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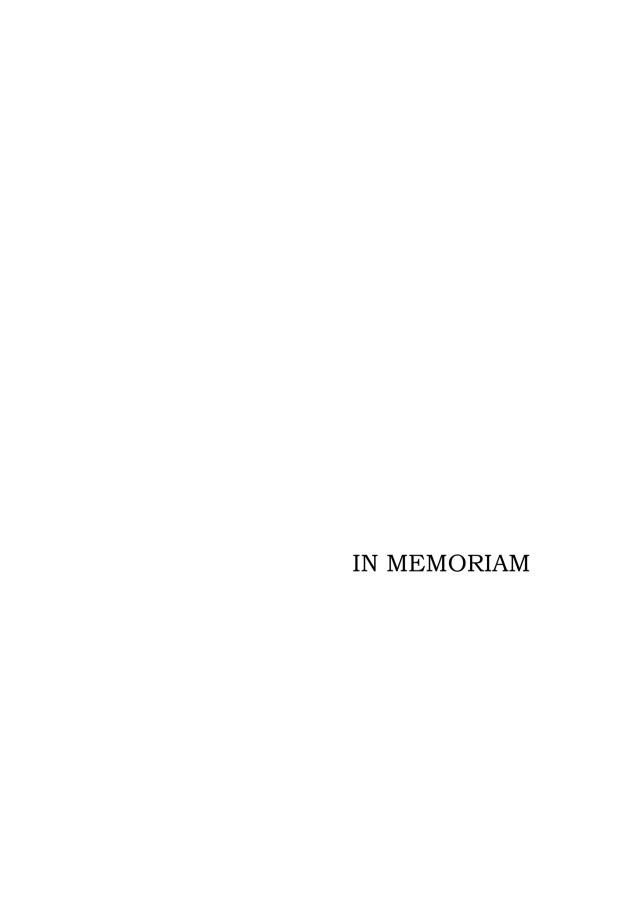
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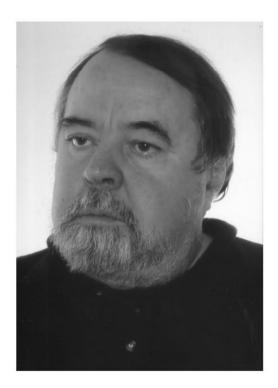
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Professor Roman Kalisz (1948–2017)

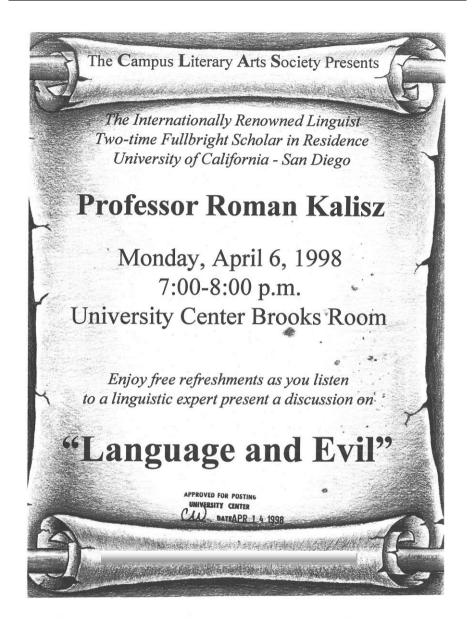


We were deeply sorry to hear of the death of Professor Roman Kalisz, one of the fathers of cognitive linguistics in Poland, affiliated with the University of Gdańsk for many years. He was a very important figure for *Beyond Philology* – as a member of the Editorial Board (1999–2012) and the Board of Reviewers (2013–2017), as well as for the series *Gdańsk Studies in Language* – as a member of the Advisory Board (2014–2017).

Roman Kalisz was born on 14 June 1948 in Suwałki (in the north-east of Poland). Having passed his *matura* (i.e. secondary school-leaving examination), he decided to study English Philology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He wrote his M.A. thesis, entitled *The Grammar of the Verb in Steinbeck's "Cannery Row"*, under the supervision of Professor Jacek Fisiak.

Roman Kalisz's academic career was brilliant. In 1971–1973, he worked at the Institute of Literary Research at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Poznań. In 1973, he was employed in the newly-founded English Department (which later turned into the Institute of English) at the University of Gdańsk. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Humanities in 1974 and the degree of D. Litt. in linguistics in 1981, to become Full Professor in 1995. For many years, he served as the Director of the Institute of English. In most recent years, he was employed in Uczelnia Lingwistyczno-Techniczna (formerly Wyższa Szkoła Języków Obcych) in Świecie.

Professor Kalisz was a genuinely friendly and competent academic teacher whom students really liked and deeply appreciated. His works inspired many young scholars to investigate various aspects of language and language teaching/learning. He supervised numerous Ph.D. dissertations whose authors include Olga Aleksandrowska, Łucja Biel, Magdalena Bielenia-Grajewska, Ewa Dąbrowska, Izabela Dixon, Ewelina Gutowska-Kozielska, Karolina Janczukowicz, Zofia Knutsen, Dorota Majewicz, Nataliya Malenko, Ewa Modrzejewska, Iwona Mokwa-Tarnowska, Hanna Muńko, Cezary Perkowski, Maciej Rataj, Joanna Redzimska, Olga Sokołowska, Piotr Stalmaszczyk, Danuta Stanulewicz, Xymena Synak, Jarosław Wiliński, Ewa Wychorska, Mariusz Zborowski and Bronisława Zielonka. Professor Kalisz also reviewed numerous Ph.D. and D. Litt. dissertations, let alone other works.



Poster informing about the guest lecture delivered by Professor Roman Kalisz at the University of California in San Diego on 6 April 1998 Professor Kalisz participated in numerous conferences in Poland as well as in Germany, Spain, France, Great Britain and the Netherlands. It is worth emphasizing that he frequently gave plenary lectures. He also organized conferences in Gdańsk, including the "Parasession on Passive, Reflexive, Impersonal and Related Constructions" in 2007.

Professor Kalisz received Fulbright Foundation scholarships in 1976/1977 and 1997/1998, and a grant from the United States Information Agency in 1986.

He published five excellent books dealing with different linguistic topics approached from various perspectives:

- The Syntax and Semantics of the Clauses of Result in English and Polish (1978), based on his doctoral dissertation, written under the supervision of Professor Kazimierz Polański;
- The Pragmatics, Semantics and Syntax of the English Sentences with Indicative That Complements and the Polish Sentences with Że Complements: A Contrastive Study (1981);
- Pragmatyka językowa [Linguistic Pragmatics] (1993);
- In Search of a Frame of Mind: An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics and Artificial Intelligence, co-authored by Wojciech Kubiński and Andrzej Buller (1996);
- Językoznawstwo kognitywne w świetle językoznawstwa funkcjonalnego [Cognitive Linguistics in the Light of Functional Linguistics] (2001).

He also edited three volumes:

- Papers in English Literature and Linguistics (1998);
- Językoznawstwo kognitywne: Wybór tekstów [Cognitive Linguistics: A Selection of Papers], with Wojciech Kubiński and Ewa Modrzejewska (1998);
- De Lingua et Litteris: Studia in Honorem Casimiri Andreae Sroka, with Danuta Stanulewicz, Wilfried Kürschner and Cäcilia Klaus (2005).

Besides, Professor Kalisz was the author of numerous papers and book chapters published in Poland and abroad, including, *inter alia*, Germany, Holland, Spain and Sweden.

As the titles of the publications mentioned above suggest, Professor Roman Kalisz concentrated on semantics and pragmatics. His scholarly interests included phonology and syntax as well.

In his book *Pragmatyka językowa* [Linguistic Pragmatics], which was the first scholarly work in Polish concerning the subject, Roman Kalisz discussed the most important topics in pragmatics, such as speech acts, maxims of conversation, implicature, referentiality and presupposition.

Professor Kalisz was also one of the first linguists in Poland to develop the cognitive approach to language. He investigated various linguistic phenomena, including prepositions, as well as metaphors, metonymies and blends.

Furthermore, he was one of the initiators of the series *Językoznawstwo kognitywne* [Cognitive Linguistics], issued by Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego (Publishing House of the University of Gdańsk). So far, three volumes have been published in this series. They contain papers written not only by Polish linguists, but also translations of works written by foreign researchers.

Roman Kalisz looked for similarities between different approaches to language, including cognitive, generative and functional grammar. Collaborating with Wojciech Kubiński and Andrzej Buller, he analyzed connections between cognitive grammar and artificial intelligence.

In more recent years, Professor Kalisz was preoccupied with developing his own theory of general meaning. He presented its main assumptions at the conference on relativity in language and culture held in Sandomierz in 2008 as well as in several published papers. The essence of the theory is reflected in the title of the paper he delivered in Sandomierz: "Gramatyka

prawdy, dobra i piękna" [The grammar of truth, good and beauty].¹

Professor Roman Kalisz passed away on 14 January 2017. He will be remembered not only for his pioneering works in linguistics and dedication to language study, but also for his warmth, kindness and sense of humour as well as for his culinary and musical talents (he played the guitar and the flageolet). We will miss him.

Danuta Stanulewicz

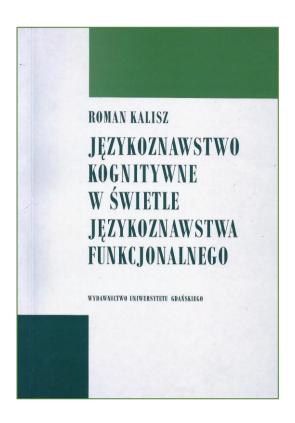
¹ For a more detailed account of Professor Kalisz's career and publications, see Stanulewicz, Danuta (2010). "Profesor Roman Kalisz, pragmatyka i kognitywizm". In: Danuta Stanulewicz (ed.). *Lingua Terra Cognita* I: *Księga Pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Romanowi Kaliszowi*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 23-36; Stanulewicz, Danuta, Tadeusz Z. Wolański (2010). "Professor Roman Kalisz, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics". In: Danuta Stanulewicz, Tadeusz Z. Wolański, Joanna Redzimska (eds.). *Lingua Terra Cognita* II: *A Festschrift for Professor Roman Kalisz*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 23-37.

Professor Roman Kalisz: List of publications¹

Books

- 1978 The Syntax and Semantics of the Clauses of Result in English and Polish. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- 1981 The Pragmatics, Semantics and Syntax of the English Sentences with Indicative That Complements and the Polish Sentences with Że Complements: A Contrastive Study. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- 1993 *Pragmatyka językowa*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- 1996 Co-authors: Wojciech Kubiński, Andrzej Buller. *In Search of a Frame of Mind: An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics and Artificial Intelligence*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

¹ The list of Professor Kalisz's publications (including books and papers issued in 1973-2009) was published in the two-volume Festschrift prepared for him by his friends and colleagues ("Spis publikacji Profesora Romana Kalisza". In: Danuta Stanulewicz (ed.). *Lingua Terra Cognita* I: *Księga Pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Romanowi Kaliszowi*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 37-44; "Professor Roman Kalisz's publications". In: Danuta Stanulewicz, Tadeusz Z. Wolański, Joanna Redzimska (eds.). *Lingua Terra Cognita* II: *A Festschrift for Professor Roman Kalisz*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 39-45). I am grateful to Mr Maciej Kalisz for helping me to compile Professor Kalisz's publications after 2009.



2001 Językoznawstwo kognitywne w świetle językoznawstwa funkcjonalnego. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Editorial work

- 1998 Papers in English Literature and Linguistics. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- 1998 Co-editors: Wojciech Kubiński, Ewa Modrzejewska. *Językoznawstwo kognitywne: Wybór tekstów.* Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

2005 Co-editors: Danuta Stanulewicz, Wilfried Kürschner, Cäcilia Klaus. *De Lingua et Litteris: Studia in Honorem Casimiri Andreae Sroka*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Selected papers and book chapters

- 1973 "The distributional characteristics of English and Polish diphthongs". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 2: 73-82.
- 1974 "Some observations concerning clauses of result in English and Polish". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 3: 267-279.
- 1976 "On the kinship terms in English and Polish". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 5: 257-270.
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- 1981 "Frame semantics and its validity for linguistic description". Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego: Linguistica et Anglica Gedanensia 2: 83-95.
- 1982 "On some subject clauses in English and Polish".

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- 1983 "On the 'so-called' beheaded noun phrases in English and Polish". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 16: 43-51.

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- 1992 "On the conversationality of implicatures". In: Frens J. H. Dols (ed.). *Pragmatic Grammar Components*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 135-142.
- "Different cultures, different languages, and different speech acts revisited". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 27: 107-118.
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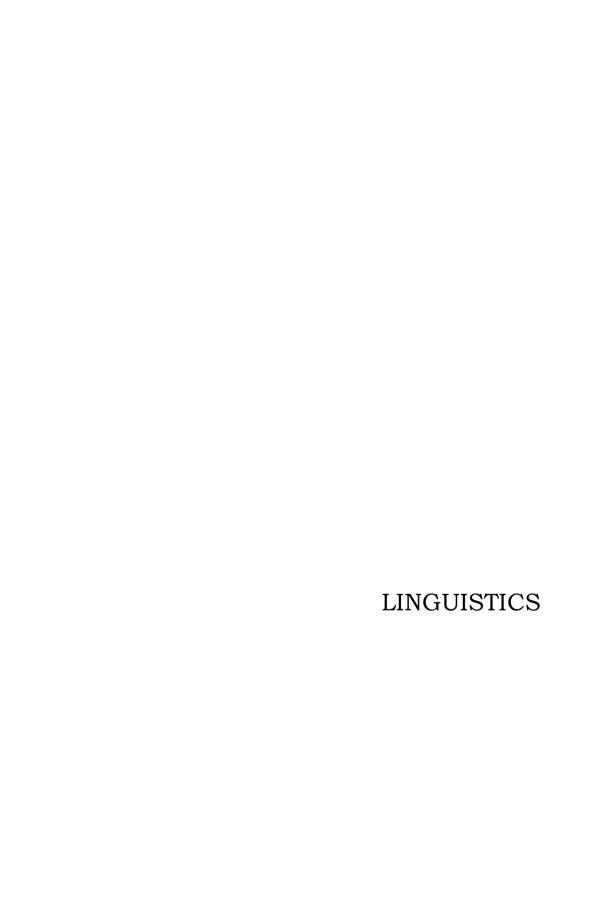
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Onomastic discrepancies between The Hobbit or There and Back Again and its film adaptation

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Abstract

Seventy-five years after the novel *The Hobbit* was published, the first part of its film adaptation, *The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*, appeared in cinemas. The film trilogy (the second and third parts entitled *The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug*, and *The Hobbit: The Battle of the Five Armies* respectively) differs from the novel in a number of aspects, one of which is its onomastic stratum. The main aim of this article is to analyse the functions served by the characters' proper names in the novel and in the film trilogy and to compare these functions. The examination is based on the naming act in the novel, on the basis of which eight relations a name can enter into and thirteen roles it can serve have been identified.

Key words

functions of proper names, linguistics, literary onomastics, onomastics

Onomastyczne rozbieżności pomiędzy powieścią Hobbit, czyli tam i z powrotem a jej ekranizacją

Abstrakt

Siedemdziesiąt pięć lat po publikacji powieści *Hobbit, czyli tam i z powrotem* na ekranach kin pojawiła się pierwsza część jej filmowej adaptacji zatytułowana *Hobbit: Niezwykła podróż.* Filmowa trylogia (druga i trzecia część zatytułowane *Hobbit: Pustkowie Smauga* oraz *Hobbit: Bitwa Pięciu Armii*) różni się od powieści na wielu płaszczyznach, w tym w warstwie onomastycznej. Głównym celem tego artykułu jest studium funkcji nazw własnych postaci w powieści oraz w trylogii filmowej oraz ich analiza porównawcza. Badanie zostało oparte na akcie nazewniczym w powieści, w oparciu o który wyróżnionych zostało osiem relacji w jakie wejść może nazwa własna oraz trzynaście funkcji jakie może w tych relacjach pełnić.

Słowa kluczowe

funkcje nazw własnych, językoznawstwo, onomastyka, onomastyka literacka

1. Introduction

The film adaptation of *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* differs from the novel in terms of not only the plot, but also proper names. This results in the emergence of some discrepancies between the sets of onymic functions served by the characters' proper names in the book and in the trilogy. This paper concentrates on the presentation of these functions and the differences between them. The analysis of the discrepancies between the two sets of functions will be preceded by the examination of the roles served by the characters' proper names in the novel.

The following study will be embedded in the theory of the functions of literary proper names based on the naming act of the literary work (see Figure 1), in which the onymic function itself has been defined as "the role the name serves in relation to a given element of the naming act of the literary work" (Gibka 2015: 82). The first list of the onymic functions of literary nomina propria that arose from this approach includes thirteen roles and eight relations in which they can be served:

- (1) name: object the identifying-differential, semantic, and sociological functions;
- (2) name: situational context of the creator the allusive, commemorative, and camouflaging functions;
- (3) name: creator the expressive function;
- (4) name: name the poetic function;
- (5) name: user the humorous, and conative functions;
- (6) name: author the expressive function;
- (7) name: situational context of the author the localizing, allusive, intertextual, commemorative, and camouflaging functions;
- (8) name: reader the humorous, didactic-educative, and conative functions (Gibka 2015: 85).1

¹ Not all of these functions are served by the onomastic material of *The Hobbit or There and Back Again*, and only those performed will be defined and explained in this work, for all the remaining see Gibka 2015.

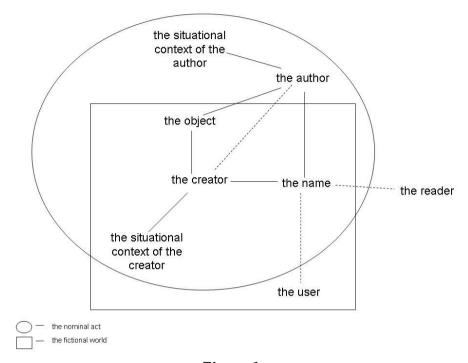


Figure 1
The model of the naming act in the literary work²
(Gibka 2015: 83)

2. Onymic functions served by the characters' proper names in the novel

The only function served by every element of the onomastic material of *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* is the identifying-differential one. Since *nomina propria* refer to individual objects (Nuessel 1992: 2) and do not predicate their denotations (Rutkowski 2007: 21-22), their primary role is to identify (in the literary work to create and identify) an entity and to differentiate it from other similar entities (Kosyl 1992: 50). Therefore the identifying-differential function is served by a proper name in relation to the object (character), when the

² For a description of the model and its creation see Gibka (2015).

proprium identifies a character in the fictional world of the literary work and differentiates it from other characters in the same fictional universe. One of the characteristics of the literary work that should be mentioned is that "the number of the identified denotations is restricted and absolutely finished" (Kosyl 1992: 50). In the novel *The Hobbit* there are forty-seven individual characters identified by name.

Apart from their primary role, some of the characters' proper names also perform six secondary functions, i.e. the sociological, semantic, allusive, humorous, expressive and camouflaging roles. The sociological and semantic functions are served by nomen proprium in relation to the object. The first occurs when the name "indicates the character's social, group or national affiliation" (Wilkon 1970: 83) or when it suggests (or overtly expresses) the social superiority or inferiority of the character (Kuffner-Obrzut 2003: 493), and the latter when the proprium "characterizes a fictional figure [...] according to the literal or the metaphoric meaning of the name" (Wilkoń 1970: 83). The sociological function is served by only one part of the name and nine titles of characters identified by name, these are: the Great Goblin; the great King Bladorthin; King Bard; Thorin Oakenshield King under the Mountain; Thror King under the Mountain; Dain King under the Mountain; Girion, Lord of Dale; the real King under the Mountain (Smaug about himself); Your Magnificence (used by Bilbo speaking to Smaug) and Lord Smaug the Impenetrable. All these appellations express the superiority of their bearers, even if only momentarily, as is the case with the last two, which are used by a hobbit in a conversation with a dragon just to flatter the beast and to gain some time. Apart from these, there are also four titles of characters not identified by name that serve the sociological function, and to an extent also the identifying-differential one, as they differentiate their bearers from all the other characters who are not named and enable reference to them. These are: the Elvenking, the Lord of the Eagles (also the King of All Birds and the great Eagle of the Misty Mountains), the Master (who

ruled the rings), and the Master of Lake-town. They also state the superior positions held by their bearers.

The semantic function is served mainly not by the first names but by the descriptive names the characters receive at some point during the plot: Bard the Bowman, Bard the Dragon-shooter, Bilbo the Magnificent, Mr. Invisible Baggins, Smaug the Dreadful, the Worm of Dread, Oakenshield, Azog the Goblin. All these *nomina propria* point to some characteristics of their denotations. A great number of meaningful names also appear in the conversation between Bilbo and Smaug, as the first wants to flatter the other, who in turn does not know the name of the first, so can only name him by his features. These appellations are: Smaug the Tremendous, Smaug the Chiefest and Greatest of Calamities, Smaug the Mighty, Smaug the unassessably wealthy, Lord Smaug the Impenetrable - all emphasizing the dragon's power; and: Ringwinner, Barrel-rider, Thief Barrel-rider, Mr. Lucky Number, Thief in the Shadows - indicating Bilbo's adventures. Apart from these meaningful names, whose recognition should pose no challenge for the reader, there are also a few which might. First, the name Beorn is identical to the Old English word beorn which means man, noble, hero, chief, prince, warrior (Hall 2000: 42) and similar to the Old Norse bjorn meaning bear (Zoëga 2004: 56). Then, Bola "comes from one of Tolkien's minor invented languages, called Mago or Magol [...] [in which] bolg is an adjective meaning 'strong" (Rateliff 2007: 710). Finally, Radagast "is said to mean 'tender of beasts' in Adûnaic".3

The next function that could be said to be served by the characters' proper names is the allusive function, which occurs in relation to the situational context of the author – "the circumstances accompanying the process of writing and especially of inventing names" (Gibka 2015: 83). The role has been defined as "the use of names as more or less ciphered allusions to real people" (Wilkoń 1970: 83), but this definition is

³ The information comes from: http://lotr.wikia.com/wiki/Radagast# Etymology>. Accessed 04.08.2015.

too narrow for what happens with the analysed nomina propria. Therefore, I would like to propose another dimension of this function, namely a racial one. The similarity of the naming manner of a race of characters in the fictional universe to a race from the real world may suggest a parallel or resemblance between the races. In The Hobbit or There and Back Again, this happens with trolls, whose names are Tom, Bert, and William, the last of which is also called Bill and Bill Huggins (by Bert during a quarrel). These are authentic first names taken over from the non-literary world (Hanks and Hodges 1996: 40, 320, 339). Moreover, the short version of the name William corresponds to the one in the real world (Hanks and Hodges 1996: 339), and Huggins is an authentic Norfolk surname (Cottle 1978: 189). Authentic nomina propria, the fact of the existence and use of short forms of first names, and the possession of a surname are all similarities to how people in the real world are named. This may in turn indicate that Tolkien's trolls are supposed to be similar to people, or, the other way around, that an analogy (one which ridicules) between people and trolls was aimed at. The probability of such an allusion increases when the names of other races from the novel are analysed, since none are similar; dwarves, elves, wizards and goblins have neither surnames nor short forms of first names, and only hobbits have surnames, but no short forms of first names.4

Another role performed by a few *nomina propria* in the novel is the humorous function, which is "served by the name in relation to the user 5 or the reader when it induces laughter

⁴ Seventeen years after the publication of *The Hobbit or There and Back Again*, when *The Lord of the Rings* was published, the readers meet *Pippin* and *Merry*, two hobbits whose full names are *Peregrin* and *Meriadoc*. At this point the short versions of first names are no longer used, only among trolls. Therefore, one might be tempted to disregard the indicated analogy. However, since *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* is a children's fantasy novel and was published as a separate work of art nearly two decades earlier, the disregard for this possible humorous analogy could be regarded as a mistake.

⁵ "The term user encompasses all the characters from the fictional world who use the name" (Gibka 2015: 84).

in the user or the reader respectively" (Gibka 2015: 86). In The Hobbit or There and Back Again this role emerges with the introduction of the names of the auctioneers - Messrs Grubb, Grubb, and Burrowes - who sell the goods of Bilbo Baggins (at that point presumably dead). With regard to the user, it is possible to assess only the reactions of the characters who meet the analysed names, and here the humorous function does not appear as no character is amused by them. Concerning the reader, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to resolve the matter, as that would require gathering information about the readers' reactions. However, treating the proprium as text, it is possible to determine if a proper name possesses a humorous element as one of its qualities. One of the theories of humour that enables such examination is the incongruity theory elaborated on by Veatch, who claims that: "humor occurs when it seems that things are normal while at the same time something seems wrong" (Veatch 1998: 163), and that

what is necessary and sufficient for the humorous effect to arise is a simultaneous co-occurrence of two visions of the same situation in the mind of the recipient. The first being a basic, normal vision of the development of the situation (N) and the second a vision with a violation of some elements of the situation (V).

(after Rutkowski 2006: 399)

Applied to the field of onomastics, it was proved that

provided that proper names are different from appellatives when it comes to the semantic aspect since they do not possess meaning (they do not predicate), it is possible to assume that the basic kind of incongruity is focused on the opposition: meaningless-meaningful. When, in the act of communication, the recipient encounters a proper name and interprets it as having certain semantic characteristic, the situation can be construed as abnormal. Depending on the humorous competence the recipient has, he/she can then see a humorous element in the proper name.

(Rutkowski 2006: 400)

Such an interpretation is possible when the pronunciation of the name coincides with the one of an appellative (which possesses meaning). This happens with the surnames *Grubb* and *Burrowes*, as they sound very similar to the verbs *grab* and *borrow*, and the fact that these names denote the auctioneers who seize and sell Bilbo's belongings before he actually dies, may serve as a catalyst increasing the probability of a humorous reading.

Finally, the last two secondary functions served by the characters' proper names are the expressive and the camouflaging. The first, defined as: "the use of a proper name as a sign voicing certain emotions and emotional undertone" (Wilkoń 1970: 105), can be served in relation to the author and/or to the creator (the character in the work who names the object). In The Hobbit or There... this role is served by the appellations: King Bard, Bilbo the Magnificent, Smaug the Dreadful, the Worm of Dread and King under the Mountain (about Thorin Oakenshield), all of which perform it in relation to the creator, whose feelings are expressed towards the denotations they voice. Bard is named King Bard by the people of Lake-town after he slays the dragon, Bilbo becomes Bilbo the Magnificent when he gives the Elvenking "a necklace of silver and pearls" (Tolkien 2012: 339) as a parting gift. Smaug the Dreadful is what Bilbo calls the dragon when he tries to reason with Thorin, and the Worm of Dread is used by dwarves in their song celebrating the beast's death. Finally, Thorin calls himself King under the Mountain when he introduces himself to the people of Lake-town and uses this title hereafter.

Another group of *nomina propria* (mentioned earlier with regard to the sociological and semantic functions) which should also be analysed here is constituted by the names that appear in the conversation between Bilbo and Smaug. Some of them serve the expressive function, while others serve the camouflaging one. First, an expression of emotions occurs when Bilbo calls Smaug: *Smaug the Tremendous*, *Smaug the Chiefest and Greatest of Calamities*, *Smaug the Mighty*, *Smaug the un-*

assessably wealthy, Lord Smaug the Impenetrable, and Your Magnificence.⁶ All these appellations emphasize the dragon's greatness, are supposed to flatter the beast and show him that the little hobbit uttering them is in awe of him. Then, the expressive role is also present in the titles Smaug gives to Bilbo: Thief Barrel-rider and Thief in the Shadows, which stress what it is about the hobbit that the dragon despises most. Finally, the last appellation voicing emotions is the title Smaug gives to himself: the real King under the Mountain. Not only does it state the beast's view about his position with regard to the mountain, but it also suggests that there are others who dare to use the title, but they are usurpers who do not have the right to use this title, because this title is Smaug's and Smaug's only.

In the same conversation, there also appear appellations that perform the camouflaging function, which can be used in relation to the author's or the creator's situational context, and occurs "when the name hides the identity of its bearer" (Gibka 2015: 86). Here it emerges in relation to the situational context of the creator, as "the name of the character is his/her second one and is supposed to hide his/her identity from other characters" (Gibka 2015: 86). This happens with the titles Ringwinner, Luckwearer, and Barrel-rider, which Bilbo gives to himself when facing the challenge of introducing himself to the dragon without revealing his true name.

3. Onymic functions served by the characters' proper names in the film

Because of the changes in the set of the characters' proper names, there also appear changes in the functions served by them. One of the roles served by the onymic set from the book disappears, the scope and extent of some others change, and a new function emerges. First of all, there are as many as six-

⁶ All the appellations that refer to Smaug and that were used by Bilbo in their conversation have their humorous analogues in *The Völsunga saga*.

ty-six characters identified by name in the film trilogy. However, it is not as simple as adding nineteen characters who do not appear in the book to the film. Only thirty-seven characters identified by name in the book are identified by name in the film trilogy. Despite the considerable lengthening of the plot and the set of nomina propria, ten characters from the novel The Hobbit did not find their way into the three films directed by Peter Jackson. These are: Barrel, Belladonna Took, Bungo Baggins, Golfimbul, Nain, old Carc, Roäc son of Carc, the Great Goblin, the great King Bladorthin, and Thrain the Old. Not all of these characters are minor, some play a significant role in the novel. For instance, Roäc informs Bilbo and the dwarves about the death of the dragon; yet other nomina propria (some taken from different works by Tolkien, some completely new) are included in the retelling of The Hobbit. Moreover, Bungo the first name of Bilbo's father - was used in the film as a name for one of the dwarves' ponies.

Both the proper names taken from the novel and those added serve the primary, identifying-differential function, since they identify characters in the world presented in the trilogy and differentiate them from other fictional figures therein. However, the addition of such a great number of nomina propria diminishes the value of identification that could be observed in the book, as even the names of mere animals are revealed (Bungo, Daisy, Minty, Myrtle, Sebastian). Moreover, the identification of large numbers of new figures belonging to particular races or places, suggests their greater importance in the story. This happens especially with two groups: elves Elros, Galion, (Legolas, Tauriel. Lindir, Thranduil, Galadriel) and Lake-town people (Bain, Alfrid Lickspittle, Braga, Percy, Sigrid, Tilda). What is more Bain, Sigrid and Tilda are the children of Bard (about whom there in no mention in the book) and as a result Bard becomes an even more prominent figure - in the book he was crucial, and was presented as such, but in the film that was not enough. His theme was not

restricted to only one character, he was, in a way, given four names, four identifying-differential elements.

Similar to the novel, the set of characters' proper names in the trilogy also serves six secondary functions, but they are not the same ones, as due to the added characters and variations of names of appropriated figures, the intertextual function emerges, and due to some of the onymic losses the allusive one disappears. First, some of the added names: *Arathorn*, Elros, Frodo, Gimli, Lady Galadriel, Legolas, Lindir, Lobelia Sackville-Baggins, Saruman the White, Sauron, Thranduil, Ungoliant, and appellations denoting Gandalf: Mithrandir, Gandalf the Grey, serve the intertextual function, which "occurs in the relation to the situational context of the author, and [...] emerges when a name in the analysed literary work was taken over from another literary work" (Gibka 2015: 87). These nomina propria come from The Lord of the Rings and The Silmarillion. Then, the allusive function, served in the book by the appellations denoting trolls, is lost, because only their first names - Tom, Bert, and William - appear in the film, and the appellations Bill and Bill Huggins, essential for the emergence of the allusion, are not included.

Moreover, the remaining secondary roles (sociological, semantic, humorous, expressive, and camouflaging) change. Firstly, the set of *nomina propria* serving the sociological function is altered considerably, since out of fourteen appellations belonging to both identified and only differentiated characters from the book, only four remain unchanged and continue to serve the discussed function (*King Bard*; *Thorin Oakenshield King under the Mountain*; *Girion, Lord of Dale*; and *the Master of Lake-town*). As many as five disappear from the story – to-

⁷ Why are some *nomina propria* in *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* that also appear in, for instance, *The Lord of the Rings* not classified as serving the intertextual function? This decision is a result of the fact that *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* was published long before *The Lord of the Rings* or *The Silmarillion*, so at the time of the publication these proper names were not intertextual. Of course, a reader who acquaints himself with *The Lord of the Rings* before *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* may perceive some appellations from the latter as intertextual.

gether with their function - the great King Bladorthin; Your Magnificence; Lord Smaug the Impenetrable; the Lord of the Eagles (also the King of All Birds and the great Eagle of the Mistu Mountains); and the Master (who ruled the rings). The remaining five preserve their role, although they appear in the trilogy in different forms: the Great Goblin is reduced only to the title Goblin king (losing its identification); the real King under the Mountain (Smaug) becomes King Under the Mountain; Dain King under the Mountain is introduced as Dain, Lord of the Iron Hills; Thror King under the Mountain appears in an unchanged manner, but is also called King Thror, and the Elvenking is identified and referred to as Lord Thranduil and Kina Thranduil. These, however, are not all discrepancies that arise within the onymic set serving the sociological function, which is performed in the film by four more appellations - three of which are completely new: King of Gondolin, Lady Galadriel, the Witchking of Angmar, and one is changed so that from a name serving only the primary function (Elrond) it starts to serve also the sociological one (*Lord Elrond*).

Even more discrepancies arise within the set of *nomina propria* that serve the semantic function. Although the numbers of meaningful names in the book and the trilogy are not that great (22 and 27 respectively) only four descriptive *nomina propria* from the novel remain unchanged: *Beorn, Thorin Oakenshield, Barrel-rider*, and *Thief in the Shadows*, thus continuing to perform their role in relation to their denotations without any alterations. Following on from this, twelve appellations appear in either slightly or significantly changed forms: Smaug the unassessably wealthy \rightarrow Smaug the Unassessably Wealthy; *Luckwearer* \rightarrow *Luck-wearer*; *Smaug the Chiefest and Greatest of Calamities*; *Bard the Bowman* \rightarrow *Bowman*; *Bolg of the North* \rightarrow *Bolg*; *Radagast* \rightarrow *Radagast the Brown*; *Smaug the Tremendous*

⁸ The first appellation in each pair comes from the book and the others from the film. The order in which the changed *nomina propria* are listed aims at illustrating the range of changes from the smallest to the greatest.

→ Smaug the Stupendous; Smaug the Dreadful → Smaug the *Terrible*; Smaug the Mighty → Smaug the Tyrannical; Bard the Dragon-shooter $\rightarrow Bard$ the Dragon-Slayer, Azog the $Goblin \rightarrow$ Azog the Defiler; Ringwinner \rightarrow Riddle-maker. They remain meaningful, but in some instances, the features pointed to differ. Furthermore, despite the lengthening of the plot and the general and the meaningful sets of nomina propria, six descriptive appellations from the book are lost, these are: Bilbo the Magnificent, Mr. Invisible Baggins, the Worm of Dread, Lord Smaug the Impenetrable, Thief Barrel-rider, and Mr. Lucky Number. Finally, as many as eleven new meaningful names (belonging to new characters or being additional name forms of characters already identified) are introduced into the trilogy. Moreover, the recognition of only four of them should pose no difficulty to an average viewer, as their descriptive parts come from the English language (Alfrid Lickspittle, Gandalf the Grey, Saruman the White, Strider). However, the remaining seven nomina propria originate in Sindarin and Quenya - languages created by Tolkien, therefore their descriptiveness is not transparent and will not be discovered without proper dictionaries. The name Sauron means the Abhorred in Quenya (Eldaron 2009: 43) and the remaining six names: Arathorn, Mithrandir, Galadriel, Legolas, Tauriel, Ungoliant come from Sindarin. Arathorn starts with the prefix ar- or ara- meaning noble, high, royal (Eldaron 2008: 6), Mithrandir is the compound of the words: mith - pale, grey (Eldaron 2008: 20), and randir pilgrim, wanderer (Eldaron 2008: 24), and Galadriel is created from galad - light (bright), sunlight, brilliance, radiance, glittering reflection (Eldaron 2008: 12), and riel - princess (Eldaron 2008: 24). In addition, Legolas is created through the compounding of the words: laeq - fresh green (Eldaron 2008: 17), and golas – collection of leaves, foliage (Eldaron 2008: 14), which suggest the place he comes from, the name Tauriel⁹

⁹ This name – denoting a character which appears only in the film trilogy – serves to suggest that the creation of the new *nomina propria* introduced in the films was supposed to resemble that of the names created by Tolkien himself.

comprises the lexemes: *taur* – forest (Eldaron 2008: 26) and *iell* – daughter, girl, maid (Eldaron 2008: 17), and *Ungoliant* is created from *ungol*, which means spider (Eldaron 2008: 28).

Moreover, similar to the novel, the prospective humorous names of *Messrs Grubb*, *Grubb* and *Burrowes* are not perceived as amusing by other characters. What changes is the probability of a humorous interpretation by the viewer, which decreases, as these *nomina propria* are never uttered in the film, they are only written on a board announcing the auction.

A few discrepancies also appear within the expressive function, as the appellations: Bilbo the Magnificent and the Worm of Dread are lost, Smaug the Dreadful changes into Smaug the Terrible and a new nomen proprium voicing the feelings of its creator is added - Azog the Defiler. Furthermore, exactly as in the book, the appellations uttered by Bilbo and Smaug during their meeting (partly discussed earlier as performing the sociological and semantic roles) also serve the expressive and camouflaging functions. However, the titles used by the interlocutors differ. Bilbo creates only four titles for the dragon: Smaug. Chiefest and Greatest of Calamities, Smaug the Unassessably Wealthy, Smaug the Stupendous, Smaug the Tyrannical, all of which serve to express the hobbit's feelings and flatter the dragon (only two of them are similar to those from the novel). Additionally, concerning the hobbit, the dragon uses only one expressive title: Thief in the Shadows; and also one concerning himself: King Under the Mountain. The last, however, is much weaker than the one in the book (the real King under the Mountain), since it only declares Smaug's dominion over the mountain and does not express his self-felt superiority over others who use the title. Then, the camouflaging function is also served by Bilbo's self-given titles, two of which: Luck-wearer and Barrel-rider are taken from the book, while one: Riddlemaker, is new.

4. Conclusions

As may be observed in the above study, every onymic function served by the characters' proper names in the three films differs from its parallel served by the proper names in The Hobbit or There and Back Again. The primary function in the novel is served by forty-seven, and in the film by sixty-six proper names. Therefore, the identification loses its value. As a result, the sets of nomina propria serving the sociological and semantic functions in the book and the trilogy may be similar in size, but their composition varies significantly, as (even though the onymic set of the film is much greater in size than that of the book), a considerable number of appellations from The Hobbit or There and Back Again, which serve the roles in question, do not appear in the film, while even more names appear in changed forms, and numerous new nomina propria are added. Moreover, the great majority of the meaningful names in the novel are based on English appellatives and their descriptiveness is therefore transparent, while in the adaptation over a third of such names originate in other languages, for instance Sindarin and Quenya. As an exception, the humorous function in both analysed groups of names can be served by the same nomina propria. However, even within this role a difference might be observed, as the probability of a humorous interpretation in the film is a great deal smaller than in the book. Furthermore, there also appear discrepancies with regard to the expressive and camouflaging functions, which are served in the trilogy by the same and similar nomina propria as in the novel, although there are fewer of them. Finally, due to the added and lost names, one function - the allusive one - is no longer performed, and an additional function - the intertextual – appears. Therefore, the differences between the two analysed sets of characters' proper names result in significant discrepancies between the functions served by them.

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The use of the interjection oh across various age groups on the basis of the Abigail files in the CHILDES database

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Abstract

The research undertaken aims to shed more light on the acquisition of the interjection oh on the basis of the Abigail files in the CHILDES database. The CHILDES database is a collection of transcripts of spoken interactions between the target child and his/her surroundings. The Abigail files comprise of data collected over four years, in which the child, Abigail was recorded at home at three-monthly intervals, a total of ten times. With regard to this paper, some approaches to interjections are sketched in the first part. Then, the general statistics of the use of oh are presented with reference to the functions it is used for by the participants of the interactions. Next, the most frequent three functions of oh are presented as calculated for the target child, the caregiver and a person of unknown age. Finally all functions of oh expressed in percentages with reference to the frequency of their occurrence are displayed.

Key words

discourse markers, interjections, language acquisition, language corpora

Używanie wykrzyknika oh przez różne grupy wiekowe na podstawie plików Abigail w bazie językowej CHILDES

Abstrakt

Artykuł stawia sobie za cel przeanalizowanie wykrzyknika oh na podstawie plików Abigail w bazie językowej CHILDES. Baza językowa CHILDES to zbiór transkryptów rozmów zapisanych w formacie CHAT. Pliki Abigail to seria rozmów dziecka z jego otoczeniem zarejestrowanych na przestrzeni czterech lat w trzymiesięcznych odstępach. W pierwszej kolejności artykuł prezentuje teoretyczne rozważania dotyczące wykrzykników. Kolejno przedstawiona zostanie ogólna statystyka użycia oh ze względu na funkcje, jakie pełni w wypowiedziach badanych uczestników interakcji. W następnej kolejności wskazane zostaną najczęstsze funkcje, jakie oh pełni w wypowiedziach badanego dziecka, jego opiekuna i osób trzecich. Na końcu przedstawione zostaną wszystkie funkcje, jakie oh pełni w wypowiedziach uczestników rozmów ze względu na ich częstotliwość.

Słowa kluczowe

korpusy językowe, przyswajanie języka, wykrzyknienia, znaczniki dyskursu

1. Interjections

There are few studies into the nature of interjections. They have been neglected in linguistic research due to their ambivalent nature as well as the difficulty to classify them according to the categories of description used in traditional grammar. Some researchers, however, treat them as discourse markers, which encompass a closed category of words usually reflecting the emotional state of mind and intentions of the speaker: for example, well, ok, now. In spite of this, the term discourse marker has not been used by all scholars to refer to the same group of lexical items. Lenk (1998), for instance, claims that two studies examining nearly the same occurrences may use

diverse terminology. The author makes references to Schourup (1985) who uses the term discourse particles, and Schiffrin (1987) who uses the term discourse markers when referring to lexical items which are largely identical. Blakemore (1987), meanwhile, invents the term discourse connectives. Fraser (2006), who uses the term pragmatic markers, mentions features which differentiate discourse markers from other parts of speech. According to this author, they are free morphemes usually occurring initially in the sentence, signalling a concrete message and being classified in terms of their semantic/pragmatic functions. Quirk at al. (1998) offers a more syntactic approach, referring to discourse markers as adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts depending on which position in the sentence they occupy.

Apart from formal classification, Aijmer (2013) describes how people process pragmatic markers. Thus, according to Aijmer (2013), speakers can constantly monitor and concurrently analyse what they are saying, and know how this corresponds to what others say in the interaction. Because of this, speakers are conversant with the nature of the interaction they participate in and can sense if, and when, the interaction is endangered. Therefore, pragmatic markers function as imprints of speakers' minds (Aijmer 2013: 4), reflecting their state of mind mental processes visible.

Interjections, a subclass of discourse markers, have been studied by scholars representing different theoretical approaches but they do not provide a unanimous definition of them. The first definition of interjections presented here was outlined by Wierzbicka:

An interjection can be defined as a linguistic sign expressing the speaker's current mental state (1) which can be used on its own, (2) which expresses specifiable meaning, (3) which does not include other signs (with a specifiable meaning), (4) which is not homophonous with any other lexical item whose meaning would

be included in its own meaning (that is, in the meaning of the putative interjection), and (5) which refers to the speaker's current mental state or mental act. (Wierzbicka 1992:164f.)

Another definition is offered by Ameka:

Those words [...] are primary interjections that [...] are not used otherwise [...] Primary interjections are words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes, for example, *Ouch*!, ... *Oops*!, etc. They could be used as co-utterances with other units [...] Primary interjections tend to be phonologically and morphologically anomalous. (Ameka 1992a: 105)

Yet another definition of interjections has been given by Wilkins:

A conventional lexical form which (commonly and) conventionally constitutes an utterance on its own, (typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes. (Wilkins 1992: 124)

The definitions quoted above share certain features. According to all of them, interjections express the current mental states of their speakers, they usually stand on their own and do not normally come together with other word classes. Equally important, speakers utter them when they are on their own or when they are accompanied by other people in a social interaction. Additionally, they do not necessarily elicit any regular response from the interlocutor, although their absence may seriously impoverish the message conveyed by words. More importantly; however, their scarcity may lead to ambiguity and misunderstandings. Additionally, people displaying great control in spoken interactions, avoiding emotive reactions in response to what others say might be perceived as difficult to deal with.

In addition to the above, interjections are emotive reflections of the state of the mind of the speaker and, interestingly, they are universal, which means that can be traced in all languages. Quirk at al. (1998) treat interjections as closed units, that is a category which does not grow or permit much alteration to the existing forms. Other closed units are represented by articles, for instance. Biber, Leech, Conrad et al. (1999) define interjections as elements of emotive character illustrating the frame of mind of the speaker.

Stange (2009) claims that *oh* is the most frequent interjection of all. It normally appears at the beginning of a statement and is a response to what other people say. Apart from that, *oh* can also co-occur with other speech units. The most common combinations of *oh* are: *Oh yeah*, *Oh no*, *Oh well*, *Oh God*, *Oh I see*, *Oh right*.

Ameka (1992) divides interjections into primary and secondary types. Secondary interjections are differentiated by the fact that they mainly function as other parts of speech and are also used as interjections. Instances of secondary interjections are words such as *help!*, *fire!*, *careful!* These possess a basic meaning and are utilized interjectionally in a turbulent state of mind. They also usually demand some kind of reaction from other speakers.

Primary interjections are words which only have an interjectional function and apart from no independent meaning. Standard primary interjections comprise words such as *ouch!*, *wow!*, *gee!*, *oh!*, *oho!* Additionally, interjections are voiced as an overt response to verbal and non-verbal stimuli and can be construed only in the context in which they are used. Interjections construct a separate category because of their syntactical independence. Interjections can be used as discrete elements, and are always detached from the rest of the sentence (Ameka 1992). Moreover, they always construct an independent element of reference. Thus, they are not elements of the sentence in its entirety. This trait discerns interjections from other parts

of speech such as particles (Ameka 1992). Ameka (1992) suggests the following division of interjections.

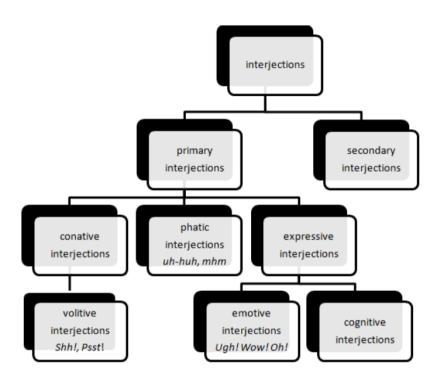


Figure 1 Ameka's (1992) classification of interjections

2. Aims of the study

In order to find out the role of *oh* in speech acts and the pragmatic functions it is used for, several research questions were outlined. They are presented below.

- When does the interjection *oh* first appear in the language repertoire of the children's speech analysed in the research?
- Which of the functions expressed by oh across the age groups (irritation, concern, lack of agreement, agreement, disappointment, praise, surprise, excitement, reported speech, attention getter, confirmation, disgust, something unpleasant, pain) are most frequent and which are least frequent?
- What are the general statistics of the examined interjection with respect to the recorded persons. Who (child, caregiver, person of unknown age) uses it most and who least frequently?
- What are the specific reasons for the production of *oh* across all the examined groups?

3. Database and method

3.1. Source and format of data

The database used to conduct the research for this study was CHILDES, i.e. Child Language Data Exchange System. The corpus was created in 1984 by Brian MacWhinney and Cathrine Snow as a tool to conduct research into first language acquisition. Today CHILDES consists of more than 130 corpora grouped according to contemporary languages. The transcripts of the researched files were in Codes for Human Analysis of Transcript (CHAT) format. Computerized Language Analysis was used to extract the data (CLAN). The codes are used to enable computers to read the transcript and perform search commands. CLAN is a statistical instrument used for calculating, among other things, the frequency or mean length of an utterance. The R programme was used to construct charts illustrating the results. R is a programming language

and software environment for statistical computing and graphics.

3.2. Data description

The Wells corpus was chosen for the following study because it illustrates adequately the targets that had been set for the study, i.e. it is an extensive corpus, with the samples recorded evenly over a long period of time. The whole Wells corpus consists of 299 files from 32 British children (16 girls and 16 boys) aged 1;6 to 5;0. The data was collected for four years, over which period each child was recorded at home at threemonthly intervals, a total of ten times. For this particular study ten files were chosen. These are all files that were registered with reference to one child, Abigail. For each recording session, the child was wearing a lightweight harness containing a radio microphone which transmitted continuously all the speech produced by the child and any speech by others, as well as noises that were loud enough for the child to hear. 24 examples of 90 seconds' duration at approximately 20-minute intervals between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. were taken during each observation.1

3.3. Method

The CLAN programme was used to identify the files encompassing the selected interjection. The programme also extracted the tiers containing this interjection. In the CHILDES database tiers are divided into dependent and main tiers. Dependent tiers hold additional information, such as when the interaction takes place, who takes part in the interaction as well as details concerning the morphology and grammar of words forming strings of transcript. The main tiers are actual sequences of words uttered by participants of the dialogue. They

¹ Prepared on the basis of MacWhinney (2000).

are signalled and introduced by an asterisk. For example, *MOT means, that the words were uttered by the mother. Moreover, the searching string was set to extract 10 lines before and 5 lines after the interjection to ease its interpretation. All the instances of *oh* were taken into consideration, and these included the interjections produced by the child, the caregiver, usually the mother or a person of unknown age, usually represented by the child's sibling or the family's friend. More often than not, the CHAT transcript for the whole file had to be consulted in order to shed more light on the interpretation of the meaning of the interjection in a particular context.²

3.4. Results

After discarding those sets of lines which eluded interpretation the number of utterances which appeared in the database in the Abigail file was a total of 301 (127 utterances produced by children, 109 by adults, and 65 by persons of unknown age).

The earliest occurrence was at the age of 1;5.28 (year; month. day). The table above illustrates all of the appearances of *oh* in the overall section. The numbers of analysable utterances are shown, discarding those cases where the meaning of *oh* cannot be inferred clearly: for instance, this might be when the function of *oh* can be interpreted as belonging to more than one category. In such cases, the utterance was not taken into consideration. The table below visualizes all the functions of *oh* in the present study. The functions are enumerated, allocated to participants in view of the frequency of their occurrence. Finally the overall numbers of functions of *oh* against participants are given.

² Prepared on the basis of MacWhinney (2000).

	Overall	Adults	Children	People of unknown age
Total number	168	87	46	35
Analysable utterances	154	83	40	31

Table 2Specific uses of *oh* across various speakers taking part in the interaction

Participant Use	Concern	Praise	Surprise	Disappointment	Attention getter	Excitement	Something unpleasant	Irritation	Agreement	Lack of agreement	Confirmation	Reported speech	Disgust	Pain
Child	3	2	3	7	3	2	1	5	2	10	0	2	0	0
Care- giver	17	8	7	5	2	6	0	20	5	4	4	3	1	1
Un- known age	3	3	2	3	0	1	0	6	9	4	0	0	0	0
Total	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	1	<u>31</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	1	<u>1</u>

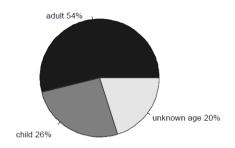
Table 2 shows that the child uses *oh* mainly when she disagrees or when she is disappointed. The other conspicuous information emerging from the data is that the caregiver (mother or father) uses the interjection when they are irritated or con-

cerned. The person of unknown age uses the interjection when he or she agrees or is irritated. Overall, a general tendency surfaced: *Oh* was used most frequently when expressing irritation (20 per cent of all uses) and concern (15 per cent of all uses). Observations of mutual relationships between rearing children and their caregivers seem to confirm the collected data. Interactions of children with their surroundings, more often than not, are marked by a combination of irritation and concern on the part of parents. The other conspicuous information emerging from the data is the fact that in all three groups pain and disgust are not frequently expressed with *oh*.

Figure 2 illustrates the fact that *oh* is most frequently used by adults, followed by children and persons of unknown age. In the pie charts that follow, the main reasons for the use of *oh* registered for all three of the examined groups are given. At the present time, only three main functions have been established and the average value in percentages calculated, the results are shown in each of the pie charts presented in Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Adults mainly use oh when they are irritated and concerned. This can be explained by the fact that parents are very often irritated when children, due to their lack of life experience, do not come up to their caregivers' expectations. For the same reason (deficiencies in knowledge of how to deal with obstacles) parents are concerned when children cannot overcome problems or cause themselves harm. The third function, praise, is equally explainable. When children do overcome problems mentioned earlier, parents are inclined to praise them with a supportive response.

Children mainly use *oh* when they disagree with somebody, when they are disappointed and irritated. It seems reasonable to expect that children, because of their inability to rightly perceive the intentions of the people surrounding them, will disagree with their caregivers. Having received a negative response, therefore, they are very likely to feel disappointed and irritated.



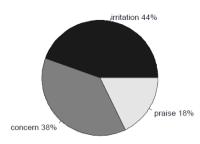
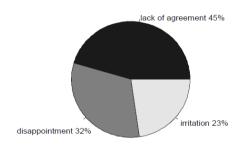


Figure 2 The overall use of *oh*



agreement 47%
lack of agreement 21%

Figure 4The three main functions of *oh* for the target child

Figure 5The three main functions of *oh* for the person of unknown age

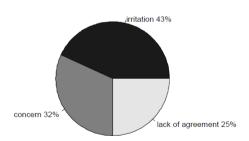


Figure 6The three main functions of *oh* for all participants together

People of unknown age use *oh* when they agree, feel irritated or disagree. As already mentioned, the category of persons of unknown age comprises mainly of the child's siblings and family's friends. It has not been checked, but it seems reasonable to expect that the family's friends would most likely agree with the child in the presence of her parents.

The pie chart above illustrates the main functions *oh* performs in the examined files for all the participants taken together. It is assumed that the data is representative of the type of social interaction recorded. Since the central person of all the interactions was the child, it has an impact on the type of functions the interjection *oh* performs. In the research undertaken the main functions of *oh* might be summarized as a combination of irritation, concern and lack of agreement – intuitively and observationally confirmed by real life coexistence with small children.

The extracts from the CHILDES database below illustrate all the functions expressed with oh for all the participants taking part in the recordings. Fourteen functions of the interjection oh were selected for the study. These functions are presented here using the original transcript from the CHILDES database. The CHAT format uses symbols which are not inferable from the context without further explication. The exact length of the pauses between utterances in seconds are coded in the following manner: (10.). This means that there was a pause of ten seconds between the utterance and what followed. The speaker's identity is usually denoted by three letters. The code can be based either on the participant's name, as in *ABI or *REB, or on her role, as in *CHI or *MOT (child, mother). The symbol xxx is used when we cannot hear or infer what the speaker is saying. If there is a situation where a few unintelligible words cannot be recognized, several xxx strings may be used in a row. At times participants produce a wide diversity of sounds such as cries, sneezes and coughs. These are signalled in CHAT with the prefix &=, in order to produce forms such as &=sneezes and &=yells. Presumably the most prevailing is

&=laughs, which can be used to represent all types of laughs and chuckles. The symbols &ah, &hmm, &mm are used to indicate the diverse forms of the filled pauses. During the course of a conversation speakers often talk at the same time. The "overlap follows" symbol [>] denotes that the text encompassed by angle brackets is being produced at the same time as the following speaker's bracketed speech. It suggests that speakers are talking concurrently. This code is employed in connection with the "overlap precedes" [<] which means that the text coded in angle brackets is being uttered simultaneously with the preceding speaker's bracketed speech. Familyspecific forms, illustrated by, for example breaky@ f[=breakfast], stand for child-invented speech that has been adopted by the whole family. Sometimes the origin of these forms are children, but they can also be older members of the family. In the example quoted, 'breaky' is used by the family and means 'breakfast'.3

What follows are extracts from the CHILDES database.

1. Disappointment. Here the mother expresses disappointment with the action undertaken by the child.

@Situation: Some toys fall down with a bang

*MOT: one at a time.

*MOT: pull them up .

*MOT: pull (4.).

*MOT: come on (3.).

*MOT: oh

 3 Prepared on the basis of MacWhinney, B. (2000). The CHILDES Project: Tools for Analyzing Talk $3^{\rm rd}$ Edition. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

2. Concern. Here the target child expresses disappointment with her sister's action.

@Situation: M getting tea

*REB: oh yes I did .

*REB: oh yes I did.

*REB: oh no I didn't zzz (10.).

*CHI: xxx.

*CHI: oh dear .

*CHI: a bang (2.)

3. Disagreement. The child Rebecca disagrees with the target child.

*MOT: &mm.

*REB: have bananas for lunch.

*REB: xxx we having xxx.

*REB: xxx we having xxx.

*REB: I want Ready_Brek .

*REB: oh no you can't .

4. Disappointment. Here the child Rebecca is disappointed.

REB: she she pee poo .

*MOT: xxx xxx [>].

*REB: no [<] .

*REB: she's finished her (1.) breaky@f [= breakfast] .

*MOT: you haven't started yours have you?

*REB: oh.

5. Irritation. Here the mother is irritated with Rebecca.

```
*MOT: xxx xxx [>].
```

*REB: yes [<].

*MOT: alright (3.).

*REB: there yes (5.).

*REB: baby.

*MOT: oh Becky just go off and do something else .

6. Praise. The family's friend praises Rebecca.

*FRE: grey?

*FRE: yes.

*FRE: that's right .

*CHI: oh xxx (8.).

*REB: can I get down please?

*FRE: oh what a polite lady .

7. Surprise. Here the mother is surprised to find Abigail.

```
*MOT Abby (2)
```

*MOT oh there you are

8. Excitement. Mother is excited and laughs.

*CHI where is a duck

*MOT oh very good

*MOT &=laughs

- 9. Confirmation. The family's friend Erica confirms the information given by the mother.
 - *MOT conditioning and shampoo
 - *ERI oh I see
- 10. Something unpleasant. Mother expresses reaction to something unpleasant.
 - *HE I bang you with my spade
 - *CHI don't (4)
 - *MOT oh gosh
 - *MOT that was very bad
- 11. Pain. Here *oh* is used as a reaction to pain.
 - *MOT and your hand was there.
 - *MOT oh=ow[=ouch]
 - 12. Reported speech. Here the child quotes somebody else's words
 - *CHI xxx(not recognizable)
 - *CHI she said oh no
- 13. Disgust. Here the mother expresses disgust.
 - @Time Start: 12:37
 - @Location: Car/Kitchen
 - @Activities: Involvement in nonplay
 - @Situation: they have just come home from the shops.
 - *MOT: oh yucky unloading.

14. Attention Getter. Here the child wants to have her mother's attention.

CHI:they're all swollen up .

*MOT: did you catch them under the piano when it fell (3.)?

*MOT: oh golly.

*CHI: and it got softer (2.).

*CHI: it got softer (18.).

*CHI: oh look at this Australian card (3.).

In Figure 7, all the fourteen functions are ascribed to all the participants of the recordings and represented using barplots.

The most frequent function of oh for the person of unknown age is agreement, and irritation for the adult. The least frequent functions for the groups mentioned are respectively pain and something unpleasant. The standard deviation for the person of unknown age is 2.722 and for the adult 5.837. The numbers suggest that the use of oh for adults is more varied than for persons of unknown age. The standard deviation for the person of unknown age is lower, thus its separate values are more concentrated around the arithmetic average. The use of oh for persons of unknown age is similar to that of the child.

The most frequent function of *oh* for the child is lack of agreement, and irritation for all the participants. The least frequent functions for the groups mentioned are respectively pain and pain. The standard deviation for the child is 2.824, and together 9.046. All the participants examined, when taken together with reference to functions of *oh*, display the greatest standard deviation. Its separate values are least concentrated around the arithmetic average. It suggests that functions of *oh* for persons recorded, when treated separately, are more alike than when summarized. The Abigail files, ten files of one child collected over a period of approximately four years

have demonstrated that the two main reasons for the production of *oh* are irritation and concern.

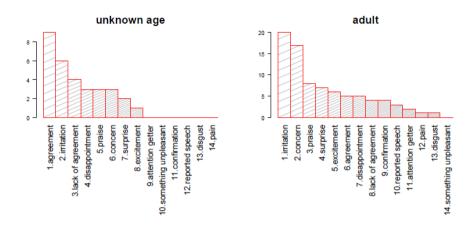


Figure 7
The specific functions of *oh* for adults and persons of unknown age

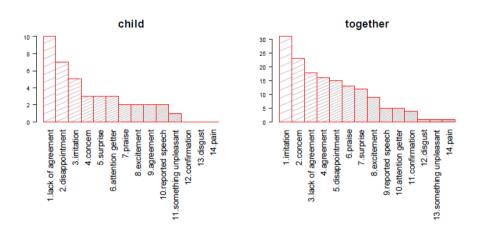


Figure 8The specific functions of *oh* for the target child and all the participants together

4. Discussion and conclusions

The earliest occurrence of the examined interjection was at the age of 1;5.28; however, it cannot be said if the child had already been producing it prior to the recording, i.e. at an even earlier age. Adults use the interjection in a more controlled manner and in more diverse contexts.

The main reasons for the production of *oh* in the examined files are irritation and concern. It seems reasonable to expect that the mutual relationship between children and their parents is full of concern on the part of the parents. This concern might lead to irritation of either the child or the parents if one side fails to satisfy the other. The adults in the researched files mainly use *oh* when they are irritated and concerned. It is generally acknowledged that parents care about their children and are concerned if something goes wrong. In addition, adults tend to control their feelings more and do not need to express disappointment, for example, every time they feel it.

As expected, the main reasons for the production of *oh* for children are disagreeing, being disappointed and irritated, which does not come as a surprise. Children, especially at an early age, test the world around them. They have certain preconceived notions about their surroundings and disagree if something runs counter to their will. This may also lead to disappointment and irritation. Other participants of the interaction mostly use the examined interjection when they agree, feel irritated and disagree. This group's uses of *oh* represent the fewest number of functions.

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Theory of Mind, linguistic recursion and autism spectrum disorder

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Abstract

In this paper we give the motivation for and discuss the design of an experiment investigating whether the acquisition of linguistic recursion helps children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) develop second-order false belief skills. We first present the relevant psychological concepts (in particular, what Theory of Mind is, and what it has to do with false beliefs) and then go on to discuss the role of language in our investigation. We explain why compositional semantics seems of particular relevance to second-order false beliefs, and why training children with ASD in the comprehension and production of (recursive) possessive noun-phrases and sentential complements might be beneficial. After our discussion of these fundamental ideas motivating the study, we outline our experimental program in more detail.

Keywords

Theory of Mind, false beliefs, linguistic recursion, autism spectrum disorder

Teoria umysłu, rekurencja językowa i spektrum autyzmu

Abstrakt

W niniejszym artykule przedstawimy motywacje dla przeprowadzenia i omówimy projekt eksperymentu mającego na celu zbadanie, czy nabycie rekurencji językowej pomaga dzieciom ze spektrum autyzmu (ASD) rozwinąć zdolności rozumienia fałszywych przekonań drugiego rzędu. Na początek przedstawimy istotne pojęcia z dziedziny psychologii (zwłaszcza objaśnimy, czym jest teoria umysłu i co ma ona wspólnego z fałszywymi przekonaniami), a następnie przejdziemy do omówienia roli języka w naszych badaniach. Wyjaśnimy, dlaczego semantyka kompozycjna wydaje się szczególnie ważna w odniesieniu do fałszywych przekonań drugiego rzędu, i dlaczego ćwiczenie dzieci z ASD w rozumieniu i tworzeniu (rekurencyjnych) dzierżawczych fraz rzeczownikowych oraz dopełnień zdaniowych może być korzystne. Po przedyskutowaniu tych fundamentalnych pojęć odnoszących się do prowadzonych badań, przedstawimy nasz eksperymentalny program w szczegółach.

Słowa kluczowe

fałszywe przekonania, rekurencja językowa, spektrum autyzmu, teoria umysłu

We recently began an ongoing empirical investigation into whether the acquisition of linguistic recursion helps children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) develop second-order (SO) false belief (FB) skills; in this paper we give the motivation for and discuss our experimental design. Linguistic recursion lies at the heart of our experimental work, and in later sections we will discuss some aspects of recursion and explain their relevance. But we will start by introducing Theory of Mind (ToM), as our work draws heavily on ideas and approaches which originated in the ToM research literature.

1. Theory of Mind

ToM is a broad term, and has a number of synonyms or near synonyms including mindreading, empathy, folk psychology, social cognition, and the intentional stance. Broadly construed, ToM is the ability to infer and attribute mental states in order to explain and predict behaviour. It is a crucial human ability, and adults typically apply it effortlessly in a wide range of situations, such as when they help someone with a heavy suitcase without being asked, or understand a sarcastic comment. Human beings are social creatures, and acquisition of ToM is part of what enables them to enter the complex web of human interaction.

ToM is a comparatively recent research topic. It originally arose in primatology (Premack and Woodruff 1978, Dennett 1971), but is now one of the central concepts in contemporary cognitive and developmental psychology. Research over the last 30-35 years, starting with the classic work of Wimmer and Perner (1983), has produced an impressive body of empirical data about when it is acquired, and what factors facilitate its development (Wellman 2001). But how can we measure something as broad and complex as ToM? What are these experimental results based on?

2. The relevance of false beliefs

The best-known method of detecting development of ToM has been to approach it via false belief understanding. This term is self-explanatory: as used in contemporary psychology, a false belief (FB) is simply a belief which does not correspond to reality. But what does this seemingly simple concept have to do with the complexities of ToM? And why is it experimentally valuable? To explain this, we shall present the first-order Sally-Anne task, one of the best-known first-order FB tasks. Note: the words *first-order* are important here. Later in the paper, we will introduce the *second-order* Sally-Anne task, as our own research focuses on second-order FB tasks. But first-order FB

tasks are simpler, and a lot more is known about them, so they are a good way of explaining the relevance of FB tasks to ToM research. Here, then, is the first-order Sally-Anne task:

A child is shown a scene with two doll protagonists, Sally and Anne. Sally has a basket and Anne has a box. Sally first places a marble into her basket. Then Sally leaves the room, and in her absence, Anne removes the marble from the basket and puts it in her box. Then Sally returns, and the child is asked: "Where will Sally look for her marble?"

At first glance, this question may seem trivial: of course Sally will look in her basket; after all, that's where she left it! But this apparent 'triviality' is something that has to be learned: typically developing children under the age of four usually answer this question incorrectly: they say that Sally will look in the box. This is certainly where the marble is, but Sally has no way of knowing that. To put it another way: to answer the question, the child has to grasp the notion that other individuals can have beliefs that can be *false*. Learning that beliefs can be false is a significant cognitive attainment – a major stepping-stone in the child's acquisition of ToM, which enables successful interaction with others. Social cognition hinges on being able to understand other's beliefs, desires and intentions; learning the basic – but crucial – fact that beliefs can be wrong is an important part of attaining social competency.

3. Findings about first-order TOM

There is now a vast body of experimental work on ToM that uses first-order FB tasks and many such tasks have been developed and applied (Doherty 2008, Wellman et al. 2001). So before moving on, let us note the three main findings of relevance to this paper that this work has yielded.

The first finding is that ToM develops in stages. There is a zero-order, a first-order (FO) and a second-order (SO) stage. We presented the FO version of the Sally-Anne task, and find-

ings about FO FB tasks are extremely robust: they have been replicated in different cultures, in different languages, and across genders. And the conclusion is clear: at around the age of four, typically developing children can pass FO FB tasks; and before this age (that is, when they are at the zero-order stage) they usually cannot. After the first-order stage the child moves on to the second-order stage. This phase has been less studied, but again there is a distinct shift: most researchers would agree that typically developing children begin to acquire SO competency at around the age of six (Miller 2012).

The second finding is that children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) seem to develop ToM in a different manner, and at a slower pace, than typically developing children (Baron-Cohen et al. 1985, Happe 1995, Peterson et al. 2005). ASD is a neurodevelopmental disorder, characterized by impairments in social behaviour and communication, and by restricted, repetitive behaviour (according to DSM 5). The ToM deficit hypothesis, claiming that it is an attenuated ToM that underlies the social and communicative impairments in ASD, is one of the leading hypotheses in autism research today (Tager-Flusberg 2007). As we will discuss later, the fact that children with ASD handle the FB task differently from typically developing children lies at the heart of our experimental design: the children we have recruited for testing and training are all children diagnosed with ASD.

However, it is the third finding that has guided the direction our work has taken: there is a strong relationship between the development of language and the development of ToM - this is the case even though much of ToM is pre-linguistic or does not directly involve language at all (Astington Baird 2005, Miller 2006, Milligan et al. 2007, de Villiers 2007). Moreover, there are studies on these links for both the typically developing population as well as for various clinical populations (such as children with ASD and deaf signing children). But which aspects of language are relevant?

4. Syntax and lexical semantics: first-order false beliefs

Empirical results seem to show that FB reasoning is linked with the ability to use language. Why is this? Two distinct aspects of language have been appealed to: syntax and semantics.

Talk of semantics in this context usually means the use of *mental state vocabulary*. These are words that let us assert that someone is in a particular mental state, taking an attitude towards some content: examples like *I hope that...*, *Susan thinks that...*, *We believe that...*, *He imagines that...*, and so on, are typical examples. This form of semantic competency is measured by mental vocabulary scores, and the basic result of relevance here is: the larger the mental vocabulary is, the higher the success on ToM tasks (Guajardo and Watson 2002, Peskin and Astington 2004, Farrar and Maag 2002).

What does mental state vocabulary allow us to do? Roughly this: it makes it possible to talk about certain mysterious mental entities that cannot be directly observed. We can readily see what it means to run, to talk, or to jump, but we cannot in such a straightforward sense see what it means to think, to hope, or to wish. But language gives us access to the mental world – indeed, it gives us highly sophisticated access. The utterance "Susan regrets that Henriette's Porsche is white" not only picks out Susan's mental state (she is in a regretting state), it also links this state to a fact about the world (namely Henriette's Porsche being white). Language lets us link an unobservable mental world with the concrete real world.

Thus, via mental state vocabulary, the child gets broad access to the invisible inner world of another person. There are many mental vocabulary words – the child learns them gradually, and in different contexts. Bit by bit they let the child build up an impression of mental worlds and how they operate. To put it another way: the child does not learn about false beliefs in a vacuum. Arguably, it is precisely because children are

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Advances in neuroscience are increasingly narrowing this gap by rendering patterns of brain activity visible.

born into a linguistic community, and gradually learn the rich vocabulary of mental states in everyday settings that makes it possible for them to enrich and enlarge their concept of belief. Moreover, being a part of the linguistic community makes it possible to enter a community of minds, a term developed by Nelson (2005). She argues that the "theory of mind" notion needs to be re-conceptualized in order not to exclude domain general achievements (such as language and memory) and social experiences (such as attachment and conversation). Being included in a community of minds, children learn that mental states can be created and changed, which eventually allows them to arrive at a full conceptual understanding of first-order false beliefs: the content of beliefs does not always correspond with reality.

Because of this, semantic aspects of language have a plausible link with the attainment of FB competency. But there is another aspect of language development, which yields another explanation: syntax. It has been suggested that sentential complementation comprehension predicts FB mastery (de Villiers and de Villiers 2000). Consider the sentence "Leo thinks that bulls give milk", where "that bulls give milk" is the sentential complement. Studies provide evidence for the hypothesis: the correlation has been confirmed for English (de Villiers and Pvers 2002), German (Perner et al. 2003), American Sign Language (Schick et al. 2007), Tibetan (De Villiers et al. 2007), and Turkish (Aksu-Koc et al. 2005). Two training studies reported that improvement in sentential complementation leads to better false belief understanding (Hale and Tager-Flusberg 2003, Lohmann and Tomasello 2003). Moreover, a longitudinal study with autistic children showed that mastery of sentential complement comprehension with verbs of communication was the strongest predictor of any changes in the children's false belief performance (Tager-Flusberg and Joseph 2005). Why is this?

The first explanation is: sentential complementation provides a format - a reliable pattern - that can facilitate reasoning about FB, as it has the useful property of attributing a view - a perspective - to an individual and distinguishing it from the reality that the perspective points towards. Furthermore, it offers precision. Consider first a view which is contributed by the words proceeding "that". This provides both information about the relevant agent (say, Sally or Leo), and which variety of perspective it is (a thought, a belief, a desire). More importantly, the child must learn that this first portion can remain the same, while the content it governs can vary: Leo may believe that bulls give milk or that mother is sweet or that Denmark is the finest country in the world. But in all these examples something remains unchanged: these are all Leo's *beliefs*. Learning that the perspective can be held constant while the content it governs varies, is a useful prerequisite in learning how beliefs operate, and points the way to the attainment of FO FB mastery, which is that these beliefs may be either true or false.

The second explanation is that language gives us access to a different world, the mental world of another person and at the same time gives us the possibility to assign different truth values to parts of the same sentence: the whole sentence is true (Leo does think that bulls give milk), even though the complement part is clearly false (bulls do not really give milk). According to de Villiers (2005), such truth contrasts provide a scaffolding for learning false believe reasoning.

However, we will not attempt to adjudicate the syntax/ semantics discussion that we have just outlined. This is because it is tangential to our own work. Until now, we have only considered *first-order* false beliefs and the discussions they have engendered; our own research focuses on *second-order* false beliefs, and these bring new issues into play, notably the concept of recursion.

5. Second-order false beliefs

Here is a version of second-order (SO) Sally-Anne task. Note its form: with the exception of the two items in italics, it is identical with the first-order version of the task we presented earlier:

A child is shown a scene with two doll protagonists, Sally and Anne. Sally has a basket and Anne has a box. Sally first places a marble into her basket. Then Sally leaves the room, and in her absence, Anne removes the marble from the basket and puts it in her box. But Sally sees at the door what Anne is doing – and Anne doesn't notice her standing there. Then Sally returns, and the child is asked: "Where does Anne think that Sally will look for her marble?"

Again the correct answer is clear: Anne expects Sally to look in the basket, as that is where Sally left it and Anne has no idea that Sally saw it being moved. But typically developing children only demonstrate mastery of the task when they are six years old; before this age they will generally say that Anne expects Sally to look in the box. But this is wrong - the marble is indeed in the box, and indeed Sally knows this, Anne knows this, and the child knows this too! Thus, the zero- and firstorder developments are in place here. But - crucially - Sally does not know that Anne knows this, and hence the secondorder answer is incorrect. Once again, the ability to determine the correct answer relies on skills that need to be developed, and several theories exist regarding what skills exactly a child needs to develop (Miller 2012). As stated earlier, experimental evidence clearly indicates that typically developing children start giving correct answers to the SO FB tasks about two years after they acquire their first-order skills (Miller 2009). Children with ASD acquire them even later, but here the conclusions are not so clear: some findings suggest that they are impaired relative to typically developing children (Brent et al. 2004), others suggest that success largely depends on general cognitive abilities (Bauminger and Kasari 1999), while some

show that children with ASD only differ in their ability to justify their answers (Bowler 1992).

The important thing we can say about SO FB mastery is that it marks the stage where the child has grasped the fact that we can have *beliefs about beliefs*. The content of a belief may be about another belief - beliefs do not have to be about concrete facts concerning the real world; in fact, beliefs can be recursive. In fact, the propositional nature of beliefs allows them to enter into recursive chains of potentially any length: many agents and many mental beliefs embedded inside one another.²

6. Linguistic recursion

We have just seen that beliefs can have a recursive structure. As linguists have demonstrated, most if not all natural languages exhibit recursion (though Pirahā may be an exception (Everett 2005)) and indeed recursion is sometimes taken to be the property of human languages that renders them unique (Hauser et al. 2002). As for our experimental work, linguistic recursion lies at its heart. By linguistic recursion we simply mean the standard definition: the embedding of a constituent inside a constituent of the same category (Pinker and Jackendoff 2005). We make use of two common recursive forms: possessive NPs and sentential complements. Here are some examples of the first form we shall use, recursive possessive NPs:

John's car (non-recursive)

John's friends's car (one level of linguistic recursion)

John's friend's sister's car (two levels of linguistic recursion)

² Thus although in this paper we are dealing with SO FB, the fact that recursion has entered the picture means that we are touching on the more general issue of higher-order beliefs more generally (that is: beliefs about beliefs, beliefs about beliefs reasoning that involves the recursive interaction of various components including beliefs, and also desires, intentions, and much else besides.

John's friend's sister's cousin's car (three levels of linguistic recursion)

Here are examples of the second form, recursive sentential complements:

*John thinks the car is cool (*non-recursive)

Mary says that John thinks that the car is cool (one level of linguistic recursion)

Susan hopes that Mary says that John thinks that the car is cool (two levels of linguistic recursion)

We have just started a randomized controlled study to investigate the potential importance of linguistic recursion, and our central research question is: does competency in linguistic recursion (and in particular: embedded possessives and sentential complements) predict the second-order false belief reasoning ability of children with ASD?

Now, in order to clarify in what respect linguistic recursion need play a role in second-order false beliefs, we need to return to the question of syntax and semantics that we raised when discussing FO FB. As we shall see, matters are different in SO FB, for we move to the realm of compositional semantics. That is, we are concerned with the syntax-semantics interface.

7. Compositional semantics

When we discussed syntax and semantics in connection with FOFB tasks, semantics meant lexical semantics, and in particular the acquisition of mental state vocabulary. But when we talk about constructs such as possessive NPs and sentential complements, we are dealing with what is often called compositional semantics (Szabó 2009). That is, we are concerned with how the meaning of a whole is built out of the meaning of its parts. This type of semantics has been explored extensively in linguistics ever since the pioneering work of Richard Montague (Janssen 2011) in the early 1970s. The core

idea is that syntactic structure guides the process of semantic construction: syntactic structure provides the 'frame' and the semantics of the top level constituent is built up by combining the meanings of its various components using the pattern provided by the syntactic frame. Such analyses have the merit of providing a clear account of how the meanings of recursively constructed constituents are formed, as the following example will make it clear. Consider the sentence: "Susan hopes that Mary says that John thinks that the car is cool".

How is its meaning formed? Well, the innermost sentence, "the car is cool" has a meaning (whatever that may be). But then the meaning of the sentence one level up, "John thinks that the car is cool", arises by combining the meaning of "John thinks" with this initial meaning. But this meaning in turn can be combined with this meaning of "Mary says that" to provide the meaning of "Mary says that John thinks that the car is cool". Finally, this meaning is combined with the meaning of "Susan hopes" to form the meaning of the top level sentence.

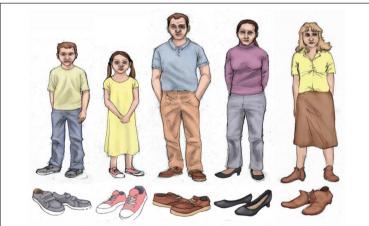
To put it another way, our example sentence has the following (course grained) syntactic structure:

(Susan hopes that (Mary says that (John thinks that (the car is cool)))).

The brackets show the relevant syntactic structure – and the meaning of the whole sentence is formed out of the meaning of its parts in the uniform way just described: at every level we combine the semantics of various complementizers (ending in "that") with the meaning already formed. This is a process that can be iterated indefinitely – that is, it supports the recursive formation of meaning.

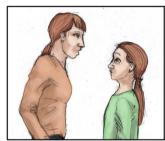
Summing up: compositional semantics does not deal with the meaning of individual words – these are usually assumed to be given. Rather, it is concerned with how to form new meanings out of old ones in a way that mirrors syntactic structure. For this reason, compositional semantics is often said to be dealing with the syntax-semantics interface. And it is because of the compositional semantics of recursive structures that we believe them to be correlated with second-order false belief skills. As we have seen, beliefs can have a recursive structure, as beliefs can be about other beliefs, and so on adinfinitum. But language provides us with the recursive structure suitable for describing recursive beliefs (namely, recursive sentential complementation) and compositionality provides us with a tool for processing them.

Naturally, much has to be learned in the process of acquiring recursive compositional competency. To give an example that plays a role in our experimental work: word order matters (at least in languages like English and Danish where word order is responsible for determining grammatical roles). Consider the following picture and its accompanying text: the recursive possessive NP "Sister's dad's shoes" will pick out different shoes than "Dad's sister's shoes" does. The two NPs have different meanings, and the child must eventually grasp the linguistic regularity that governs this behaviour.



This is Tobias, this is Tobias' sister, this is dad, this is dad's sister and this is mom. And these are their shoes. Tobias would like to play with dad's sister's shoes. Will you show me which shoes Tobias would like to play with? (Tranlation from the Danish original.)

Or consider the following picture, and its text which makes use of sentences with multiple embedded complements; this illustrates more of what the child must learn:





Lilja is talking to her mom in the kitchen. Mom says: "The sun is shining outside. Go get your brother from his room and let's go out and enjoy the sun". Lilja goes to her brother's room and they are looking out of the window. It is raining outside. Lilja tells brother that mother says that the sun is shining outside. What does mom say? What does Lilja say to her brother? (Translation from the Danish original.)

What does Lilja say to her brother? The answer we are looking for is (some variant of) "Lilja says that mother says that the sun is shining". Now first note that, as in the previous example, word-order matters: answering "Mother says that Lilja says that the sun is shining outside" would simply be incorrect. But also note that omitting one level of embedding by answering "Lilja says that the sun is shining outside" would also make the answer incorrect (which is signaled by the fact that Lilja is looking at rain). Getting the child to grasp the subtle interplay of syntax (such as word-order and level of embedding) and semantic (such as truth value contrasts) illustrated by such examples lies at the heart of our testing and training program.

But before we start discussing our testing and training in more detail, we must address one last issue: why we believe that such matters may be of particular relevance to children with ASD.

8. Syntactic scaffolding and ASD

We are in the process of recruiting children with ASD for our study, and in what follows we will explain why. Even though research has firmly and consistently established that children with ASD do not pass FB tasks at the same age as typically developing children do (at a statistically significant level) there is a fact that must not be ignored: some children with ASD do pass FB tasks. Indeed, in the seminal study by Baron-Cohen et al. (1985), which was an inspiration for much later research, 20 per cent of them did so. The standard explanation offered is that since children with ASD do not have full access to typical ways of understanding others' mental states, they must use some compensatory technique, a mechanism of some other kind. And language seems to be one such mechanism. In other words, for typically developing children it is generally assumed that a shift to a representational ToM underlies success on FB tasks. But for children with ASD, on the other hand, it has been postulated that successful performance is not underpinned by such a conceptual change, but rather by compensatory mechanisms, of which language seems to be a primary example.

There are several theories about how this might work. Some studies say that children with ASD use language to "hack out" the solutions to FB tasks (Bowler 2009), and other studies say that they use language as a "scaffold" in developing the capacity to understand mental states (Tager-Flusberg and Joseph 2005).

However previous discussions of this topic have been restricted to FO FB understanding; we believe they are even more important in the SO case. As we have discussed, SO FB reasoning is intrinsically recursive: it deals with beliefs about beliefs. But in many languages beliefs about beliefs are encoded using recursive sentential complementation (Father believes that mother believes that the sun is shining outside). Thus linguistic recursion seems to be a plausible compensatory mechanism for SO FB reasoning for children with ASD.

9. Empirical part of the study

We are now ready to discuss our testing and training program. This has two main aims:

- The first aim is to investigate whether there is correlation between mastering second-order (SO) false-belief (FB) and mastering recursive embeddings.
- The second aim is to test the efficacy of our linguistic recursion training and provide experimental evidence for the role of recursion mastery in the development of SO FB understanding.

In what follows we discuss in some detail the testing and training regime we have devised to investigate these two aims. We will also briefly discuss how we handle the control group, and about our investigation of a rival *non-linguistic* explanation for success in SO FB tasks, namely that success is due to better executive functioning.

9.1. Participants

All the participants in our study are recruited from schools for children with special educational needs in the Zealand region in Denmark. They have to satisfy the following criteria in order to be initially included in the study: parental consent must be obtained, they must be diagnosed with ASD (based on a formal evaluation by a specialist), they must be aged 7-15, and they must have no medical treatment affecting cognitive performance. Moreover, they must have Danish as their native language, be monolingual, have no learning difficulties or language delays (initially based on a teacher's assessment) and have the emotional readiness to undergo a testing situation and a training program (again, based on a teacher's assessment). Our goal for the correlation part of the study is to recruit a minimum of 60 children. As for the training part, as reported in Cappadocia and Weiss (2011), the minimum sample size to demonstrate the pre-post outcome is 18 participants for each group. We aim to recruit three groups: for linguistic recursion training, a control group, and a group for working memory training.

9.2. Design

In order to accomplish the aims, our research design has three testing stages: (1) pre-training testing, (2) training and (3) post-training testing.

At the first stage (pre-training testing), children are given Working Memory (WM) and Verbal Comprehension (VC) tasks from WISC-IV as well as a receptive grammar test (TROG-2). The results of these three tests serve as quantitative inclusion criteria: we only select children with an IQ higher than 80 and language skills within the age norms stated in the manual. Children who have met the above-mentioned criteria will be included in the correlation part of the study, and the remaining tests of this stage measure the cognitive and language baseline abilities in question, namely SO FB reasoning and linguistic recursion. Teachers are asked to complete a Social Responsiveness Scale questionnaire, which is a valid quantitative measure of autistic traits, developed by Constantino et al. (2003) and feasible for use in research studies of autism spectrum conditions.

Participants who do not perform SO FB tasks at ceiling are included in the second stage: training. More specifically, a child has to gain a maximum of 9 points out of the 18 possible in the SO FB tasks. Furthermore, they have to *fail* at least 50 per cent of both Sally-Anne style test questions (Where does protagonist 1 think protagonist 2 will look for her ball?) and justification questions (Why does she think that?).

At the training stage, children are randomly assigned to the linguistic recursion training and interaction-only (control) conditions. Initially, we will only randomly assign between these two conditions. This is because recruiting 54 suitable participants for the training is an ambitious task, and our first priority is to test and train linguistic recursion. Thus only once we have recruited sufficient children for these two conditions,

will we start randomly assigning to the working memory condition.

Not later than 3 days after completing the training, all the participants will be given SO FB tests and linguistic recursion tasks. SO FB tasks at the post-training stage have exactly the same logical structure and level of complexity as those at the pre-training stage. A comparison of the difference in the pre-and post-training scores in both training and control groups indicates the significance of training effect. Approximately 6 months later, children will be given follow-up second-order false-belief tests in order to determine if the effects of intervention hold up over time.

The pre-training, training and post-training stages are covered by nine or ten sessions, each lasting between 30-45 minutes. Each child is tested individually by a trained psychologist in a reasonably comfortable room away from the classroom. The sessions are recorded and scoring is carried out at a later time.

10. Linguistic recursion training

For our study, we have devised the Linguistics Recursions Training (LRT) program from scratch.

When devising the LRT program, we adopted the developmental pragmatic approach, which is one of the methods applied in work with children with ASD (Brynskov 2014). The essence of the method is to establish good dialogical contact so that the child's engagement is supported and strengthened by concrete and meaningful praising; this gives the child the feeling that she can communicate and initiate something in the unusual (and potentially intimidating) setting of an experiment.

Furthermore, in the LRT program, we address the learning style, emotion regulation and cognitive characteristics of children with ASD whenever possible. This means, for example, developing a visual teaching style in order to increase understanding and predictability and to reduce anxiety. In general, visual support is highly recommended when working with ASD children (Rao and Gagie 2006). Visual based techniques, supported by interactive dialogue, supports the recall of information and sequences of information and thus leads to better learning. The communication style developed in the interaction is functional - useful and helpful - so that children do not need to use non-verbal behaviour to express what they need. The language used is therefore very direct and clear, and the use of metaphors is avoided. For example, each day begins with the child and the psychologist reading a card with things to be learnt that day, and at the end of each day the child reads the same card again. Each new session began with reading the card from the previous day and a new card for the new day. As another example: during the sessions, a red card is placed very visibly so that a child can point at it if she needs a break (requesting a break verbally may be difficult for some participants). To date very few participants have used the red card, but it has proved useful for those who did.

As for the content: in essence, our training of children with ASD amounts to training them in recursive compositional semantics – in getting them to appreciate the expressive nuances provided by the syntax-semantics interface. More precisely, our training attempts to understand the following four principles, each of which works as a guideline for a day in the training program:

- 1. That several linguistic constituents of the same type may be combined together.
- 2. That these constituents may be embedded one inside another.
- 3. That changing the order of embedding changes the meaning.
- 4. That the number of embedded constituents is potentially unlimited.

Our training material makes heavy use of drawing, illustrations, small puzzles and stories, all designed to make children talk, think and internalize these four principles via multiple examples of recursive possessive noun phrases and sentential complements. Pictures of familiar characters (for example, Harry Potter) and pictures from well-known books and magazines are used; and one of the most common tasks for the children is to produce sentences that would describe the pictures and illustrate the rules they have learnt. On the fifth day children have to repeat and rehearse all four rules.

11. Interaction-only condition

The interaction-only program was designed to function as a control condition for the LRT. Hence, it mirrors the LRT program in terms of materials and length, but excludes the training component and the mention of the embedding procedure. The central differences between LRT and IOC consist of the following:

- The four rules are not discussed explicitly, and no exercises reflect the third rule about changing the order.
- The number of embedded constitutes does not exceed two (so we would use "girl's dog", but never "girl's dog's tail").
- Even when embedding one constitute into another, the child is not asked to support it visually. That is, she does not have to place relevant cards next to each other, which is the case in the LRT.
- The word "embedding" (in Danish: at putteind, at indsætte, at indlejre) is never used in the interaction with the child, while it is regularly and heavily applied in the LRT.

12. Working memory condition

The LRT condition is designed to test the hypothesis that linguistic recursion is a useful compensatory method (a "scaffold" or "hack") that some children with ASD can use (and may be trained to use) to acquire SO FB competency. But linguistic competency is not the only factor to affect the acquisition of ToM: several studies have shown the central role of executive

functions,3 and working memory has been reported to predict TOM abilities in typically developing children (Carlson et al. 2002, Arslan et al. 2015) as well as children with ASD (Pellicano 2007). Thus it seems important to test and train for ability in working memory. We hope to enroll sufficient participants to have a third group training their working memory ability, so that we can assess the relative impact of both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. As we have already mentioned, we will only start randomly assigning participants to this third group once we have enough participants (roughly 18) assigned to the LRT and control groups.

As for the content of the WM condition: The training program consists of three computer-based games. In the first game children train verbal working memory and word recognition skills; in the second - visual-spatial working memory, and in the third game working memory and math skills are trained. Children train working memory skills for the same period of time as in the other two conditions.

13. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have described some of the theoretical background which has led to our ongoing training study of children with ASD, as well as sketched out our testing and training program.

We started from three well-known results: that acquisition of ToM is something that happens in stages, that typically developing children and children with ASD acquire ToM differently, and that skills with language are relevant to the acquisition of ToM. But whereas typically developing children seem to develop their ToM skills at least in part by learning the meaning of mental state words by using them in rich everyday con-

³ Executive functions is an umbrella term for a set of cognitive processes necessary for the cognitive control of behavior and reasoning. Research on ToM usually covers executive functions such as inhibitory control, planning, set-shifting, cognitive flexibility, and working memory.

texts, it is unclear to what extent such a path is available to children with ASD.

In our discussion of the relevance of language to SO FB we emphasized the importance of the syntax-semantics interface, and in particular, compositional semantics. We put forward the following question: Could an "artificial path" towards ToM be provided by linguistic recursion? In particular, could training in recursive NPs and sentential complements improve the acquisition of second-order false belief competence for children with ASD? Our training program is essentially an attempt to explore this hypothesis. The experiment is presently in its preliminary stages so we have no results to report as yet – but the line of reasoning which has guided our experimental design should now be clear, as should our interest in testing the impact of non-linguistic factors such as working memory competence.

To close the paper, we briefly mention another line of work which has contributed to our formulation of this hypothesis. In other work we have analyzed the type of logical reasoning used in second-order false belief tasks (Braüneretal. 2016a, Braüneret al. 2016b). Our logical analyses clearly highlights the importance of recursion - it shows that second-order reasoning can be viewed as the recursive embedding of first-order reasoning about different agents. It is a clear and logically natural model, and suggested to us that recursion was important in the analysis of SOFB tasks. This played an important role in our decision to investigate the impact of training in linguistic recursion on success in SOFB tasks. However our logical analysis is not directly linked to the sort of linguistic considerations discussed in this paper. Furthermore, as recursive logics of belief are more complex than those required to analyze FO FB tasks, it leaves open the possibility that processing issues (such as working memory) are also relevant and thus should be experimentally investigated.

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How can young learners' speaking proficiency be developed? An analysis of speaking activities in selected English language textbooks for early school education in Poland

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Abstract

The aim of the following paper is to analyse speaking activities included in selected English language textbooks for early school education in Poland in order to provide a view of the manner in which this particular language skill is developed at this level of education. Significantly, in the research, the author makes an attempt to apply the provisions of complex systems theory that leads her not only to determine the specific contexts in which she places the language material present in the scrutinized textbooks, but also to create a checklist for evaluating them. In the conducted analysis, both the quantity and the quality of the encountered activities are taken into consideration. Consequently, it is possible to describe the way in which young learners' speaking proficiency is increased in the analysed textbooks, check whether speaking activities are integrated with the selected contexts and indicate potential problems that can be noticed in this respect.

Key words

complex systems theory in applied linguistics, early school education, English language textbooks, speaking activities, young learners

W jaki sposób może być rozwijana sprawność mówienia w języku obcym u dzieci? Analiza ćwiczeń w wybranych podręcznikach do nauki języka angielskiego dla edukacji wczesnoszkolnej w Polsce

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przeprowadzenie analizy zadań zorientowanych na doskonalenie sprawności mówienia w jezyku obcym zawartych w wybranych podrecznikach do nauki jezyka angielskiego dla uczniów klas I-III SP używanych w polskich placówkach, aby zbadać sposób, w jaki umiejętność ta jest rozwijana na tym konkretnym etapie edukacyjnym. Warto zaznaczyć, że autorka podejmuje próbę zastosowania założeń teorii systemów złożonych, aby osiągnąć zamierzony cel. Początkowo autorka opisuje podstawowe założenia tej teorii i wykorzystuje je, aby zidentyfikować konteksty, w jakich wybrany typ zadań może zostać osadzony, a następnie przedstawia ułożoną na tej podstawie listę kontrolną, według której są analizowane wybrane podręczniki, zarówno pod względem ilościowym jak i jakościowym. W końcowej części tekstu autorka przedstawia wyniki przeprowadzonego badania, które umożliwiło przybliżenie sposobu, w jaki sprawność mówienia w j. angielskim jest rozwijana u uczniów klas I-III SP z wykorzystaniem ćwiczeń zawartych w wybranych podrecznikach, sprawdzenie, na ile zadania te są zintegrowane z kontekstami, w których autorka zdecydowała się je osadzić oraz wskazanie potencjalnych problemów w tym zakresie wymagających szczególnej uwagi.

Słowa kluczowe

ćwiczenia zorientowane na doskonalenie sprawności mówienia, edukacja wczesnoszkolna, młodsi uczniowie, podręczniki do nauki języka angielskiego, teoria systemów złożonych w lingwistyce stosowanej

1. Introduction

Nowadays, it is observable that several important documents determining the manner in which English is taught in early school education as well as academic papers concerning the topic recommend the development of pupils' speaking abilities at the initial stages, especially in the first and the second year, whereas only in the third year of primary school, are teachers expected to pay attention to the improvement of all four skills, that is listening, reading, speaking, and writing (for instance, European Commission 2012: 5; MEN 2014: 67; Studzińska et al. 2015: 11; Szpotowicz, http://www.bc.ore.edu.pl, 5). In addition to this, in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), the Council of Europe (2001: 9) promotes the Communicative Approach as one of the leading approaches towards foreign language education and, importantly, it is focused on developing communication abilities (Savignon 2007: 209). Noticeably, Hanna Komorowska corroborates this view as she claims that owing to significant improvements in transport and means of communication, "the ability to speak a foreign language fluently has become the measure of success" (2002: 148, translation mine). Hence, the author of the following paper has decided to analyse selected English language textbooks (hereafter ELTs) utilised in early school education in Poland to determine the manner in which the official recommendations have been put into practice.

2. Theoretical background

The analysis of textbooks described in this paper is based on the provisions of complex systems theory, since, arguably, the content of ELTs for early school education is influenced not only by one factor, but a number of them that are connected with each other and, thus, can be perceived as elements of a system, which complies with the definition of a complex system provided by Diane Larsen-Freeman and Lynne Cameron (2008: 26), who claim that it is "a system with different types of elements [...] which connect and interact in different and changing ways". Although this theory was primarily introduced to the field of exact science by Ludwig von Bertalanffy in 1968 (2008: 2), Larsen-Freeman and Cameron have also described examples of the application of this theory to the study of language, particularly its evolution, both in first and second language acquisition, the analysis of discourse, and situations in the classroom in language classes. According to Larsen-Freeman (1997 quoted in Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 4), "[c]omplexity theory deals with the study of complex, dynamic, non-linear, self-organizing, open, emergent, sometimes chaotic, and adaptive systems". Furthermore, "context" is a crucial notion in this theory as it is "not separate from the system, but part of it and its complexity" (2008: 34).

What can be noticed is that ELTs have not yet been examined in light of this idea; nevertheless, the author of this paper sees potential for conducting such research, since she believes that language utilized in ELTs in the form of activities can be regarded as a complex system - one which is located, among in the normative as well as developmentalpsycholinguistic contexts. What is worth emphasising is that the author has decided to name the latter context "developmental-psycholinguistic" because, first of all, it constitutes a reference to developmental psycholinguistics and secondly, because Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (Larsen-Freeman 2002, 2007 in 2008: 93) claim that "complexity theory encourages an integrative approach", as in the case of the "sociocognitive approach" described by them (2008: 92-93). Thus, the author sees an analogy between this example and the above presented idea which consists of two seemingly closely related concepts.

¹ It needs to be highlighted that more contexts could be distinguished in this case. However, the ones aforementioned have been selected by the author of this paper due to their apparent importance and limits of space.

The hypothesis that the language included in ELTs can be regarded as "dynamic" is based on the statement made by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 199) for the authors indeed advance the idea that "language is dynamic'. [...] [E]ven if a frozen or stabilized version of the language is used in a syllabus, grammar book, and test, as soon as the language is 'released' into the classroom or into the minds of learners it becomes dynamic". Hence, it can be argued that it is possible to perceive language included in ELTs as dynamic due to the fact that each attempt to fulfil the given tasks, particularly those aimed at developing pupils' speaking abilities, influences the manner in which this language is used. What is important to note is that according to Juarez Lopes Jr. (2015: 15), "the task phase can be nonlinear, unpredictable, chaotic, adaptive, complex and sensitive to initial conditions". Even though the scholar investigated the aforementioned task phase in the classroom environment, while the students were involved in a speaking activity, it can be remarked that all activities conducted in lessons have a particular source, which can also be a textbook. In addition, any modification in the control parameters that can be found in the relevant contexts may have a profound impact on the linguistic aspect of textbooks. For instance, within the normative context, these could be changes introduced to (1) international recommendations, or (2) the Polish guidelines, including the Core curriculum for general education and selected curricula for teaching English. By contrast, it can be hypothesised that the developmentalpsycholinguistic context entails (3) the manner in which a foreign language is acquired by children as well as, to some extent, (4) the developmental stage of children aged between 6 and 10. Therefore, any new idea put forward in these areas could influence language utilised in textbooks too.

In the following sections of the paper, all the abovementioned factors are characterised. Significantly, scrutinising their descriptions has led the author to create a checklist for evaluating selected ELTs in terms of the manners in which they aim at developing pupils' speaking skills. In the conducted analysis, the author focuses on both the quantity and the quality of activities.

3. State-of-the-art

Initially, it is worth indicating that in 2012, Krystyna Droździał-Szelest and Mirosław Pawlak (2012: 360) advanced the idea that "[t]he absence of studies [in Poland] focusing upon vocabulary, pragmatics, speaking and listening is conspicuous". Moreover, it can be argued that Polish open access repositories lack papers devoted to the analysis of textbooks, which was proved in research carried out by the author of this article in March 2016, the aim of which was to determine the quantity and quality of academic works, such as MA theses, PhD dissertations, or papers examining ELTs used in Polish early school education. In the study, the author concentrated on investigating fields in which such analyses have been performed as well as perspectives, methods and techniques adopted by scientists in their papers. It is worth mentioning that apart from the repositories of Polish universities, the author also searched through the resources offered by the Pomeranian Digital Library and Digital Libraries Federation.

Importantly, the only article that was found to comply with the topic of this paper is the one published by Janina Duszyńska in 2014. In her work, Duszyńska describes the outcomes of the research she carried out on four selected ELTs utilised in Polish schools and printed at different times: these are SNAP Stage 3 from 1985, Chatterbox PUPIL'S BOOK 2 from 1992, Chatterbox PUPIL'S BOOK 4 from 1997, and New BINGO 3a from 2007. The research posed the question whether the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women influenced the manner of presenting men and women in textbooks for foreign language education in early years of primary school after the year 1995 (Duszyńska 2014: 61). What is noticeable is that the paper concerns gender stud-

ies and, as Duszyńska claims (2014: 65), she adopted a "qualitative strategy, in accordance with ethnographic, comparative research" (translation mine). Moreover, to examine the selected textbooks, she searched through secondary sources and conducted a quantitative, rhetorical, and semantic analysis of the texts (2014: 67).

Despite the fact that certain Polish scholars, including Jan Iluk and Maria Stec, have published studies into teaching children foreign languages at the level of pre- and primary school that referred to, among others, methodology, official recommendations, foreign language lessons, or designing syllabi, they did not scrutinize ELTs for early school education specifically. What this section demonstrates is that hardly any publication relevant to the subject of the present paper can be found and if any exists, it does not apply the provisions of complex systems theory.

4. The normative context

First of all, the elements of the normative context suggested above are to be analysed as it can be argued that these are legal regulations that have a substantial impact on the content of ELTs owing to the fact that no textbook is supposed to be printed if it does not comply with the valid requirements.

4.1. European recommendations

What needs to be explained initially is that even though the *CEFR* is regarded as the basis for foreign language education in Europe, apart from the Communicative Approach (hereafter CA), which has been promoted in recent years by European institutions and also in the *CEFR* (2009: 9) as one of the leading approaches towards teaching foreign languages, other guidelines offered by the document are not analysed in the present paper, since in summer 2016, when this article was written, no specific descriptors for young learners were includ-

ed there. Importantly, they were issued for public consultation only in autumn 2016 and for the time being, they have not been officially added to the *CEFR*.

With regard to CA, it is worth indicating that Sandra Savignon (2002: 22) challenges the commonly held belief that this approach is related only to speaking exercises. What is more, according to the author, the forms of work used within CA are not limited only to pair and group tasks (2002: 22), which can frequently be associated with developing students' speaking skills. As Savignon (2002: 2) reminds her readers, what seems to be the most crucial purpose of applying CA to language teaching is to provide learners with the "ability to use language in a social context" since in this case language is perceived as "social behaviour," as defined by Dell Hymes. Hence, for the scholar, communicative competence stands for "the ability of classroom learners to interact with other speakers," which she differentiates from their capability to produce speeches individually (2002: 3). It is worth mentioning too that to achieve the anticipated goal, various activities aimed at provoking interactions between learners are supposed to be incorporated in the course of lessons (2002: 3). In addition, the emphasis is put on the development of "functional language" (2002: 4). Nevertheless, it ought to be remembered that concentrating on developing learners' communicative competence does not mean that the remaining competences, for instance using grammar in a correct way, can be neglected (Lightbown and Spada 1993; Ellis 1997 quoted in Savignon 2002: 7).

Another important publication that ought to be taken into account while investigating this manner of increasing young learners' speaking proficiency is entitled the Nuremberg recommendations on early foreign language learning (2011). Although its origins date back to 1996, it has been modified over the years, depending on prevailing trends in foreign language education. This is an indication of its value as well as up-to-date character. It is noteworthy that the Nuremberg recommendations concern young learners specifically. As its editors

state (2011: 30), while teaching children a foreign language, particular attention is to be paid to "an appropriate [...] heard and spoken language" due to the pupils' stage of development. What is apparent in this case is the blending of the two contexts distinguished in the present paper; namely, the authors of official guidelines are supposed to produce them with a view to children's needs and capabilities.

Moreover, as has already been mentioned, the document highlights the significance of improving pupils' communicative skills, which occurs thanks to an appropriate "content, linguistic form and methodology of all inputs" (2011: 25). Interestingly, the authors are not so focused on describing the potential manner of eliciting speaking from pupils, but of practising their pronunciation instead, for they claim that "the special ability shown by children in the field of pronunciation should be fostered discriminatingly and intensively, particularly through the use of authentic audio materials" (2011: 25). What appears to be essential in the excerpt above is that the authors underline the vital role of high-quality input in foreign language education that can be ensured, for instance, by the use of authentic materials. Significantly, the same point is repeated in the document twice (2011: 25, 28).

Having analysed the available European guidelines concerning the teaching of foreign languages to children, it can be observed that their scope is rather general and although they promote CA in education, they provide few specific tips on practising it as it is supposed to be the primary function of the national curricula. It can be argued that the European documents only demonstrate the recommended trends and directions in which the curricula at national levels are expected to be developed.

4.2. The Polish Core curriculum for general education and curricula for teaching English

Initially, it should be pointed out that in Poland, it is the Core curriculum for general education that determines knowledge and skills in terms of foreign languages that learners are to demonstrate at specific stages. What appears to be essential is that the amendment introduced to the document in May 2014. which is still valid at the time of writing this paper, divided the expectations towards pupils in the first three years of primary education into two categories: the requirements for children completing the first year of primary school and the requirements for children finishing the third year of primary school. Hence, when the ability to speak a foreign language is taken into consideration, the former group of pupils is supposed to: "(1) understand simple instructions and react to them in a proper way, (2) name objects in their neighbourhood, (3) perform traditional children's rhymes, chants and songs, (4) comprehend the sense of stories told in the classroom provided that they are supported with images, gestures and objects" (2014: 27, translation mine). Besides that, pupils completing early school education are expected to "ask questions and give answers using the learned phrases", "describe objects in their neighbourhood", and "take part in mini performances" (2014: 27, translation mine). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that the Polish Core curriculum highlights the importance of developing pupils' speaking skills in early school education as it facilitates the improvement of their communicative abilities (2014: 61). Hence, considerable emphasis is to be put on teaching children the manner in which they can express various functions of language (2014: 61).

Importantly, it can be noticed that the *Core curriculum* in Poland refers to teaching foreign languages generally and that there are specific curricula for teaching English that provide teachers with specific guidelines concerning the teaching of the subject. For the purpose of this paper, three such publica-

tions written by Magdalena Kebłowska (2014), Mariola Bogucka (2014), and Ilona Studzińska et al. (2015) have been examined. It seems important that these curricula corroborate the European regulations and, therefore, also promote CA in teaching a foreign language. For instance, Mariola Bogucka (2014: 23) claims that CA in early school education consists in creating an "information gap" that is supposed to be fulfilled by children thanks to proper communication and it may occur owing to the fact that they are naturally curious and in the case of the lack of particular elements, they will search for a way to solve a given issue. Yet, it is worth highlighting that in order to make this type of activity successful, the specific situation is supposed to reflect pupils' interests and needs (2014: 23). Moreover, while using CA in class, one needs to remember that the syllabus should be based on language functions rather than grammar structures (2014: 23).

Noticeably, all the examined curricula refer specifically to developing children's speaking skills. Firstly, Kębłowska (2014: 17) enlists certain types of activities that can be utilised by teachers in order to elicit language production from learners, for instance, "asking questions about a text or a picture", "simple activities including information gap", "describing a person, place or illustration on the basis of a model", "conducting dialogues based on those presented in a textbook", or "telling fairytales and stories" (translation mine). Besides this, the scholar mentions some techniques that have already been enumerated in the present paper, like drama exercises or performing songs and repeating short rhymes (2014: 17). Significantly, Kębłowska's curriculum is the shortest out of the selected ones and possibly also for this reason, it contains the least amount of information concerning the subject of this paper.

What appears to be crucial is that in the case of Bogucka's publication, aside from presenting the techniques mentioned above, not only does she advise teachers to encourage children to sing songs and perform both rhymes and short poems in-

cluded in textbooks, but also to create their own versions of these pieces (2014: 23).

Finally, it is worth indicating that in their curriculum, Studzińska et al. (2015: 11) state that improving pupils' speaking skills in the form of games and other entertaining activities is particularly vital at the very beginning of primary school, since children then encounter a new reality, so different from the time they spent in kindergarten. What distinguishes this particular curriculum from the others scrutinized in the present paper is that its authors enlist communicative functions that children are supposed to master by the end of the third year of early school education, for instance "introducing oneself as well as other people", "describing animals, their habits and areas of living", "determining the colour, size and age of something" etc. (2014: 14-15, translation mine). Similarly to the scholars mentioned above, Studzińska et al. enlist specific techniques of developing pupils' speaking abilities that can be applied in class. Apart from those aforementioned, the authors suggest using drill type activities in the form of games, holding "short dialogues referring to pupils' real experiences and preferences" (translation mine) as well as conducting surveys in the classroom to provide children with as authentic a context for using a foreign language as possible (2014: 17-18).

5. The developmental-psycholinguistic context

Arguably, what may have a substantial impact on activities aimed at developing speaking skills that can be found in ELTs for early school education are pupils' capabilities and the way in which they acquire a foreign language, as the content-related aspect of language material offered by textbooks does not seem to be sufficient to determine whether young learners are able to fulfil the given activities. Hence, not only are the authors of textbooks supposed to take into account the validated guidelines, but also the manner of acquiring a foreign language by children.

It is also worth mentioning that according to Małgorzata Pamuła (2002: 15, translation mine),

the holistic approach towards foreign language education requires taking into consideration the biological, physical, motor and emotional development of children. Even though these factors do not influence the extent of mastering the second language in the direct manner, they have an essential impact on the whole learning process.

Moreover, as the scholar emphasises, achieving success at school is determined by one's personal traits rather than the selected curricula (2002: 29), which demonstrates the vital role of individual differences in this matter. Nevertheless, as Johanne Paradis (2007: 388) points out, four stages of second language development have been distinguished by Patton Tabors, namely "(1) home-language use, (2) non-verbal period, (3) formulaic and telegraphic use, and (4) productive language use". Although this was in the year 1997, the aforementioned steps still appear to be valid as, presumably, they reflect the manner in which speaking activities should be constructed. At first, the authors of textbooks are expected to offer exercises in which children have the opportunity to practice the acquired fixed phrases and only then activities focused on production.

Another essential point made by Paradis concerns possible factors influencing foreign language acquisition by children. It is worth noticing that the author pays particular attention to pupils' motivation, aptitude and personality characteristics, the typology of the children's mother tongue, their age of acquisition, socio-economic status, and, finally, the quality and context for the second language input (2007: 395-398). What can be advanced on the basis of these factors and the guidelines scrutinised in the previous sections of this paper is that some of the aforementioned elements may be reflected in the content of ELTs, since activities are supposed to be adjusted to pupils' ages: they are expected to be engaging and attractive as well as be of high quality in terms of input. Last but not least,

if feasible, it should be possible to modify their instructions with regard to learners' needs and capabilities.

Significantly, in 2002, Hanna Komorowska (2002: 153) suggested nine principles of teaching speaking that, arguably, the authors of textbooks should also take into account. For instance, speaking exercises are supposed to be preceded by activities focused on introducing potential lexical items or grammar structures that are to be used by children at the productive stage (2002: 153). Secondly, according to the author, sections concentrating on increasing speaking proficiency need to be commenced with controlled practice activities aimed at eliciting single sentences and then the level of difficulty is expected to go up until pupils have the opportunity to produce more complex language freely (2002: 153).

6. The analysis of textbooks

Significantly, thanks to the application of the principles of complex systems theory, which enabled distinguishing the contexts described above, as well as the study of papers concerning the use of the checklist as a methodological tool (Demir and Ertaş 2014; Mukundan, Hajimohammadi and Nimehchisalem 2011), the author of the present paper was able to create a checklist for evaluating the selected textbooks in terms of the manner in which they aim to improve children's speaking skills.

6.1. A description of the checklist

It is important to note that to meet the requirements for constructing checklists (mentioned, for instance, by Sheldon 1988; Skierso 1991; Byrd 2001; and Demir and Ertaş 2014), the criteria for assessing textbooks have been adapted to the Polish pupils' backgrounds thanks to the contexts indicated above, namely normative and developmental-psycholinguistic, which can be regarded as a part of the Polish system of educa-

tion understood as a complex system in this paper. In addition, the guidelines included in the Polish *Core Curriculum* and curricula for teaching English written by the Polish authors have been taken into consideration. Moreover, the selected textbooks have been evaluated on a scale of 0 to 4, in which

- 4 indicates "highly satisfactory level",
- 3 equals "satisfactory level",
- 2 means "rather unsatisfactory level",
- 1 expresses "unsatisfactory level",
- 0 demonstrates the lack of a given feature in a textbook.

It is worth noting that an even-numbered rating scale is recommended and so this has been developed in the present paper to avoid the problem of the so-called "central tendency", that is, "the inclination to rate people in the middle of the scale even when their performance clearly warrants a substantially higher or lower rating" (Grote 1996: 138 quoted in Mukundan, Hajimohammadi and Nimehchisalem 2011: 24). Furthermore, it should be emphasised that a quantitative method of analysis has been applied mainly to the initial part of the checklist, since it is believed to be more practical and objective (2011: 21), whereas the criteria included in the latter section have been established on the basis of a qualitative examination owing to their non-measurable character.

6.2. The analysed material

In the course of the research, the representatives of six series of textbooks approved for use in Polish early school education were analysed, namely:

two for first-year pupils: Happy House – New Edition (number of approval 41/1/2009) by Stella Maidment and Lorena Roberts, published by Oxford University Press; New Sparks 1 (number of approval 12/1/2009) by Magdalena Szpotowicz and

- Małgorzata Szulc-Kurpaska, also published by Oxford University Press;
- two for second-year pupils: Fairyland 2 (number of approval 15/2/2009) by Jenny Dooley and Virgina Evans, published by EGIS; Twister 2 (number of approval 100/2/2009) by Andrea Littlewood and Peter Jeffery, published by Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN;
- two for third-year pupils: English Adventure 3 (number of approval 67/4/2009) by Anne Warroll, published by Pearson Longman; Kid's Box 3 (number of approval 105/3/2010) by Michael Tomlinson and Caroline Nixon published by Cambridge University Press.

Noticeably, the textbooks selected for analysis were printed by various publishing houses so as to ensure the reliability of the research. Significantly, if feasible, next to the rating ascribed to a particular criterion, the number of activities fulfilling it, according to the author, have been provided [in square brackets] in order to support the attribution of a given score. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that due to the limitations of the study, concerning especially the number of the scrutinized textbooks and contexts, the matter requires further investigation that would provide a general and clearer view of the problem.

6.3. An analysis of speaking activities in the textbooks

Having examined the achieved outcomes presented in the charts below, it is worth noting that all the selected textbooks fulfil the requirements concerning the support of speaking activities with visual aids, providing instructions in English and focusing on the improvement of children's functional language to a highly satisfactory degree. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that two of the textbooks, namely *New Sparks 1* written by Polish authors and *Twister 2* issued by a Polish publisher contain instructions both in English and Polish. What is also important is that the examined activities reflect – to quite a satis-

factory extent – situations children can encounter in their environment (the average rate equals 3.5) and that they are preceded by pre-communicative activities preparing children for the subsequent production (the average rate equals 3.5 as well).

Noticeably, in terms of the forms of the scrutinized activities, some of them appear as pupils become older and their speaking proficiency presumably more advanced. This is applicable, for instance, to conducting surveys in the classroom, although it should be remarked that the number of activities of this type still seems to be insufficient (the average rate equals 0.67), describing objects in the pupils' surrounding environment, answering questions or carrying out short dialogues in which young learners can ask and answer questions with their partners. Similarly, certain activities begin to disappear as children start to develop, which is apparent in the case of naming objects that pupils can encounter in their surrounding environment as well as reciting rhymes and chants.

Nevertheless, the investigation also indicated problematic areas within both the normative and the developmental-psycholinguistic contexts that potentially require further analysis and the application of appropriate solutions, which is demonstrated below.

6.3.1. The normative context

THE NORMATIVE CONTEXT						
Criteria / Textbooks	HH 1	NS 1	FL 2	TW2	EA 3	KB 3
	I Europe	ean recom	ımendatio	ons		
The activities are focused on developing pupils' functional language.	4	4	4	4	4	4
The textbooks include authentic materials aimed at provoking speaking.	1 [5 semi- authen- tic]	0	0	1 [6 semi- authen- tic]	0	0
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to work in pairs and small groups.	3 [19]	1 [1]	3 [23]	3 [15]	4 [41]	4 [35]

II Polish guidelines						
The activities include		5,500				
the recitation of chants and rhymes.	2 [4]	4 [10]	0	4 [10]	1 [1]	1 [1]
The activities aim at naming objects that children can find in their surrounding environment.	4 [15]	4 [14]	4 [21]	4 [13]	1 [4]	2 [6]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to ask questions on the basis of a model in the textbook.	2 [5]	0	4 [11]	2 [4]	4 [15]	4 [18]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to answer questions.	1 [4]	0	2 [11]	1 [4]	4 [41]	4 [50]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to describe objects they know from their surrounding environment.	0	0	4 [19]	3 [6]	1 [2]	1 [2]
The textbook includes drama and role-play activities.	4 [15]	1 [1]	2 [3]	0	3 [8]	2 [5]
The textbook includes songs.	4 [19]	3 [12]	4 [19]	3 [8]	3 [9]	3 [8]
The textbook includes speaking games.	3 [6]	0	3 [9]	2 [7]	4 [16]	3 [9]
The textbook includes activities with "information gaps".	0	0	0	0	0	1 [1]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to create their own versions of the songs/texts included in the textbook.	0	0	0	0	0	1 [1- semi]
The textbook includes drill type activities (mainly repetition).	3 [15]	3 [14]	4 [21]	3 [13]	4 [20]	1 [4]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to present their authentic experiences and preferences.	1 [1]	0	4 [10]	3 [6]	3 [7]	3 [8]
The activities provide learners with the opportunity to conduct a survey in the classroom.	0	0	0	0	2 [2]	2 [2]
The instructions are provided in English.	4	4	4	4	4	4

One of the problems indicated within the normative context is the insufficient number of role-play and drama exercises in textbooks for second-year and third-year pupils, which seems to be surprising owing to the fact that as children's linguistic abilities improve, one might expect them to participate in free language production to a greater extent.

Moreover, the selected textbooks evidently neglect the utilisation of authentic materials as advanced by the Nuremberg Recommendations. Notwithstanding the attempt made by the authors of New Sparks 1 and Twister 2 to fulfil this guideline to a certain degree by incorporating some activities supported with photographs of real people, it appears to be doubtful whether the exercises in question were indeed based on authentic materials. It can be argued that this issue could be solved, although to find an appropriate manner of doing so requires further research. In addition, the examined textbooks include scarcely any "information gap" exercises that, if properly conducted, may constitute a highly beneficial activity to improve children's communicative skills, something which is recommended in the curricula written by both Bogucka and Kebłowska.

Furthermore, the selected textbooks do not contain activities giving pupils the opportunity to create their own versions of the learned chants, songs, and rhymes, a form of involvement which is recommended by Bogucka in her curriculum. Despite the fact that this technique can be regarded as a means to engage young learners' imagination, it can be pointed out that this type of activity may be challenging for them at this stage, since they are still unable to think in an abstract way; therefore, children should be provided with specific instructions if they are supposed to accomplish the given activities.

Finally, it can be noticed that the selected textbooks do not offer a sufficient number of activities in which learners have the opportunity to present their own experience related to a given topic, as the average rate ascribed to this criterion equals 2.33. This, however, is essential for children's development, since utilising the gained knowledge in the real environment can help them to function in society in an integrated manner. What is more, talking about their own life is engaging for pupils and aims at improving their speaking proficiency due to the fact that this particular activity may be perceived as an element of the free practice stage that is indispensable in the learning process.

6.3.2. The developmental-psycholinguistic context

Within the developmental-psycholinguistic context it can be observed that four out of the six examined textbooks do not follow the requirement concerning the order of activities as arguably, both their level of difficulty and the form, being either controlled or free practice, are mixed instead of being developed in a fluent way, from simple to more complex exercises. It also seems to be significant that the level of adjustment to young learners' capabilities may be perceived as a potential problem as the average number of points in this particular criterion equals 2.66. From a practical point of view, speaking activities included, for instance, in Happy House 1 may be regarded as challenging for children, as a great number of them consists in acting out scenes (15 activities, the highest number in the analysed materials) and involves working in pairs or small groups (19 activities). Notwithstanding the fact that they are beneficial for developing learners' communicative skills, first-year pupils may have significant problems with working in pairs as they can easily be distracted and engrossed in doing something different from the assigned task. Furthermore, owing to the fact that the only model for acting out the scenes is based on listening comprehension, it may be problematic for children to remember the text without any other kind of support.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL-PSYCHOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT						
Criteria \ Textbooks	HH 1	NS 1	FL 2	TW2	EA 3	KB 3
The level of difficulty of speaking activities included in particular units increases from simple to more complex and from controlled practice to	3	1	4	4	3	2
free production. The activities reflect situations that children can encounter in their environment.	3	4	4	4	2	4
The activities are preceded by pre-communicative activities that aim at introducing lexical items or grammar structures that are to be practised in speech.	4	2	4	4	3	4
The activities are supported with visual materials.	4	4	4	4	4	4
The speaking activities are correlated with activities focused on developing other skills.	3	3	4	4	2	3
The activities are adjusted to young learners' capabilities.	2	3	3	3	2	3
The activities are adjusted to the needs of various types of learners.	4	2	4	3	4	3
The instructions can be modified with regard to learners' needs.	2	2	3	3	3	4

7. Conclusions

Importantly, the problems indicated above may potentially reflect a more serious issue concerning the lack of integration between the content of the textbooks and the contexts in which they are placed. This is especially visible in the case of

the normative context as, taking into account the score ascribed to all the adopted criteria in this section, their average rate equals 2.17. Because of the fact that the obtained result may be located only a little above the average, it seems to be justified to undertake measures aiming at improving the situation. Moreover, such a necessity has been indicated in a survey concerning ELTs for early school education in Poland that has been conducted by the author of this paper since the beginning of May 2016 among English language teachers. Even though the collection of responses has not yet finished, it is already noticeable that the respondents see potential problems related to, for instance, the lack of integration between the material included in ELTs and the content of the remaining textbooks for general education, or the adjustment of the level of activities provided in textbooks in relation to young learners' capabilities, which requires further investigation.

What should also be mentioned is that according to Natasa Intihar Klancar (2006), it is the combination of known methods and techniques that is the most beneficial for the development of children's speaking abilities (http://iteslj.org), whereas, arguably, the analysed textbooks apparently lack this feature. What needs to be tackled, therefore, is the major discrepancy that can be observed between the number of activities included in the textbooks and the domination of only one or two types of exercises.

Although it is the author's intention to extend the scope of the study and to involve other scholars, it can be pointed out that the present range of the research includes the representatives of six different textbook series which constituted approximately one-fifth of all the textbooks approved by the Polish Ministry of Education at the time when the paper was written. Thus, it may be argued that it allows for drawing the preliminary conclusions that have been described above. Finally, this paper constitutes a part of a more extensive project conducted by the author, which is devoted to the analysis of language included in selected ELT textbooks for early school education in Poland.

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Minimal pairs? Minimal difficulty! Vowel perception in young learners

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Abstract

Most teachers are familiar with the rule "the earlier, the better" and that it is much easier to teach proper pronunciation from the very beginning than to correct fossilized pronunciation errors at later stages (e.g. Baker 1996; Nixon and Tomlinson 2005). While young children are able to acquire L2 phonetics by listening to stories, songs etc., teenagers who are about 13 years old are much more conscious learners (Nixon and Tomlinson 2005) and may start learning pronunciation just like they study L2 grammar or vocabulary.

Since it is often said that perception precedes production, the aim of this paper is to present some teaching methods aimed at training young learners of English in vowel perception. It also reports the results from classes in which these methods were used, which prove that young teenagers can easily learn to discriminate vowel pairs and thus also improve their listening skills.

Key words

perception, phonetic training, pronunciation teaching, vowels, young teenagers

Pary minimalne? Minimalne trudności! Percepcja spółgłosek przez młodszych nastolatków uczących się języka angielskiego jako obcego

Abstrakt

Większość nauczycieli języków obcych jest świadoma zasady "im wcześniej, tym lepiej". Wiedzą oni też, że znacznie łatwiej jest uczyć prawidłowej wymowy w języku obcym od samego początku, niż poprawiać mocno zakorzenione błędy na późniejszych etapach edukacji (np. Baker 1996; Nixon and Tomlinson 2005). Podczas gdy małe dzieci są w stanie łatwo przyswoić prawidłową wymowę języka drugiego słuchając piosenek, rymowanek czy historyjek, nastolatki w wieku od około 13 roku życia są znacznie bardziej świadomymi uczniami (Nixon and Tomlinson 2005) i mogą zacząć uczyć się fonetyki J2 w taki sam sposób, w jaki uczą się obcej gramatyki czy słownictwa.

Ponieważ percepcja dźwięków poprzedza ich produkcję, celem niniejszego artykułu jest zaprezentowanie różnych metod nauczania fonetyki języka obcego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem treningu percepcji głosek. Są to metody przewidziane dla młodszych nastolatków uczących się języka angielskiego. Ich skuteczność jest udowodniona przez badanie przeprowadzone w wyniku takich zajęć. Badanie wykazało, że młodsze nastolatki są w stanie nauczyć się różnic segmentalnych, dobrze rozróżniają samogłoski, a to pomaga usprawnić nie tylko ich wymowę, ale również umiejętność rozumienia ze słuchu.

Słowa kluczowe

nastolatki, nauka wymowy, percepcja, samogłoski, trening fonetyczny

1. Introduction

For over twenty years a significant growth has been observed in the number of studies concerning foreign/second language pronunciation. In spite of this, there are still areas which need further and more detailed exploration (e.g. Schwartz et al. 2014). This is especially true for education, where study results are surprisingly rarely applied in practice.

The case of FL pronunciation teaching in Polish schools illustrates this situation quite well. Numerous studies by Polish researchers carried out since the 1990s have shown that the teaching of pronunciation is practically non-existent during foreign/second language classes. Moreover, even L2 learners are dissatisfied with their own pronunciation skills and highly critical in connection with their teachers' pronunciation in English (e.g. Lipińska 2014; Majer 2002; Nowacka 2003, 2008; Sobkowiak 2002; Szpyra-Kozłowska 2003, 2008; Szpyra-Kozłowska et al. 2002; Waniek-Klimczak and Dłutek 2003; Waniek-Klimczak 2002, 2006; Wrembel 2002; Wysocka 2003). To be more precise, the results of the studies mentioned above have revealed that, first of all, L2 teachers do not teach English pronunciation at all and only sometimes correct their students' mistakes (this was the only "phonetic" element of L2 classes observed by the informants). Secondly, they use pseudo-phonetic transcription instead of IPA which leads to fossilization of pronunciation errors. Moreover, learners have noticed that their teachers' pronunciation in English is full of mistakes and that many of them resign from using English during foreign language classes. As a result the learners' pronunciation in English is also far from correct. In addition, "being communicative" in an L2 has recently become the aim of language learners. As a result, it has been suggested that L2 teachers should concentrate on conversation skills, and avoid too much instruction in other skills, such as grammar as this will be learned incidentally without formal input. Nevertheless, if a person wants to communicate successfully in a language, they also have to acquire (or learn) correct pronunciation (e.g. Komorowska 2011). The most crucial abilities here are understanding other speakers and being understood by other language users, which means that one's speech must be intelligible enough to convey the intended message (e.g. Tarone 1978; Beebe 1984; Littlewood 1994). Learners frequently claim that they do not need correct pronunciation in their target language as they are not going to communicate with the native speakers of a given language. However, the ability to speak correctly is necessary not only for communication with the native speakers of a particular language, but also with other non-native users. The explanation for this is that as various users do not share the same language background, their pronunciation is in consequence influenced by different interlingual factors being the effect of their mother tongue and its characteristics (Littlewood 1994; Setter and Jenkins 2005). This means that if they do not work on their pronunciation, this may lead to communication breakdown even with non-native speakers of English.

2. The Critical Period Hypothesis and teaching L2 phonetics to young learners

Teaching any L2 skills, correct pronunciation among them, seems to be vital from the very beginning, especially when we take the Critical Period Hypothesis (Lennenberg 1967) into consideration. At the beginning Lennenberg's theory concerned only first language acquisition. The author claimed that the critical period starts around the age of two and lasts until a child reaches the age of puberty. After this period the acquisition of one's mother tongue becomes virtually impossible. Lennenberg also highlighted that language function is gradually lateralized in the left brain hemisphere. He declared that this process explained the existence of a critical/sensitive period for the emergence and establishment of a language (Puppel 1996). After some time, the theories included in the Critical period Hypothesis were extended to include second language acquisition. Thus the central hypothesis for L2 appeared, claiming that if the critical period is a real phenomenon, learning the second language after puberty must be much more demanding and complicated than before it (Puppel 1996). There have been a number of attempts to prove this hypothesis (e.g. Krashen 1975; Ervin-Tripp 1974; Klein 1986). Nevertheless, it appears that the expected differences between L2 acquisition before and after the age of puberty are not as significant as was believed. However, one point was important: in most cases the earlier the subjects started learning a second language, the better their pronunciation in that language.

How can this be explained? The situation might be a result of the process of fossilisation of interlanguage phonology. There are even claims that the fossilization of L2 phonology is bound to happen when adolescents and adults learn an L2 (e.g. Wysocka 2007). Still, there are various opinions on this matter. While some researchers (e.g. Scovel 1969) maintain that no adult will ever be able to achieve native-like pronunciation in their L2, others state that although it may not be easy, it is still possible for adult language users to do so, and that there were cases when adults did achieve such a level of pronunciation in the target language (Tarone 1978). One could ask here: what then is the most probable reason for phonological fossilisation? Several potential explanations might be presented.

First of all, there is a highly physiological approach to the aforementioned process. It could be explained that some human muscles and nerves practise the same set of pronunciation habits and movements for years and thus undergo a process of atrophy while they get older. This kind of situation results in purely physiological problems in acquiring new pronunciation patterns as the articulators are to some extent "stiff" (Tarone 1978). As Gumbaridze (2012) adds, it is also connected to psychology since faulty forms often become so fixed and persistent in learners' minds that some individuals are unable and unwilling to correct them. Other proposed explanations are of a purely psychological nature. Krashen (1977), for instance, claims that fossilisation is closely connected to the critical period in SLA when an individual simply starts to learn a language consciously rather than acquire it naturally as children usually do. DeKeyser (2006) adds here

that cognitive maturation results in a diminishing capacity for the implicit learning of complex abstract systems (such as the sounds system of various languages). Guiora et al. (1972) and Neufeld (1978), on the other hand, are in favour of the affective argument and highlight the fact that adult learners may have a potential lack of empathy with the native speakers and culture of a target languageor even possibly a negative attitude towards the language, speakers and culture. However, more recent papers question the opinions described above (e.g. Singleton 2005) and current studies show that fossilized pronunciation can be rehabilitated and improved (e.g. Acton 1984; Demirezen 2009; Lipińska 2013b). What is more, some researchers (e.g. Porzuczek and Rojczyk 2010) notice that the human capability to learn new, foreign sounds is not limited or lost after the age of puberty and that language learners are able to master L2 pronunciation at an advanced level even as adults.

Having taken the aforementioned arguments into consideration and the fact that there is no clear explanation as to what extent the Critical Period influences the learning of foreign language pronunciation (e.g. Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson 2003; Singleton 2007), the majority of L2 teachers still decide that, "the earlier, the better", as they know that it is much easier to teach correct pronunciation from the very beginning of L2 instruction than to correct fossilized pronunciation errors at later stages (e.g. Baker 1996; Nixon and Tomlinson 2005). It also needs to be added that young children are simply able to acquire correct pronunciation in their L2 thanks to the appropriate input - for example by listening to stories, songs, nursery rhymes or by playing games. Teenage learners who are above thirteen years of age, on the other hand, are already much more conscious learners (Nixon and Tomlinson 2005) and are able to start learning pronunciation in the same way they are instructed in L2 grammar or vocabulary.

3. Current study

The first aim of this paper is a brief presentation of materials and methods which may be successfully used for teaching pronunciation to young teenagers (11–13 year-old primary school learners). The resources are diversified and cover a wide variety of tasks and activities – from various exercises already included in textbooks to copious online interactive games. Another (and the main) aim of this paper is to prove the effectiveness of applying such methods in a pilot study on vowel discrimination in minimal pairs by teenage learners of English.

3.1. Subjects

The group of subjects consisted of six 12-year-old primary school students (6th-graders). All of them were female. The subjects had been studying English for 5-6 years prior to the study. They had all attended an English course in a language school since they were 4th-graders. The course was characterized by an original curriculum designed by the author of this paper. The course not only aimed at teaching general English, suitable for young teenagers in terms of grammar and vocabulary, but also prepared the subjects to the school-leaving exam (Sprawdzian Szóstoklasisty), and – what is most important for this paper – included a pronunciation module wholly designed by the author.

3.2. Methods

The subjects who participated in the study had been exposed to the phonetic training module for approximately two and a half years. The module included both the training of speech perception and production. A particular emphasis was placed on segmental phonetics – the topics covered vowels (monophthongs), diphthongs and consonants. During the study the subjects performed a discrimination task including minimal

pairs. The informants were given a printed list of minimal pairs in which only the vowel sound was different. The words were not only presented in their written form, but also additionally the IPA symbols for the vowel sounds were written at the top of each category. The subjects listened to the recorded words and were asked to circle the correct option. The recordings were played twice. All the words were recorded by a female phonetician. The recordings were not randomized, but played in groups (e.g. first recordings for groups /1/ vs. /i:/, then / Λ / vs. / α / and so on). The minimal pairs included monophthongs and diphthongs and were as follows:

- /ı/ vs. /i:/,
- /ʌ/ vs. /æ/,
- /æ/ vs. /eɪ/,
- /e/ vs. /ɜ:/,
- /ʊ/ vs. /uː/,
- /ɔː/ vs. /ɔɪ/,
- /iː/ vs. /aɪ/.

There were five words in each group and seven groups which gave 35 tokens for each subject. Multiplied by six participants this gave 210 tokens altogether ready for analysis. The figure below shows a sample list (containing the minimal pair /æ/vs. /ei/) which was used during the study.

Table 1 A sample list used in the study (contains the /æ/vs. /ei/ words)

	æ	еі
1	mad	made
2	Mac	make
3	back	bake
4	tack	take
5	black	Blake

3.3. Materials used in the pronunciation training

The following section presents the materials which were used in the pronunciation module included in the language course which the subjects attended. The materials ranged from books aimed at teaching pronunciation and textbooks designed for primary schools, to various online activities and exercises.

The first resource used in the phonetic training was the Primary Pronunciation Box (Nixon and Tomlinson 2005). This is a photocopiable book specially designed to teach English pronunciation to children and young teenagers, divided into parts, according to the learners' ages. The book is accompanied by an audio CD which enables learners to familiarize themselves with correct pronunciation in the L2, to practise it and to do various phonetic exercises. It also helps the teacher as they do not need to provide a model of the target language. Since the book contains over sixty activities of various types (rhymes, chants, poems, puzzles, dominoes and copious games) the process of learning English pronunciation is pleasant and the learners do not get bored. The book was designed for language teachers generally - not only phoneticians - and because of this each worksheet contains a clear, step-by-step lesson plan explaining how to prepare and do the activities in the classroom. Furthermore, the book can be used together with any textbook since the range of topics is universal and not assigned to any particular ESL/EFL course.

Materials from two textbooks designed for primary school were also used to train the subjects of the study in correct pronunciation. The first of them was *Steps in English* (Falla et al. 2012), which served as the main textbook during the whole course, and another was *Evolution Plus* (Beare 2014). In both series each chapter of the textbook includes pronunciation boxes, chants or other simple activities. They are short but can be easily extended with the use of additional materials or games based on the topic from the textbook. All the recordings are included in the teacher's audio CDs, which enables learn-

ers to copy correct pronunciation patterns. It is also worth noting that nowadays most textbooks written for primary schools learners include activities on pronunciation training (Lipińska 2017).

Finally, probably the most attractive group of activities were online games from two websites, namely http://cambridge englishonline.com/Phonetics_Focus> and http://eslgames.world.com/members/games/pronunciation/index.html. These two sites provided activities that were enjoyed by the subjects and all were done with the use of an interactive whiteboard. The first of the websites contains not only a great number of diverse exercises which can be done individually or in teams, but also provides printable .pdf flashcards with IPA symbols accompanied by sample words and pictures. The latter site is full of team games which concentrate on perception and production skills, as well as the ability to read and use IPA transcription. This was particularly useful as young teenagers enjoy competition. As a result, during the course, they eagerly played in two groups trying to win the games and get a prize.

3.4. The study results

As has already been written, the study participants were exposed to the aforementioned methods of pronunciation training for two and a half years and then participated in a study on speech perception (and more precisely on vowel discrimination). Table 2 shows the results achieved in this part of the research.

As can be seen in Figure 2, the subjects achieved good results in the vowel discrimination task (similar to the case of a speech production task – see Lipińska, in press). It must also be remembered that young teenagers graduating from primary school in Poland are characterized by an A1 level of proficiency in a foreign/second language (however, the group of subjects could be more appropriately placed at A2 level), so they are still beginner/elementary users of the L2. In this light their

results are exceptionally good, especially if compared to older learners who rarely achieve this level of correctness (e.g. Rojczyk 2010, Lipińska 2013a). The easiest vowel pairs were /æ/vs. /ei/, /oi/vs. /oi/ and /ii/vs. /ai/, so those containing a monophthong vs. diphthong. It is not the most typical contrast in phonetic studies, but it is often included in teaching materials for both teenagers and adults, as learners frequently encounter difficulties in discriminating between these two kinds of sounds. The most difficult vowel pair, on the other hand, was /v/vs. /vi/vi/vic which is in accordance with previous studies on this topic (e.g. Lipińska 2013a). This pair is often demanding for Polish learners of English whose native vowel system is much more limited and contains only one similar vowel, namely /vi/vi

 Table 2

 The results of the study on vowel discrimination

Vowel 1	Vowel 2	Correct recognitions
I	i:	76.6%
Λ	æ	90%
æ	еі	100%
е	3.	90%
υ	u:	60%
5:)I	100%
iː	aı	100%

4. Conclusions

It can be concluded that there are a great number of diversified resources that can be used in the classroom in order to teach correct pronunciation of English to young teenagers (and other groups of learners). One can mention here tailor-made books aimed at teaching pronunciation and designed for young

learners, tasks and activities already included in standard textbooks, and attractive websites containing copious interactive phonetic activities. Very few of them were analysed in this article, although it is possible for teachers to find unlimited resources online and in printed form. Thus, the claim that teachers do not teach pronunciation in schools because of a lack of appropriate materials can be refuted.

Although the study is preliminary and should be treated as a pilot, it suggests that adding a pronunciation training module to a general English course can be very useful at the beginning of language *learning*. Young teenagers are able to learn English pronunciation in a similar way to vocabulary or grammar and, if provided with appropriate input, should not encounter any difficulties. Indeed, thanks to the pronunciation training they received, the group of subjects who participated in this study were able to achieve good results in a speech perception test and successfully discriminate between similar words or similar vowel sounds.

Finally, if good pronunciation in an L2 facilitates communication, learners are more likely to understand their interlocutors. This can also decrease the level of stress connected with perceptual constraints which are often the reason for an unwillingness to communicate at the beginner level. Moreover, it improves listening comprehension skills necessary at higher educational levels and for examinations. Thus pronunciation training proves to be not only feasible, but also beneficial.

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Dyslexia and EFL examinations - case closed?

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Abstract

This article discusses how the Method of Multiple Interactions with the Text may be applied to EFL examination preparation of dyslexic candidates. The method, originally dedicated to teaching literacy and reading comprehension skills to Polish learners (Pawłowska 2002), is particularly effective if combined with multisensory stimulation. The open-cloze task, which tests awareness of collocation and complexities of grammar, poses considerable problems for dyslexic learners. Therefore, the article presents a battery of exercises of Multiple Interactions with the Text which may facilitate the acquisition of grammatical structures and word combinations frequently tested in EFL examinations. The exercises appeal to different senses and give many opportunities to preserve the input material in the learner's long-term memory, which, in turn, may influence positively their performance in EFL tests.

Key words

dyslexia, EFL examinations, multiple interactions with the text, longterm memory, multisensory approach to teaching, open-cloze, shortterm memory

Dysleksja a egzaminy z języka angielskiego jako języka obcego – sprawa zamknieta?

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł podejmuje próbę wyjaśnienia w jaki sposób metoda wielokrotnego obcowania z tekstem może okazać się przydatna w przygotowaniu kandydata z dysleksją do egzaminu z języka angielskiego. Metoda ta, pierwotnie stworzona na potrzeby polskiej szkoły w celu kształcenia sprawności czytania (Pawłowska 2002), jest szczególnie skuteczna w połączeniu z nauczaniem polisensorycznym. Zadanie egzaminacyjne z luka, które sprawdza znajomość zwiazków frazeologicznych oraz niuanse gramatyczne, stanowi wyzwanie dla ucznia z dysleksja. Poniższy artykuł przedstawia przykłady ćwiczeń wykorzystujących metodę wielokrotnego obcowania z tekstem, które ułatwiaja uczniowi ze specyficznymi trudnościami w nauce przyswojenie struktur gramatycznych oraz kolokacji, których opanowanie jest warunkiem koniecznym do zdania egzaminu z języka angielskiego na określonym poziomie. Ćwiczenia te stymulują różne zmysły i zwiększają możliwość przyswojenia informacji oraz zachowanie jej w pamięci długotrwałej, co w konsekwencji może doprowadzić do sukcesu egzaminacyjnego.

Słowa kluczowe

dysleksja, egzamin z języka angielskiego jako języka obcego, pamięć długotrwała, pamięć krótkotrwała, stymulacja wielozmysłowa, wielokrotne obcowanie z tekstem, zadanie z luką

1. Introduction

With each approaching examination session, be it A Levels in English or Cambridge English Examinations, a great number of students with specific learning difficulties as well as their English teachers might ask themselves this pertinent question: Have we put enough time and effort into getting ready for the vagaries of English grammar, lexis and spelling? In all likelihood, they have. They have studied as hard as anyone else or

probably even harder. They might have memorized the whole textbook but on entering the examination room, they might not have enough time and the right tools to translate their knowledge into coherent and correct answers.

2. Extended time as the ultimate solution

What is dyslexia and why do dyslexic candidates need more time to complete examination tasks? Briefly, it is an unexpected learning difficulty to read despite intelligence, motivation and education, which might be the linked to the phonological deficit hypothesis (Shaywitz 1996: 100). Extensive research by Nijakowska (2010) shows that due to this deficit, dyslexic learners experience numerous problems with identifying, processing and retrieving linguistic information, which results in their educational achievements being much below their intellectual potential.

To compensate for this impairment, the Cambridge English Language Assessment examination body offers dyslexic candidates 25 per cent extra time in the written part of the examination. They can also choose the computer-based version of the test. They may not, however, use any spellcheck, grammar check or thesaurus functions. Neither are they assessed more leniently should they make spelling mistakes nor are they offered dyslexia-friendly tasks (www.cambridgeenglish.org/exams-and-qualifications/special-circumstances). Likewise, dyslexic A Le-vel candidates in Polish schools are allowed extra time to complete the language test. Additionally, dyslexic candidates with a very low graphic level of writing, which renders it illegible, are entitled to the computer-based version of the examination. (Komunikat Dyrektora Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej 2016: 13)

In light of the above, it is quite a challenge for a dyslexic candidate to be successful in both A Levels and Cambridge English Tests such as PET, First or Advanced as extended time does not resolve the issue. The challenge may seem insurmountable, given the fact that dyslexic learners experience a great number of difficulties when learning a foreign language, of which correct spelling appears to be the least acute problem. The challenges they face include getting to grips with the English tenses, memorising irregular and phrasal verbs, learning sequences or grappling with prepositions, to name just a few. Dyslexic learners also find it difficult to master the word order of the English sentence. Above all, they struggle with the application of theoretical knowledge of grammar to real life language use (Nijakowska 2010; Bogdanowicz 2011). As a result, many dyslexic English language learners decide not to take examinations such as Cambridge English Tests for fear of poor results or failure, or do not achieve top results in their A Levels.

It seems that extended time and modified assessment criteria would be the most appropriate combination to accommodate dyslexic EFL candidates' needs. However, what also calls for revision are the methods that we, English teachers, use to prepare our students for language examinations. In this article, I will try to show that dyslexia should not prevent potential candidates from excelling at Cambridge English Examinations or A Levels in English. The key to success is in the nature and the focus of the preparation process. The approach that may give dyslexic students a head start is the method of *Multiple Interactions with the Text*.

3. The Method of Multiple Interactions with the Text

The method is not new as it was originally invented by Professor Regina Pawłowska from the Department of Polish Philology at Gdańsk University, Poland, to teach reading skills to children at Polish schools. It is based on the linguistic theory of literacy development. According to Pawłowska (2009: 13), while literacy itself is the fundamental tool of cognition, the process of learning *how to read* not only shapes human thinking, but also improves concentration, imagination and

memory. At the same time, it enriches our lexical and grammatical resource, which results in greater precision of expression and grammatical accuracy. Ultimately, it helps learners visualise and imagine the characters and the events a story describes. However, to achieve this, the learner must interact with a given text several times in order to comprehend and appreciate it fully. This is achieved by means of a wide range of clearly structured tasks that the learner must perform in and outside the classroom. What also matters is the gradation of the complexity of exercises and activities, which facilitates the process of cognition (Pawłowska 2002).

Multiple interaction with the text is invariably overlooked or superficially treated in EFL coursebooks, especially those designed for examination preparation. Additionally, seldom do these textbooks cater for the needs of dyslexic students, who in order to become efficient readers, must be exposed to multiple repetitions of the input material through a variety of multisensory exercises, which, in turn, will boost their chances of becoming proficient users of a foreign language. What I have attempted to do is adapt the theory to meet the needs of dyslexic students preparing to EFL examinations because it lends itself well to identifying and decoding the linguistic hurdles that prospective candidates might face.

4. The advantage of the multiple and the multisensory

Nijakowska (2010) stresses that learners with dyslexia are in need of constant repetition, reinforcement and overlearning as this will result in the automatic use of the input material. She also states that the skills that are the most difficult to acquire call for the most intense practice through multiple activities. This is in line with Pawłowska (2009), who stresses that a well-constructed literacy course must include tasks which are repeated systematically. In addition, these tasks should aim at stimulating the visual and auditory channels in such a man-

ner that every single student is involved in the learning process and benefits from it (Pawłowska 2009: 142).

Indeed, traditional school instruction relies heavily on the auditory and visual perception. Students whose style of learning follows the pattern: I hear – I see – I do / I see – I hear – I do are the teacher's dream in a traditional learning environment (Dyrda 2004: 152-158). But what should be done with those who have a different learning style? Invariably, these students happen to be dyslexic and the traditional mode of instruction will not give them much chance of progress. In other words, their success depends on the unconventional design of the techniques used in the classroom and here the term multisensory is appropriate. Apart from engaging the eye and the ear, exercises should also appeal to the sense of touch, the sense of smell and kinesthetic intelligence (Bogdanowicz 1999; Nijakowska 2010; Townend and Turner 2013).

The choice of multisensory instruction can be further corroborated by the work of Lawrence Baines (2008), who points to the fact that multisensory stimulation enables the learner to interact with the material more intensely and retain the input much longer than when using traditional teaching methods based on the idea that the new information should be highlighted three times, then defined and finally used in practice. This method of instruction is active and interactive and it is particularly appropriate to the teaching of young children and dyslexic learners of all ages (Townend and Turner 2013:18).

5. The nightmare of the open-cloze

One of the popular examination tasks that poses serious problems for dyslexic candidates is the *open-cloze* where by means of gapped sentences the candidate's ability to use *grammar* words is tested. The list of the tested items includes: auxiliaries, dependent prepositions and prepositional phrases, determiners and pronouns, question words, modal verbs, quantifiers, conjunctions, reference words, to name just a few. Learners with dyslexia find it particularly challenging because a gap in a sentence is like a hole in the pavement. It disrupts the process of reading comprehension just like a hole may make one stumble if one fails to notice it. Therefore, the role of the teacher is to prepare a dyslexic candidate for such pitfalls. The process is long and time-consuming. It also requires a great deal of revision and organization, but the results are rewarding.

The general advice that is given on how to cope with the open-cloze task is to read the text ignoring the gaps in order to understand its meaning. Then, it is necessary to read each gapped sentence again, paying particular attention to the words which come before and after the gap. Next, one should consider what type of grammar word is required to finally search one's memory for the correct option, write it and make sure it fits in grammatically and semantically. And, indeed, this advice is invaluable. However, to prepare a dyslexic candidate to take the above-mentioned steps, the teacher needs to prepare a battery of multisensory exercises which will give the student the opportunity to interact with the text a number of times.

6. The open-cloze in practice exercises

The exercises that are presented in the Appendix are based on a text taken from an English course for teenagers preparing to B1 level examinations, namely *English in Mind Level 3* student's book (Puchta and Stranks 2010: 94). However, any text may be adapted, depending on the needs and interests of the individual student or group of students. It is also highly advantageous to make use of past examination papers as they contain the kind of language that the candidate is expected to master. Moreover, it is imperative that the student's first encounter with the text should be through simultaneous reading and listening. Many course books offer recorded versions of the reading passages, but if this does not exist in the book, the

teacher should read the text to the learner, paying attention to phonological features such as sound articulation, word and sentence stress and intonation (Pawłowska 2009). Another solution is to make use of text-to-speech computer software such as Ivona Reader (www.ivona.com/pl), which is a text-to-speech synthesizer. Owing to rapid advances in technology, it offers excellent quality male and female voices, which sound natural and interpret the reading material effectively to convey and enhance meaning. In addition to this, Ivona voices speak with British and American accents. Finally, patience is the key to success as dyslexic learners must not be pressurized to give instant responses as the phonological deficit often masks their comprehension skills (Shaywitz 1996: 104).

7. Homework

No lesson, even the most impressive, would be complete without homework. We could ask the learner to write their own sentences or to prepare a story with the lexis and grammar we studied in class as storytelling, which is learning by doing, activates the skills of reorganization, categorization and analytical thinking, which are essential for long-term memorization of the input material. Moreover, an effective technique that can be used with students is making posters on sheets of different coloured paper: white for nouns and noun phrases, blue for verbs and verb phrases, yellow for adjectives, orange for prepositional phrases etc. This, however, requires good management skills on the part of the dyslexic learner, which is a topic for another paper.

8. A final word

The open-cloze is only one of many tasks that examination candidates with specific learning difficulties find particularly problematic. Others include key word transformations, open-ended transformations, word formation and multiple-choice.

A great deal of training for different kinds of reading tasks is also required.

The method of *Multiple Interactions with the Text* combined with the multisensory approach to foreign language instruction may facilitate the process of preparation to all the aforementioned tasks, provided we compile a set of clearly organized, inspiring and meaningful training materials. We should also be prepared to adapt examination papers to compensate for the weaknesses and reinforce the strengths of our students. The saying *One man's meat is another man's poison* aptly illustrates the point that no two dyslexics are the same. Therefore, it is worth finding out "what makes them tick".

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Appendix

Open-cloze preparation materials

Exercise 1: The first encounter

The teacher asks the student to listen and read the following text.

A few years ago the company I work for sent my wife and me to live in New York for a year. I have always loved jogging, so I was really happy when I found out the apartment they had rented for us was next to Central Park. This meant that every morning I could go for a run before I went to work.

Because a lot of people had told me to be careful of muggers in the park, I didn't usually take anything with me. How could they rob me if I didn't have anything? But this one morning my wife asked me to buy some bread on the way home so I put a tendollar note in my back pocket.

While I was running through the park, another jogger bumped into me. He apologised and continued running. I thought it was a bit strange so I checked my pocket and found that the money was missing. I immediately started to run after the other jogger. I finally caught up and grabbed him by the arm. I started shouting and demanding that he gave me the money. I'm not usually a hot-headed person but I really lost my temper. This seemed to frighten him and he quickly put his hand in his pocket and gave me the money. Then he ran away as fast as he could.

I bought the bread and went home. As soon as I got there I began to tell my wife my story. "You won't believe what happened to me", I started. She immediately interrupted, "I know, you left the money for the bread on the kitchen table."

Exercise 2: Comprehension

The teacher makes sure the student has understood the text by asking them comprehension questions. It must be stressed that the teacher should pay particular attention to the grammar in the questions so that they always contain the structures which are intended

to be elicited. This tip is extremely important for students with learning difficulties as it helps them focus. Here are some of the questions that the teacher may ask:

- 1. Where does the story take place?
- 2. When did it happen?
- 3. Why was the writer of the story there?
- 4. Where was his flat located?
- 5. What was the writer particularly happy about?
- 6. What had many people warned him not to do?
- 7. Did he always follow their advice? Why/Why not?
- 8. What happened one day while he was running?
- 9. What was his reaction?
- 10. How did the other runner behave?
- 11. How was the story resolved?
- 12. How do you think the writer felt about the situation?
- 13. What do you think he did afterwards?
- 14. What would you have done?

The teacher should insist that the student find the line in the text that answers each question. It is worth noting that almost all questions begin with a wh-word. This not only allows the learner to produce longer utterances, but also to access the level of semantic interpretation of the input material which is conducive to effective retention of new information.

Exercise 3: Building up vocabulary resource

Once the comprehension stage is completed, the student should be asked to scan the text for any vocabulary they might be unfamiliar with or they find particularly interesting or useful. It is of paramount importance to involve the learner in the vocabulary selection process as it gives them a sense of empowerment. It also takes this exercise beyond sensory data analysis which is quite superficial. The next step is to write each word or phrase that the student suggests on the whiteboard, avoiding the linear organization of the lexical items. The vocabulary should be scattered over the surface of the whiteboard, with the words the teacher considers to be particularly important written in the upper case or a different colour. The teacher may add any other words as appropriate. It is not advisable, however, to place

more than ten items. Then, together with the student, the teacher explains what the items mean either with the help of a dictionary or by mime or definition in the target language. Finally, the student must be given some time to look at the whiteboard and asked to make an effort to memorise the words and phrases. Depending on how many new vocabulary items there are, the time limit of one or two minutes should be set. It is also interesting to ask the student after completion of the exercise what kind of techniques they used to remember as many items as possible. To round off the activity, the student could be asked to close their eyes while the teacher wipes off one of the words and the student's task is to recall which one has been erased. If they recall the word successfully, they write it on a pre-prepared flash card (a piece of paper the size of a post-it note). The student may now be prompted to spell the word, too. After all the phrases have been wiped off and scribbled on flash cards, the student is asked to recall the words that were written in capital letters. Amazingly, they always remember. This is due to the von Restorff effect,1 which means that we have a tendency to remember and retain the information that has somehow been made conspicuous, be it by means of capitalization, the use of colour, categorization or reorganization. Finally, the flash cards should be stored in separate vocabulary boxes: for nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. They will come in useful at a later stage.

Exercise 4: Application of rules

Now, it is time to increase grammatical awareness. Dyslexic students are usually adept at remembering the rules of grammar. What might be problematic, however, is the retrieval of a particular grammatical structure if asked to do so, e.g. say something in the Present Simple. Therefore, it is advisable to concentrate on the grammar in context in order to explain why e.g. a certain tense combination is used. To do this, the student underlines or highlights all verbs and auxiliaries in the text. It always works better if the student reads the text aloud. This is probably due to the combination of two sensory channels,

¹ The Von Restorff effect is also called the *Isolation Effect* or the *Distinctiveness Principle* (Nelson 1979). The same principle has also been described as *prominence effects* (Gardner 1983) *environmental salience effects* (Taylor and Fiske 1978), and *novel popout effect* (Johnston, Hawley, Plewe, Elliott and De Witt, 1990).

visual and auditory, which results in a more effective perception. Then, the text should be analysed together with the student by asking questions like: Why is HAVE always LOVED jogging used and not LOVES jogging? Or: Why HAD RENTED and not just RENTED? At this stage, the whole text may be scanned to practice irregular verbs, e.g. ask, 'What's the base form of THOUGHT?' 'Why do we say: The money WAS missing? to probe the awareness of countable and uncountable nouns. Finally, auxiliary verbs like DIDN'T should be pointed out and the student could be asked to enumerate others that they know. According to the principles of neurodidactics² this activity allows for connections to be made between the existing inventory of knowledge, grammatical resource in this case, and the new input material.

Exercise 5: Kinesthetic learning

This task is intended to activate the sense of touch. Magnetic letters are an indispensable teaching aid which are available in sets. Teachers usually buy them for pre-school pupils, but they are always useful in therapeutic classes for dyslexic learners of all ages. In the text above there are some prepositional phrases and prepositions that are frequently tested in open-cloze tasks. The student is prompted to read them out by giving them a clue: find phrases that contain for, on, by, etc. Here are some prepositional phrases from the text: work for somebody, go for a run, grab by the arm. The student should be encouraged to come to the whiteboard where the phrase is dictated without the preposition. They should write it leaving a gap in the phrase. Then, they must use magnetic letters to fill in the gap. Thus, the eye, the ear and touch are activated. An additional task, which is especially effective with kinaesthetic learners, can be employed here. The student is prompted to hold a teddy bear while the teacher instructs them: grab the teddy bear by the arm, grab the teddy bear by the ear, etc., stressing the preposition by. The student may also want to repeat the phrases while actually *grabbing* the teddy bear. We may also ask the learner to literally *qo for a run* around the room.

² Teaching science that studies the full potential of human beings, from early ages of life to old age, thanks to the feature called 'brain plasticity', which indicates that the human brain continuously learns and adapts.

Exercise 6: Coping with hyperactivity

In order to capitalise on the student's kinaesthetic intelligence, a *running* dictation³ may be put to good use. Not all dyslexic students like this activity, although it is especially popular with learners who are hyperactive. This task stimulates short-term memory, which is one of the weaknesses of dyslexic students. The text presented above should be placed on a sheet of paper somewhere in the classroom away from the student. The student's task is to run to the text, learn a portion by heart and come back to their seat to write it down. This can be repeated a number of times, depending on the student's willingness to do so. The rationale behind it is to bring movement and excitement into a potentially "sleepy" activity and it helps to keep a kinaesthetic learner occupied as well as jogs their brain to retain the information

Exercise 7: Fun zone

Another type of activity is a *banana* dictation.⁴ Before doing this, the teacher may prompt the student to look at the words and phrases in the vocabulary boxes (compare Exercise 3). Then, the teacher reads the story out loud omitting the practised words. The word *banana* is used instead. The student's task is to concentrate and supply the correct word for the gap. Most dyslexic students are able to rise to the challenge, but this activity takes time to perfect.

Exercise 8: Reduced multiple-choice

The penultimate task is to choose between two forms. It is important to remember that traditional multiple-choice tasks containing more than two distractors are exceptionally difficult for dyslexic learners. They create visual tracking difficulties because of problems with short-term memory that dyslexic candidates have. After the candidate reads the last option, he has already forgotten what the first one was. Therefore, in this exercise the student is given the text from exercise 1 in a reduced multiple-choice format:

³ Rinvolucri (2010: 36).

⁴ Rinvolucri (2010: 51).

A few years ago the company I work for sent my wife and me to live in New York for/since a year. I have/had always loved jogging, so I was really happy when I found/checked out the apartment they have/had rented for us was near/next to Central Park. This/What meant that every morning I could go for a run before I went to work.

Because a lot of people *have/had* told me to be careful of muggers in the park, I didn't usually take *nothing/anything* with me. How could they *rob/steal* me if I didn't have anything? But this one morning my wife asked me *to buy/that I buy* some bread on the way home so I put a ten-dollar note in my back pocket.

When/While I was running through the park, another jogger bumped <code>into/at</code> me. He apologised and continued running. I thought it <code>is/was</code> a bit strange so I checked my pocket and found that the money <code>was/were</code> missing. I immediately started to run <code>after/for</code> the <code>other/another</code> jogger. I finally caught <code>on/up</code> and grabbed him <code>for/by</code> the arm. I started shouting and demanding that he <code>gave/has given</code> me the money. I'm not usually a hotheaded person but I really <code>stole/lost</code> my temper. This seemed to frighten him and he quickly put his hand in his pocket and gave me the money. Then he ran away <code>so/as</code> fast as he could.

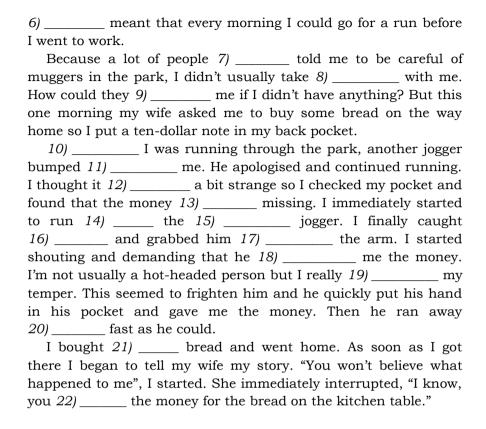
I bought *a/the* bread and went home. As soon as I got there I began to tell my wife my story. "You won't believe what happened to me", I started. She immediately interrupted, "I know, you *had left/left* the money for the bread on the kitchen table."

This task summarises all the preceding activities and reinforces the input material, at the same time preparing the student for the real examination format.

Exercise 9: Open-cloze

Finally, it is time for the student to write the test in the form of an open-cloze, as expected in some examinations:

A few years a	igo the comp	any I work for	sent my	wife and	me to
live in New Yo	ork 1)	a year. I <i>2)</i> _	al	ways love	d jog-
ging, so I was	really happy	when I 3)	out	the apar	tment
thev 4)	rented for	us was 5)	to	Central	Park.



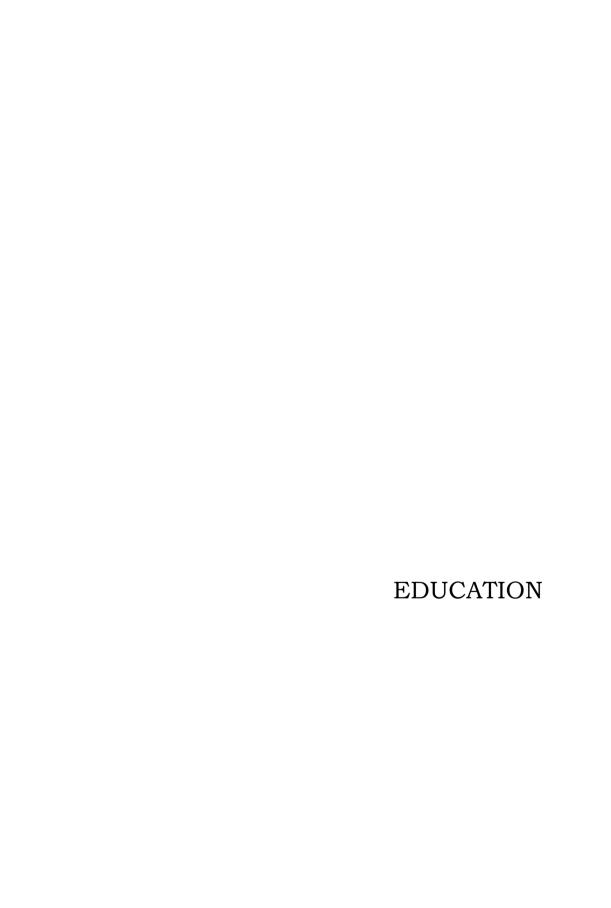
Exercise 10: Multisensory error correction

After the student submits the answers, it is advisable to ask them to read the completed text aloud or, if this exercise is being done on the computer, to switch on the facility of the Ivona reader. This would give the learner the chance to proofread and spot their own mistakes. Invariably, dyslexic learners are able to rectify their errors if they can listen to what they have written. Silent reading does not yield such satisfactory results.

However, if some errors still go unnoticed, the teacher should provide feedback in the form of neutral comments like: 'I can see a problem in gap 19. Can you identify it?' Teachers should never be judgmental by saying: 'Here we go again. You have made a mistake. It's wrong.' It is of paramount importance to provide constructive criticism to dyslexic learners as they are seldom praised at school or at home. The analytical approach to errors not only explores the techniques used above, but it also gives a boost to the student's critical

thinking, which, in turn, enables students with specific learning difficulties to perform up to their capability.

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Linguistic proficiency as cultural capital in school environments

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Abstract

The main concern of this paper is the extent to which students' expectations of first language studies reflect the idea that linguistic proficiency produces social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2008 and earlier work). The participants consisted of 14 focus groups of students in secondary schools in Iceland. Most of the students believe it is desirable to acquire fluency in reading and formal writing. In their view, however, the amount of time devoted to traditional school grammar is actually a detriment to that goal. Furthermore, the students think that success in Icelandic as a school subject depends to some extent on reading habits and language instruction at home. These views support the idea that schools tend to reward their students for knowledge and skills that are not necessarily highlighted in the classroom but which can be viewed as advantageous due to systematic cultural reproduction within families and social networks.

Keywords

cultural value, grammar teaching, Icelandic, linguistic capital, linguistic literacy

Umiejętności językowe jako kapitał kulturowy w środowisku szkolnym

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie w jakim zakresie oczekiwania uczniów w stosunku do uczenia się języka pierwszego odzwieciedlają przekonanie, że umiejętności jęzkowe produkują kapitał społeczny i kulturowy (Bourdieu 2008 i wcześniejsze prace). Uczestnikami badania było 14 grup fokusowych skupiajacych uczniów szkół średnich z Islandii. Większość uczniów uważa, że dobrze jest osiagnać płynność w czytaniu i posługiwaniu sie formalnym językiem pisanym. Ich zdaniem jednak czas poświęcany na uczenie sie tradycyjnej gramatyki szkolnej stanowi przeszkode w osiegnieciu celu. Co więcej, uczniowie są przekonani, że sukces w uczeniu się jezyka islandzkiego jako przedmiotu szkolnego w pewnym stopniu zależy od zwyczajów czytelniczych i języka używanego w domu. Te przekonania potwierdzają pogląd, że szkoła nagradza uczniów za wiedzę, która niekoniecznie jest wyeksponowana w klasie, ale która może być uważana za korzystną wskutek systematycznej reprodukcji kulturowej w rodzinach i sieciach społecznych.

Słowa kluczowe

język islandzki, kapitał językowy, nauczanie gramatyki, umiejętności jezykowe, wartość kulturowa

1. Introduction

This paper investigates how theories of language as social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977, 2008) as well as theories of linguistic proficiency as a cultural process (Gee 2004) can be utilized to understand Icelandic as a school subject and the language of learning and teaching. The purpose is to identify students' motivations and expectations towards learning Icelandic at school in a world where global English predominates, particularly with respect to the idea that learning the appropriate language gives them social and cultural value (Bourdieu

2008). We might assume, to varying degrees, that the results are also relevant for other languages and cultures.

Icelandic is a North Germanic language with a long literary tradition which, until the present time, has been relatively monolingual. However, it is a common belief that the language is less secure than in the past due to the impact of globalization and global English (see Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010). The status of Icelandic in the educational system is quite strong in the sense that Icelandic is the language of learning and teaching in compulsory schools as well as in most educational programs at higher levels (Íslenska til alls 2009). Nevertheless, there are indications that the popularity of Icelandic as a school subject is decreasing (Sigbórsson et al. 2014: 173). Furthermore, it seems to be increasingly common for children with Icelandic as their first language to use English in their internal communication (see discussions in Jónsson and Angantýsson, forthcoming, and Sigurjónsdóttir and Rögnvaldsson, forthcoming). Thus far, young people's attitudes towards Icelandic as a school subject has been a neglected field of study and the same holds true for research on linguistic proficiency as cultural and social capital in Icelandic school environments.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a sketch of the theoretical background, research questions, data collection and methodology used. In section 3, I briefly introduce the research project that the data is derived from: *Icelandic as a school subject and language of learning and teaching*. Section 4 reports on the main patterns and themes in the students' discourse. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Background and methodology

There has been a long standing debate in the literature on the alleged most promising approaches to children's literacy (see discussions in Song 2015, Gee 2001, 2004, and Schultz 2001). For instance, traditionists focus on basic skills and direct in-

struction (Carnine 1996), while advocates of Whole Language (Goodman 1986, 1998) emphasize meaning-making and argue that learning to read is a natural process, similar to native language acquisition where no direct instruction is needed. From the perspective of generative linguistics (Chomsky 2006, 2007), the ability to aquire one's native oral language is so natural because acquiring a first language is a biological instinct like learning to walk. On the other hand, learning to read is too recent a process in human evolution to have become wired into our genetic structure. However, this does not necessarily mean that direct reading instruction is inevitable because arguably there is a third major learning process in human development, in addition to the two already mentioned (natural and instructed), namely cultural learning process (see discussions in Gee 2004).

Unlike the general and almost unexceptional ability to aguire one's native language, children's success in learning to read varies based on the kind of social and cultural environment they come from. This also applies to academic and formal language styles. Progress in this field is a cultural learning process and children's progress within the reading process varies when they first start school (Gee 2004). According to Bourdieu (1977, 2008), the linguistic habitus of those who inherit linguistic capital corresponds with demands made on the formal and public market. This correspondance is the foundation of the eloquence and confidence they possess and through which they gain symbolic power - because they speak that way. Those who have not received this inheritence and are in some way aware of that fact usually have to make an effort to adjust their language use in formal circumstances and will often appear nervous and insecure as a result. Importantly, Gee's and Bourdieu's theories entail that some students are on home ground in their school's language environment and are constantly rewarded for what they bring from home (or elsewhere), while others are on foreign ground in this environment and experience a feeling of inferiority because they neither

have the appropriate manner nor know how to play this particular game in school.

Based on these theoretical ideas, I proposed the following research questions:

- (1) a. To what extent do students' expectations of Icelandic studies reflect the idea that good writing skills and use of acknowledged and appropriate language produce social and cultural capital?
 - b. How does the school respond to these students' expectations?
 - c. What kind of discursive themes and patterns can be detected in the students' discourse?

Before we consider the possible answers to these questions, I will comment briefly on the materials and methods used in this part of the research project.

The qualitative approach used here falls within critical theory in which social organization that privileges some at the expense of others is exposed and deconstructed (see discussions in Bogdan & Biklen 2007). The data consists of 14 approximately 30-minute-long semi-structured group interviews with students in lower and upper secondary school (two girls and two boys picked at random in each case). Interview templates were used and all the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The discursive themes and patterns in the students' responses were then analysed.

The students' answers to the following questions from the interview template form the focus of my discussion:

- (2) a. Does your family read a lot? (each person replies)
 - b. Are you used to comments on your language, e.g. corrections? (each person replies)
 - c. If you were to explain the concept of grammar, what comes to your mind?
 - d. How important do you think having good grammar is?
 - e. What does it mean to have good grammar?
 - f. How well do you think you know grammar?

- g. Do you feel you can apply your knowledge of grammar to analyse your own language use and to adjust it to any circumstances or correct it?
- h. Does language use matter in your group of friends? In school? Do your friends correct you when you speak? What about your teachers?

The main emphasis in this part of the interview template was on the students' cultural and linguistic environment, as well as attitudes towards grammar and its usefulness or uselessness.

The above mentioned interview questions were designed on the basis of Gee's (2004, 2005, 2008) and Bourdieu's (1977, 2008) theories. My search for discursive themes was also theoretically driven (see discussions in Grenfell and James 1998: 122–151) and the focus point regarding linguistic proficiency was the contrast between school learning and cultural learning from elsewhere (Bourdieu 1977).

3. Icelandic as a school subject and language of learning and teaching – a research project

The research project *Icelandic as a school subject and language of learning and teaching 2013-2016* was a cooperative project between the School of Education and School of Humanities at the University of Iceland and the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Akureyri. Several graduate students were involved in the research together with scholars from the Faroe Islands, Norway, and Sweden, who were connected to the project at the preparation stage. Crucially, the project also involved cooperation with the 15 schools that participated. The project management consisted of seven researchers from the two Icelandic universities mentioned above (for an overview of the project, see Jónsson and Angantýsson, forthcoming).

The overall goals of the project were (i) to identify the status of the Icelandic language, both as a school subject and as a language of teaching and learning by looking at policy making, curriculum, teaching methods and the attitudes of students, teachers and administrators, and (ii) to use the results as a foundation for experimental developments within schools and teacher education that will be supported by the research team. The project was split into five connected parts or research strands, a division which is familiar from the national curriculum in Iceland:

- (3) a. Speaking and listening
 - b. Reading
 - c. Literature
 - d. Writing and spelling
 - e. Grammar

For each strand there were defined specific goals, in addition to the general objectives given above. I will come back to the secondary goals of the grammar part.

The data came from nine lower secondary schools and five upper secondary schools and derived from field studies, interviews and analysis of pre-existing data. We also conducted preliminary tests of our research tools in one lower secondary school and one upper secondary school. The interviews varied in length according to participant category: individual supervisory and Icelandic subject teachers (50-60 min.), groups of subject teachers (30-40 min., groups of students (30-40 min.) and administrators (30-40 min.). The field notes included a general description of the classroom, i.e., the organization of tables, texts and pictures on the walls, availability of technical equipment, etc. Then there was a detailed and carefully timed narrative where the activities of the teacher and students were described in separate columns. Finally, there was a description of the lesson "in a nutshell", including content, teaching methods and the knowledge and skills emphasized in each lesson.

In addition to the preliminary tests in one lower secondary school and one upper secondary school, the research group collected data in nine lower secondary schools and five upper secondary schools, including 50 interviews with students, teachers and administrators, and field study data from 165 classes. In this paper, the discussion is restricted to the student interviews.

The main objectives of the grammar part of the overall research project are shown in (4):

- (4) a. To look at the curriculum of grammar used in the school as well as other resources used by teachers and students.
 - b. To investigate the kind of knowledge, skills, and understanding emphasized.
 - c. To identify teachers' attitudes, specifically in upper secondary schools, towards the language and their role in teaching grammar.
 - d. To analyse students' attitudes towards learning grammar.

In the following discussion I am mainly concerned with the last goal and to a certain extent the second goal.

4. Patterns and themes

In this section, I present some discourse themes found in the interview data. Based on (i) the theoretical background discussed in section 2, (ii) previous research on grammar teaching in Iceland (e.g. Sigurgeirsson 1993, Sigbórsson 2008, Óladóttir 2011, Sverrisdóttir 2014), and (iii) extensive informal discussions in *Skíma* which is the journal of Icelandic subject teachers, established in 1977 (see an overview in Angantýsson 2014), I expected certain recurring themes in the students' discourse, including scepticism towards formal grammar teaching.

Let us start with the students' general ideas about grammar (translations of the transcribed interviews are given – italics is used to emphasize recurring themes):

(5) R: If we talk about grammar for a moment, what comes to your mind when I say grammar?

- I: Just learning about your language.
- I: Declension and that kind of stuff.
- I: There's a book called Grammar.
- I: Málrækt [Language cultivation].
- I: No, that's Grammar, the yellow book.

...

- R: Does anything else come to mind?
- I: Are you talking about the Spelling Dictionary?
- R: But does anything else come to mind, he said learning about language, you said declension, can you think of anything else?
- I: Riddles, crosswords.

As shown in (5), most students think of (boring) books rather than specific topics when the grammar concept is mentioned. This is consistent with previous research indicating that lessons in Icelandic as a school subject tend to centre around the use of textbooks and workbooks (Sigurgeirsson 1993, Sigpórsson 2008). Other suggestions include declensions, spelling and crosswords. Interestingly, grandmothers also play a role in this discussion:

(6) I1: Grammar books and my grandmothers.

. . .

- R: How do you feel about these books?
- I4: Boring.
- I3: Yes.
- I1: They are pretty uninteresting but using grammar is good.
- I3: And books like Skerpa and then you're just like hhh.
- I2: Oh my god!
- R: (laughs) You mentioned your grandmother, why do you think of her in terms of grammar?
- I1: Because she corrects grammar.

Here there is a clear reference to the notion of prescriptive grammar: Corrections (in this case on the behalf of grand-mothers) within the purview of grammar. This links to Óladóttir's (2011) research which shows that a prescriptive approach

is predominant in grammar books for lower secondary schools in Iceland.

The interview data reveals that some students are corrected at home while others are not; some students are corrected by their friends, some of the students correct their friends, and some teachers correct language use while others do not. This is consistent with Bourdieu's (2008) theory of variable linguistic habitus. Here are some further comments on correct and incorrect language:

- (7) I1: My dad doesn't say anything, doesn't make any comments...
 - I2: My dad always says something when my grammar is wrong.
 - I3: Use of English words in sentences ...
 - I4: There are like three girls that are always correcting you and you're just like whatever.

In fact, the emphasis on *right* and *wrong* in connection with the notion of grammar is dominant in the students' discourse.

Another theme, also quite central in the interviews, is the contrast between usefulness and uselessness (for an overview and discussions, see Angantýsson 2014). According to the students, the most useful aspects of Icelandic as a school subject are the following:

(8) Writing
Reading
Reading comprehension
Speed reading techniques
Composition
Spelling
Correct grammar

As far as school grammar in the narrow and prescriptive sense is concerned, the most important issue seems to be the correct and appropriate use of language. When the students were asked about the least useful topics in Icelandic as a school subject, they came up with answers like those in (9):

(9) Declension.

Word classes... and verbs and just everything.

My dad doesn't know these things (about subjects, objects...) but sometimes he has to Translate between Icelandic and English.

No need to make things more complicated.

Word classes.

I don't really see why we really have to know all the *word* classes.

The rules of grammar like, you know, like declension and all that shit.

Traditionally, word classes and declension of nouns and verbs have been in the foreground in Icelandic grammar teaching and it has been argued that Icelandic as a school subject suffers from an overemphasis on such formal aspects (see Blöndal 2001). These results further support the view that students in secondary schools do not find these activities particularly purposeful:

- (10) R: What about the concepts you learn in grammar, like the ones you mentioned, word classes and such do you feel like you can use these concepts to describe the language, how someone speaks or to analyse text or something like that? Do these concepts help in that regard?
 - I1: I don't know, I like, I don't know...
 - I2: uuuh I don't really know...
 - I3: I don't really think so.
 - I1: No.
 - I3: I could talk and read without knowing these things, I think.
 - I2: yeah...

Regarding students' expectations, most of them believe it is desirable to acquire fluency in reading and formal writing as well as correct grammar: (11) I3: I think spelling and you know *I'd like to learn more and do more essays and stuff cause I know we're going to be doing that more in the future.*

In their view, however, too much time is devoted to traditional school grammar, at the cost of this goal:

- (12) I2: Word classes.
 - I4: Yeah I don't really understand why we really have to know all the *word classes*.
 - I1: Exactly.
 - R: No, yeah and is there quite a lot of time devoted to that maybe?
 - I4: Yeah kind of ...
 - I2: Yes.
 - I3: We're pretty much only doing that now of course, you know.

Furthermore, the students think that success in Icelandic as a school subject depends to some extent on reading habits and language instruction at home (cf. the idea of formal language acquisition as a cultural learning process):

- (13) R: But what do you think you know, just if you think about like the classic concepts of grammar that you mentioned earlier.
 - I3: I am really good at concepts and stuff but when it comes to spelling I'm just like eeeee.
 - I3: Is really bad at spelling.
 - R: What about you boys?
 - I1: Well I really understand a lot what I'm learning, it doesn't take me a long time to understand when I'm learning.
 - *I2:* He is pretty much the master mind in the class.
 - I3: Yeah, he's a really convenient teammate in like quizzes and ...
 - R: Yes I understand, I see.
 - I1: Just because I read ...
 - R: Yes, but do you feel like it matters how you speak at school?
 - I: Yes.

- I: Yes.
- I: Mmm, yes.
- I: Yes, you can't hurt anybody's feelings with words.
- R: Mmm but what about, *does it matter if you speak correctly* or something like that?
- I: Yes then you get a better grade in Icelandic, if you speak correctly.

These views support the idea that schools tend to reward their students for knowledge and skills that are not necessarily highlighted in the classroom but which can rather be viewed as advantageous due to systematic cultural reproduction within families and social networks (Bourdieu 1977). A relevant question here (unfortunately not asked in the interviews) is whether or not the students would actually appreciate more direct instruction of standard language use (see discussions in Song 2015, Delpit 2001 and Schultz 1996, 2001).

The opposing concepts in the students' discourse can be summarized as follows:

(14) Right and wrong speech.

Useful and useless.

Expectations and reality.

School learning and cultural learning from elsewhere.

Generally, the adolesents who took part in the research think it is important to acquire the legitimate and most prestigious genres of the language and avoid stigmatized variants. In their view, however, too much time is devoted to traditional school grammar, at the expense of this goal.

5. Final remarks and conclusion

The research reported in this paper investigated students' motivations and expectations towards learning Icelandic at school, with respect to the idea that learning the appropriate language gives them social and cultural value (Bourdieu,

2008). The data derived from 14 interviews conducted in nine lower secondary schools and five upper secondary schools in Iceland from 2013 to 2015. The participants consisted of 14 focus groups of students (ages 12, 15 and 18). The research shows that most interviewees have a clear idea about what they want out of Icelandic studies which is most often to become proficient in reading, writing, and the proper use of the language. In their view, however, the amount of time devoted to traditional school grammar is actually a detriment to that goal. Some students receive guidance on their grammar at home and others do not, while those that do not feel it is not a priority in Icelandic classes. Students did, however, believe that those who read a lot and have received guidance on their grammar outside of school benefit by getting better grades in Icelandic. The data indicates that the school rewards students specifically for knowledge they bring from home or elsewhere and punishes those who have not received this head start (cf. Bourdieu 1977, 2008).

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Language diversity in Norway and the question of L1 and L2

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Abstract

In this article, I will give a historical overview and the present-day status of language diversity in Norwegian schools and Norwegian society. I will also discuss several questions that arise with regard to the political and educational situation. For four hundred years, Norway had Danish as its official and only written language. When Norway became an independent country, Norway decided to have its own national language, Norwegian. However, due to historical events, this is one language with two slightly different written varieties: Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) and New Norwegian (nynorsk). Since almost 90 per cent of Norwegian pupils learn Dano-Norwegian as their first (written) language, and the other written language, New Norwegian, is not used much in society in general, I will argue that New Norwegian might actually be considered a foreign language by those who learn to write Dano-Norwegian as their first language and that it can even be positioned behind English when analyzed from a languagelearning point of view.

Keywords

language acquisition, language diversity, language learning, second language acquisition

Różnorodność językowa w Norwegii a kwestia pierwszego i drugiego języka

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia historyczne i współczesne podejście Norwegów do języka narodowego, zwracając szczególną uwage na rozróżnienie wynikające z zestawienia oficjalnych jego form nauczanych w szkołach i zwyczajów językowych użytkowników. Autor umieszcza swe rozważania w kontekście określonej sytuacji politycznej i wynikających zeń założeń edukacyjnych. Kluczowym elementem jest tu historia kraju, w którym przez 400 lat oficjalnym językiem był język innego państwa - język duński. Dopiero po uzyskaniu przez Norwegię całkowitej niezależności norweski stał językiem oficjalnym. W wyniku tych historycznych okoliczności jest to język, w którym funkcjonuja obok siebie dwie, nieco odmienne, wersje pisane: duńsko-norweska (bokmål) i nowa norweskim (nynorsk). Ponieważ niemal 90% uczniów w norweskich szkołach uczy się duńsko-norweskiego jako pierwszego (pisanego) języka, autor niniejszego tekstu formułuje teze, iż nowy norweski może być traktowany przez nich jako język obcy. W takim ujeciu może się okazać, że zajmuje on nawet niższa pozycję niż język angielski.

Słowa kluczowe

nauka języka, przyswajanie języka, przyswajanie języka drugiego, różnorodność językowa

1. Introduction

In this article, I will outline some of the linguistic and cultural challenges to the education system and society of Norway that are a result of language diversity. Despite an earlier common belief ("one language, one people, one nation"), many countries do not have just one national language or one official language (for the distinction between the terms national language and official language, see Holmes 1992: 105-106). Canada, for instance, has both English and French as its official languages.

Furthermore, there might be a number of other national ("native") languages in use. Moreover, in the new multicultural world, there might be many minority languages belonging to immigrants. In Europe with its 50 states, 626 different languages were registered as being in use in 2015 (Grepstad 2015). Additionally, in most cases, when a country has several official languages, these languages are normally not mutually intelligible.

Norway has two official national languages, Norwegian and Sami, the latter belongs to the Uralic language family, while Norwegian belongs to the Germanic languages. Most speakers of the Sami language (or rather languages) live in the north of Norway (and other countries of the northernmost part of Europe). Additionally, Norwegian and Sami are not mutually intelligible, while very few non-Sami Norwegians have to learn or care to learn Sami. For the purposes of this article, however, the Sami language is not important and so will not be discussed further (see e.g. Sammallahti 1998).

The main official language of Norway is Norwegian, which consists of two official written varieties (see e.g. Wardhaugh 2010: chap. 2), Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) and New Norwegian (nynorsk). These varieties are mutually intelligible and most pupils have to learn both of them at school. However, pupils (or the municipalities) choose one variety as the main written language while the other one is taught as a co-language ("side language").

Below, I will first explain the background to the linguistic situation in Norway before I go on to point out some challenges to the education system: the main focus being on the linguistic diversity Norwegian schoolchildren face when they acquire writing skills and find their linguistic identity. I will also discuss the relevance of the terms *language 1* (L1) and *language 2* (L2) in the context of this linguistic diversity. The main question I ask in the article is whether New Norwegian, the alternative variety of the official Norwegian language, may actually be

classified as a foreign language in Norway seen from a language-learning point of view.

One nation, one languagea short history of Norwegian

Norway is a part of mainland Scandinavia in the north of Europe with Sweden and Finland as its Scandinavian neighbours in the east and Denmark in the south. Iceland and the Faroese Islands represent Insular Scandinavia. When the national flags of the Nordic countries are compared it is easy to notice the historical and cultural bonds expressed by the similarities with a horizontal cross on all of the Scandinavian flags. Apart from Finland, where Finnish, a member of the Uralic language family (see e.g. Hakulinen 1997), is the main official language, all the other Scandinavian countries are representatives of Scandinavian languages in the linguistic sense, meaning they belong to the Germanic languages (see e.g. Bandle 2002, Braunmüller 1991, Haugen 1976, Hutterer 2002, König and van der Auwera 1994). The Insular Scandinavian languages Icelandic and Faroese are closer (archaic) descendants of Old Norse (see e.g. Faarlund 2002, Robinson 1992: chap. 4, or Hutterer 2002: chap. IV), the language of the Norwegian Vikings who settled on the islands in the west during the Viking age (around 800/900 AD). While the Mainland Scandinavian languages Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are largely mutually intelligible (cf. Kloss 1967 (Ausbau-languages), Icelandic and Faroese are linguistically much further apart and represent older language stages of Scandinavian, among other things because of the geographical distance to the mainland Scandinavian countries (cf. Kloss 1967 (Abstand-languages), see e.g. Hutterer 2002: chap. IV, König and van der Auwera 1994: chap. 6 and 7, Wardhaugh 2010: 29).

Before the Viking age, the languages or dialects of the northern Germanic "countries" were rather homogeneous (see e.g. Hutterer 2002: chap. II and IV.2), and we commonly refer

to them as Ancient Nordic or Ancient Scandinavian. During the Viking age, the languages split into two main dialects, East and West Scandinavian, due to different sound changes (see e.g. Faarlund 2002, or Hutterer 2002: chap. II and IV.2.3). Even though dialectal differences might have evolved during the Viking age, all Scandinavian dialects/varieties were usually referred to as "Danish tongue", which suggests that the northern Germanic tribes considered their dialects to belong to the same language (Hutterer 2002: chap. IV.2.3). Due to the number of written sources and the international status of the saga literature dealing with Viking heroes, the West Scandinavian variety is best known.

The following language history is partly tied to the political history of the Scandinavian countries. Beginning with the first smaller Viking kingdoms inspired by Charlemagne, who conquered one another (the Vikings even had a political and linguistic impact on the British islands) or built alliances, there is a long list of different political allegiances. In brief (see e.g. Stenersen and Libæk 2007), Norway, Sweden and Denmark shared kings from 1397-1523 (the Kalmar Union), and after Sweden left the union in 1523, Norway stayed as part of the Dano-Norwegian union that had existed officially since 1450. Denmark-Norway was a political union until 1814 when Denmark lost Norway to Sweden as compensation for the loss of Finland after the Napoleonic wars (a result of the so-called Treaty of Kiel). From 1814–1905, therefore, Norway was a part of Sweden and thus politically dependent since the 14th century. The common term for the western variety of Scandinavian before 1350 is Old Norse (see e.g. Barnes 1999), while I will use Old Norwegian to emphasize the development from the older Norwegian language to the new or modern Norwegian language.

In 1349, the Black Death came to Scandinavia and wiped out large parts of the population. Most countries were struck equally hard (according to Austin Alchon (2003: 21) the Black Death is estimated to have killed 30–60 per cent of Europe's

total population), but the great disease also had a great impact on Norwegian history and the development of the language. Many of the people who were able to write (Old) Norwegian (for instance, clergy) died and dialectal changes became more visible when new writers lacked the professional skills of former times. In addition, due to the serious decrease of population, farmers lived further apart from each other than before and dialectal changes developed even more in the different parts of the country. During the following century, therefore, hundreds of different dialects developed, so that linguistically, Middle Norwegian, as the language varieties from around 1350–1550 are referred to, is hard to define as a consistent language (see e.g. Faarlund 2002, Mørck 2004, Otnes and Aamotsbakken 2012: chap. 4).

Up to 1550, it is still relatively easy to detect the direct linguistic development from Old Norwegian (Old Norse)¹ to Middle Norwegian, which is mostly due to sound changes leading to subsequent reanalyses and grammatical changes. For instance, the weakening of the Old Norse end vowels a, i, u to e made it difficult to analyse different inflectional categories like case and person. Hence, the case system and verbal inflection system were greatly simplified leaving modern (standard) Norwegian with almost no case inflection and only one verbal form for each tense and mode. This kind of internal language history is natural for all language development (see for instance the division in internal and external Norwegian language history in Torp and Vikør 1993). In addition to this internal development, Norwegian also experienced quite extensive linguistic loans due to the establishment of a Hanseatic League outpost in Bergen around 1360. The German colony in Bergen existed for approximately four hundred years. Therefore, Low German, the language of the Hanseatic League, has contributed considerably to the shape of the modern Mainland

¹ The common term for the western variety of Scandinavian before 1350 is Old Norse (see e.g. Barnes 1999), while I will use Old Norwegian to emphasize the development from the older Norwegian language to the new or modern Norwegian language.

Scandinavian languages (see e.g. Braunmüller and Diercks 1993, Jahr 1995, Nesse 2001, 2003, 2008a, 2008b, Rambø 2008).

After 1450, when Norway became a part of the Denmark-Norway union, the Danish language had increasingly more impact on the Norwegian language, not least because of the lack of an official Norwegian language norm and a lack of internal politics. In 1536, Norway became a so-called puppet state under Denmark and was politically dependent on Denmark in all matters. Danish was the common written language of Denmark-Norway and continued to be the only official written language in Norway until the end of the 19th century. After the Reformation (1537 in Norway), most countries had the Bible translated into their national language(s). Sweden had a Swedish Bible translation in 1541 and Denmark-Norway had its Bible translation in 1550. Since Norway was a part of Denmark-Norway and there was no official Norwegian written language, Norway did not get such an important book (at that time) to support the consolidation of a national language (see e.g. Wardhaugh 2010:31). Instead, the Bible and obligatory schooling before Confirmation (after 1736), with reading of the catechism and psalms and learning of Danish phrases by heart, became a part of Norwegian culture. For instance, in 1737, explanations of Luther's catechism were published with 759 questions written in Danish. This book was used for 150 years as a preparation for Confirmation. If a person was not able to answer the questions and failed the Confirmation, he or she could not get married (Skirbekk 2016: 66-67). Of course, every single Norwegian citizen had to learn to read Danish in order to become a full member of society. Moreover, when a public school system was established in Norway at the end of the 18th century, pupils had to learn Danish, as there was no subject in school called Norwegian. Indeed, until 1811, Norway did not have its own university, so that Norwegians normally went to Copenhagen in Denmark to study. It was only in 1878, in fact, that a new school law declared that the language of instruction in school should be the children's own speech, i.e. Norwegian colloquial speech instead of Danish (see e.g. Otnes and Aamotsbakken 2012: 150-151).

Linguistically, Danish manifested its position in Norway from 1550. During the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, Danish became more standardized and "purified" (by removing and exchanging loan words from German and the Roman languages) in accordance with the ideals of the Enlightenment. By the time of independence from Denmark in 1814, therefore, those Norwegians who could write were able to do this at least as well or even better than people from Denmark itself.

As mentioned earlier, Norway was a part of Sweden from 1814 until final independence in 1905, but Norway was not forced to adopt Swedish as its new official language. Instead, Norway continued to use the Danish written language. However, by that time Romantic nationalism had come to Scandinavia and Norway, and with that also came the ideology of "one nation, one language". In brief, during the 19th century, three different options were explored, a conservative, a moderate and a radical one. Either one could continue to use the Danish written language, modify the Danish language in the direction of Norwegian urban/upper-class (Danish-influenced) colloquial speech, or create a new written language on the basis of more or less "pure" Norwegian dialects (excluding the Danishinfluenced urban varieties of Norwegian). Around 1800, approximately 80 per cent of the Norwegian population were farmers in one way or the other and most of them spoke dialects that were less "contaminated" by Danish, seen from a purist perspective.

In 1885, the Norwegian parliament decided that the two written varieties, Dano-Norwegian (later called *bokmål*, "book language") and Norwegian-Norwegian (later called *nynorsk*, "New Norwegian") should be the two official Norwegian written languages and that they should have equal rights. During the first part of the 20th century, there were several reforms of both written languages with the aim of bringing them closer togeth-

er and merging them into one written language. However, people on both sides were reluctant to follow this approach and the government decided to give up trying to merge the two languages into one. Even today, many people see the blends and inflections formed from both languages as a kind of "bastardized" language.

While the New-Norwegian (Nynorsk) movement had great support at the beginning of the 20st century and approximately 34 per cent of the population used it as their main written language instead of the Dano-Norwegian (Bokmål) variety (Otnes and Aamotbakken 2012: 150, Vikør 1975), things changed radically after the Second World War. There are many reasons for this development which do not need to be discussed here. Suffice to say, the percentage of pupils who learn New Norwegian as their first/main written language is somewhere below 15 per cent today while Dano-Norwegian (Bokmål) dominates in almost every (written) domain in Norwegian society.

3. The co-existence of Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian

As mentioned above, after the Norwegian parliament acknowledged two official written languages in 1885, no one actually planned or foresaw that Norway would have two official written languages (see also Jahr 1992). Several revisions of both varieties were made to bring them closer to each other and eventually merge them into one written language, so-called "Common Norwegian" (samnorsk). Apart from this strategy, however, the originally Danish written language still needed several revisions in order to become more Norwegian.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Norwegians were exposed to at least three different written languages: Danish, modified Danish (Dano-Norwegian) and New Norwegian. New Norwegian (*nynorsk* or earlier *landsmål*) was built on a lexical and grammatical selection of more or less all of the Norwegian (rural) dialects around 1850. This work was done by one man,

Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) who published a grammar (1848) and a dictionary (1850) of his proposal for a new Norwegian language. By 1873, he had published a revised version of his dictionary with an attempt to standardize it to a higher degree. In 1901, New Norwegian, now one of the two official written languages, had its first revision, while Dano-Norwegian was revised in 1907. The next revision of both written languages followed in 1917, and then new revisions of both varieties came in 1938. The official policy was to try to bring the two varieties closer to each other by introducing several common words or inflections. However, now representatives from both varieties perceived the changes as too radical.

To an outsider, the last 100 (or 150) years of the language debate in Norway may seem rather peculiar. When looking at the transmission from Danish into Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) one might understand "simple" changes of the Danish voiced consonants into Norwegian unvoiced consonants, for instance, Danish pibe, kage, hade into Norwegian pipe, kake, hate (English pipe, cake, hate). Voiced consonants are mainly used in the south-west part of Norway and not in the capital Oslo. Hence, the cultural elite accepted this change more easily. However, the change (back) to diphthongs, for instance, sten>stein (English stone), is still not considered "acceptable" by many Norwegians. Since most common people (farmers and workers) even around Oslo said stein (from Old Norwegian steinn, cf. German Stein) while the upper class tried to sound as Danish as possible and said sten, diphthongs were seen as markers of the lower class and, hence, not "good enough" for proper language (see e.g. Gee 2015: chap. 5, Holmes 1992: 118-121; 142-163, Milroy and Gordon 2003: chap. 4). Stein is the only form in New Norwegian while Dano-Norwegian even today allows both written forms, stein and sten. The same distribution can be found with other diphthongs: grøt - graut (porridge) and røke - røyke ((to) smoke). Dano-Norwegian allows both forms while New Norwegian just has the forms with

the diphthong. The Danish forms would be *grød* and *ryge* with monophthongs and voiced consonants.

Another peculiarity of the language debate is the feminine gender in Dano-Norwegian. Danish has only one common inflection for the definite form of masculine and feminine gender (-en), for instance, manden and kvinnen (the man, the woman). New Norwegian has the original Germanic three-gender system and distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender, so the only two possible forms would be mannen and kvinna today. Dano-Norwegian, on the other hand, allows both variants of the feminine form kvinnen and kvinna. Despite the fact that most Norwegians actually use the form kvinna in oral speech, many users of the Dano-Norwegian variant choose to write kvinnen and generally avoid the feminine inflection of nouns.

To give an example from the perspective of New Norwegian, Ivar Aasen distinguished between strong and weak feminine nouns, kvinne being a weak noun ending with a vowel (in Aasen's dictionary the indefinite form was actually kvinna, as in Old Norwegian (kvenna)). Strong feminine nouns (ending with a consonant) had an -i as the definite inflection, e.g. bok boki (English: book - the book), although the i-form had become a so-called "sideform" (alternative form) by 1938 (side forms were not used in official teaching material), and in 2012 the possibility to use i-forms was removed from the official New Norwegian norm altogether. This is just a small sample of the linguistic diversity one can meet as a reader of Danish, Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian. Not only are/were there three different varieties, but also both Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian had a number of optional, alternative forms one could choose. Hence, Norwegian readers have been exposed to a rather inconsistent picture of written "Norwegian" for the last 100 years. Additionally, many Norwegians frequently read and possibly hear Danish and Swedish through business or when going on vacation or shopping trips to their neighbour countries.

4. The status of dialects in Norway

As we have seen, most Norwegian readers are frequently exposed to at least two written varieties of Norwegian (Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian) and if they care to read texts from former times, they would also have to read "semi-Danish" (older variants of Dano-Norwegian) and Danish and older norms of New Norwegian. Indeed, the founder of the New Norwegian language, Ivar Aasen, actually wrote his grammar of New Norwegian in Danish because Danish was the only official language at that time (1848).

In many countries, one is used to having a standard speech form, usually based on the dialect or sociolect of a historically significant region, for instance, the capital of a country and/or the development of a standard written language (see e.g. Holmes 1992: 82-86, Trudgill 1983: chap. 11, Wardhaugh: 2010: 31-40; see also Milroy and Milroy 1985, for a discussion on spoken and written English). Norway, however, lost its written language in the 14th century and had Danish as its official written language for 400 years. Even though Norwegian speech was highly influenced by Danish and German during these centuries, hundreds of dialects developed with their origin in the Old Norwegian language. For many hundreds of years, therefore, Norwegians have spoken their dialects while they used a more or less different written language (those in the past who were able to write). In 1885, when the Norwegian parliament decided upon the two official written languages, Dano-Norwegian was still too close to Danish and New Norwegian was a synthesis of more or less all Norwegian dialects. Hence, there was no real standard oral ground for either of the written languages. Actually, a popular slogan of the New Norwegian movement still is "Speak dialect, write New Norwegian!" (Snakk dialekt, skriv nynorsk!). Thus, the New Norwegian movement has no desire to favour a standard for colloquial speech.

In spite of this, when they began to transmit programmes, Norwegian radio and TV used speech based on written Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian, while the use of dialect was generally not accepted in public broadcasting. In most cases, radio or TV anchors from the area around Oslo (with East Norwegian pronunciation) were used for reading the news in Dano-Norwegian, while people from West Norway (with West Norwegian pronunciation) were used for texts to be presented in New Norwegian. Hence, the state broadcasting company to some degree contributed to and biased the conception of standard Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian.

However, during the 1970s, Norway (as with many other countries, see e.g. Grijp 2007 for Dutch) experienced a folk song and dialect resurgence and the use of dialects became synonymous with democracy and/or opposition against official state actions (see e.g. Bourdieu 1992). Today, it is expected that a person will use his or her local dialect and among certain groups, standardizing oral speech (dialect) towards the written language is not appreciated at all (see e.g. Grepstad 2015: 25). According to a survey from 2012, 90 per cent of Norwegians think using dialect is positive (Grepstad 2015: 129). As for national radio, statistics show that there was a 6 per cent use of dialect in 1972, while there was a 35 per cent use of dialect in 2013 (Grepstad 2015: 85). The numbers for national TV are 2 per cent in 1972 and 13 per cent in 2014 (Grepstad 2015: 86).

Even though there is a high tolerance for the use of dialects in Norway, depending on which region a speaker comes from, he or she usually ranks the various dialects of Norway differently. There are also certain stereotypes connected to certain dialects (see e.g. Mæhlum et al. 2003: chap. 7.3.2) and some dialects are usually perceived to be more difficult to understand than others (Grepstad 2015: chap. 5.3).

While the previous section concluded that most Norwegians are exposed to varieties of written Norwegian (and possibly Danish and Swedish), we now see that most Norwegians also

hear many different Norwegian dialects. Through the introduction of text telephone (SMS) and interactive internet, the use of dialects is now also more or less ubiquitous (see e.g. Grepstad 2015: 24-26). Among schoolchildren, especially, the use of dialect in social media has increased. Hence, the average internet user meets not only Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian as the two official written languages, but a great variety of dialect-based writing. Indeed, Grepstad (2015: 26) actually anticipates the development of a third, non-standardized Norwegian written language.

5. Learning Norwegian at school

Norwegian pupils, of course, have to learn to read and write Norwegian at school. Norway as a state has one official Norwegian language, but two legal written varieties of equal standing – Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian (see e.g. Det kongelege kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet, 2007-2008: chap. 4). All pupils (unless they are exempted for some reason) have to learn both written languages, but one language is normally the first or main language while the other one is the additional language or so-called "side language" (sidemål). Each municipality chooses which variety they want to teach as the main language and consequently as the additional language. To some extent, the choice of language can also be made individually by the pupils (or rather by the parents).

According to the present curriculum (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2013), pupils are supposed to learn to write their main language from first grade, but will also read texts in the other language.² After having finished fourth grade, the pupils are supposed to be able to talk about texts written in both Dano-Norwegian and New Norwegian, describe differences between their own dialect and other Norwegian dialects and understand some Danish and Swedish. By the end of seventh grade, pupils

 $^{^2}$ In this context, it is interesting to note that Norwegian pupils learn to read and write English from first grade.

will have "experimented" with written texts in the other language and started to compare both written languages. Official training in the additional language usually starts in eighth grade and the pupils are supposed to be able to write both languages/varieties by the end of tenth grade. At the end of secondary school, pupils usually get three separate grades in the subject "Norwegian", one for oral achievement and one for each written variety.

Approximately 12-13 per cent of pupils learn New Norwegian as their first or main language in primary school. At the same time, Dano-Norwegian is predominant in Norwegian society. Apart from certain regions in the west of Norway, Dano-Norwegian is definitely the majority (written) language. Since almost 90 per cent of pupils have Dano-Norwegian as their main language and this is also the language they most frequently meet during everyday life, many pupils (and people in general) do not understand why they have to learn (to write) both varieties. Given the fact that most pupils meet New Norwegian more or less only in a school environment when they themselves are at the beginning of puberty, many people develop a negative attitude towards the language. According to several studies, 70-75 per cent of pupils and even teachers admit that they are negative towards having to learn/teach two similar written languages or that they are negative towards New Norwegian in particular (see e.g. Hellerud 2005, Nordal 2004, Nordhagen 2006, Røed 2010, Slettemark 2006). Obviously, this is a serious pedagogical challenge for both teachers and pupils when neither teachers nor pupils are motivated to teach or learn New Norwegian.

6. What actually is the Norwegian language?

Look at the following sentences and consider whether you would be able to select the Norwegian one(s):

- (1) (a) What is actually the Norwegian language?
 - (b) Hva er egentlig det norske språket?
 - (c) Hvad er egentlig det norske sprog?
 - (d) Hvað er raunverulega norska?
 - (e) Kva er eigentleg det norske språket?
 - (f) Vad är egentligen det norska språket?
 - (g) Was ist eigentlich die norwegische Sprache?
 - (h) Quelle est vraiment la langue norvégienne?

Since you are reading this article in English, you might immediately rule out sentence (1a) and you might also be able, without hesitation, to rule out sentence (1h), which is French, because it is most different from the other sentences, being the only non-Germanic language in this sample. You will probably be able to detect the German sentence (1g) and maybe you would rule out (1d) because of the letter \eth , which is characteristic for Icelandic. The remaining four sentences would be more difficult to differentiate.

- (2) (a) Hva er egentlig det norske språket?
 - (b) Hvad er egentlig det norske sprog?
 - (c) Kva er eigentleg det norske språket?
 - (d) Vad är egentligen det norska språket?

These sentences look very much alike and still there are some minor spelling differences. In other cases there might be lexical or syntactic differences, too. Sentence (2a) is Dano-Norwegian, sentence (2b) is Danish, sentence (2c) is New Norwegian and sentence (2d) is Swedish. Now, remember that all Norwegian pupils are supposed to deal with all four languages to some degree during primary and secondary school. Additionally, pupils are normally exposed to different dialects, especially in larger cities, but now also in social media, where it has become more and more common to use dialect-based writing/spelling (Grepstad 2015: 26).

Imagine a sentence/question: "How am I supposed to write Norwegian?" This could be written in Dano-Norwegian, New Norwegian or in different dialects, here exemplified by two varieties from East Norwegian and Northern Norwegian:

(3) (a) Hvordan skal jeg skrive norsk? (Standard Dano-Norwegian)
(b) Korleis skal eg skrive norsk? (Standard New Norwegian)
(c) Åssen skar je skrive norsk? (Eastern dialect)

(d) Korsn ska æ skriv norsk? (Northern dialect)

The respective variants in Danish and Swedish would be:

(4) (a) Hvordan skal jeg skrive norsk? (Danish, see Dano-Norwegian)

(b) Hur ska jag skriva norska? (Swedish)

One might wonder how it is possible for pupils to learn to write Norwegian at all.

7. First language versus second language versus foreign language

Due to political reasons (the languages are defined and standardized by different countries), Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are classified as different languages. From a linguistic point of view, one could argue that they belong to a dialect continuum and are varieties of the same language (Mainland Scandinavian) (see e.g. Wardhaug 2010: 29). There may be greater differences between some Norwegian dialects than between Norwegian and Swedish or Norwegian and Danish. Modern societies need standardized written languages (Wardhaugh 2010: 31-40). Hence, Mainland Scandinavia has to deal with three "different" national languages and due to Norwegian history, Norwegian comes in two written varieties.

According to present policies (more or less since 1885), the official language in Norway is Norwegian (additionally, Sami has official status). Norwegian comes in two written varieties, Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) and New Norwegian (nynorsk), and hundreds of local dialects. Scholars and politicians from different viewpoints argue whether Dano-Norwegian and New Nor-

wegian are varieties of the same language or two separate languages. This raises the question of what status the other or additional languages should have in the educational system and in society, as well as what they should be called. This is because many pupils and even teachers refer to Dano-Norwegian (bokmål) and New Norwegian (nynorsk) as Norwegian and New Norwegian, i.e. norsk and nynorsk. And, since 85-90 per cent of pupils use Dano-Norwegian as their main (and usually only) written language, they consider it the Norwegian language (see Omdal and Vikør 2002: 59-62 for a discussion on to what degree a written language is a language), while New Norwegian is felt to be an obligatory "punishment" at school.

According to McLaughlin (1984: 101), the structures of the first language (L1) are fairly well established at the age of three. Therefore, learning another language before the age of three is also considered learning a first language. Most Norwegian children learn a local dialect as their first language. They do not normally learn to write before kindergarten or primary school. But since many children are read to by their parents and children's television (cartoons) is often dubbed on the basis of written texts, most children are exposed to the dialect(s) of their parents and Dano-Norwegian, since this is the most used written variety. Children might actually use "television language" (very often standardized speech based on dialects from Oslo or East Norway) as a language in role play and other activities of play. Even though there might be, to a greater or smaller degree, differences between the local dialect and the written language, we do not usually speak of second language acquisition when children learn to write at primary school. A child from Northern Norway might ask: Ka du sei? (What you say?) while the Dano-Norwegian written form would be: Hva sier du? (What say you?). So there might be both lexical and syntactic differences between the dialects and the standard written languages. However, after learning to write at school,

the children are socialized to learn the difference between oral speech and written language(s).

If the teacher is doing her job, the pupils will meet a certain amount of the other written language (usually New Norwegian) through listening and reading during primary school. Potentially, the two written languages, then, could be established as varieties of the same language. However, in most cases, the amount of texts in New Norwegian is minimized and the majority of pupils also have little exposure to New Norwegian outside school. New Norwegian, thus, has the same status as Danish or Swedish, being "foreign" languages from an exposure and learning point of view. The other Scandinavian languages, including New Norwegian, would, therefore be second languages (L2). To a great extent pupils are also able to understand each language/variety, but they would not be able to write properly, i.e. according to standard writing.

When it comes to the learning of a second language, one can differentiate between second-language acquisition (SLA) and foreign-language learning (FLL) (see e.g. Berggren and Tenfjord 2003: 16, Engen and Kulbrandstad 2004: 27). A second language is learned in an environment where the language is used on a daily basis. A foreign language is learned outside an environment where it is used on a daily basis. From this perspective, New Norwegian could actually be considered a foreign language by most people in Norway.

In contrast, Norwegian pupils learn to speak and write English from first grade in primary school. After the introduction of private television channels and the ubiquitous nature of Anglo-American music and later computer culture after the Second World War, English is definitely present in modern Norwegian society. Some researchers argue that one could consider most Norwegians today to be bilingual (see e.g. Engen and Kulbrandstad 2004: chap. 2, for a discussion on different definitions of bilinguality). Most Norwegian pupils would claim that they manage to write in English better than New Norwegian. Formally, English is still considered a foreign language in

the Norwegian school system and society. However, since most pupils achieve better results in English than in New Norwegian, New Norwegian, formally, should also be considered a foreign language.

Interestingly, those pupils who learn New Norwegian as their first/main language at school usually learn Dano-Norwegian without major problems and much extra teaching at school (contrary to those who have to learn New Norwegian as their additional language) because Dano-Norwegian is almost ubiquitous. Paradoxically, therefore, it is the minority in Norway (12-13 per cent) who actually master Norwegian as a language consisting of two written varieties with equal legal rights.

From a language-learning and pedagogical point of view, it would seem reasonable that the national curriculum be changed and that New Norwegian would become the main/first written language in school for all pupils. However, this is not possible for political reasons and the earlier mentioned generally negative attitude towards New Norwegian especially in the capital Oslo and the eastern regions.

8. Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to give a historical overview and the present-day status of language diversity as it exists in Norwegian schools and Norwegian society. I have discussed different questions that have arisen from the political and educational situation. From the moment Norway became an independent country, it was decided that it should have its own national language, Norwegian. Officially, this is one language with two written varieties. Since almost 90 per cent of Norwegian pupils learn Dano-Norwegian as their first (written) language, and the other written language, New Norwegian, is not as visible in the public domain, New Norwegian can actually be considered a foreign language – even taking up a position behind English.

Paradoxically, New Norwegian is, at the same time, one half of the official language Norwegian.

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The educational rhetoric of empowerment in academic tutoring: The teacher's and student's perspectives

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Abstract

The paper discusses the complex issue of language used in individual tutorials in tertiary education. The methodological setting is Critical Discourse Analysis, which allows for the interpretation of language used by teachers as empowering or denigrating students: in both cases language which appeals to their emotions and determines their intellectual and cognitive progress. The assumption of the paper is that the tutorial should be viewed as an exceptional educational context within which the rhetoric of empowerment, viewed as crucial for educational success, can be used. Thus, the concept of an educational rhetoric of empowerment, and the tutorial as a framework for its exemplification and application, as well as some examples of real language used for the description of experiencing learning in a tutorial shall be elaborated on and quoted.

Key words

academic tutoring, Critical Discourse Analysis, educational rhetoric of empowerment, language, rhetoric

Edukacyjna retoryka upełnomocnienia w tutoringu akademickim z perspektywy nauczyciela i studenta

Abstrakt

Artykuł jest głosem w dyskusji nad złożonym zagadnieniem dotyczącym roli języka stosowanego w indywidualnym tutorialu na studiach wyższych. Tłem metodologicznym jest Krytyczna Analiza Dyskursu, która pozwala na interpretację języka nauczycieli jako upełnomocniającego lub umniejszającego studentów, a w każdym przypadku wpływającego na emocje, które determinują ich rozwój poznawczy i intelektualny. Założenia poczynione przez autorkę postulują o spojrzenie na tutorial jako na wyjątkowy edukacyjny kontekst sprzyjający stosowaniu retoryki upełnomocnienia, uznanej za bardzo istotną dla poczucia sukcesu edukacyjnego. Stąd też w artykule rozwinięte są koncepcje edukacyjnej retoryki upełnomocnienia, tutorialu jako przestrzeni dla jej efektywnego oddziaływania, a także przywołane są przykłady języka użytego do ewaluacji doświadczenia tutorskiego zebrane w badaniu ewaluacyjnym po projekcie wdrożeń edukacji spersonalizowanej w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim.

Słowa kluczowe

język, edukacyjna retoryka upełnomocnienia, Krytyczna Analiza Dyskursu retoryka, tutoring akademicki

1. Introduction

The following paper poses the question of whether academic tutoring creates a space for practicing communication named, for the purpose of this analysis, the educational rhetoric of empowerment. The context of the study is limited to the university milieu, while the theoretical framework applies to any kind of educational institution in which the system of education either already has or is planning to implement personalized tutorials as an alternative to traditional classroom based in-

struction. The discussion is situated, in terms of scientific paradigms and methodology, in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) serving both as a method of research and as the underlying philosophy of the research analysis. The concept of the educational rhetoric of empowerment is described and given special meaning in terms of dialogic education in the tutorial, as opposed to the traditional form of the rhetoric of lecturing, which is more commonly used for presenting subjects at university. Tutoring, viewed as one of the forms of personalized education, provides the context for analysis, as individual space for dialogue and intellectual discussion over written essays enables a pure exchange of language. The paper ends with quotations from a number of examples of rhetorical empowerment pronounced by students and teachers in research conducted within the IQ Project at the University of Gdańsk in the years 2014-2016. The Project provided two semesters of almost 1600 individual tutorials offered to 220 students in various disciplines of language and other academic studies.

2. Definitions, functions and paradigms of rhetoric in the educational context

In order to scrutinize rhetoric as a wide sphere of human communication on the one hand, and a collection of verbal and nonverbal tools of educational impact on the other, the very term needs to be theoretically reconstructed. Definitions are numerous and varied. One of them, formulated by Rypel (2011), frames rhetoric as the study of interpersonal communication, strategies of negotiation and persuasion (written or spoken). More specifically, rhetoric covers the analysis of speaking skills, as well as the linguistic analysis of processes which build various communicative situations. Functions of rhetoric, as described by Rypel are: effective argumentation and persuasion, making use of induction/deduction, analogies and alternative solutions in communication, as well as making use of formulaic language. This linguistic setting originates,

among others, in the dual paradigmatic dimensions of the study of rhetoric as a science and from its philosophical roots. One dimension can be identified from the Ciceronian perspective, where rhetoric is viewed as a set of more technical, pragmatic skills, possible to be trained and learnt as genres: ars dicendi, ars praedicandi, ars poetriae, ars dictaminins, ars notaria and ars epistolando (Skwara 2011: 34). Such an approach could be classified as the purely academic perspective. and as such often exercised and followed by teachers. The other applies historically to a more renaissance-like treatment of rhetoric as the *pure art of speaking*, devoid of the Aristotelian truth dogma and giving way to interpretative meanings, perlocution, manipulation and other linguistic distortions of epistemological truth. The latter seems to have close links to contemporary Critical Discourse Analysis (Karpińska-Musiał 2013), which steers discussion towards the educational context of the day. Additionally, a pragmatic orientation might classify this type of perspective as student-oriented, as it is students who aim at mastering communicative skills and proper discursive behavior during their studies.

Major assumptions of the CDA approach can be traced back to the writings of Ruth Wodak (2001). In its wide socio-political impact, Critical Discourse Analysis highlights resistance instead of conformity, promotes development of critical rationality instead of mainstream rationality serving people in power, calls for self-identification and equality of chances for disempowered groups. In this paper it shall be claimed that in the case of rhetoric in education, CDA has at least a double function: to provide methodological tools for the analysis of educational discourse, and thus to improve a didactic process, and secondly: to treat the very didactic process as an empowering construct, a dialogic meeting of two individuals which brings about emancipatory change. A specific example of this empowering context, both linguistically and socio-politically, is the space provided by the individual, academic tutorial, which shall be the main subject of discussion further in this paper.

Objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of linguistic analysis can be met by analyzing all the different outcomes of pupils' and teachers' academic work: their written documents (essays) as well as verbal communication, curricula, course books and any other project work which results from it. However, Ruth Wodak emphasizes, in accordance with the French school of discourse, that critical analysis goes far beyond text itself (what literary studies do), as it must consider the whole *context* of a language event: cultural, political, social and even economic ones. In other words, CDA as a wider contextual approach to rhetorical analysis verifies content, forms. strategies, semiotic types, and pragmatic effects of communicative acts, which permeate the whole educational (and thus also didactic) processes occurring in academia. It calls for them to be multidimensional, contextualized, constructivist and emancipatory. Above all, educational processes, discursive and linguistic in their nature, should also be empowering.

3. Empowerment in education

- from idea to a linguistic practice

As Nicolaidis and Koutroumpezi (2008: 184) quote,

Short *et al* (1994, p. 38) defined empowerment as 'a process whereby school participants develop the competence to take charge of their own growth and resolve their own problems'. Moye *et al* (2005) suggested that empowered teachers: (a) create learning environments which involve students participating as significant cooperators in the learning process and (b) encourage students to be independent and self-motivated.

The issue of empowerment is a case in point in this paper and calls for a deeper insight into the state-of-the-art of didactics in a Higher Education institution. The fact that a didactic process in academia, especially in terms of empowering the students, is a rhetorical process does not raise any doubts. Still, it requires a closer look. Are all the features of a rhetorical

process, viewed as triangular relationships between subject, listener and speaker (or logos, ethos and pathos) mirrored in all the different modes of the didactic process exercised at the university of today? As Zgółkowa and Sobczak (2011) remark, rhetorical process in all its complexity is presented as humanistic (referring to people), based on social interactionism, context-based, dynamic and persuasive in nature, socio-psychological, oriented towards relations and critical argumentation. The last two features, especially, appear essential if we talk about the empowering functions of language in the aura of Critical Discourse Analysis. Are all didactic situations directed towards building relations and inviting critical argumentation? What does critical argumentation mean in the face of the recognized manipulative function of rhetoric? How much metaanalysis is allowed in a process where persuasion is supposed to rule? Do these two exclude or support each other during the academic study of controversial subjects? And, finally, what forms of didactics may become an arena for a critical discussion in the realm of mass university, huge auditory halls and large groups of students?

Linguistic practice in terms of giving voice to all the participants in the educational realm (i.e. in its emancipatory function) also calls for some revision. According to Zgółkowa et.al. (2011), nowadays there is too much focus on text construction instead of text decoding (in teaching writing), and, secondly, too little attention paid to the perlocutionary effects of communication seen as awareness of ethos in speaking. What is usually taught in scholarly terms about rhetoric (and usually only in philological disciplines) are the pragmatic effects of rhetorical figures, the eristic organization of the text in literary studies, or the style of speaking in sociolinguistics (linguistic etiquette). Michał Rusinek (2009) concludes that it is a commonplace to talk today about rhetoric either from a historical perspective or in a rather future-oriented context, where scholars ascribe sets of tasks for rhetoric in numerous academic fields. There is, as Rusinek claims, a certain difficulty in talking about rhetoric in the present context, here and now, in terms of a conflict between its historical functions and the contemporary function of an esthetic ornamentation of speech (Rusinek 2009: 229). Historically, in close relation with ancient philosophy, rhetoric is to seek Truth and Cognition, but contemporarily, the esthetic function of oratory argumentation, using figurative language (often misleading in order to manipulate) stands, paradoxically enough, in opposition to clarity and pure Cognition. This conflict is made particularly clear if we take into consideration the figurative nature of language, always full of metaphors, hyperboles, similes and many other tools to convey meaning in any kind of text or speech.

With this in mind, we must remember about the urgent need to find the golden mean in the contemporary language of instruction. As some authors claim, a future-oriented study of rhetoric should cover instruction how to treat communicative acts as a coherent and cohesive means to persuade the interlocutor, but with full responsibility for the word. In other words, students (of any discipline) should be taught how to use wisely the subsequent phases of building communication: inventio, topos, dispositio, elocution, memoria and pronunciatio (Wilczek 2009: 9) while preserving so called "rhetorical tactfulness". And, something which seems to be particularly important for my argumentation, how to use communicative acts to empower the other by not forgetting about ethos.

From a purely linguistic point of view, methods that ease building this type of awareness may include teaching about rules of logic, strategies of persuasion, paraphrasing, active listening, giving feedback, knowing turn-taking rules, counterarguing and cross-cultural differences in linguistic etiquette. As we know, however, communication is not only about language (however contextualized), it is even more about emotions. Education, being a communicative act, cannot be separated from the emotional aspects of those who participate in it (e.g. Krashen 1987, 1988). As Krashen claims, "In the real world, conversations with *sympathetic* native speakers who are

willing to help the acquirer understand are very helpful".1 Understanding can be either hindered or accelerated by emotions conveyed in speech. Brian Vickers, one of the most renowned historians of rhetoric, considered isolated figures of speech as "language means which contain and initiate many potential relations between meaning and emotion" (Vickers 1988: 339; in Rusinek 2009: 232), but even he claimed that it is more reasonable to talk about a "polipathy" of those figures (by analogy to polysemy of figures). The reason is, as he states, the fact that numerous emotions are evoked by the same figures, depending on the context in which they are pronounced and used. Susan Benesch, for example, draws attention to so called Inflammatory Speech or Dangerous Speech, by which she means hate speech and negative manipulation used to denigrate people for reasons that are either political or social, education not being an exception (Benesch 2012). If so, let us see whether individual tutorials can be seen as academically contextualized realms which create space for positive empowerment by means of both language and emotions.

4. A new space for the rhetoric of empowerment in the academic tutorial

In search of a compromise between language, emotions, cognition and the academic institutional context, defining the *educational rhetoric of empowerment* appears to be a challenge. Knowledge about the figurative and any of the six of Jacobson's functions of language (e.g. emotive), as well as mastery of methods of teaching and recognizing varied rhetorical components of academic didactics might still not be enough to create a real-life context for empowerment-based educational discourse. The difficulty lies in combining them all in a unique, dialogic (i.e. verbal and emotional) process that can be realized

¹ Available at http://www.sk.com.br/sk-krash.html>. Accessed 17.09. 2016.

between two autonomous Subjects under very specific circumstances.

Before I try to argue why it is the academic tutorial that meets the requirements of such a context, let me try to define (redefine) the educational rhetoric of empowerment. By the aforementioned reference to Critical Discourse Analysis, empowerment means giving voice to the silent (here - usually students), respecting otherness (in beliefs and values), using inclusive language forms, negotiating differences (in opinions), asking and answering critical questions, showing tolerance for counter-arguments, promoting subjective narratives and the ability to read/decode or transfer hidden meanings. Looking from a rhetorical perspective, there are many figures of speech that can be helpful to achieve this. As has been argued above, however, the rhetoric of empowerment appeals also, if not mainly, to the emotions. Critical pedagogy does not necessarily undermine the positive psychology assumptions (Seligman 1995) which call for giving reassurance, teaching "resilience" (e.g. Benard 1991, 1998), building a caring relationship and positive feedback in the educational dialogue between student and teacher. The term aposiopesis has been used by Vickers as an example of a *polipathic* case – it may allow a show of anger, doubt but also shame, uncertainty, openness as well as difference and anxiety etc. (Rusinek 2009: 232). Figures of speech such as aposiopesis, may create positive or negative emotions, which does not exclude them from contributing to a creative expansion of skills and knowledge. As Carl Rogers empahsizes in his theory of the supportive relationship in education, it is about a reciprocal respect, a holistic approach to both success and failure, an appreciation of strengths and openness to weaknesses that make any educational experience not only emotional, but progressive and successful. That this can be done by figures of rhetoric goes at this point without saying. But they are not the only tools.

An educational rhetoric of empowerment should, then, be based on a number of essential prerequisites, which do not stem only from language. Those that refer to language are, for example, innovative reconfigurations of written or spoken utterances, a search for new interpretations, each being equally precious for the further development of ideas or arguments, mutual "argument tracking" performed by both parties while reading texts or talking, active listening and open counterargumentation in the case of disagreement, and the reinterpretation of facts while exploring new resources. A rhetoric of empowerment that goes far beyond language must include a pedagogical attitude marked by respect and compassion, language skills on a metacognitive level and epistemic knowledge exemplified in dialectic talk. These three components allow the perception of tutorials in terms of not only linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1997: 240) which sets the norms of accuracy and impeccable formulas of speaking and writing in language, but more in terms of an ethical, topical exchange of knowledge occurring in an aura of respect, inquisitiveness, patience, empathy, forgiveness, motivation and shared wisdom by means of language. At this point the rhetoric of empowerment in education combines eristic and figurative communication with pure and straightforward cognition. As Phillipson remarks, "Linguicism [another name for linguistic imperialism - BKM] may be overt or covert, conscious or unconscious, in that it reflects dominant attitudes, values and hegemonic beliefs about what purposes particular languages should serve, or about the value of certain pedagogic practices" (Phillipson 1997: 240). At the same time, however, the same author claims that "Education is a vital site for social and linguistic reproduction, the inculcation of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes [...]", thus underlying the role of extralinguistic factors as being meaningful in education. It is my argument that one such factor, except for political and social hierarchy or postcolonial hegemonies observed in multilingual communities, is the linguistic expression of respect for wisdom and the potential of the Other.

If we take a tutorial² as an example of a personalized educational act in which both the student and teacher are devoted to the topos of their dialectic talk (which lets them explore the arcanes of new knowledge by mutual reading, writing new texts, and tracking their arguments covered in essays), this form of teaching appears to be a perfect arena for practicing the rhetoric of empowerment. Tutorials show many of the enumerated features of a contextualized rhetorical stage to perform the language of science (subject matter, be it language itself or other). It also promotes dialectic discussions with the use of figurative speech. Being paradigmatically grounded in personalist philosophy and anthropology, tutoring provides a space for intellectual autonomy and critical thinking by counter-argumentation in written essays, caring for the Other in the case of disagreement and building mutual trust due to lack of time pressure or formal evaluation.

What is more, in tutorials the language used by the teacher and the student appears to be organically connected with its speaker. A specific "organic unity" of speakers and thoughts develops verbalized by both parties in language. This unity is given a chance only under circumstances which deprive the whole educational event of fear, negative assessment and criticism, offering in return a feeling of flow, the urge to overcome cognitive dissonance (one of the conditions of learning) and the experience of empowering emotions. Grzegorczyk puts this type of learning-inductive integrity between the human being and the language he/she uses for communication in the framework of an ecological harmony of man and his interactional surroundings (Grzegorczyk 2016: 98-100). The surrounding (here the meeting in a tutorial) may be more or less stable, it changes and fluctuates, but the point is that it constantly evolves to reach balance called, after Maturana and

² The tutorial is viewed here as the typical pattern of education traditionally offered in British Universities, i.e. an individual, one-hour long meeting of a teacher and student, being part of a cycle of a minimum of 8 up to 12 meetings devoted to mastering a chosen issue, topic, skill or academic research problem.

Varela (1980), a level of *autopoesis*. The student-teacher rhetorical and educational relationship in a tutorial can be viewed, as Grzegorczyk claims, as an ecological system which aims at constant, self-recuperating actions to empower both of them and take them to a higher level of existence. As for communication, the author states that "another model of communication is created: a one in which two living organisms, communicating in a particular, contextual surrounding, adapt to each other and in this way affect their own epistemologies" (Grzegorczyk 2016: 99).³

5. Teacher and Student voices about their experience

Tutoring can be viewed as education that brings change. This change is enormously multilayered and refers, among other things, to levels of motivation (Redzimska 2016), the introduction of pedagogical innovation (Jendza 2016), levels of systemic and organizational learning at university (Karpińska-Musiał 2016b), or anthropological and methodological interference with traditional study methods in the academic context, regardless of disciplines (Wierucka 2016, Szuba 2016). Above all, teaching and learning during one-hour long individual meetings of students with their tutors, devoted to inspirational talks over essays, is an example of a micro-scale educational environment marked strongly with social self-construction. This fact has been considered as a crucial marker of teaching adults who need to feel like true participants and co-creators of their learning in order to learn effectively (Jankowski 2005: 83-101). If so, tutoring becomes a truly constructivist and empowering space for university teaching, especially if implemented as an elite alternative to regular, traditional instruction and lecturing (Karpińska-Musiał 2016a, 2016b). This can be confirmed by descriptions written by academic tutors at the

³ "Powstaje więc inny model komunikacji, taki, w którym dwa organizmy porozumiewające się w określonym kontekstualnie środowisku dostosowują się wzajemnie do siebie, a w ten sposób wpływają na swoje własne i wzajemne epistemologie (por Maturana, Varela 1980)" (Grzegorczyk 2016: 99).

University of Gdansk who participated in the IQ Project in the years 2014-2016.4 The Project, financed by the EEA Grants and Norway Grants within the Scholarship and Training Fund offered by the Foundation for the Development of the Education System, consisted of professional training for academic teachers and two semesters of individual tutoring offered to interested students (going beyond their regular study programs). Having gone through the experience of individual tutoring for two semesters of the academic year 2014/2015, 29 tutors and over 220 students were asked to complete evaluative questionnaires, which became part of a wider research study conducted by myself as the project author and coordinator. Some of the questions in the questionnaire were open and gave space to describe the experience of personalized education. The whole project has been described, as well as analyzed, in a monograph published in 2016 entitled: Edukacja spersonalizowana w uniwersytecie. Ideologia – instytucja – dydaktyka – tutor (Karpińska-Musiał 2016b). In brief, every student was subjected to a tutorial process consisting of 7-8 one hour long individual meetings with their chosen tutor. The meetings took place every second week and covered a program and issues voluntarily chosen by the students themselves.

Below several answers given by teachers and students to a number of the questions asked in the questionnaire are given. They have two-fold significance for the analysis of the *educational rhetoric of empowerment*: first of all they are a collection of words and phrases which connote a personal body of experience, and secondly, they reflect feelings that extend beyond the linguistic level and apply directly to cognition and emotions. These phrases exemplify the aforementioned assumptions by featuring ideas concerning a positive approach, personal growth, the development of motivation and know-

⁴ The full title of the Project was "W trosce o jakość w ilości – projekt interdyscyplinarnego wspierania studenta filologii obcej w oparciu o metodę tutoringu akademickiego w Uniwersytecie Gdańskim" ("Ideal Quality in Good Quantity"), <www.projektiq.ug.edu.pl>.

ledge, an expansion of skills, positive change, processual cognition and growing satisfaction.⁵

Phrases of empowerment (selected examples):

TUTOR'S PERSPECTIVES6

- 1. What does this experience mean to you?
 - a field to practice openness, sincerity and spontaneity;
 - a chance to focus on their individual development;
 - students crave for a more personal contact and want to learn if given a chance;
 - tutorials demanded from me much mindfulness;
 - I was surprised by the enormous influence of the student's interests on the process, shape and effects of the tutorial. students' discoveries and the joy of discovering;
 - experience of the authentic pleasure the students had in widening their knowledge;
 - developing skills and a growing sense of purposefulness in their study;
 - my academic experience has been enriched by *a different dimension of relating to the student*;
 - tutorials are a perfect form of relating to students who are hungry for more knowledge after traditional group classes;
 - I regained faith in students;
 - I saw passion in their eyes;
 - I regained faith that students want to work, which is not so obvious on a regular basis.
- 2. What did tutoring give to you personally that was new?
 - It enables *the creation of a space* for listening to the student;

⁵ For more research data analysis see the chapter entitled: "Tutoring in the university as a learning organization – empirical research" (Karpińska-Musiał 2016a: 93-245).

⁶ The complete questionnaire consisted of several questions and can be found in a monograph by B. Karpińska-Musiał (2016a: 130-133).

- It allows one to revise and verify methods of teaching used for years;
- Tutorials ruin the schemata built by the system and allow more satisfaction to be gained from didactics;
- The luxury of time to spare...;
- Students' perspectives *enriched me* as a teacher;
- A feeling of authentic impact on another person's development;
- Charging one's "batteries";
- Lots of positive emotions.
- 3. My personal "jewel in the crown" is....
 - The euphoria of reading a text students read it with emotion;
 - The twinkle of satisfaction in their eyes;
 - The tear in her eye (and also in mine), which meant that it was worth trying, it was interesting and it changed something in us.

STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES

- 1. What does this experience mean to you?
 - It allowed me to see and develop skills of which I was not aware before;
 - I was not afraid to ask questions and propose new ideas;
 - I recognized my potential and areas which I still need to improve;
 - Tutoring developed my translation skills;
 - I have more courage in writing;
 - I broadened my literary interests;
 - I developed the scope of my lexicon and learnt to construct utterances better;
 - I have learnt to be more decisive and assertive in expressing opinions, have improved my writing skills.
- 2. What new did tutoring give to you personally that was new?
 - Tutorials developed my creativity and taught me respect for literature;

- It broadened my mind;
- Tutoring opened a totally new world to me;
- It gave me *a lot of satisfaction* due to a chance to discuss things with my tutor.

6. Conclusion

Tutoring, as stated above, is an example of academic Quality Teaching (2012, 2007)7 which goes far beyond the definition of a systemic, traditional didactics. Its educational effects can be observed, measured and discussed within subjects of dialectic, academic talk. It should, however, be noticed that this success is achieved to a great extent by an application of a rhetoric of empowerment during one-to-one tutorials. The rhetoric of empowerment does not exclude a critical overview, neither does it call for only positive feedback. An educational rhetoric of empowerment is a language of trust, support and the creative development of skills and knowledge of those who ask for it (here: students). It can also be called the language of resilience, resilience meaning, after Benard (2016), "Being interested, actively listening, validating feelings, getting to know interests, dreams, strengths and gifts. These inter-related strategies clearly convey the message, You matter."

As the quoted fragments of research indicate, personalized education which makes use of the rhetoric of empowerment generates a further language of positive emotions. These are semantically expressed by words of progress, metaphors of opening, discovery and development. The way respondents described tutoring was totally deprived of disillusion, criticism or negative expressions. This might raise doubts as to whether the research can be valid, not providing a counterbalanced set of expressions of less positive semantic and pragmatic loading. This is, however, a fact. There were no negative opinions of the experience, except for a small number of remarks about logis-

⁷ For example, Henard and Roseveare (2012) or Amosa, Ladwig, Griffiths and Gore (2007).

tics and problems with time in terms of the organization of the tutorials in some of the responses. As for the form, content and results of this type of education, both tutors and tutees appeared fully satisfied and even excited. This allows for the conclusion that not only a tutor-student eco-linguistic experience can turn into an *autopoetic* system (Grzegorczyk 2016, Maturana and Varela 1980), but also rhetorically this experience functions as a metaphorical driving wheel for more rhetoric of empowerment in the wider context of academic research in education. Thus, *autopoesis* expands.

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Interconnected English language and music learning with digital technologies

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Abstract

This paper examines the educational perspectives of using digital media in the interconnected learning of English and music at different levels and types of education. In this qualitative research study, an interpretative method of analysis is used. Data includes examples of online video guides to classical music listening, classical music games, animated videos, massive open online courses, and different types of virtual museums, as digital spaces convenient for the development of students' personal educational language events and communication experiences. In conclusion, examples of possible learning events in digital environments can engage learners and be a stimulus for flipped/blended/virtual learning activities and better acquisition of different language and music knowledge and skills.

Keywords

classical music education, digital media, English language acquisition, learning music

Technologie cyfrowe a nauka języka angielskiego i muzyki

Abstrakt

Artykuł jest próbą przedstawienia perspektyw edukacyjnych wynikających z użycia nowych mediów w połączonej nauce języka angielskiego i muzyki. Podstawę metodologiczną analizy jakościowej stanowi paradygmat interpretatywny. Materiał badawczy stanowią dostępne online przewodniki muzyki klasycznej, gry, filmy animowane, kursy internetowe i wirtualne muzea. Łącznikiem dla tych przekazów jest wytwarzana przez nie wirtualna przestrzeń umożliwiająca indywidualne doświadczenia komunikacyjne i edukacyjne. Różnorodność i bogactwo dostępnych przekazów może stanowić zachętę do samodzielnej nauki języków obcych

Słowa kluczowe

klasyczna edukacja muzyczna, media cyfrowe, nauka języka angielskiego, nauka muzyki

1. Introduction¹

The musical experiences of many children in general school education globally are usually limited to a set amount of time, at a particular time of a particular day, and to the scope of musical activities. The issues around interconnection, integration and correlation of the teaching contents of languages and music across the curricula are complex, and insufficiently explored. The art of music and language learning, especially with digital media technologies (Web 2.0, online gaming, museum learning, etc.), appear to be separate fields that do not usually

¹ The paper "Interconnected English language and music learning with digital technologies" is a result of research conducted within Project No. III 47020 "Digital Media Technologies and Socio-educational Changes" (2011-2017) funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. Mentor: Milka Oljača, PhD, Professor Emeritus.

come together. Regardless of their distinct areas of focus and ways of conceptualising knowledge, belief, and experiences, we can maximise the learning potentials of students from diverse cultural backgrounds by integrating or interconnecting them together (Marić 2015).

As Michał Daszkiewicz (2010: 120) notices, although there is a shortage of interdisciplinary approaches, "it appears that both theory as well as practice can lead to substantial findings and flourish whenever and/or wherever two disciplines are being explored and exploited simultaneously". In addition, Viladot and Cslovjecsek (2014) acknowledge that "for teachers who have been trained within a system that views the different subjects in isolation, integrated work on different parts of the curriculum is a major challenge".

The interconnected2 learning approach is based on combining the strengths of two or more - (similar) disciplines in different learning contexts, with the aim of reducing language barriers and helping social integration and creative interaction, nurturing self-confidence and self-expression, and also improving intercultural understanding. Furthermore, subject integration is based on combining, or mixing two or more subjects by inserting changes to the content of learning of a particular subject in order to become more effective in the processes of teaching and learning. In many learning contexts music can be integrated into English language teaching and learning, in the form of a simplistic or complex use of songs and music to teach the alphabet, counting, sounds, language patterns, rhythms and poetic forms of expression, etc. Integration is fundamental in Content and Language Integrated Learning or CLIL which usually refers to teaching subjects such as maths, science, history and geography to students through a foreign language, but it can also refer to teaching music as a subject in a foreign language. Subject correlation, interconnectedness and integration can also take place in the teaching

 $^{^{2}}$ Interconnected – related to each other; complexly related, connected or interrelated.

and learning of a foreign language, in this case English, specifically music education at secondary and tertiary levels of study (e.g. English for students of music subjects and Music ESP). Both music and language use sound as a medium to transfer meanings, have visual representation through symbolic systems and share similar mechanisms of learning and memory. They can both serve to motivate, enhance and reinforce communication and learning in the classroom and beyond. Interconnected learning of music and English language learning as an approach is, therefore, based on combining the strengths of these two disciplines with the use of digital media technology in different learning contexts.

In this digital age, where students need to develop several skills and different literacies to cope with the needs of a changing world, studies have been conducted on the Web 2.0 tools³ that are emerging and offer opportunities for sharing, collaboration, socialisation and creative interaction in music education and also English language education. Furthermore, ICT is applied in various musical fields, such as the domain of performing disciplines, historical - humanistic disciplines (History of music, Aesthetics, Musicology, etc.) and applied music disciplines (Theory of music, Harmony, Counterpoint, etc.).

The purpose of this study is to identify convenient digital spaces for the development of students' personal educational language events and communication experiences in interconnected learning of English and music at different levels and in different types of education. The research literature reviewed in this article mostly focused on exploring the possible outcomes of usage of ICT in music education and necessary changes in music pedagogy (McDowall 2003; Gall and Breeze 2006; Nedelcut et al. 2008; Nikolaidou et al. 2008; Nedelcut and Pop 2009; Crawford 2009; Southcott and Crawford 2011; Thwaites 2014; Randles 2015 etc.). In terms of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), previous research focused on

³ The most common Web 2.0 tools are: blogs, wikis, Google Drive, Google Sites, Google +, Skype, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, Slideshare, etc.

the teachers' and/or students' attitudes towards Web 2.0 technologies in different continents, states, and regions (De Haan, Reed and Kuwada 2010; Karkoulia 2016).

Integration of Web 2.0 tools in both music and EFL teaching is a complex and challenging process, depending on many factors such as: teacher training and knowledge, teacher beliefs and attitudes towards technology, school equipment, Internet access, working conditions, and classroom management problems (time pressure, too much course book material to cover, or lack of freedom to create their own lessons). Crawford (2009) states that "for teachers to extract the most from what technology is available, it is important to use it in authentic learning contexts and to enhance the subject, and allow students the opportunity to develop skills necessary in the contemporary practice of music and society".

In this paper we examine the educational perspectives of using digital technologies in learning English as a foreign language, and also music subjects (music analysis, harmony, history of music) at different levels of general and artistic education, from pre-primary to secondary level (secondary music school), up to the tertiary level of education (academy of music).

2. The aim of the research

The aim of this research was to examine the educational perspectives of using digital technologies in interconnected learning of English as a foreign language and music subjects at different levels of general and artistic education.

3. Methodology

In this research study, a qualitative method of (content) analysis was used as an open-ended, unstructured method, looking for and capturing uniqueness, valuing quality, using explanation and interpreting (making meaning of the data) as tech-

niques (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007: 355). This method of qualitative analysis in education conveys understanding of the phenomenon in all its complexity and is characterised by a lack of predetermined constraints on outcomes, with cases for study selected according to the focus of interest (e.g. in analysis of administrative policy in education, interpretation of culture, practices and artifacts, language itself, in the interpretation of textbooks and other materials etc.).

For the analysis, the following digital spaces convenient for the development of students' personal educational language events and communication experiences, were chosen: (1) video guides to classical music listening, (2) online classical music games, (3) online animated videos, (4) massive open online courses (MOOCs), and (5) different types of virtual museums.

4. Towards interconnected English language and music learning in digital environments

In spite of several differences in formation and function, language and music are connected and interrelated within human communication (Mannon et al. 2012). According to Speh and Ahramijan (2010), "common qualities shared by music and language add to the challenges facing teachers and learners", because "communication is much more than a series of phonemes, just as the impact of a piece of music far exceeds the individual notes of which it is composed". Pérez Niño (2010) argues that music is used as an important pedagogical tool, especially in English as a Second Language (ESL) in both young learners' and adult classrooms. It is useful for creating enjoyable learning environments, as well as for building language skills (listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing skills) and expanding cultural knowledge.

The reasons for interconnecting "musical lessons" and foreign language teaching can offer advantages related to the perceptual-motor skills, psychological aspect (recalling and memorisation of words, sounds and grammatical structures), sociocultural aspect (communication, cross-cultural awareness and knowledge), motivational aspect and emotional intelligence.

4.1. Video guides to classical music listening

Vandergrift and Goh (2012: 218) acknowledge that listening instruction has been associated with technology ever since the acoustic signal could be captured in a form that permitted repeated listening, starting with the phonograph, film, television and audiotape, digital video and audio, computer-mediated audio and video, hand-held MP3 players and more. By exploring the potential of technology for the teaching of foreign or second language listening in multimedia environments (visual media - video, transcripts and captions; podcasts; oral computer-mediated communication - CMC) the authors conclude that "the promise that increased technological sophistication will lead to increased effectiveness of listening pedagogy has not yet [in 2012] been demonstrated, presumably because learners may not possess the metatechnical skills and strategic knowledge to use the support options efficiently" (Vandergrift and Goh 2012: 218).

According to Stempleski (2002: 366) video is "an extremely dense medium (one which incorporates a wide variety of visual elements and a great range of audio experiences in addition to spoken language) which, as an instructional medium, can generate a much greater amount of *interest* and *enjoyment* than the more traditional printed materials" (2002: 364).

In this part of the paper, we look at the possible benefits of using seven short video guides to classical music listening in teaching English as a foreign language and music subjects (music analysis, harmony, history of music) at the secondary level (secondary music school) and tertiary level of education (academy of music). The following video materials can serve as part of the curriculum or a curriculum extra supplement, especially because ESP-Music⁴ textbooks and materials are al-

⁴ ESP - English for Specific Purposes.

most non-existent on the publishing market. The proposed videos can engage learners' stimulus for classroom activities and better acquisition of different language and music skills. They can provide authentic language, content and specific vocabulary that students need to acquire in learning at the secondary or tertiary music educational level of studies. At these levels of study students should be able to listen to, read and write about, or give an academic presentation on musical topics and issues using an academic style, adequate and appropriate musical language and relevant audio and/or visual aids. These videos, in British English, by the Philharmonia Orchestra (UK) are originally made as a digital installation titled "Universe of Sound The Planets", and the segments of each movement are published on their YouTube channel for watching free of charge. The total length of all seven free online videos is 30' and 35", or an average duration of 4' and 33" per video. The video titles are the following: (1) "Mars, the Bringer of War"; (2) "Venus, the Bringer of Peace"; (3) "Mercury, the Winged Messenger"; (4) "Jupiter, the Bringer of Jollity"; (5) "Saturn, the Bringer of Old Age"; (6) "Uranus, the Magician"; (7) "Neptune, the Mystic".

Below, a screenshot from the video (Figure 1) and the part of the transcript (by Slađana Marić) of the third video of "The Planets" – "Mercury, the Winger Messenger"⁵, are given:

TRANSCRIPT: The Planets – Mercury, the Winger Messenger: "[...] If we look at the orchestral score, notice that Holst incorporates some very unusual techniques, with some instruments scored at two flats whilst others play with three sharps and some have no key signature at all. Why would he do such a thing? While Mercury's music seems to dash quickly between very different tonalities, our ears are literally bounced from one key to another, which is why he uses multiple key signatures in the score. Holst also drastically plays around with the timing of this movement as well. The

⁵ "The Planets" – "Mercury, the Winger Messenger", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ykZKsrs8LM.

music is fast footed and lightly scored, and feels similar to a scherzo movement of a symphony".

From the transcript we can mark the music specific vocabulary and structures, such as: multiple key signatures, score, waltz, crochets, cross rhythm, instruments scored at two flats, no key signature at all, different tonalities, three sharps, quavers, semiquavers, the orchestral score, the rhythmic flow, lightly scored, rhythmic ambiguity etc. Additionally, there are general English vocabulary terms that can also be acquired, such as: cutting against, fast footed, keep (the sound) fresh and exciting, played twelve times in a row, rise up through, to dash quickly between, (to) tumble gently downwards, whilst etc.



Figure 1

The melodic line structure presentation (screenshot of the free online YouTube video "The Planets – Mercury, the Winged Messenger")

4.2. Online classical music games

Classical music games⁶ in learning and education can be seen as tools for practicing and/or evaluating acquired skills, but also as a powerful means of creating immersive learning experiences, as they can offer sufficient opportunities for students to engage in problem solving and experimentation in both music and language learning. The effect of interactivity with a music video game on second language vocabulary recall was investigated in a research study done by De Haan, Reed and Kuwada (2010: 74) and the results showed that both the players and the watchers of the video game recalled vocabulary from the game.

By taking part in the activities in English, with proper music technology, such as online classical music video games, either as extracurricular supplemental activities or as classroom tasks, learners' understanding and skills will be developed in a number of ways. They will

- be encouraged and motivated to listen carefully to a range of sounds (e.g. games "Wild Music website");
- recognise rhythmic sounds, distinguish between sounds that have a "steady beat" and sounds that do not, practice short-term memory of the rhythm played by an another person (e.g. Music Ace Deluxe: Hearing and echoing rhythm, "New York Philharmonic Kidzone" Percussion Showdown; Classics for Kids "Match the Rhythm" games);
- be provided with opportunities to listen to and create short rhythmic patterns (e.g. "New York Philharmonic Kidzone -Percussion Showdown" game);
- develop thinking skills (e.g. "BBC Northern Ireland", "Musial Mysteries", "Carnegie Hall Listening Adventures" games);

⁶ All the materials selected and analyzed (videos, online games, etc.) are available on the Internet free of charge, and some in many different languages. These materials were chosen because of their language and/or music *educational quality and potentials* when used in learning situations. They were not used for commercial purposes in this paper.

- begin to understand how the elements of music are used to describe things and how music can help express feelings and create different atmospheres (e.g. "SFS Kids Fun & Games with Music Listen "Music Streams", "Musical Skies"- Mood Journey, SFS Kids: Fun with music The SFS Harmonizer, The Harmony Viewer" games);
- (by reading in English) begin to understand how the choice of instruments in a musical piece is important in creating different effects and atmospheres (e.g. "New York Philharmonic Kidzone - Orchestration Station" game);
- be able to identify the sounds of common instruments and gain knowledge of instrument families and groups (e.g. BBC Musical Mysteries: Orchestra Fact Files, Music Match Instruments, Instrument Frenzy; SFS KIDS Fun with Music Instruments of the orchestra; SFS Kids Fun & Games with Music Perform "Instrument Garden" games);
- develop their own creative skills in writing music by reading instructions in English and listening to examples of different pieces of music (e.g. "New York Philharmonic Kidzone Online Games Minuet Mixer", "SFS Kids Fun & Games with Music Compose "Music Mountain", "SFS Kids Fun with Music The Music Lab "Composeizer" games).

The expected possible and positive aspects of students playing classical music online games in classroom or in their spare time cannot only be seen in terms of both *language* (literacy, listening skills, general and music specific vocabulary in English) and *music*, but also their *physical and psychological state*. The positive aspects of students playing classical music online games, in terms of learning *music*, can be the following:

- developing music culture and literacy;
- developing effective listening to sounds and (classical) music;
- learning about different instruments and acquiring different sounds (dynamics, rhythm, movement and pauses in sound; the sound of voice and different instruments, e.g. strings, wind instruments, percussion, piano, orchestra);
- learning about composers and styles in music;
- memorising and recalling rhythmic and melodic patterns;

- learning the basics of harmony and instrumentation;
- developing basic improvisation and composing skills.

Finally, in terms of *physical and psychological state*, the positive aspects can be the development of motor skills and coordination of hand (body) movement, and emotional and sociocultural behaviour.

4.3. Online animated videos (Cartoons)

From the *Tom & Jerry* animated series of short films by the media company studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer or MGM (Hollywood) we propose, to students of all ages, the following four cartoon episodes with classical music themes: (1) "Johann Mouse" (1952),⁷ (2) "Hollywood Bowl" (1950),⁸ (3) "The Cat Above and the Mouse Below" (1964),⁹ and (4) "The Cat Concerto" (1947).¹⁰ Only the first episode has narration, which we will look in more detail, but we propose these other episodes firstly because of their quality of music choice:

- "The Hollywood Bowl" - Johann Strauss II Overture for Operetta "The Bat" (Die Fledermaus);

⁷ "Johann Mouse" (1952) (directed by William Hanna and Joseph Barbera, produced by Fred Quimby with music by Johann Strauss II with musical direction by Scott Bradley, piano arrangement created and played by Jakob Gimpel, narration by Hans Conried), http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2xrpgw.

⁸ "Hollywood Bowl" (1950) (directed by William Hanna and Joseph Barbera, produced by Fred Quimby, the music was scored by Scott Bradley, making use of Johann Strauss II's Overture of "Die Fledermaus,"), https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x3nlyp0.

⁹ "The Cat Above and the Mouse Below" (1964) (produced and directed by Chuck Jones, the music was scored by Eugene Poddany, making use of *Cavatina di Figaro*: "Largo al factotum della citta" from the opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini, Baritone Terence Monck), https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x51tlb6).

¹⁰ "The Cat Concerto" (1947) (produced by Fred Quimby, directed by William Hanna and Joseph Barbera, with musical supervision by Scott Bradley), https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x39zrqc.

- "The Cat Above and the Mouse Below", better known as "The Barber of Seville": Figaro's Aria (Il barbiere di Siviglia, cavatina di Figaro: "Largo al factotum della citta") by Gioachino Rossini;
- "The Cat Concerto" *The Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2* by Franz Liszt.

Secondly, we propose these cartoon episodes because they can be used for practising speaking, or retelling the plot of a story and presenting or introducing the roles of the players such as: an opera singer, pianist, conductor, player in an orchestra, flutist, violinist, and also the musical instruments of a symphonic orchestra, as most of the instruments are illustrated through image and sound in these episodes.

In the following part we present the transcript of the story from the beginning of the cartoon "Johann Mouse" where the main seven points of the story are illustrated with seven different tunes by Johann Strauss II (T1 – Wiener Blut (Viennese Blood or Viennese Spirit), Opus 354 (orchestra, piano); T 2 – The Blue Danube Waltz (piano); T 3 – Frühlingsstimmen (piano); T 4 – Perpetuum Mobile (orchestra + piano); T 5 – Einmusikalischer Scherz, Op. 257 (piano + orchestra); T 6 – Emperor Waltz Op. 437 (orchestra), and T 7 – Tritsch-Tratsch Polka Op. 214 (piano + orchestra)):

T 1 - "This is a story of a waltzing mouse.

His name was Johann, and he lived in Vienna,

in the home of Johann Strauss.

And each day as this famous musician played,

Little Johann couldn't resist waltzing to the beautiful music.

And each day, watching and waiting, was the cat.

And every day he would try to catch him!

But he would fail.

However, this didn't discourage the cat, because he (Tom) knew that each day when the Master played, the mouse would waltz.

And the cat would try again... And again... And again.

One day the Master went away on a journey.

This left the cat in a serious predicament.

He knew if there were no music the mouse wouldn't waltz.

T 2 - (Tom looking at a book "How to play the waltz in Six easy lessons by Johann Strauss").

Why couldn't he the cat learn to play?

(Tom playing the six easy lessons, and then playing the waltz - **T 2**)..."

For interconnected learning of music and English at an early age, the American animated television educational preschool series "Little Einsteins" (50 episodes) can be used. It was specifically designed to teach music appreciation and the target demographic art by integrating famous or culturally significant music and art works. In terms of music education, these cartoons in English (American/British), but also in many world languages including Greek, Spanish, Italian, French, Chinese, introduce classical music, most typically from the Baroque, Classical, and Romantic periods, into the main aspects of each cartoon episode (the scenery, plot and soundtrack). In brief, the Little Einsteins cartoon episodes, in general, are focused on teaching music and arts with the emphasis on developing the motor skills and coordination of hand (body) movement of preschool children, but also emotional and socio-cultural behaviour. In terms of foreign language learning, young students can practice listening and speaking skills, general, music, dance and art vocabulary. They learn about different instruments, acquire different sounds (e.g. strings, wind instruments, percussion, piano, orchestra), learn about dynamics, rhythm, movement and sound pauses, the musical topic of imitation in tunes, as well as practising memorising a melody and recalling all of its parts (music memory puzzles - Figure 3), and singing a melody or a song with words solo and in a group.

1.



Quincy: Mr Penguin says that we need to get to the other side! June: It's the only way to bring the ice-cream to his best friends' birthday party. Anny: But we can't get to the other side the bridge isn't finished! Leo: Look Mr Penguin! Rocket found a pile of pieces to build the rest of the music bridge. Anny: If Mr Penguin can find the right pieces, he can build the rest of the music bridge.

2.



(music)
Q: Don't worry Mr
Penguin I can help you
find the right pieces.
Mr Penguin sings a
music puzzle piece (bar
2).

Q: Mr Penguin says that the next measure of the bridge song has four notes. Like this. *Violin–music puzzle piece (bar 2).* So, we need to find the piece that has four notes on it.

3.



Q: Let's listen with Mr Penguin to this first piece. (music puzzle piece - bar 4)
Q: Does this piece sound like four notes? Let's count and see. (music puzzle piece - bar 4) One-two.
Q: That's only two notes. We need the piece that has four notes.

(music)

4.



Q: Let's listen to this

piece. (music puzzle piece-bar 3)
Q: Does this piece sound like four notes?
Let's count! One, two, three, four, five, six.
Six notes!
That's too many! We

5.



Q: Mr Penguin wants us to listen to this piece. (music puzzle piece - bar 2)
Q: Does this piece sound like four notes? (music puzzle piece - bar 2) - One, two, three, four. Yes! We found the measure

6.



Which piece plays six notes: the long piece (music puzzle piece - bar 3) or the short piece (music puzzle piece - bar 4)?

Q: Right! The long piece plays six notes. (music puzzle piece -

need the piece that plays four notes.	that has four notes. (music) (music puzzle piece - bar 2) Q: We're building more of the bridge. Mr Penguin sings music puzzle piece - bar 3 Q: Right Mr Penguin, now we need the piece that plays six notes. Like this. Violin - mu- sic puzzle piece - bar 3.	bar 3). One, two, three, four, five, six. * (music puzzle bar 3) Anny: The bridge is almost finished. (music puzzle bar 2 and 3)
7. Mr Penguin sings music puzzle bar 4) Q: Right! All we need now is the piece that plays two notes. Violin - music puzzle bar 4 Q: How many notes does this piece have? (music puzzle bar 4). One-two. Yes, that's it!	8. (music) * (music – music puzzle bar 1, 2, 3, 4) We did it!	9. Q: Thanks for helping us finish the unfinished bridge. (music)

Figure 3

Transcript with illustrations (screenshots) from the *Little Einsteins* episode "Mr Penguin's Ice Cream Adventure" (music theme from Symphony No. 8: Unfinished Symphony by Franz Schubert)

¹¹ Little Einsteins episode "Mr Penguin's Ice Cream Adventure", http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x4vk9pp.

4.4. Massive open online courses (MOOCs)

Thousands of learners, especially those in the academic world, are searching for new ways to learn and be involved in education, in order to enhance their knowledge in certain field(s) on a mostly voluntary basis. Although Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) are one of the current trends in technology enhanced education, research carried out addressing this upcoming phenomenon is still at an early phase (Lackner et al. 2014). In the recent educational landscape, three types of MOOCs can be differentiated in literature: c- ("connectivistic"), x- ("extensive") and meso-MOOCs (Schoenack 2013: 100).

MOOCs can be regarded as educational or learning "events" on students' individual learning paths and defined as independent complex systems of multimedia teaching materials with a characteristic structure and specific set of functions, such as informational, motivational, communicative, systemic, self-educational, supervisory or feedback, and formative-educational with the possibility to facilitate large-scale learning and education in different and interdisciplinary scientific fields. According to Maria Perifanou (2015) MOOCs support the idea of distributed intelligence and lifelong learning, open learning, open educational resources and represent a new generation of online education that encourages the development and delivery of courses that are massive, open, and participatory.

In what follows, example titles of free massive online open courses¹² in the field of music in English are given that can be used for providing an efficient support to language and music learners (combining collaborative and personalised learning and developing a rich vocabulary to talk about different aspects of music), e.g. "edx" platform: (1) "Jazz: The Music, The Stories, The Players"; (2) "Jazz Appreciation"; (3) "Music Tech-

¹² The learners need to register on the platform and can participate in the course free of charge. However, they need to pay a certain symbolic fee if they want to receive a certificate of participation with detailed information on their progress on the course.

nology Foundations"; (4) "Music Production and Vocal Recording Technology"; (5) "Introduction to the Music Business"; (6) "Introduction to Italian Opera"; (7) "Music in the 20th Century"; (8) "Introduction to Music Theory"; (9) "First Nights: Beethoven's 9th Symphony and the 19th Century Orchestra (Harvard University)"; (10) "First Nights: Monteverdi's L'Orfeo and the Birth of Opera"; and (11) "First Nights: Handel's Messiah and Baroque Oratorio".

Courses can be divided into lessons, or weeks of learning with different assignments from listening, reading, writing, automatically graded quizzes, peer review assignment, and discussions. Many music MOOCs can be used in classes of English language and in music subject courses (e.g. music analysis, harmony lessons, history of music, etc.) in both secondary music school and music academies or faculties of music. For example, the Edx course "First Nights: Beethoven's 9th Symphony and the 19th Century Orchestra" by "HarvardX" offers quality recordings of class lectures and performances (e.g. Harvard Radcliffe Orchestra) and recordings of video performances (3 to 15 minutes) with music analysis "lecture style" and on the concert stage (e.g. a rehearsal and lecture with Prof. Dr Thomas Kelly). These videos include visual aids, graphic scores, structure charts, sound inserts, and even live performances of certain parts during the presentation. In terms of language learning, transcripts in the form of a downloadable text document, in the moving side bar next to the video or as subtitles on the screen, can be very useful for both teachers and learners.

After watching a video there are usually multiple choice questions, text input or check boxes, comprehension quizzes, discussions, listening exercise (20 seconds to 3 minutes) and written assignments. If the learner fails to get the right answer, there is always an explanatory note. For example, after finishing the fifth lesson, there is a written exercise or assignment on the theme "What was it like to be there?":

Describe some of the impressions that reviewers of Beethoven's premiere had. What did they say about the orchestra's performance? What kinds of evidence can we use to reconstruct the first performance? What kinds of musical details can we infer about the quality of the performance, the amount of preparation, and the kinds of musicians who played in the concert? Give at least two examples from the lecture (edx course: First Nights: Beethoven's 9th Symphony and the 19th Century Orchestra, HarvardX, Unit Quiz, Retrieved on May 8, 2016).

The language is not "strictly" formal or academic, because it is a spoken lecture with anecdotes, interesting digressions, play, mimicry, gestures, pointing, and singing (e.g. "He used just those three notes. *Bump, bump, bum.*"), etc. That is why the visual image of the speaker and sound presentation is very helpful in understanding the language uttered as well as music in focus.

Below we present extracts of transcripts from the edx course: "First Nights: Beethoven's 9th Symphony and the 19th Century Orchestra", HarvardX, Lesson 4, Retrieved on May 8, 2016:

THOMAS FORREST KELLY: We've talked about Beethoven being a composer who uses motifs, tiny little rhythmic or melodic ideas to make big structures. The last movement of this symphony, or at least when Beethoven gets to the tune of the "Ode to Joy", uses a different, but very interesting kind of procedure, because he uses that melody, that song that he composes, and uses it in a million different ways so that it becomes transformed. It almost becomes a motif, even though it begins not with a tiny little fragmentary idea, but with a whole organized, balanced song form. You'll remember that it begins, is played just by the cellos and double basses with no accompaniment. And then we have various variations that build up in the orchestra. Here are parts of two of those variations. [MUSIC – BEETHOVEN, "ODE TO JOY"]

Using these course videos or materials in classroom teaching and practicing speaking about music can render abstract musical concepts more concrete, make implicit knowledge explicit, develop students' critical thinking skills, lead to an increase in their musical vocabulary and support their musical understanding.

4.5. Virtual museums

By applying the constructivist model of learning in museums, which focuses on the learner and the meanings they make based on their prior experience, knowledge and interests, *virtual museums* can create a pleasant, friendly and stimulating learning environment that meets individual needs for concrete experience, individual contemplation, communication and online social interaction (Gajić and Milutinović 2011: 290). Digital museums, which can include a number of the following: a 360° virtual tour of the museum rooms or galleries, general information, descriptions, texts about objects and images, online collections, YouTube channel or videos on pages, music in the background, have been classified in the following groups or categories:

- 1. Museums with digital technology interactive installations or equipment in exhibitions (MIM Musical Instrument Museum; Haus der Musik);
- Museum websites (MIM Musical Instrument Museum; Metropolitan Museum of Art/Thematic Essay (New York, USA); Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre; NMM The National Music Museum; Aram Khachaturian Museum; Museum of Making Music; The National Museum of American History/Music and Musical Instruments; The University of Edinburgh The Musical Instrument Museum Edinburgh);
- 3. Museums named as "Virtual Museums" (Aram Khachaturian Virtual Museum; The National Ballet Canada Virtual Museum);
- 4. Museums named as "Online Museums" (Musical Instrument Museum Online MIMO Exhibitions Europeana);
- 5. 3D Virtual Museums (New York Philharmonic for Children "Kidzone"/ Composers' Gallery).

Different in terms of style and features, digital or virtual museums, or museum websites as the most common type of virtual museum existing on the Internet today, can provide supplementary learning resources for achieving music and language learning outcomes set out in lessons of English (as a foreign) language, music lessons, and CLIL lessons, or other teaching and learning contexts (Marić, 2015). In terms of both music and language education, teaching and talking about music can help to widen learners' musical interests and encourage their active membership in a diverse musical and social life.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we examined the educational perspectives of using digital technologies, such as video guides to classical music listening, online classical music games, online animated videos (cartoons), massive open online courses (MOOCs), and different types of virtual museums, as convenient media that can offer opportunities for students to engage in problem solving and experimentation in interconnected music and language learning. The analysed data can provide opportunities for the development of students' personal educational language events and communication experiences in different contexts of learning English as a foreign language (general EFL, ESP,), CLIL, and the learning of music subjects in English (music analysis, harmony, history of music) at different levels of general and artistic education, from pre-primary to secondary level (secondary music school), up to the tertiary level of education (academy of music) or in informal, playful or self-guided learning with the use of digital media.

We believe that both children and adults can be inspired, motivated and enriched by using digital media in learning a new language through musical activities or music through language activities, that simultaneously develop their language, musical and digital skills. In conclusion, examples of

possible learning events in digital environments can engage learners and be a stimulus for flipped/blended¹³/virtual learning activities and the better acquisition and transfer of language and music knowledge and skills between domains.

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¹³ From both the student's and the tutor's perspective blended learning is dependent on the following types of blend: the *method* blend, the *content* blend, the *space* blend, the *time* blend, the *media* blend and the *activity* blend (Mokwa-Tarnowska 2013: 186, according to Littlejohn and Pegler 2007).

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REPORTS

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CLARIN-PL workshops in Łódź, 3-4 February 2017

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1. CLARIN-PL

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

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

CLARIN-PL hosts a number of language resources, including, *inter alia*:

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

as well as tools for analyzing language, including, inter alia,

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

2. The lectures and workshops

On 3–4 February 2017, Institute of English, University of Łódź, hosted the workshops "CLARIN-PL w praktyce badawczej: Cyfrowe narzędzia do analizy języka w naukach humanistycznych i społecznych [CLARIN-PL in research practice: IT

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tools used in language analysis in the humanities and social sciences]".

The participants had an opportunity to attend a number of workshops and lectures offered by specialists in natural language processing and IT technology.

2.1. Day 1

On the first day the participants were warmly welcomed by the hosts, Maciej Piasecki and Piotr Pezik. Then they were introduced to the topic of the workshops and listened to two lectures presenting the possibilities offered by CLARIN-PL:

- "CLARIN infrastruktura naukowa technologii językowych wprowadzenie [CLARIN – the research infrastructure of language technologies: An introduction" by Maciej Piasecki (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);
- (2) "Repozytorium Centrum Technologii Językowych: deponowanie i upowszechnianie zasobów i narzędzi językowych, gromadzenie korpusów tekstowych [The repository of the Centre of Language Technologies: The storing and sharing of language tools and resources, the collecting of text corpora]" by Marcin Pol, Tomasz Walkowiak and Marcin Oleksy (Wrocław University of Science and Technology).

The lectures and workshops that followed were divided into two sections. In the first section, the presenters concentrated on language corpora – their creating, managing and annotating as well as on analyzing corpus texts:

- (3) "Zarządzanie i anotowanie korpusów tekstowych w systemie Inforex [Managing and annotating text corpora in Inforex]" by Marcin Oleksy and Michał Marcińczuk (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);
- (4) "Tworzenie przeszukiwalnych korpusów języka polskiego za pomocą Korpusomatu [Creating searchable corpora of the Polish language using Korpusomat]" by Łukasz Kobyliński, Witold Kieraś and Maciej Ogrodniczuk (Institute of Computer

- Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences);
- (5) "Badanie prasy narzędziami Clarin-PL. Przykład korpusu ChronoPress [Investigating the press with the tools of Clarin-pl: The case of the ChronoPress corpus]" by Adam Pawłowski (University of Wrocław);
- (6) "WebSty otwarty sieciowy system do analizy stylometrycznej tekstu [WebSty: an open source web system for stylometric text analysis]" by Maciej Piasecki and Tomasz Walkowiak (Wrocław University of Science and Technology).

The second section was devoted to parsing and speech processing tools as well as to conversational corpora:

- (7) "Parsowanie składniowe LFG i bank struktur LFG [LFG syntactic parsing and the LFG bank of structures]" by Agnieszka Patejuk and Adam Przepiórkowski (Institute of Computer Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences);
- (8) "Parsowanie semantyczne wypowiedzi w języku polskim z użyciem parsera ENIAM [Semantic parsing of Polish utterances using the ENIAM parser]" by Wojciech Jaworski (Institute of Computer Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences);
- (9) "Narzędzia do przetwarzania mowy [Speech processing tools]" by Danijel Koržinek and Łukasz Brocki (Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology);
- (10) "Dyskurs w czasie rzeczywistym, czyli korpusy konwersacyjne PL i EN [Real time discourse or Polish and English conversational corpora]" by Piotr Pęzik (University of Łódź).

2.2. Day 2

On the second day the participants were again offered lectures and workshops in two sections. Section 1 concerned the use of Wordnet and of a valency dictionary as well as information extraction and automantic semantic analysis: Reports 255

(11) "Słowosieć 3.0 – leksykalna sieć semantyczna języka polskiego i jej zastosowania [Słowosieć 3.0 / Wordnet 3.0 – lexical semantic net of the Polish language and its use]" by Maciej Piasecki and Agnieszka Dziob (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);

- (12) "Elektroniczny słownik walencyjny Walenty [The electronic valency dictionary Walenty]" by Elżbieta Hajnicz and Tomasz Bartosiak (Institute of Computer Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences);
- (13) "Narzędzia do ekstrakcji informacji z tekstu [Tools for information extraction from text]" by Michał Marcińczuk (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);
- (14) "Automatyczna analiza semantyczna zbiorów tekstów na poziomach leksykalnym i fragmentów tekstu (WSD, statystyki znaczeń, semantyka dystrybucyjna narzędzia i produkty, relacje semantyczne, klasyfikacja semantyczna, tagowanie semantyczne, przykłady aplikacji, np. Mapa Literacka [Automatic semantic analysis of text collections at lexical and text fragments levels (WSD, sense statistics, distributional semantics tools and products, sematic relationships, semantic classification, semantic tagging, selected applications, e.g. Literary Map)]" by Paweł Kędzia, Michał Marcińczuk, Maciej Piasecki and Tomasz Walkowiak (Wrocław University of Science and Technology).

In section 2 the participants had an opportunity to learn how to investigate fixed phrases in corpora and use bilingual – Polish-English – Wordnet as well as how to extract collocations and specialist terms:

- (15) "Badania frazeologii na podstawie korpusów referencyjnych (NKJP, BNC) i równoległych (Paralela) [Investigating fixed phrases with the use of reference corpora (NKJP, BNC) and parallel corpora (Paralela)]" by Piotr Pęzik (University of Łódź);
- (16) "Dwujęzyczna Słowosieć możliwości wykorzystania w pracy tłumacza i analizie porównawczej [Bilingual SłowoSieć / Wordnet – possible applications in translation and comparative analysis]" by Ewa Rudnicka (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);

- (17) "Narzędzia do automatycznego wydobywania słowników kolokacji i do oceny połączeń wyrazowych [Tools for automatic extraction of collocation dictionaries and for evaluation of phrases]" by Agnieszka Dziob, Marek Maziarz and Maciej Piasecki (Wrocław University of Science and Technology);
- (18) "Ekstrakcja terminologii z korpusów dziedzinowych [Terminology extraction from specialist corpora]" by Małgorzata Marciniak (Institute of Computer Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

The presentations are available in the pdf format on the CLARIN-PL website: http://clarin-pl.eu/pl/materialy-iv-cykl-wykladow-i-warsztatow-clarin-pl/.

3. A final word

The lectures and workshops offered by CLARIN-PL in Łódź provided their participants with an excellent opportunity to get acquainted with the different language resources and tools freely available on its website. Undoubtedly, these resources and tools are nowadays indispensable in language study.

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