see udir.no). The two written varieties of Norwegian have actually had official and equal status since 1885, and the distribution of Bokmål users and Nynorsk users was relatively even before the Second World War. Even though it is not that easy to measure the actual number of those with Nynorsk as their main written language in the Norwegian society today, it is usually assumed that approximately 12-15% or ca. 600 000, prefer to write Nynorsk (see e.g. Grepstad 2015). 12-15% may not seem to be considerable, but this is still a substantial amount of potential voters in a democracy. Another perspective, though, may be that operating with two official written languages in the educational system and in state matters has, of course, also a financial aspect. A returning political question (mostly from conservatives) is, therefore, whether it is "worth" keeping two official written languages – with the obvious underlying rhetorical statement that the major form, Bokmål, should be the only official written Norwegian language.

Let us take a brief look at the second word of the ERL network name: *Role*. Two questions may arise: what role does education play, and what part does language play? *Role* as a term may refer to a more or less active choice to have a certain place or status in a given situation. From the perspective of the Norwegian educational system, one might ask what impact the curriculum has on the treatment of the two written varieties of Norwegian. From the perspective of the individual student, then, one might ask about the status of language (either or both of the official written languages) in education. One aspect would be to what degree the state and official politics would play an active part in the language education of the students. Another aspect would be to what degree the individual student would play an active role in his or her own use of language(s). These two aspects meet at certain points in the educational system or in society; for instance, when failing to master the alternative written language, i.e. the lesser appreciated "side language", becomes a hindrance for entering higher education or getting jobs where this language is used as the main language.

The word *language* in the ERL network may be self-explanatory. However, certain relevant questions arise when trying to relate this to Nynorsk as an alternative written language in Norway. Is Nynorsk your main written language and is it, therefore, your first language or so-called "mother tongue"? What "language" do you actually speak? In Norway, most people speak local or regional dialects instead of standard (written) language. Therefore, for most people, neither of the written varieties is an exact representation of the actual spoken language.

As for the educational system, one recurring question is whether it would suffice for the students to only learn to read the alternative written language instead of having to learn to write it too. Yet another question is the role and the impact of the written language in actual learning activities. Occasionally, it is claimed by some who want to remove the official status of Nynorsk as an equal language, that Nynorsk, since it is based

on the dialects of "simple" people, (due to the fact that the "founder" of Nynorsk, Ivar Aasen, almost exclusively collected words from rural areas to form a genuine Norwegian language that was free(er) from Danish and German influence (see e.g. Haugen, 1965)), is not equally suitable as a language in learning activities. Bokmål, by contrast, being based on the Danish language with hundreds of years of development in academia and state affairs, is a much "better" language for critical and academic thinking and writing, some people claim (e.g. Norsk språkforening). There is indeed a crucial difference in the style of Nynorsk and Bokmål, since many of the complex nouns in Bokmål are preferably expressed as verbal constructions, e.g. instead of "understanding is important" one would usually rather write "it is important to understand".

Another challenge in Norwegian society and its educational system is the total dominance of Bokmål in academic writing (and writing in general), leading to a situation where most students only know certain expressions and terminology in Bokmål, which might be an extra challenge when reading school texts in Nynorsk. From my personal experience reading student papers, I notice that some students may even have problems dealing with differences as simple as, for instance, the Nynorsk word "forståing" (understanding) for the Bokmål version "forståelse". In other cases, the difference may be greater, e.g. Nynorsk "dugleik" (skill) for Bokmål "ferdighet". In many cases, especially in higher education, e.g. teacher education, students would have to write an academic essay on a certain subject using the alternative written language, and students may fail the exam because of poor language skills even though the content of the paper might have been acceptable. This, of course, also raises the questions whether it is "good" educational practice to make students elaborate on academic subjects in a language they do not master very well.

As we have seen, the title of the ERL network is highly relevant in itself and leads to certain reflections when one is interested in trying to understand the challenges for Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian

educational system. In the next section, I will discuss the research areas of the ERL network as another fruitful starting point, those areas being: Language Beliefs, Language Activity, Language Experience, and Language Matrixes.

In addition to discussing the challenges for Nynorsk as an alternative written language from the general perspectives of the ERL network, I will refer to the research by Norton (2013) and Dörnyei (2009). Norton, Dörnyei and other researchers within more recent approaches to second language acquisition offer new perspectives that may help answer some of my questions. Key terms will here be language identity, social power, motivation and investment.

3. Discussion

The ERL network has established certain premises for its research activities (see the ERL research link):

> Considering the fact(s) that every school determines
>
> - what students think OF language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE BELIEFS (students' views on listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
> - how students feel ABOUT language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE (students' emotions concerning listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
> - what students do WITH language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE ACTIVITY (students' actions consisting in listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
> - how students perceive THROUGH language, i.e. students' LANGUAGE MATRICES (students' world image as shaped by listening, speaking, reading, and writing)
>
> on the level of an individual, society, culture and reality, […]

When looking at these premises, I noticed that they form a kind of causality chain. Is it not so that what we believe will also have an impact on how we actually experience certain

things? And is it not so that we usually act in accordance with our beliefs and earlier experiences? The first three premises, then, would have an impact on how we perceive the world. In the following discussion, I will look at Norwegian students with Nynorsk as their alternative written language from the first three perspectives: Language Beliefs, Language Experience and Language Activity.

How can we possibly investigate a student's language beliefs about Norwegian? To start with, all Norwegian children learn to locate Norway on a world map as "their" country. Furthermore, they learn that the name of the language in Norway is Norwegian, which is substantiated by the fact that there are books, websites or possibly phone apps named "Norsk ordbok", Norwegian dictionary. These things indicate that a language called Norwegian exists and that this language is tightly connected to the country of Norway. Compared to the names of other countries and (at least one of) their languages, it is also easy to observe and accept that there is, in most cases, a direct linguistic correlation between the name of a country and its official language, e.g. Poland – Polish, Russia – Russian, Germany – German, Sweden – Swedish, and apparently Norway - Norwegian. Relatively early, then, a Norwegian child would develop a feeling of *language identity* (Norton 2013, Dörnyei 2009) connected with the term *Norwegian*.

However, when learning about Norway as a country, one soon also learns that Norway has two official Norwegian languages, Bokmål and Nynorsk. Furthermore, one learns that Sámi is an official language in Norway. Hence, the belief about one language – a "mother tongue" for citizens of Norway – is seriously challenged by the academic experience in school. The written language the majority of children start to learn in school is Bokmål, the name of this variety being a historical compromise from the time when the Danish version of Norwegian was not considered genuine Norwegian (see Haugan 2017). Suddenly, there is a terminology mismatch. There is *norsk* (Norwegian) as an adjective or as a possible name for the

language, but the written language is called *Bokmål* (literally "book language").

During the first few years in school, the children with Bokmål as their main language are usually not exposed to the alternative written language, *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian), to the same degree. As a result, most children – and teachers – begin to distinguish between *Norsk* and *Nynorsk* in everyday speech, with *Norsk* only referring to Bokmål, the most dominant written language and their main written language. This can be understood as a consequence of the relationship between the ERL terms *Language Beliefs* and *Language Experience*. The children already believe that they speak Norwegian, which is the official name of the language including all dialects and all written varieties and an adjective naming everything that is related to Norway as a noun. The language they learn to write in primary school thus, should naturally be called Norwegian. Furthermore, the alternative variety is called New Norwegian, hence, the name pair Norwegian and New Norwegian. At this point, it is easy to understand from a linguistic point of view that the word Norwegian, which functions as an adjective and direct derivation from the word Norway, is the more natural word, whereas New Norwegian states that there is something new and different – and apparently unnecessary, at least from a child's point of view. In primary school, no children know about political history or language history. Their language identity is Norwegian, not "New" Norwegian.

This is also reflected in the use of Norwegian, i.e. *Language Activity*. The main written language, Bokmål for the majority of children, is used in all subjects in school, in teaching, reading and writing. Bokmål is also the written language that is totally dominant outside of school in more or less all public and private domains. The only language activity related to Nynorsk is usually sporadic listening to texts in Nynorsk read by the teacher in primary school. After some time, there is also sporadic reading of texts in Nynorsk. In most cases, students practice writing more frequently in Nynorsk first in lower secondary school. Hence, in an overall perspective, for the

majority of Norwegian students there is minimal language activity related to Nynorsk – even though the Norwegian state and the curriculum, seen from a Bildung perspective, expects all students to master both written varieties by the end of upper secondary school.

This brings us to the perspective of *Motivation* (Norton 2013; Dörnyei 2009). For the majority of Norwegian children the beliefs, experiences and activities related to Norwegian as a language are connected to Bokmål, which consequently becomes synonymous with Norwegian as a general term. Bokmål is the written language most students *believe* to be their natural language ("mother tongue"), *experience* to be omnipresent in the Norwegian society including the educational system, and *practice* (cf. activity) themselves on a daily basis. Nynorsk, on the other hand, is more or less non-existent (from the perspective of students) in everyday life – at least this is what many students seem to believe, since it is relatively easy to avoid reading texts in Nynorsk outside school. Experience with Nynorsk, thus, is related to mandatory school activities. Furthermore, more systematic teaching – and grading – in Nynorsk is postponed until the 8th – 10th grade in lower secondary school and is continued into upper secondary school where the students obtain a separate grade in Nynorsk.

Students do not normally share the state's official Bildung perspective on the necessity of mastering both written varieties of the Norwegian language. Students have their beliefs, experience and activity connected to Norwegian, which, by the time they reach lower secondary school, when they are supposed to be officially graded in Nynorsk, is minimal. At the time of lower secondary school, most children also reach puberty, which often correlates with a general rebellion against mandatory tasks and other aspects of the adult world. At this stage in life and in education, many students develop a strong antipathy toward learning Nynorsk (see e.g. Garrett 2010, on attitudes to language). Unfortunately, many teachers – having been a part of the same educational system and society – share the same antipathy against the alternative language (see

e.g. Nordal 2004 and Nordhagen 2006). Consequently, the beliefs about Nynorsk (language attitude) and the experience with this language are not necessarily corrected or altered in any way by the teachers, i.e. the official educational system. On the contrary, the impression of Nynorsk as a legitimate "hate object" may rather be confirmed and even strengthened.

Repeatedly, even politicians, especially from the conservative parties, argue against keeping Nynorsk as a second/ alternative written language in the educational system. It may also be mentioned that many Norwegian newspapers do not allow their journalists to use Nynorsk – even though it has had the status of an official and equal Norwegian language since 1885. This is yet another experience for the students that would strengthen their belief that Nynorsk is not an "important" part of the Norwegian society and it might even disappear in a relatively short time. No wonder motivation to learn the alternative language may be very low. Accordingly, most students have lower grades or even fail in Nynorsk, which may have an impact on their future professional life. This is yet another experience that would turn the students against it and form the students' attitude to the alternative language. Informed by this background, it is easy to understand that most students do not find the motivation to invest (Norton, 2013) very much effort in learning Nynorsk.

Let us compare the situation of Nynorsk as an alternative written language to English as a foreign language in the Norwegian educational system. What can we learn from foreign and second language acquisition that might help us understand the challenges connected to Nynorsk as a "second" Norwegian language? As I have argued in a previous paper on the same topic (Haugan 2017), Nynorsk as an alternative written language in the Norwegian society and educational system can be said to have more in common with a second language than with a so-called "mother tongue" or first language. One crucial term in this perspective is *identity* (Norton 2013; Dörnyei 2009). As Norton (2013) and Dörnyei (2009) and many others have focused on in more recent

studies on second language acquisition, being able to identify with the target language yields much better learning results. Norton (2013: 45) states:

> I use the term identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future.

Furthermore, with reference to Heller (1987), Norton (2013: 45) states:

> it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. Thus language is not conceived as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning.

As I have argued above, most Norwegian students identify with Bokmål as their "Norwegian" language, which is strengthened through experience in Norwegian society and its educational system. Students experience that they have the opportunity to write (speak) in all school subjects and the only time they experience being "denied access to powerful social networks" is if they achieve poor results in the small part of Norwegian in school that is related to the mastering of written Nynorsk. For most students this does not have a serious impact on their future prospects. Hence, language beliefs, language experience and language activity are usually neatly correlated for most students.

The approach by Norton (2013) offers several fruitful perspectives, for instance:

> (ii) SLA theorists need to address how relations of power in the social world affect learners' access to the target language community; learners who may be marginalized in one site may be

> highly valued in another. Identity theorists are therefore concerned about the ways in which opportunities to practice speaking, reading and writing, acknowledged as central to the SLA process (cf. Spolsky, 1989), are socially structured in both formal and informal sites of language learning. This has important implications for the conditions under which learners speak, read or write the target language, and hence opportunities for language learning. (Norton 2013: 2)

When comparing English as a foreign or possibly second language in the Norwegian educational system and society, what are the "relations of power in the social world" and "access to the target language community"? Since the Second World War, British and American culture has had a great impact on Norwegian culture. English is taught as a separate school subject from primary school. Television and radio programming is dominated by English movies and music and English as a language generally has a very high status in Norwegian society. Many Norwegian companies choose English names instead of Norwegian names and in certain branches, English is considered a "better" language in commercial use. It is almost more common to see signs with "sale" on them than with the Norwegian word "salg". Very few companies in Norway, including those from the part of Norway where Nynorsk is used and taught as the main written variety, would choose to advertise their products in Nynorsk.

As I have discussed before, Nynorsk may be graded with a separate grade at the end of lower and upper secondary school, but Nynorsk is not a separate school subject like English, and Nynorsk is not very actively taught before the 8th grade, whereas English has a highly visible place and status from primary school on. Although there is a debate in academia on whether English is taking over as an academic language in research and higher education, there is very little debate about the use and status of English in Norwegian society, apart from sporadic comments in the readers' columns where some people demand more Norwegian music on the radio. Compared to this, there are regular and highly polemic

debates in all types of media on the status and the use of Nynorsk, and there are political parties that want to remove the status of Nynorsk as a mandatory school subject.

Norton (2013: 2) also states:

> (iii) Identity, practices and resources are mutually constitutive. This suggests that identity is influenced by practices common to institutions such as homes, schools and workplaces, as well as available resources, whether they are symbolic or material. Examination of the practices and resources of particular settings, and of learners' differential access to those practices and resources, offers a means to theorize how identities are produced and negotiated. At the same time, structural conditions and social contexts do not entirely determine language learning or use. Through human agency, language learners who struggle to speak from one identity position may be able to reframe their relationship with others and claim alternative, more powerful identities from which to speak, read or write, thereby enhancing language acquisition.

This paragraph focusing on *practices* can be related to the ERL terms *Language Experience* and *Language Activity*. Students learn to read, write and express themselves in English relatively early in school, and with the introduction of the internet and social media in the past twenty years most students actively participate in international conversations where English is used as a lingua franca. The use of English in communication is hardly ever met with a negative attitude, whereas using Nynorsk in internet forums might easily lead to a debate about Nynorsk instead of the topic under discussion. Even students that have learned Nynorsk as their first and main Norwegian variety often decide to change to Bokmål because of social pressure.

Yet another aspect Norton (2013) discusses is the term *investment*:

> (iv) The sociological construct of *investment*, which I developed to complement the psychological construct of motivation in SLA, is

> a construct that signals the complex relationship between language learner identity and language learning commitment. I argue that a learner may be a highly motivated language learner, but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a given classroom or community. The classroom, for example, may be racist, sexist, elitist or homophobic. Alternatively, the language practices of the classroom may not be consistent with learner expectations of good teaching, with equally dire results for language learning. In sum, a learner can be highly motivated to learn a language, but not necessarily invested in a given set of language practices. However, a learner who is invested in a given set of language practices would most likely be a motivated language learner. Investment has become an important explanatory construct in language learning and teaching (Cummins 2006).

Investment is not necessarily a part of the ERL terminology. However, the terms Language Beliefs and Language Experience are related to Language Activity. Activity is the student's actual use of language based on language beliefs and language experience. In order to change language activity (and possibly beliefs) the student would have to make an extra effort, which requires *investment*. Investment is tightly connect to motivation. If the student is not motivated, there will be low or no investment and, hence, low or no results.

Investing in learning English obviously has direct benefits for young students. The whole world of international (Anglo-American) pop and fashion culture opens up, which is an important part of a student's life. Traveling to other countries with family is much more common nowadays and English can be used as a lingua franca. Mastering English gives status and it is possible to obtain personal "boosts" and confirmation in the form of likes on social media such as Facebook and Instagram from a much bigger audience. It is even possible to form alternative identities in social media where English may be a great benefit. Very few students experience the same benefits using Nynorsk as their language and identity. More often than not, students using Nynorsk would have to defend

their choice of language, and this is hardly ever an issue when using English.

Related to the aspects above, Norton (2013: 2) also states:

> (v) Recent research on *imagined communities* and *imagined identities* is theoretically generative for SLA theory. The term 'imagined community', originally coined by Benedict Anderson (1991), was explored in my 2001 chapter (Norton, 2001), and further developed in Kanno and Norton (2003), Pavlenko and Norton (2007) and Norton and Gao (2008). In these publications, we argue that in many language classrooms, the target language community may be, to some extent, a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships, but also a community of the imagination, a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future. These ideas, inspired also by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), have proved generative in diverse research sites. I have argued that an imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and a learner's investment in the target language can be understood within this context.

The terms *language identity* and *imagined identity/identities* and *imagined communities* are fruitful approaches when trying to understand the challenges of Nynorsk as an alternative or second Norwegian written language. Dörnyei (2009) and other researchers also use the term *The L2 Self*.

The years a student spends in school correlate with the years the student uses to develop his or her identity or self. The use of language, both oral and written, is an important part of a person's identity. In Norway, most people speak local or regional dialects that may differ to various degrees from the written varieties. Altering the dialect in the direction of the written language (preferably Bokmål) may lead to negative comments in certain situations (cf. language experience and the power of the social world). Oral language identity is usually related to a concrete place or region, whereas written language identity is most often neutral when it comes to the use of Bokmål. Since this language variety is used by the majority of

Norwegians, Bokmål is usually synonymous with Norwegian, being "the" Norwegian language. Using Bokmål normally does not lead to negative feedback of any kind or require any extra effort or investment. It is not always easy for a young student to meet the challenges connected with developing or choosing a language identity related to Nynorsk. It would require a strong belief, a strong will, a strong personality and the ability to withstand constant critical feedback on his or her language activity.

In the context of foreign or second language teaching and acquisition, the notion of language identity or language self is a little weaker. The student is not expected to change his or her personal identity. Therefore, the "price" or investment is not equally high compared to actually acquiring a completely new language identity. However, when using the terms *imagined language identity* or *imagined language community* one could also refer to the term *role* in the ERL network. What is the educational role of language? When asked to imagine another language identity or community, students are indirectly asked to play or act a certain role in their language education. This role-playing has a didactic purpose and often has an aspect of playing, which does not necessarily affect the student's personal identity.

Norwegian students trying to learn English in primary or secondary school would have few problems imagining English speakers and communities. Norwegian students hear and read English "everywhere", i.e. on the radio, TV, in cinemas, on the internet and in certain magazines. Many students may know the streets of London, New York or Chicago better than the streets of another Norwegian city or town, since most movies on Norwegian television actually are set in the USA or Great Britain. Even on Norwegian news channels, the White House may be seen more often these days than the Norwegian parliament building. Nynorsk, on the other hand, is hardly heard anywhere. As mentioned before, most Norwegians speak their local or regional dialect and there may be significant differences between oral speech and any of the written

varieties. However, dialects and sociolects around Oslo, the capital of Norway, tend to be closer to Bokmål. Therefore, those oral varieties are conceived of as a kind of standard by many.

As for Nynorsk, the historical approach has usually been "speak your own dialect and write Nynorsk". No official attempt has been made to form a Nynorsk oral standard. However, dialects from the west coast of Norway tend to be closer to Nynorsk, and the largest concentration of users of Nynorsk as their main written language is also in the west of Norway. Standardized oral Nynorsk is rarely heard. Laws regulating the use of the written varieties of Norwegian only apply to state organizations. For instance, the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) is obliged to use each of the two language varieties in at least 25% of their productions. The same law does not apply to any of the many non-state broadcasting companies. When Nynorsk is used in state news programmes, the news anchor is usually a person from western Norway. Hence, the only role model for an imagined language identity or community is related to western Norway. While learners of English often lack cultural knowledge about Great Britain or the USA which might lead to disliking certain areas or accents of English speaking communities, certain Norwegian regions and dialects may indeed feel uncomfortable or awkward to identify with for students from other regions. Trying to identify with another oral variety of Norwegian in order to master the written variety is not necessarily the same as trying to identify with an English speaking community in general. When comparing English and Nynorsk as second or alternative languages, one may find many similarities in the approach to learning, but Nynorsk clearly has far greater challenges when it comes to student motivation and investment.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, I have discussed the challenges related to learning Nynorsk as an alternative written language from the perspective of the Educational Role of Language network and language acquisition approaches by Norton (2013) and Dörnyei (2009). The perspectives of Language Beliefs, Language Experience and Language Activity that are central in the ERL approach proved to be very useful when trying to understand the challenges Norwegian students meet in their educational system and society. For politicians, curriculum developers and teachers this should lead to increased awareness about the status and visibility of Nynorsk in school and society. If students believe that Norwegian is in fact the same as Bokmål, and if they experience that Bokmål in fact is synonymous with Norwegian in most of the school system and in society, the result will be that language activity will be related to Bokmål. From the perspective of Norton (2013), if the educational system and society represent social forces with the power to favour Bokmål in more or less all domains of society, motivation for and investment in learning Nynorsk in school will necessarily be very low. Furthermore, when there are few or no possibilities to actually listen to standardized Nynorsk, students are deprived of the opportunity to use an imagined language identity or community as a tool for learning and they will most likely achieve poorer results in comparison to learning English, for example.

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Revising canons of writing skills development in the academic setting: Towards a synergy of teacher and student creative effort

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Abstract

It is stipulated that the model of writing typically implemented in the academic context, with its traditional delineation of the respective roles of teacher as expert and student as imitator, demonstrates considerable limitations. Advocated in the article is its replacement through a paradigm of instruction which shifts its emphasis from the presentation of writing forms, genres and conventions of writing, and the evaluation of students' texts with reference to the input models, to the teacher's assistance, mediation and co-authorship in the students' writing process. In this model, the aims of instruction go beyond the solitary pursuit of academic excellence to tap into learner creativity in a dynamic interactive classwork environment which acts as a stimulus to their individual composing and editing endeavours.

Two pedagogic instruments underpin the model: the first is the student-executed Portfolio, comprising records of writing in the form of drafts and re-drafts, and the teacher's interventions in and feedback on them; the second - the teacher-developed Class File, chronicling significant classroom activities and students' written or spoken contributions, made available to the students after the lessons and serving as a link between the texts which have been generated and those which are still in the making.

Keywords

writing – process and product, (Writing) Portfolio, Class File, individual / pair / group work, interactive classwork environment, teacher's involvement, synergy

Synergia aktywności nauczyciela i ucznia jako alternatywa tradycyjnej dychotomii nauczyciel–student w procesie rozwijania umiejętności pisania w kontekście akademickim

Abstract

Artykuł przedstawia w kontekście akademickim niektóre argumenty uzasadniające zamianę modelu nauczania języka pisanego. Tradycyjnie model ten jest zdominowany przez relację uczeń nauczyciel jako relację ekspert – imitator, i koncentruje się na prezentacji tekstów modelowych i ocenie prac studentów w odniesieniu do tych tekstów. Proponowany w artykule paradygmat obejmuje nie tylko pomoc udzielaną przez prowadzącego w zakresie zagadnień językowych, organizacji tekstu czy procesu pisania, ale również współtworzenie tekstów lub ich elementów przez nauczyciela. W tym rozumieniu cele nauki języka pisanego wykraczają poza poszukiwanie doskonałości w wymiarze jednostkowym w stronę maksymalizację twórczej energii całej zbiorowości studentów do stymulowania indywidualnych procesów pisania.

Dwa główne instrumenty dydaktyczne służą do realizacji tych celów. Pierwszy z nich to Portfolio prac pisanych przez studentów, obejmujące różne etapy procesu pisania i interwencje nauczyciela w tych pracach. Drugi to opracowywany i redagowany przez nauczyciela i wysyłany regularnie do studentów Dziennik Kursu, który obejmuje najważniejsze etapy lekcji i wybrane przykłady tekstów autorstwa studentów i zawiera wskazówki i impulsy do tworzenia tekstów nowych.

Słowa kluczowe

pisanie – proces i produkt, portfolio tekstów pisanych, dziennik kursu, praca indywidualna / w parach / grupowa, interaktywny kontekst klasowy, nauczyciel, synergia

1. Historical context and theoretical framework of the study

1.1. Product and process writing

There are two perspectives on writing which have influenced the methodology of teaching it.

The first is essentially concerned with the outcomes of writing, i.e. the ready-made texts which can be used as a basis for analysis, evaluation and assessment or, alternatively, for communication and exchange of ideas. The second addresses the reality of creating a text, the certainties and uncertainties of native speaker authors as they try to shape their ideas and the odds with which L2 writers contend as they attempt to communicate their message, drawing on the considerably more modest linguistic resources available to them. The first of these is known as the product approach, the second – the process approach.

1.2. Product and process writing

Writing is portrayed in literature as a non-linear, complex process (Krashen 1984) which brings into relief a dichotomy of the idea's inception and its ultimate expression in the final draft. It is characterised by a considerable degree of recursiveness, with the cycles of researching, planning, outlining, drafting and re-drafting, followed or interrupted by revising and editing (Krashen 1984, Silva 1993). Writing is featured as a cognitive act of summoning ideas and giving expression to them in a form which will be comprehensible to the reader

(Raimes 1983). As it abounds in twists and turns, unexpected detours and intentional or unintentional overlaps (Zamel 1983), writing might be likened to a stimulating but also arduous intellectual journey, frequently not matching but actually surpassing our expectations.

Early research investigated the issue of effective and ineffective writers, without particular differentiation on account of their language background, L1 or L2 (Jacobs 1982, Zamel 1983). Later studies identified areas of dissimilarity between L1 and L2 writing with regard to the composing process, discourse development and the use of language (Silva 1993). They also provided some evidence for the claim that the writer's proficiency, both in respect to the global aspects of writing such as genre, rhetorical structure and paragraphing and the sentence-level aspects of grammar and vocabulary use, impacted in equal measure on the final product (Fathman and Whalley 1990). As a better command of many of the above-mentioned features give the L1 writer an edge over his/her non-native counterpart (Silva 1993), it might be concluded that only L2 writers are in need of specific writing instruction. This hypothesis, however, would not be borne out by those research findings which suggest that although the problems of individual student writers, L1 and L2, may be of different orders of magnitude, they all require some form of assistance (Arndt 1987). This assistance, when delivered in the form of a structured programme of study, incorporating the intrinsic characteristics of the writing process, is labelled process writing (Seow 2002).

1.3. Comparison of product and process writing

Process and product approaches to writing differ in a number of ways. The first of these differences relates to their respective perceptions of the teacher and learner roles in the learning process as determined by the historical contexts in which they came into being. The second difference comes from their handling of the organization, implementation and evaluation of

the writing process. Yet another difference concerns the nature and role of input and the degree of its modification in the writing task. Last but not least come the dissimilar foci adopted by the approaches on the particular constellations of language skills and competencies which are called for in the teaching of writing.

The product writing approach was the approach that predominated the teaching of writing skills for decades, but was not investigated for its methodological validity or teaching efficacy. In the early days of foreign language teaching, associated with the rule of grammar translation, writing featured somewhat inauspiciously as an add-on to the standard teaching sequences. Later, it was integrated with other skills for the purpose of facilitating or reinforcing them, as was the case in the Direct Method. It started assuming some form of autonomy with the so-called Guided Composition, a genre introduced by Fries' oral approach (Fries 1945), although it still retained its function of reinforcing language patterns and habits learned in the mode of oral instruction (Silva 1990). The texts selected as models for students' writing practice employed an input of specially adapted structures while the students' writing practice bore little relation to the concept of composition writing as we understand it today. Instead, it involved various forms of language manipulation and imitation. Among its success claims was a reduction in students' errors. The most conspicuous of its shortcomings was the rigid pattern of discourse which it enforced and the limited scope for the student's self-expression. It was a realisation of these limitations that led to the stipulation by some methodologists (Briere 1966) that controlled composition should be followed by free composition, primarily to extend the amount of writing practice. However, no methodology was developed to bridge the gap between the two approaches, with the result that students were either drilled into writing in the guided composition mode or left to their own devices in free composition practice.

It was only some 25 years later that writing started coming into its own, simultaneously becoming the subject of much more refined research such as that carried out by Emig (1971), whose seminal case study, *The composing processes of twelfth graders*, proved a breakthrough in the investigation of writing processes, with newly devised research instruments such as "composing-aloud" audiotapes of the researcher's accounts of the subjects' writing experiences, reports on the process of completing assignments, and materials generated in the process, including notes, outlines and drafts. Based on this research, Zamel (1976) and Raimes (1979) made a case for the adoption of L1 process writing research design for L2 composition studies and the use of L1 teaching techniques for L2 instruction. It is worth adding that these research developments coincided with the emergence of the functional-notional syllabuses and the communicative approach, with its concept of discourse as a unit of language overstepping the sentence paradigm and its introduction of authentic real-life content, as opposed to pedagogically concocted class input, characteristic of the earlier methods.

Understanding of the teacher and learner roles is one of the most essential aspects of any teaching method. In the product and process approaches, they are widely differentiated. In the product approach, as illustrated by Guided Composition, but also by general teaching methodologies such as grammar translation, the Direct Method, the audiolingual method, and the cognitive code, the teacher's role is that of an input provider, controller and tester/evaluator. In the process approach, and in the parallel communicative or task-based teaching methodologies, the teacher's role evolves into the more subtle, less "didactic" facilitator, prompter, resource, and feedback provider (details of teacher role typologies to be found in Scrivener 1994, Brown 2001 and Harmer 2007).

The principles of assessment employed in the two approaches change, too. In contrast to product writing, where the teacher evaluates the student's work and awards a final grade for it, the teacher may, in process writing instruction,

entrust the students themselves with some form of evaluation of their partners' work (peer evaluation), to be carried out with reference to more general or more analytical criteria. Some process writing tasks may also require the students to take part in proofreading and editing on the grounds that their contributions may be as valid as those made by the teacher, especially in relation to the global aspects of content, textual organization and discourse development. Although there is sometimes resistance among students to these procedures and a preference for teacher feedback as being more reliable, especially in learning contexts with antagonistic attitudes, or negative group dynamics, a number of research findings confirm the value of peer feedback in writing instruction provided that students receive training in collaborative activities and peer response (Hedgcock and Lefkowitz 1992, Ferris 2003, Hyland 2003, Nelson and Carson 2006).

The role of input in writing constitutes another demarcation line between the two writing approaches. Product writing uses model texts supplied by the teacher as a springboard for students' writing, whose outcomes are supposed to mirror the salient characteristics of the input. The model text is also used as a yardstick for the assessment of the students' work. In contrast, in process writing, input may not be provided at all for fear of restricting the author's freedom of expression. When input is provided, it will often aim to elicit a response to, an evaluation of, or a critique of the original text. In consequence, the student output, far from mirroring the original, may in fact constitute a deliberate departure from it.

Another point of difference concerns the role of the writing task. While a writing task may simply be delegated for homework or assigned for a test in product writing, a writing task will feature prominently in a process-writing lesson, with activities revolving around researching, brainstorming and pooling ideas, composing and re-drafting, evaluating, revising and editing (Seow 2002). While product writing, with its focus on the written outcomes, leaves the process itself to the learner, process writing will address the learner's need for

support and supervision and may integrate learner activity into the more global tapestry of an interactive class experience.

There is also a difference in the language foci of the two approaches. Product writing, especially at lower levels, frequently restricts itself to sentence-level grammar in tasks which involve simple reduplication of the syntactic patterns provided in the model. Process writing, by contrast, relies to a greater extent on beyond-the-sentence discourse and grammar for its effectiveness. It is not grammatical accuracy and conformity to the original model which are sought after; it is the message itself that is of paramount concern.

In summary, product writing is a largely reproductive skill, involving imitation of model texts, prescribed genres and writing conventions, while process writing is a creative skill which offers the freedom to explore ideas through the medium of the written text.

2. Research questions

Some of the questions arising in this context will include the following:

- Which approach, process or product, is the better option in the writing class for the individual and for a group of individuals?

- Which approach is more appropriate in the academic context, both in terms of curriculum requirements and with regard to the attainment of academic standards?

- Are there any other approaches or important elements of such approaches which should be added to the basic "menu"? In other words, should the practising teacher opt for the purity of a single approach or should he/she combine elements of two or more approaches to create the best possible "teaching mix"?

3. Study group, focus of study and source of data

The questions raised above were tested against a background of a teaching programme devised in 2016 for a research group of first year BA students in their writing course in the academic year 2016/17. Out of a total of 44 students who started the programme, 36 completed both the coursework and the written examination which followed it. Initially, the students presented a mixture of CEFR B2 and C1 levels, but during the year many had made good progress and moved to a strong C1 level. All 36 students completed all assignments and presented portfolios of their work over the two term period. A small section of this programme and the manner of its implementation are presented in the following sections of the article. More extensive details relating to the programme and its theoretical and practical outcomes will be presented in a larger-format investigation following the present study.

4. Summary of the assignment in focus

In focus in this study is a writing assignment selected from the whole course of writing instruction, comprised of twelve assignments. This assignment, labelled *My Writing* was divided into a number of teacher-student activities, conducted over two classes, i.e. on 25.10.2016 (Class 4) and 15.11.2016 (Class 6). Sections 2.1, 2.2 and 2.4 are discussed in some detail below.

No / Topic	Details of assignments and their sections			
2 My Writing	2.1 Sentences about own writing	2.2 Extended paragraph about own writing	2.3 Individual revision / correction of text on basis of feedback	2.4 Extension of discourse written in group

Figure 1
List of assignments featuring in the Writing Portfolio, I BA English Studies: 2016-7, Writing Course
(source: Class File)

5. Details of teacher and student work on Assignment 2: Sections 2.1 and 2.2

5.1. Work on the assignment started with a list of sentence frames referring to students' preferences concerning writing, experiences of success and failure, and ways of moving their writing forward (Figure 2).

- *What I like / love about writing is …*
- *My best / worst piece of writing on an organised course was …*
- *I wish I had had more / less writing practice when I learned English at school because … /*
  I feel I had sufficient writing practice because …
- *My (occasional/constant) problems with writing were to do with / were related to …*
- *I find that the best way to improve writing skills in English is …*

Figure 2
Writing Assignment 2.1: class (source: Class File)

5.2. The students, working on their own, wrote five sentences about their writing, completing and modifying the sentence frames. Next, working in small groups, they read out their sentences to their peers, comparing their versions for points of similarity and difference. At the end of their discussion, each group was asked to present to the whole class the most important points, arranging them into two basic categories: benefits to be gained from writing and problems posed by it.

5.3. The above points were recorded by the teacher, with some fine-tuning of the students' originals. Figure 3, displayed below, is a list of the students' contributions for the two categories, recorded by the teacher during one session, after final editing of content repetitions and overlaps.

Likes with regard to writing

- *It allows us to put our thoughts into words and organise them.*
- *It creates something that has not existed before.*
- *It gives us a chance to search for new ideas.*
- *It has no limits, it is an expression of your personal freedom.*
- *It gives us the opportunity of inspiring other people.*
- *It helps us organise our daily life through checklists, shopping lists, "must do" lists, diary entries.*
- *It helps clear our minds – gives us a focus for an activity.*
- *It enables us to communicate with people who live a long way from us and with whom we want to stay in contact / with other people who are close by about daily arrangements, engagements, meetings etc.*

Problems which come with writing

- *You have to open up and in this way may make yourself vulnerable, lay yourself open to criticism.*
- *You have to think about what you are writing. It has to be appropriate and also correct linguistically.*
- *Some genres and some writing conventions (teaching requirements: word limits) may stop your creativity or fuller*

expression of your opinions.
- *You may have no choice over subject matter or over the type of discourse.*
- *It may be hard to start it, find inspiration or motivation for it.*
- *Writing may require a lot of dedication (research) and a considerable amount of time.*
- *Some types of writing like formal or exam writing may involve some stress.*

Figure 3
Group 2 generated material (source: Class File)

5.4. As a follow-up, the students were asked to contribute ideas about how to develop their writing. Figure 4 provides a selection of the more representative points made.

- *Practice of writing to ensure a sufficient volume of it.*
- *Reading texts for vocabulary, use of structures, and patterns or models of composition writing.*
- *Evaluation / feedback as very useful means of improving one's writing – an outsider's perspective considered invaluable.*
- *Error correction to be conducted in order to make readers more aware of aspects of grammar so that they can be more accurate next time.*
- *Reading a text by the author himself/herself with a view to identify its weaker points.*

Figure 4
Group 1, 2, 3 generated material (source: Class File)

5.5. For homework, the students were requested to put the sentences into a single extended paragraph, entitling it *My writing* (**Writing Assignment 2.2: home – Class File**).

5.6. Preparation for the next class, conducted on 15.11.2016, involved the teacher in the following activities:

- proofreading the students' paragraphs with particular reference to the criteria of textual unity, coherence and cohesion, to establish how successful the students were in transforming the input list into a paragraph of continuous prose;
- providing individual feedback on the texts by singling out strong points and areas which required improvement and setting the students an editing task (**Writing Assignment 2.3 – Class File**);
- selecting short excerpts from the whole body of texts supplied to the teacher, 40 altogether, placing them in the Class File, displaying them in the form of a PowerPoint presentation and photocopies. The mini texts consisted of either single complex sentences (excerpt 4, 12, 13, 14) or short sentence sequences, up to three sentences long (the remaining excerpts), as illustrated in Figure 5.

1 *I wish I had had less writing practice. In almost every lesson, my teacher gave us a topic and we wrote essays. It was kind of boring.*
2 *I don't think I had enough of it in my school years. I practised writing quite a lot and my best piece of writing on an organised course was an argumentative essay about euthanasia.*
3 *There have been several good pieces of writing I have created, but the one I am most proud of is an essay about romantic Polish poetry which I wrote in high school and which has been the most difficult one in my writing career.*
4 *I feel I had sufficient writing practice in school because I never had any problems with English, knew many words and tried to read a lot, so I did OK on all my tests.*
5 *Nonetheless, I strongly regret that during the classes there is almost no time to improve creativity. Forming a whole textual universe, for example in a story, is useless since this form rarely appears on the tests due to the difficulty of matching some criteria.*
6 *When it comes to my best piece of writing on an organised course, I must mention an article about effective ways to learn foreign languages. It was a text I wrote in high school for my English classes. To be honest, it was the best piece I have written so far.*
7 *What I like about writing is the opportunity for self-expression. I think that my best piece of writing on an organised course was an article about voluntary work. I wish I had had more writing practice*

when I learned English at school because I still do not feel comfortable with writing.
8 *I feel I had sufficient writing practice because I don't have a problem with writing any kind of text any more. Unfortunately, I can't say that occasional problems do not occur. These problems are to do with lack of ideas to find good arguments for my essays.*

Figure 5
Excerpts selected from a total of forty students' texts
(source: students' writing portfolios and Class File)

6. Details of teacher and student work on Assignment 2: Section 2.4

6.1. The students were asked to evaluate the sentences above, not so much for their formal correctness or mistakes, most of which had been weeded out by the teacher prior to the session, but for their effectiveness in conveying the authors' experiences and feelings. Subsequently, the students were grouped to share their ideas with their partners and, as a follow-up, to present their critique of peer texts to the whole class. The students certainly rose to the occasion here, identifying very aptly not only the strong points of the texts, but also suggesting their potential for expansion. This speaking activity led to the next stage of the lesson, **Assignment 2.4**, a collaborative writing assignment.

6.2. For the collaborative writing assignment, **Assignment 2.4,** the students were divided into small groups where they had to decide which of the fourteen text excerpts they would extend. The text extension task involved the addition of extra information which could have been provided by the authors if they had been asked to write an essay instead of a paragraph on the topic. In place of five content points in a single paragraph, they had to imagine changing the information

structure of their text so that each of the content foci given became a hypothetical topic sentence of a separate paragraph. However, they did not need to tackle the whole text, which was not available anyway, but only the excerpt which, in their opinion, had the most potential for generating relevant content.

6.3. The students spent approximately five minutes in discussing and comparing their preferences for the particular excerpts, and finally selecting, as a class, a total of eight of them for extension. Each of the eight texts was chosen by at least one student group; additionally, excerpt 2 was developed independently by three groups, while excerpts 3 and 9 by two groups each. On reaching their consensus on this choice, the students moved on to a negotiation of how they would divide the workload between themselves. Interestingly, all the groups opted for working together all the way through and proceeded to select their secretaries, a procedure completed relatively smoothly except for one slightly non-cohesive group which required some teacher support. The choice of the secretaries turned out to be directly related to the candidates' organizational, social, and linguistic skills, including an interest in writing.

6.4. There were some differences in the way the students worked. The general pattern followed was to make some quick points individually and then to compare them with those of their peers. Following this, the secretaries noted the most interesting ideas, making their final selection in the expanded, freshly worded text. Where there was a measure of like-mindedness, work on the task proceeded without major disruptions. Where there were some clashes of personality or strategy, there was a certain amount of tension and friction but also, on a more positive note, creative ferment which, paradoxically, may have improved the quality of the texts, making them more interesting than they would have been had

there been full consensus in the group right from the beginning.

6.5. Having completed their texts, the students read them out to the class, highlighting the elements added to the original. This afforded an opportunity for comparison of different versions of the same frame. The problem areas identified by the audience were rectified jointly by the secretaries and the teacher to ensure the text's overall coherence and freedom from basic errors. The next stage involved the students preparing a Word version of their texts. These were sent to the teacher for final editing, and subsequent publication in the Class File.

7. Discussion of text extensions written by student groups, edited by class and teacher

Three of the extensions, written on the basis of text 2, are presented in Figure 6.

I don't think I had enough of it in my school years. I practised writing quite a lot and my best piece of writing on an organised course was an argumentative essay about euthanasia.

Text extension A

I don't think I had enough writing in my school years ***and because of that I practised it quite a lot on my own at home.*** *My best piece of writing on an organised course was an argumentative essay about euthanasia.* ***I was proud of it. Nevertheless, I had to learn a lot of specific vocabulary which was connected with the topic. I chose the topic myself and the teacher was surprised at that choice. The reason for such a subject was my grandfather's terminable illness. He suffered a great deal and I sometimes wondered if we could have freed him from the pain.*** (104 words)

Text extension B

Throughout my school years *I did not have enough of writing practice* ***during the classes. That is the reason why I was forced to start working on my writing skills on my own. I created many compositions concerning controversial topics like abortion, violations of human rights, compulsory circumcision, and clergy intervention in state legislation. Consequently, I mastered the argumentative forms. Nevertheless, one cannot create a solid work without proper inspiration. Unfortunately, my best piece of writing was prompted by my mother's death due to incurable illness. It was*** *an essay about euthanasia****, very emotional but genuine, which turned out to be a great success.*** (104 words)

Text extension C

I don't think I had enough of it in my school years. I practised this skill quite a lot ***as we were writing essays, paragraphs and creative stories.*** *My best piece of writing on a course was an argumentative essay about euthanasia****. I spent many hours doing research and asking other people for their points of view. I found many interesting stories, but the best one which supported my ideas was a story about a woman from Belgium which was published in the New York Times. My essay was graded very well and I had positive feedback from the teacher, even though I had a controversial point of view on the topic***. (112 words)

Figure 6
Group extensions of extract 2
N.B. The bold type marks show the elements
which were added to the original texts
(source: students' writing portfolios and Class File)

In terms of content, the texts provide some details, including general practice of writing (A and B), reasons for the choice of the topic (A, B) preparation for the essay in relation to lexis (A) and content (C). Texts A and B personalize content, introducing a fictitious family member while text C avails itself of a media story.

In terms of discourse development, all three texts adopt an appropriate narrative structure, high-lighting the central event, the writing of the essay, and presenting some events prior to it (Texts A, B, C) and/or following it (Texts B, C). Additionally, the textual functions include listing/addition (*and*), contrast/concession (*but*, *nevertheless*, *even though*), result (*consequently*) and surprise/disappointment at a dramatic turn of events (*unfortunately*).

All three text extensions employ both simpler and more complex syntactic units. In addition to simple sentences (three in each text) we can also find examples of compound (Texts A, B) and complex sentences (Text C), as demonstrated in Figure 7.

1 *I found many interesting stories, but the best one which supported my ideas was a story about a woman from Belgium which was published in the New York Times.* (relative clauses) 2 *My essay was graded very well and I had positive feedback from the teacher, even though I had a controversial point of view on the topic.* (clause of concession)

Figure 7
Use of syntax in the extensions of extract 2
(source: researcher's notes)

As far as lexis is concerned, all three text extensions include appropriate vocabulary, advanced collocations and fixed expressions, as summarized in Figure 8, with text B displaying the widest lexical range and containing examples of concepts related to controversial social and political phenomena.

- Text extension A – *suffered a great deal, free him from the pain*
- Text extension B – *abortion, violations of human rights, compulsory circumcision, clergy intervention in state legislation; master the argumentative forms; create a solid work; prompted by my mother's death; incurable illness; very emotional but genuine; turn out to be a great success*
- Text extension C – *doing research, supported my ideas, (had) positive feedback from my teacher*

Figure 8
Use of vocabulary in the extensions of extract 2
(source: researcher's notes)

7. The teacher's final edit of the students' texts

In the case of extensions to extract 2 from Figure 4, the teacher's final fine-tuning, consisted in four relatively minor changes being made, four to Version A and two to Version C (Figure 9).

Text extension A

- *reason for* ***such a subject*** was replaced by *reason for* ***the choice of this topic***
- *I had to learn* was replaced by *I* ***had had*** *to learn*
- ***terminable*** was replaced by ***terminal***
- *we* ***could*** *have freed him from the pain* was replaced by *we* ***should not*** *have freed him from the pain.*

Text extension C

- *I* ***spent*** *many hours doing research* was changed into *I* ***had spent*** *many hours doing research*
- *was graded* ***very well***, was changed into *was graded* ***A***.

Figure 9
Teacher's final editing of text extensions A and C
(source: researcher's notes)

8. Discussion of the teaching approaches adopted for the research project

8.1. The teacher organised the teaching and learning processes in such a way that evidence of writing development and classroom teaching was available to the learner for the practical learning purposes of storage and learning, and to the researcher himself for reflection and analysis. There were three very important sources of evidence available to the researcher: individual writing assignments, the **students' writing portfolios**, and the electronic **Class File**.

8.2. The assignments were at the heart of the writing approach implemented on the course. They involved a set of class-supervised procedures and corresponding learner writing activities, conducted with a view to developing the learners' writing proficiency. In general terms, they progressed from single sentence messages to shorter to longer texts, covering a range of writing skills and topics, and including preparation for writing, the process of writing itself (composing) and the revision and correction which concluded it. A number of the assignments were marked by the teacher in keeping with the time-honoured tradition of the teacher as the final judge of students' work and for the practical purpose of complying with the academic requirement of grading. The other uses of the assignments were more interesting because they went beyond the confines of traditional academic assessment, involving peer-editing and peer-evaluation, presentation in open class (reading out, displaying on the screen), and discussion or reflection.

8.3. The writing portfolio was one of the most important instruments of both monitoring and developing students' writing development. As an assessment instrument, it ensured that a wider spectrum of learner abilities and competencies was considered for assessment than that measured by a snapshot timed-essay mark and it was in conformity with

the research findings on the value of portfolio assessment contributed by Burnham (1986), Elbow and Belanoff (1986), Belanoff and Dickson (1991), Hamp-Lyons and Condon (2000). In compiling the portfolio, the students relied both on ongoing instructions from the teacher issued after each class and on the final checklist provided for each term. The final class of each term was marked by the presentations of the writing portfolios and their peer inspection for completeness and clarity of presentation.

8.4 Another teaching instrument and an important source of information about the approach implemented on the course was the **Class File**. This device, which has been developed by the researcher over a period of many years, served as a means of integrating different aspects of class input and output into a single resource, with multiple examples of student contributions and teacher input and guidance. For the author, it was an important monitor of how teaching related to and affected learning outcomes.

8.5 The preparation of the **Class File** involved the teacher in a constant process of composing and editing, which mirrored, in an important way, learner activity both in the classroom and at home. In the most general terms, the teacher first prepared input for classroom presentation (electronically recorded material, either taken from writing teaching handbooks/L2 coursebooks, or composed by himself), added student contributions, both individual and those made in groups, and subjected them to editing so that they achieved overall coherence. Extracts from the Class File, in the form of lesson units, were made available to the students on a weekly basis, ensuring that there was a regular update on what had been covered in class.

9. Towards a synergy of student and teacher effort in the academic context

9.1. The traditionally implemented methodologies of product and process writing, when practised in isolation, may display certain limitations, which make them problematic as methods of writing instruction.

9.2. The product approach, as implemented in many academic contexts, relies primarily on the study of texts of varying length and representing a range of genres (summary, essay with its subgroups, article, review, thesis) as models for content retrieval and emulation. Important features of writing are practised in class and at home, either in the form of discrete-item exercises, or, as full-fledged textual assignments. The usual mode of working employed is lockstep, which means giving instructions for student individual activity, at home or in class, and checking its results. When conducted by an empathetic instructor, the approach may be reassuring, giving a clear idea of what is expected of the students to satisfy course requirements. In the hands of a strict teacher, it may prove an insurmountable obstacle to the students concerned, especially when the assessment is based on timed essay writing, a mode of writing which fails to do justice to the range of the students' abilities and talents (Burnham 1986, Elbow and Belanoff 1986, Ruth and Murphy 1988).

Indisputably, there are some advantages to this approach, one of which is the coverage of a spectrum of discrete teaching items. Yet another advantage is the relatively straightforward assessment, relying on clearly defined standards of attainment and the teacher's neutrality; since the teacher is not engaged in the student's writing process, the traditional boundaries between him and the students are not blurred. Added to this is the teacher's convenience of not having an ever mounting pile of students' scripts which require attention as, most typically, there will be one script per assignment for the teacher to mark.

9.3. The process approach seems to offer learners much more scope for their writing development, acknowledging the fact that they will probably need more than one attempt at writing to produce a fully satisfactory product, similarly to the most accomplished of authors who make numerous alterations to their texts, smoothing away infelicities of expression, and enriching them with new layers of meaning in a process of intensive drafting and re-drafting. As was mentioned earlier, feedback on a text may be given not only after it has been composed but also during the process of its creation, and not only by the teacher but also by the learners' peers. Also, awareness of writing as a long journey rather than a short trip to one's destination will influence the student writers' aims and strategies, increase their resilience in the face of the countless hurdles they will be confronting and equip them with individual and collaborative strategies for clearing them. Most importantly and reassuringly, the students will know that in the task of writing, they are not left to their own devices but can rely on their instructors and peers to offer them the assistance they need.

For all the advantages mentioned above, process writing is not a remedy for all ills. For the students, the support they are receiving in the writing process may be taken as a matter of course. This in turn may cause excessive dependence on always being guided through the vicissitudes and uncertainties of writing. When confronted with the task of completing a text within a given time, they may "sink rather than swim". Sometimes the students "go round in circles", trying to improve their texts in the successive drafts mechanically, without introducing any qualitative improvements and thus failing to make headway (Hamp-Lyons 2006). In connection with this, one can mention research reports suggesting that process writing should only be used for lower level students or students with more serious deficits in the implementation of writing strategies related to the organization and structuring of content (Diaz 1985, Urzua 1987, Jones 1985, Zamel 1982, 1983, Rorschach 1986). For the teacher

involved in the implementation of the approach, there are some downsides, too, perhaps the greatest of them being the significant time expenditure and eventual tedium of having to "process" multiple student scripts. By the same token, tedium may also become part of the students' experience as they are churning out multiple drafts in an attempt to make the text "perfect".

9.4. In view of these limitations, we have to turn to other approaches in language pedagogy if we want to design a programme which will be both productive but also stimulating for a group of learners working together, rather than a group of individuals without any social bonding. An approach which, in the view of the author, needs to be interwoven into the fabric of writing instruction is the interactive approach; however, not in the narrower sense of the communicative approach which was in its heyday in the 1970s and 1980s but in the broader sense of the principles of an interactive pedagogy (Brown 2001).

The interactive approach, as summarized by Brown (2001), energises the classroom learning experience, broadens the range of interaction patterns used in class, lessens the learners' dependence on the teacher, teaches them to cooperate with each other and, in this way, helps them come out of the isolation of individual writing. Within this methodological framework, the students are afforded an opportunity to write texts which will not only be assessed for their formal features but will also be read and commented on by their fellow students.

The fact of having an addressee for one's texts other than the institutional assessor makes a fundamental difference to the students' approach to writing itself. They learn that the texts they create have a communicative purpose and rationale, which is an exchange of ideas with other human beings, be they tutors or peers. When relieved of the threat of constant assessment, the students may be more inclined to experiment and tap into their vein of creativity. One of the features

representative of the interactive approach is peer discussion and evaluation, another is brainstorming and pooling of ideas, both overlapping with important characteristics of process writing. A third characteristic is the creation of texts by groups of students, negotiating their respective roles in the writing process and setting aims for the completion of its individual stages.

9.5. It is impossible to implement the interactive approach without **class dynamics and a sense of community**. A group of people is more than a simple sum of individuals: working collectively, the students are capable of creating content and/or language which may be inaccessible to a single individual, irrespective of his/her ability. A class, therefore, offers extraordinary potential for exploitation; the contributions made by students as a follow-up to their individual or collaborative ventures present a wealth of ideas and linguistic resources which enrich each individual member of the community and the teachers themselves. For the less proficient students taking part in the research project, the obvious benefit was that they could learn from their partners, but also share their own insights, which may have passed unnoticed if they had worked individually. For the stronger students, the opportunities for self-actualisation through more extensive class contributions were combined with the enhanced social role as the driving force of group activity and as individuals who could take responsibility for the performance of their lower-level peers.

And the teacher himself derived countless benefits from the myriad of class contributions and his interface with them. For one thing, working in an interactive framework, the students brought an element of unpredictability to the teacher's cut and dried schemes and lesson plans. Encouraged to draw on their own experience, that of digital-native, globally active members of the world community, they brought insights and know-how which were, at times, both baffling and intriguing to a member of the older generation. And not only did they bring ideas

which called for the teacher's re-examination of his hard-held assumptions, but also in some sense "upgraded" and re-juvenated him.

9.6. Also, the interactive perspective had a major impact on **the role of the teacher and the learner** in the learning process. The teacher's roles within this approach eluded the traditional paradigm of presenting and testing (as present in the product approach) and embraced support and facilitation in the course of text creation. As was pointed out earlier (Section 1.3), the product approach places uncomfortably tight constraints on the would-be writer while the process approach, although much more humanistic and learner-centred, may limit the teacher to a set of one-to-one "relationships", to the provision of ongoing feedback to individual class members, without the added value of catering to a whole group. What the present author would like to posit is that only very close cooperation between the teacher and students and the students themselves at the different points of the pre-, on-going- and post-writing experience will draw on the reserves of learner-teacher creativity, providing a stimulus for students' further writing development. The cooperation described in the study not only took the teacher away from the traditional teacher and learner demarcated territories but established a new scheme of things. By recording students' texts, working with them, editing them and allocating a place for them in the shared, jointly created classroom product, the Class File, and, at the same time, by presenting his own texts or adapting those written by other authors, the teacher symbolically joined fortunes with the students as his partners, becoming himself a member of a writing community. The community prided itself on a shared history, as recorded in the Class File, but also on individual records of achievement, i.e. the students' own work stored in the writing portfolio.

10. Implementation of the "synergic" approach

The implementation of the above model of writing instruction was not always unproblematic. Although the students were generally prepared to work with each other in class on simple speaking and discussion tasks, they initially had more problems focusing on tasks involving composing a joint text or offering peer feedback. The reason for this might possibly have been the fact that tasks which required them to negotiate their respective roles and/or reach consensus, ran into some difficulty due to differences in general language competence and in writing proficiency. Equally problematic, at least initially, were interactive tasks involving multi-layered discourse development. Some students, due to illness, absence from the lesson or sheer absent-mindedness, failed to provide the input for other students to process, thus disrupting, blocking or even sabotaging those students' work. There were also, fortunately relatively isolated, cases of students who were shy or reserved, or simply unenthusiastic about the particular partners they were asked to work with.

Some of these problems may also be put down to the students' identification with learning cultures where they write only for their teachers and are not "distracted" by factors like peer cooperation. However, having learned the new rules of conduct, the overwhelming majority of students made the best of the learning opportunities offered by the "synergic" approach and carried out the tasks diligently, frequently spontaneously or even enthusiastically. The minority of students who did not complete the writing course had stopped attending the whole course of studies. Since their dropping out was a result of a combination of factors related to their level of proficiency and ability, motivation, stamina, diligence and perseverance, it is impossible to conclude that the writing course did not suit them or that they did not suit the course.

11. Conclusions

A combination of the different approaches, activity types, and forms of classroom interaction and modes of working seems to have provided some scope for the students to develop their talents, improve the weaker aspects of their performance and be reassured by both teacher and peer support. The effect of providing the students with interactive activities characterised by dynamics of interaction and certain unpredictability seems to have helped engage the students and spared them the tedium of repetitiveness which might have stifled their writing efforts.

In this way, the "synergic" approach, as a combination of all three approaches discussed above, offered a learning environment in which

(a) the students were able to:

- individually explore aspects of writing which they lacked confidence about within a framework of support and assistance from their teacher;
- build on each other's strengths to improve their writing proficiency by sharing ideas, completing joint text versions, revising and improving on their partners' texts, simultaneously honing their general language skills;
- present evidence of their creativity and receive due acknowledgement for it;

(b) the teacher had an opportunity to:

- act as an editor (the writing portfolio), co-author and author (the Class File);
- make use of his expertise and share his creativity with students across a spectrum of their abilities and talents in ways which brought benefits for his own and his students' development;
- become part of the writing community by engaging in selected aspects of the writing process.

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