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Editorial

It is the great honor for us to edit proceedings of **“3rd Global Conference on Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching (LINELT 2015)” Istanbul University, Istanbul – Turkey, November 16-18, 2015**. This privileged scientific event has been contributing to the field of educational research for third years.

As the guest editor of this issue, I am glad to see variety of articles focusing on Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL), Cultural Studies, Curriculum Development and syllabus design, Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), English for specific purposes, Fluent Teacher Interactions, Foreign Language Teaching, Gender Studies, General Linguistics, Globalization Studies and World Englishes, Independent / Autonomous Learning, Information and Computer Technology in TEFL, Innovation in Language Teaching and Learning, Intercultural Education, Language Acquisition and Learning, Language Curriculum Development, Language Education, Language Program Evaluation, Language Teacher Education, Language Teaching Methodology, Language Testing and Assessment, Literacy and Language Learning, Literature, Mobile Language Learning, Other FLTAL related issues, Pragmatics, Second Language, Second Language Acquisition, Second Language Acquisition Theory, Second Language Audio, Second Language Digital Literacy Skills, Second Language Learners, Second Language Learning, Second Language Pedagogy, Second Language Proficiency, Second Language Speech, Second Language Teaching, Second Language Training, Second Language Tutor, Second Language Vocabulary Learning, Teaching English as a Foreign/ Second Language, Teaching Language Skills, TESOL / TESL / TEFL, Translation Studies, Speech Processing, Pronunciation Modeling, Speech Quality and Intelligibility Tests, Machine Translation, Automatic Text Summarization, Dialogue Systems, Text Understanding Systems, Word Sense Disambiguation(WSD) and so on.

Furthermore, the conference is getting more international each year, which is an indicator that it is getting world widely known and recognized. Scholars, from all over the world, contribute to the conference. Special thanks are to all the reviewers, the members of the international editorial board, the publisher, and those involved in technical processes. I would like to thank all who contributed to every process to make this issue actualized. A total of 61 full papers or abstracts were submitted for this conference and each paper has been peer-reviewed by the reviewers specialized in the related field. At the end of the review process, a total of 20 high quality research papers were selected and accepted for publication.

I hope that you will enjoy reading the papers.

Best Regards

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KEYNOTES



Dr. Jesus Garcia Laborda, PhD, EdD, MA, Med

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Keynote Title: “Current Approaches in Languages for Specific Purposes”

Bio: Dr. Garcia Laborda is currently an associate professor from Universidad de Alcala and a member of the committee of Revista de Educación (Journal of Education, an ISI SSCI journal). Dr. Garcia Laborda worked in different stages of six series of ELT textbook. He worked as freelance teacher trainer for Macmillan and Oxford University Press. He is also the author of about 70 journal articles plus about 100 of different types. He has also led four research projects and participated in nine more. As a visiting professor, he has visited Lithuania, the US, Cyprus, Turkey and was a guest professor at the University of Antwerp (2009) and Penn State University (2013). His current research includes technology enhanced language learning and testing, teacher education and English for specific purposes.



Prof. Dr. Rosa Alonso

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Keynote Title: “Exploring cross-linguistic influence in Second Language Acquisition”

Abstract: In the field of Second Language Acquisition, cross-linguistic influence has raised great empirical interest even before the field was formally established. The vast number of empirical and theoretical studies have helped to shed light on a phenomenon that is present in all learners. As research in CLI has been mainly exploratory in nature, following a research-then theory approach, the complex nature of CLI will be explored from the early approaches to the current trends which will take us to the important developments that have taken place in the latest years. We will discuss the relevant new directions in research and results will be presented that show the relationship between CLI and cognition in the acquisition of English as a Second Language.

Bio: Rosa Alonso Alonso is a Senior Lecturer of English at the University of Vigo. She has previously been a member of the staff at the University of Santiago. She is the editor of VIAL (Vigo International Journal of Applied Linguistics) and the Project Manager of the research team Method and Materials for the Teaching of Foreign Languages. She also belongs to the research group SPERTUS. She has been engaged in different research projects concerning Second Language Acquisition. Her main research interests include language transfer, interlanguage, second language learning, academic writing and spoken language. She has a number of publications on these areas, including The Role

of Transfer in Second Language Acquisition (2002, Servicio de Publicacións: Universidade de Vigo). She is co-author of the Diccionario de Enseñanza y Aprendizaje de Lenguas (2007, CLE International) and has collaborated in different journals and in the organisation of various conferences.



Prof. Dr Loreta Ulvydienė

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Keynote Title: Censorship and Translation

Abstract: The act of translation is a conscious process that cannot resist either cultural or political beliefs or ideologies. Therefore, in the case of censorship, internal and external forces that affect translation process are considerably intensified, especially when the translator holds ideologies contrary to the target language (TL) regime. Thus, even though ‘politics’ and ‘translation’ are two rather different concepts they are strongly interrelated, since translation is influenced greatly by political movements and translation itself becomes subjected to political gain and / or dividends and agenda. Furthermore, if censorial ideology collides with the final translation, such kind of pressure leads to rewriting the text or conscious erasure of unwanted parts of the discourse. If internal or external forces of censorial ideology affect the translator before the actual translation process it ends up breaking the coherence between source and target texts. In any way censorship is seen as an expression to consolidate one’s power and dominate over source language culture and ideology (cf. Peter Fawcett).

Thus, some ideological pressures appear from cultural alter ties and the friction between source language (SL) culture and target language (TL) culture, especially when the SL culture lacks or overflows with the ideology that is not appropriate to a TL culture, arises. In the case of such appearance, some translators have censorship adapted to their works while other translators, who are not in agreement that SL and TL texts should lose coherence, choose to censor translations on their own, however, in the most subtle way possible (in this particular case the translator becomes the censor). In the case of Soviet regime, the translator was influenced either by an external force (i. e., censorial government or its institutes) or internal force (personal beliefs). Therefore, from the view point of the censorial target language, translation was viewed as a tool for manipulation. Further on, in the case of Soviet censorship, translation had two aims: i) to protect TT readers from the unwanted influence and ideology coming from the SL culture and ii) to support and promote Soviet ideology and beliefs. In addition, according to a Lithuanian publicist, poet and translator Tomas Venclova, generally speaking it is impossible to avoid deformation and gaps during the translation process. There are various aspects for breach of coherence between source and target texts, for example, “insufficient competence of the translator or insufficient maturity of the very culture” (1979). However, he claims that the strongest force for the deterioration of coherence between source and target texts “is the conscious and planned ideological deformation characteristic to totalitarian countries” (ibid., 25) where printed material is controlled by censorial institutes more rigorously during wartime rather than peacetime for the fear that censorial TL culture will be violated by SL ideologies. Ultimately, the notion of desirable and undesirable literature appears which does not destroy the TL culture; rather, it creates a completely unique culture that arises from native tradition.

Bio: Loreta Ulvydiene is a Professor of Inter Cultural Communications & Translation Studies at Vilnius University Kaunas Faculty of Humanities (VU KHF), Lithuania; Principal for Lithuanian & Baltic Operations at EuCrf (European Center for Research and Financing) based in Israel; former Vice-Dean at Lithuanian Academy of Arts Kaunas Faculty and Vice Dean at Vilnius University Kaunas Faculty of Humanities with special responsibilities in the area of Project Coordination. Prof. dr. Loreta Ulvydiene has developed and taught courses in Translation and Cross-cultural Communication, Audiovisual Translation, Literary Theory and Criticism, Academic Language and Research Methods, Mass Communication, American literature and more. She has been contributing to the Universal Lithuanian Encyclopaedia, published by the Science & Encyclopaedia Publishing Institute and has been the author of numerous papers and articles. Prof. dr. Loreta Ulvydiene is a member of EAAS (European Association for American Studies) and EST (European Society for Translation Studies), ESSE (The European Society for the Study of English) and a member of Editorial Boards of Journal for Distance Education TOJDE and Black Sea Scientific Journal of Academic Research.

In 2013 Prof. dr. Loreta Ulvydiene became the President of LINELT conference in Antalya.



Prof. Dr. Ali Rahimi, Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics

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Panel Title: “Is Cross Cultural Communication a Poisoned Chalice?”
(Panel)

Keynote Title “Foreign Language Teaching: Key Issues and Challenges”

Bio: Ali Rahimi, Ph.D. is an Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics at Bangkok University. He is the author of 13 books. Four recent titles are *Critical Discourse Analysis*, *The Art of Communication*, *Roadmap to Meaning: Fine-tune Your Translation Skills*, *Textbook Evaluation*. He has translated 12 books on *CDA*, *Creative Intelligence*, *Psychology*, *Sociolinguistics*, and *Pragmatics*, etc. He has also published extensively in various reputable international journals and has presented his articles at national and international conferences. He has run workshops throughout Asia and Europe on Creativity, Critical Thinking, Communication Skills, Critical Discourse Analysis, Language and Culture and Research Designs. He has had major roles in international educational associations as well as curriculum development policies and has served on numerous editorial boards. He has worked with Croatian Public Relations Association (CPRA) and teachers’ professional development and research at BAU in Istanbul, Turkey. He has also collaborated with the South Korean Educational Development Organization and KJEP. He is a guest editor of Elsevier, Social and Behavioral Sciences (2014 and 2015). He has also been the president of LINELT, 2013 and LINELT, 2014. He is the editor-in-chief of the Global Journal of Foreign Language Teaching. He has been a keynote speaker at a number of international conferences such as 2nd Global Conference on Contemporary Issues in Education, 27-28 August 2015, The University of Chicago, Chicago, USA; 6th World Conference on Psychology and Counseling, and Guidance: Turkey, 14-16 May, 2015, and The Third International Conference on Language, Discourse and Pragmatics: (LDP, 2015), etc.

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Africa's White Women

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Abstract

The place of Africa's white woman is ambivalent. Often called the oppressed oppressor, she is not a protagonist in her own right. Yet history tells of her crucial contribution to Africa's freedom struggle. Frantz Fanon says black men believe being loved by her is to be loved "like a white man" and so *be* white. Doris Lessing's "poor white" man's bored wife wants sex with the houseboy. Nadine Gordimer portrays her as a pale, insipid counterpart to African women's vital beauty pictured in terms disturbingly similar to those characterizing noble savages. In J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace* African men inflict "corrective rape" on her. Black African writers portray her more compassionately. Ngugi wa Thiong'o speaks of "the reduction of white women to nothing." In Peter Abrahams's works she joins Africa's freedom struggle yet becomes the victim of an African freedom fighter's ruthless exploitation. Mariama Ba depicts her as mercilessly exploited by her black African husband who proves his manhood through her even as he secretly appropriates her resources for his own purposes. South Africa's people's poet Mzwakhe Mbuli acknowledges her among the women who helped free Africa, and continue to make a contribution. Zanzibari writer Abdulrazak Gurnah returns her to Eastern Africa to discover her own roots, to listen to the stories told by those her ancestors once ruled. This paper explores the identity and place of white women as depicted in African literature.

Keywords: white women in Africa; Africa; African Literature; interracial relationships;

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1. Introduction

There is "subterraneously [...] a powerful willing of the total extinction of the white man. He aroused a terrible hatred." And there is also the hatred of Africans, "the African hair [...] the African nose" (Head, 1974). So says South African novelist Bessie Head, the daughter of a white woman and a black stablehand. Her life in many ways mirrors the white woman's African dilemma.

Bessie Head was the daughter of a white South African mother who had been confined to a mental asylum when she became pregnant by a Black stablehand. Here Bessie was born. And it was here that Bessie's mother died. In *A Question of Power* her main character Elizabeth tells her story. She grew up in foster homes where she was rejected each time they discovered she was a "Colored" (in South Africa a person of mixed black-white racial heritage). Only her grandmother insisted on visiting her whenever the family came to the races in Durban. In the mission school to which she was sent all were on the watch for the insanity which had confined her mother to the insane asylum. In her novels Bessie's characters reflect the schizophrenia of her own existence as the non-human child of a white woman as they spiral into the madness of racial disconnect. The question here is how literary representations of Africa's white women reflect the psychology of their relationship to the continent and its people. The white woman in Africa. Who is she? Where does she belong?

2. Blood, Taint, Flaw, Degeneration

In early South African novels, the white woman lives in a world of unselfconscious stereotypes. Olive Schreiner's (1883) *The Story of an African Farm* presents a satiric portrayal of the communities of the Karoo and the general violence and brutality characterizing its inhabitants. Tant Sannie, the rather comical Boer woman, is more intent on finding a husband than on interacting with the native people of the region. In Schreiner's (1926) *From Man to Man* racial sensibilities have become more problematic. Rebekah is however, more concerned about her husband's infidelity than the fact that he has been unfaithful with a black woman. Although she adopts her husband's "Colored" child, Rebekah's own children are embarrassed at being seen with their half-sister, who is called a "black nigger" by her own father and by the neighbors.

It is only with Sarah Gertrude Millin's (1924) *God's Stepchildren* that issues of blood resulting from inter-racial social relationships become a theme to be explored. Thus in "Blood, Taint, Flaw, Degeneration" (1988), his analysis of *God's Stepchildren*, J.M. Coetzee traces the scientific philosophy of blood which found one of its most brutal expressions in the Nazi Holocaust, back to the "respectable historic and scientific thought" (p. 138) of the mid nineteenth century. It was blood which distinguished races from each other and which defined those biologically predestined to rule the world. In sexual intercourse the "quintessence of blood flows from man to woman" (p. 138). The "tainted" embryo's blood then flows between it and the mother, forever tainting her.

Thus, in South Africa white women were the guarantors of the purity of the white race. *Apartheid* laws governing sexual behavior were formulated around them. The *Immorality Act, No. 5 of 1927* forbade "illicit carnal intercourse" between "European" and "Native". Native was later changed to "non-European" in *The Immorality Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1950*. The *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949* made marriages between Europeans and all non-Europeans invalid. This meant that on the surface *all* sexual cohabitation between the white and the non-white races was forbidden. In practice however, the laws were less concerned with white men's forays into black women's lives. Schreiner's (1926) *From Man to Man* already shows that children who resulted from these escapades were after all not white, and so of no real concern to white society. Black men, who since colonialism's beginnings were emasculated "boys" and were treated as such, could not protect their women from white men's lusts. Yet white women remained taboo to these emasculated black

men who were nevertheless seen as the greatest threat both to white women's sexual integrity and to the purity of the white race. The story of Bessie Head's mother illustrates that no white woman in her right mind would venture across the color line. Furthermore, in this narrative the narrative of the black lover, a stable "boy," fits well into the mythology of the animal-stud-like qualities attributed to black men.

The consequences of this mythology are apparent not only in South African literature, but to this day determine many legal but troubled relationships between couples from different racial groups in Africa. As Frantz Fanon (2008) points out in *Black Skin, White Masks*, in the dynamics of cross-racial sex the white woman is the one who the black man believes can fulfil his longing to be white: being loved by her is to be loved "like a white man" and so to *be* a white man (p. 45). And so in Ngugi's wa Thiong'o's (2006) *Wizard of the Crow* (p. 179-180), when Tajirika realizes that all that can distinguish him from other rich black men is a white skin, he considers marrying a white woman and so becoming English.

3. Africa's White Women

It is in South Africa that the implications of this mythology appear most frequently. Even after the 1985 abolition of the laws forbidding sexual cohabitation between "European" and "non-European" races, South Africa, home to different nations and races, was not concerned with the racial intermingling of the country's many races. At stake was the purity of the white race. The guarantor of that purity was the untouchable white woman who remained the possession of the white man, forever taboo to the black man. While this philosophy was generally not as overtly formulated in other literature on the African continent, it to this day permeates not only South African literature, but is a central theme in the literature of other African countries. It continues to determine international representations of the African continent.

3.1 White Women: Hollywood and the Fashion World

Perhaps amongst the greatest enemies of Africa's White women are Hollywood and the fashion world. Thus for example in Sydney Pollack's block buster award-winning film *Out of Africa* (1985) Meryl Streep plays Karen Blixen - the woman who can shoot straight, love wildly, and ride unkempt into an all-male war camp, and not give credit to the Kenyan Africans who have walked all the way. Despite her challenge of a male-dominated colonial world, she nevertheless remains primarily the object of romantic love intrigues. While she is the one who heals sick Africans and brings education to them despite the objections of the Kikuyu chief, black people play no major role in Karen Blixen's life except as servants and as trusted confidants who, like the Muslim Faran, live in close proximity to her yet nevertheless keep a chaste distance. Her place is in the arms of a white lover on a continent made for Western-style romance where the ultimate savior and her protector is a white man.

In Taylor Swift's (2015) latest video *Wildest Dreams* white colonial romance is once more the center stage as "she and director Joseph Kahn envision pith-helmet-and-khaki-clad men as civilizing heroes and the women who joined them roughing it in tents wearing lingerie" (Carotenuto, 2015). Fashion continues to package modern Africa as a romance where white male fantasy reigns supreme as fragile-looking white women make their way across the untamed African landscape carrying the latest Louis Vuitton fashion accessories.

3.2 The Missionary

The white woman missionary believes of herself that she is a civilizing force in Africa. Yet Bessie Head's *Maru* (1971) and *A Question of Power* (1974) both present the picture of white female

missionaries as abrasive and even cruel. They are insensitive to the cultural and personal needs of their protégés. Thus, in *Maru* Margaret Cadmore, a missionary's wife adopts the child of a Masarwa woman who dies in childbirth. Although she concedes that the deceased Masarwa mother, the member of people considered lower than any other in the country, "looks like a Goddess", and she educates this child of "a low filthy nation," equal in status to animals in a game reserve, the baby she adopts is no more than an experiment to be trained to help "her" people one day. No real intimacy can be acknowledged between the two, and the child she adopts later says of her: "She was not good. She was rich".

In *A Question of Power* (1974) the white female missionary appears in two guises. The first reflects Bessie Head's own history when the school girl is subjected to a school principal, "a tall, thin, gaunt, incredibly cruel woman" who "had heard 'the call' from Jesus and come out to save the heathen" (p. 16). This woman is convinced that the young "Colored""Colored" child Elizabeth [Bessie] who has been placed in her care has inherited the insanity which resulted in her mother being "locked up" because "she was having a child by the stable boy, who was a native". The second embodiment of the colonial female missionary is Camilla who had come to Botswana "to help the natives" and who like the other Danes, "the specialists in sheep farming, dairy farming, crops and chickens," did so by humiliating them, showing them how inherently inferior and lazy they were, even when like Elizabeth they had an education. When one in this group suggests that Elizabeth tell Camilla she is a "racialist," Elizabeth responds that these people "know they are racialists" , yet cannot see that not the victim of their hatred is ugly, but they themselves.

3.3 The White Woman in the Novel: images of fertility and sterility

3.3.1 Doris Lessing and Nadine Gordimer

Doris Lessing and Nadine Gordimer are both white female novelists and recipients of the Nobel Prize in Literature. White women have an important place in their novels, yet are anything but savory characters. Doris Lessing's white woman contrasts sharply with the ones portrayed in Nadine Gordimer's novels. In Lessing's (1950) *The Grass is Singing* the white woman is the bored lonely wife of a down and out "poor white" - i.e. lower class white - a Rhodesian farmer who, until his wife joins him feels comfortable in the company of his black African workers. His wife's arrival changes the dynamic: the white woman has to be kept separate from black society. During her husband's absence her only companion is the black "houseboy," the black servant she tempts sexually. The implication is clear: only lower class white women would have a relationship with black men - especially black servants. The only reason they do so is they are bored or neglected by their husbands.

Gordimer's white women by contrast are educated, participate in the struggle against *apartheid*, but are no more beautiful. Their sterility and ugliness is offset by the beauty and fertility of black African society. In an ironic twist they discover that their own men have become emasculated and are attracted to the black men society has castrated. Thus Elizabeth in *The Late Bourgeois World* (1966) who sees herself also as one of the "bathed and perfumed and depilated white ladies, in whose womb the sanctity of the white race is entombed", decides to use her senile grandmother's bank account to assist members of the banned Pan African Congress. In return she knows Luke, the black African go-between between her and the Pan African Congress, will come to her "with the smell of the smoke of braziers in his clothes" and perhaps even make love to her (p. 94).

As is the case for Gordimer's later heroines, Elizabeth's participation in the struggle is equated with sexual energy in the presence of the black freedom fighter. She, "the outsider," is asked to help channel funds to support violent revolution in South Africa. Her response grows "almost like sexual tumescence" (p. 79). Hillela in *A Sport of Nature* (1987) and Hannah in *My Son's Story* (1990) both

discover that "sexual happiness and political commitment [become] one" (1990, p. 90). Hannah's black lovers combine political astuteness with physical courage and tremendous sexual energy which can never be matched by any of her white lovers. Committed to the freedom struggle and trusting in their sexuality Hillela and Hannah become the lovers of black freedom fighters and live a life which allows them to survive the demise of white rule. Yet despite both their political and sexual commitment, Gordimer's white women are essentially ugly, beautiful only when like Hillela in *A Sport of Nature* they are dressed in traditional African clothing, which "makes her appear so" (1987, p. 340). In *My Son's Story* Hannah's blonde features and blue eyes are compared to those of a pig. Yet Aila's "oriental beauty" and "her coiled river of shining black hair" are mentioned with awe (1990). In *Burger's Daughter* (1979) Rosa, the white daughter of an Afrikaner father who supports the struggle against the white government is overshadowed by Marisa Kgosana, who is "a queen of some prototype, extinct in Britain or Denmark where the office still exists." She is "the Ruritanian pan-Africa of triumphant splendor and royal beauty that is subject to no known boundaries of old custom or new warring political ideologies in black countries" (1979).

Gordimer's dehumanization of South Africa's white women is thus offset by her portrayal of black African society as being almost exclusively vibrant, its members disturbingly like noble savages who can do no wrong. Their society reflects unrealistic and nostalgic inner harmony and cohesion, whereas white society presents an unmitigated picture of sordid sterility. Whereas black men possess seemingly boundless sexual energy and easily procreate, white relationships remain childless. Steve Biko once commented that those liberal whites who had been the source of the problem in South Africa should not necessarily be expected to be a part of the solution as Africans freed themselves from *apartheid*. Many understood his words to mean that white women would have no home in the new South Africa. The novels of the white apartheid-era South African writers, not only those of Nadine Gordimer, seem to bear out the truth of Biko's words.

3.3.2 J.M. Coetzee: *In the Heart of the Country* (1977) and *Disgrace* (1999)

In white South Africa's post-apartheid novels white women continue to remain sterile unless violently impregnated. Thus, in Coetzee's (1977) *Heart of the Country*, written during the *apartheid* years, Magda lusts after Hendrik, the black servant whose wife her father has made his concubine. Although Hendrik rapes her and later repeatedly has sexual intercourse with her, Magda is unable to "be a woman" and remains sterile. Central to Coetzee's post-apartheid novel *Disgrace* (1999) is Lucy, a lesbian. The reversal of the sterility implied by her lesbianism occurs when she is gang raped by black men in an act of racial hatred that mirrors the "corrective rape" to which lesbian women of all races are subjected in the new South Africa, and she becomes pregnant. As a violently impregnated white woman who does not know who the father of her child is, she can only remain on the land that is hers if she gives it over to Petrus, the black man, the tribal elder of the community whose men committed the crime against her. Petrus does what is "culturally correct" and ostensibly marries her so as to protect the unborn child. He does nothing to right the wrong committed against a woman and against her unborn child. The attainment of racial justice had been the goal of the African National Congress and of Nelson Mandela. The justice by which Petrus and his community live, is that in return for protecting the child he lets the white woman continue to live on the land he takes from her without paying for it.

In Gordimer's (1998) post-*apartheid* novel *The House Gun* there is a similar dynamic. Natalie, an extremely disturbed young woman, realizes she is pregnant after she cheats on the man who loves her and has sex with his gay ex-lover. Here too the woman does not know who the father of the child is. The specter of dysfunctional white families, and especially of white women, thus continues into the post-apartheid era. Once they belonged to white men, now they belong to black men. In *Disgrace* Lucy's father assists Beth, a white woman in charge of an animal shelter and responsible for

euthanizing unwanted canines. She allows the old man who has been guilty of sexual philandering to come to her but essentially their relationship is one in which she administers the *coup-de-grace*. He was unable to protect his daughter against rape. His grandchild, the result of that rape, will belong to Petrus, a black man, who also takes over the land that once belonged to him. White South African society has ceased to exist.

3.4 The White Woman in Black (South African) Writing

3.4.1 Drum Magazine

During the early *apartheid* years as the National Party worked towards cementing the ideology and policies of racial separation, the stories written by black South African journalists in *Drum* magazine challenged the system. Written in the style of investigative reporting, the narratives generally revolved around the systemic injustices evident on farms and in prisons. The 2004 film *Drum* tells the story of Can Themba, one of the journalists, who falls in love with a white woman from Britain. The story of their love, as told in the film, recounts only the sordid injustices of South Africa's *Immorality Act* which forbids cross-racial sexual encounters. There is no character development, no nuancing in the story which revolves around their discovery during a house raid by South Africa's brutal white security police. Whereas the man is jailed, and the *Drum* team has to bail him out, the woman is deported. Can Themba eventually leaves South Africa in which he no longer feels at home. At no point does the story move beyond showing the woman willing to take a risk which for her as a British national is no risk at all. She speaks of the "romantic" element of breaking the law. Though called a "cunt" by the security officer, she is little more than embarrassed by the incident. The consequences of the "Immorality Act," which defines "immorality" solely in terms of cross-racial (black-white) sexual relationships are not explored in a film which likewise focuses solely on the sexual nature of these relationships and not on interpersonal interaction.

3.4.2 Peter Abrahams

In *A Wreath for Udomo* (1956) black South African novelist Peter Abrahams depicts the love between Udomo, an exiled African freedom fighter who falls in love with Lois, a white woman who joins the struggle, as consensual. It is furthermore, more than merely an account of a sexual encounter. While the novel touches on themes similar to those identified by white writers during the *apartheid* era Abrahams's portrayal of the white woman is a great deal more complex and compassionate than the depictions found in white South African writing. Lois is furthermore not depicted as being inferior to Maria, the black woman who loves Udomo's fellow freedom fighter Mhendi.

While Lois makes a conscious decision to join Udomo's struggle for his country's independence, she supports him with her income and determines to join the man she loves when he returns to Africa; her identity is not determined by the political choices she makes. When she walks in on her friend's abortion and realizes Udomo has betrayed her, she tells him to leave. Paul Mabi, Udomo's friend, whom she tells of the betrayal, does not doubt Udomo has wronged the woman he loved. Unlike Nadine Gordimer who for example in *My Son's Story* ignores freedom fighters' every failing because of the nobility of the cause they espouse, Abrahams lets Paul Mabi acknowledge the wrong that the country's political savior has done. Gordimer's white heroines on the other hand do not really get hurt by the black people whose cause they embrace. And their black lovers remain untarnished no matter how unethical their behavior is.

Mabi sees Lois as a person in her own right and knows how much she has contributed to the freedom struggle. Even though he knows how important Udomo is to their freedom struggle, he does

not have recourse to Africa's perception of its own victimhood to excuse the wrong that has been done to her. He challenges the concept of the saintly revolutionary when he tells Lois: "I know the wrong he did you and Mhendi. But I also know the good he did Afrika. Was he a good man? A great man? And is greatness beyond good and evil?" (p. 309). As Paul tries to comfort her, "all the guilt of Africa" (p. 121) is in his voice. Years later after Udomo has returned to his home country and has helped free it from colonial oppression, he is murdered by tribalists in his regime. Paul writes to Lois asking her to forgive the man who in freeing his country has yet betrayed so many, not only her. He ends his letter by asking whether "tomorrow's Africans will understand the price at which their freedom was bought, and the share of it non-Africans [like her] had to pay" (p.309). Her identity as a white and as a woman no longer seems central to their communication with one another. The freedom fighter who at the moment of death knew how much he loved her is in need of forgiveness. And she, like so many Africans, is asked to free herself from justified anger and disappointment. In this invitation, as he asks her to write to him, Paul Mabi offers her a home within the new Africa.

4. Africa's White Women today

Today Africa's White Women continue to be depicted in the Hollywood genre and are subjects of the images of the fashion world. They have however also become major protagonists in modern African writing. Their place in African society and in the African novel of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century remains ambiguous. Two novels - one by Senegalese writer Mariama Ba and the other by Zanzibari novelist Abdulrazak Gurnah - illustrate the divergence in attitudes.

4.1 The White woman in Africa's Muslim world

Senegalese writer Mariama Ba's (1986) novel *Scarlet Song* tells the story of a white woman's love for a Senegalese man. Here race becomes the framework which determines feminist themes in modern Africa. Mireille, the daughter of a French diplomat, falls in love with a fellow student Ousmane Gueye. The novel focuses on the heartbreak a white woman faces when her love makes her go against her own society and she is also not accepted by her husband's family. Ousmane's marriage to Mireille is a practical illustration that confirms Fanon's contention that marriage to a white woman gives the black man the illusion that he has reached above himself, has become someone special. Ousmane admits: "What was I trying to prove? My manhood? My ability to attract someone so far above me? I was excited by the difficulty of the enterprise" (p. 136). Calling her his "Blanche," his "Blonde," he is unable to move beyond his perception of her whiteness. When his mother sees Mireille's picture he tells her that it is that of a film star.

Ousmane admits to himself "that he had been drawn to her by the need to assert himself, to rise intellectually and socially" (p. 123). However this attraction to the intellectual rapport he shares with Mireille suddenly seems of no account when he chooses to return to Ouleymatou, a black Senegalese woman with only the minimum of education. In their teenage years she had rejected him for being less than a man because he helped his mother (p.10). Ouleymatou now has no scruples in exploiting her sexuality to entice him back to her. Neither to mention that he steals his white wife's money to lift her own family out of slum poverty.

His friend tells him that "when a black man marries a white woman he is lost to his country" (p. 149), and his mother insists that Ousmane sees his return to the opportunistic Ouleymatou as part of his need to retain his "African soul" his "essence as an African" (p. 100). His friends remind him that they chose to marry white women "during the colonial period, out of self-interest, laziness, weakness or opportunism" (p. 122), but that this justification is no longer valid. Yet Ousmane continues to see himself as "the black woman's hope" after Senegalese independence (p. 120). He finds "cultural

justification" (p. 139) in the second marriage he hides from his first wife Mireille and confuses "Ouleymatou with Africa." She becomes a "symbol of the black woman, whom he had to emancipate" (p. 149). Ironically Ouleymatou ensnares him with the most crude traditions of un-emancipated black womanhood: she becomes her future mother-in-law's slave and sees her prime responsibility in satisfying his sexual desires.

For her part Ouleymatou's success in seducing him, convinces her that she deserves the accolades bestowed on her. She is the "'wife of an intellectual!' 'The equal of a white woman in a man's heart!'" (p. 134). Obioma Nnaemeka sees Ousmane's attempt to link his betrayal of Mireille, his plundering of her bank account and his marriage to Ouleymatou not as confusion but as "deceit wrapped up in naturalized, feminized, idealized and 'motherized' Africa" (in Onwuegbuche and Akun 2011, p. 6). It is only when Mireille attacks him and he is in danger of being killed that he realizes what he and his society have done to her when he took "a beautiful young woman, intelligent, virtuous, hungry for affection and offering love in abundance" and betraying her (p. 165).

Mariama Ba portrays Mireille as being "genuinely in love" (p. 20). Devoted to Ousmane, Mireille chooses to study at a Senegalese university rather than return to France. When her parents discover her love she is forced to return to France where she actively participates in demonstrations demanding Senegalese independence. Yet her idealism and her participation in the struggle for independence triggers none of the hormonal responses portrayed in novels written by white South African writers. Mariama Ba goes to great lengths to show Mireille "was simply and naturally in love, like any healthy, normal girl of her age" (p. 20). Despite her father's blatant racial prejudice Mireille believes in a society where tolerance reigns and people respect others' differences; where children of mixed marriages are "free to choose where they belong" (p. 122). As the wife of a black man in Africa she realizes too late that despite all her overtures, her gifts, her attempts at integrating into Senegalese culture she will never be accepted. Ousmane uses the alibi of Muslim polygamy and loyalty to African culture to betray her. The child whose birth she welcomes remains nothing more than a "*Gnouloule Khessoule!*"; it is a child that will never belong because it is "Not black! Not white!" She knows she cannot take her son back to France either and so she kills him (p. 164).

4.2 The East African novel: the White Woman comes home

In Mariama Ba's *Scarlet Song* Mireille comes home to an Africa that cannot tolerate her marriage; that is interested only in plundering her savings; demands religious and cultural conformity from her yet is unwilling to accommodate her in the slightest. By contrast, in Abdulrazak Gurnah's (2005) *Desertion* the white woman comes home to Africa because she discovers blood ties.

Through Rashid, the Zanzibari man she loves, Barbara learns that her grandfather, Martin Pearce, a 19th century Orientalist and Africa explorer, loved Rehana an African woman of Swahili and Muslim-Indian descent. She discovers what he did not know: Rehana's grandchild Jamila is her cousin. And so - together with earlier generations of Persians from Shiraz, Arabs from Oman, Portuguese and British - she becomes part of Zanzibar's confluence of cultures. Related by blood to an African woman, she herself becomes an African on a continent about which she knows nothing. Rashid teaches her that her cousin is not merely the offspring of her grandfather's "native lover," but has a name - Jamila, the beautiful one. And so a blood relationship is established between the former colonizers and the formerly colonized. Barbara decides to accompany Rashid when he returns to Zanzibar. She wants to meet the cousin none in her family knew about. The story does not tell how she is received. When Rashid fell in love with and married a white woman his parents disapproved there is no guarantee that the father's attitude has changed. Nor is there any indication that Barbara's willingness to conform to Muslim and traditional rules and not sleep in the same room as Rashid, as she would in the West, will eventually lead to her being accepted in the society where the cousin she does not know lives. Yet the

willingness to learn, to accept are the prerequisites that may make it possible for her to find a home where her grandfather once found love.

In his portrayal of women Gurnah does not focus on their racial differences, but on the complexity of their characters and their responses to their situations. Even though Barbara has to learn that Jamila has a name and should not be referred to as the offspring of her grandfather's "native lover", she responds with curiosity and excitement to the new situation. She and Rashid's sister Farida are furthermore not seen as foils for one another. While the cross-cultural relationships Gurnah portray are doomed, he yet suggests that "the notion of race is a construct of power, an artificial way of defining - and dividing - humanity" (Lalami 2005). And so the return and the welcome of the white woman in Africa becomes a possibility.

5. Conclusion

In her gender-switching adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (2011) Julie Taymor casts Hellen Mirren as Prospera, the wronged Duchess of Milan. Just as in the original Shakespearian version of *The Tempest* her daughter Miranda says of Caliban "'Tis a villain [...] I do not love to look on" (p. 309). However, by addressing these words to her mother rather than as in the original to her father, different associations are elicited. The film's visual representation shows Prospera physically defending her daughter against Caliban's attempt on Miranda's virtue. This depiction of two women confronting the "savage" Caliban gives new meaning to his contention that Miranda "stroked" him and made much of him yet rejected his advances (p. 333). As in the film *Out of Africa* the image evoked is that of the white woman whose physical closeness to the black man yet does not allow sexual intimacy.

This interpretation of Taymor's film further subverts the Shakespearean reference to Caliban, the colonized "native" being condemned to denuding his island of the wood bound for industrial Europe. Prospera says of Caliban: "But as 'tis we cannot miss him. He does make our fire; fetches in our wood and serves in offices that would profit us" (pp. 310-313). Here Lessing and Gordimer's references to the white woman who needs a black servant she pities and educates (p. 353), and who is then the object of the colonized person's sexual attention re-occurs. It continues to be a theme in literature emanating from Africa. When in Taymor's film Caliban's wish that he had succeeded in raping Miranda, the forbidden white woman, and had thus "peopl'd [...] this isle with Calibans" (p. 351) is directed at Prospera, and not at the original Shakespearean male character Prospero, Africa's white women finally come full circle. Caliban's words are reminiscent of the "corrective rape" inflicted on Lucy in *Disgrace*, her subsequent pregnancy, and the incorporation of her unborn child into the African society whose members had violated her. Like Prospero in the original version of the play, Prospera takes back the throne from the person who usurped it. By rights Miranda should have inherited the throne of Milan. Yet, the success of Prospera's plot that Miranda fall in love with and marry Ferdinand means her offspring will become the "Kings of Naples," but Miranda will not be its ruling queen.

As Prospera greets her shipwrecked countrymen she introduces Caliban as "this thing of darkness I acknowledge mine" (p. 275). Her acknowledgement echoes Laurens van der Post's contention that the relationship between white and black Africans is that between the persona and the Jungian Collective Shadow (e.g.: *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, 1958). Prospera is right! Caliban is her creation. In this understanding of the text the white woman should thus not be understood as being merely a passive victim of male dominance - either black or white. She is complicit in her own oppression. Karen Blixen in *Out of Africa*; Lois in *Wreath for Udomo*; Mireille in *Scarlet Song*; the heroines in Gordimer's novels (1966); Lucy in *Disgrace* all tacitly accept the role assigned to them by dominant white society, and thus the concomitant troubled relationship with black African men. As she lures her daughter into marriage with her cousin in what Miranda understands as a "brave new world" of "godly creatures" (pp. 182-183), Prospera in Julie Taymor's film openly acknowledges the servant-mistress-sexual-

desirability relationship with Caliban. She sets the spirit Ariel free. She is however unable to set free Caliban whom she describes as being "as disproportion'd in his manners as in his shape" (pp. 290-291). This does not augur well for the future of white women in black Africa.

The reality of modern Africa is explored in the novels written during the last one hundred years but it is also evident in the reality of lived lives. There are the untold stories of white women who fought in the South African freedom struggle and taught in black schools. There were the white women who joined the Black Sash movement in South Africa at great risk to themselves and to their families, and who did so for no other reason than that it was right to do so. There were the white women who ventured even into areas reserved for men in Africa - farming, cattle husbandry. These women gave black society another view of what it means to be an African where all are equal and all are able to participate no matter their gender or race. These women often played a quiet role. But they were present, they participated, they changed the structure of African society. Interestingly thus, despite these very modern interpretations of white women's place on the African continent and in black African society, there are also voices which testify that white women have played a decisive role in the development and freeing of African societies and are thus integral to Africa's future evolution.

At the 2013 funeral of South Africa's first black president, South Africa's praise poet Mzwakhe Mbuli, in his tribute to the people who had supported Nelson Mandela, does not categorize the people he praises neither in terms of gender nor race. Similarly, in his song *Imbokodo* white women are mentioned in the same breath as black African women who struggled for South Africa's freedom. He sings: "Mama Uyimbokodo" - mother you are a rock - and thus refers to the cultural concept that all women are mothers. "Wathinta abafazi wathinta Imbokodo" - when you touch a woman you strike a rock. He acknowledges that the "women of this world are amazing." They "fought fiercely and conquered" (2014)). He knows that all those he names - amongst others Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, Adelaide Tambo, Helen Josephs, Helen Suzman, Bessie Head - are "women of great courage" who "firmly stood". He acknowledges all women, black and white, as the ancestors of Africa's freedom struggle and thus of Africa. He recognizes not only those who made a political contribution, but those who are in the fields growing food, taking care of children, working in menial occupations. To all women, both black and white, he sings his "Tina Siyabongo - Mama Siyabonga" - you we thank - Mother we thank you.

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Economic metaphors in business English

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Abstract

Our theoretical framework is based on Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphors which doesn't view metaphors as a means of adorning language. Metaphors are not related to the aesthetic function of language, they are rather connected to our conceptual system. We embrace Lakoff's idea that metaphors do not occur primarily in language, but in thought, that metaphors belong to conceptual and social-cultural phenomena, rather than to the linguistic phenomenon. From Lakoff's classification of metaphors we believe that structural metaphors and orientational metaphors pertain to the business English genre. We also aim to analyze the means by which these conceptual categories are obtained: verbs, idioms, pre- and post-modifiers, as well as the cases in which morphological changes entail metaphorical meaning.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor; economic; metaphorical load;

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1. Introduction

The paper analyzes economic metaphors from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. We established the business English genre for sampling our population of texts for the following reasons: the quite high frequency of metaphors, conceptual metaphors arise frequently in business English texts. The second reason is the high degree of metaphorical load. In our undertaking, business genre has turned out to be a fertile ground for investigating conceptual metaphors. The economics books are very scientific and they operate with definitions and specialized terminology, usually, their readership consists of educated specialists and specialists to become who are business and terminology aware. When it comes to business newspapers and magazines, things change as these are not aimed only at specialists and top management positions with degrees in economics, banking or finance. Business magazines and newspapers address to wider readership from different social categories: entrepreneurs, students in business as well as other professional categories who want to get informed. Business newspapers do not have the same degree of metaphorical load, this differs from one text to another, from one author to another.

2. Method

We resorted to corpora for the identification of business metaphors. Corpus-based approach opens new avenues for analyzing business English metaphors and at the same time it offers new insights on business English. Among the advantages provided by the corpus-based approach we will briefly mention the following. Firstly, corpora enable the investigation of genre specific metaphors, in our case business metaphors. Secondly, with the help of corpora larger amounts of data can be investigated, the research is not limited to short samples of data. Corpora comprise larger volumes of data to be analyzed which reinforces and accounts for the validity of a corpus-based research. Thirdly, corpora give the researcher the possibility to compare the findings, thus conceptual categories of metaphors identified in one language SL can be compared to conceptual categories identified in another language TL in order to investigate similarities and differences.

In our investigation the business English corpus we amassed contains 50 newspaper articles. This approach proved to be more valuable in the research of metaphors than the traditional one, in that it encompasses authentic material and it enables drawing comparisons. The samples of authentic materials grant greater validity to our investigation.

The investigation and research of metaphors in a text/ corpus require the analysis of Source Domain and of Target Domain. The Target Domain is investigated manually or electronically with the help of headwords, then we investigated the entailments and mappings in the Source Domain.

There are two ways of identifying conceptual metaphors in corpora:

1. Manual annotation, we identify conceptual categories expressed linguistically. The manual annotation of the corpus enabled us to identify at the same time the Target Domain, the Source Domain and the metaphorical mappings.

2. Automatic annotation with the help of concordance programs, we are searching for specific headwords.

For our investigation we amassed the same population of business English texts selected from online business newspapers such as *The Economist*, *Financial Times*. The annotation and identification of metaphors were done manually. We resorted to manual annotation, despite the length of our corpus, as with automatic annotation there is the risk that conceptual categories remain unidentified.

3. Findings

The types of business metaphors which arise in business English press are clustered around money metaphors, animal metaphors and time metaphors. In this paper we chose to analyze animal metaphors and animate metaphors arising in business press. On the one hand we selected animal

characteristics transferred to human beings and institutions, in this case the metaphors were mainly nominal. We also analyzed animal behavior transferred to human beings and institutions, the metaphors were rendered in this case by verbs. We identified conceptual categories clustered around animal metaphors such as:

- 1. Event Structure Metaphors
- 2. Orientational Metaphors

The corresponding conceptual categories for the above-mentioned categories of metaphors include:

- 1. Intensity is heat;
- 2. Entrepreneurs are animals.
- 3. People are animals;
- 4. Institutions are animals;

The conceptual category *People are animals* is expressed either by verbs or by nouns. On studying animal and plant metaphors Alice Deignan points out that: 1. Source Domain nouns often have metaphorical meanings that are verbs; 2. Metaphorical meanings are sometimes associated with single inflection and /or are found in expressions that are fixed lexically and/or gradually (Deignan, 2006).

Table 1. Metaphors Clustered Around Conceptual Categories

1. Humans are animals	
The Source Domain is animal behavior and the Target Domain is people and institutions. A semantic transfer of animal characteristics and behaviour to people is produced: This category of metaphors can be rendered by verbs or in the last case by verbal collocations. In the examples provided, animal characteristics are transferred to human beings. In the first two examples the metaphorical load is influenced by the use of <i>flock</i> as a verb. As pointed above by Deignan 2006, the verbal use of <i>flock</i> entails a higher degree of metaphorical load. In these cases there are strong conceptual similarities between Target Domain and Source Domain. In this example the entailment is Situations are animals, the collocation <i>to give rein over</i> implies a tight control on an animal which is transferred to the German economy.	<i>The problem might be collective groupthink; people tend to express their pessimism or optimism relative to the <u>herd</u>.</i> <i>Europeans still <u>flock</u> in the US for holidays even though American guns kill far more people than terrorism.</i> <i>Even Chinese tourists, still <u>flocking</u> to Europe and other parts of Asia, are showing less interest in Taiwan: visitor numbers are up by just 5% this year.</i> <i>News of arrest <u>rattled</u> Brazil's financial industry.</i> <i>If someone <u>gave</u> me <u>free rein</u> over the German economy and asked me to raise its output per person to American levels, I know the sorts of things I would do, but I have a low level of confidence that I could succeed, or even close much of the gap, within a generation.</i>
2. Entrepreneurs/ Managers are animals	
In today's business environment an entrepreneur needs to strive to be successful and to remain on the market, this is why he/she needs to borrow features of animal behaviour.	<i>In essence, the pair thought they could survive only by moving like <u>sharks</u>.</i>
3. Institutions are human beings	

Institutions borrow characteristics specific to human beings. In this case the Source Domain is human behaviour and the Target Domain is people/institutions, the conceptual entailment is : *Intensity is heat*

He said having the plans at your fingertips would be especially empowering if the New York City real estate market heated up and buyers felt pressure to speed up due diligence before a competing buyer closed the deal.

Hedge funds and private equity funds are still offering backing for deals, believing that the real estate market will warm up again this year.

Cases of personifications are also identified: Spreads are considered persons.

Mr Gross is right that narrower spreads are eating into the returns of some investors.

Inventories are considered humans.

Companies would seek to make payments quickly and receive them slowly. Their inventories would grow fatter.

Physical pain is transferred from people to institutions:

Foreign subsidiaries are proving a headache for big Spanish banks.

This type of metaphor is also expressed by verbs:

First, low interest rates have not hurt investment.

This is hardly surprising since the banks have survived and are still nursing wounds incurred last time.

4. Institutions are animals

In this case markets are considered animals. The second implication is the orientational metaphor *up-down*. *Bear market* is associated with *Less is down*, while *Bull market* with *More is up*.

This week a report showing a slump in China's imports and exports in November was read differently by bulls and bears.

5. Intensity is speed/ Lack of intensity is lack of speed

Even retail stalwarts like Macy's and Gap have reported sluggish sales.

6. Vitality is a substance

This type of conceptual metaphors is mainly expressed by nouns:

Economy's stamina.

It is also expressed by means of verbs:

Exports are the lifeblood of Taiwan's economy, accounting for nearly three-quarters of its output.

Deposits drained out of them on fears that the country would leave the euro and revert to the drachma, inflicting huge losses on depositors.

7. Things are containers

Human characteristics are assigned to things. In this case mattresses replace banks as containers. Money is seen as a solid object.

Mattresses do not charge for storing notes.

4. Conclusion

After investigating a corpus made up of 50 business texts we conclude that the conceptual profile of the metaphors identified in our paper is structured around orientational metaphors and structure metaphors. Out of these the most frequent conceptual categories pertain to *Institutions are human beings*, *Humans are animals*. The metaphorical implication is not a matter of frequency or intensity, its degree varies from one text to another, from one author to another. The cases when one word attains metaphorical meanings or becomes part of conceptual categories differ, the metaphorical correspondences developed by words are different from one context to another, from one register to another.

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Vowel reduction of tense and lax vowels in Kermani accent

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Abstract

The present article aims to study tense and lax vowels in Kermani accent during the process of vowel reduction. In this study, ten participants (five men and five women with Kermani accent), were asked to pronounce 24 words and to repeat them for 3 times. The vowels of 12 words were in stressed syllables and the vowels of the others were in unstressed ones. The participants' production was recorded using Shure microphone and was analyzed by PRAAT software (Ver. 5.2.24). Then the amount of duration, F1, F2 and F0 of vowels were measured. Results revealed that tense vowels are longer in duration than lax ones, and F0 of vowels in stressed syllables are more than that in unstressed ones. Regarding F1 and F2, therefore, there is no distinguishing behaviour of the tense and lax vowels by which we could recognize them in unstressed syllables.

Keywords: lax vowel; tense vowel; vowel reduction; duration; F0; F1; F2.

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1. Introduction

Kermani accent is a variety of Persian language spoken in Kerman. Mentioned accent and the Standard Persian accent are different in terms of phonological and lexical aspects. In unstressed syllables, the process of centripetal vowel reduction occurs in Kermani accent. In this research, the difference between the lax and tense vowels during the vowel reduction process is analyzed. A brief review of the previous studies is provided as follows:

2. Literature Review

An experiment carried out by Pape & Mooshammer (2006) shows that in German F0 of each tense and lax vowel pairs are rather similar. They also conclude that the low vowels have a significantly lower F0 compared to the high vowels. Comparing the tense and lax vowel pairs in ANOVA shows no significant difference between them. Mooshammer & Fuchs (2002) believe that German tense vowels become longer in stressed syllables and shortened in unstressed syllables. In unstressed position, the quantity contrast between tense and lax vowels is neutralized whereas the quality contrast is maintained. Ladefoged & Johnson (2011) believe that lax vowels are different from tense ones in that they are shorter, lower and more centralized than the corresponding tense vowels.

3. Methodology

The data of the present research includes [æ,e,o,ɒ,u,i] vowels. The first three vowels are lax and the others are tense ones. In this study, 10 Kermani speakers (5 men and 5 women) repeated each word for three times (Table 1). The subjects' production was recorded by SHURE microphone, and vowels were segmented and labeled with the PRAAT phonetic analysis software (Ver. 5.3.06). Borders of consonants and vowels were determined, and the specific label was defined for each phone. Then the amount of duration, F1, F2 and fundamental frequency of vowels were measured using a PRAAT script., SPSS 16 and Repeated Measure ANOVA were used in order to compare the vowels at hand.

Table 1. Data of the study

Vowels	Kermani pronunciation	Standard pronunciation	Meaning	Kermani pronunciation	Standard pronunciation	Meaning
[æ]	['sær]	['sær]	'head'	[sə'rɒ]	[sær'ɒ]	'heads'
	['sæg]	['sæg]	'dog'	[sə'gɒ]	[sæg'ɒ]	'dogs'
[e]	['ser]	['ser]	'secret'	[sə'rɒ]	[se'rɒ]	'secrets'
	['del]	['del]	'heart'	[də'lɒ]	[de'lɒ]	'hearts'
[o]	['kod]	['kod]	'code'	[ko'dɒ]	[ko'dɒ]	'codes'
	['boz]	['boz]	'goat'	[bo'zɒ]	[bo'zɒ]	'goats'
[ɒ]	['kɒr]	['kɒr]	'activity'	[kɒ'rɒ]	[kɒ'rɒ]	'activities'
	['jom]	['jom]	'dinner'	[jɒ'mi]	[jɒ'mi]	'a kind of food'
[i]	['fir]	['fir]	'milk'	[fi'ri]	[fi'ri]	'milky'
	['sir]	['sir]	'garlic'	[si'ri]	[si'ri]	'fullness'

[u]	['suz]	['suz]	'cold wind'	[su'zon]	[su'zon]	'sweltering'
	['ruz]	['ruz]	'day'	[ru'ze]	[ru'ze]	'fast'

4. Data analysis

This section offers some interpretation for the results of the study. Two classifications of vowels, lax and tense, are compared with regard to their behavior in stressed and unstressed syllables. First, the descriptive data are given for all the variables of this study. Then the post-hoc Bonferroni test is used to probe the relationship between the variables.

4.1. Descriptive statistics

4.1.1. Duration

4.1.1.1. Duration of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

Table 2 indicates that the mean duration of tense vowels in stressed syllables is more than that in unstressed ones.

Table 2. The mean duration of tense vowels in stressed (S) and unstressed (U) syllables

	Syllable	Mean	Standard deviation	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower bound	Upper bound
Tense vowels	S	208.673	8.451	191.835	225.512
	U	133.313	4.620	124.107	142.520

4.1.1.2. Duration of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

The mean duration of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables is shown in Table 3. According to this table, the mean duration of [æ, e, o] in stressed syllables is more than that in unstressed syllables.

Table 3. The mean duration of lax vowels in stressed (S) and unstressed (U) syllables

	Syllable	Mean	Standard deviation	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower bound	Upper bound
Lax vowels	S	206.362	7.285	191.847	220.877
	U	120.683	5.345	110.033	131.333

4.1.2. F0

Considering fundamental frequency of both lax and tense vowels, Table 4 shows that the mean score of F0 in stressed syllables is more than that in unstressed syllables.

Table 4. The mean F0 of tense and lax vowels in stressed (S) and unstressed (U) syllables

	Vowels	Syllable	Mean	Standard deviation
Tense vowels	[ɒ]	S	177.947	17.597
		U	153.456	15.996
	[u]	S	194.068	18.428
		U	151.842	15.604
	[i]	S	175.684	16.823
		U	145.158	14.454
Lax vowels	[æ]	S	160.158	17.571
		U	143.496	13.559
	[e]	S	179.947	18.210
		U	159.886	16.124
	[o]	S	177.263	16.795
		U	151.699	15.576

4.1.3. F1

According to Table 5, only F1 of [ɒ] decreased in unstressed syllable. In other words, F1 of [æ,e,o,i,u] increased in unstressed syllables, but their variation does not amount to the same thing.

Table 5. The mean F1 of tense and lax vowels in stressed (S) and unstressed (U) syllables

	Vowels	Syllable	Mean	Standard deviation
Tense vowels	[ɒ]	S	744	114.93
		U	619.2	198.37
	[u]	S	490.3	81.28
		U	509.2	114.5
	[i]	S	479.5	171.48
		U	618.1	472.2
Lax vowels	[æ]	S	743.8	109.57
		U	744	115.41
	[e]	S	542.6	70.23
		U	550.5	76.86
	[o]	S	555.5	54.92
		U	570.42	121.5

4.1.4. F2

Table 6 indicates that F2 of every vowel except [e] increased in unstressed syllables. There was no kind of generalization which we could make about the tense or lax vowels' F2 in stressed and unstressed syllables.

Table 6. The mean F2 of tense and lax vowels in stressed (S) and unstressed (U) syllables

	Vowels	Syllable	Mean	Standard deviation
Tense vowels	[ɒ]	S	1660.7	149.6
		U	1743.1	198.98
	[u]	S	1465.8	411.4
		U	1659	361.3
	[i]	S	2249.7	169.9
		U	2318.3	192.5
Lax vowels	[æ]	S	1373.3	253.16
		U	1447.8	357.7
	[e]	S	1890.5	174.27
		U	1811.3	211.4
	[o]	S	1426.73	444.42
		U	1602	430.6

4.2. Analytic statistics

4.2.1. Duration

4.2.1.1. Duration of stressed and unstressed tense vowels

By analyzing the effect of stress on Kermani vowels, one can conclude that the duration of tense vowels in unstressed syllables is less than that in stressed syllables. The repeated measure ANOVA shows that the effect of stress on duration of tense vowels is significant ($p=0.000$) (Table 7).

Table 7. The results of comparing the mean duration of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stressed and unstressed tense vowels	212967.360	1	212967.360	98.905	0.000

Based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test, the mean duration of tense vowels in stressed syllables is 75.360 ms more than that in unstressed syllables.

4.2.1.2. Duration of stressed and unstressed lax vowels

In Table 8, we see the results of comparing the mean duration of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. Based on the results of the repeated measure ANOVA, the effect of stress on duration of lax vowels is significant ($p=0.000$).

Table 8. The results of comparing the mean duration of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Stressed and unstressed lax vowels	275279.130	1	275279.130	157.191	0.000

The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that the mean score of lax vowels' duration in stressed syllable is 85.678 ms more than that in unstressed syllables.

4.2.2. F0

4.2.2.1. Tense vowels

Table 9 indicates the results of comparing the mean F0 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. The results are demonstrated in the following lines:

Table 9. The results of comparing the mean F0 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Tense vowels	[ɒ]	5698.292	1	5698.292	29.435	0.000
	[u]	16938.483	1	16938.483	26.318	0.000
	[i]	8852.632	1	8852.632	9.583	0.006

I) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between F0 of the tense vowel [ɒ], in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($p= 0.000$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that F0 of this vowel in stressed syllable is 24.491 Hz more than that in unstressed one (Table 9).

II) The repeated measure ANOVA test shows that the difference between the amount of F0 of [u], in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($p= 0.000$). Based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test, F0 of [u] in stressed syllables is 42.226 Hz more than that in unstressed syllables.

III) Based on Table 13 and the repeated measure ANOVA test, the significance of the difference between F0 of [i] in stressed and unstressed syllables, is obvious ($p= 0.006$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test gives evidence that F0 of [i] in stressed syllable, is 30.526 Hz more than that in unstressed syllables.

4.2.2.2. Lax vowels

Table 10 shows the results of comparing the mean F0 of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. According to the data in the table below, it is inferred that:

Table 10. The results of comparing the mean F0 of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllablesE

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Lax vowels	[æ]	2637.302	1	2637.302	8.801	0.008
	[e]	3823.369	1	3823.369	4.062	0.059
	[o]	6208.378	1	6208.378	18.007	0.000

I) The difference between F0 of [æ], in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($p= 0.008$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test also indicates that F0 of vowel mentioned above, in stressed position, is 16.662 Hz more than that in unstressed one.

II) The repeated measure ANOVA test indicates that the difference between F0 of [e] in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($P: 0.059$). In stressed position, F0 of [e] is 20.061 Hz more than that in unstressed position (based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test).

III) The difference between F0 of [o] in stressed and unstressed syllables is, according to the repeated measure ANOVA, significant ($p= 0.000$). Based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test, F0 of this vowel, in stressed syllable, is 25.564 Hz more than that in unstressed syllables.

4.2.3. F1

4.2.3.1. Tense vowels

In Table 11, the results of comparing the mean F1 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables is shown. Based on this table it is concluded that:

Table 11. The results of comparing the mean F1 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Tense vowels	[o]	140125.444	1	140125.444	6.671	0.019
	[u]	24596.694	1	24596.694	5.957	0.026
	[i]	172917.361	1	172917.361	2.614	0.124

I) According to Table 11 and the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between the F1 of [o] in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($p= 0.019$). The mean F1 of this vowel in stressed syllable is 124.8 Hz more than that in unstressed syllable (based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test). This is the result of this vowel's gradual shift toward the [ə] as the process of vowel reduction occurs in this accent.

II) Based on the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between [u] vowel's F1 in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant ($p= 0.026$). According to the post-hoc Bonferroni test, in stressed syllable, the mean F1 of [u] is 18.9 Hz less than that in unstressed syllable. It is believed that the reason for this change is the occurrence of centripetal vowel reduction in Kermani accent.

III) The F1 of [i] differs in stressed and unstressed syllables. Based on the repeated measure ANOVA test, it is revealed that their difference is not significant. The post-hoc Bonferroni test indicates that the mean F1 of this vowel, in comparison with stressed syllables, is 138.6 Hz more in unstressed syllables. The increase of the F1 of [i] in unstressed syllables is due to the vowel reduction.

4.2.3.2. Lax vowels

Table 12 shows the results of comparing the mean F1 of the lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. Following results are obtained according to this table:

Table 12. The results of comparing the mean F1 of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Lax vowels	[æ]	19228.444	1	19228.444	4.049	0.060
	[e]	7598.028	1	7598.028	5.447	0.032
	[o]	22500	1	22500	4.174	0.57

I) The repeated measure ANOVA shows that in case of [æ], the mean F1 of this vowel in stressed and unstressed syllable is significant ($p= 0.060$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that the mean F1

of mentioned vowel in unstressed syllable is 0.2 Hz more than that in stressed syllable. The reason is this vowel's slight tendency toward the [ə].

II) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the mean F1 of [e] differs in stressed and unstressed syllables and their difference is significant ($p= 0.032$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that the mean F1 of this vowel in stressed syllable is 7.9 Hz less than that in unstressed ones. Decrease of the F1, regarding this vowel, is due to this vowel's gradual shift toward the centre of the vowel space as a result vowel reduction.

III) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between the amount of F1 in [o], in stressed and unstressed syllables, is not significant. Based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test, in unstressed position, F1 of this vowel is 14.92 Hz more than that in stressed positions.

4.2.4. F2

4.2.4.1. Tense vowels

Table 13 indicates the results of comparing the mean F2 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. According to this table it is inferred that:

Table 13. The results of comparing the mean F2 of tense vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Tense vowels	[ɒ]	61091.361	1	61091.361	2.610	0.125
	[u]	336013.444	1	336013.444	7.669	0.013
	[i]	158935.111	1	158935.111	6.996	0.017

I) The repeated measure ANOVA shows that in case of [ɒ], the difference between the mean F2 of this vowel, in stressed and unstressed syllable, is not significant. The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that the mean F2 of the mentioned vowel in unstressed syllable is 82.4 Hz more than that in stressed syllable. The reason is this vowel's tendency toward the [ə].

II) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the mean F2 of [u] differs in stressed and unstressed syllables and their difference is significant ($p= 0.013$). The post-hoc Bonferroni test shows that the mean F2 of this vowel in stressed syllable is 193.2 Hz less than that in unstressed ones. Increase of the F2, concerning this vowel, in unstressed position, is due to this vowel's gradual shift toward the centre of the vowel space as a result vowel reduction.

III) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between the amount of F2 in [i], in stressed and unstressed syllables, is significant ($p= 0.017$). Based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test, in unstressed position, the amount of F2 of this vowel is 68.6 Hz more than that in stressed positions.

4.2.4.2. Lax vowels

Table 14 shows the amount of F2 of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. By considering this table, it is obvious that:

Table 14. The results of comparing the mean F2 of lax vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

	Vowels	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Lax vowels	[æ]	24843.764	1	24843.764	1.263	0.277
	[e]	56485.444	1	56485.444	4.995	0.039

	[o]	276665.981	1	276665.981	6.056	0.025
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I) According to the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between F2 of [æ] in stressed and unstressed syllables is not significant (p= 0.277). The mean F2 of this vowel in unstressed syllable is 74.5 Hz more than that in stressed syllable (based on the post-hoc Bonferroni test). This fact is the result of this vowel’s gradual shift toward the [ə] as the process of vowel reduction occurs in this accent.

II) Based on the repeated measure ANOVA test, the difference between [e] vowel’s F2 in stressed and unstressed syllables is significant (p= 0.039). According to the post-hoc Bonferroni test, in stressed syllable, the mean F2 of [e] is 79.2 Hz more than that in unstressed syllable. It is believed that the reason for this change is the occurrence of centripetal vowel reduction in Kermani accent.

III) The F2 of [o] differs in stressed and unstressed syllables. Based on the repeated measure ANOVA test, we found that their difference is significant (p= 0.025). The post-hoc Bonferroni test indicates that the mean F2 of this vowel, in comparison with stressed syllables, is 175.27 Hz more in unstressed syllables. The increasing of F2 of [o] in unstressed syllables is due to the vowel reduction.

5. Conclusion

According to this study, regardless of stressed or unstressed syllable in which they occur, tense vowels are longer in duration than lax ones. In addition, the duration of tense vowels in stressed syllables is more than that in unstressed syllables. An experiment carried out by Mooshammer & Fuchs (2002) shows the same result in German language. In stressed syllables, F0 of vowels is more than that in unstressed syllables and F0 of both tense and lax vowels decreased in the process of vowel reduction. It is worth mentioning that tense and lax vowels in Kermani accent, as a whole, don’t behave in a way by which one could distinguish one tense vowel from the other lax vowel by their F0 change in stressed and unstressed syllables. Pape & Mooshammer (2006) also found that in German language, F0 is not used as a perceptual cue to distinguish tense and lax vowels. In unstressed syllable, the mean F1 of [ɒ] tense vowel is decreased and F1 of the other vowels is increased in this position compared to stressed syllable. In unstressed syllables, only the mean F2 of [e] decreased and the mean F2 of the other vowels increased in unstressed positions. By this way, regarding F1 and F2, like F0, there is no generalization by which we could make about the tense and lax vowels’ behavior in unstressed syllables.

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Assessing Pragmatic Language Skills in Pre-School Hearing-Impaired Children and Their Hearing Peers: The Questionnaire

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Abstract

Pragmatic impairment is the main cause of communication difficulties in hearing-impaired children and it is obvious that there should be a way to assess their difficulties in order to find out suitable teaching strategies to teach them pragmatic skills as well. It seems pre-school children need to get familiar with these skills to communicate in a reasonable manner. However, most of the pragmatic assessment tests are in forms of checklists that should be filled by their parents or clients and of course, they do not present a reliable way to do such an important issue. So, the authors of the present article aimed to work on a pragmatic assessment questionnaire to observe children in a real context and examine their pragmatic abilities to find out their difficulties.

Keywords: hearing-impaired; pragmatic skills; pragmatic assessment questionnaire

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1. Introduction

Pragmatics is the study of meaning in context (Yule, 2000). People communicating in a society analyze the real meaning of their utterances and are aware of '*speaker's intended meaning*' as Yule (2000) claimed. It is clear that these meanings are expressed between speaker and listener, so it seems hearing-impaired people face some difficulties understanding and interpreting what people mean in a particular context (2000b). Generally, it is believed that pragmatic impairment is the main cause of communication difficulties in hearing-impaired ones (Salehi, Shirazi, Darui, & Dolatshahi, 2013) so, it is better to find out these difficulties as soon as possible and teach them with the scientific strategies in order to remove this obstacle in the way of communication. Therefore, it is essential to design a questionnaire to find out their difficulties as reliable as possible and in a real context that children themselves were involved. Unfortunately, most of the pragmatic assessment questionnaires are in the forms of checklists that should be filled by their parents or clients. Here is a list of these assessment tests:

- Pre-assessment questionnaire (Gallagher, 1983)
- The pragmatic profile of early communication skills (Summers & Dewart, 1988)
- Children's Communication Checklist (CCC 1 & 2) (Bishop, 1998, 2003)
- Orion's pragmatic Language Skills Questionnaire
- Pragmatic Protocol (Prutting & Kirchner, 1987)

Therefore, it is aimed to create a new and different questionnaire to observe children in a real context and examine their pragmatic abilities to find out their difficulties. Assessing pragmatics among pre-school children aged 4-6 has been recognized as a difficult and complex task since there are various pragmatic skills that influence the way children communicate. Therefore, among all the pragmatics issues, speech act of complaining, requesting, refusing and denying and also politeness that have not been assessed yet were selected. The present questionnaire (this questionnaire is inspired by the work of Roth & Speckman, 1984) assesses the speech act production (request, complain, refusal and denial) and politeness of pre-school children aged 4-6 with hearing impairment and their peers without impairment. It is a comparison between these two groups to identify whether the difficulty hearing-impaired children face in their daily communication is related to their impairment or not. The questionnaire is presented and explained in the following section.

2. The Questionnaire

Studying pragmatic difficulties and gaining reliable results need to assess the supposed pragmatic features in a real context and to observe children's real responses, by which the '*language in use*' is meant. The questionnaire, as shown in Table 1 aims to assess speech acts production (request, complain, refusal and denial) and politeness of hearing-impaired pre-school children and their hearing peers. This questionnaire is in the form of a checklist which is filled by the responses of the children (referred to as "Participants" hereinafter) during the test. The items in the checklist are designed to be actual and child oriented and attempted to involve activities and tasks that pre-school participants encounter on a daily basis (Simmons, E. S., Paul, R. & Volkmar, F., 2014). At first, it is important to inform all participants parents and to explain them about the test. Before the application the parents of the participants to the study were briefed. To be able to check for further reference, all the conversations were recorded. All participants completed standardized measures of IQ (for this kind of participants Wechsler Preschool & Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI) is advised) and language functioning. The examiner and the participant seated across from each other in a place where the participants were familiar with.

Table 1. The questionnaire to assess the speech acts production (request, complain, refusal and denial) and politeness of pre-school hearing-impaired and their hearing peers

-
1. Check GREETING : as child enters the room
 2. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT : hand child a piece of paper and no pencil to draw something
 3. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT : give child a pencil with broken point
 4. Check DENIAL : tell child the pencil-sharpener is in your bag
 5. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION : let the child open your bag which is locked
 6. Check DENIAL : broken pencil-sharpener
 7. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : give child the right pencil-sharpener
 8. Check COMPLAIN : ask child if he/she wants to draw with pencils or watercolor & hand the child the opposite of what he/she chose
 9. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION : hand child the tightly closed watercolor box
 10. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : open the watercolor box
 11. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT : hand child the watercolor without any brushes
 12. Check DENIAL : ask child to pick up the brush that is out of his/her reach
 13. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : hand child the brush
 14. Check COMPLAIN : hand child the watercolor without a glass of water
 15. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION : hand child an empty glass
 16. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : give child a glass of water
 17. Check COMPLAIN : ask child to let you draw a sun on his/her painting paper & choose black color to draw the sun
 18. Check DENIAL : ask child to tear his/her painting paper
 19. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT : hand child a puzzle with a missing piece
 20. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : hand child the missing piece
 21. Check COMPLAIN & DENIAL: give child a torn piece of paper as a gift
 22. Check COMPLAIN & DENIAL: give child a crushed ball
 23. Check DENIAL : ask child to pick up a pocket of orange juice that is out of his/her reach
 24. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT : hand child the pocket of orange juice without straw
 25. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : hand child the straw
 26. Check DENIAL : ask child to pick up a balloon that is out of his/her reach
 27. Check COMPLAIN : ask child what color of balloon he/she wants & hand him/her the opposite color of what he/she chose
 28. Check ACKNOWLEDGING : hand child the right color balloon
 29. Check DENIAL : ask child to pop his/her balloon
 30. Check COMPLAIN : tell child that his/her balloon is yours
 31. Check DENIAL : ask child to wear a pair of socks that is not his/her size and it is not the same; one of them is boyish & the other one is girlish
 32. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION : hand child a tightly closed jar with a chocolate in it
 33. Check CLOSING: as child leaves the room
-

It was preferred during the application process that the examiner concentrated on the test and following the test, the examiner filled in the checklist, as shown in Table 2 according to the participants' responses recorded on the videos.

Table 2. The checklist of participant responses

Full Name: HI/H Video Code:	Verbal Response		Nonverbal Response	Politeness		Wrong Response	Participant Response
	Direct	Indirect		Polite	Impolite		
1. Check GREETING							
2. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT							
3. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT							
4. Check DENIAL							
5. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION							
6. Check DENIAL							
7. Check ACKNOWLEDGING							
8. Check COMPLAIN							
9. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION							
10. Check ACKNOWLEDGING							
11. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT							
12. Check DENIAL							
13. Check ACNOWLEDGING							
14. Check COMPLAIN							
15. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION							
16. Check ACNOWLEDGING							
17. Check COMPLAIN							
18. Check DENIAL							
19. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT							
20. Check ACNOWLEDGING							
21. Check COMPLAIN & DENIAL							
22. Check COMPLAIN & DENIAL							
23. Check DENIAL							
24. Check REQUEST FOR OBJECT							
25. Check ACNOWLEDGING							
26. Check DENIAL							
27. Check COMPLAIN							
28. Check ACNOWLEDGING							
29. Check DENIAL							
30. Check COMPLAIN							
31. Check DENIAL							
32. Check REQUEST FOR ACTION							
33. Check CLOSING							

On the top left side of each checklist, the information of each participant is provided as: his/her full name, if he/she is hearing-impaired (HI) or hearing (H) and a video code which belonged to each of them, were written by the examiner. Then, the examiner wrote each participant's response on the assigned column and checked the right box. For each response there are 4 main choices depending on participant's verbal or non-verbal response to the questions. For example, for item number 2; if participant just points the pencil's point, it will be checked as a non-verbal response. If he/she answers verbally, it should be considered if it is a direct response or indirect one. Another item as an example could be given as number 9; if the item is answered as: *please, open it*, it is checked as a direct polite response; *open_it*: a direct impolite response and *would you mind opening it*: an indirect polite

response. Finally it is possible that participants do not answer the questions correctly, so they are checked as incorrect responses; for example, if a participant on item number 29 accepts to pop his/her balloon, it is considered as an incorrect response, because the child was supposed to deny. Checking both of the checklists, an interrater reliability was established.

The present questionnaire/checklist were applied on 30 children, 15 with hearing impairment and 15 without. All the participants completed standardized measures of IQ and language functioning and all of them were checked and videotaped.. The checklists are still in the process of development.

3. Conclusion

Since, most of the assessment of pragmatic questionnaires are in the form of checklists that are filled by the children's parents, the present study suggests a questionnaire to assess the pragmatic skills of hearing-impaired and their hearing peers, aged 4-6 in a real context where children are involved and their responses are recorded and checked. Among all the pragmatics issues, speech act of complaining, requesting, refusing and denying and also politeness that have not been assessed yet, were selected to find out the language difficulties of hearing-impaired children and to suggest the suitable teaching methods to solve these difficulties.

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Linguistic Recognitions of Identity: Germany's Pre-WWI East African History

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Abstract

At the Nuremberg trials Hermann Goering, a leading member of the Nazi party, made reference to influences in his early childhood. The son of Dr. Heinrich Goering who in 1885 had been appointed by Bismarck to establish the German colony of South-West Africa, he was influenced by his father's certainty that what Hitler later called the "colonial peoples" were destined to fall prey to the stronger nations; those who refused to accept their subservient status would cease to exist. Goering connected the Third Reich atrocities of which he stood accused, and the pre-WWI excesses of Germany as well as of the colonial powers who now accused him. Goering's claims were not taken seriously by the Nuremberg court. Yet subsequent research suggests that the connection he put forward is valid; pre-WWI images determined the philosophies and policies of all European nations. As past injustices shape the present, so the images which enter the collective unconscious endure until identified and de-constructed. This paper seeks to identify, translate and linguistically deconstruct some dominant images apparent in the works originating in the former German East Africa. How do images present in literary and political documents such as *Deutsch-Ostafrika. Wirtschaftliche Studien* (1906) by Hermann Paasche, Vice-Chancellor of Kaiser Wilhelm's Reichstag, reflect Western understandings of Africa? What is the significance of these images when subjected to Afrocentric understandings of history?

Keywords: German East Africa; Tanganyika; Paasche; Maji-Maji; Wahehe; colonial images; attitudes to history

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1. Introduction

The identities of Germans as well as of the people of today's Eastern Africa were to a large extent defined by conflicts which accompanied their first encounters with one another. Their ability to determine and maintain their respective operational freedom within the Eastern African environment, who they were and how they saw themselves, were crucially important in their definition of the self and of the "Other."

1.1. *The Abushiri Revolt: 1888 – 1890*

On 8 April 1885 the Sultan of Witu (today a part of Kenya), ceded twenty-five square miles of territory to the German Denhardt brothers. The area was to be a German protectorate and a haven for those fleeing the Zanzibar slave trade which was run by members of the Omani dynasty. Through various treaties the German East Africa Trading Company (DOAG: Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft under the leadership of Dr. Karl Peters) had secured control over a number of towns and trading posts along the Indian Ocean. The Arab traders who had till then controlled these very lucrative trade routes into the African interior resented this encroachment of their territory. On 20 September 1888, under the leadership of Abushiri ibn Salim al-Harthi, Arab traders united with local native tribes to regain dominance over the German-controlled territories. The conflict continued until December 1889 when the Germans finally hanged Abushiri who had been turned over to them (Siggurdsson, 2013). On 1 July 1890 the German Chancellor Leo Von Caprivi signed the "Vertrag zwischen Deutschland und England über die Kolonien und Helgoland." Here Germany acknowledged the protectorate of England over Zanzibar and Pemba - islands Germany had never possessed - and gave up its claim to Wituland.

1.2. *The Wahehe War: 1891 – 1898*

Meanwhile, in German East Africa another conflict told in various versions was brewing. One of the stories related by the elders of the Wahehe tribe is that around 1890 one of the seers of the people who later became to be known as the Wahehe had a dream that foreigners who looked different from them were about to invade. Sultan Mkwawa had several seers who watched the potions in their pots change from grey to red. It is not clear whether the color red refers to the skin of the Europeans, or whether potions always changed in that way when there was the threat of an invasion. The seers' information caused Chief Mkwawa to send spies along the Tanga region coast where he had close connections with the Arabs there - many of whom had also made treaties with the Germans. Convinced the dreamers spoke the truth Mkwawa prepared for war. Thus, when on 17 August 1891 the German *Schutztruppe* under the command of Emil von Zelewski attacked Lugalo in today's Southern Tanzania three thousand Hehe Warriors under the leadership of Chief Mkwawa, chanting their war cry "**Hee Twahumite, Hee Twahumite! He, he, he, heeeeeee**" (Hey, we have come out! Hey, hey, hey, hey!) (Siggurdsson, 2013) vanquished the Germans who, believing they were invincible, had taken almost no precautions. The loss on the German side was great and Zelewski too was killed. And from their war cry the tribe which attacked got its name: the Hehe. It was only on 30th October 1894 with the destruction of the Hehe fort at Kalenga that the power of the Hehe was brought under control by the Germans. And it was not until 19th June 1898 that the Germans came upon the supposed body of the dead Chief / Sultan Mkwawa who had apparently committed suicide so as to escape being arrested. Not believing he was really dead they shot him through the head which they then removed and sent to Germany where it was housed in the *Übersee Museum* in Bremen. After World War I a condition of the Treaty of Versailles was that the skull should be returned to Tanzania. On 9th July 1954 the then British governor returned it. It had been identified from amongst a collection of 2,000 skulls, 84 of which apparently came from East Africa.

Another version of the story - in the Oral Tradition - is that Sultan Mkwawa shot his bodyguard and jumped into the river and escaped. As members of the German *Schutztruppe* had never actually seen Mkwawa before they removed the head of the already dead person found in Kalenga; either story is credible. The mystery of Mkwawa's end is compounded by the fact that no DNA test has ever been conducted to positively identify the skull housed today in the Mkwawa Memorial Museum at Kalenga near Iringa. And so, even other possibilities emerge. When interviewed by Rev. Renatus Payovela OCD, Zuber Waitala, the custodian of the Mkwawa museum claims it was Mkwawa's mother who jumped into the water close to the Kikongoma waterfall and drowned. She wanted to keep the war potion she had made to make those fighting in her son's army brave and strong from tribal enemy hands. Saying the potion was hidden near the water's edge she pretended to get it and jumped into the water to escape. Interestingly, during the *Maji Maji* war nearly ten years later the Wahehe provided troops to support the Germans (Siggurdsson, 2013).

1.3. Maji Maji: 1905 – 1907

The *Maji Maji* War, one of the most significant in Eastern Africa, affected nearly half the German colony. Initially much of the resistance was fueled by a healer from the Matumbi Mountains who under the apparent possession of one of the region's major spirits distributed medicine that would turn German bullets to water - i.e. to *maji* (Juan, 2015). The rebellion was crushed within two years with the majority of the dead amongst the rebels and noncombatants. Many died from the famine caused by a scorched-earth policy and by deliberately induced hunger.

There is much debate concerning the reason for the *Maji Maji* rebellion. One cause is seen in German oppression and the resultant anger of the general population which led to a liberation war. Another is seen in the unifying religious-ideological role played by the seer who proclaimed that German bullets would turn to water (Iliffe, 1967). Some claim that interethnic conflict contributed to the people of the region challenging the Germans. A more recent theory focuses on the role played by the extraction of resources which De Juan (2015) defines as "all activities undertaken by the state in order to generate revenues within the boundaries of its territory - namely, those activities related to taxes, forced labor, natural resources or agricultural production". De Juan argues that extraction generally only leads to violence when the activities threaten the "local nonstate elites of their preexisting extractive capacities" and these elites then mobilize the population.

Today, more than a hundred years after the *Maji Maji* conflict, the voices of actors in events which shaped the identities of peoples on different continents can still be heard in writings they left behind. These writings help tell history's untold stories. They speak of how they saw themselves and of how they perceived others, and of how these perceptions shaped their world. One such actor on the German-Tanganyika stage was Dr. Hermann Paasche, Vice President of the German Reichstag (1903-1909; 1912-1918) and vice president of the German *Kolonialgesellschaft* (1906-1907; 1913-1922). The significance of his personal entry into a very volatile colony approximately at the midpoint of the war cannot be underestimated. Yet the title of his book "*Deutsch-Ostafrika. Wirtschaftliche Studien*" (1906) proclaims that the conflict itself is not his main concern. In this paper his recounting of his excursion into the Rufiji Delta to visit his son Hans Paasche who was leading the German troops in the battle against the *Maji Maji* warriors is examined.

2. Germany's Vice President and The East African Colonies

The title of Hermann Paasche's (1906) book makes the purpose for his visit to German East Africa very clear. His interest is about economics and commerce, and not much else. In the very first sentence he speaks of the colonies being the "*Schmerzenskinder*" of the German Reichstag. The Reichstag is thus the mother giving birth in pain. Or alternately the mother of problem children. The

language used to describe the relationship between the “mother” country and the colony is of a religious nature. He reports that for many this relationship is characterized as a *Leidensgeschichte* - a “tale of woe” something that from the terminology can even be compared to the passion of Christ. This passion narrative is one which for many involves the sacrifice of “property and blood” of “goods and persons” (*Leidensgeschichte voller Opfer an Gut und Blut*) which he feels should eventually bring “rich blessings” (*reichen Segen*). The nature of these blessings is, as we shall see, anything but religious.

He confirms that Dr. Karl Peters and others have given the assurance that this, Germany's largest colony in eastern Africa, cannot be compared to the hopeless deserts (*hoffnungslose Wusten*) most people associate with Africa. In language reminiscent of a parent longing for a lost child he says he knows that one day these problem children will bring joy to their *Begründer* - i.e. their founder, originator, father. In German *Begründer* refers alike to the founder of a business and the establishment of a family. These “children” will one day produce appropriate financial profit. Paasche thus does not question the legality of the peace treaties Karl Peters concluded with indigenous chiefs from whom he took land in return for non-existent German protection. He claims all the sacrifice made by German taxpayers in building the colonies is justified if one takes as an example other, older, colonizing countries (*alte Kolonialvölker*) such as England, Holland and France. Economic profit is the means whereby the colonial “child” can bring joy to the “mother” and “founding father.”

Hermann Paasche outlines his vision for German East Africa as he undertakes his fact-finding journey to look closely at the “economic culture” growing on “Germany's own German-African soil” (*auf unserem eigenen deutschafrikanischen Boden*). He seeks to determine what can be gained from this possession (*was aus dem dortigen Besitz gewonnen werden könne*). He wants to get to know the country and the people (*Land und Leute*), but makes it quite clear that this refers only to those involved in the German cultural work activities (*Deutsche Kulturarbeit*) he wishes to assess. In “*Kulturarbeit*” the emphasis is on “*Arbeit*” - i.e. achievements attained by Germans working in the colonies, creating an extension of the German homeland, building an environment which reflects German industry and know-how. Work is seen as a cultural attribute of German character. And so, his reference to Germans he encounters on his journey is never by name but always reflects designations within the German civil service: *Bezirksamtmann*; *Geheimrat*; *Wirtschafts-inspektor der Kommune* - in this case an agriculturalist trained in the colonial school in Witzenhausen.

Cold hard economics alone determine recommendations and decisions he, the Vice President of both the German Reichstag and of the German *Kolonialgesellschaft* will make. Colonies are of value only when they are a useful complement (*brauchbare Ergänzung*) to the economy of the “mother country” (*Mutterland*). There is no awareness in his writings of the irony inherent in his use of “mother country” or “country of origin” (*Heimatland*) which totally ignores the presence of African people who would presumably want to cultivate their land for the benefit of their own home- and motherland. The language portrays a remarkable reversal of roles. The “child” - i.e. the colony - is to provide for the mother by absorbing that country's excess produce (*Überschuss an Erzeugnissen*) and by delivering raw materials or luxury foods (*Genussmittel*) to Germany. Described here as the “country of origin” (*Heimatland*), it is a country the majority of people residing in German East Africa will never see. In modern terminology *Genussmittel* includes cigarettes and alcohol, one of the meanings that the word had even then. Thus, when Paasche reaches Mohoro he inspects experimental tobacco cultivations, yet the latter have not yet become important. At that time *Genussmittel* would thus probably have referred to *Kolonialwaren*, exotic products from the colonies - coffee, cocoa, tropical fruit. An acquired taste, they are now becoming increasingly indispensable (*immer unentbehrlicher*). This was the “blessing” Hermann Paasche envisioned as the outcome of Germany's birth-giving passion narrative.

Further, the colonies are to offer many thousands of “*Landeskindern*” a new home. During his excursion to the Rufiji Delta he already identifies one area where many could be permanently settled. *Landeskinder*, translated literally, refers to the children of a country. Here it does not however, refer to East Africa's indigenous population, but to German people who will emigrate from their

overpopulated industrialized country. East Africa's indigenous population disappears from all economic calculations. The wellbeing of the real "children" of Tanganyika is not up for discussion. The "children" of Germany become the benefactors of a land stolen by Karl Peters from the legitimate owners and from Arab traders who had colonized the region.

2.1. The Rufiji Delta

Once Hermann Paasche prepares to enter the Rufiji Delta, the area where his son is leading the German marines sent as backup to the small *Schutztruppe* Germany stationed in her colonies, one would expect him to speak more about the political implications of the *Maji Maji* war. Yet he calls the conflict no more than an "*Aufstand*" - a rebellion. He states categorically that the causes of the conflict and the means of dealing with unrest can have no part in his economic analysis. As he prepares for his "safari" (p.124) along the Rufiji Delta he speaks of the beautiful weather and of the fact that his son has sent him six *askaris* to protect him against enemy gangs (*Streifkolonnen*). When he first arrived in Mahoro and joined the whites "united" behind the protective barbed wire of the war camp (*Kriegslager*), he mentions, almost as an aside, the titillating sense of danger and battle joy (*jenes eigenartig bange und doch kampfesfrohe Gefühl*) and then continues to describe the roaring of a lion approaching the cattle herds near the camp. Later, on the other side of the Rufiji, when he meets his son, the reader is told of the German army, consisting of a small group of navy officers and about thirty *askaris*, killing hundreds of black people. His son alone had killed more than thirty. He does not however go into any detail regarding what he hears and observes.

He speaks of his longing to see his son who is fighting in the wilderness (*Wildnis*) against those he first calls rebels (*Aufständigen*) and then savages (*die Wilden*) (p. 125). He speculates that these clashes will continue in the months to come. All these designations of the *Maji Maji* warriors occur within one paragraph. The wordplay on *Wildnis* and *die Wilden* is in sharp contrast to the word he uses to describe German rule (*Herrschaft*) evidence of which he sees in a two-meter-wide rudimentary road constructed above the narrow pathway made by the local people (*Negerpfad*) (p.125) who traditionally walk along such paths in single file. German dominance is evident both in the words and in the actions described: "*Herr-schaft*" has connotations of lord-ship evidenced by the fact that the new road is built on top of the old one. The irony is that that it could not be used because the workers making it had piled the construction rubble on to it and Paasche's expedition has to create a new footpath parallel to the superior German one, and resembling the original. At a later stage he refers to German East Africa's indigenous people as *Neger* (not quite as negative a designation as "nigger"), or as a *strange nature people* (*eigenartige[s] Naturvolk*) in whose company he is surrounded by "glorious nature."

At Kipei the citizens of the village, dressed in "long white shirts," come to greet him, the father of their respected and feared lieutenant (his son) and the representative of the German Kaiser. Paasche comments condescendingly that they do not understand who he as Vice President of the German Reichstag really is, but see him as a special German Paramount Chief who occupies the "big chair" in the people's assembly. Just like other members of the indigenous population he meets, these have no culture that could be explored, are close to noble savages, and honor superior European (German) culture.

He further comments on the efficiency of the small bore repeating rifles with which giant crocodiles are as easily dispatched as the hundreds of black people who had attacked the German *Schutztruppe* (p.147). Even the *Maji-Maji* warrior who was the cause of the only German casualty in the battle is portrayed as being stupid enough to openly celebrate his lucky shot and so put himself in the line of fire of Hans Paasche's bullet. Hermann Paasche does not mention that the guns being used were probably made by the "Rheinische Metallwaaren- und Maschinenfabrik Aktiengesellschaft" which later became Rheinmetall, till today one of the world's largest weapon manufacturing companies, with which he was closely allied. Even as he relates how deeply he is moved when he looks at the place

where the African earth “drank” the blood of the dead German marine sent in under his son’s command to support the *Schutztruppe*, he notes that the surrounding rock landscape is ideal for the later extraction of building materials. At no point does he try to get to know the indigenous people he meets, or what their customs are. Even when he believes they are in enemy territory (*im Feindesland*) he focuses solely on the economic viability of the terrain they are traversing.

2.1.1. The economic viability of the land

Paasche reports that the soil of the land through which they travel is deep and fruitful. This perception is confirmed once he crosses the Rufiji River where the fertility (*Zeugungskraft des Bodens*: the soil’s generational ability) of the area is evident in the red-black soil. He knows the abundance of grass is something every German farmer would envy. He is convinced the area could accommodate many thousands of grazing animals. The few swampy areas where the ground seems to be covered with acidic humus do not detract from his enthusiasm. The bananas and pineapples growing alongside cotton plantations and an Arab farmer’s well-cared-for sugar fields reassure him that the already worthwhile work of the indigenous people can be profitably exploited through the application of German ingenuity so as to supply world markets once the Government - in Germany - encourages its financial inspectors (*Wirtschaftsinspektoren*) to intervene and appropriately guide and support the indigenous population. This he feels will be necessary as at present the indigenous people’s chief occupation was to sit in front of their huts and dream the day away. Yet behind the huts and the small area they had cultivated were large expanses of savannah with grass up to two to three meters high and deciduous forest which could be developed. He insists that Germans must identify the types of grains appropriate to the rich alluvial soil and to the tropical conditions of the Rufiji Delta. Cotton fields with plants as tall as a person, bearing an especially fine cotton variety, convince him that cotton will be East Africa’s primary cultivated crop. The meter-long rice-straw bundles left over from the last harvest furthermore raise the hope that here will be a source for feeding the German people who will no longer have to import rice. He sees the flooded plains of the Rufiji and the southern slopes of the Uhehe Mountains where Indians, the ultimate experts on rice, had developed their fields as the starting point for European cultivation of East Africa’s fertile prairie land both for local as well as for world markets. Paasche envisions a time in the very near future when European technology will transform the myriad small farms (*shambas*) growing cotton into large plantations capable of exporting the amounts necessary to attract large investors who would then relieve German taxpayers of the financial burden of the colonies.

In Mohoro he judges that the successful training of black ploughmen confronted with newly trained oxen and German tillage equipment (*Ackergerate*) they had never seen before is evidence of the value of German colonial development. He plans to expand the plantations into the Rufiji valley (p. 135) and so curb indigenous people’s natural instinct for gregariousness (*Geselligkeitstrieb*) (p. 135) which he feels interferes with European productivity standards where individuals take responsibility for their own work. When on the other side of the Rufiji strong black people (*kraftige Neger*) have to carry him and his companions across a swampy area, he knows that it will be important for the German administration to build bridges to allow for more traffic. Here in the Rufiji Delta the prairie soil should primarily serve the cultivation of major European agricultural crops. As far as he is concerned indigenous crops might have their place once the people have been roused from their “natural sloth” (*naturliche Tragheit*) and German government officials have taught them to cultivate indigenous crops of equal value to the European ones and produce more than needed for personal consumption. He however believes East Africa is not yet ready to go this way as the Arab slave trade has decimated the coastal population and the people of mixed race (*Mischlingsrassen*) come from a Swahili background where the population is accustomed to being served by slaves. This does not incline them to work. Consequently, despite the animal-like strength of the people (*kraftige Neger*) who live largely by instinct (*Trieb* in *Geselligkeitstrieb* characterizes people’s interaction on a purely animal-like level), German East Africa will for the foreseeable future have to depend on German settlers.

The references to German industriousness and diligence (*Fleiss*) are obvious. The implication is that once German efficiency and industriousness take over and the “chatter and singing” (*Schwatzen und Singen*) (p. 135) which characterize the work of the indigenous people is curbed; this part of German East Africa will be of tremendous economic advantage to Germany. In later years after World War II the industriousness of the Germans Paasche refers to would lead to the *Wirtschaftswunder* which characterized Germany throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Here it speaks of intolerance towards those from other countries who do not share these characteristics and whose manner of working is not based on European individualism. This intolerance is apparent throughout when Hermann Paasche speaks of indigenous people’s “natural inertia” (*natürlichen Tragheit der Eingeborenen*) from which they must be aroused; as well as when he is certain that the “Boy” who serves him is dishonest because it is possible that the twenty *Pfennig* he gave him to buy a local chicken were too much as the chicken did not in fact cost as much.

Yet, by his own account, he and his entourage were received peacefully and with unforced hospitality. He speaks of the people sitting in front of their huts curiously watching him and his entourage pass, or greeting him with a friendly “Jambo Bwana”. When the noonday sun becomes too much for him, they make an impromptu stop at a village and are given water and the juice of young coconuts and treated with a great deal of hospitality. And he depends on indigenous people to carry him across the Rufiji River. None of these encounters speak of the fighting going on not far away, and because of which his son has sent six *askaris* to protect him. The small number of soldiers sent for the protection of such an important member of the German Reichstag itself suggests that the fighting is not to be taken all that seriously. The importance history has accorded to the *Maji Maji* conflict and the large number of Africans killed seems to belie the account given here.

2.1.2. Close to the scene of the conflict

The text’s economic assessment is interrupted as Germany’s Vice President nears the area where the fighting is taking place and meets his son. Despite torn clothes and tired sore feet his son looks healthy and well (*zerfetzten Kleidern und wundgelaufenen Füßen*). He speaks of the relatively small number of officers from the German merchant navy and about thirty *askaris* engaged in securing the Rufiji route against thousands of *Shenzis* - uncivilized African tribesmen. Paasche’s use of the word *Shenzi* is interesting. In the course of his travels into German East Africa he has spoken about how the “Boys” in his entourage have taken care of him and that his own personal “Boy” is not exactly a model servant. He has also reported that his son’s personal “Boy” speaks perfect German. What then makes those who fight German colonial occupation *Shenzis*? How are they different from the villagers who come to Nyamwiki where the German war camp has been situated (p. 150)? Here they honor him, and are admonished to remain faithful to the German Kaiser whose representative they see before them. What makes the *Shenzis* he says are fighting the *Schutztruppe* different from the villagers who remain faithful to the Germans and whose village is consequently destroyed (p.148)? He does not elaborate. Paasche’s economic interests do not allow him to distinguish between the different ethnicities. While Alexander De Juan (2015) points to the expansion and extractive policies of a Germany determined to supply the world market with harvests from German East Africa, Paasche does not question the origin of the war beyond saying that it is the result of the actions of uncivilized tribes who live in a land that needs to be “pacified” (*um das Land zu beruhigen*).

The reality of the war-driven colonization process becomes palpable when black people who had surrendered, present evidence that after surrendering they paid the three Rupee penalty. They are given permission to rebuild their huts and bring back their wives and children. When however, they ask the *Bwana Kubwa* - i.e. the “big boss,” in this case a direct reference to Paasche as being the representative of the German Kaiser - for food and for seed for their fields they are met with harsh rebuttal: “You yourselves have destroyed the huts and food supplies... if you want food, come to the

Boma and work for it". No mercy is shown to those who Paasche spoke of as having to be "pacified" by the troops under his son's command and who for this purpose organized forays into the surrounding area. By his own admission Paasche sees the people standing before him as being obviously in need (p. 150). Yet he argues that showing mercy would encourage people first to rebel, and then to surrender in order to be given assistance. The cynicism apparent in this argument is overwhelming. It is one which persists into the present day when "aid" organizations rebuild territories deliberately destroyed during resource wars. When he returns to Mohoro Paasche takes with him the proceeds of the imposed penalties: twelve crates of copper- and silver-coins - the equivalent of several thousand Rupees to be given to the district office there. These are the war spoils from a people who will die of hunger by the thousands.

During the *Maji Maji* conflict thousands died of hunger. The Germans practiced a scorched-earth policy which led to an estimated 300,000 deaths (Hagen, 2008). It was a policy similar to the one which the British later used during World War I (Worger, 2001). Paasche himself tells of how during his and his son's venture into "enemy territory" they set fire to the surrounding area to protect themselves against attacks. He tells of coming upon the ruins of a city whose inhabitants (he says) had remained loyal to Germany and whose extremely well-built village had consequently been burned down by "the *Shenzis*". His abhorrence of what he sees does not carry over into his own condemnation, or even mention, of Germany's famine-inducing policies. He does not seem to consider guiding the German Reichstag into a more conciliatory approach to "pacification." Only after 1907, two years before the end of Paasche's first term in office, does the Reichstag enforce measures to treat the indigenous peoples of its colonies with more dignity (Sunseri, 2003).

Paasche's analysis of the sorrow brought to Germany by her *Sorgen-* and *Schmerzenskinder* does not take into account the sorrow Germany's policies bring the colonized nations. His concern that Germany becomes a competitive member of the European colonial community does not allow him to relate that these "problem children's" response during the *Maji Maji* war was largely driven by the threat these policies posed to the indigenous elites whose political and material interests were being threatened and who therefore mobilized the population to rebel (cf. De Juan, 2015). When he speaks of the certainty that the *Schmerzenskind Deutscher Plantagenwirtschaft in Ostafrika AG* will one day give joy to its founder, he does not elaborate on the fact that this *Schmerzenskind* was founded in 1886 and "had grown first tobacco then coffee without success" (Henderson, 1962) and was therefore precisely one of the reasons given by those rejecting Germany's attempts at colonization. In 1903 the *Plantagenwirtschaft* had turned to the cultivation of rubber, a commodity which had brought great prosperity to King Leopold's Belgium and death to ten million Africans. Paasche is convinced the rubber industry will finally rehabilitate this *Schmerzenskind* of the German Reichstag. His assumption is justified when one remembers that during this time Europe saw the rise of the motor vehicle industry and the envisaged rubber industry required little capital input (cf. p. 301ff).

3. Conclusion: Issues of Identity

There is something incongruous in the depiction of the Vice President of the German Reichstag travelling almost unprotected into a war zone. He has only six *askaris* to accompany him into an area he says has been the scene of heavy fighting (*schweren Kampfen*) (p. 142). Yet he is seemingly concerned not with the greatest colonial rebellion directed against German occupation, but only with the economic viability of German East Africa. His optimism regarding the economic viability of the colony for the "mother" land is in sharp contrast to the very brief description of his meeting with his son in the Rufiji Delta (p. 142) and his concern for the latter's safety.

While Hans Paasche, his son, speaks fluent Swahili, the language he uses to address those who have come to honor the Kaiser through him, he does not. Yet, throughout the book he tries to emphasize his own familiarity with the people of the colony by repeatedly using a few Swahili words - *Shamba* (a farm), *Bwana Kubwa* (the big boss - a designation for himself as the Kaiser's representative, and one

by which he seems to enjoy being called), *Schakulla* (food). Yet his concern is less with German East Africa, than with Germany's place amongst the European nations. Thus, he compares Germany to England, the country he refers to by its archaic name of "Albion." Like Karl Peters, who received his doctorate in London, Paasche is deeply impressed by Britain's political attitudes to its colonies. He places Germany's wish to extend its colonies within the context of general European colonization efforts. Throughout his trip - already at the Suez Canal - he admires what England has achieved. He points out that in England there might be those who are becoming afraid of their country's greatness. But just as none seriously contemplate limiting their colonial possessions or doubt the wisdom of further expansion, Germany needs to use her unique ingenuity in her colonies to contribute to world markets (p. 4 et al). Those Africans who oppose his vision because their own economic integrity is threatened are summarily dismissed as being *Shenzis* - uncivilized African tribesmen. He makes no mention of the fact that these *Shenzis* were in fact extremely well organized across ethnic divides and successfully used underground cave systems to assist them in their resistance (Climate change ... 2010). This picture of Africa continues to the present when African conflicts are still understood primarily under the rubric of tribalism, and *Shenzi* has become a female hyena character in Disney's *Lion King*. Her name means "savage" or "uncouth" or "of poor quality" in Swahili. She becomes an example of Hollywood's trivialization of African history.

Hermann Paasche's analysis of the economic viability of the land surrounding the Rufiji Delta clearly outlines the capitalist economic model that took over the Western world and has since dominated world financial markets. It was a monolithic system that would be imposed at the expense of all indigenous traditions and understandings of humanity. In the name of growth and profit whole societies would be wiped out. Germans were not alone in this endeavor. As Hermann Paasche points out, Germany came late into the colonial capitalist process. Yet his son Hans Paasche later married the daughter of Richard Witting, the Director of the National Bank of Germany, and he himself was closely allied to the company that later became Rheinmetall. And so in Germany too the stage was set with regard to a military-industrial complex financed by a global banking system that has little compassion on those who envisage other ways of living - as for example those Paasche encountered on his "safari" did.

More recently Olusoga and Erichsen (2010) have explored the connections between German colonialism in German South West Africa (today Namibia) and Nazism. They point out that Hermann Goering himself connected his own later development to his father's appointment as the first Governor of German South-West Africa. Like Karl Peters in German East Africa Heinrich Goering had concluded "protection treaties" with African leaders in German South West Africa and had thus gotten them to sign away the rights to their land. The extermination of those who did not sign was a foregone conclusion. Olusoga and Erichsen argue that the genocide of the people of South West Africa is mirrored in the Nazi Holocaust. SS officer Hermann Goering, a colonial imperialist like his father, claimed Germany's pre-World War I colonialism had formed him and his generation (p. 5) and was based on belief in the tenets of Social Darwinism that the "weaker peoples of the earth were destined to fall prey to the stronger". In pointing to the connection his father had "with two British statesmen, Cecil Rhodes and the elder Chamberlain", Goering placed the Nazi Holocaust within the European colonial context.

Hitler's *Lebensraum* policy does not differ much from the one propounded by Hermann Paasche before World War I that the colonies should provide a place to which the German could relocate and not only create a home for themselves, but benefit their mother country. In both cases German territorial expansion at the expense of "lower races" was a given. Hitler was supported in his *Lebensraum* ideology by Franz Ritter von Epp, a former lieutenant in German South West Africa and active in the Herero and Namaqua genocide. A friend of Hermann Goering, Von Epp was one of several members of the former German *Schutztruppe* who became leading figures in the early Nazi Party. In German East Africa a similar dynamic played itself out. While Germany's defeat is to this day a source of pride and self-definition for members of the Wahehe tribe, it was also a source of personal humiliation for the German people and in particular for the Zelewski family. The biographer of Erich

von dem Bach-Zelewski, a nephew of the slain commander at Lugalo, speculates that "his uncle's death at the hands of 'inferior' Africans" engendered great shame in the family. Consequently, it determined the extent of the atrocities he committed in his capacity as a Nazi SS general in WW II during his anti-partisan activities against Russians and in the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 (Siggurdsson, 2013, footnote #4).

More recently terminology utilized by Hermann Paasche to characterize his and Germany's perception of German colonial possessions has returned to popular use. Thus during the financial crises of the early 21st century *Sorgenkinder* - problem children - was used in reference to the relationship between the European Union and Greece, Portugal and Spain in the attempts to politically integrate member states with differing financial stability; to keep together those who needed bailouts and those who provided them (Swisspartners April 4/10). It should also be noted that the perception of Africa being a continent dominated by hunger and starvation, a continent of "hopeless deserts" (*hoffnungslose Wusten*) that Hermann Paasche speaks of has remained. Similarly, whereas the colonies once produced for the benefit of the "mother" country in Europe, today African countries produce largely for the benefit of foreign investors.

If one listens carefully one becomes aware of colonial stories and concepts still prevalent both in the Oral tradition of Eastern Africa and in European discourse. They are not unique to Germany. They still create world perceptions. Exploring the context which gave rise to these perceptions of social structures and of interactive representations of reality provides vital clues to how people see themselves and others and why they structure the world as they do. Thus for example, Hermann Paasche makes no secret of the fact that he regards the indigenous people of German East Africa as expendable. The terminology he uses is very different from that utilized in the 1940s by the British Colonial Office in the Film *Men of Africa* which speaks of Britain's "Dependencies in every continent and every ocean" for whose well-being "the People of Britain" are directly responsible. But the attitude of paternalistic colonial imperialism which masks ruthless exploitation is the same. Today these concepts are carried over into the discourse on the relationship between "developed" and "emerging" economies. They form the basis of the struggle between local communities and multinational corporations. Examining the import of the reality they portray will in the years to come be one of the keys to the survival of the human race.

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Conceptual Metaphor of Happiness/Joy in Lithuanian Comics

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Abstract

This article analyzes happiness in Lithuanian Comics albums. This will yield, enrich, and qualify Forceville's (2005a), Eerden's (2009) earlier findings on the visual representation of the Idealized Cognitive Model of anger in the Asterix album La Zizanie, Bart Eerden's finding in anger investigations in "Anger in Asterix: The metaphorical representation of anger in comics and animated films", as well as insights made by Kazuko Shihara and Yoshihiro Matsunaka in "Pictorial metaphors of emotion in Japanese comics". On the other hand we also try to extend Forceville's view to other types of emotion, such as happiness. To attain this goal, we examine pictorial manifestations of emotion in Lithuanian comics. The source of this type of manifestation is visual or pictorial metaphor, where meanings are conveyed via pictorial or visual signs. The target is emotion, which belongs to a more abstract domain of psychological experience. In this kind of metaphor, the picture can be interpreted as representing emotion of happiness. Data are taken from Lithuanian comic books and Internet sites, where comics have been presented. The data and the analysis provided in this article aim to reveal that there are pictorial metaphors that manifest conceptual metaphors that are also expressed verbally and that methodological framework constructed for the analysis in the papers by Forceville is applicable to other emotions and culture specific pictorial manifestations.

Keywords: multimodal methaphor; comics; indexical signs; emotions of happiness/joy

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1. Introduction

In this article it is aimed to analyze multimodal metaphors used in Lithuanian comics. Thus visual metaphor is compared to verbal metaphor comprehension and analyzed mainly from a cognitive linguistics point of view. The main claim underlying in this article is that the comprehension of verbal and visual metaphors involves similar mental procedures. While the perception of images is obviously different from linguistic decoding, reaching an interpretation of visual metaphors also entails an adjustment of conceptual information – a stage during comprehension that will be called conceptual upload – in the same way as verbal metaphors).

As Eerden exemplifies (2009), in cognitive metaphor research, metaphorical expressions are the verbal manifestations through which Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) or Folk Models (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1987) can be investigated.

Kövecses has systematically analyzed the ICMs of various emotions (Kövecses, 1986, 1990, 2000, 2002 and 2005). Based on verbal evidence in several languages, Kövecses argues that people structurally conceptualize emotions metaphorically. Kövecses in his “Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling” states that “anger is perhaps the most studied emotion concept from a cognitive semantic point of view” (2000, p. 21). For example “he is doing a slow burn” and “he spat fire” can be traced back to the concept ANGER IS FIRE. By contrast, “he has a ferocious temper” and “he unleashed his anger” draw on ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL or ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: She is boiling with anger. These metaphorical source domains address various aspects of the concept of *anger* (Kövecses, 2000).

Since this paper aims to investigate the metaphors of joy/happiness, it is important to look at the conceptualization of joy/happiness investigated by Kövecses (1991) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Researches state that the main source domains for happiness may be stated as follows: HAPPY IS UP: We had to cheer him up. HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND: I am six feet off the ground. I was so happy my feet barely touched the ground; HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN: That was heaven on earth; HAPPY IS LIGHT: She brightened up at the news; HAPPINESS IS VITALITY: He was alive with joy; HAPPY IS WARM: That warmed my spirits; HAPPINESS IS HEALTH: It made me feel great; A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL: He looks like the cat that got the cream; HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION: I was tickled pink; HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER: He was overflowing with joy; HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL: She couldn't hold back her feelings of happiness; HAPPINESS IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: She was overcome by joy; HAPPINESS IS A RAPTURE/HIGH: I was drunk with joy; HAPPINESS IS INSANITY : They were crazy with happiness; HAPPINESS IS A NATURAL FORCE : He was swept off his feet (Kövecses, 2000).

Here again, we find some very general metaphorical source domains, such as CAPTIVE ANIMAL, OPPONENT, INSANITY and so forth. The concept of happiness is also characterized by a number of more limited source domains, including UP, LIGHT, RAPTURE /HIGH. It seems to have some very specific ones as well, such as AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL and PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION (Kövecses, 2000).

Kövecses (2000) notices that “we have to distinguish the source domains of UP, on the one hand, and BEING OFF THE GROUND and BEING IN HEAVEN, on the other, despite the apparent similarity of UPNESS found in these source domains”. He also suggests that the “hot” part of the emotion heat-scale needs to be distinguished from the “warm” part, which characterizes happiness” (2000).

Kövecses' model, however, provides a good starting point for the investigation of structural emotion metaphors in non-verbal and multimodal representations (Eerden, 2009).

Over the past decade the research of visual and multimodal metaphors within the cognitivist paradigm has taken shape in the works of quite a few scientists; Carroll (1996), Forceville (1996, 2002,

2008, 2009), Kennedy (1993), Khordoc (2001), Whittock (1990). As Eerden states, most of this work focus on creative rather than on structural metaphors.

According to Eerden(2009), comics provide good source material for research, because of their rich use of pictorial metaphors to convey a vast array of emotions (see also Fein and Kasher, 1996; Khordoc, 2001). Forceville (2005) introduces various pictorial signs such as “red face” “spirals” and “bulging eyes” that are frequently used in the Asterix comic to depict anger. The nature and use of these signs appear to confirm that these are not just creative metaphors in the sense used by Black (1979) and Forceville (1996) but indeed manifestations of structural metaphors (Eerden, 2009).

2. Manifestation ways of non-verbal conceptual metaphors

All signs, as meaning manifestation tools, can be divided into two major categories – verbal and non verbal signs. The conceptual nature of metaphor implies that not only language can be used for metaphoric conceptualization. Pictures, sound and gestures can trigger metaphors as well (e.g., Cienki, and Müller, 2008; Forceville, 2009; Schilperoord, and Maes, 2009). In recent years there is a growing research interest in visual rhetorical figures, with a special focus on visual metaphors and metonymies. The perception psychologist Kennedy is one of the first scholars who mentions cartoons as a source of non-verbal metaphors (1982). As Bart Eerden notices, “Much of the importance of Kennedy’s work resides in the fact that he argues how the signs used in comics need not always be derived from verbal metaphors: “There may be pictorial devices which are metaphoric but which have no clear equivalent in language” (Eerden, 2009).

By analyzing manifestations of anger metaphors in the study “Multimodal metaphors”, Eerden refers to Kennedy’s study, where he introduces the term “pictorial rune” for non-realistic visual metaphors. According to Kennedy, pictorial runes are often used to depict abstract concepts, which are difficult to depict literally. Emotions are a good example of such abstract concepts; “States such as anxiety and pain are difficult to depict [...]. Cartoonists often turn to pictorial runes to show these states” (Kennedy, 1982). Kennedy’s concept of pictorial runes is thoroughly analyzed by Forceville (2005a). Pictorial runes include “spirals,” “ex-mouth,” “smoke”, “bold face”, and “jagged line”. These “are not perceptible in real life”. Through the analysis of the collected examples of expressions of anger in La Zizanie, Forceville concludes, “the pictorial runes signaling anger appear indeed to be Peircean indices rather than Peircean symbols, since they are motivated rather than arbitrary signs” (2005).

The second category is formed by “indexical signs”. The indexical sign differs from the pictorial rune in that it is a realistic sign (although often exaggerated). Apart from its realism, the indexical sign seems to function much like a pictorial rune. Both pictorial rune and indexical sign signify anger through a metonymic relation (as opposed to arbitrary signs or literal depiction) (Eerden, 2009). State indexical signs include “bulging eyes,” “tightly closed eyes,” wide mouth,” “tightly closed mouth”, “pink/red face”, “arm/hand position”, and “shaking”. These are indexical signs since “we recognize them as symptoms accompanying anger from our everyday experience” (Forceville, 2005; Shinohara and Matsunaka, 2009).

According to Shinohara and Matsunaka (2009) in “Pictorial metaphors of emotion in Japanese comics” “pictorial runes can deviate from indexicality (being related to physical states of a person in anger that actually occur). Some of the visual signs of anger in pictorial metaphors of emotion in Japanese manga, which are experientially motivated, can be drawn in physically impossible places (e.g., “veins” in the air). Such cases of deviation sometimes cannot be verbally expressed, or they become hard to understand if they are directly translated into words. Though they share cross-domain mappings with the verbal expressions of conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, these pictorial anger metaphors have a broader range of use than verbal expressions of

this metaphor. Thus, we can see that some pictorial metaphors have different and novel ways of representing the conceptual metaphor of anger from verbal ones” (2009).

In this study we try to analyze pictorial emotion metaphors in Lithuanian comics using the two categories suggested by Forceville, indexical signs and pictorial runes. The analysis supports Forceville’s (2005) discussion that the pictorial runes signaling emotion are Peircean *indices* rather than Peircean *symbols*. It is hypothesized that some pictorial metaphors have different and novel ways of representing the conceptual metaphor of anger from verbal ones.

Flowers, birds, and other naturally occurring or existing phenomena are used as the background-scene of panels, and can express emotional states of a person described in a panel. The sources of data that are used in this study are as follows: “Flintas” (eng. “Flint” (2014 Nr. 5, 7, 8-9, 10; 2015 Nr. 1, 2) and “Naminukas” (“Home Spirit” (2015 Nr. 1, 3, 4); The graphic novel by Migle Anušauskaite and Gerda Jord “10 Litų” (eng. “10 Litas”), retrieved from the websites; www.komiksai.com, www.satenai.lt/category/tekstai-ne-tekstai, www.kulturpolis.lt/category/komiksai/kino-komiksai.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP / HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND



Figure 1. (a) first picture, (b) second picture, (c) third picture

Figure 1, picture (a) represents the relations between the Irish and the Lithuanian. Verbal context informs that potatoes were the only thing which was common for both nations. Metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP has been manifested by runic and indexical signs. The indexical sign of happiness is represented by both men keeping their hands raised up. Runic signs are represented by hearts and rays of the stars depicted in such configuration which suggests upward direction.

In Figure 1, picture (b) HAPPINESS IS UP is represented by the indexical sign, the hands of depicted people are up. In addition, the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND is represented by the roller coaster. Verbal contexts presented on the background and in two balloons inform the reason of happiness. Words on the background tell about an utopian society without any problems. We can read "State is ruled by philosophers" in one of the balloons and "Only the roller coasters everywhere" in another. The last one verbally expresses metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. At the same time the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING ON THE ROLLER COASTER in this case.

Figure 1, picture (c) is another example where the text on the background tells about the problems of the state, i. e. some of them have been solved, but new problems occur. One person on the picture is happy and says: "Hey, we do not have to pay taxes!", another man says: "But there are more snakes now". So indexical sign of the happiness of the first person is represented by his hands raised up which helps to decode the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP. Indexical sign of snakes metaphorically represents problems in this picture, so metaphor PROBLEMS ARE SNAKES can be identified as well.

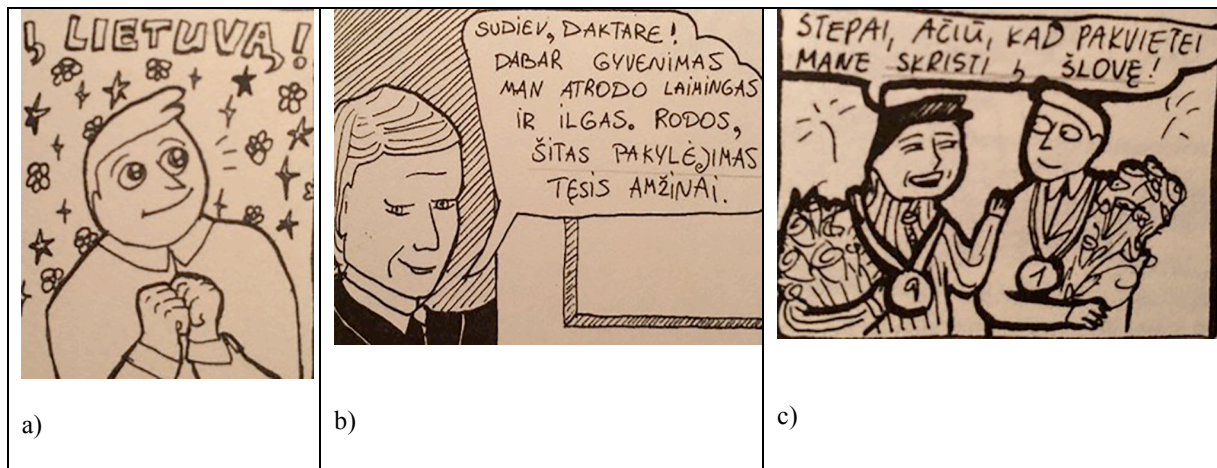


Figure 2. (a) first picture, (b) second picture, (c) third picture

In Figure 2, (a) first picture there is an implication of the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP we can see in the picture where man dreams of the return to his homeland Lithuania is depicted. Indexical sign of happiness is gaze of the man diverted up. Also runes representing flowers and stars make an impression of upward direction. Besides, the runes of rays and radiant eyes of the man indicate the metaphor HAPPINES IS LIGHT. All discussed examples show that smile is very important index of happiness.

In Figure 2, (b) second picture the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP can be identified from the verbal context. Man says "good bye" to his doctor and refers to the feeling of happiness, which will continue forever. Based on the verbal context, metaphor HAPPINESS IS EVALUATION can be identified. Countenance of the man is not a very obvious index of happiness in this case. We also see the diagonal lines in the background which create the effect of upward direction as well.

In Figure 2, (c) third picture, verbal context is of great importance identifying metaphor HAPPINES IS BEING OFF GROUND. The picture is from the same comic which tells the story about famous Lithuanian pilots. Both pilots are depicted with medals and roses, i. e. as winners. One of them says to the other: "Thank you for inviting me to fly to the glory". It helps us identify the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLYING in this picture. We can see two indexical signs on the background which seem to be like a pastiche of fireworks. Fireworks are visual metonymies of celebration in honour of pilots and imply metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP at the same time.



Figure 3. (a) first picture

In Figure 3, (a) first picture metaphor, HAPPINESS IS UP is verbally and pictorially expressed in both pictures. The cluster “to be on wave”, means “to be popular” is used here to convey happiness of the editor who has published the book about two famous Lithuanian pilots Steponas Darius and Stasys Girenas, who crossed the Atlantic in 1932. Editor says that they are “on wave this year”. Pilots are depicted on the surfboard in the second picture; one of them continues the words of the editor saying “Very much on the wave”. Index of happiness is the countenance of the peoples' and hands on the breast, which indicate the direction up. We can notice that hands of the editor are close to his heart. Such gesture can be interpreted as an index of sincere happiness, since heart is an anatomic metonymy of true feelings.

2.2. Conceptual Metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

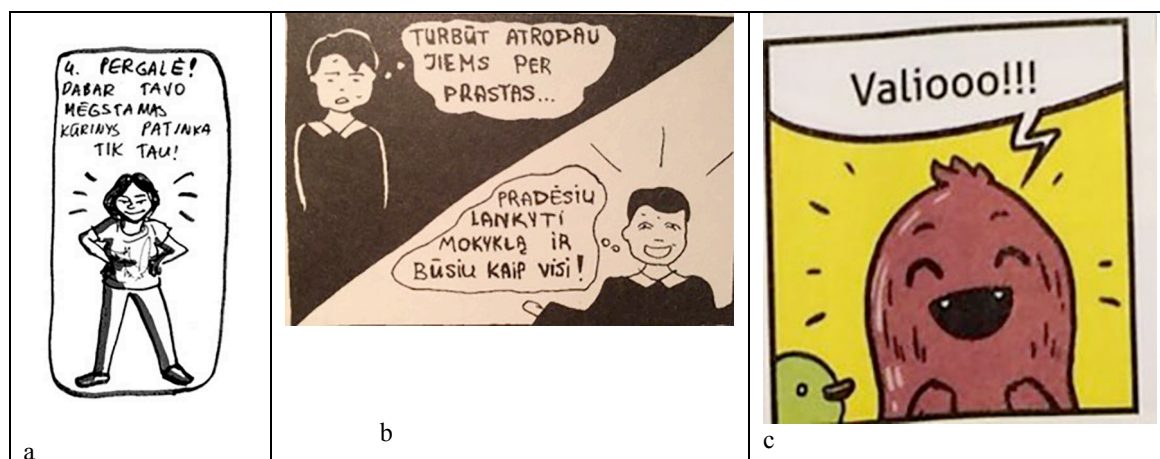


Figure 4. (a) first picture, (b) second picture; (c) third picture

In figure 4, (a) first picture the metaphor, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT can be identified mostly from runes representing the rays of light. In addition, the way in which the young girl is depicted by using the contrast between white and black colors makes the effect of radiance. Verbal context which starts from word “Victory” (lith. *pergale*) helps understand the reason of happiness of the girl.

In figure 4, (b) the second picture represents another example where the contrast of white and black colors stress the opposition between sadness and happiness. Here we see the two metaphors where the black and white stands for sadness and happiness, therefore SADNESS IS BLACK and

HAPPINESS IS WHITE / LIGHT have been expressed in this case. Runic sign of rays as well as in previous examples help decode the metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT. The reason of happiness experienced by the boy, is explained by the words in the balloon: "I will start to go to school and I will be the same as others".

In figure 4, (c) third picture the same runic sign of rays express happiness as another example. In this case light colors of the picture, i. e. white balloon and yellow background are important in decoding the metaphor HAPINNES IS LIGHT. Lithuanian word „valio“, eng. “hey” is written with three “o” letters and three marks of exclamation. Such writing strengthens the expression of joy of the character.

3. Conclusions

To sum up this section, we argue that; (a) the general schema of the happiness metaphors HAPPY IS UP, HAPPY IS LIGHT is applicable to Lithuanian emotion metaphors, expressed by pictorial signs, i.e. runes, indexes, colors as well as verbal signs; (b) the source domain LIGHT is expressed by using the runes denoting rays, play of contrasts between white and black which connotes the opposition of good and evil; (c) the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP / HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND is represented by the indexical hands raised upwards and runes expressing hearts, flowers, stars. In the panel it creates an impression of upward direction; (d) the expression of face, as well as eyes and (smiling) mouth are the most important indexical signs representing the emotion of happiness/joy. The sincerity, genuineness of happiness is expressed by representing the hands positioned towards one's heart; (e) verbal context is very important for the identification of conceptual metaphor; sometimes the reason of happiness is expressed verbally “victory”, other times the source domain is expressed by verbal signs alone “roller coaster”, “fly”. In this case the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND could be expanded to HAPPINESS IS BEING ON THE ROLLER COASTER; (f) the source domain of natural force is low elaborated in Lithuanian emotion metaphors of happiness/joy and doesn't clearly display the levels of intensity.

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The Impact of Story Retelling on Intermediate Iranian EFL Learners' learning of Grammar

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Abstract

It has been argued that story retelling can affect language learning. Despite the existence of a number of studies on the impact of telling and retelling stories on the EFL learners' learning of different aspects of language, no one has ever investigated the impact of story retelling on intermediate Iranian EFL learners' learning of grammar. This study aimed at investigating the impact of story retelling on intermediate Iranian EFL learners' learning of grammar. In doing so, 60 male and female students were selected through convenience sampling. They were divided into two intact classes. The experimental classes were requested to retell the stories told by the teacher twice. After they received 15 stories, all classes received a test on grammar. The data were analyzed through conducting independent samples t-tests. The results showed that experimental group outperformed the control group. Therefore, it could be argued that retelling has a significant impact on EFL learners' learning of grammar.

Keywords: EFL; story retelling; Iranian

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1. Introduction

The review of literature on learning a new language indicates that up to now several theories have been proposed and declined. Some theories have been named learning oriented while some others have been learner- oriented. Some theories have laid more emphasis on affective factors while some others have totally neglected learners' feelings. One of the language learning theories which have taken into account the learners' affective factors as well as learning conditions is the theory of input hypothesis which has attracted great attention since the last decades. Krashen (1985) believes that comprehensible input is both necessary and *sufficient* for second language acquisition. Also, Krashen (1985) believes that comprehensible input (i+1) in the presence of a low affective filter is the only thing that can "cause" second language acquisition. In other words, if foreign language learners are exposed to lots of comprehensible input in a low-stress or non-stressful context they will certainly acquire the second language very easily.

Lindsay and Knight (2010) also state that input of the target language is necessary for learners; it can be an exposure to the language in either oral or written forms, in formal or informal settings. The next stage is noticing in which learners become aware of the language to which they are exposed. Teacher's role in helping learners know the gap in their learning is also countable in this process. Once learners have the capability of noticing the rule patterns of the target language, they will start to apply their knowledge in writing or speaking activities. At a certain point language learners start to use the target language intuitively more like the way they use their first language (L1). At this stage, the target language has been stored in their memory so that it is immediately accessible and remains there (Lindsay & Knight, 2010).

In order to provide comprehensible input to second language learners, several techniques have been introduced and practiced. One of the techniques through which ample comprehensible input can be provided for the language learners is storytelling. Storytelling is defined as, "relating a tale to one or more listeners through voice and gesture" (National Council of Teachers of English, 1992). Because storytelling relies on both the listener and the teller, this strategy utilizes the social element of language. Researchers have found that literacy instruction is most effective when developed through social interaction and collaboration with others (Dugan, 1997).

Miller and Pennycuff (2008) argue that, in order to improve the literacy learning of all students language teachers need to employ different pedagogical strategies. Storytelling in the classroom is one way to address literacy development by improving oral language, reading comprehension, and writing. Because of the interrelated nature of the processes involved in writing and reading, storytelling is a useful pedagogical strategy that can be used in EFL classrooms to increase students' competencies in all areas.

Wallace (2000) argues that, "the phenomenon of storytelling actually becomes a common language that facilitates meaningful communication; we can hear and understand each other's stories because we can usually recognize ourselves in the stories of others- no matter how varied our cultural backgrounds" (p. 436). It is also believed that storytelling not only helps participants enhance the language and logic skills of the children but also results in the development of positive attitudes towards instruction (Cliatt, & Shaw, 1988).

Like many other learning theories, input hypothesis in general and its related teaching techniques have been criticized by some researchers and despite the great importance of comprehensible input in language learning, some scholars (e.g. Swain, 1985; Schmidt, 1983) believe in the insufficiency of input for second language learning. Swain (1985) develops the idea that in order to develop full grammatical competence, learners need to be pushed to produce comprehensible output. It is also argued that although comprehensible input might lead to understanding, it does not include the development of syntactic plans that production processes require. Schmidt (1983) also argues that

opportunities for production alone will not necessarily lead to improvement; it is necessary that the learner be encouraged to produce correct output, in the face of communicative shortcoming.

The review of literature of output hypotheses indicates that several techniques for encouraging language learners to produce language have been introduced by different applied linguists. One of these techniques is language learners' retelling stories. Story Retelling is a procedure which makes a child able to play a large role in reconstructing stories. It also underlies both social and academic development. While narrating stories, the speakers use language for an extended period of time. Such an active participation with stories leads to increased language development, comprehension as well as an interest in books and in learning to read (Evans & Strong, 1996). After reading, retellings provide more opportunities for the reader to reconstruct the text. That is, they enhance and extend the readers' comprehension processes while providing evidence insights into understanding the two processes. Even though no method is able to completely represent comprehension, retellings limit the reader's ability to represent *whatever* has been comprehended. Story retellings indicate that readers use complex predicting and confirming strategies when they are concerned with unfamiliar concepts in a text (Goodman, 1982). This is significant because such strategies are essential for effective comprehension to occur.

Story retelling seems to have the capacity to develop skills but it has not been greatly tested. Researchers have utilized story retelling most often as an assessment tool in studies to investigate developmental trends in comprehending stories (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Thorndyke, 1977). In the few studies that have been done using story retelling as a strategy for developing skills (Morrow, 1985; Gambrell, Pfeiffer, & Wilson, 1985; Zimiles & Kuhns, 1976), positive results have been found in increased ability in comprehension, language development, as well as in the inclusion of structural elements in stories retold by the children.

In story retellings, readers or listeners tell what they remember about the story orally or through dramatization, drawing, or writing (Morrow, 1989). Retelling does not mean memorizing but it means recounting the using the children's own words. Retellings require children to think more conceptually to look at the bigger picture rather than answering specific questions about the text. Retelling also helps learners internalize concepts and information such as vocabulary and story structure (Brown & Cambourne, 1987). The greater experience children have with retelling, the more they can understand, synthesize, and infer. As Gambrell, Koskinen, & Kapinus (1991) believe, retelling is grounded in an understanding of the crucial role that oral language plays in both the formation and sharing of meaning. More recently Rachmawaty and Hermagustiana (2010) have argued that learning a new language is an autonomous and a collaborative process. It is autonomous when a learner learns independently, whereas it is collaborative when learners and a teacher work together.

Stoicovy (2004) states that retelling techniques can improve students' reading comprehension. He also believes that based on several studies, retelling has positive influence on language learning as it promotes students' ability in rearranging information from the text that they have read. Based on the arguments for the positive influence of retelling in language learning, this study aims at investigating how story retelling as a recommended output technique can help Iranian language learners in improving speaking fluency and accuracy.

Rachmawaty & Hermagustiana (2010) strongly argue that retelling as a technique can be applied to improve students' speaking fluency. Despite such positive findings, it is not known yet whether such a technique can positively influence EFL language learners' speaking fluency, accuracy, and comprehensibility. Therefore, this study is an attempt to fill in the gap and to clarify whether story retelling can have any significant impact on the development of EFL learners' grammar development.

2. Objectives of the Study

The first objective of the present study is to investigate the impact of story retelling on beginner and intermediate language learners' grammar development. In doing so, the following research question was raised:

Does story retelling have significant impacts intermediate Iranian EFL learners' grammar development?

3. Method

3.1. Design of the Study

This study will be carried out adopting a pre-test and a post-test design. Pretest was conducted before the application and posttest was conducted at the end of the application period.

3.2. Participants

The participants of this study were 60 male and female students (aged from 18 to 22 years) who have passed Interchange Intro at language institutes or academic centers. They were divided into control and experiment groups (30 students in each group). In order to make sure that there was no statistically significant initial difference between the participants, a placement test was conducted on all groups. The researcher randomly assigned two classes as control and two classes as experimental groups. The participants in all groups were given 15 stories adapted from EFL web sites within a 15-session teaching period. The only difference was that each member of the experimental groups was required to retell the story twice in the classroom. After the treatment, all groups received a same posttest.

3.3. Instruments

In this study, two different instruments were used for collecting the needed data: a placement test and a grammar test.

3.3.1. Placement test

The researcher used the Solutions placement test designed by Edvards (2007) at Oxford University after consultation with teachers and was designed to assess students' knowledge of the key language. The test contains: 50 multiple choice questions which assess students' knowledge of key grammar and vocabulary from elementary to intermediate. The participants' with scores of 26 to 36 were labeled pre-intermediate and the students with scores above 39 are labeled intermediate. The reliability of the test was estimated through KR-21 approach. The reliability index of the test was 0.78 which was acceptable.

3.3.2 Grammar test

This test was developed by the researcher. It consisted of 30 multiple choice items. The items were constructed based on the content of grammar syllabus which was covered by the teacher during the term.

3.3.3 Application

Control and experimental groups of the study received an application consisting of 15 90-minute sessions. In addition to covering the contents of the textbook, 15 stories for intermediate language learners retrieved from the website <http://www.eslfast.com> were distributed among the participants of the control and experimental groups. Participants in experimental group were required to retell the story twice to their classmates in the classroom. However, the participants of the control group were supposed to read the stories by themselves without any oral presentation.

3.4. Data Collection Procedure

At first the placement test was conducted at language institute of Zabansara in Ahwaz where all the language learners attend. Sixty students whose scores fall above the cutoff score of intermediate level were selected. They were divided into four intact classes. Two classes were assigned to be control and the other two intact groups were assigned as experimental groups. The experimental classes were requested to retell the stories told by the teacher twice. After, they received 15 stories, all classes received a test on grammar. The data were analyzed through running independent samples t-tests.

4. Findings of the Study

The findings including the descriptive statistics on pretest and posttest as well as the results of independent samples t-tests are shown in the following tables.

Table 1. Results of the pre-test					
	Mean	SD	T	df	p
experimental	14	2.2	0.9	58	0.12
Control	14.5	1.8			

As shown in the table above, there was no significant difference between the groups' mean scores on the pretest ($t=0.9$, $df= 58$, $p=0.12>0.05$). Therefore, there was no initial difference between the groups on the pretest.

Table 2. Results of the post-test						
Groups		N	Mean	t	df	p
Scores	Experimental	30	27.2	9.4	28	.001
	Control	30	22.3			

As shown in the table above, the mean scores of experimental and control groups' on the grammar posttest are 27 and 22.3, respectively. Therefore, it could be argued that the experimental group outperformed the control group. The results of t-test also show that the means of the groups are statistically significant ($t= 9.4$, $df= 58$, and $p= 0.001<0.05$). Therefore, the null hypothesis which indicates that there is no significant difference between the groups' mean scores is safely rejected. It could be argued that story retelling has significant impact on the learners' grammar development.

5. Discussion

This study was an attempt to investigate whether story retelling has any significant impact on improving Iranian intermediate language learners' grammar development or not. At first the data needed for the first two questions of the study were submitted to independent samples t-tests to compare the effectiveness of two different interventions designed to increase learners' grammar development. The independent variables were the type of intervention (storytelling via story retelling), and the dependent variable consisted of scores on the post tests administered after the

intervention was completed. Participants' scores on the pre-intervention administrations of the pre-test tests were used as the covariate in this analysis. Preliminary checks were conducted to ensure that there was no initial difference between the groups. Therefore, the changes made between the groups on the post-tests were surely due to the impacts of the application. After adjusting for pre-intervention scores, there was a significant difference between the two intervention groups on post-intervention scores on grammar test. Therefore, it could be strongly discussed that the findings of the present study are consistent with the findings of (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Thorndyke, 1977; Morrow, 1985; Gambrell, Pfeiffer, & Wilson, 1985; Zimiles & Kuhns, 1976; Xu, 2007; Stoicov, 2004; Rhodes & Shanklin, 1993; Gambrell, et al., 1991). The findings are also consistent with Kameli (2014) who argued that story retelling can significantly affect EFL learners' speaking fluency and accuracy.

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A Comparison of Lexical Processing in Monolinguals and Bilinguals

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Abstract

Bilinguals have twice as many words in their mental lexicon as compared to monolinguals. There means that bilinguals are slower and less accurate in lexical processing when compared to monolinguals. This study investigates whether Turkish-English bilinguals (n= 48) differ from Turkish monolinguals (n= 53) in their perception of Turkish words. Both groups were instructed to decide if the visually presented Turkish words were either real words or nonwords in a lexical decision task. Response times and the accuracy of the answers were recorded. In line with the results in the literature, it was shown that bilinguals were slower and less accurate than monolinguals in processing Turkish words. The results were discussed in the light of psycholinguistic models of lexical processing.

Keywords: bilingualism; lexical processing; psycholinguistics

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1. Introduction

With the increasing number of people who speak more than one language in the world, bilingualism has become a norm rather than an exception. Accordingly, there has been an increase in the number of experimental studies investigating different aspects of bilingualism. Among these, one of the issues is how bilinguals manage lexical processing in their two languages and how they differ from monolinguals. A great deal of research devoted to reveal how lexical processing proceeds in bilinguals has shown that bilinguals process the words in their mental lexicon differently from monolinguals, both in recognition and production (Duyck, Vanderelst, Desmet & Hartsuiker, 2008; Gollan, Montoya, Cera, & Sandoval, 2008; Lehtonen et al. 2012).

It is a well-established fact that lexical processing in bilinguals proceeds with the combined participation of all words from both lexicons, thus increasing the number of candidates and the processing time. A lot of evidence from experimental studies support this view (Illes et al. 1999; Marian, Spivey & Hirsch, 2003; Brysbaert & Dijkstra, 2006; van Heuven, Dijkstra & Grainger, 1998). A comparison of monolinguals and bilinguals in lexical processing has revealed that the former perform better, and this difference has been attributed to the size of the mental lexicon, where bilinguals have almost twice as many words. Van Heuven, Dijkstra and Grainger (1998) reported that Dutch-English bilinguals had longer response latencies than English monolinguals in processing English words. Similarly, Marian and Spivey (2003) argued that bilinguals fall behind monolinguals due to the parallel activation of the two lexicons during the selection process.

Another line of research suggests the frequency of use is an important factor in lexical processing. This factor is more important in the bilingual word recognition process. Bilinguals choose between the languages and thus use each of them less frequently than the monolingual speakers of each language. Lehtonen et al. (2012) compared monolinguals and bilinguals in a lexical processing task and reported monolinguals' better success. The authors stated that bilinguals are unable to use each of their languages as frequently as the monolingual speakers of those languages. A similar result emerged from Duyck et al.'s (2008) study. They suggested that the frequency of use has more pronounced effects on bilinguals than on monolinguals. Gollan et al. (2008) argued that lexical links in the bilingual lexicon are not as strong as those in the monolingual speakers of those languages, and this accounts for the differences between monolinguals and bilinguals in lexical processing.

In this study, we investigate whether Turkish-English bilinguals from birth process Turkish words differently from the Turkish monolinguals.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Two groups of participants took place in the experiment. The first group comprised of 48 Turkish-English bilinguals (15 male, 33 female). The participants were contacted via e-mail and sent a questionnaire to assess their age, degree, handedness, health and the language background for the two languages they speak. Those who met the criteria were selected and given appointments for an interview. Some of the participants had acquired both languages simultaneously ($n=33$), others before age 5 in a natural setting. All are classified as either simultaneous or early bilinguals according to the literature. They were asked to self-report their language proficiency in both languages on a 5-point scale, 5 indicating full proficiency, and no significant differences were found between their two languages in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. Mean age of the participants in the bilingual group is 29.75 ($SD= 9.64$). They were all right-handed, as assessed by *Edinburgh Handedness Inventory* (Oldfield, 1971).

The second group comprised of 53 monolingual speakers of Turkish (17 male, 36 female). They were given an assessment questionnaire similar to that given to the first group. Those who were eligible were given appointments for an interview. Mean age of the participants was 28.25 ($SD=7.32$). They were all right-handed as assessed by *Edinburgh Handedness Inventory* (Oldfield, 1971).

2.2. Design and Procedure

A lexical decision task was used in the experiment. It took part in a quiet, dimly-lit room. Participants were taken one at a time. Prior to the experiment, a practice trial was given. The trial structure was as follows: The participants were seated in front of a laptop computer at a distance of 40 cm. They were asked to use a chin rest to avoid any head movements, and told to fixate on the central cross on the screen. The stimuli were presented either from the right or left of the screen in a random order, and the participants were told to press the designated keys on the keyboard to decide whether the letter strings they saw on the screen were real words or nonwords. Their response times and the accuracy of their answers were recorded via SuperLab 4.0 software and the SPSS 18.0 was employed to analyse the data.

Stimuli were 30 words and 30 nonwords. Real words were chosen from a pool of 300 words from *Yazılı Türkçe'nin Kelime Sıklığı Sözlüğü* (*The Dictionary of Word Frequency of Written Turkish*) by Goz (2003). A hundred native speakers of Turkish rated the frequency of use and the valence of the words on a 5-point scale (1=rare, 5=very frequent and 1=unpleasant, 5=very pleasant). Out of this pool, 10 positive, 10 negative and 10 neutral words were selected for use in the experiment. No statistical differences were found in the frequency of the words ($F_{2,27}= 0.83$, $p> .05$, $\eta^2=.058$), but they differed significantly in terms of valence ($F_{2,27}= 98.01$, $p< .001$, $\eta^2=.879$). Nonwords were created by changing one letter in real words and they complied with the phonotactic rules of Turkish. Word and nonword stimuli had either two or three syllables.

3. Results

Independent samples *t*-test revealed that monolinguals were faster (535.22, $SD=55.46$) in their response to real words than bilinguals (726.22, $SD=170.59$), and the difference between the two groups were found statistically significant, $t(55.96)= -7.41$, $p< .001$. The same result was obtained for the processing of nonwords. Bilinguals (881.73, $SD=193.67$) were slower than the monolingual group (656.26, $SD=92.28$) in processing the nonwords. The difference is statistically significant, $t(65.80)= -7.35$, $p< .001$. Response times for each group of participants can be seen in Figure 1.

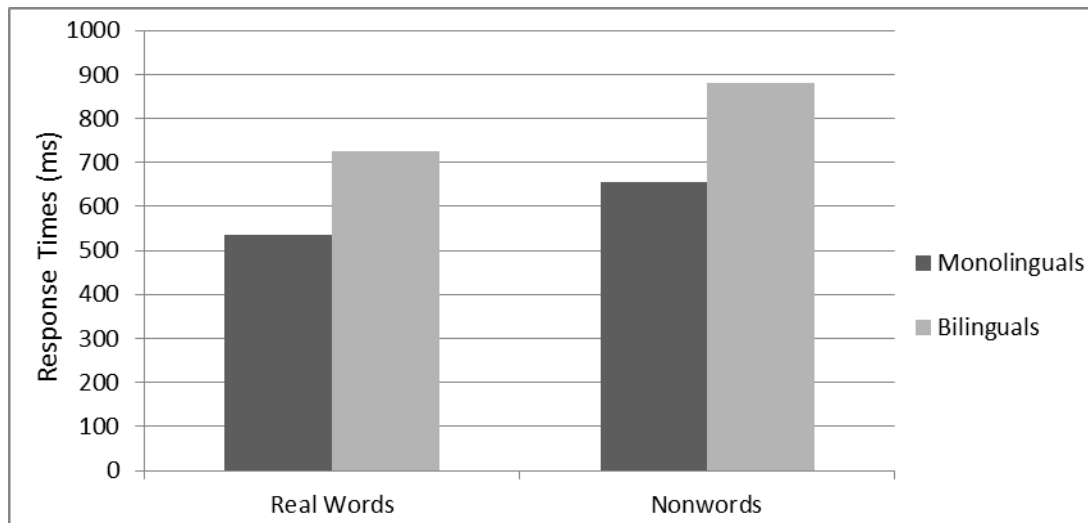


Figure 1. Response Times (in milliseconds) of the monolingual and bilingual groups

Correct responses were taken into account and Mann-Whitney U test was used. According to the results, the accuracy of the answers support the monolinguals' (Real words: 83 %, $SD=.10$; Nonwords: 61 %, $SD=.19$) better performance in processing both words and real words compared to the bilingual group (Real words: 80 %, $SD=.13$; Nonwords: 56 %, $SD=.09$). Nevertheless the differences in success rates have not reached significance (Real words: $U= 1120.50$, $Z= -1.03$, $p> .05$; $r= .10$, Nonwords: $U= 1032$, $Z= -1.63$, $p> .05$, $r= .16$). Accuracy rates for each group can be seen in Figure 2.

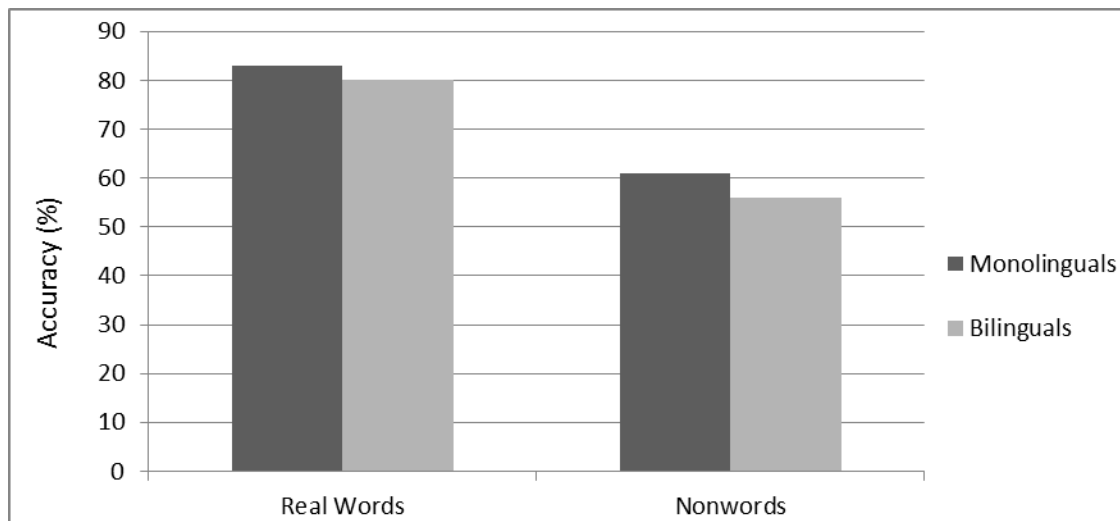


Figure 2. Accuracy Rates (%) of the monolingual and bilingual groups

4. Discussion

The results of our study replicates the view that monolinguals perform better in lexical processing when compared to bilinguals. Response times and the accuracy of the answers in processing both real words and nonwords support this view. Research on production (Gollan et al. 2008) and in perception

(Lehtonen et al. 2012; van Heuven and Dijkstra, 1998) has reported monolinguals' better success in lexical retrieval in speech production and perception.

According to the principles of word recognition models in the psycholinguistic literature, correlation between the size of the mental lexicon and the speed of lexical retrieval accounts for the difference between monolinguals and bilingual lexical processing. For example, *Activation Model* (McClelland and Rumelhart, 1981) predicts that all items in the mental lexicon compete for selection in the retrieval process. Bilingual Word Recognition Models, i.e. *BIA* and *BIA+* (Dijkstra and van Heuven, 2002), suggest that the parallel activation of languages in bilinguals is a disadvantage, as bilinguals deal with almost twice as many words as the monolinguals. This leads to an increase in the number of candidates, which in turn impedes the retrieval process, and makes bilinguals more prone to errors. This view has found a great deal of support from experimental studies (van Heuven, Dijkstra and Grainger, 1998; Thomas and van Heuven, 2005). Marian and Spivey (2003) reports that Russian-English bilinguals had longer response times and were less accurate than monolinguals in lexical processing and suggested that the parallel activation of two languages accounts for bilinguals' increased response times. The results of our study replicated this finding. The bilingual participants required more time to process Turkish words because the need to suppress the activation of English words led to a delay in their lexical processing.

Another reason for bilinguals' delayed lexical processing is an imbalance in the frequency with which they use the words in the two languages. As suggested by psycholinguistic models of word recognition, word frequency is an important determiner in word recognition. According to these models, frequency of a word strengthens lexical links and facilitates word recognition (Balota, Yap and Cortese, 2006). Bilinguals switch between languages, reducing the frequency with which they use words in each language relative to monolinguals. In fact, it has been argued that word frequency has more pronounced effects on bilingual word recognition than on monolingual word recognition (Duyck et al. 2008; Lehtonen et al. 2012).

No significant differences were found in the accuracy rates of either groups, showing that bilingual participants were comparable in proficiency of Turkish to monolinguals. Bilingual participants' slower response times compared to monolingual participants cannot be attributed to their proficiency level. In other words, it can be said that simultaneous bilinguals in our study were equally competent in processing Turkish words as monolingual speakers of Turkish.

5. Conclusion

We investigated whether monolinguals and bilinguals differ in processing Turkish words. A lexical decision task was used where both groups were instructed to determine if the word stimuli on the computer screen were real words or nonwords. The results showed that the monolingual participants were both faster and more accurate in their decisions than bilinguals. This finding is in line with the widely accepted view that monolinguals outperform bilinguals in lexical processing. Some possible explanations of this result are the size of the mental lexicon and the frequency of use of each language of bilinguals. Compared to monolinguals, the bilinguals have almost twice as many words as monolinguals, which means more time is needed to select from the candidates in the mental lexicon in lexical processing. Also, it is almost impossible for bilinguals to use the words in both languages as frequently as the monolingual speakers of each language.

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The Linguistics of Literature in Education: African Literature in African Universities

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Abstract

Teaching African Literature - the English text - would seem to be a replicable skill across continents and countries. Experience shows that understanding texts depends less on the lecturer's skills and more on student perceptions. Since the inventions of the Gutenberg Press and subsequently of "Oral Man" the story of Africa has been the story *about* Africa. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) speaks of deliberate attempts "to destroy every last remnant of alternative ways of knowing and living, to obliterate collective identities and memories and to impose a new order" on the colonized. Education has been one of the chief instruments in this process, systematically alienating students from their cultural roots. Today as African writers learn to tell the story of Africa, African students are less able to relate to these literary texts than for example students in a German university. Even though texts reflect their own culture, they resist the "other ways of knowing" Tuhiwai Smith speaks about and force internalized perceptions of their own selves on to narrative texts. Careful linguistic analysis provides students with the opportunity to re-connect with the cultural values a foreign-based education system has attempted to abolish from their cultural memory. The tools provided by critical discourse analysis are invaluable in helping students understand differences in approach in literature; they become a means for students to hear the extent of cultural and personal alienation from their own selves, and to re-connect. This paper explores what happens when students are almost totally alienated from the culture as reflected in their own literature written in the colonizer's language. It seeks an approach that makes fruitful learning possible as African students study the works of South African novelist Zakes Mda; Zanzibari novelist Abdulrazak Gurnah and Malian filmmaker Cheik Oumar Sissoko.

Keywords: Tuhiwai-Smith; Mda; Gurnah; Sissoko; de-colonization; African Literature; colonial education; Africa's story

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1. Introduction

“Preserving” cultures; retaining African cultural identities; not “losing” traditions - are all watchwords amongst students in African universities. To determine the relevance of old traditions many research tribal customs - circumcision; children’s games; dances; clothing. They search for their identity; debate the role of women and of family structures. Parliamentary debates center on cultural appropriateness as a recent example in Kenya argues whether a man is legally bound to inform his first wife that he is marrying a second. Such scenarios suggest that modern authors and filmmakers at least partly conform to Frantz Fanon’s (1961) third phase of cultural liberation when intellectuals, also those educated in Western educational institutions, seek new closeness to the people from whom they originate (pp.145-180). Yet in universities the understanding even of students who obsessively cling to tribal traditions speaks of cultural identity alienation which permeates all spheres of life.

Recently, at a Christmas Mass the priest read the long account of Jesus’ genealogy in Matthew’s Gospel. The congregation listened attentively. When the priest began his homily with a recitation of his own genealogy, the congregation - seminarians in a Carmelite Seminary of which the homilist is the Superior - shuffled nervously. As the homilist continued, they started laughing; it seemed only respect for his position as Prior prevented them from booing him off the pulpit. When he spoke of his father telling him before his death: “I will remember you” - i.e. the dying man said he would in the future remember his son - near pandemonium broke out. Hardly anyone could relate this approach to death to Christian understandings of Resurrection and eternal life.

At the Kenya School of Law in Nairobi aspiring lawyers discussed justice regarding land ownership. They spoke easily of Roman Dutch law; of French law, of other justice systems. Curious, I asked them how they related their own justice systems to what they were learning. I was met with blank stares. None had heard of African Socialism, nor of its approach to land ownership where land belongs to the people and is given them in trust by the ancestors to be handed on to the descendants; where what is grown on the land belongs to the person who works the land, and can be sold, unlike the land itself which can never be for sale. Despite their pride that Bishop Tutu received the Nobel Peace Prize, they did not question the retributive justice Kenya ascribes to, nor did they ask whether reconciliatory justice espoused by Tutu and Mandela as well as by Truth and Reconciliation Commissions throughout Africa, and by modern African writers could offer new possibilities for peace. Unable to move beyond perceptions of unfairness, they grumbled that only Africans, in this case their own President and vice-President and not leaders of other nations were at the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

In a literature class a student threw Zakes Mda’s *Ways of Dying* across the room: she did not want to read it; there was no main protagonist; no clear beginning, middle and end. Mda’s *Heart of Redness* is even worse as far as she was concerned; he does not understand history as a post-colonial phenomenon, but focuses on the period before Western Colonialism and on divisive issues which because of the coming of *apartheid* rule have never been resolved and need to be dealt with if there is to be peace. In Gurnah’s works the coming of the Europeans is similarly not the central historical event it is in Western history books. And this really troubles students who have grown up within a Western education system left them by the departing British fifty years ago, and never updated since. Abdulrazak Gurnah’s *Desertion* (2005) and *Paradise* (2001) consequently seem impenetrable to many. This is not only because the history of Africa - the straight lines that determine borders of artificially created countries; the looting of the continent during the first Scramble for Africa; modern neo-colonialism - is practically unknown to them.

What irritates these literature students is that they now hear a story told from the perspective of African writers and they do not understand it. Here history is not linear but cyclical; is not related to

specific dates but to events and to the people implementing official policies; is understood in terms of the *sasa* and the *zamani* - time which cannot be measured numerically; which belongs to the community, not only to the individual; which binds individuals to their environment; which moves "backwards" from the immediate experience, from the NOW, to the period beyond which nothing can go (Mbiti, 1969). The question for every teacher of African literature is; what approach should one use to enable students' to once again access "collective identities and memories" which have been almost totally obliterated as a foreign order has been imposed? (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012).

2. Decolonizing Literature

In *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (1993) Ngugi wa Thiong'o speaks of moving the center especially "in the field of languages, literature, cultural studies and in the general organization of literature departments in universities around the globe" away from the dominant Eurocentrism which "is most dangerous to the self-confidence of Third World peoples when it becomes internalized in their intellectual conception of the universe" (p. xvii).

Linda Tuhiwai-Smith sees research justice and the decolonization of research as an imperative if indigenous people are to regain ownership over both taught and learned knowledge; over the manner in which research is conducted. She speaks of research being wielded as an instrument of "absolute uselessness" to the indigenous; and "absolute usefulness" to those who conduct the research. She speaks of the right of indigenous communities to shape research questions and to "re-right" history. This only happens when they learn to "shift the gaze"; to change perspectives; to look at themselves with new eyes; "to turn research around from being a negative, [...] from being an abusive power" (#INQ13: 29:10-33:20). She speaks of the need to move beyond the "common sense [knowledge] of society" (54:29) found in text books, beyond merely documenting the truth, no matter whose truth it is (54:51) to asking what it means to know and be; to identify how "who we are [is] defined by what we know"; and to determine who it is that tells us all this (59:08). She points out that "every person in a community has knowledge" (1:02:04). In the second half of *Decolonizing the Mind* (2012) she documents the manner in which communities access and disseminate the "alternative ways of knowing" (p. 72) whose validity Western education has denied (p. 185). Literature creates knowledge; stories told *about* those who were colonized have been as abusive as research has been. Thus, what Tuhiwai Smith says of research is also applicable here.

2.1. Africa tells its own story

"If you don't like someone's story, write your own," says Achebe. And that is precisely what modern African writers attempt to do. Thus Gurnah tells us that in "the story of our times [...] the narrative has slipped out of the hands of those who had control of it before"; those telling the story are learning to understand their own world in the creation of renewed and refashioned narratives, those who once believed they owned the rights to the story and the manner and content of its telling are forced to listen (*Post-colonial waters* 30:25-50). Gurnah claims that this has "unsettle[d] previous understandings" of knowledge (Nasta, 2004, p. 353).

What has come as a complete surprise is that while these stories reflect a worldview foreign to European audiences, they are often even more foreign to audiences in African Universities. The blatant anger of students reading texts about slavery and colonization is openly expressed. Yet, these students cannot move beyond their anger to recognize the real harm inflicted on their identity. The "shifting of the gaze"; the need for formerly colonized nations to re-assess how they feel about themselves. The ability to see oneself within the space one occupies that Tuhiwai Smith speaks about remains almost out of reach for many African literature students.



Figure 1. Achebe: The Congo King on his ivory throne
© Paasche (2014) Taken at the National Archives, Kenya.

Achebe (2009) speaks of Africans' "lapsed memory," of their having to learn to spell their "proper name" (p. 54). In his essay "Africa's Tarnished Name" he models the approach he proposes as he counters European understandings of history. He contradicts Joseph Conrad's perception of himself in *Heart of Darkness* as the "first of men" wandering on "a prehistoric earth" with his own well-researched African narrative vis-à-vis European perceptions. When literature students read Achebe's essays, they are excited to learn about their history which pre-dated the advent of colonialism and a former African king's criticism of Portuguese justice systems. They attempt to analyze what Achebe implies when he speaks of "the Mweni-Congo, seated on an ivory throne surrounded by his courtiers" (p.83) - a concept perhaps inspired by a visit to Kenya and the discovery of African Ivory carvings (cf. Figure 1). They recognize the trappings of authority and of a well-developed culture, yet none are prepared for the sense of awe when faced with one of the artefacts found in Kenya's National Archives, a building in front of which they catch their bus to the university, yet none have been inside either as students or as teachers. Intricate carvings, very different to those found in Chinese ivory art fascinate them. The sense of pride in a culture at least as old as that of Europe is palpable. Yet, three hundred years of educational conditioning still denies them access to the story of Africa as told by Africans. The comment made by one of Gurnah's (2001) characters in *By the Sea* (2001) is painfully true of today's students: "It was as if they had remade us, and in ways that we no longer had any recourse but to accept" (p. 18). Despite education, or maybe because of it, many Africans remain functionally illiterate with regard to their own culture when they are working within the language imposed on them by the former colonizer - one they have now internalized as the only medium within the education system.

As students are introduced to modern African filmic and written texts, they need to learn to separate themselves from the liberal humanist approach which has conditioned their understanding of narrative. The differences in outwardly similar genres must be identified - generally and specifically. And so for example:

- Modern African narrative is not chronologically linear with a clear beginning, middle and end, but begins *in media res*. It is cyclical. The story of yesterday becomes the story of today and the lesson of the “now.” Events move cyclically back to yesterday’s beginning to make a new beginning possible today. This is for example central to Zakes Mda’s works. In *The Heart of Redness* (2000) the post-apartheid community in its interaction with one another relives events which occurred in the 19th century but were never resolved. And while *Ways of Dying* (1995) depicts conflicts which occurred immediately after the demise of apartheid, the latter is not the main issue. White people play no role in either narrative. Important is the need to re-assess conflicts ascribed to anxieties and superstitions hidden in the cultural subconscious and not necessarily associated with apartheid.
- In the African narrative individuals always remain parts of the society. Unlike in Western liberal humanist tradition they are not in conflict with their societies. Their conflict cannot be separated from that of a society in conflict with itself. Thus each member, even the least, is important. *Ways of Dying* typifies this departure from the tradition inherited by African education. Here the main characters who attempt to live Mandela’s dream of a Rainbow Nation are two slum dwellers. Insignificant as they are, they live the dream of the new South Africa and the resolution that occurs within their communities is presented as a model for Mandela’s Rainbow Nation.
- Perhaps one of the most important characteristic of modern African writing is the return of the ancestors - the living dead. Banished by Christianity and by the introduction of rationalism, they now return. Modern literary artists re-assess their function as they return to the society which according to the Oral Literary Tradition they have never left. Their presence signals their acknowledgement that today’s dilemmas are rooted in decisions they once made and though no longer amongst the living, they too carry responsibility for the society’s future. In their return they demonstrate the reconciliatory nature of justice that African Socialism in its understanding of *Ubuntu* demands - something so powerfully demonstrated in South Africa’s *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Thus in Cheik Oumar Sissoko’s (1999) *La Genese* the Biblical figure of Jacob is portrayed as an African patriarch who realizes that Isaac and Rebecca, the ancestors he venerates, are as much part of the conflict into which his and the other societies around him have been hurled as he is. Despite genocides and betrayals and corruption, all so prevalent in African nations today, the society seeks reconciliation not as a gift from a God outside the community, but from one another. At the moment when all seems lost the ancestors appear to force Jacob to take responsibility for his actions. It is they, not God, who bestow on him the name “Israel,” and it is the community which ratifies the new name. As the story of Israel and his children is not merely a lesson from the past, but is the story of today’s Africa, its ending is left to the imagination of the audience who in this way “owns” the narrative. It is the community which will decide whether reconciliation between the brothers takes place.

Telling students about these differences in understandings of life and culture does not help shift the gaze however. Only a new cultural *experience* will grant access to the cultural memory which in most African communities has been all but obliterated. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have pointed out, our experience and the sense we make of this experience is neither abstract nor disembodied; reason has an experiential, bodily basis; the imaginative aspects of reason are central to our understanding of the world. The challenge for teachers of African Literature at African Universities is thus to begin a process which will, hopefully, result in “having experiences that can form the basis of alternative metaphors” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

3. Bridging the divide

Both Ngugi and Tuhiwai Smith talk of and to a world they believe is waiting for permission to access and share their knowledge. They presume it is possible for non-Western formerly colonized communities to shift their gaze, to document and eventually internalize and live the ways of knowing

from which they have been alienated. The reality however, is that education systems have been remarkably successful in alienating whole populations from their very selves - and this despite the conscious preservation of traditional culture. Ngugi's insistence that a culture is carried by a language, and that a return to the traditional languages would make cultural affiliation possible, ignores the reality that whole generations have been alienated from cultural concepts which now only nominally define them. It also ignores the all-pervasive presence of English and French as the *lingua franca* of almost all African countries - a fact that cannot be reversed, and the reality that European education systems dominate all African countries. Neither they nor even Achebe (2009) seem to acknowledge the deep divide in the lives of modern African - in this case Kenyan students - who are unable to bring together the traditional world some live at least part of the time, and the world dominated by Western education they inhabit most of the time.

Yes, modern African authors and filmmakers are now telling their own story, and have more or less successfully bridged the divide between the stories imposed on Africans, and their own cultural perceptions. Yet they are generally not understood by their own people who have learned and internalized Western literary structures. Students must learn to reconnect both with themselves and with the text; to move beyond the guilty sense of cultural recognition (you are "backward" or "uncultured" or "uncivilized" if you think like that) to a space where they can come home to themselves; where they can access their own centers even though for now the primary center within which they function personally and academically remains a foreign one.

3.1. Sheik Oumar Sissoko: *La Genèse* - Discovering cultural understanding

La Genèse, loosely based on the Biblical story of Jacob and Esau, and of Dinah, daughter of Jacob, and Shechem, son of Hamor, explores issues facing Africa's people, the most important of which is encapsulated in Esau's challenge of God: "Must we [...] forever [...] as brothers be condemned to hate one another?" Students - even those who come from an Oral Literary Tradition - do not find it easy to follow the precepts of this tradition and let the Scriptural story they have learned become their own, not just a lesson to learn. The first step in understanding the film thus involves what Tuihivai Smith calls changing the focus of the gaze - an action which goes beyond moving the center as understood by Ngugi. It involves engaging the students' sense of self, reminding them that stories are no longer *about* them but *for* them and require their input. Students have to be taught that it is not the text that comes towards them to judge them, but they have to move towards the text and assess it.

Biblical family relationships are confusing at the best of times, so one approach is to ask students to draw a family tree based on facts given in the Scriptures. In the figures they draw German students see Abraham and Sarah to whom he is married and Hagar who also bears him a son at the top of the pyramid and all descendants follow from the top down. Wives are identified by two wedding rings; a "+" sign indicates women "given" for procreative purposes. The family tree drawn conflicts severely with ones depicting traditional Western families. It cannot accommodate the inter-relatedness of Biblical familial relationships. Interestingly, in Louise Erdrich's (1988) novel *Tracks*, which portrays Native-American culture, broken lines indicate traditional marriages whereas unbroken lines reflect marriages formed in the Western "Christian" tradition, yet Erdrich too, uses the top-down Western model.

In a non-academic setting with African religious Sisters preparing for their final profession, Abraham and Sarah are depicted as the stem of the tree. From them comes Isaac and then the tree branches. But all remain connected to the central stem which is Abraham and Sarah. Here, in the African model there is room for polygamy. All women, even those given for procreative purposes, have a branch which further divides. The African tree model runs into trouble when different offshoots unite - but otherwise it is in line with the pictorial image. Interestingly, as drawn by the Sisters, this very literal

family tree model leaves no space for Ismael! When asked the reason, the Sisters responded that the story was about Jacob and Esau. Ismael was not important here so they didn't have to place him: he was the stem of another tree. As for Ismael's relationship to Abraham - well - didn't seeds fall some distance away from the parent tree? The total absence of Ismael in this model can however probably be ascribed to the fact that colonial Christianity, still the norm today, forbids recognition of Ismael, who most Christians in Africa believe is a Muslim and so cannot truly belong to the family tree of God's chosen people.

Once pictorial perceptions of the written text are brought to consciousness it is easier to approach the written and the filmic text.

3.2. *Gurnah: Desertion - approaching the text*

Ever since the tectonic shifts occasioned by the discovery of Gutenberg's Printing Press, Oral man, i.e. so-called indigenous people of the British or other colonial Empires who could not read, have been taught to let the text come to them. If they did not understand, they were judged inadequate. Often they believed it was because they did not understand English well enough. Yet, the problem was and still is that they do not have the tools to assess a text from the space in which they stand as individuals and as a society; they do not know how to bring together the written and the spoken text; how to align the written and the visual-pictorial image it portrays. Consequently Africa's story, even when told by one of their own, remains "just an orderly accumulation of the real knowledge [the British] brought [...], in books they made available [...] in a language they taught" (Gurnah, 2001). Shifting the gaze involves giving students the tools to look at a text from "the outside," regardless of the language of the text. A practical experience is needed to begin this process.

In *Desertion* (2005) Gurnah meditates on philosophies behind maps he as a colonial subject encountered:

... when the world was as full of ironies [...] and almost all of Africa was ruled by Europeans in one way or another [...]. A British map of Africa in the 1950s would have shown four predominant colours: red shading to pink for the British-ruled territories, dark green for the French, purple for the Portuguese and brown for the Belgian (p.148).

Gurnah goes on to meditate on the colors of maps he believes are "a code for a world-view." The humor of the whole meditation is totally lost on students. Not only are they unfamiliar with their own history, the picture Gurnah paints does not conform to the one they have been taught. And then they are handicapped by their inability to bring together the written word and the image it conjures up. This handicap must be addressed first.

When students are then presented with a blank map of Africa and a packet of coloring pencils and are asked to draw what Gurnah sees, total incomprehension fills the class. It takes them relatively long to start. Usually, once they very hesitantly pick up their coloring pencils, they are able to color in at least their own country. As students at the university where I teach come from either Anglophone or Francophone countries, patches of red and green appear on the various maps. It is at this point that some kind of conversation begins and other African countries follow - usually only after consultation with classmates who come from these countries: "You Naijas - were you a British colony?" "Why do you think we spika de English so well?" They learn about Ghana and South Africa. Other former British colonies are not as easily identified. They discover Uganda was never a colony but a protectorate, but do not understand why Gurnah says red, "a gesture to the English national banner, [...] represented the willingness to sacrifice in the name of duty, and all the blood spilt in the name of the Empire. Even South Africa [...] red shading to pink [...] a dominion like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, places where Europeans had travelled half the world to find [...] peace and prosperity" (pp. 148-149). Slowly they learn that their African history is not unique, that others too have been colonized and choose no longer to see themselves as victims.

Identifying the former French colonies is only possible if they have French-speaking classmates. As they color their map they are continually forced to return to the text. Only reference to a map portraying physical features allows them to understand the bitter irony of Gurnah's words when he says the maps' "dark green was a joke at the expense of the French, to suggest Elysian pastures when most of the territory they ruled was a desert or semi-desert or equatorial forest, so much useless territory won with arms and a grandiose hubris" (p. 149).

As they identify the Portuguese colonies where "purple [represents][...] the anxious self-regard of the Portuguese [...] obsession with royalty and religion and symbolisms of empire [...] they had been plundering these lands with barefoot brutality, slashing and burning, and transporting millions of the inhabitants to the slave plantations in Brazil" (p. 149) I decide not to ask them what Gurnah means by "the obsession with royalty and religion!" This is not the moment to guide them to question the religion into which they have been colonized.

The big "Aha!" moment usually comes when they color the former Belgian Congo where Gurnah says "brown [represents][...] the stolid and cynical efficiency of the Belgians [...] whose gift to the people they ruled turned out to bear no comparison to any of the other Great Powers of that mean-spirited era. Their legacy to the Congo and Rwanda will keep the rivers and lakes of those places muddled for a while to come yet" (p. 149).

"This is awesome! Have you seen how big the Congo is!" At this point they grasp Africa's tragedy; its partitioning into never-to-be-reunited pieces, each alienated from the other through imposed history and colonial language. Coloring the former Belgian colony always leads to discussions of the implications of a personal fiefdom envisioned by King Leopold of Belgium and the meteoric rise of Dunlop tires made from rubber tapped in a country known today as "the broken heart of Africa;" a country with at least ten million dead, the center of Africa's World War.

As they meditate on the map before them, they learn that in the African Oral Literary Tradition their continent's history is not understood in terms of dates, but either as a specific period; or in relation to the consequences of certain events. And that this is how Gurnah attempts to depict it. As their pencils move across the map they discover the straight lines that form country borders in Africa and they begin to understand why Gurnah refuses to acknowledge artificially-created countries; why he says one should not speak of the "East Coast of Africa;" but of the west coast of the Indian Ocean Archipelago (cf.: *In Post-Colonial Waters*: 2013). Once given permission to "shift their gaze," to read their own culture in the printed word, to no longer allow texts to approach them, but to change direction and move towards the texts, students almost miraculously provide insights to which the readers who once told the story *about* Africa and who Gurnah says are now forced to listen, have no access.

Thus, in *Desertion* Fredrick, the colonial governor personifying the British Empire sees as his "responsibility to the natives to keep an eye on them and guide them slowly into obedience and orderly labour" (p. 84). given this picture of indigenous Africans, it is no wonder he is amazed how "two devoted Zanzibaris [...] had carried the embalmed body of [...] Dr. Livingstone thousands of miles from the great lakes to the coast in Bagamoyo" (p. 38). He interprets what he sees as their "grand symbolic gesture" when they buried Livingstone's heart in the place where he died as a sign of African peoples' admiration of his fellow Westerner. No other interpretation seems to cross his mind.

Yet, as students now no longer seek historical dates, they recognize Gurnah's skillful weaving in of Bagamoyo's history as the center of the Arab slave trade and later Germany's East African capital. They are able to explain that burying the heart was a practical not a symbolic act; it should not be interpreted as meaning they wanted Livingstone's heart to remain forever in Africa. An un-disemboweled body carried long distances through East Africa's equatorial heat will rot. Similarly, bringing it to Bagamoyo was probably not out of personal loyalty, but because African cultures generally forbid burial away from home. Their taking him to Bagamoyo was most likely to ensure that

his spirit, now one of the living dead, would not bother them, but would return to Livingstone's place of origin. These insights are only available to readers in contact with Eastern African cultures. The irony of Frederick's interpretation remains totally lost on non-African / Western readers now in the same position once accorded colonized readers who had no access to cultural landscapes reflected in stories they were given - whether situated in Europe or in Africa.

4. Conclusion

In *Moving the Center* (1993) Ngugi says Conrad, Cary and Kipling "could never have shifted the vision because they were themselves bound by the European center of their upbringing and experience" (p. 4). Is the same true of today's young people and their educators who know no other educational system than the one the British and other colonizers left behind; a system faithfully passed down through generations and "preserved" to the point of fossilization? Year after year as curricula are re-worked structures remain. Do these products of particular systems even have the tools to deconstruct what the system has forced them to internalize, and find a new way?

The process which permits students to re-connect with their cultural subconscious, to come home to themselves, goes beyond the need for Africans to tell their own story. It also goes beyond Tuhiwai Smith's insistence that every community has innate knowledge and must be given the right not only to share this knowledge, but co-determine for whose benefit that knowledge will be utilized.

Kenya's educational model was recently expounded on in a university workshop on curriculum design and review: "Our students are living raw materials, at the university they are processed (by us); they are our products when they leave the university." (Workshop attended at Catholic University of Eastern Africa). Exams make up the bulk of the learning experience; great emphasis is placed on "marking schemes," rote learning is the order of the day. With such an approach to education, teaching becomes "telling them." There is no time for students to discover and so to question and truly learn. Yet, it is only this questioning, this wish to find out what they don't know, to discover where others have misrepresented reality, that will enable them to shift their gaze. It is this self-discovery combined with careful linguistic analysis of literary texts that will make it possible for students to move outside the emotional political-historical debate that brings with it so much baggage that the extent of cultural alienation is hardly noticed.

Despite Tuhiwai-Smith's (2012) focus on the third developmental phase identified by Fanon when intellectuals "realign themselves with the people [...] to produce a revolutionary and national literature" (p. 73), she yet speaks of the intertwining of the various academic traditions, of the impossibility of separating what through several generations has grown together (#QN13:41:52). Today the linguistic tradition, rooted in Western Academia, has the opportunity to contribute towards reversing the effects of a process which sought "to obliterate collective identities and memories." This however, can only occur when educators and students alike are willing to shift their vision and consciously decide no longer to be bound by their present Eurocentric upbringing and experience.

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Application of latest Anglicisms in teaching RFL to increase motivation and adaptation of bilingual students

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Abstract

Inconsistency of the vocabulary of study texts and of words students actually use in everyday communication should become the subject of study of teachers of Russian as a foreign language. The inclusion in the curriculum of student slang phrases allows revitalizing the educational process, giving it practical significance. The article analyzes the experience of the use of modern technologies in teaching Russian as a foreign language by instructors of National Research Tomsk Polytechnic University. The paper presents an innovative way to work with Anglicisms at lessons of Russian as a foreign language, an attempt to catalog lexical units students use in online communication.

Keywords: English borrowings; bilingual students; foreign language; teaching methodology;

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1. Introduction

Motivation to study foreign languages is most effective when it is based on ethnic and cultural characteristics and local teaching traditions. This is reflected in a number of articles by foreign researchers. Many of them have studied the issue of motivation in practical settings, identify and consider types of motivation (Rehman, Bilal, Sheikh, Bibi & Nawaz, 2014; Bernard, 2010; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000; Babaee, 2012; Wen, 1997; Jin, 2012) and second language (L2) learner motivational types (Papi & Teimouri, 2014). A number of articles are devoted to English and Chinese due to a high demand for the learning of these languages. This concerns not only L2 learners, but also the teaching staff (Chubik & Slesarenko, 2012).

A study of the motivation of Pakistani students learning English demonstrated that instrumental motivation (in which foreign language ability is perceived as a means of deriving certain social and economic benefits, such as higher salary, bonuses, acceptance into prestigious educational institutions, etc.) is more effective than integrative motivation consisting of a student's wish to communicate with people in the new language and learn their culture (Rehman, Bilal, Sheikh, Bibi & Nawaz, 2014).

Another study of motivation of Lebanese students learning English showed, on the contrary, that integrative motivation, diligence, desired results, expectations and assessment of one's own abilities were the determining factors in the success of learning a foreign language. Instrumental motivation is just an addition to integrative motivation (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000).

Investigating the Chinese students' motivation to learn English, a Canadian researcher, Naghmeh Babaee, made a survey of the relevant literature (Babaee, 2012). One of the problems he identified in his survey was as follows: many Chinese learners of English might not have the opportunity to use it beyond classrooms. So, teachers need to inspire them in different ways. This literature review highlights the need for teachers to praise their students for their own accomplishments, instead of comparing them with their peers. It helps to increase students' motivation and reduce stress (Babaee, 2012). The author also lists other means of increasing students' motivation, such as: the introduction of an entertainment component in the curriculum, an engaging personality of the teacher and an attractive design of textbooks and teaching materials. Motivation can be also effective when it is based on cultural materials: games, songs and stories that excite students to learn a foreign language and increase their academic progress.

The study of motivational factors of US students learning the Chinese language demonstrated that interest in Chinese culture is a primary motivation for the students (Xiaohong Wen, 1997).

In Great Britain, teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language also involves a number of approaches based on culture. Elements of culture and cultural interaction are actively used in teaching a foreign language (Tinghe Jin, 2012). To develop, monitor and study the effectiveness of this approach it is important to keep track of the students' goals, expectations and skills in cross-cultural communications; to develop teaching aids; provide training to teachers; survey students; and conduct open lessons. These methods will help assess how efficiently students are mastering a new culture and acquiring intercultural communication skills through their study of a foreign language (Tinghe Jin, 2012).

The modern studentship has brought an important part of its communication into a virtual field. Internet-discourse is considered in the current research as a sub-discourse of student discourse, that is, its type. Owing to the unlimited communication on the Internet, the students are first to use latest xenolexis in their speech; on the Internet they talk about different subjects: from computer games to Internet shopping. We think that the main idea of teaching at the modern university is giving students a chance to form general and professional competences, elaborating their skills and abilities in solving

different tasks in the future professional and communication fields. Experimental research proved that using latest international words borrowed from the US-English language as a way of teaching helps to:

- Expand the vocabulary and knowledge of learners about separate lexical units.
- Make communication in Internet discourse free.
- Simplify the adaptation of bilingual students in the student environment thanks to the social dialect which energetically uses latest borrowings.
- Master students' linguistic intuition and communicative abilities.

Despite the significant amount of research in RFL teaching methods, latest borrowings, actively functioning in the student Internet discourse and in the social dialect in real communication, are practically not represented when studying lexis, which shows contradiction between the theoretical research and the practical teaching of RFL. This makes the development of both the theoretical bases and didactic principles of designing a complex of exercises for RFL learning in the aforementioned aspect, involving students' independent work, urgent. Overcoming the detected contradiction has identified the relevance of this research.

2. Objectives, methodology and research design

Methods of RFL teaching to bilingual students, based on choosing latest borrowings students currently use on social networks and in speaking, as well as the designed complex of exercises from the point of view of its effectiveness, have become the subject of the research.

Research objectives consist of:

- Developing motivations for learning.
- Setting the most significant differences in the semantic structure of the studied borrowings and their foreign prototypes.
- Working out a classification of Anglicisms, which can become a linguistic base for designing a complex of exercises on different topics of the educational program to overcome difficulties in understanding borrowings when students communicate with peers within Internet communities.
- Designing a complex of exercises to help foreigners understand the actual lexis in the context of Internet-communication.

The following research methods were used to reach the assigned objectives:

- Analysis of linguistic and methodological literature on the topic of the research.
- Analysis of the received experimental data to verify the designed methods effectiveness for increasing students' motivation to study RFL.

3. Discussion of the research outcomes

Learning Russian as a foreign language is based on using competence approach, that is forming knowledge, skills and abilities in the process of learning. Researchers identify several interrelated types of competences: Linguistic, oral, communicative, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, strategic and social.

This article is devoted to the acquisition of sociolinguistic and sociocultural competences by foreign students of advanced RFL learning level. The sociolinguistic competence is understood as an ability to choose and use adequate language forms and means depending on communication purposes and situations, on social roles of communication participants. The sociocultural competence is connected with the understanding of cultural features of native speakers, their habits, traditions, behavior and etiquette, with knowing how to use them smartly in the conversation, remaining a native of a different culture.

Modern RFL teaching methods are based, on the one hand, on forming holistic linguistic and cultural competence of foreign students and, on the other hand, on the development of students' ability to solve communicative tasks by means of the foreign language, which suggests fluent communication with native speakers. Developing foreign students' speaking skills is one of the most important tasks of modern RFL teaching methods. Teaching RFL pays a lot of attention to literary language, while foreign students have to master the daily informal speech on their own out of lessons. In our article, we chose a particular layer of Russian spoken vocabulary as research material: Youth jargon, which in the recent decades has influenced both the development and functioning of the Russian language, and also its native speakers' communication in general. The material was selected by the results of experiments aimed at identifying foreign students' awareness of Russian jargon vocabulary. The stimuli of the first associative experiment (Serysheva, 2014) were 45 words from *The Youth Slang Dictionary* (*komp, prikol'no, ofiget', chuvak, univer, tachka, jest', babki* and others). The main criterion for stimuli selection was frequency: how often foreign students used slang words in communicating. The experiment participants were to complete two tasks: 1. *Read and explain in writing how you understand the sentences.* 2. *Do you use these words in your speech (yes/no)?* 52 foreign students of Tomsk Polytechnic University (TPU) were involved in the experiment: from China (26 people), Vietnam (24), Mongolia (1) and Turkey (1). The ages of the participants were between 20 and 26. There were 777 responses, 177 of them were positive (23 % of all the responses), 600 negative (77 %). So, the results showed that foreign students have little awareness of common jargon vocabulary, which is obvious due to the complicated metaphorical meanings of the stimuli (*babki, zakatat gubi, limon*, and so on) and to the absence in foreign students' linguistic consciousness of associative connections when perceiving some jargon words (*chuvak, stebatsya, vashshe*, and so on).

The results of the experiment showed the necessity of learning such kind of Russian colloquial speech as jargon words. However, learning general jargon vocabulary requires studying specific phraseology and use of word-formation devices, which are unusual for foreign students. General jargon vocabulary is formed by revising the general-use words (for example, *limon* [lemon] – “million”) and is presented as a “collective language game” among young people. It should be mentioned that this vocabulary is actively filled with new units, replacing concepts traditional for native speakers. From our point of view, foreign students can study this vocabulary at the advanced Russian language learning level, primarily by close communication with native speakers (Internet communication, students' events, sport games, etc). That is why teaching jargon vocabulary to foreign students requires specific teaching methods which, firstly, must be oriented on oral speech in a specific language environment.

In our work, we suggest an alternative to modern approaches to teaching speech competences for foreign students, based on studying a specific layer of jargon vocabulary, latest international words of US-English origin. The new alternative approach is supported by the positive results of the repeated associative experiment (Savilova, 2015). However, the stimuli were 16 words of foreign (borrowed) vocabulary students most frequently use in their forums in the Internet communities, for instance, in VKontakte, Students of TPU and others. The experiment participants were to complete two tasks: 1. *Read and explain in writing how you understand the sentences.* 2. *Do you use these words in your speech (yes/no)?* 25 foreign students of TPU were involved in the experiment: from China (6 people), Vietnam (7), Mongolia (4), Czech Republic(1), Nigeria (1), India (2), Kazakhstan (2), Kyrgyzstan (2). Their ages were between 20 and 26. We had 816 responses, 670 from them were positive (82 % of all the responses), 146 negative (18 %).

As the experiment results showed, the perception of foreign vocabulary by foreign students was high (82 % of the total responses). The meaning of most foreign words mentioned in the questionnaire was familiar to foreign students, there were only 18 % of negative responses, refusals to do the task.

So, the experiment showed a high level of foreign words perception of both Russian and foreign students. This was because most of the borrowed xenolexis come from English, which students learn

as a second foreign language; because students learn slang in the daily communications in their “code” language, student slang, which also includes foreign vocabulary. We need to mark that slang is not taught at special courses at university, which creates certain communication problems between foreign and Russian students.

Based on the results of the experiments, we have developed a special method of learning Russian as a foreign language by including English loans into students' lexical minimum. The method of continuous sampling of the most popular social networks of TPU students (both Russian-speaking and foreign) helped to select seven hundred foreign-language borrowings (international words), structured by the topics for study at RFL and speech practice courses or electives.

All the words were divided into three blocks:

- 1. “Teaching”: (Students and educational programs, modern educational technologies, learning place).
- 2. “Students' life”: (Dormitory, rooms, utility rooms, rent, new technologies, sport, work, economy, people names).
- 3. “Students' leisure”: (Night clubs, cinematography, informational technologies, social nets, games, dances, cosmetology, tourism, fashion, cafes and restaurants, cars).

As an example, we present the structure of latest borrowings from the thematic block “Students' leisure”, which includes 12 thematic groups (see Figure. 1). We recommend these words when studying topics; “sport”, “Internet”, “cinema”, “café, restaurant”, “cosmetics” and others. These borrowings noticeably facilitate their understanding and application due to identical phonetic sounding and lexical meaning in both English and Russian.

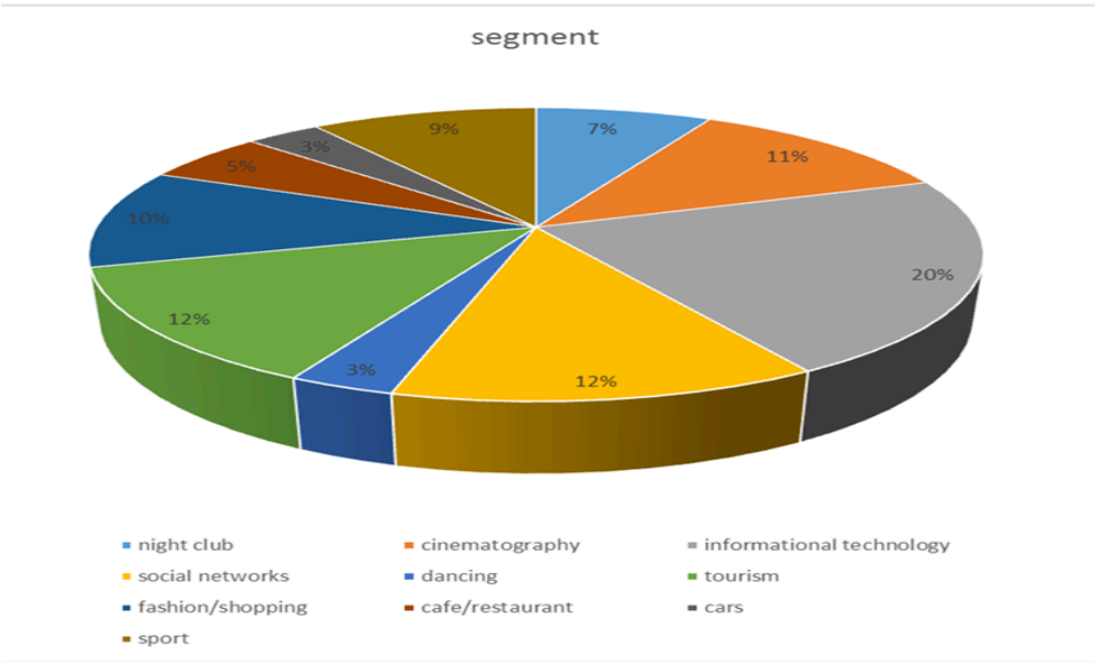


Figure 1. Thematic groups of Anglicisms in student discourse

Initially, students do exercises with a thematic group of Anglicisms with a brief commentary of their lexical meaning. The task of the student is to determine the relationship between the inner form of

the borrowed word and its meaning by identifying etymology and motivational relations between Russian and English words in their language consciousness. The thematic organization of vocabulary contributes to more efficient growth of the vocabulary, establishment of associative links. Here are some examples of thematic groups.

3.1. Cinematography

Bayopik [biopic] “biographical movie”, *bestseller* [best-seller] “popular movie”, *blokbaster* [blockbuster] “box-office movie”, *krossover* [crossover] “series based on mixing characters from two series”, *protsedural* [procedural] “detective series”, [sketch] “humorous piece”, [thriller] “exciting movie”, *bluper* [bloop] “deleted scene”, *kliffkhenger* [cliffhanger] “intriguing end of episode or series”, *saundtrek* [soundtrack] “melody after the film”, *fleshbek* [flashback] “trick to show the past of heroes”, *fleshforvard* [flashforward] “trick to show the future of heroes”, *pilot* [pilot] “experimental episode”, *sinopsis* [synopsis] “retelling of the episode”, *spoyler* [spoiler] “information about episodes which has not been released yet”, *treylar* [trailer] “movie preview”, *khiatus* [hiatus] “break”, *kast* [cast] “casting team”.

3.2. Social nets

Akkaunt [account] “account in social network”, *blog* [blog] “online-diary”, *instagramm* [Instagram] “service for posting and commenting on photos, videos”, *lamer* [lamer] “inexperienced user”, *login* [login] “name of account”, *luzer* [loser] “inexperienced user”, *rouming* [roaming] “international connection”, *sayt* [site] “space in the Internet”, *selfi* [selfie] “self-portrait”, *skayp* [skype] “video connection program”, *following* [following] “adding readers in Twitter”, *bluger* [blogger] “person writing a blog”, *trol'* [troll] “provoker of conflict or dispute in a network”, *follower* [follower] “reader of Twitter”, *layk* [like] “to like”, *smayl* [smile] “sign to convey emotions”, *Twitter* [twitter] “social network”, *kheshteg* [hashtag] “sign in social networks”, *zafreyndit'* [to friend] “add a friend in social nets”, *playlist* [playlist] “list of music tracks”, *rasfreyndit'* [to unfriend] “removed from friend's list”, *torrent* [torrent] “program for downloading and sharing files”, *troling* [trolling] “creating a conflict situation in a social network”.

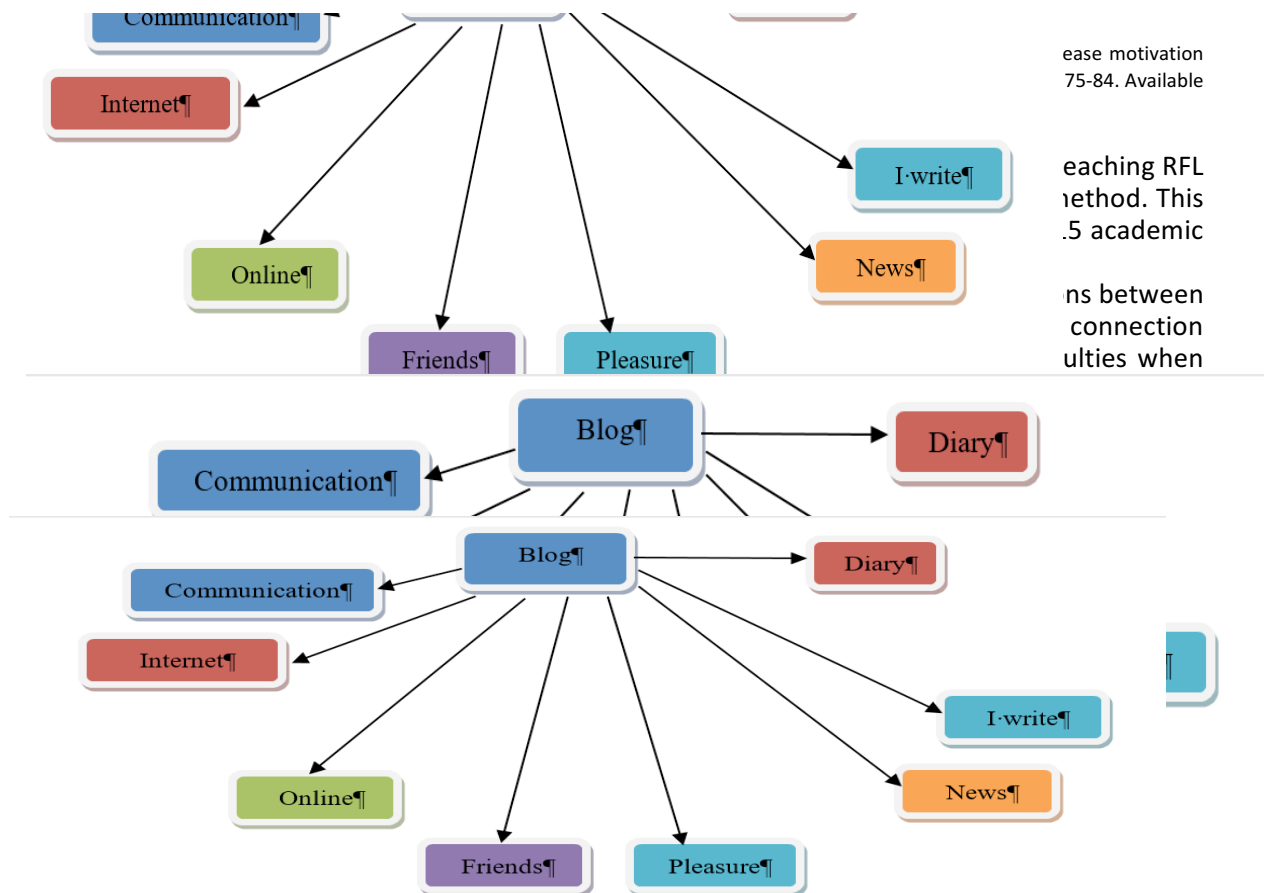
3.3. Fashion / shopping

Outlet [outlet] “store specializing in sales”, *diskaunter* [discount store] “sales center”, *sekond-khend* [second-hand] “pawnshop”, *shop* [shop] “shop”, *shou-rum* [showroom] “exhibition hall”, *dresskod* [dress code] “rules of dressing, style”, *dizayn* [design] “making decorations”, *casual/kezhel* [casual] “daily”, *leybl* [label] “label”, *lofery* [loafers] “shoes made of soft skin without heels and laces”, *print* [print] “print”, *sayz* [size] “size”, *svitshot* [sweatshirt] “polyurethane sweater”, *trend* [trend] “trend”, *seyl* [sale] “sale”, *shopping* [shopping] “time spent on shopping”, *shopper* [shopper] “person who likes to buy things”.

3.4. Sport

Dzhim [gym] “gym”, *parkur* [parkour] “type of sports with obstacles”, *rufing* [roofing] “sport competitions on roofs”, *geym* [game] “game”, *fitnes* [fitness] “type of sports based on keeping fit”, *sheyping* [shaping] “type of rhythmic gymnastics”.

The purpose of these exercises is to form an ability to analyze words as borrowings with due account for the bilingual students' specific linguistic consciousness.



After this, a group of words was formed, drawn together on the basis of personal associations, so their memorizing was motivated. Apart from that, new words of different parts of speech were identified, which is also grammar revision.

The second step was establishing logical connection between the given words: *shopping, pleasure, happiness, purchases, money, free time, buy off*. Here, the right context use is important, it allows to identify the odd one. The most difficult task was to make sentences with words “*shopping*” “*purchases*”, so that in one case they were synonyms, and in the other case not.

Table 1. Associative Connections

No	Association	Logical connections
1	Online-Internet.	Shopping: pleasure, happiness, purchases, money, free time, buy off.
2	Twitter-network.	Party: music, fun, friends, alcohol.
3	Shop-purchase.	Ban: prohibition, computer, forbidding.

In accordance with the presented purpose, the method of the teaching experiment has been determined, suggesting the use of thematic group organizing into relevant thematic lesson scenarios. For instance, the lexical-thematic group of foodstuff, meals and drinks was introduced in the curriculum of the “restaurant, cafe” program of RFL and speech practice classes, names of clothing and footwear in the “fashion, clothing, shoes; shopping, purchases” program, and so on.

Another example is an exercises to develop students' creative abilities in the perception of foreign vocabulary based on syntax structure semantization. Respondents were offered the following tasks: 1.

Read the sentences. Select the foreign words. Replace them with equivalent Russian words. 2. Use these sentences to write micro-texts; act out dialogues.

V outlete u nas poyavilas' vozmozhnost' kupit' tovary iz svezhikh kolleksiy, zaplativ vpolne razumnuyu summu [Outlets give us an opportunity to buy goods from new collections at a very reasonable price]. 2. *Odin iz samykh spornykh trendov etogo goda – eto prozrachnyye tkani* [One of the most controversial trends this year is transparent fabrics]. 3. *Tyazheley vsego poklonniki perenosyat letniy khiatus mezhdu sezonami seriala* [The hardest for series fans is to survive the summer hiatus between the seasons]. 4. *Yeshcho v detstve my s druz'yami prosto prygali, ne znaya, chto takoye parkur* [Back in childhood my friends and I used to simply jump without knowing what parkour is]. 5. *Moya podruga zanimayetsya sheypingom tri raza v nedelyu i soblyudayet osobyy rezhim pitaniya* [My friend practices shaping three times a week and keeps to a special diet].

Exercises of this type allow developing the skills of understanding and differentiation of semantic and stylistic assimilation of foreign vocabulary in context, analyzing unclear sentences by mastering the techniques of learning the internal structure of the word.

The exercises given as examples aim at the development of communication skills of foreign students in the perception of foreign-language texts. We structured the used material in a dictionary project for bilingual students studying Russian as a foreign language. The entry of this dictionary includes a minimal grammar commentary (gender, the singular genitive ending, mutability / immutability of the word), the lexical meaning of the word in Russian and English, the word's etymology, homonymy and polysemy (if necessary), illustrating contexts from the social network VKontakte or student youth newspaper UniverCITY (<http://www.uc.tomsk.ru/>) published in Tomsk from 2008 to 2013. The dictionary has about 700 nominations.

A sample entry is as follows.

Android. Russian: *android, -a* (S. Gen.), m. (from English *Androides* “humanoid”): an operating system for PCs, smartphones and other devices. “In the future we plan to release an application for Android and Windows Phone (<http://www.sweettrip.ru/>)” [UniverCITY, 113, March 16, 2013], “Galiya Burumbaeva: Better get Apple, I had an Android tablet, and I had a lot of problems with it, and my friends also had this OS, she had problems, too((((It is better to take a good one at once!!!! [<https://vk.com/wall-57308544>].

Russian: *Apgrad / abgreid, -a* (S. Gen.), m. (borrowed in the 1990s from English *upgrade*): update, upgrade, improvement, coll. “Ramin Abdulaev: Hmm . . . upgrade is required . . .” [VK TPU].

Russian: *Avatar, -a* (S. Gen.), m. (from English *avatar* “incarnation”): a user's picture or icon in social networks. “With this avatar you only upset people” [<https://vk.com/wall-57308544?q>].

Russian: *Banner, -a* (S. Gen.), m. (from English *banner*): 1) an advertising board in the shop window; 2) an advertising graphic image or text block that appears on the site and is a hyperlink. “Ekaterina Siluyanova: Egor, yes, but a banner about Polytechnic [University] was there before it (something like enter TPU, but I do not remember exactly)” [<https://vk.com/wall-57308544?q>].

Russian: *Vidzhet, -a* (S. Gen.), m. (from English *widget*): an auxiliary mini-program, a graphic module which is located in the space of the parent program and is a decoration of the workspace. “Alexander can you be more specific? What widget, what is it exactly that you want to check?” [<https://vk.com/feed?qsection=search>].

The dictionary project allowed to present the full list of English borrowings in the Russian language in a convenient form, which enables the teacher to use this vocabulary in the designing of different types of exercises.

4. Conclusion

Experimental work has shown that the student online discourse material selected for RFL teaching can be an effective means of teaching bilingual students.

The primary study revealed the features of the newest Anglicisms in Russian student Internet discourse that condition their specific learning by bilingual students. Based on the linguistic analysis of student online discourse containing the newest Anglicisms and on features of perception and assimilation of Anglicisms by foreign students, a set of exercises aimed at the mastery of the vocabulary in order to fully understand the student Internet discourse was theoretically proved and designed. From the analyzed texts of Internet communities, publications on routine, social, art and cultural issues were selected.

In addition, texts were selected as material for designing a set of exercises. The exercises were of two types, due to the specifics of the selected material:

- 1) Exercises on the use of Anglicisms as a support in the perception of online publications, communication.
- 2) Exercises aimed at preventing and overcoming interference.

The results of this study allow us to formulate recommendations for the methodological work on the development of skills of adequate perception of Anglicisms:

When teaching RFL, it is important to take into account the importance of Anglicisms as borrowed vocabulary. An important feature of Anglicisms is that they are words of the language students previously studied (of the intermediary language, too). At the initial stage of training, the new borrowed vocabulary can be used as a basis for reading and analyzing Internet-communication texts, which will create and enlarge students' potential vocabulary in both English and Russian. Secondly, in the bilingual audience, it is advisable to work on the Russian latest derivatives formed on the basis of new borrowings. Students' understanding of the importance of the borrowed root morpheme in derivative words facilitates the assimilation of Russian and borrowed productive word-formation models and affixes. Third, for bilingual students to learn the connotative component of word meanings, basic for a holistic understanding of Internet texts, we suggest using the technique of linguistic and cultural commentary.

The method of working with latest Anglicisms presented in the research is designed for advanced learners of RFL in a bilingual environment. Some exercises may be used at elementary levels.

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A morpho-semantic study of the diminutive suffix –æk in Persian

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Abstract

Diminution is a cognitive-mental process through which a core meaning of “smallness” and other connotative meanings are added to a linguistic form. The diminutive suffix –æk in Persian plays an active role in word-formation and is worthy of consideration. This study aims to provide a morpho-semantic and pragmatic analysis of –æk. The theoretical framework employed is based on Jurafsky (1996) and Lakoff’s Radial category (1987). The data consists of 212 words ending in –æk which have been collected in two ways: 1) Through a comprehensive search of Dehkhoda Dictionary (1998), and 2) On the authors’ native intuition and interviews with some native speakers. The following are the findings of the study: 1) The concepts “child” and “small” are prototypical in words ending in –æk, and can be considered the core meanings. Other meanings, such as “similarity”, “a small type of”, “relating to”, “place name”, “type of disease”, “affection”, “body jerks”, “disdain”, “plant name”, “mockery”, “bird/insect name”, “agent”, and “sympathy” are extensions of the core meanings through the use of metaphor, inference, or generalization. 2) The suffix –æk is derivational and its input and output are mostly nominal; however, in some occasions, adjectives and verb stems can be inputs to word-formation processes involving –æk. 3) Jurafsky’s framework accounts for Persian data to a great extent. Nevertheless, some of the suggested concepts in his network are not applicable to Persian, and there are concepts in Persian that have not been included in his proposed semantic network, and thus his framework needs to be slightly modified.

Keywords: diminution, radial category; Jurafsky, central meaning; peripheral meaning; meaning change mechanisms; Lambda abstraction

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1. Introduction

Diminution exists universally and contributes to arrays of meaning being created. Diminutive elements take various forms in different languages. They are often polysemous and rid languages of the need to create entirely new words by attaching to already existing stems. Jurafsky (1996) states that “the diminutive function ... is among the grammatical primitives which seem to occur universally or near-universally”. Like in other languages, diminution plays an important role in word formation processes in Persian and the suffix –æk seems to be more prominent among Persian’s diminutive suffixes due to its relatively high frequency of occurrence and range of meaning it produces. Previous studies on diminution in Persian are often too broad in scope and lack in precision; they mostly provide lists of the affixes used in this process along with the additional meanings they convey. Thus, the present study aims to answer the following questions: 1) How can word-forms ending in –æk be categorized morphologically and semantically? 2) What is the nature of the semantic network for the diminutive suffix –æk, and how are peripheral meanings to be distinguished from core meanings? 3) Can Jurafsky’s proposed framework account for the semantic network for the suffix –æk in Persian?

For the purposes of this study, 347 words were collected through a comprehensive search of the 15 volumes of Dehkhoda Dictionary (1998), and by interviewing a few native speakers of the language and benefiting from the authors’ intuitions. Then, simplex and complex words were separated from each other and 212 complex words were further categorized based on their stems and then analyzed according to Jurafsky’s radial category framework. To provide a more refined description of the data, the frequency of each category was also calculated.

2. An overview of previous research on diminution

Kasravi (n.d., as cited in Samsami, 1985) states that the suffix –æk is one of the marvels of the Persian language and although it is no more than a single letter of the alphabet (in writing), it obviates the need for thousands of words. He goes on to say that the suffix –æk is used in 18 cases: smallness, unimportance, sympathy, similarity, the derivation of adjectives from verbs, the derivation of nouns from adjectives, the generation of names for tools based on verbs, the creation of nouns from interjections, status, howness, femaleness, and showing certain kinds of relation (pp. 298-299). Other grammarians such as Zulnoor (1964), Panj Ostad (n.d.), Shari’at (2005), Natel Khanlari (1990), Anvari and Givi (1991), Sadeqi (1993), Kalbasi (2001), Arzhang (2002), and many others have tried to elucidate the nature of such suffixes and their meanings through rather personal perspectives. Peisikov (1973) and Lazard (2005) are the only non-Iranian scholars, that are known to have studied diminution in Persian.

Peisikov states that the suffix –æk (along with its variants like –væk, –fæk, –æke, etc.) are used in diminutive constructions to mean smallness, to express feelings, or to show sympathy or contempt. It also attaches to the root of some adjectives to add nuances of meaning (e.g. “a weak form of,” or “weakened”). According to Peisikov, the suffix –tje is also utilized to add the meaning of smallness to word forms, and other more or less frequent suffixes such as –e, –i, –u, and –ule (or sometimes –ul or –le, borrowed from Turkish) are used to convey the concepts of contempt, endearment, or smallness.

Lazard (2005) states that –æk derives from nouns or adjectives words with (more) concrete meanings. For instance, pær (= feather) / pær-æk (= a type of plant), mi:x (= nail) / mi:kh-æk (= carnation), æru:s (= bride) / æru:s-æk (= doll), and the like. He assigns the same use and meaning to the suffix –e and provides examples such as ti:q (= razor blade) / ti:q-e (= edge), jæva:n (= young) / jæva:n-e (= sprout or bud), etc.

Bialy (2013) goes through the range of connotative meanings resulting from diminution in Polish using literary texts such as stories and poems for children, and plays and novels intended for adults, demonstrating that connotative meanings are more frequent than denotative ones and then, after

introducing diminutive prototypical meanings and shedding some light on the concept of polysemy, goes on to argue that Taylor's (1995) framework –with an emphasis on the role of metonymy in the semantic expansion of diminutives– can better account for Polish than can Jurafsky's (1996).

3. Theoretical framework

Jurafsky (1996) is of the opinion that diminution originates as words relating to children. Thus, the semantic characteristics of the notion of “child” as the core concept in diminution historically precede practical, metaphorical, and referential meanings that are evoked from it. This stance dates back to Wierzbicka (1984) which declared the semantics of “child” responsible for pragmatic uses of diminution –an approach which was not satisfactorily developed at the time, but was expounded in Jurafsky (1996) and turned into a cardinal framework to be benefited from in accounting for synchronic and diachronic aspects of meaning of diminutives. Jurafsky (1996) first introduces two outstanding frameworks in the study of diminution, one aiming to benefit from the concept of polysemy to answer for the different meanings associated with diminutive forms, and the other, considering different meanings of diminutive forms as a direct result of meaning change (and its direction) in languages. The two can be combined by postulating a unique, universal radial category as in Lakoff (1987).

The radial category consists of a prototypical, core meaning and its conceptual extensions in a network of nodes and connections. The nodes are prototypes of meaning and the connections represent metaphorical extensions, shifts in mental schemas, shifts to other areas of meaning, and inferences. Thus, radial categories interpreted synchronically describe relationships evoked between different concepts relating to a polysemous form, and when construed diachronically, they reflect different processes involved in meaning change. Figure 1 represents Jurafsky's proposed radial category for diminution. There, the nodes are named after concepts and the connections are named after different processes responsible for meaning change, such as inference (I), metaphor (M), generalization (G), and Lambda abstraction (L). The area of semantics has been shown discretely from that of pragmatics and within each, different functions of diminution have been represented.

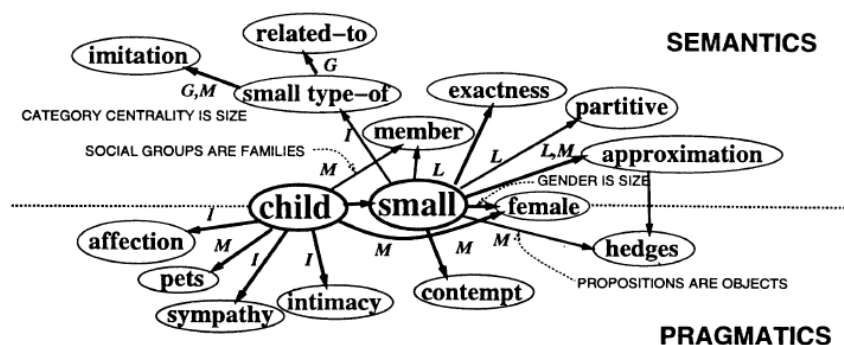


Figure 1. Proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutives

The radial category's greatest achievement is its ability to provide us with different ways to connect the various meanings of a polysemous word. From a diachronic point of view, each of the connections actualizes meaning change.

4. Analysis of the data and discussion

Here, the words ending in the suffix –æk have been categorized based on type and semantic category. Some examples have been provided.

4.1. Classification of words ending in the suffix –æk

4.1.1. Names of places

Here, the words refer to the names of some places. For example: Væn-æk, Pu:n-æk, Velendz-æk. The words have no distinguishable meaning and with the removal of the suffix, the remaining parts are meaningless as well.

4.1.2. Clothes

In this category, the words refer to items of clothing. For example: ʃælva:r-æk (shorts), pu:ʃ-æk (diapers), eyn-æk (glasses). The stems often have meaning: ʃælva:r (pants), pu:ʃ (wear), eyn (Arabic for eye).

4.1.3. Toys

The words in this group refer to toys. For example: ba:dba:d-æk (kite), ba:dkon-æk (balloon), æru:s-æk (doll). The stems are sometimes bound and sometimes free, but they have conceivable meanings: ba:dba:d (wind-wind, bound), ba:dkon (wind-do, bound), æru:s (bride, free).

4.1.4. Proper nouns

These words are mostly names of people or products. For example: Hæssæn-æk, Rouʃæn-æk, Ra:m-æk.

4.1.5. Foods

For example: sæng-æk (a type of bread), pæʃm-æk (cotton candy), rængi:n-æk (a type of dessert). The stems are usually free morphemes: sæng (stone), pæʃm (wool), rængi:n (colorful).

4.1.6. Names of tools or devices

For example: tʃang-æk (rake), kola:h-æk (warhead), na:rendz-æk (grenade), sæg-æk (buckle). The stems are mostly free morphemes: tʃæng (claw), kola:h (hat), na:rendz (sour orange), sæg (dog).

4.1.7. Parts of human or animal body

For example: qu:z-æk (ankle), ʃa:x-æk (antenna [as in the ones on a bee's head]), mærdom-æk (pupil).

4.1.8. Names of insects

For example: sændʒa:q-æk (dragonfly), kæʃʃdu:z-æk (ladybird), sha:hpær-æk (butterfly).

4.1.9. Body movements and jerks

For example: tʃeʃm-æk (wink), si:xu:n-æk (nudge), qelqel-æk (tickle).

4.2. Categorization of the stems accepting the suffix –æk:

4.2.1. Nouns

4.2.1.1. Abstract nouns

For example: mehr-æk (affection + -æk), nega:h-æk (look + -æk)

4.2.1.2. Names of items of clothing

For example: jælvar-æk (pants + -æk), kola:h-æk (hat + -æk), kafj-æk (shoe + -æk).

4.2.1.3. Names of materials

For example: sæng-æk (stone + -æk), bærf-æk (snow + -æk), pæfm-æk (wool + -æk).

4.2.1.4. Names of animals

For example: boz-æk (goat + -æk), xoru:s-æk (rooster + -æk), sæg-æk (dog + -æk).

4.2.1.5. Names of numbers

For example: dæh-æk (ten + -æk), sæd-æk (hundred + -æk).

4.2.1.6. Names of parts of the body

For example: ja:x-æk (horn + -æk), na:xu:n-æk (nail + -æk), tjejm-æk (eye + -æk).

4.2.1.7. Names of food

For example: jekær-æk (sugar + -æk), berendʒ-æk (rice + -æk), pæni:r-æk (cheese + -æk).

4.2.1.8. General nouns

For example: pu:l-æk (money + -æk), æru:s-æk (bride + -æk).

4.2.1.9. Proper nouns

For example: Hæssæn-æk (Hæssæn + -æk), Ru:dbar-æk (Ru:dbar + -æk).

4.2.2. Adjectives

For example: zærd-æk (yellow + -æk), sorx-æk (red + -æk), roʊfæn-æk (bright + -æk).

4.2.3. Verbs

For example: pu:f-æk (wear + -æk), roʊroʊ-æk (go + go + -æk).

4.3. Morphological processes involved

4.3.1. Derivation (frequency: 189)

For example: ænbor-æk (pliers + -æk), mi:x-æk (nail + -æk), pu:f-æk (wear + -æk).

4.3.2. Compounding (frequency: 5)

For example: zærd morq-æk (yellow + hen + -æk, the name of a plant), do ku:h-æk (two + mountain + -æk, the name of a place), se pær-æk (three + feather + -æk, the name of a plant).

4.3.3. Synthesis (frequency: 6)

For example: ba:d kon-æk (wind + do + -æk, balloon), qa:yem ba:f-æk (hide + be + -æk, hide and seek).

4.3.4. Reduplication plus derivation (frequency: 12)

For example: roʊroʊ-æk (go + go + -æk), ba:dba:d-æk (wind + wind + -æk), pærpær-æk (feather + feather + -æk).

4.4. Category of the resulting words from the combination of stems and –æk:

4.4.1. Nouns (frequency: 203)

For example: pi:tʃ-æk (screw + -æk), xær-æk (donkey + -æk), mu:f-æk (mouse + -æk).

4.4.2. Adjectives (frequency: 8)

For example: mælu:s-æk (cute + -æk), si:ya:h-æk (black + -æk).

4.4.3. Adverbs (frequency: 1)

For example: nærmnærm-æk (soft + soft + -æk).

4.5. Grammatical categories of the stems to which –ak can attach

4.5.1. Nouns (frequency: 152)

For example: bæxt-æk (luck + -æk), pæʃm-æk (wool + -æk), ʃa:x-æk (horn + -æk).

4.5.2. Adjectives (frequency: 42)

For example: gærm-æk (hot + -æk), sefi:d-æk (white + -æk).

4.5.3. Verbs (frequency: 5)

For example: pu:f-æk (wear + -æk), roʊroʊ-æk (go + go + -æk).

5. The semantic network for the suffix –æk in Persian

After categorizing the words containing –æk into different groups based on semantic and syntactic categories, we applied Jurafsky's framework to the data and the results show that the two meanings "small" and "child" are central while the other meanings are derived from them through the processes of metaphor, inference, generalization, and Lambda abstraction. The different meanings of the suffix –æk which comprise a network of meaning are child, small, small type of, similarity, disease, place,

body movements and jerks, names of birds or insects, plant names, agents, female reproductive organ, howness, affection, disdain, sympathy, and mockery.

From the above meanings, “similarity” with a frequency of 53 is the most common and it is followed by “small,” “small type of,” “place,” “name of disease,” “affection,” “body movements,” “names of plants,” “disdain,” “mockery,” and “names of birds and insects,” with frequencies of 48, 16, 15, 12, 9, 8, 8, 6, 3, and 2 respectively. Thus, the following diagram is suggested for the suffix –æk in Persian.

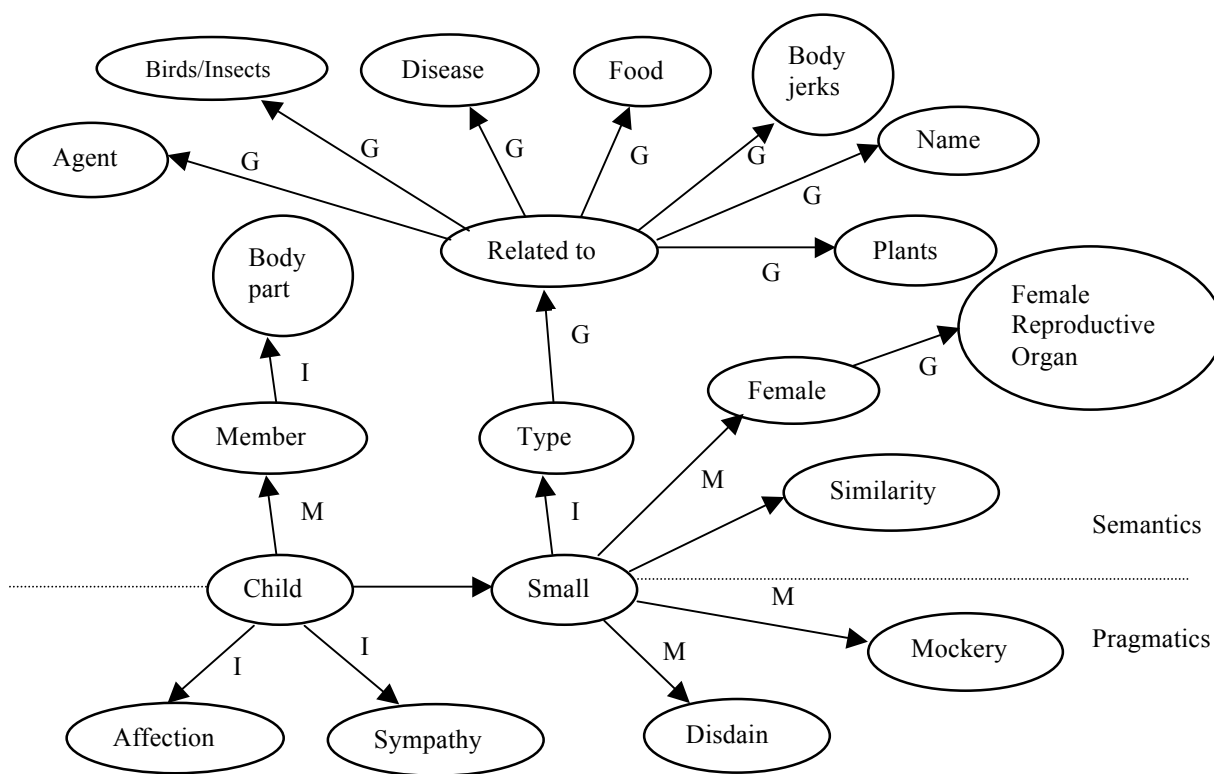


Figure 2. The proposed semantic network for the suffix –æk.

6. Conclusion

The following results were found after the analysis of the data: Complex words ending in –æk can be semantically categorized into the following 21 groups; 1) names of places, 2) foods, 3) howness, 4) general nouns, 5) animal names, 6) names of birds, 7) clothes, 8) number fractions, 9) names of insects, 10) toys, 11) tools, 12) names of disease, 13) abstract nouns, 14) parts of the body, 15) names of objects, 16) proper nouns, 17) qualities, 18) names of plants, 19) materials, 20) names of games, and 21) body movements. The words can be further categorized based on the morphological word-formation processes they go through into four groups; derivational, compound, synthetic, and reduplicated-derivational.

The diminutive suffix –æk has a semantic network in which the two meanings “small” and “child” are central while the other meanings are derived from them through the processes of metaphor, inference, generalization, and Lambda abstraction. These include: “similarity”, “a small type of”, “relating to”, “place name”, “type of disease”, “affection/admiration”, “body movements/jerks”, “disdain”, “plant name”, “non-seriousness/mockery”, “bird/insect name”, “agent”, and “sympathy”.

Jurafsky’s proposed framework can account for the Persian data for the most part; however, in the semantic domain, the following nodes need to be added to the diagram: name of disease, female reproductive organ, name of place, body movements and jerks, names of plants, and names of birds and insects. Also, it seems that the following are not applicable to Persian: approximation, exactness, and partitive.

Also, in the pragmatic domain, no examples of prevarication or pets were found. Instead, the concept of mockery was added to Jurafsky’s proposed framework. Additionally, it seems that Lambda abstraction plays little or no role in Persian as no examples of it were found in the data.

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A Morphologic Contrast on Korean and Chinese Third-Person Pronouns

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to contrast the morphologic characteristics of Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns, and then to consider the similarities and differentiae of them through the perspectives of contrastive linguistics. Before the contrast, we made the analysis of preceding researches, and systemized the analyses of the preceding researches into objects that can be contrasted. After that, we analyzed their morphologic features through analyzing many example sentences. In addition, the contrastive analysis of them was made to identify the similarities and differentiae of their usages. From the morphologic viewpoint, whether the modification occurs or not was the point; from the syntactic viewpoints, the components of sentence and the grammatical usages were the main points. When the meaning of respecting turns up, Korean third-person pronouns have modifications, and Chinese third-person pronouns can achieve it through the change of syntactic structure.

Keywords: contrastive study; third-person pronouns; morphologic change; honorific forms;

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to contrast the morphologic features of Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns, and then to consider the similarities and differentiae of them through the perspectives of contrastive linguistics. Based on this result that we can provide much help for the learning and using of these third-person pronouns for Korean-studying Chinese students and Chinese-studying Korean students. Pronoun is an important grammar element in both Korean and Chinese; and the usages of it in these two languages are different. As we know that Korean and Chinese belong to different language families. Korean is an agglutinative language; and Chinese is an isolating language. That's the reason these two languages have many dissimilar features.

Generally speaking, the third-person pronouns are used very frequently in English, not just in the daily life, but also in the written language. How about the situation in Korean and Chinese? In Korean, they are not that frequently used, actually they are used very rarely in the daily life. We only can find them in the novels, poetry or songs at most time. In Chinese, they are used very frequently in the daily life and the written language. Therefore, for Korean-studying Chinese students, it's extremely difficult to master how to use Korean third-person pronouns correctly.

2. The review of previous studies

The studies about Korean third-person pronouns were not great many. Strictly speaking, the studies about the Korean pronouns were numerous, but about the third-person pronouns were few in quantity. The reason can be summed up as that the classification of pronouns is greatly distinct by different scholars and the definition of third-pronouns is highly dissimilar as well. In other words, we can only obtain a relatively universally accepted definition and classification about Korean third-person pronouns, but not a completely accepted one. It means that the first step of this study should be reorganizing Korean third-person pronouns under the contrastive linguistics. Only in this way can the Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns be contrasted with each other under the same grammatical background.

Primarily Korean third-person pronouns should be reorganized first. We reorganize it in two aspects. One is the definition, and the other is the classification. For reorganizing the definition of Korean third-person pronouns and their classification, we will contemplate two kinds of standpoint, namely from the traditional grammatical standpoint and the Western linguistic standpoint. The representative scholar of traditional grammatical standpoint is Choi, (1937,1961); and the representative scholars of western linguistic are Lee & Lim, (1983), Nam & Ko, (1985,1993), Lee & Lee, (1994), Kim, (1995,1997) and Seo, (1996). Choi, (1937/1961), initially defines the Korean pronoun and the classification of Korean pronouns was built. According to his book, the Korean pronouns were divided into 4 sub-classifications as first-person, second-person, third-person and extensively indicating. The definition of third-person pronouns could be reorganized as "pointing to the person, object, thing, place, or direction in the speech". In Choi's view, not only the person, but also the other things like inanimate objects like thing, place or direction etc. belong to the third-person pronouns. Choi believes that the third-person pronouns can be classified as into categories, namely definitely indicating and indefinitely indicating. How to distinguish these two kinds? It's on the basis of the necessity of pointing out the object. If the object is indicating directly, and it's the definitely indicating; otherwise, it's indefinitely indicating. As coming to modern time, the Western linguistic theories has spread across the world. Naturally the linguistic theories of Korean are also affected. Without doubt, a great deal of Korean scholars are influenced by these theories.

About Chinese pronoun and third-person pronoun, it's similar with Korean, which can be analyzed with traditional grammar and Western linguistics. On the contrary, the views of Chinese third-person

pronoun are varied, but it still can be reorganized. Table 2. demonstrates the reorganization of two typical viewpoints.

To sum up the previous reorganization and take account of contrast, the conclusion here is as Table 3. below. This paper claims that Korean third-person pronouns undertake Kim, (1995, 1997), and Chinese third-person pronouns undertake Liu, Pan & Gu, (2001).

Table 1. Choi's system of Korean third-person pronouns.

Third-person pronoun	Indicant	The necessary of pointing out the object
	Person	Definitely indicating
	Object Thing Place	Indefinitely indicating
	Direction	

Table 2. The reorganization of Chinese third-person pronouns.

Scholars	Linguistic theories	Definition	Classification	Words
Li, & Thompson, (1981)	Traditional grammar & western linguistic	Refers to an entity whose identity is already established before	Person and object	ta(他), ta(他), ta(它)
Liu, Pan & Gu, (2004)	Traditional grammar & western linguistic	Refers to the person or object beyond the both sides of discourse	Person and object	ta(他), ta(他), ta(它) and etc.

Table 3. The research objects.

Korean third-person pronouns	Chinese third-person pronouns	English third-person pronouns
geu	ta	he
geunyeo	ta	she
igeot, geugeot, jeogeot/l, geu, jeo	ta	It
geu/geunyeo etc+ deul	ta+men	they
	Other expressions: bieren, renjia	

3. The morphologic contrast of Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns

For contrasting Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns under morphologic perspectives, we should observe from the Korean morphologic characteristics and then find the morphologic features of Korean third-person pronouns.

3.1. Morphologic change

As we know, the usages of postpositions are very developed in Korean, and the postpositions are combined with substantives in sentences. Indeed, pronoun is one of the substantive. That's to say, the third-person pronouns are combined with postpositions in the same way. Sometimes the morphologic change of third-person pronoun and postposition is not occurred. However, they are occurred in some specific situations. Let's see the concrete examples.

- (1) 동석은 그녀의 이름을 불렀다.
Dongseok-eun geunyeo-ui ireum-eul bulreossda.
Dongseok-PR she-GC name-ACC call-PST-DECL
Dongseok called her name.
- (2) 그 애가 내 친구의 동생이다.
geuae-ga nae chingu-ui dongsaengida.
That person-NOM my friend-GC sister/brother-PM-DECL
That person is my friend's sister/brother.

The first example shows the non-morphologic change, and the second shows that *geuae* can change to other forms like *geu i*, *geu saram* etc. *geunyeo* is just like "she" in English, and its form is extremely constant; and the forms of third-person pronouns like *geuae* which is the combination of demonstrative determiner and dependent noun are easily changed to other similar form. In addition, the abbreviation of it can be found in spoken Korean as '*gyae*(개)'. Basically in Chinese, there is no morphologic change. However, there is a special case like '*de*(的)' which is structural word in Chinese. When third-person combines to show the meaning of 'his', the usage is the same as Korean third-person.

- (3) his-- geu ui(그의)
ta de(他的)

In the third example both *geu* and *ta* are third-person pronouns, and *ui* and *de* are the semantic mark showing the meaning of possession. In this point, Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns are highly similar. Furthermore, the plural forms of third-person pronouns are similar.

- (4) Korean mark of plural form: 'deul(들)'
Chinese mark of plural form: 'men(们)'

As the fourth example demonstrates the plural form of these two language is that the third-person pronouns are combining respective the marks of plural forms. By all accounts, we can make a contrast form of morphologic characteristics.

Table 4. The morphologic contrast of third-person pronouns.

Third-person pronouns (Kor – Chn)	Morphologic change(Korean)	Morphologic change(Chinese)
geu - ta	X	X
geunyeo - ta	X	X
igeot, geugeot, jeogeot/l, geu, jeo - ta	O	X
Plural-deul - men	O	O
X - other expressions	-	X

3.2. The honorific forms

In oriental culture, the honorific forms are used very frequently when people mention a senior citizen, superiors or the elders. Both in Korean and Chinese, the third person pronoun is hardly used to imply respect. The proper nouns like name, job title, words that can show somebody's social status can be utilized in these circumstances. In this regard, Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns are analogous. On the other hand, we can also observe the differences. To take a case in this point, let's see the examples below.

- (5) 爷爷的手艺很好, 大家都喜欢爷爷做的面包.

yeyede shouyi hen hao, dajia dou xihuan yeye zuode mianbao.

grandpa-GC skill very good, everybody all like grandpa make-PST bread

Grandpa is very good at baking, and everybody likes his bread.
- (6) 할아버지께서 요리솜씨가 좋으시고 다들 할아버지가 만드신 빵을 좋아한다.

halahbeojikkaeseo yorisomssika joeusiko dadeul halahbeojika mandeusin bbangeul joahanda.

grandpa-HON cooking skill-NOM good-HON-PROG everybody grandpa-NOM make-HON-PST bread-ACC like-PRES-DECL

Grandpa is very good at baking, and everybody likes his bread.

The example (5) and (6) have the same meaning. Both in (5) and (6), no third-person pronouns are used, but the address form "grandpa". In (5), it should be 'his' in English; however, it's "grandpa make-PST" in Chinese, which emphasizes the bread that is made by grandpa is likeable. "grandpa make-PST" as an honorific form here shows the respect to the grandpa. In (6), we can see that not only the word grandpa, but also the complete honorific system. We can see the honorific marker *kkaeseo* after the word grandpa, the honorific pre-final ending *si*, which is after the word stem to show the respect.

As a result, both Korean and Chinese third-pronouns are not used for showing respect. In Chinese the address form of word is used to express the respect mildly and indirectly. It's a simple syntactic form. By contrast, in Korean not just the address form, we also can consider the honorific marker *kkaeseo* and the honorific pre-final ending *si*, which means that it's a complete morphologic and syntactic form.

4. Conclusion

This paper contrasted Korean and Chinese third-person pronouns and considered the similarities and differences drawing on the contrast of morphologic perspectives. By analyzing the similarities and differences of these two third-person pronouns, it makes an attempt to show that as two languages from the oriental culture area, their third-person pronouns share many morphologic and pragmatic characteristics, nevertheless, the usages of them are greatly different. They have many differences on

morphologic characteristics. For showing the honorific form, it's unlikely that both the two third-person pronouns are used; and the specific usages have their certain characteristics.

Additionally, this paper hardly takes a critical view of the third-person pronouns, but focuses on the contrast of them. It can be thought as a limitation. Therefore, for the proper criticalness and the higher reliability and objectivity, it's hoped that observing and analyzing the third-person pronouns with corpus, especially the parallel corpus like Korean-Chinese or Chinese-Korean in the future work.

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The Effects of Generating Questions and Raising Discussion on L2 Critical Reading

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Abstract

The current study seeks to explore the effects of generating questions and raising discussion, on the improvement of critical reading of English learners. 53 participants were divided into 3 groups, one control group and two experimental groups. For one experimental group the strategy of question generation was selected and for the other the strategy of raising discussion. After conducting the pre-test, the instructional session and the post-test, the writings of the learners were scored by two raters. ANOVA was the selected test. Result indicated that the two strategies have positive impact on the enhancement of critical reading of the participants ($F_{2, 50} = 26.491$, $p = .0001 < .05$). The study has some implications for language instructors and material developers to assist promoting critical reading and critical thinking of the EFL learners.

Keywords: critical thinking; critical reading; Questioning; discussion;

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1. Introduction

Thinking deeply and critically is an essential skill for educational and non-educational settings. There is desperate need for powerful thinking in this challenging, threatening and changing world (Paul and Elder, 2002; Halpern, 2003). Each person in any field should be able to think well and language learning is a field of study which is not an exception. In language learning, reading is one of the important skills, so it is very important to help the learners improve their ability to read and comprehend a text. In teaching reading different aspects should be considered, and among them is to teach learners how to get the most out of their reading, one way to accomplish this end is to ask students to read a text and respond to it critically. However unfortunately this great opportunity to raise the ability of thinking of students is ignored in the EFL classrooms by many teachers and instructors, one reason of this ignorance perhaps is that a few researches were conducted in this field and the importance of it was not proved to teachers and instructors of language learning. According to Akbari "critical idea is out of schools' curricula by social forces controlling education and society." (Akbari, 2008). Whatever the reason, the particular contribution of reading comprehension strategies towards critical thinking and also literally reading in the foreign and second language have remained unaddressed. This paper attempts to fill this gap, to this end the impact of reading literal short stories in the second language with two reading comprehension strategies on critical reading and critical thinking of learners is examined. The strategy of generating questions and raising discussion are chosen as two powerful strategies for conducting the research.

1.1. Research questions

1. Will reading strategy of generating questions result in the enhancement of critical reading of literal short stories of the EFL learners?
2. Will reading strategy of raising discussion and debate result in the enhancement of critical reading of literal short stories of EFL learners?
3. Which strategy is more effective in the enhancement of critical reading of literal short stories of EFL learners, generating questions or raising discussion and debate?

2. Review of literature

There are different definitions for critical thinking by different scholars; Paul and Elder (2008) claimed that critical thinking is an art which is very valuable, on the other hand shoddy thinking has some negative consequences for the quality of life. Vallis (2010) put it more simply and defined it as the cognitive ability of paying attention to the way that thinking take place when questions are asked and answers are received. In these definitions critical thinking is an ability that should be acquired. Critical thinking is also important in education, Lu (2013) believed that critical thinking is an essential and needed competence that university students should acquire. He claimed that in a foreign language class including critical thinking is easy since "A foreign language is believed to empower students to expand their worldview and live in a more diverse society" (Lu, 2013). Khatib and Alizade (2012) in their study examined the type of reading material on the enhancement of critical thinking. They concluded that literary texts due to their richness in inferring and reasoning improve both critical thinking and reading comprehension ability. Paul and Elder (2005) mentioned that it is essential for a good thinker to be a powerful questioner; they believe that as much as fresh questions are generated, different fields of studies and disciplines survive to be alive and on the absence of questions they will die. Rosenshine, Meister and Chapman (1996) investigated through 26 studies that were conducted to see the effect of "cognitive strategy" of generating questions on improving the comprehension of students. The result of their review indicated that the studies showed a gain in comprehension when this strategy was used. Urlaub (2012) also conducted a research on the effect of generating questions on the improvement of critical thinking on 22 German learners. He divided them into two groups one

experimental and one control group. The treatment for the control group was transmission of factual knowledge. For the experimental group in order to help students to acquire questioning skills an e-learning tool was used. The result of his study indicated that question generation improved critical thinking of the participants. Halverson (2005) believed that Debate encourages students to think about the different sides of an issue and it also forces them to interact both with the details of a given topic and with one another. On researching the impact of teaching critical thinking on Iranian EFL learners Fahim and Sa'eepour (2011) tested the use of debate as one of the strategies of critical thinking. They selected some topics from different books and used them in the classroom as a debate tool, however the result of their study did not indicate a significant improvement in the critical thinking of the learners. On the other hand the reading comprehension of the learners did improve significantly.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

In this study there were 53 advanced and upper-intermediate language learners. The participants were randomly divided in three groups, two experimental and one control group, the learners took part in a pre-test and a post-test which were the same for all three groups. There was an instructional session applying the reading strategy of generating questions for one experimental group and the reading strategy of raising discussion and debate for the other experimental group. For the control group just some information about short stories and elements of them were given to the learners.

3.2. Materials

An Oxford placement test was used to show the students' level and three short stories were given to students which were: *The Ninny* by Anton Chekhov, *The Story of an Hour* by Kate Chopin and *The Cat in the Rain* by Ernest Hemingway, which are critically challenging. For rating the scores of pre-test and post-test the Bloom's rubric was used, which was adopted from Urlaub (2012).

3.3. Data collection procedure

3.3.1. Pretest

The pre-test of the story was the same for all the participants in this study. In a 90-minute session the story *The Ninny* by Anton Chekhov was given to students, they read the story and then they were asked to write a short summary and a critical analysis of the story.

3.3.2. Application

In the instructional session the short story *The Story of an Hour* was given to students but two different reading strategies were applied for the two experimental groups. However for both groups first some simple but crucial elements of short stories such as character, setting, plot and conflict were briefly taught. For the control group just some information about story reading and elements of short story was given.

3.3.3. Posttest

The post-test was the same as the pre-test. The short story *The Cat in the Rain* by Ernest Hemingway was given to all three groups of learners and after reading it the students were asked to write a short summary and a critical analysis of the story.

3.4. Scoring and analysis procedure

The scoring of the tests was carried out by two raters who were familiar with the criticism and analysis of literary texts. The raters did not know whether the interpretation of the stories were written before or after the application and also they were not informed if the subjects were members of the experimental group or the control group. Raters were asked to score the writings according to the rubric introduced by Bloom and they were asked to score holistically according to their experience and intuition. An interrater reliability analysis using the Kappa statistic was performed to determine consistency among raters. For the analysis of the data, the performance of all the three groups in both pretest and posttest and the scores received by the two rater were compared through One-Way ANOVA. The independent variable was the three groups of the learners and the dependent variables were the scores of their pretest and posttest.

4. Results

4.1. Interrater reliability

Two raters scored 106 essays, 53 pretest and 53 posttest essays. Each of the participants’ two essays received a score between 0 and 3 based on the rating rubric. The inter-rater reliability was assessed through Cohen’s kappa coefficient and it was found to be $K = 0.60$ with $p < 0.001$. According to the standards defined by Landis and Koch (1977) this value indicates substantial inter-rater reliability and suggests the design of the rating scale and the rater training was desirable.

4.2. Pretest results

In order to check if there was any significant difference across the three groups of learners One-way ANOVA was conducted and the participants’ scores of the pre-test were checked through it. The mean score of the three groups were not very different. Mean score of the first experimental group that was the group with the strategy of discussion and debate was the highest ($M = .28$, $SD = .461$). The mean score for the control group ($M = .26$, $SD = .452$), and for the second experimental group that was the group with the strategy of generating questions was the lowest ($M = .19$, $SD = .403$). There was no significant difference across the three groups, so the three groups of participants were homogeneous prior to the experiment. The result of the one way ANOVA revealed that all the three groups were homogeneous and there was not any significance difference among them ($F_{2, 50} = .202$, $p = .818 > .05$). table 1 indicates the result.

Table 1. ANOVA Results of the 3 groups in the pretest

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
Between Groups	.078	2	.039	.202	.818
Within Groups	9.733	50	.195		

4.3. Posttest results

After the experience and implementation of the posttest in order to see the performance of participants on the posttest another one-way ANOVA was performed and the differences across the groups were examined. According to the Descriptive statistics the mean score for the experimental group with the strategy of generating questions was the highest ($M = 1.88$ $SD = .619$), the mean score for the experimental group with the strategy of raising discussion and debate was ($M = .83$ $SD = .786$), and the mean score for the control group was the lowest ($M = .32$ $SD = .478$). As it is illustrated in the below table it is clear that the experimental group with the strategy of generating questions outperformed the other two groups, it is also evident that the group with the strategy of raising discussion and debate acted better than the control group. The result of the posttest provided by one-way ANOVA indicated that there is a significance difference across the three groups of participants since the main effect of the groups is statistically significant ($F_{2,50} = 26.491$, $p = .0001 < .05$).

Table 2. ANOVA Results of the 3 groups in the posttest

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
Between Groups	21.569	2	10.785	26.491	.000
Within Groups	20.355	50	.407		

To see where the differences lay the Bonferroni post-hoc test was employed. The results of this analysis are shown in table 3.

Table 3. Bonferroni test results of the 3 groups posttest

	(I) group	(J) group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bonferroni	experimental-debate	experimental-questioning	-1.042 [*]	.219	.000
		control	.518	.210	.051
	experimental-questioning	experimental-debate	1.042 [*]	.219	.000
		control	1.559 [*]	.216	.000
	control	experimental-debate	-.518	.210	.051
		experimental-questioning	-1.559 [*]	.216	.000

According to the post-hoc results the difference between the two experimental group is significant ($p = .000 < .05$), the difference between the question generation group and control group is also significant ($p = .000 < .05$), however the difference between the debate group and control group is not very significant ($p = .051 > .05$).

5. Conclusion and discussion

The results of the quantitative analysis indicate that the performance of all participants improved between the pretest and the posttest stages. The treatment of both experimental groups and the control group led to enhancement of the critical thinking of the participants. The similarity between the pretest and posttest design may have had some effect on the better performance of the participants in the posttest, however the improvement was not equal for the three groups. The experimental groups outperformed the control group and this is indicative of the effectiveness of the reading strategies. According to the results of data analysis, strategy of question generation will improve critical thinking and reading of the learners. This finding is in line with Urlaub (2012). When students ask questions about a text and try to answer these questions they are involved with the text, the more they ask questions, the more they get involved and this involvement with the text engages them to the process of thinking. Discussing about short stories and having debates about them also ends in the enhancement of critical reading of the EFL learners. Fahim and Sa'ee pour (2011) also concluded that the debater has a small improvement in their critical thinking. Discussing about things and hearing different ideas on them will help opening the mind even if one has got a dogmatic personality that is close to different opinions. As it was shown in the previous chapter the strategy of question generation has led to a better result than the strategy of raising discussion and debate. The reason can be that, questioning is an activity that involves more thinking than discussing. Questions usually lead to more questions and the process of answering them needs more thinking and involvement, besides when learners try to ask questions for both asking and answering questions they should refer to the text and read some parts of it and this rereading may lead to more understanding, some unknown or hidden parts or details that were ignored in the first reading may be revealed in rereading a text, however when learners discuss a text they do not refer back to it a lot and try to discuss the parts they understood in the first reading and ignore the details and the parts they have difficulty reading. They just try to give some personal ideas about the texts and do not involve in reading beyond the text so they do not engage in thinking as much as the questioning group do. Using literary texts also, as Khatib and Alizade (2012) concluded in their study, can promote critical thinking. Both strategies had some positive impact on the improvement of critical reading of the learners, however the use of question generation is more recommended since it was proved to be more effective. So language instructors and material developers can take these results into consideration and by merging these strategies and also literal short stories into books and classrooms help learners in enhancing critical reading and critical thinking.

Appendix

Rating Rubric by Bloom

0 The essay is a summary of the text. The essay paraphrases the text's content. The learner shows no motivation or ability to analyze the meaning of characters, items, events, locations or formal features of the text.

1 The essay is an interpretation, but the interaction between text and reader lacks depth. It only presents one possibility to understand the text, and it understands this interpretation as the only right answer. The learner may also argue based on ideas that have been rehearsed in the classroom many times before. Obvious misreadings occur due to linguistic difficulties and the lack of cultural background knowledge.

2 The essay is an interpretation that provides a thoughtful analysis of the text. Multiple positions are considered. The interpretation is based partly on the student's original thoughts and does not merely reproduce previous classroom discussions. However, the writer neither compares or contrasts the multiple perspectives nor makes a commitment to one interpretation. Fewer obvious misreadings occur, and these are rarely due to linguistic difficulties, but rather to the lack of cultural background knowledge.

3 The essay is an interpretation that provides a thoughtful analysis of the text. Multiple perspectives are assumed, which are partly based on the student's original thoughts. The writer is also able to contrast these perspectives and shows commitment to his interpretation. Very few or no obvious misreadings occur.

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The theory of multilingualism in Albania.

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Abstract

Until the 60s in the XX century, in Europe, foreign languages were a privilege aimed just for the rich, the educated and some other people who had specific crafts. Today in Europe and Albania, the foreign languages are part of the daily activities of lots of people. These languages enable getting and using a variety of information and nowadays this process is becoming easier and easier thanks to the increasing number of people who know one or even more foreign languages. Everybody knows and expresses the fact that foreign languages are a “must”. The question which arises immediately after that is which of these languages we should learn. While attempting to answer the first one, there arises the second question, the third one and so on. What is communication like today? What will it be like in the future? Starting from the moment we think and dream about a future, there are still concrete opportunities to be analyzed so as to how we can get there. Along this article, we will reflect on communication today and we will describe the challenges that teaching foreign languages in Albanian schools should face. According to the statistics of the Eurobarometer in Europe (2006) the biggest part of Europeans (65%) first get in touch with the foreign languages at school. It is school which enables the longest contact with the foreign languages. This fact makes school the most important and the most critical element to be studied compared to the supportive policies of multilingualism in communication.

Keywords: languages; education; multilingualism; communication;

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1. Introduction

The subject of teaching foreign languages belongs to the educational system of every country and this system is responsible for the quality and maintenance of the whole lesson process (Atlan, 2000). Regarding this matter, the Albanian system should raise its questions about updating and the results of the actual methods, but their analyses are not the aim of this speech. We aim to directly treat the contradiction which the Albanian teaching system faces nowadays, in accordance with the public or social request to follow the thesis 'only English' and the approved policy by the Albanian state which supports 'multilingualism'. To achieve this we should analyze the linguistic environment in our country, the European environment as well as the global one. This requires giving a critical glance to the environment where we live today, where we want to live tomorrow and the chances we have to achieve our aims. The facts reflect that it is this environment which conditions the practicalities of teaching foreign languages. Today we are facing a dilemma: which foreign languages should we teach our pupils, students or children in Albania. Should we follow a neighbor policy or country economic relationship, thus encouraging the teaching of Italian, Greek, Turkish, or should we act in accordance with the orientations imposed by a European or global linguistic policy and which are the contradictions it brings along?

2. Foreign languages in XXI century

Let's see how communication is represented nowadays.

By analyzing the last decades, we notice a rapid growth of contacts with foreign information, of communication and interactivity which surpasses the national boundaries, of linguistics and cultures. Thanks to the media, the information and general technology means development, everybody, by making use of three mouse clicks, can get data from every civilization and every language in the world. We can have a low cost global communication by means of either the telephone, electronic mail or virtual communication. Travelling beyond national boundaries has become quicker, more economical and more ordinary. Spending a weekend in a city which is a thousand kilometers far away seems as normal as a business trip for a couple of days in another continent. More and more private businesses are becoming active internationally. They make business deals with foreign countries, buy and sell, exchange services with lots of countries which speak different languages. Employers have to communicate with foreign customers, to briefly travel to foreign countries with other cultural development and where other languages have been developed. In the meantime, if we analyzed the scientific development, the scientific editions are globally widespread. Nowadays scientists and researchers put up virtual working groups or they work abroad, in international working groups. Eventually the students are the ones who are getting ready for this world, let's call it modern, and we have recently noticed that many of them have increased their requests and aims to attend courses, part or full time studies abroad, even without going to these places, but directly through computers.

This is what we often call 'globalism'. This world process is intensively developing in Europe because of the economic and political unification processes.

3. Let's stop on what we call "the languages' dynamics"

It has been scientifically proved that when a group of people who have different native languages meet for an X reason, and they are asked to communicate with one another, there is always a language which tends to collect more communicators and naturally there comes an immediate tendency to preserve that language as a means of communication within the group. If this language preserves the same status in different and numerous groups, then we will have even more people who do not practice this language, becoming more aware to use it. Thus we will have a language with a privileged status getting even more reinforced (Brodin, 2007).

Based on this notification which greatly supports the pragmatic and theoretical viewpoints, we conclude that this is what has happened to the English language nowadays. This is the reason why we fully support the theory of English for international communication. With all the official declarations of the European Community in favor of multilingualism, the English language continues to stand on top of the languages pyramid, thus being more easily comprehended. Regarding the other languages' dynamics, all countries, including here even Albania, try to orientate this movement by following some criteria which have been set without making any specific study, that's why I would call it sensing rather than criteria. A really clear indicator of this dynamics is the fact that just a few years ago, in Albanian cities, the schools were separated into 50 % English and 50 % French, whereas today this percentage has varied and the parents choose their children's schools in accordance to the foreign language they teach. A deep avoidance of the French language is noticed and there is a great tendency to substitute it with the English and German languages. We can mention here an example from a secondary school in Elbasan "Sul Harri" where the pupils of the fifth class in 2012 – 2013 studied French as a second language and then in the sixth class in 2013 – 2014 they stopped learning French in order to learn German. Should we accept the fatality of this 'languages dynamics' making it evident that the English language in itself isn't the real matter, but it is the general linguistic hegemony without considering on which language's benefit it is used. If we analyze this question, we should consider all the elements which make up this matter because we can't limit ourselves just on the communication matter and the symbolic aspects it includes, though they are an important part of reality. I think that first of all we should measure the considerable economic size which the linguistic hegemony brings to the countries or places which have a native language set in a hegemonic position. By concretely analyzing the hegemony of the English Language, we can mention some of its consequences.

- Firstly we have the creation of huge monopolies in the translation, interpretation, English texts publishing, English teaching and the production of pedagogical materials to make that possible.
- Secondly, the English gain a great saving of time and money in international communication whereas the others have to attempt, to spend time and money to learn this language, to communicate through it and to profit by the messages it's transmitted.
- The English save time and money even for the fact that they don't have to learn other foreign languages.
- The English have the opportunity to invest what they didn't spend on learning foreign languages in other areas.
- The English have a dominant position in every situation of negotiation, they stand higher than the competitors and profit from the English language to choose the conflicts in their favor (Demaiziere & Narcy-Combes, 2005).

The existence of these consequences is often surpassed and up to now we have no detailed studies though the number of Albanian children registered in English courses increases and the methods of teaching English advance, are updated and sold at an incredible speed.

I am convinced that if something like this happened in all other areas of public policies, it would soon be considered as unacceptable. If one day, I hope soon, Albania becomes part of the European community, it will stand in the position of the loser as most of the other countries which already have this status.

4. Which are the probable linguistic policies?

Are there any economical linguistic policies? If such policies do exist, what are the measures to be undertaken in order to apply them? Let's analyze two possible scenarios.

The first scenario is the one of the multilingualism. We can define multilingualism as the linguistic regime organized in such a way that it enables inter – European communication in many languages (Narcy-Combes, 2006). Obviously this scenario ends the hegemony of the English language.

The second scenario, theoretically, could be the one of finding or developing an artificial language belonging to no one, just like Esperanto, which could be adjusted as an international communication language for everyone.

From an economic viewpoint, this second scenario would obviously be the best choice for Albania, as well as for every non – English country. This imaginary language would avoid the consequences we mentioned above, thus making everyone attempt to translate and interpret from native language to the so called international one. This process would be far more economic as it would be spent for the learning of a unique language which would be easier than English or any other languages to acquire.

If we give a brief glance to the scenario of multilingualism, it won't result more economic as we suppose that the learning of every language costs more or less as the learning of English, but if we have to see the glass as half full rather than half empty, we can say that multilingualism gives to every language an equal weight to the demographic weight of the community who speaks it.

So though briefly, we see that there are other alternatives apart from the thesis 'everything English'.

When we talk about linguistics it is the same as when we talk about ecology because the decisions made in these areas are effective only when they are taken and undertaken in all countries (Toma, 2007). If a country legalized and applied multilingualism while the others it cooperates with would all practice the same international language, we would face the fact that this country would see a great deal of attempts and money thrown away because of what we called 'languages' dynamics". Fortunately the European Union and the states which are its members have acquired the position which is the promotion of the language variety which should then be followed in the policy of language education. Apart from mobility, respective communication and economic development, Europe tends to preserve the European cultural heritage where language variety is an essential component. This is a matter which does not only treat the development and preservation of languages, but it enables the European citizens to develop their language skills. Learning a language should be seen as the development of the specific language skill of each individual and this skill should be developed not just for practical or professional reasons, but even as an education to respect the others' languages and the variety of languages. These arguments fully support the policy for the language education which encourages the increase of abilities to learn some foreign languages for all the citizens throughout their lives. This is the only way for Europeans to become multilingual and intercultural citizens, capable of communicating with other Europeans about all aspects of their lives.

Learning some languages in Europe, obviously does not decrease the economic costs, but adopting a similar policy avoids unequal privileges among countries with great languages. To be concrete, this policy of teaching foreign languages at schools would consist in the obligatory learning of two or three foreign languages among which English could not stand systematically. In this case every country should give priority to the learning of languages which belong to its main partners, which could be reinforced with bilateral agreements.

- By means of gifts in books and didactic materials, financing different activities mainly through the French Alliance, the French government tries to preserve the decreasing reputation of the French language and also to protect the status which French actually has at schools.
- If we read the journey of the German language described in the 2014 dated article read by the head of the German Department at the University of Tirana Prof. Dr. Brikena Kadzadej, we notice that German is present in many schools.

- In December 2012 Albania and Italy signed a cooperation agreement in the framework of the second phase of the 'Iliria' program. The agreement aimed teaching Italian as a first foreign language at elementary schools and high schools in all the Albanian territory.

There have been similar agreements in Albania and I hope there will be even in the future, but when we see the attempts that many countries make to spread their languages in Albania (I should have mentioned here even the attempts which are made to teach Turkish and Greek in schools) there arises the question: does the Albanian state have a clearly specified policy in this regard? I would say no as this is verified by the fact I am going to read now.

In the first instruction, nr 60, date December 26-th 2013, for the development of the maturity exams, MAS (Ministry of Education and Science) established that: The test of foreign languages will be made in accordance with the language which is each candidate's favorite. The selection of the student for this exam will be reflected in the respective form. In item 1.3 of this guide it was stated that: "The test of the foreign language, as an obligatory exam, would be developed by the AKP (the National Agency of Exams) and the result would be implemented by the AKP itself.

In the second instruction, which dates February 7-th 2014, the Ministry of Education has reconsidered it and has changed some items of the instruction, by removing the right they had given to the graduates in the first instruction. But in this second instruction it was specified that the graduate would take an obligatory exam, the first language he/she has done at school. And apart from that, it won't be AKP to make the implementation as it was defined in December, but it will be done by the respective Education Directory. Also, changes have been made even about the item which defined how the foreign language selection that the graduate prefers to take as a facultative exam would be done. In the first instruction it was stated that: The graduate has the right to select only one foreign language, which is treated as the first foreign language in the school lesson plans, no matter if it has been done at school or not.

These letters show nothing but the fact that there is uncertainty in the way of organizing multilingualism, though the European Union has brought in Albania the translated manual which explains the principles and recommendations of the European Union so as where the educational policies which urge language variety should be based. This article entitled "A guide to the development of language education in Europe", in its executive version in 2007, (Beacco & Byram, 2007) is the promotion of a critical reflection over the widely protected attitudes regarding the language learning and the established actual attempts which deal with the policy of language education.

5. Conclusion

I express my final thought that it is necessary in all this matter to reformulate clear objectives regarding the distribution of foreign languages in schools in Albania, either private or public. The objectives should consider the geopolitical situation of the country: which languages are present in the respective territory, which languages are present in its boundaries, what social and economical ambitions the country has for its future. The vision for the future should be expanded even to China, but this vision should be clear so as every eye can see the coastlines in the horizon.

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Expressing and resisting power in American political debates

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Abstract

The paper investigates political debates in the US to determine how power relations are expressed through language in a controlled situational context. As Presidential campaign events, debates have generated a great deal of interest; thanks to the new media, they bring together large audiences and are crucial in creating, maintaining and enforcing politicians' identities. Party political debates paving the way to the party candidacy for the 2016 American Presidential elections are examined to see how politicians interact in a public multiple interview. The goal of this paper is to see what strategies politicians use to enact, reproduce and resist power relations (Fairclough, 1989, 2010), while respecting the debate rules and the mediation by appointed journalists. Political debates occur in potentially conflicting situations of asymmetrical talk in which political 'face' (Brown&Levinson, 1987) is at risk. The paper thus examines the turn of politicians' roles which shift from an attacking attitude - enacting strategies to express power - to a defensive attitude of facework. (Oetzel, Ting-Toomey, Masumoto, Yokochi, & Takai, 2000)In conclusion, debates play a vital role in constructing the US political life by encouraging politicians to manage discussion and conflict using different strategies, challenging the role of the moderator as the participant in the most powerful position.

Keywords: political debates; power relations; discourse analysis;

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1. Introduction

This paper intends to analyse oral discourse in the context of public interviews involving journalists and politicians to examine the strategies they use to enact, reproduce and resist power relationships. The roles of the participants are analysed to see how they affect the expression of power in the interactions. Norman Fairclough's studies on power and language (1989, 2014) provide, among others (Kedar, 1987; Lakoff, 1990; Simpson & Mayr, 2010), the theoretical model adapted to carry out the present analysis.

The partial results presented in this paper are part of a larger project involving specific research on American Presidential debates prior to the 2016 political elections. The debates examined below belong to the series of debates scheduled by the two parties with a view to the 2016 Presidential elections. Their goal is to pave the way to the selection of a Party candidate who will run for the Presidency.

Because their strong impact in creating trends in public opinion is well established, political debates are a common practice in the USA. In crucial moments such as Presidential campaigns, the stage of politics moves from inherently dedicated locations, such as the Congress, to more open locations, such as Party Conventions and TV interviews, in search of national resonance and large audiences. Since the mid-twentieth century, politicians have learned how to act in public events in order to gain the public's attention and hopefully their votes. Politicians' utterances are targeted more to the general public than to their politician mates, so their communication style has undergone a deep process of change, with different results.

Debates play a prominent role in the political process of selecting party nominees and presidential candidates for presidential elections. Public opinion polls have been conducted which have confirmed the relevance of public debates in shaping trends and political opinions.

According to Pew Research Center's (www.pewresearch.org) post-election survey, 67% of voters in the 2008 election said the debates between Barack Obama and John McCain were *very* or *somewhat* helpful in deciding which candidate to vote for. On October 3, 2012, an estimated 67.2 million people watched a debate between President Barack Obama and the Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney. In the 2016 presidential election cycle, at least 20 debates will take place including primary debates and general election debates.

On August 6, 2015, the Democratic National Committee (www.democrats.org/more/the-2016-primary-debate-schedule) announced the locations for six debates, and their specific dates until March 2016. Two forums, in which candidates do not respond directly to each other, were later also announced.

The 2015-2016 debate schedule was announced by the Republican National Committee (www.gop.com/2016-gophq/event_schedule/?schedule_type=debate) on January 16, 2015. It revealed that 12 debates would be held, fewer than the 20 debates and forums held in the past Presidential elections from 2011 to 2012.

The present paper takes into consideration two Party debates, one for each party.

For the Democratic Party, the selected debate is the one held in Las Vegas on October 13, 2015 featuring Lincoln Chafee (now out of the race), Hillary Clinton, Martin O'Malley, Bernie Sanders, and Jim Webb (now out of the race), sponsored by CNN, Nevada Democratic Party and Facebook, and moderated by Anderson Cooper, Dana Bash, Juan Carlos Lopez, and Don Lemon.

For the Republican Party, the debate considered here is the primetime one held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on November 10, 2015 featuring Donald Trump, Ben Carson, Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz, Jeb Bush, Carly Fiorina, John Kasich, and Rand Paul, sponsored by Fox Business and Wall Street Journal. The appointed moderators were: Maria Bartiromo, Neil Cavuto, and Gerard Baker.

2. Political debates as social struggles for power

Language is never neutral. On the contrary, it conveys many implications, even when the speakers are not aware of them. It is a very powerful tool that can be used to control or to shape the thoughts of others. Politicians know that it is the most powerful weapon and the most effective tool to win political support, thus they place special attention to their communicative and interactional style.

Every time people interact, they enact, reproduce and sometimes resist power relationships through language.

Power is rarely equally distributed between the speakers, even in casual conversations where the speakers are apparently at the same level of power and have “the least or no power differential” (Kress, 1985).

Part of the individual’s power of influencing the interactions with others is personal, as it depends on characteristics such as their ability to master the language and their ability to realize when to talk, what to say, and how to say it. Power also arises from the social relationships between the people involved in the interactions, from their reliability and from mutual respect. Another share of power stems from the social role a person fills. In some institutional contexts, some speakers are recognized as powerful because of their institutional roles which determine an asymmetrical distribution of the speakers’ rights and obligations. When the speakers do not contribute to the interaction on equal basis because they do not have the same status, the interaction unfolds alongside an expected pattern, which anticipates that respect and compliance are bestowed upon the ones considered more powerful as a direct effect of their roles. In some cases, the speakers do not have the same rights and obligations, such as the right to ask questions, or the obligation to avoid interruption or avoid silence. In an institutional context such as a police interview, some speakers, i.e. police officers, are the ones who are expected to control the interaction. In such cases, characterized by asymmetrical speaking rights and obligations, the person asking the questions is considered to be in a more powerful position than the person who has to answer the questions, which makes these kinds of interactions different from ordinary conversation. However, the power deriving from an institutional position can be challenged, as better discussed below.

Power is constantly being contested, and often it is only concealed by the apparent equality of a casual context (Eggins & Slade, 1997). In some occasions people agree to cooperate in talk and contribute to the interaction on an equal basis, but in other situations, such as political debates, the interaction is not open to free individual interventions, being regulated by rules that theoretically no speaker has the power to ignore.

Dominant participants exercise their power by controlling and limiting the contributions of non-powerful participants (Fairclough, 1989). However, in every interaction, power is not steady, it is won, exercised, sustained, and lost in the course of a social struggle; from this perspective, political debates are social struggles. Those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power, and those who do not hold power are always liable to make a bid for power (Fairclough, 1989).

The two categories of speakers in political debates, e.g. moderators and politicians, assert their dominant positions and try not to be dominated by the others. The usual consideration about institutional talk, i.e. the person responsible for questioning is invested with huge power, is challenged in political debates, since the politicians are not willing to be dominated by journalists and take the chance to show their power and appear as effective as possible in front of the large audience that is sometimes virtual.

Political debates can be compared to a stage where the actors perform their roles, and act according to a predetermined script. Roles are clearly established from the beginning.

The simple act of introducing the invited politicians implies a definition of the roles, determining who is who- host and guest. In fact, in the role of host, the journalists provide and enforce the rules of the game. They have the power to manage time, to decide how long the politicians can talk and to cut them off in case they run overtime. They make certain that every speaker has their share in the talk, stopping cross-talk and keeping order. Moreover, they ask the questions the politicians have to answer, which is the attribution that provides them with the greatest amount of power. And even more crucially, they cannot tolerate pauses or hesitations, so they rapidly move to another question to fill the gaps, which are inadmissible in such events. Not being able to answer immediately is thus considered a sign of weakness, and deciding to move forward is an act of power.

The role of politicians seems to be simpler, as they are only supposed to answer the questions when required to do so. However, in actual fact the debates develop in a different way, as politicians do not always seem to be willing to cooperate and accept questions and timing, being eager to take maximum advantage of the opportunity to be 'visible' to the nation.

In theory, journalists seem to have a dominant position. Their questioning style has changed over time, turning from deferential to critical (Nimmo & Newsome, 1997). Today the questioning attitude has become confrontational rather than informative, sometime even a little aggressive, as a result of a long path towards the emancipation of journalism from politics. Political interviews in the early years of TV broadcasting, the 1950s and 1960s, were relatively deferential. Politicians were often in command of the situation, sometimes they simply broke off the conversation in order to read out a prepared statement. Early television broadcasting was in general politer than in current times, but that is not the only reason for the non-confrontational conversational style adopted in political interviews. In actual fact, journalism and journalists were part of the establishment and sometimes backed the government by creating public opinion on issues such as fear of communism or the Cold War. Watergate probably started a new generation of independent investigative reporters who paved the way to a new impudent journalistic style.

In an article early this year, The Guardian criticizes today's political interviews, maintaining that they often fall into a familiar pattern, in which politicians are committed to saying only what they want to say, whatever questions may be asked, and the interviewer's only hope is to crack this facade. In their words, "the whole enterprise becomes essentially performative" (www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/20/the-aggressive-political-interview-its-not-just-sales-and-alberici). The article regards political interviews as ritualized confrontations, where what is mostly at stake is the capacity of a politician to maintain their persona under fire. Whether or not any new information emerges about policy or its implementation is rather beside the point. The role of the journalists is, thus, to keep the politicians under fire, and the role of the politicians is to keep pace with the interviewer and end up with a self-reliant attitude, being able to persuade the public of their personal, rather than political, qualities. Under this perspective, political debates are big shows, broadcast as such by television, which follow the current trend of emphasising the 'spectacle' side of politics.

Thus the expected role of the journalists is to ask thorny questions while not taking sides or giving opinions, and keeping a neutral stance. When politicians do not cooperate adequately, aggressive and hostile questioning may be taken as bias on the part of the journalists, who are expected to act beyond formal charges of distortion, inaccuracy and partiality.

3. Negotiation of power

Power is not obtained once and for all. Power is won and lost very easily in every interaction. The most powerful person "limits" the contributions of the less powerful participant in a continuous negotiation.

Some devices can be used to achieve this goal, among which: interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling topic, formulation; some examples of these devices spotted in the Party debates mentioned above are provided in the following sections.

3.1 [Resistance to] Interruption

Interruptions are usually considered as violations of the common rules of conversation that envisage turn-taking to provide each speaker with their fair part in the conversation. Through interruption dominant speakers can dismiss or ignore contributions which they consider irrelevant (Simpson & Mayr 2010). Interruptions in political debates thus express the power to limit others; they can be used either by the journalists to control the politicians' answers or by the politicians to interfere with the journalists or to prevent other politicians from talking. Interruptions are not always negative forms of constraining, but in some cases can have positive functions, as they can be conceived as a "restoration of order (turn-taking) rather than conversational deviance" (Murray, 1987).

Interruptions are very common in political debates, and the examples abound. Below there is an extract from the Republican debate, in which the moderator, Baker, is trying to give the floor to Bush, but he is interrupted by the other politicians who keep interrupting each other because they want to enter the conversation and have their say. Even if he is the journalist in charge of managing the interview and thus he is supposed to be in the most powerful position, Baker has a lot of trouble letting Bush talk. In the end he has to address Trump directly, almost asking for his permission to introduce Bush into the conversation. The final impression from this passage is that the journalist is not able to dominate the scene, while Trump and Kasich are overlapping, and Bush, supposedly crushed by his opponents, seems to be the winner as he elegantly comes up with an ironic gag, thanking Trump for letting him talk.

BAKER: Governor Bush...
KASICH: Jerry, Gerald, it was an attack.
(CROSSTALK)
(UNKNOWN): If you're not going to have my back, I'm going to have my back.
(UNKNOWN): A couple things here. First of all...
BAKER: Governor -- Governor, you...
BAKER: You should let Jeb speak.
(UNKNOWN): We have grown -- we have grown...
TRUMP: No, it's unfair.
(CROSSTALK)
KASICH: In the state of Ohio, the state of Ohio, we have grown 347,000 jobs [...] but if Mr. Trump understood that the real jobs come in the downstream [...] Children would be terrified, and it will not work.
(CROSSTALK)
TRUMP: ... built an unbelievable company worth billions and billions of dollars. I don't have to hear from this man, believe me. I don't have to hear from him.
BAKER: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump, you yourself -- you yourself said let Governor Bush speak. Governor Bush?
BUSH: Thank you, Donald, for allowing me to speak at the debate. That's really nice of you. Really appreciate that. (APPLAUSE) What a generous man you are.

From Republican Debate, November 10, 2015

3.2 Enforcing explicitness

When facing difficult situations, speakers may use ambiguous utterances to avoid being too precise. In such cases, the more powerful person may demand for disambiguation (Thomas 1990: 134). In the excerpt below taken from the Democrat debate, the moderator, Cooper, challenges Clinton by quoting two of her statements in which apparently she said opposite things. His question is rather direct and sharp. Moreover, quoting the politician's exact words is a way to express power, nailing them to their own responsibilities. After Clinton's non satisfying answer, Cooper asks an even more aggressive question, and obtains a direct answer: "I'm a progressive", which could be apparently satisfying if it wasn't for the following: "But" which introduces another escape from directness. Again, in this passage, the journalist's attempt at clarification is not completely successful and the politician is able to sneak off.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, though, with all due respect, the question is really about political expediency. Just in July, New Hampshire, you told the crowd you'd, quote, "take a back seat to no one when it comes to progressive values". Last month in Ohio, you said you plead guilty to, quote, "being kind of moderate and center". Do you change your political identity based on who you're talking to?

CLINTON: No. I think that, like most people that I know, I have a range of views, but they are rooted in my values and my experience. And I don't take a back seat to anyone when it comes to progressive experience and progressive commitment. [...]

COOPER: Just for the record, are you a progressive, or are you a moderate?

CLINTON: I'm a progressive. But I'm a progressive who likes to get things done. And I know... (APPLAUSE) ... how to find common ground, and I know how to stand my ground, and I have proved that in every position that I've had, even dealing with Republicans who never had a good word to say about me, honestly. But we found ways to work together on everything from...

COOPER: Secretary...

From Democratic Debate, October 13, 2015

3.3 Topic control

In informal conversation the way topics develop is often unpredictable. In institutional interactions topics are introduced and changed by the dominant person according to a pre-set agenda. In political debates the agenda is set by journalists, who have the questions ready in advance and set the rules of time and turn shifting. In many cases, the large public is asked to collaborate in the preparation phase by sending in questions to be asked to the politicians through social media. The advances in communication technology allow continuous interaction and provide live feedback on the reception of an event even during the unfolding of the debate. Thus controlling the topic has become much more difficult, as the topic develops independently in parallel channels, such as Facebook and above all Twitter, even stealing the spotlight from the main event. Controlling the topic has thus become launching the topic, that then develops in its own ways along other lines. For instance, during the Democratic Debate held on October 13, Donald Trump held a parallel session on Twitter, commenting on what was going on at the debate, shifting the topic from what was being said on the stage to his personal ideas. However, the interaction between different channels of communication is a fascinating subject that deserves more space for analysis so it is not to be discussed here. Going back to the dynamics of topic control during the debate, even if journalists set the agenda and decide what has to be discussed, sometimes politicians use a "bridging" technique that moves them from the question they want to elude to what they want to say. Politicians often use phrases like: "let's start at the beginning", or "before I answer that", or "what's important to remember" and then side-step the question. Resorting to this technique is a means to express power on behalf of the politicians who in

the end have their say irrespective of the question; even if they are taken back to task by the journalists who exercise their power and insist on an answer, politicians have already had a chance.

Below there is an excerpt from the Democratic debate, in which the moderator, Bash, expresses his power saying to Sanders “I want to bring you in here”, implying he is the one in charge of controlling the topic. However, the politician refuses to answer directly and starts from another perspective. He gets his chance to express his ideas, but in the end he has to succumb to the direct question the journalist asks for the second time, highlighting the previous lack of answer, but even after the second direct question, the answer is rather vague.

BASH: Senator Sanders — Senator Sanders, I want to bring you in here. My question for you is, as a congressman, you voted against the Iraq War. You voted against the Gulf War. You’re just talking about Syria, but under what circumstances would a President Sanders actually use force?

SANDERS: Let me just respond to something the secretary said. First of all, she is talking about, as I understand it, a no-fly zone in Syria, which I think is a very dangerous situation. Could lead to real problems. Second of all, I heard the same evidence from President Bush and Dick Cheney and Don Rumsfeld about why we should overthrow Saddam Hussein and get involved in the — I would urge people to go to *berniesanders.com*, hear what I said in 2002. And I say, without any joy in my heart, that much of what I thought would happen about the destabilization, in fact, did happen. So I think...

BASH: All right. (APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I think the president is trying very hard to thread a tough needle here, and that is to support those people who are against Assad, against ISIS, without getting us on the ground there, and that’s the direction I believe we should have (inaudible).

COOPER: But, Senator Sanders, you didn’t answer the question. Under what — under what circumstances would you actually use force?

SANDERS: Well, obviously, I voted, when President Clinton said, “let’s stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo,” I voted for that. I voted to make sure that Osama bin Laden was held accountable in Afghanistan. When our country is threatened, or when our allies are threatened, I believe that we need coalitions to come together to address the major crises of this country. I do not support the United States getting involved in unilateral action.

From Democratic Debate, October 13, 2015

3.4 Formulation

Formulation is the practice of “summarizing, glossing or developing the gist” (Heritage, 1985). They are the conversational privilege of people with institutional power. In settings such as police interviews or classrooms, they are mainly used to check understanding.

In broadcast interviews formulations are addressed not only to the people being interviewed but also to the audience. Formulations have different functions: they make the contribution of others more intelligible, more explicit, or more understandable, thus helping the audience follow, but also have the function to make the interaction proceed by pushing the speakers to accept or refute them. They are by no means neutral forms of interaction, as they always imply subjective interpretations from the dominant speaker. In political debates, journalists often use formulations to prompt further comments from other speakers. Among the devices mentioned here, formulation is the one more susceptible to the accusation of bias on behalf of the dominant speaker, as it may imply oversimplification or provocative misunderstanding. When the dominant speaker is in a situation of total control of the interaction, formulations can be considered a way to have the others accept the dominant speaker’s interpretation as the only one possible or true. In political debates, however, they are used as ways to provoke discussion and to take the interaction to a new combative level. An example is provided below. During the Democratic debate, the moderator, Cooper, provokes Clinton

by asking her why her ideas are better than those of her running mates. She accepts the challenge and answers using other comparative forms to linguistically emphasise the superiority of her political vision. Then the moderator reasserts his power by formulating Clinton's long explanation into a simple sentence, using again a comparative form, and turning it to Sanders as a confrontational question. He obviously gets a rejection by Sanders who does not accept the pretended pre-eminence of Clinton's political plan.

COOPER: Just for viewers at home who may not be reading up on this, Glass-Steagall is the Depression-era banking law repealed in 1999 that prevented commercial banks from engaging in investment banking and insurance activities. Secretary Clinton, he raises a fundamental difference on this stage. Senator Sanders wants to break up the big Wall Street banks. You don't. You say charge the banks more, continue to monitor them. Why is your plan better?

CLINTON: Well, my plan is more comprehensive. And frankly, it's tougher because of course we have to deal with the problem that the banks are still too big to fail. We can never let the American taxpayer and middle class families ever have to bail out the kind of speculative behavior that we saw. But we also have to worry about some of the other players — AIG, a big insurance company; Lehman Brothers, an investment bank. There's this whole area called "shadow banking." That's where the experts tell me the next potential problem could come from.

CLINTON: So I'm with both Senator Sanders and Governor O'Malley in putting a lot of attention onto the banks. And the plan that I have put forward would actually empower regulators to break up big banks if we thought they posed a risk. But I want to make sure we're going to cover everybody, not what caused the problem last time, but what could cause it next time.

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Senator Sanders, Secretary Clinton just said that her policy is tougher than yours.

SANDERS: Well, that's not true.

From Democratic Debate, October 13, 2015

4. Conclusions

Political debates play a vital role in constructing American political life. They provide space and time for politicians to compare their ideas and publically discuss their vision of the future of the nation. Since television has supported political events, they have implemented and have increasingly marked the development of American collective identity and the identification with national leaders. American people are very attentive to debates which provide the occasion to discuss the most controversial issues of the time, showing the personal and human side of politicians along with their political ideas.

Political debates occur in potentially conflicting situations of asymmetrical talk on which the speakers do not share the same rights and obligations as a result of their different social roles. Being specialised forms of asymmetrical talk, they specifically involve politicians and journalists in interviews with the goal of expressing the politicians' political plans for the nation. The different roles filled by the speakers provide them with different levels of power. In the institutional context of the studio, journalists have the power to set the agenda, managing time and speaking turns, however sometimes they are not able to adequately control the agenda, being challenged by the interviewees who derive their power from their social status as politicians. When political debates are unbiased and well organised, they are confrontations between titans, characterized by continuous and mutual negotiation of power.

It is interesting to see how journalists cope with maintaining their neutral stance as mediators, while trying to perform as dominant participants. On the other hand, politicians may refuse to answer irritating questions and try to manage discussion and conflict to their own ends, challenging the role of

the moderators as the participants in the most powerful position. Power relations in the particular types of political debates considered in this paper, i.e. Party debates, are slightly different from the most important type of political debates, i.e. Presidential debates involving the two candidates to the Presidency. In the context of Presidential debates, the two opponents fight a no-holds battle with each other, and the moderators' role seems to be to limit the politicians' power in these harsh confrontations rather than to express their own. Party debates are peculiar, as the politicians belong to the same Party, and are competing to gain the official candidature to the Presidency. When the scheduled debates are over and one candidate is chosen to represent the Party in the Presidential election, the politicians now confronting each other in Party debates will probably join in the Presidential campaign by backing the Party candidate, who will be one of them.

Seen from this perspective, the power relations demonstrated by politicians belonging to the same party, and so sharing a certain vision of life, are not as harsh as the power relations demonstrated by politicians belonging to two different parties. Even though they are competing for the party candidacy and each of them wants to attract attention to themselves by eclipsing the others, fair play is the rule. They are, or may be, aggressive sometimes, but the expressions of power are addressed to the journalists more than to the other politicians. The level of aggression will increase significantly in the final presidential debates, when only two candidates from the two parties will perform.

In conclusion, journalists have gradually gained their independence from politics and feel free to ask as many hard questions as possible. They have to cause as much discomfort as possible, for the sake of justice and for the sake of show. On their part, politicians have developed strategies to resist the journalists' agenda. Thus journalists and politicians seem to take turns in performing the role of the most powerful person, and negotiate power as the debate goes on. In some cases, the politicians win, in others they have to surrender to their interviewers. However, for the benefit of all, politicians have become more accountable and more ready to address their responsibilities.

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Gender-based power language and American political debates

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Abstract

The last 40 years have produced an abundance of research about gender-based power language, the relationship between language and power and how language expresses power. Particular attention has been paid to asymmetrical discourse between the sexes (Lakoff, 1975, 2004; Fishman, 1978; Lipman-Blumen, 1984). The purpose of this study was to examine the power language currently being used 30+ years after the main research to see if there have been any changes on the part of the female to broker power relationships through linguistic behaviors. This study examined three male vs. female political debates in three U.S. national election campaigns. An analytical scale based on a combination of woman/man discourse and power discourse was used. This study concluded that women have made significant progress in asserting and maintaining power in controlled debate situations; also male/female asymmetry seems to be reduced, and that culture has also become determinant of power relations.

Keywords: power language; gender-based language; asymmetrical discourse; political debates;

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1. Introduction

In her seminal work *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff (1973), stated that the situation of powerlessness and marginality of women was reflected in the way women were supposed to speak "women's language". She observed that this problem "submerges a woman's personal identity by denying her the means of expressing herself strongly, on the one hand, and encouraging expressions that suggest triviality in subject matter and uncertainty about it... the ultimate effect... is that women are systematically denied access to power on the grounds they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior" (Lakoff, 2004). She went on to say that there is a particular language or linguistic usage that keeps women "down", which she called "talking like a lady", and that it is particularly identifiable in terms of lexical usage, meaningless particles, weak expletives, use of question tags and overly correct grammar (Lakoff, 1973). She said that little girls are trained to "speak like girls" and not permitted to engage in what is considered "man talk" which in turn is the dominant language of power. Lakoff used the phrase "a girl is damned if she does, damned if she doesn't". The girl or woman who does not talk like a lady, "is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine; if she does learn, she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense, as less than fully human. These two choices which a woman has—to be less than a woman or less than a person—are highly painful" (Lakoff, 1973).

Because it would seem that male-female asymmetrical language and power relations are interrelated, this section reviews the literature on both male-female language and that of language and power.

1.1 Asymmetrical discourse between men and women

Asymmetrical discourse between men and women has been intensely studied by researchers. Some of them include Fishman (1978), Lakoff (1975), Lipman-Blumen (1984), Coates and Cameron (1988) and Crawford (1995). According to Tromel-Plotz (1984) women are dominated by men in conversation by speaking time, topic controlling and interruptions. Many asymmetries have been observed in male-female conversations. Asymmetries between men and women in conversation include:

- Men control the topic and ignore women's attempts at topic initiation;
- Women do the conversational "shitwork" (Fishman, 1978);
- Men interrupt women more (Eakins and Eakins, 1978; West and Zimmerman, 1983);
- Women produce more tags and back-channel signals (Lakoff, 1973);
- Women talk softer/men talk louder

But Tannen (1993) comments that the above linguistic strategies cannot be interpreted as powerless or dominant strategies, because "the meaning of a linguistic strategy can vary, depending at least on context, the conversational styles of participants, and the interaction of participants' styles and strategies".

Commonly agreed linguistic strategies that demonstrate power include turn-taking, choice of topic, pronoun use, indirectness, amount of talk, questions and interruptions. Men and women were found to differ in these areas.

1.2 Language and power relations

Many studies have been carried out in the past on gender-based power language, especially focusing on the differences between men and women. The 1970's, 80's and early 90's produced an

abundance of research about the relationship between language and power and how language expresses power.

How are power relations demonstrated in face-to-face communication? Ervin-Tripp et. al (1984) stated that power relations are indicated through various communication acts. These include “offers, requests, orders, prohibitions and other moves that solicit goods or attempts to effect changes in the activities of others” (p. 116). Basically power is the capacity to exert control over others. This control is demonstrated through communication, both verbal and non-verbal. Power relationships can be noted through the use of language. According to Fowler power relationships can be understood not just through obvious modes such as orders, rules, etc. but also through the way language is used. Positions, status and roles are constituted through the use of particular language (Fowler 1985). He states that some linguistic usages indicate authority, prestige, and success whereas some others indicate the lack of power. “Directive” and “constitutive linguistic practices” are two types of linguistic processes that indicate social control. Directive speech acts such as requests, commands and pronominal usages, basically directly manipulative by nature, indicate a power relationship. They can be directly identified in asymmetrical face-to-face interaction. Another type of linguistic practice is called “constitutive practice” which is less easily observed but functions to assert the existence of the power structure and hierarchy. Existing power structures, whether governmental, judiciary or public institutions, are supported through the use of official discourse; basically any media that controls the communication of ideas (Fowler, 1985).

Power in language has been studied in different contexts. Fowler studied it in terms of governmental/state controlled institutions. Others have studied it in politics, language of manipulation in advertising (O’Barr and O’Barr, 1976), as well as in different situations of social life (Kramarae, Schulz, & Barr, 1984).

Fairclough (1989) observed that “power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.” This control/constraint is applied to contents, relations and subjects (p. 46) which tend to overlap. He cites interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling the topic, and formulation as four devices used by those in power who seek to exert control. He also discusses the presence of ideology as a factor of power, that the power holders exert in the imposition of “ideological common sense which holds for everyone”. He points out that social struggle takes different forms, and that ideological struggle takes place primarily in language. Another very important observation is how pronouns are used; the way *you* and *we* are used to indicate inclusion or exclusion. He defines the “inclusive we” and the “exclusive we”. The “inclusive we” is useful in making an “implicit authority claim”. “You” can also be used as an inclusive device.

Linguistic power relationships that have been the most commonly proposed as indicating power relationships are: Turn-taking and interruptions, topic choice, use of pronouns, questions, indirectness, amount of talk. Foucault (1972, 1980) believes that all discourse is hierarchical and power is interactive; it can shift between individuals and groups, individual and group, above and below.

2. Problem Statement

The purpose of this study was to examine the presence of power language and man/woman asymmetry present in three videos featuring a man and a woman in a political debate. The goal was to discover if in fact the same linguistic strategies could be identified over time and to see if there have been any changes on the part of the female to broker power relationships through linguistic behaviors.

3. Methods

An analytical checklist was developed based on the research on male/female conversational asymmetry and some elements of power language. *Controlling the topic* is a linguistic device that is used in power relations. *Interruptions* are used by dominant speakers to communicate that they think the other speaker's contributions are irrelevant; however, they can also be considered positive as a method of "restoration of order (turn taking) rather than conversational deviance" (Murray 1987). In the context of a political debate it is difficult for the participants to interrupt each other directly but a type of interruption may be observed: that of changing the subject or controlling the topic. Another element is that of *enforcing explicitness* (asking questions) in which the more powerful speaker asks for clarification and disambiguation (Thomas, 1988). Another element is summarizing or *formulation*.

Speech volume (men talking louder than women), asking questions (Fairclough, 1989), the presence of "woman's talk" (Lakoff, 1973) were considered.

The following list was used when analyzing debates. It is based on a combination of man-woman asymmetrical language and power language.

- Controlling the topic (man/woman, power relations).
- Enforcing explicitness.
- Talking louder (man/woman).
- Asking questions (man/woman/power relations).
- Formulation (power relations).
- The presence of 'women's talk' (Lakoff, 1973) including 'empty adjectives' 'hyper correct' grammar, super politeness, question tags, use of 'so'.

This study examined three male vs. female political debates in three U.S. national election campaigns. Videos were analyzed using an analytical scale based on a combination of woman/man discourse and power discourse. Comments are incorporated in the text.

3.1 Debate 1: Vice Presidential Debate: Geraldine Ferraro (Democrat) vs. George Bush, Sr., (Republican)

The debate was held on October 13, 1984 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42scedX5MT8>).

The debate begins with both candidates walking to center-stage. They shake hands for what seems like a long time: 12 shakes. They say something to each other that is not heard. The following excerpts illustrate various points on the checklist.

FERRARO: "Let me say that I'm not a believer in polls and let me say further that what we are talking about are problems that are facing the entire nation. They're not problems facing women. I'm absolutely delighted that the League (of Women Voters) is sponsoring these debates...

Here we can note the issue of women. Ferraro is drawing the discussion away from the focus on women for various reasons: the fact that she is the first woman to run for Vice President; the cultural environment of the 80's as well; and to avoid any possible attack from Bush. Then she mentions that the League of Women Voters sponsored the event, with the intuitive meaning based on her facial expression being that she found some support in that fact.

BUSH: Well, I was glad to get that vote of confidence from Mrs. Ferraro in my economic judgement. (change of subject)

FERRARO: I, I think what I'm going to have to do is I'm going to start correcting the vice-president's statistics... I'll become a one-woman truth squad and we'll start tonight.
BUSH: ... Wonderful new legislation that's helping blacks more and more. We think of civil rights as something like crime in your neighborhoods. And, for example, when crime figures are going in the right direction that's good, that's a civil right.

Bush changes the topic and brings the attention to himself. He also raises his voice and moves his head emphatically. Ferraro gets control of the topic by correcting Bush's statistics. However, she makes another comment about being a woman again, indicating that she is trying to distinguish herself as a competent woman. Then Bush goes on to make a non-sequitur comment on civil rights while changing the subject and asserting his opinion, taking the power with a very ridiculous statement.

FERRARO: I just have to correct in my thirty seconds that are left the comment that the vice-president made with reference specifically to a program like AFDC. If you take AFDC, if you take food stamps, if you take - oh, go down the line on poor people's programs, those are the programs that suffered considerably under this administration's first budget cuts and those are the ones that in the second part of their part of their term, we were able to restore some of those terribly, terribly unfair cuts to the poor people of this country.

Ferraro takes back the power by formulation and controlling the topic.

BUSH: Almost every place you can point, contrary to Mr. Mondale's - I gotta be careful - but contrary of how he goes around just saying everything bad. If somebody sees a silver lining, he finds a big black cloud out there. Whine on harvest moon! I mean, there's a lot going on... maybe we have a factual - maybe we can ask the experts to go to the books. They'll do it anyway. Spending for food stamps is way, way up under the Reagan administration, AFDC is up under the Reagan administration, and I'm not going to be found wrong on that. I am sure of my facts, and we are trying to help...

Bush tries to enforce explicitness as well as controlling the topic, and he also raises his voice. He then comes out with a nonsensical phrase referring to an old song, which indicates the effort of cutting out the opponent from the communication by destroying the formality of the situation. Then he goes on with formulation to ask for the exact statistics even though he doesn't have any.

FERRARO: I'm taking it from the historical viewpoint..., if you go back to the 1600s in the 1940s ... now in the 1980s and 1984 when they can get out of the country to escape communism so they can come here and practice their religion... Now what's happened over the past several years, and quite frankly I'm not going to let you lay on me the intrusion of state politics into religion or religion into politics by my comments with reference to the president's policies...What has happened over the past four years has been, I think, a real fudging of that line with the separation of church and state.... But what I do have a problem with is when the president of the United States... Are they intolerant of religion? Is that what the president is saying?

Ferraro takes back the power by using precise historical facts and figures; she also declares that she will not allow herself to be accused of something; she is reformulating what has been said. However, she reverts to "women's talk" when she uses the word "fudging". In the last line when she asks what the president is saying, she emphatically enforces explicitness.

BUSH: I think that was a cheap shot - telling the American people to try to divide class - rich and poor. (formulation combined with disrespectful use of language 'cheap shot').
BUSH: Well, I'm surprised. I think I just heard Mrs. Ferraro say that she would do away with all covert actions, and if so, that has very serious ramifications, as the intelligence community knows. (Here he is asking a question, indirectly, as well as controlling the topic.)

Here Bush is using formulation combined with the disrespectful use of language "cheap shot" which is considered fairly low register. In the next line he is asking a question indirectly, as well as controlling the topic.

FERRARO: I think the Vice-President's comment about the Carter-Mondale administration really typifies this administration. It's an administration that looks backwards, not forward and into the future. ...Being the candidate for vice-president of my party is the greatest honor I have ever had. But it's not only a personal achievement for Geraldine Ferraro - and certainly not only the bond that I feel as I go across this country with women throughout the country. I wouldn't be standing here if Fritz Mondale didn't have the courage and my party didn't stand for the values that it does - the values of fairness and equal opportunity. Those values make our country strong and the future of this country and how strong it will be is what this election is all about... This campaign is not over. For our country, for our future, for the principles we believe in Walter Mondale and I have just begun to fight.

Ferraro counters Bush's comment and formulates her point. She refers again to the issue of being a woman and points out that she would not be in this position if it hadn't been for America and what America means: fairness and equal opportunity. She refers to equal opportunity and uses the famous quotation by a famous American patriot, Patrick Henry, to define the campaign fight.

To sum up, Geraldine Ferraro presents the image of a very well-prepared, calm and rational person. She bunks the stereotypes of the time that define women as being emotional and unable to function under stress. She has an analytical style, comes across as very matter-of-fact and nothing escapes her. She maintains a calm steady voice, unlike her opponent. She is able to defend herself from every attack on the part of Bush and effectively takes back the control every time. Thirty-one years after this debate it is easy to see the inherently chauvinistic behaviors of both Bush and the male moderator. The number of referrals to women, and the fact that she is a woman herself, seem to demonstrate the cultural context of the times when women were just starting to emerge as strong political players. Interestingly enough there was only one example of 'women's language' (fudging). It is also interesting that there was only one female journalist included. This particular debate clearly illustrates the power relations game.

3.2 Debate 2: Sarah Palin vs. Joe Biden

On Oct. 2, 2008, Sarah Palin, Governor of Alaska, Republican, and Joe Biden, Sr. Senator for Delaware Democrat, participated in a debate in the vice presidential campaign (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=89FbCPzAsRA>).

Governor Palin sets a new standard for presidential debates. At the beginning of the debate, which is traditionally a formal moment of presentation, when she walks out, she waves at the audience, comes close to Sen. Biden, and says, "Nice to meet you, can I call you Joe?" The handshake is short and she comes very close to him. Her entrance was reminiscent of that American institution, the "cheerleader" in that she was full of enthusiasm and energy. Perhaps her style is a way to set the tone which in itself is a way to control a situation. She immediately launches into the use of very informal language, revealing full abandonment of Lakoff's idea of women's language as being formal and

demonstrating an ongoing use of “rough talk” (Lakoff, 1973).

Palin: And I'll betcha, (smile) you're going to hear some fear in that parent's voice... And I've joined this team that is a team of mavericks with John McCain, also, with his track record of reform, where we're known for putting partisan politics aside to just get the job done.
PALIN: ... with all due respect, I do respect your years in the U.S. Senate... I think that's why we need to send the maverick from the Senate and put him in the White House, and I'm happy to join him there... just everyday American people, Joe Six Pack, hockey moms across the nation, ... we have an opportunity to learn a heck of a lot of good lessons ...

Here Palin uses very informal and colloquial language and pronunciation to establish an intimate rapport with the listeners in an effort to gain power. She makes a referral to the American hero-image of the maverick, who comes in to solve problems in the Old West, and by doing so she tries to control the topic with a non-intellectual technique. Biden is smiling, almost laughing. Palin is enthusiastic with lots of facial expression. The tone is informal. She also uses ‘women’s talk’ but with a different twist-she has actually taken control from the first moment by asking Biden’s first name; by using the ‘respect’ word she hearkens back to the ‘old’ type of ‘woman talk. Again she uses very informal colloquial language when she refers to ‘Joe Six Pack’ and ‘hockey moms’. Then she tops it off with the expression ‘a heck of a lot’ which brings her down to a very informal level.

BIDEN: The charge is absolutely not true. Barack Obama did not vote to raise taxes. The vote she's referring to, John McCain voted the exact same way..., John McCain voted 477 times to raise taxes. It's a bogus standard but if you notice, Gwen, the governor did not answer the question about deregulation, did not answer the question of defending John McCain about not going along with the deregulation, letting Wall Street run wild....
PALIN: I'm still on the tax thing because I want to correct you on that again.... And I may not answer the questions the way that either the moderator or you want to hear, but I'm going to talk straight to the American people and let them know my track record also.

Biden tries to control the topic by saying the charge is absolutely not true. He uses the words ‘bogus’ and ‘run wild’ possibly to scale his language use down to the same level as Palin’s. He uses facts to formulate his argument, and also points out that Palin did not answer his question. This is an example of enforcing explicitness.

Palin takes control by saying she isn’t going to answer the questions the way either Biden or the moderator would like to hear. She takes control of the topic again and formulates the discussion. She is smiling the whole time, which seems almost incongruous with her message.

BIDEN: Gwen, no one in the United States Senate has been a better friend to Israel than Joe. The fact of the matter is, the policy of this administration has been an abject failure.
IFILL: Has this administration's policy been an abject failure, as the senator says, Governor?
PALIN: No, I do not believe that it has been. But I'm so encouraged to know that we both love Israel, and I think that is a good thing to get to agree on, Senator Biden. I respect your position on that... Oh, yeah, it's so obvious I'm a Washington outsider. And someone just not used to the way you guys operate. Because here you voted for the war and now you oppose the war. You're one who says, as so many politicians do, I was for it before I was against it or vice- versa.
PALIN: I think we need a little bit of reality from Wasilla Main Street there, brought to Washington, DC. So that people there can understand how the average working class

family is viewing bureaucracy in the federal government and Congress and inaction of Congress. Just everyday working class Americans saying, you know, government, just get out of my way.

Biden refers to himself in third person singular which takes him out of a direct personal attack.

He uses historical facts to discuss foreign policy. Then he makes a move to formulate by commenting on the failure of the previous presidency in the area of foreign policy. Palin regains control by using the 'respect' word again. Then she goes for the throat and criticizes Biden and everyone else in Washington D.C. for changing their stance. In this way she formulates and controls. On top of that she laughs not in a nice way that is effective in flaunting the control she has gained.

BIDEN: Can I respond? ... Look, all you have to do is go down Union Street with me in Wilmington or go to Katie's Restaurant or walk into Home Depot with me where I spend a lot of time and you ask anybody in there whether or not the economic and foreign policy of this administration has made them better off in the last eight years...they get it. They get it. They know they've been getting the short end of the stick.... It's time we change it. Barack Obama will change it.

PALIN: Say it ain't so, Joe, there you go again pointing backwards again. Now doggone it, let's look ahead and tell Americans what we have to plan to do for them in the future. You mentioned education and I'm glad you did. I know education you are passionate about with your wife being a teacher for 30 years, and God bless her. Her reward is in heaven, right? (another example of using personal information and an idiomatic expression which can be interpreted either as a compliment or as an insult)..... Teachers needed to be paid more. I come from a house full of school teachers. My grandma was, my dad who is in the audience today, he's a schoolteacher, had been for many years. My brother, who I think is the best schoolteacher in the year, and here's a shout-out to all those third graders at Gladys Wood Elementary School, you get extra credit for watching the debate.

Biden asks a question to take back control of the topic. He then reformulates the subject. He tries to be serious. Then Palin counters with another example of idiomatic, informal jargon which has the effect of adding a sense of ridiculousness to Biden's comment, and it also makes Palin look ridiculous. Then she throws out more man talk (doggone it) and then uses personal information about Biden which can function as a compliment or as an insult. One wonders if Palin was aware of the fact that Biden lost his first wife in a terrible accident. Then she tops it off by behaving like a cheerleader and saluting the third grade children her brother teaches. One wonders how seriously she takes the entire event.

The Biden-Palin debate illustrated a major change in the way men and women use language in power relations. There was almost a 360- degree change in the man-woman asymmetrical use of language as well as that of power relations. Sara Palin used some 'women's talk' as a weapon; but she also used 'boy talk' and rather low register expressions that reflected (she thought) the common people who were watching the debate. She smiled, winked and behaved in a very confident and informal manner.

3.3 Debate 3: Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, Martin O'Malley

On November 14, 2015 three potential presidential Democratic Presidential candidates debated various issues in a fast-moving panel-type debate where the moderator seemed to be the power

broker (www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCFQavaDw) . This particular debate differs from the other two because the participants are not as combative because they are all from the same political party. They are given one minute to respond to a question and 30 seconds to offer a rebuttal.

SANDERS: The-- the secretary's obviously right. It is enormously complicated. But here's something that I believe we have to do is we put together an international coalition.... And that is we have to understand that the Muslim nation in the region, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Jordan, all of these nations, they're gonna just have to get their hands dirty, their boots on the ground.... We should be supportive of that effort. So should the UK, so should France. But those Muslim countries are gonna have to lead the efforts. They are not doing it now.

CLINTON: I-- I think that is very unfair to a few that you mentioned-- most particularly Jordan which has put a lot on the line to the United States. It's also taken in hundreds of thousands of refugees from Syria and has been therefore subjected to threats and attacks-- by extremists themselves. I do agree that in particular Turkey and the Gulf Nations have got to make up their minds. Are they going to stand with us against this kind of jihadi radicalism or not? And there are many ways of doing it... they can provide resources. But they need to be absolutely clear about where they stand.

Sanders formulates an interpretation of the current problem in the Middle East and ISIS. He suggests setting up an international coalition. Hillary counters by saying that his judgement is unfair on some of the countries and by so doing she takes control of the topic.

DICKERSON: Governor O'Malley, I wanna ask you a question and you can add whatever you'd like to. But let me ask you, is the world too dangerous a place for a governor who has no foreign policy experience?

O'MALLEY: John, the world is a very dangerous place. But the world is not too dangerous of a place for the United States of America provided we act according to our principles, provided we act intelligently.... And I wanted to add one other thing, John, and I think it's important for all of us on this stage. I was in Burlington, Iowa and a mom of a service member of ours who served two duties in Iraq said, "Governor O'Malley, please, when you're with your other candidates and colleagues on-- on stage, please don't use the term boots on Iraq-- on the ground. Please don't use the term boots on the ground. My son is not a pair of boots on the ground." These are American soldiers and we fail them when we fail to take into account what happens the day after a dictator falls. And when we fail to act with a whole of government approach with sustainable development, diplomacy and our economic power in-- alignment with our principles.

The moderator throws a pointed question to O'Malley about his inexperience in foreign policy. O'Malley turns the argument around (controlling the topic) by referring to American principles and intelligence, which no one can argue against. He then makes a comment about "boots on the ground" which is a type of re-formulation based on what Clinton has previously said. He then refers American soldiers which is a very sensitive topic currently.

SANDERS: Let me pick up an issue that-- a very important issue that we have not yet discussed..... I think we need major reform in the military making it more cost effective but also focusing on the real crisis that faces us...intelligence, increased manpower, fighting international terrorism.... In terms of refugees I believe that the United States has the moral responsibility with Europe, with Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia to make sure that when people leave countries like Afghanistan and Syria with nothing more than the

clothing on their back that of course we reach out... But I certainly think that the United States should take its full responsibility in helping those.

O'MALLEY: John, I was the first person on this stage to say that we should accept the 65,000 Syrian refugees... And I believe that that needs to be done with proper screening.... But I would want to agree with something that Senator Sanders says, the nature of warfare has changed...

CLINTON: I think that is the number one requirement. I also said that we should take-- increased numbers of refugees. The administration originally said ten. I said we should go to 65 but only if we have as carefully screening and vetting process as we can imagine whatever resources it takes. Because I do not want us to-- in any way-- inadvertently allow people who wish us harm to come into our country. But I wanna say a quick word about what-- Senator Sanders and-- and then O-- and Governor O'Malley said. We do have to take a hard look at the defense budget. And we do have to figure out how we get ready to fight the adversaries of the future, not the past. But we have to also be very clear that we do have some continuing challenges. We've got challenges in the South China Sea because of what China is doing in building up-- these-- military installations. We have problems with Russia. Just the other day Russia allowed a-- television camera to see the plans for a drone submarine that could carry a tactical nuclear weapon. So we've gotta look at the full range and then come to some smart decisions about have-- having more streamlined and focused...

Sanders moves in to propose another subject, thereby controlling the topic. O'Malley counters by saying that he was the first person on the stage to talk about accepting Syrian refugees. Then he formulates with what Sanders says by agreeing with him and extending the fact that warfare has changed.

Clinton mentions the current refugee situation and agrees that they should be helped but she changes the subject to talk about military spending and current military threats, including China and Russia, thereby demonstrating her competence in world affairs.

SANDERS: I have never heard a candidate, never, who's received huge amounts of money from oil, from coal, from Wall Street, from the military industrial complex, not one candidate, go, "OH, these-- these campaign contributions will not influence me. I'm gonna be independent.

CLINTON: (You are trying to) impugn my integrity, let's be frank here... Oh, wait a minute, senator. You know, not only do I have hundreds of thousands of donors, most of them small, I am very proud that for the first time a majority of my donors are women, 60 percent...

SANDERS: Here's-- she touches on two broad issues... It's not just Wall Street. It's campaigns, a corrupt campaign finance system. And that's what I'm doing. ...In terms of Wall Street I respectfully disagree with you, Madame Secretary....

O'MALLEY: Well, I'll tell you what, I've said this before, I-- I don't-- I believe that we actually need some new economic thinking in the White House. And I would not have Robert Rubin or Larry Summers with all due respect, Secretary Clinton, to you and to them, back on my council of economic advisors. If they were architects, sure, we'll-- we'll have-- we'll have an inclusive group. But I won't be taking my orders from Wall Street. And-- look, let me say this-- I put out a proposal-- I was on the front line when people lost their homes, when people lost their jobs. I was on the front lines as the governor-- fighting against-- fighting that battle.

Sanders takes control of the topic of campaign donations and the issue of corruption. He basically

points to Clinton, who has a very strong reaction. She shows her irritation and counters by saying that she defended New York City after 9/11. And she claims that most of her donors are small, and they are mostly women. This is the first mention of any kind of woman's issue in this debate. O'Malley reformulates the topic and talks about economic advisors, thus getting the topic switched to discussion of his experience.

Hillary Clinton repeatedly talks about her 'plan' applied to every area of debate. She is the only one of the candidates that continues to mention an organized program to solve various national issues. There was no indication of 'women's talk on her part; it seemed that there were three people on equal ground involved. Actually, Hillary Clinton has more experience than the two men and her self-esteem and confidence continually came out as she addressed difficult problems.

4. Findings

In general, political debates can be conflictual and reveal asymmetrical talk through the use of a continuous flow of power and negotiation of control. The debate participants both hold power according to their position and status.

This study concluded that significant progress had been made on the part of the woman in terms of asserting and maintaining power. Kunsmann (2000) comments that the vitality factor in the female subculture is growing, with the result that there is an increase in assertiveness. He says that "gender *and* status rather than gender *or* status will be the determinant categories. He bases this on the research that has been done on the relationships between social identity and language. He refers to the ethnolinguistic identity theory which was formulated by Giles (1977), Gumperz (1982) and Tajfel (1974). This theory regards men as the majority group, or dominant culture, and women as the minority group, or subculture. This theory puts forth the idea of vitality. The vitality depends on its social activity, solidarity and distinctiveness in regards to another group. If all three features are strong, the group is considered to have high vitality. A group with low vitality will present as "weak, unassertive and tentative" which is what Coates (1998) defines as women's language. Coates asserts that women's language presents women as victims and losers. The analysis of the three texts presents the fact that in fact this 'vitality' is growing.

In the Ferraro debate, attention was paid to the fact that she was a woman. Twenty-four years later with Palin, there was no mention of being a woman. The power had switched completely. In the most recent debate, Clinton demonstrated a very secure stand as a seasoned, experienced candidate with no reference to being a woman.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusion is that male and female language differences do not exist *per se*, but are defined by power language. More studies should be conducted in the political arena where women are becoming stronger. Depending on the outcome of the U.S. Presidential election of 2016, there should be some very interesting political discourse to study. According to the Pew Research Center (2015), one in five members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate represent a racial or ethnic minority. At the moment of writing, two Republican presidential contenders have a Cuban-American background.

This fact demonstrates the changing face of the U.S. political scene and represents a research challenge to discover how power language is evolving in the 21st century. More research should be conducted to measure the influence of culture and ethnicity in the changing face of the U.S. political scene.

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L1 influence on Second Language Acquisition and Teaching

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Abstract

The effect of the first language (L1) on the acquisition of a second (L2) or additional language has been a long-debated issue in the area of second language acquisition, from early contrastivist approaches to current cognitive perspectives. In this paper we will review the main theoretical accounts of cross-linguistic influence focusing on recent perspectives, such as linguistic relativity, the multicompetence framework and cognitive linguistics/usage-based approaches. We will also point to the teaching implications, not only with regards to the native vs. the non-native teacher but also the role of the L1 in classroom instruction and the elaboration of textbooks and teaching materials.

Keywords: L1 influence; second language acquisition; teaching; cross-linguistic influence; instruction;

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1. Introduction

The influence of one language on the learning of another has been a relevant object of study in the field of second language acquisition and is currently a key issue in the understanding of how languages are acquired. The focus of this paper is to offer an overview of the most relevant approaches to this topic, focusing on current perspectives in the field. This study is organized as follows: First the development of the term *transfer* and the early approaches to first language influence across languages are offered. Secondly current perspectives are explained, namely the multicompetence framework and linguistic relativity as well as the difference between conceptual transfer and thinking for speaking. Current cognitive linguistics/usage-based approaches are also offered. Finally, teaching implications including the role of the teacher (native versus non-native), the use of the L1 in the classroom and the elaboration of teaching materials are covered.

1.1 The term transfer

During the heyday of contrastive analysis (CA) the influence of the first language was thought to have a negative effect in the L2, therefore the term interference was used to refer to this phenomenon. This term is often used in Weinreich (1953). This was closely related to behaviorism, as established by Skinner (1957). During the 1950's and 60's the term transfer was used, which originated in psychology where it indicated any previous knowledge being applied to new knowledge. Odlin (1989) refers to it as the effect of any other language that has been previously acquired. Selinker (1972, 1992) also uses this term but in 1989 Kellerman and Sharwood-Smith started using the term cross-linguistic influence (CLI), which is now widely used in the field. It refers to the many ways in which the knowledge we have in one language can affect the understanding and use of another.

1.2 Contrastive analysis, error analysis and the creative construction hypothesis

CA has pedagogic origins, it was originally created to teach a L2. This trend follows the behaviorist view of language acquisition (although not all contrastivists were in fact behaviorists) where a stimulus produces a response and the relationship between both creates a habit. Interference happens when habits are transferred from the L1 to the L2. According to this, similar language patterns will lead to positive transfer and different language patterns will cause negative transfer. Wardaugh proposed a strong and a weak form for contrastive analysis. The strong form states that all errors can be predicted by identifying the differences between the L1 and the L2. The weak form is diagnostic, it identifies which errors are the result of interference. The main representative of CA is Lado (1957) although previous work has been done by Fries (1945) and Weinreich (1953). In fact the latter established the notion of "interlingual identifications" "when learners make the same what cannot be the same" (Weinreich, 1953). CA started to decline and Nemser (1971) summarizes the main problems that lead to this. For instance, some of the errors that were predicted did not occur, therefore the predictions were ambiguous. Besides, languages cannot be compared as wholes and they are not static.

Error Analysis (EA) started to emerge as a reaction to the previous trend, CA. The traditional attitude to errors proposed by CA implied that learners had not mastered the L2 rules. However, it has been shown that not all errors were the result of interference from the L1. This trend provided a definition of error and the difference between error and mistake. Errors were not something to be avoided, on the contrary they help the teacher to know the students' progress, they also help the researcher to know how the language is acquired and they are useful for students to understand their development by learning and testing hypotheses. Moreover, this trend also provided a methodology to analyze errors which consisted of five steps: Selection of the corpus, identification of the error, classification, explanation and evaluation. As happened to CA, EA was also criticized. According to

Schachter and Celce-Murcia (1977), the main points of criticism were the analysis of errors in isolation, the proper classification of identified errors, statements of error frequency and the identification of errors in the corpus, which refers to the fact that they only analyzed the errors, but not the non-errors, therefore errors were analyzed in isolation. Another criticism emerged from the fact that sometimes it was difficult to classify where an error was in the structure and also to assign ambiguous errors to a specific cause. Frequency was another issue as it was difficult to distinguish points of difficulty in the L2 from those where errors occurred frequently.

Language transfer was minimized in the mentalist viewpoint represented by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) These authors define the Creative Construction Hypothesis (CCH) as:

“the subconscious process by which language learners gradually organize the language they hear, according to the rules they construct to understand and generate sentences. The form of the rules is determined by mental mechanisms responsible for human language acquisition and use. These mechanisms appear to be innate”

The CCH states that L2 users are all the same and L2 learning is a universal process. According to the CCH, the influence of the native language is disregarded as it is not considered to have much influence on the acquisition of another language. Moreover, for the CCH there is not much difference between first and second language acquisition. According to Dulay and Burt (1974), both L1 and L2 acquisition are guided by creative construction. This means that every learner creates hypotheses about the patterns of the language which are being learnt. According to the CCH the learner has a specific type of innate mental organization and s/he adjusts the linguistic rules as s/he organizes the language being acquired and in L1 acquisition this process is guided by the particular form of the L1 system, as Dulay and Burt (1974) state. The evidence for this hypothesis comes from a series of morpheme-order studies. The main problem with the CCH is that they propose that the process of L1 and L2 acquisition is the same yet it is only presupposed but there is no evidence for that in their studies. Moreover, they find some evidence of transfer but offer no explanation for that.

1.3 The Interlanguage hypothesis

In 1972 Selinker proposed the Interlanguage hypothesis (IL), which meant a turning-point in the field of SLA. According to Selinker, the IL shares features both with CCH and with CA. It has the psychological assumptions in common with CCH and with CA it shares the concept of language transfer. An IL is an independent system although it is related both to the L1 and the L2 by the perception of the learner. ILs have their own structure and contain new forms learners create. When we observe them from the perspective of the L2 they seem to contain deviated forms but from the perspective of the IL they are structures. An IL has two central cognitive processes, transfer and fossilization. Transfer is a central process with its own principles, it is selective as not everything is likely to be transferred. Transfer can also occur from the L2 to the L1, or from one IL to another, not only from the L1 to the L2. On the other hand, fossilization is a cessation of IL learning. A previous step to fossilization is stabilization, a temporary stage of getting stuck. Transfer and fossilization are connected in the *Multiple Effects Principle* (Selinker & Lakshmanan, 1992) which states that when two or more factors work together IL forms tend to be fossilized.

In 2013, 40 years of IL were celebrated with a conference at Teacher's College Columbia. The papers from the conference have been recently published in Han and Tarone (2014). As a possible post-IL effect, Selinker comments that without fossilization there would be no field of SLA. The phenomenon of getting stuck has already been noticed by some scholars such as Weinreich (1953) or Nemser, (1971), but, as Selinker (2014) states before its labelling as fossilization in IL there was no organized empirical work on it.

Since the 1950's a number of books have dealt with transfer but three stand out: Gass and Selinker (1983), which is a collection of 12 papers, both theoretical and empirical, mainly focused on transfer in IL. Odlin's (1989) book, which stands out as being the most complete regarding transfer literature and the recent book by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), who deal with the new developments that have taken place since the publication of Odlin's book. They deal with L2 users and with CLI as a psycholinguistic phenomenon. Two books complete the most up-to-date perspectives on CLI: Yu & Odlin (2015) and Alonso (2015). In the following section we will deal with recent approaches to CLI.

1.4 Recent approaches

Three main recent issues have emerged in the field of Second Language Acquisition, which also consider CLI: The multicompetence framework, the renewed interest in linguistic relativity and the development of conceptual transfer as well as its comparison with the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis.

1.4.1 The multicompetence framework

Multicompetence refers to the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind (Cook, 1994). The L2 user is seen as a whole person therefore this trend does not focus on the monolingual speaker as the ideal reference. Cook (2003) considers that there is evidence for multi-competence as a distinct state of mind. This author believes that L2 users differ from monolinguals in their knowledge of the L2, for example in the word associations they make. Advanced L2 users also differ from monolinguals in their knowledge of the L2, for instance in the issue of "ultimate" attainment. Besides, L2 users have a different metalinguistic awareness from those who only know an L2 in aspects such as the detection of anomalous sentences. L2 users also have different cognitive processes from monolinguals. On the other hand there is evidence of holistic multicompetence. The L1 and the L2 share the same mental lexicon, L2 users codeswitch from L1 to L2. L2 processing cannot be cut off from L2 and both languages are stored roughly in the same areas of the brain, as there is hemispheric lateralization and the same sites. Moreover in academic circumstances the level of L2 proficiency is related to the level of L1 proficiency. There are studies which support the fact that knowing more than one language changes the L2 user's mind and as Coggins et al (2004) state knowing another language causes greater density of connections in the corpus callosum. Recent studies by Bialystok, Poarch, Luo, & Craik, (2014), Schweizer, Ware, Fischer, Craik, & Bialystok, (2012), Craik, Bialystok, & Freedman, (2010) show that the cognitive effort which is required to manage two languages contributes to the "cognitive reserve", which accumulates when stimulating activities are undertaken, and it protects against Alzheimer's disease. Lifelong bilinguals which suffer from dementia show symptoms of the disease four years later than similar monolingual patients.

1.4.2 Linguistic relativity

The notion that thought is shaped by language is related to linguistic determinism (Whorf, 1956). The Whorfian view considered that thought and action are determined by language. If languages differ, their speakers will also differ in the way they perceive situations. This strong Whorfian perspective has been abandoned and a renewed interest in linguistic relativity has emerged. The studies of Levinson (1997), Lucy (1992) and Pederson et al. (1998) support the evidence that the way we speak can affect the way we think. Bowerman (1996) has shown that languages differ in how they describe spatial relations. English makes a distinction between putting things in containers (apples in a bowl) and onto surfaces (apple on the table). Korean, on the other hand, makes a distinction between tight and loose relationships or attachment, thus "apple in bowl" requires the term "nehta", indicating loose containment, but "putting a letter in an envelope" requires "kitta", which indicates tight fit. This

seems to support the idea that our native language may impose constraints on our spatial thinking. Languages also differ in their descriptions of time. A study by Boroditsky (2001) showed that Mandarin speakers think about time vertically even when they speak English, as they use vertical metaphors to talk about time (Scott, 1989). Grammatical gender also tends to vary across languages. Languages with grammatical gender mark objects by means of articles, pronouns, often by modifying adjectives or verbs. The grammatical genders assigned to objects can influence the mental representation of objects.

From the point of view of linguistic relativity, Athanasopoulos (2009, 2011) conducted studies to observe if speakers of different languages think differently because they encode and use different concepts. The 2011s study was carried out in the domain of color in Greek-English bilinguals and English monolinguals in order to show whether bilinguals who speak two languages that differ in grammatical and lexical categories "may shift their cognitive representation of those categories towards that of monolingual speakers of their second language " (p.83) The so-called "weak" version of the linguistic relativity hypothesis indicates that language directs attention to specific perceptual issues. Athanasopoulos states that if language-specific concepts direct attention to certain features then research on human cognition should deal with how attention is modulated in bilinguals. In the domain of color, language influences color categorization. In his paper this author analyses whether cognitive representation of colour is affected by knowledge of two languages which differ in how they code the color space. Twenty native speakers of Greek separated into two proficiency groups took part in the study in the first experiment. The stimuli consisted of 160 fully saturated Munsell color chips, which varied in hue and lightness. 30 speakers of Greek who were bilingual in English took part in the second experiment. The stimuli were individual glossy Munsell chips. The two groups of subjects were bilinguals with languages differing in how they code the color space. The results showed a shift in color placement depending in the level of bilingualism and that they way bilinguals perceived "the distinction between their native color categories depended on the availability of specific L1 and L2 color terms in semantic memory, suggesting that semantic salience as well as similarities in surface linguistic form may account for bilingual cognitive behavior in this case" (Athanasopoulos, 2011). This study shows that the area of bilingualism is ideal for testing the linguistic relativity hypothesis.

1.4.3 Conceptual transfer and thinking-for speaking

The Conceptual Transfer Hypothesis (CTH) focuses on the relationship between language and cognition, more specifically on the effects of the patterns of cognition of one language in the acquisition of another. The term conceptual transfer refers to the nature of conceptual representations, their accessibility and processing in perception and production (Jarvis, 1998; Pavlenko, 1998). As Jarvis (2007) states: "As a theoretical construct, conceptual transfer can be characterized as the hypothesis that certain instances of crosslinguistic influence in a person's use of one language originate from the conceptual knowledge and patterns of thought that the person has acquired as a speaker of another language" (2007) This hypothesis is referred to as the Conceptual Transfer Hypothesis. It has its roots in the work of Whorf (1940), Weinreich (1953), Lado, (1957) and Kaplan (1966). In the decades of the 1970's and 1980's research in cognitive science and the work of Rosch (1973), Levelt (1989) and von Stutterheim and Klein (1987), to name a few, helped to establish the groundwork for this hypothesis.

According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), cross-linguistic influence can originate from either conceptual knowledge or processing. In fact, Jarvis (2007) has divided the CTH into concept and conceptualization transfer. The former refers to transfer related to the inventory of concepts in the learner's mind, either to lexicalized or grammaticised concepts and conceptualization transfer, which refers to the processing of that knowledge, more specifically, Jarvis refers to it as "Transfer arising from cross-linguistic differences in the ways L2 users process conceptual knowledge and form temporary representations in their working memory" (2007, p. 53). Jarvis and Pavlenko emphasize the

difference between conceptual transfer and semantic transfer. Semantic transfer refers to the relationship between words and concepts, it can be applied to those cases where a polysemous word in a language can result in a non-target word in another. For example, the word "lengua" in Spanish can mean both *language* and *tongue*. Semantic transfer can lead L2 learners to produce a sentence such as "I speak two tongues" instead of "I speak two languages". This does not mean that a learner is relating a concept of the L1 to the L2 but that s/he is transferring the meaning of the word in the L1 to the L2. According to Odlin (2005, 2008), we should also distinguish between meaning transfer and conceptual transfer. Meaning transfer refers to the influence from the semantics and pragmatics of the L1 on the L2. All conceptual transfer involves meaning transfer but not all meaning transfer involves conceptual transfer. From this perspective, conceptual transfer can be considered a subset of meaning transfer.

The renewed interest in linguistic relativity thanks to the work of Levinson (1997), Lucy (1992) and Pedersen et al. (1998) provided support for the notion that language can influence thought. The thinking for speaking hypothesis proposed by Slobin refers to it as a special kind of thinking which happens *on-line* in the process of speaking (1991). In his own words "Each native language has trained its speakers to pay different kinds of attention to events and experiences when talking about them. This training is carried out in childhood and is exceptionally resistant to restructuring in adult L2 acquisition" (Slobin, 1993). If we apply this hypothesis to SLA then, we have another way to thinking for speaking as Cadierno (2004, 2010) defends or learning to rethink for speaking, as Robinson and Ellis (2008) mention. Although conceptual transfer and thinking for speaking vary in their origins, the former was meant for the analysis of the L2 while the latter was originally formulated for L1 analysis, both of them seem to overlap at the processing level since the former is concerned with storage and processing and TFS deals with processing at the moment of verbalization. Therefore, TFS covers a broader domain, the L1 and L2, but a narrower scope since it deals with the speech-planning process, although in the analysis of gestures it also reflects what the speaker is thinking imaginatively.

The thinking for speaking hypothesis (TFS) proposed by Slobin (1996a) considers that language filters experiences into verbalized events and those verbalized events are constructed in the process of speaking. The thinking that is carried on-line in the process of speaking varies depending on the speaker's L1, therefore native speakers of typologically different languages exhibit different types of thinking for speaking. This notion implies a more cautious version of Whorf's (1956) linguistic relativity hypothesis. The main difference between linguistic relativity and TFS is, as Athanasopoulos and Bylund (2013) state that "the former focuses on effects of linguistic structure on non-verbal behaviour and conceptual representation, while the latter focuses on effects of linguistic structure on the cognitive processes involved in speech production". TFS also differs from the neo-relativist view of Lucy (1992, 1996) and Levinson (2003) who defend the influence of language on non-linguistic cognition. It can be argued that TFS implies a less deterministic view of linguistic diversity. According to Berman and Slobin (1994) the child learns particular ways of thinking for speaking when acquiring a native language; i.e., the child "learns to attend to particular aspects of experience and to relate them verbally in ways that are characteristic of that language" (Berman and Slobin, 1994, p. 611) considering that each language trains its speakers to pay different kinds of attention to specific details of events in the process of speaking. As Slobin (1996a) hypothesizes, this training in early childhood can make restructuring difficult in L2 acquisition. If TFS is applied to second language acquisition then learning a second language involves learning another way of thinking for speaking, as Cadierno (2004), Cadierno and Lund (2004) and Stam (1998) state. Learning a L2 involves paying attention to particular details of motion events and how they are expressed in the foreign language as well as learning "how the semantic components of motion events are mapped onto L2 surface forms" (Cadierno and Ruiz, 2006).

Thinking for speaking in the L2 therefore focuses on the thinking that takes place in the process of verbalization, understanding this term as relevant both to production and perception and to both

written and oral modalities (cf. Slobin, 2000). As mentioned above, the CTH, as established by Jarvis (2007), makes a distinction between concept transfer, i.e. the storage of concepts, and conceptualization transfer, i.e. the processing. There seems to be a certain overlap in the phase of conceptualization transfer and the verbalization process in TFS, although obvious differences are also observed. Conceptual transfer is meant for the study of second languages while TFS was originally proposed for the analysis of different L1s, but probably the most relevant distinction is that TFS deals most typically with processing at the moment of verbalization while conceptual transfer covers both processing and the inventory of different concepts. Therefore, TFS covers a broader domain, the L1 and L2, but a narrower scope since it deals with the speech-planning process, although in the analysis of gestures it also reflects what the speaker is thinking imaginatively. As Jarvis (2010) acknowledges, the CTH covers a narrower domain, i.e. the L2 but a broader scope since it deals both with conceptual inventories and conceptualization processes. In contrast, Stam (p.c.) considers that TFS regarding the timing of the gesture may be more related to conceptualization transfer. It is at the level of conceptualization that both the CTH and TFS seem to overlap. Jarvis (p.c.) considers that there is a partial overlap between both hypotheses.

Although CLI regarding the relationship between language and cognition has been mainly analysed by the CTH, differences are made in the CLI literature between CTH, semantic transfer and meaning transfer, as proposed by Odlin (2005, 2008). They differ not only in their focus of study but also in the methodology followed for their analysis. According to Jarvis, the CTH needs language-performance data to support the idea that the differences in cognition between two languages influence the use the learner makes of the target language. In contrast, Odlin (2005, 2008, 2010) considers that non-verbal tasks are needed to show the effect of conceptual transfer. According to this author conceptual transfer can be considered a subset of meaning transfer. Therefore, studies such as Ijaz (1986) that consider meaning transfer in Urdu and German to affect the use of spatial prepositions in English can only provide evidence of meaning transfer rather than conceptual transfer since a cloze-test is a linguistic task and therefore cannot provide evidence of conceptual transfer. As a result what is evidence for conceptual transfer for Ijaz is in fact evidence of meaning transfer for Odlin.

On other hand, linguistic relativity uses non-verbal, non-linguistic tasks, such as memory tasks, similarity judgements or sorting tasks. In its turn, TFS uses verbal data as it focuses mainly on the process of verbalization, however it should be mentioned that Slobin (2003) considers that TFS does not only cover the process of verbalization. In fact there are a number of studies that focus on speech and gesture (Brown and Gullberg, 2008; Gullberg, 2011; Stam, 2006) although the process of verbalization has been the most widely investigated. As Athanasopoulos and Bylund (2013) mention most studies have focused on the organisation of information in discourse yet few examine the cognitive aspects of speech production and the 'thinking' should not be restricted to a matter of information structure.

We agree with Odlin (2005, 2008) that at least one non-linguistic task should be necessary to determine that cross-linguistic influence at the level of concepts exists. To detect whether language transfer takes place linguistic performance data are needed, however linguistic data alone cannot reflect whether conceptual transfer is involved. In fact, non-verbal tasks alone could be used to determine whether transfer at the level of concepts exists, although only verbal tasks seem to be able to give evidence of whether linguistic transfer actually takes place. Therefore, non-linguistic tasks can give evidence of the effects of language use on non-linguistic cognition while linguistic tasks provide evidence of language transfer.

1.4.4 Cognitive linguistics and usage-based approaches

Cognitive linguistics (CL) as a discipline goes back to 1990 when the journal *Cognitive Linguistics* was first published. It seeks to explain how language interfaces with conceptual structure. Within this framework usage-based theories state that we learn constructions when communicating (Barlow and

Kemmer, 2000, Hopper, 1998), therefore language is learned from usage. Form-meaning mappings constituting the grammar of a language are called "usage-based", as Langacker states:

Substantial importance is given to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker's knowledge of its use; the grammar is held responsible for a speaker's knowledge of the full range of linguistic conventions, regardless of whether those conventions can be subsumed under more general statements (1987)

Cognitive linguistics pedagogy focuses on classroom teaching based on the procedures of CL. In recent years we have witnessed an increase in the number of studies devoted to second language learning from a cognitive linguistics perspective (Achard and Niemeier, 2004; De Knop, Boers, & De Rycker, 2010; Robinson and Ellis, 2008; Ellis and Cadierno, 2009). For example, Achard (2008) focuses on the teaching of grammar based on the tenets and principles of cognitive grammar where the instructor can focus on the meaning of grammatical constructions and from a methodological point of view grammar can be taught similarly to lexical items in congruence with current trends such as content-based or task-based teaching. Besides, the learner is placed at the centre of the communicative act. According to this view, learners must be exposed to actual real examples of language use so as to learn to use specific constructions. In linguistic production construal is a central issue. It has been described as "The relationship between a speaker (or hearer) and a situation that he conceptualizes and portrays" (Langacker, 1987) or human's ability to take different perspectives on a scene or event (Tyler, 2008). The instructor must provide guidelines that train students to choose the L2 construal but in a study conducted with two groups of learners, Danish and Spanish and three groups of native speakers, Danish, English and Spanish, Alonso et al. (forthcoming) state that, like the native English speakers, the Danish learners also provided multiple construals for some items yet the Spanish learners differed significantly from the native English speakers in nine items. With regard to whether the spatial construals of Danish and Spanish learners would differ from each other. The study deals with the acquisition of the prepositions in, on and at. The results show that the Danish learners' prepositional choices were very similar to those of the native English speakers, whereas the Spanish learners' choices were not. As regards whether the learners' prepositional choices and preferences in L2 English reflect the patterns of spatial construal in their L1s, the findings suggest a strong role for L1 influence in the spatial construals of advanced foreign-language learners of English. The pedagogical implications of this study suggest that the spatial configurations of English should be taught to students who are acquiring English as a Second Language, especially in the case of Spanish learners as they move from a single category in their L1 to multiple categories in the L2. CL can provide students with explanations where the various meanings of a particular preposition are connected in systematic ways, in terms of related meaning networks (i.e., polysemy networks), such as the studies by Tyler (2012b) and Tyler and Evans (2001, 2004) indicate.

2. Teaching implications

2.1 Teachers

In the early approach of CA the influence of the L1 was considered to be the cause of most of the difficulties that students experience when they are acquiring an L2, for this reason a comparison of the two languages was carried out so as to see what aspects of the languages should be emphasized. In the interlanguage this perspective was discarded as an IL is highly individual and it is an independent system where transfer occupies a central role. In the current multicompetence framework the use of the L1 in the classroom is not conceived as a negative issue. In other words, the L1 is not the enemy, teachers should use it as it can facilitate positive transfer and it can also help internalize new concepts. In fact, cross-linguistic comparisons can help the learner to become aware of differences in L1-L2 patterns. The L1 is present in the students' minds, therefore it cannot be switched off while students

are in the classroom. As Cook (1999) claims, it can help classroom goals to be achieved more efficiently and it can be used in different ways in the classroom. It can be helpful as a metalanguage for the teaching of grammar and in the teaching of vocabulary it can help convey the meanings of words or sentences. The L1 can also help in classroom management, such as in giving instructions for different activities. At the level of testing it can be a useful tool to assess vocabulary. Moreover, it is beneficial not only for the teacher but also for the students as they cause it as part of the learning activity and within classroom activities.

2.1.1 Native versus non-native teachers

Teachers have an important role in the process of second language learning. For many years it was considered that native teachers were the role model to be followed, yet during the 1990's research began to turn its attention towards non-native speakers (Medgyes, 1994; Cortazzi and Jin, 1996; Braine, 1999; Cook, 1999; Liu, 1999; Modiano, 1999). If we stem from a different perspective of the L2 user, then a non-native teacher is an L2 user who has acquired another language while a native teacher is not. Cook (1999) considers that the non-native teacher can present a role model for the students as s/he can codeswitch to the students' own language when necessary. The only advantage that non-native teachers show is a greater facility in the target language, but only if we consider the native teacher as a native speaker not as an L2 user. Llurda (2005) conducted a study among non-native speaking students' practicum supervisors, who have experience in observing both native teachers and non-native teachers at work. The aim of the study was to obtain evidence of external assessment of these two groups of students' practice teaching and also of their language skills. Thirty departments or schools participated in the study and a questionnaire regarding the students' practice teaching was used as the research instrument. All the questions involved different aspects of the students' practice teaching. The results indicated that only in language awareness were native speakers (NSs) reported to do better. As regards fluency and grammar the results were similar in both groups. In the comparison between NSs and non-native speakers (NNSs) teaching performance, the majority of NNSs (72%) was equal to NSs but most NNs would be recommended to teach at beginner and low-intermediate levels. With respect to the relationship between language proficiency and teaching skills 44% of respondents reported that both teaching skills and language proficiency affected success. The results indicate that language proficiency is a necessary condition for NNs teachers. Apparently, if this is achieved, no difference is observed between Ns and NNs.

2.2 Teaching materials and textbooks

Recent advances in the understanding of multicompetence, linguistic relativity and usage-based approaches have implications for second language learning and teaching. As has been mentioned above, these advances show implications for teachers and they also point to the need of training both for pre-service and in-service teachers so that they gain a better understanding of the role of CLI. As regards implications for teaching materials, a good account can be found in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008). These authors suggest using translation equivalents, such as *ser* and *estar* in Spanish versus *to be* in English so that students can examine the difference in L1-L2-mediated conceptual categories in different contexts and this can also enhance their intercultural competence, which is one of the aims the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages promotes (Council of Europe, 2011). Another related classroom activity is the use of categorization exercises by means of pictures or objects that learners must put together according to the partial translation equivalent to be used. Jarvis and Pavlenko also recommend distributed learning where teachers and also textbooks should present the same topics more than once and in different formats and language levels.

In recent years we have also witnessed an increase in the number of studies devoted to second language learning from a cognitive linguistics perspective (Robinson and Ellis, 2008, Ellis and Cadierno, 2009). Some focus on applying cognitive grammar to the second language classroom (Bielak and

Pawlak, 2013; De Knop et al. 2010; Achard and Niemeier, 2004). They try to find alternative ways to introduce grammar and vocabulary in the classroom, most studies attempt at understanding how the L2 cognitive system works, and how it differs from the learner's first language.

3. Conclusion

Interest in CLI has been pervasive in SLA from early contrastivist approaches to current cognitive perspectives. The influence that the previously acquired languages exert on the acquisition of the second still has a long way to go, but recent advances have improved our understanding of the field. Conceptual transfer has increased our knowledge of the effect of similarities and differences in conceptual categories which reflect lexical and grammatical categories of the L1 and the L2. Recent interest in linguistic relativity has paved the way to the analysis of the relationship between cognition and language and the effects of language on non-linguistic cognition. In its turn, the multicompetence framework has put the L2 user in the centre of the learning process where CLI is one of the central relationships between languages in the L2 user's mind. Finally, a key implication of current research is the need to train both Ns and NNs to become successful teachers. It is advisable that in-training teachers benefit from the advances in SLA research and that both researchers and teachers should establish a closer connection so that the findings of current research can be implemented in the classroom.

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The power of metaphors in the educational discourse

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze metaphors of power present in the educational discourse, with specific emphasis on the Romanian educational landscape. The research involved questionnaires and interviews with students preparing to become teachers, teacher trainees enrolled on the teacher education module at the University of Alba Iulia, Romania, with students of other disciplines and with beginning teachers. The insights into the educational discourse and the way in which different metaphors, used almost unaware by the different discourse participants have provided us with a deeper understanding of how our future, our career path, attitudes and ideals are shaped by the way in which teachers talk to us.

Keywords: business metaphors; conceptualization of time; corpus linguistics;

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1. Introduction

Education lies at the top of both UNESCO and the European Commission agendas. In particular, the education of teachers is considered as one of the most important priorities nowadays. Besides the traditional sound subject knowledge that we used to need in the past in order to achieve success in life, the modern citizen needs to be equipped with far more other qualities; communication and cooperation skills, problem solving abilities, creative and critical thinking, and positive attitudes towards learning throughout one's life. We all recognize the importance of teacher education, and we acknowledge teachers' role as society catalysts and vectors. That is why we need to identify disfunctionalities in the educational systems and try to remedy them as much as possible.

Starting from the initial teacher-training period, being strongly influenced by their personal experience as pupils, respectively, as a student, the future teachers value to an almost absolute extent, the merits of the power exercised by the teacher in relation to the learner. Marked by these deeply engrained preconceived ideas, little resistant to the 'allure of power', beginning teachers let themselves carried away by the complex of superiority. This is one of the most interesting and subtle aspects of the individual constructs of the 'didactic personality'. Especially at the beginning of their careers, young teachers display a totally unexpected rigidity and lack of creative thinking, most often resorting to the power invested in them by the cathedra, and the ensuing power distance, which raises questions as to the effectiveness of our psycho-pedagogic training during the pre-service teacher education programs. Our study is part of a larger body of research into teacher trainees' preconceptions of intercultural education in Romania (lordachescu, 2013).

Indeed, the teacher 'calls the shots', he/she makes the decisions as to what and when he teaches, what educational objectives he/she has, what contents he/she uses, and 'quid prodest', he chooses almost discretionarily and unidirectionally his/her teaching methodology, and most particularly, how and to which end he/she designs, applies and interprets evaluation.

The advantage of age, extended experience, their cultural insights, the decision-making prerogatives, crosscuts all the components of the educational system are enhanced and emphasized by other elements of the institutional environment: The teacher's desk is placed on a pedestal or podium in most of the classrooms in Romanian schools; teachers have separate and secured entrance into schools, their own staircase, etc.

2. Literature Review

Metaphors, together with metonymy, synecdoche, and irony, are regarded as a master trope, "a figure of speech that defines a relationship between terms" (Sapir, 1977; as cited in Nelson & Hitchon, 1999). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) metaphors represent the understanding of one concept in terms of another, therefore abstractions, such as feelings or emotions, are typically structured through physical experiences. By and large, self-understanding represents the "search for appropriate personal metaphors that make sense of our lives [...] The process of self-understanding is the continual development of new life stories for yourself" (1980).

Yet, it is important for us to understand how metaphors used in a classroom setting can affect the subsequent development of children and how their learning processes can be affected. According to Vygotsky (1962), understanding metaphors tallies with "ad hoc" concepts or mental spaces activated in discourse: "The relation of thought to word is not just a thing, but a process, a continual movement back and forth from thought to word and from word to thought. In that process, the relation of thought to word undergoes changes which themselves may be regarded as development. Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them. Every thought tends to connect something with something else, to establish a relationship between things". Thus, metaphor can effect shared understanding of our own existence, and hence, metaphors in educational discourse can lead

to the shaping, construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of children's' understanding and conceptualization of the world. Moreover, according to Roschelle (1992), developmental complexification of metaphors can occur over quite a short period of time as concerns a particular concept. The cognitive role of metaphor towards conceptualization extends beyond the mere structuring of concepts, to the process of conceptual restructuring, the recourse to analogy in problem-solving or facilitating recall of information.

In order to understand the relationship between teacher and students, we need to first understand the way in which both teachers and students conceive themselves and the other. According to Munby (1986, as cited in Thornbury, 1991) "one fruitful way to begin to understand the substantive content of teachers' thinking is to attend carefully to the metaphors that appear when teachers express themselves". In a study by Oxford, Tomlinson, & Barcelos (1998) teachers' metaphors in L2 teaching were clustered into a typology centered on four perspectives of teaching:

- a) Social order: For example, teacher as manufacturer, teacher as competitor.
- b) Cultural transmission: For example, teacher as conduit, teacher as repeater.
- c) Learner-centered growth: For example, teacher as nurturer, teacher as lover, teacher as scaffolder, teacher as entertainer.
- d) Social reform: For example, teacher as acceptor, teacher as learning partner.

However, given the cultural differences between the British and/or American society and the Romanian one, where the power distance index is higher, these sets of metaphors will, by necessity, change.

3. Research Methodology

The aim of this paper is to identify instances of the exercise of power in the discourse revolving around the educational space. We will analyze the metaphors of power that are frequent in the educational discourse, and we will try to identify causes and effects of such linguistic devices. The research involved questionnaires and interviews with pre-service teachers enrolled on the teacher education program at the University of Alba Iulia, Romania. The approach is a multidimensional one, as it involves several aspects: Pedagogy/didactics, discourse analysis, psychoanalysis and semantics. The strongly delineated power distance between teachers and students can be analyzed from all the perspectives mentioned above.

4. Results and Interpretation

The results of the investigation revealed that the metaphors used by teachers in their discourse can dramatically affect their subsequent development, can give the direction of their future career, and forever instill love or hatred for a certain subject.

The teaching act, conceived as manipulation, or even as taming of the learner, the pre-eminence of teachers' own means of getting listened to and of 'subduing', turns the educator into the absolute master of the above mentioned relation. The feeling of almightiness, more or less explicit in the relationship teacher – student is transposed into disproportionate rapports in exerting the roles and functions of the teacher. The teachers' self-centeredness is blatantly manifested in their focus on own convictions and representations, in the self-sufficiency and scientific and professional narcissism, in positioning themselves against contents to the detriment of objectives, to educational desiderata, arbitrarily designed to the detriment of the pupils' real learning needs. On the other hand, we are faced with the overt and/or subliminal histrionics of teachers' didactic and non-didactic behavior, characterized by a model of megalomania (in fantasy and/or in real behavior), an overwhelming need for admiration/self-admiration, and more than often, a sheer lack of empathy towards the others.

The process of teachers' professional development is carried out along a continuum, starting with initial teacher training and ending with retirement from the profession. However, apart from three major professional examinations, and some training courses that some teachers embark upon on a voluntary basis, most of the times for advancement purposes or better payment, there is little, if any, specialist training for psycho-pedagogic competences development.

In the first stage, that of initial teacher training, would-be teachers get acquainted with specialized knowledge and competences pertaining to pedagogy and didactics. In Romania, this stage still coincides with the psycho-pedagogic modules I and II, concurrent with the bachelor and MA degree studies. Unfortunately, these two modules contain no courses in intercultural education, which affects trainees' ability to cope with the multifariousness of problems that they might encounter as beginning teachers, especially if they set out in their career in a remote village, with mixed-ability and mixed-age groups of students, most of them of different ethnic or race backgrounds (Hungarians, Roma, etc.)

Faced with their first professional experiences, the now beginning teachers, the formerly enthusiastic, idealistic and perfectionist students, feel acutely a professional identity crisis. The short circuit between the theory learned in university and the school reality may very quickly end up in a feeling of rejection and awkwardness in the system.

In a society still dominated by prejudice of all kinds (race, sex, even religion), the young teacher finds himself in an embarrassment of choice over his philosophy of teaching, and in the process of finding his own teaching mantra, he would most often fall prey to deeply engrained prejudgment and stereotypes over the social role of the teacher.

The issue of intercultural education is at the core of Romanian teacher education and the question that remains is: How do we position ourselves, as a national educational system in relation to this tendency of acceptance and valuing of diversity, to this necessity of differentiating the psycho-educational intervention to the verge of individualizing and personalizing it, within an educational system, profoundly influenced by its collective thought, rather encourages both opportunism and obedience, conformity, abiding by the norm, as well as, to an equal extent, cunning, superficiality, alongside approaches that iterate the primacy of 'order and discipline'?

How else can we raise the question of interculturality in a system that cherishes the educational merits of punishment ("chastisement is heavenly" – a biblical precept: "Chasten thy son while there is hope and let not thy soul spare for his crying." – Pr 18:18; 'when mother hits you, you will grow', etc.) or of the attitude of neutrality, or at the most of benevolence, even towards your own child ("do not kiss your baby unless it's asleep").

Parents who are ashamed to tell their own children that they love them will put in turn pressure on educators to realize 'high-standard education'. They change didactic principles, absurdly and egocentrically meddle with the life of the class/group which their children are part of, only to push them forward in front of the others, to fabricate advantages for them and to make them feel special and inimitable.

It is still psychoanalysis that could provide interesting explanations concerning this issue, if we are to take into consideration this attitude as a way of overcompensation of the frustrations that these teachers have developed as a result of the ever increasing debasing perceptions of the teacher's socio-professional status nurtured by the public opinion. On the other hand, teachers themselves consider the prospective future teaching career as a fall-back solution, a 'bad weather' umbrella, a temporary solution, while waiting for the golden job in store for them.

Future teachers are thus inoculated from the collective thought the idea which will set in their own mentality that teachers are part of a social professional category devoid of qualities and perspectives, with a marginal role and status, possessing an ever decreasing scientific and psycho-pedagogic training (nowadays teachers are 'weaker' than our 'good old times teachers'), without real prospects in a

different profession ('only the weakest graduates end up as teachers'), mainly inactive and lacking in initiatives ('teachers do almost nothing in class, 'most of the time they're on holiday, just like pupils'), unjustifiably consuming undeserved resources as opposed to minimal results ('teachers produce nothing, they only eat up resources').

Teachers will internalize so deeply these debasing social labels that they will bear in the form of painful and frustration-generating stigmata. In time, cathartic liberation from these frustrations represents the very exercise of power and dominance mentioned above over the pupil, the 'culprit', a representative of the society that continually blamed and disavowed him/her, the one 'responsible' for his/her predicament. The sad truth is however, that in reality, slowly, but steadily, the teacher ends up behaving in accordance with these 'labels'.

Several metaphorical clusters may be identified from the responses of the students and teachers:

a) The teacher as master:

"My subject is the most important one!" "You just do as I say – because I say so!" "You only have to learn from my course book / lecture notes!" – other sources are unreliable." "You made me angry – so I'll give you a test!" "I have to be tough with my students, otherwise I'll lose face and control in front of them." "I prefer subdued, not so smart pupils to more intelligent and unruly ones."

b) The teacher as despot/dictator:

"You are stupid!", "You callous ones", "You're so rude", "dumbo's", "You'd better shut up if you don't know the answer", "you're wrong!"; "You will never pass the school leaving exam in mathematics! (Guess what – we almost all passed it!); "going to university is useless", "stop eating, or you'll never be able to get through that door", "I can't wait getting rid of you", "stop laughing like a fool!", "You're good-for-nothing!", "If you don't learn, the devil's mother will take you all!", "If you become a teacher, the kids will eat you up!", "you read in English like a shoe!", "I'm sick of you! I don't want to be your form teacher anymore!" "I can't stand you!", "When you're mind breeds offspring, let me know!" "Take a look at your colleague! Why can't you do the same? How come he/she can and you cannot?", "No, not you, let your colleague do this. You can't." "Are you stupid or you just don't understand?", "You disappoint me!", "I expected more from your part!", "You are out of this world!", "You're a shame for this team!", "What a blockhead you are!", "You prepared for today as much as a peanut!", "If you're such a lazybones, you'd better stay at home!", "Stop trying, you'll never make it!"

c) The teacher as moral support:

"Well done, good grades! / good attendance!", "you've got talent, keep on writing!", "Bravo, see you can do it, keep up the good work!", "Congratulations!, you're a talented pupil!", "You're the only pupil who has prepared well for today!", "Don't worry, you'll do better next time!", "If you're not prepared for today, you can answer next time!", "You've done the best paper today!", "You're doing just fine!", "Today you only got a 4, next time you'll answer for a 10!", "Believe in yourself and you'll make it!", "You lost a battle, not the war!",

d) The teacher as learning partner:

"I'm proud of you!", "We'll show them all how good we are!", "I will be by your side, no matter what!", "This is just a great idea, I haven't thought about it myself!"

5. Conclusions and interpretation

Teacher trainees, starting with their pre-service teacher-training program should be made aware of the power of words used in the classroom. In particular, such figurative language, filled with metaphors, similes, metonymies, etc., can at times become dangerous for the further development of the learners. Therefore, teacher educators have to intersperse their disciplines with clear awareness

raising strategies in order to train future teachers as to the importance of power metaphors in the classroom. To our surprise, the metaphor of the teacher as despot/dictator was prevalent in almost all the cases of the subjects interviewed. Every single subject remembered one such deprecating remark, either to him/her or to the other members of the class. It was less often found that people remembered encouraging/stimulating remarks that helped them along in their learning experiences.

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A Corpus-analysis of time metaphors in British and Romanian business press

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze metaphors related to TIME from the business discourse (found in British and Romanian business press), and to identify the patterns of occurrence that are most frequent in the two corpora. The main tenet is that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix. Our analysis is based on two corpora (British and Romanian), consisting of articles from general audience and financial broadsheets, written during 2012-2015. The newspapers used for this study are: The Economist, The Guardian, The New York Times and The Telegraph for the English corpus; and Adevarul, Jurnalul National, Cotidianul, Capital, and Ziarul Financiar for the Romanian corpus. The results were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Keywords: business metaphors; conceptualization of time; corpus linguistics;

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1. Introduction

Economic discourse has abounded in figurative language from the beginnings of trade itself. The communicative function of metaphor in particular is self-evident in journal article titles, the financial press, headlines, marketing and advertising, etc. Another aspect is that of the interrelatedness of semantic and social change of the language, in order to reflect different historical moments, marked by social and economic transformations. However, besides its social, political and cognitive dimensions of the language used in the business domain, it also displays cultural underpinnings, pertaining to specific cultural concepts of one particular nation. Conceptualizations of culture, besides cognitive categories offer deeper insights into intercultural communication. An understanding of people's metaphorical language can reveal deep meanings pertaining to different cultures. However, the processes of meaning creation are still to be investigated in order to establish the relation between cognition and linguistic expression.

When people acquire and use their mother tongue, they appropriate the concepts and classifications related to the world that surrounds them. In general, they do not challenge how the world around them is affected and regulated by their speech, as the whole community shares the same model, both in behavior and linguistic manifestations.

Moreover, although speakers create linguistic classifications in order to categorize the world around them, they are not aware of how they influence their own language, neither of the linguistic impact on the shared cultural conceptualizations (Palmer, 1996; Wierzbicka, 1999).

2. Literature Review

Understanding the relationship between language and culture and their inherent intertwining stands at the core of intercultural communication nowadays, being of topical interest not only to linguists, but also to anthropologists and international business specialists. Along time, different theoretical frameworks have provided models to delve into the complex notion of culture in relation to linguistic structures (Holland & Quinn, 1987; Geertz, 1973; Kachru & Kahane, 1995; Palmer, 1996; Jackendoff, 2007). By gaining insights into the mental lexicon of a particular language, one can better access the mechanisms that lay behind the interrelations between cognition, knowledge organization and communication (Aitchison, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1997). According to the cognitive linguistic theory, one concept is represented in our mind by a series of other concepts that together constitute a coherent whole, in the form of a mental frame. However, there are social and cultural, even ideological concepts that are hardly generalizable, and hence, not universal. The differences between linguistically encoded meanings in various cultures or communities are grounded in cultural models based on assumptions and patterns of thinking engendered by the varying environmental settings and differently conceptualized life experiences. Conversely, similarities identifiable in many languages and cultures, reflect the universality of human conceptualization paradigms. According to Wierzbicka (1997), linguistic universals afford a common groundwork from which variations found in various languages and cultures are created.

As analyzed by Kövecses (2014), an example in case may be the representation of the self, which is variable across different cultures. Thus (pp. 62-65), in Western societies that emphasize the self, the concept is associated with a number of other concepts, including independence (personal), self-centered, self-expression, self-indulgence, personal goals and desires, happiness (personal), achievement (personal), self-interest, selfishness, suspicion, pride, competition, indifference. Conversely, in some Eastern societies, the notion of the self is embedded in a different network of concepts, opposite to the above; interdependence, other-centered, saving the other's face, self-denial, social goals and desires, happiness (social), achievement (social), interest (social), sharing, trust, humility, cooperation, care, concern.

Geert Hofstede's anthropological theory of cultural categories (1991) is parallel to the above one, in that he also characterizes societies as individualistic versus collectivistic. In individualist societies the ties between people are loose, people tend to look after themselves and their immediate families, whereas in collectivistic societies, people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, cherishing family values.

The interrelatedness between language and culture is at play when people belonging to a certain cultural group assign meaning to various linguistic expressions. These interactions are also responsible for how speakers communicate in their daily exchanges. According to Geertz (1973), culture represents "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life". As long as our brain is shaped by our culture and language represents a strongly cognitive phenomenon, it follows that language will be embodied into a statement of our culture and experience. In Lakoff and Johnson's view (2003), "it would be more correct to say that all experience is cultural through and through, that we experience our "world" in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself".

3. Research Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyze metaphors related to TIME from the business discourse (found in British and Romanian business press), and to identify the patterns of occurrence that are most frequent in the corpora. The main tenet is that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix.

Our analysis is based on two corpora (British and Romanian), consisting of articles from general audience and financial broadsheets, written during 2012-2015. The newspapers used for this study are: *The Economist*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *The Telegraph* for the English corpus; and *Adevarul*, *Jurnalul National*, *Cotidianul*, *Capital*, and *Ziarul Financiar* for the Romanian corpus.

Apart from the self-made English language corpus, we also resorted to The British National Corpus, as a reference corpus from the general English language. BNC is a collection of approximately 100 million words containing samples of written and spoken language from various sources. The written part (representing about 90% of the corpus) consists of extracts from regional and national newspapers, academic writings and popular fiction, school and university essays, etc. The spoken part consists of orthographic transcriptions of unscripted informal conversations recorded by volunteers and spoken language collected in different contexts, ranging from formal business or government meetings to radio shows and phone-ins.

Identification of metaphor entails identification of "ideational meaning", by which one has to establish whether metaphors can be identified in a text and if there is some "tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain" (Charteris-Black, 2004). According to Stefanowitsch (2006) there exist three main strategies for extracting linguistic expressions (as cited in Chapeton, 2010):

a) The first strategy is based on searching for source domain vocabulary. This entails selecting a potential source domain and then searching for individual lexical items from this domain using concordancers.

b) The second one resorts to searching for target domain vocabulary. An analysis based exclusively on these two methods will only identify a subset of metaphorical expressions, namely those which contain specific vocabulary belonging to the source or target domain.

c) The third strategy used in the extraction of metaphorical expressions is manual coding. The drawback to this method is that it limits the potential size of the corpus, as the researcher has to

carefully read throughout the whole corpus. Moreover, this strategy involves manual annotation, a very time-consuming and painstaking process. For the purposes of this study, we employed a combined method for the identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions, based on keywords belonging to the target domain and a manual search inside the corpus.

The current research was carried out based on a combination of the above methods in order to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions, starting from headwords from the target domain and manual search throughout the corpus. The methods employed were; quantitative analysis, based on statistical data starting from headwords and collocations frequently identified in the corpus; and qualitative analysis, in which we analyzed the metaphors found from the perspective of universality and cultural variation.

4. Results and Interpretation

The results of the investigation confirmed that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections (Popescu, 2012).

Time is an abstract concept and has represented the focus of research in various fields, ranging from philosophy to linguistics, from physics to theology, as well as education, sociology or economy. It is widely used and apparently known, but still remains a concept especially difficult to grasp. The way in which we speak about time provides a better understanding of how it is conceptualized. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) underline that: "In our visual systems, we have detectors for motion and detectors for objects / locations. We do not have detectors for time ... Thus, it makes good biological sense that time should be understood in terms of things and motion".

a) TIME is MONEY

The fast pace of technological breakthroughs, globalization, consumerism and other aspects of postmodern society have contributed to shaping new existential paradigms which have upturned the meanings of everything we used to consider as the norm. One of the emblematic and symptomatic mottos of our business oriented world is that of "time is money". Therefore, not surprisingly, the most frequent occurrences were found in the case of this conceptualization.

- (1) we do have to invest some **time** initially in sharing (EC, 2011)
- (2) having spent lots of **time** and money since the crisis (EC, 2013)
- (3) people's most important resource is their **time** (EC, 2013)
- (4) an excess of meetings is the biggest devourer of **time** (EC, 2013)
- (5) are a substantial waste of the recipients' **time** (EC, 2015)
- (6) how much **time** Google saves us
- (7) Greece's €130bn bailout merely buys it **time**... (FT, 2012)
- (8) in the form of a dividend – for investing in our **future**. (EC, 2011)
- (9) apoi vei avea **timp** destul pentru note, stari zilnice (DM, 2011)
then you will have enough time for notes, daily states of mind
- (10) le-a permis guvernelor sa castige **timp** pentru a stapani (CA, 2010)
allowed the governments to gain time in order to master
- (11) merita sa-mi investesc **timpul** in lectura sa. (DM, 2011)
it's worth investing time in reading it
- (12) vrem sa economisim **timp** fara sa stim (DM, 2012)
We want to save time without knowing

- (13) e placut sa pierzi **timpul** si sa te lasi in voia capriciilor (DM, 2012)
it's nice to waste time and let yourself carried away by whims
- (14) e atat de bine sa poti scapa de tirania **timpului** util!(DM, 2012)
it's so good to be able to get away from the useful time's tyranny!
- (15) 45 de minute de birou, foarte multi considera ca **timpul** pierdut pe drum nu merita",
45 minutes away from the office, very many consider that the time wasted is not worth it.

The metaphorical expressions extracted above are based on the following mappings:

Investment → a period of time dedicated to an activity;

Waste → the time spent in unfruitful activities;

Profit-making → either accomplishing something in less time than initially calculated or obtaining an extended deadline.

This set of mappings derived from the metaphor of time are highly conventional, which reveals that people who live by it think of time in terms of profit, try to invest their time in the best possible way and keep waste at a minimum. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) associated the conceptualization of time with the role of work in Western cultures. Since work is typically connected with the time it takes and time is precisely quantified, it has become customary to pay people by the hour, week, or year. TIME IS MONEY in a great deal of ways; telephone message units, hourly wages, yearly budgets, interest on loans, and paying a debt to society by serving time. Therefore, we understand and experience time as the sort of thing that can be spent, wasted, invested wisely or poorly, budgeted, saved, or squandered.

Although the metaphor TIME IS MONEY was encountered with the highest frequency rate in our corpora, the analysis showed that for the Romanian corpus it applied more to the domain of business and technology. The TIME IS MONEY metaphor can be related to the history of industrialization, when work started to be associated with the time it took to be performed. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003) Consequently, its association with the business field and with that of science and technology is perfectly understandable. However, beyond these domains there are other cultural factors to be taken into account.

In Romanian, the conceptualization of time in general, when referring to business as an economic phenomenon, time is conceptualized as money. Nevertheless, outside this domain, beyond the context of business, TIME IS MONEY may become a synonym of TIME IS A TYRANT:

(16) *De regula, nu ne putem permite asa ceva, stiu, avem cu totii o agenda plina care ne mana de la spate. Dar macar din cand in cand, in rarele noastre momente de vacanta, de „timp liber”, e atat de bine sa poti scapa de tirania timpului util!* (DM, 2012)

As a rule, we cannot afford something like this, I know, we all have a busy agenda, which pushes us from behind. But at least, from time to time, during our rare moment of recess, of “free time”, it's so good to be able to get away from the useful time's tyranny!

These results suggest that the Romanian culture emphasizes more the idea of “working in order to live” and not the other way round, one of the characteristics of feminine cultures. In this type of culture the dominant values are caring for others and preservation, managers strive for consensus, people value equality, solidarity and quality in their working lives. Conflicts are typically resolved by compromise and negotiation and free time and flexibility are highly appreciated.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Metaphor in general performs a persuasive role, and a deeper insight into its structure and meaning can provide a better understanding of the culture that has coined it. Along this line, the more aware we are of the similarities and differences in our languages and cultures, the better we can communicate and function successfully, especially in the international business arena. The results of our analysis are in line with Geert Hofstede's framework (2003). According to his research data, Romania scores 42% on the masculinity/ femininity scale, while the United Kingdom registers a score of 66, indicating a masculine society. An interesting perspective might be lent by the analysis of some proverbs concerning time in both languages, and hence acquire an insight into people's attitude towards time. Such would be a higher concern of the British people for a wiser and more judicious distribution of time, whereas Romanians would be more concerned with the waste of time.

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Maritime figurative and literal multiword terms in the ESP classroom: A blueprint

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is two-fold: a) Look into the socio-cultural background of the most common twenty five sub-technical multiword naval units in a pilot corpus of 250,000 words, some of them metaphorical and metonymic expressions (Kövecses, 2002; Wray 2002); b) Study ten of these metaphorical units in their contexts of production (EU maritime discourse, textbooks and <http://www.sailingscuttlebutt.com/news/04/ras/>). Multiword units have been chosen with WORDSMITH TOOLS, regarding frequency of use a key factor. The conclusions point out that these multiword units are highly productive in oral and written maritime discourse and worthy of investigation. They reveal that both denotative (in terminological collocations) and evaluative meanings may be embedded in lexical-semantic structures. The lexicographical descriptions of these collocations in learner's dictionaries available in Maritime English end with the recognition that development of collocations seems necessary if we are to witness some further progress for ESL learners in productive mode.

Keywords: Multiword Units (MWUs); maritime language; sub-technical terms; metaphor and metonymy; teaching ESP terms;

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1. Introduction

Naval terminology allows professionals to streamline their communication by conveying meanings as succinctly as possible using the right terminology which reflects different subjects (oceanography, fishing, strategy, history, naval customs, etc.). Attention has been paid to the teaching of individual words (e.g. abaft, abeam, aboard, etc.) in ESP literature but students also need to know multiword units (MWUs) related to their discipline to speak and write fluently. It is my contention that there are different strategies to teach these MWUS and single terms, namely, the following; a) using definition+ graphs; b) explaining their socio-cultural background and c) exploring metaphorical and metonymic terms. This study will focus mainly on the two latter categories. One example of traditional teaching of MWUs is provided below in example 1 with its translation equivalent into Spanish:

- **Coastal upwelling**> Coastal upwelling is the best known type of upwelling, and the most closely related to human activities as it supports some of the most productive fisheries in the world. Wind-driven currents are diverted to the right of the winds in the Northern Hemisphere and to the left in the Southern Hemisphere due to the Coriolis Effect (*afloramiento costero*).

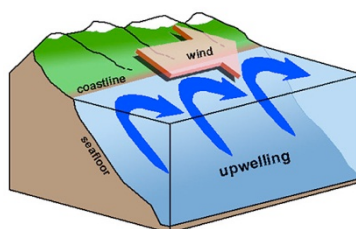


Figure 1. Coastal upwelling

Specifically, the aim of this paper is two-fold; a) look into the socio-cultural background of the most common multiword naval units and a few single terms in a pilot corpus of 250,000 words, some of them metaphorical & metonymic expressions (Kövecses, 2002; Wray 2002); b) study ten of these metaphorical units in their contexts of production (EU maritime discourse, textbooks and <http://www.sailingscuttlebutt.com/news/04/ras/>). Multiword units have been chosen with WORDSMITH TOOLS, regarding frequency of use a key factor. Examples of the metaphorical & metonymic phrasemes are sea change, at the helm, in the same boat, even keel.

2. Socio-cultural background of MWUs

Some studies highlight the importance of teaching the socio-cultural background for learning vocabulary and MWUs effectively (Gross, 1990; Pawley, 2001; Skandera 2007). This assertion proves quite true when looking at fishing terminology from a contrastive perspective (English-Spanish) in Table 1. English MWUs are fairly easy to understand even for the non-expert user, whereas Spanish terms require specialized knowledge. Interestingly, English MWUS are translated by just one word into Spanish, although it is not always the case:

Table 1. English Fishing MWUs and their Spanish counterparts.

ENGLISH	SPANISH
snare/fish trap	<i>garlito</i>
catch in a net	<i>redar</i>
spawning season	<i>desove</i>

History is another relevant source for teaching maritime MWUs. Examples 2 to 4 below prove the relevance of including brief historical explanations for the understanding of these terms. The translations into Spanish are provided for ease of reference. Table 2 shows the historical influence of English nautical terms in Spanish naval terminology for designing parts of the ship:

(2) Coxswain (*timonel*)

A coxswain or cockswain was at first the swain (boy servant) in charge of the small cock or cockboat that was kept aboard for the ship's captain and which was used to row him to and from the ship. The term has been in use in England dating back to at least 1463. With the passing of time the coxswain became the helmsman of any boat, regardless of size.

(3) Fathom (*braza*)

Although a fathom is now a nautical unit of length equal to six feet, it was once defined by an act of Parliament as "the length of a man's arms around the object of his affections." The word derives from the OE Faethm, which means "embracing arms".

(4) Fouled anchor (*ancla rodeada por cadenas o cuerdas*).

The fouled (rope- or chain-entwined) anchor is a symbol at least 500 years old that has its origins in the British traditions adopted by the naval service.

The anchor (both with and without the entwined rope) is a traditional heraldic device used in ancient British coats of arms.

Table2. Influence of English nautical terms in Spanish naval terms

ENGLISH	SPANISH
bonet	<i>boneta</i>
trinket	<i>trinquete</i>
thole pin	<i>tolete</i>
scuttle	<i>escotilla</i>
ratline	<i>relinga</i>

It is also relevant to pay attention to sub-technical MWUs in Maritime contexts. They refer to terms which are neither highly technical to the Maritime field nor clearly everyday words. These MWUs may be classified in various types (from *a* to *e*):

a) MWUs which *express* notions general to specialized areas, e.g. *fatigue failure*. This collocation is used when s metal subjected to a repetitive or fluctuating stress will fail at a stress much lower than that required to cause fracture on a single application of load. These fatigue failures also happen in Aeronautical, Automotive engineering.

Examples of where fatigue may occur in a marine diesel engine are; crankshafts, valve springs, turbocharger blades, piston crowns, bottom end bolts, piston skirts at the gudgeoned pin boss and tie bolts.

b) Terms which have a specialized meaning in Maritime engineering, e.g. *hull slamming* and also a different meaning in general language. *Hull slamming* or *slamming* is the violent impact between sea waves and a portion of a craft's hull, resulting in large plating loads due to the large relative velocity. This can occur subsequent to a forward foil broach, as in example 5 below:

(5) Stephen Priestley, Researcher, Canadian American Strategic Review Construction methods have a minimal effect on the handling of vessels of this size. In heavy seas, MCDVs are prone to hull slamming – generating impact forces that can damage hull plating. The **hull-slamming** is, to some degree, inevitable with a short, beamy hull.

“Slamming” in general language refers to the illegal practice of switching a consumer's traditional wire line telephone company for local, local toll, or long distance service without permission.

c) MWUs with a metaphorical or metonymic origin. Metaphors and metonymies are used in engineering contexts (Roldan & Molina 2013, Cuadrado et al 2015). They can be image metaphors — metaphors that link one concrete object to another—promoting visualization in the reader (example 6 below describing a *mushroom anchor*, a type of anchor with a heavy inverted mushroom shaped head) or conceptual metaphors, in which one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another:

(6) For more than 150 years a well seated **mushroom anchor** has been the standard permanent mooring in the harbors of New England and Long Island Sound.

d) MWUs which are not used in general language but which have different meanings in several specialized areas, e.g. *Jacob's ladder*. It's a nautical term which describes a portable ladder of ropes or chains supporting wooden or metal rungs or steps. See example 7 translated into Spanish as *escala de gato*:

(7) On the day of the at-sea event, Rodney M. Davis launched its rigid-hull inflatable boat (RHIB) to transport the Indonesians back and forth between the ships. "It takes major coordination between us and the Indonesians to conduct this evolution," noted Long, as he waited near the top of the **Jacob's ladder** for more Indonesian teams to arrive.

However, this polysemous MWU should not be confused with a collocation from the Electronics genre, which requires a totally different translation into Spanish: *arco eléctrico producido por un dispositivo formado por dos conductores rectos en forma de* (example 8):

(8) **What is a Jacob's ladder** you ask? It's the funny looking device in the background that has a small electrical arc rising between two steel rods over and over again giving off an eerie electrostatic sound, creating a pretty neat visual effect.

e) Items which are commonly viewed as general language vocabulary (idioms with figurative meaning) but which have a restricted meaning in the Maritime context. Examples (9 to 18) are organized by alphabetical order and their explanation mainly comes from the website phrases.org.uk:

(9) **All at sea**. This is an extension of the nautical phrase 'at sea'. It dates from the days of sail when accurate navigational aids weren't available. Any ship that was out of sight of land was in an uncertain position and in danger of becoming lost. 'At sea' has been in use since the 18th century, as here, in Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the laws of England*, 1768: "If a court of equity were still **at sea**, and floated upon the occasional opinion which the judge who happened to preside might entertain of conscience in every particular case". In general English nowadays, it means in a state of confusion and disorder.

(10) **Brass monkey**. It is often stated that the phrase originated from the use of a brass tray, called a "monkey", to hold cannonballs on warships in the 16th to 18th centuries. Supposedly, in very cold temperatures the "monkey" would contract, causing the balls to fall off. However, this interpretation is considered by many experts as an urban legend.

"Monkey" has other numerous nautical meanings, such as a small coastal trading vessel; a small wooden cask in which grog was carried after issue from a grog-tub to the seamen's messes in the Royal Navy; a type of marine steam reciprocating engine where two engines were used together in tandem on the same propeller shaft; and a sailor whose job involved climbing and moving swiftly (usage dating to 1858). In general English, the MWU *Brass monkeys* means now "very cold weather".

(11) **The Bull Ensign** is the senior junior officer of the rank of Ensign (O-1) in a ship's compliment. A Bull Ensign will often be recognized by his uniform's oversized gold ensign collar device engraved with the word "Bull." The origin of the term *Bull Ensign* is uncertain, though the combination of the words "bull" and "ensign" likely occurred in the mid-20th century.

The first published use of the word "ensign" indicating the lowest rank of commissioned naval officer dates to 1708 when it was used in the London Gazette. The US Navy adopted the rank in 1862 as a replacement for the rank of passed midshipman (a Naval Academy graduate). In general English, *bull* is slang for a Royal Navy ship and an English person (1835); a railway locomotive (1859); a police officer/prison guard/detective (1893); something large and powerful (1889); and a logging foreman or boss (1942).

(12) **A Wide berth** is most commonly found in the phrases 'keep a wide berth of', 'give a wide berth to' etc. It was originally a nautical term. We now think of a ship's berth as the place where the ship is moored. Before that though it meant 'a place where there is sea room to moor a ship'. When sailors were warned to keep a wide bearing off something, they were being told to make sure to maintain enough sea room from it.

It dates back to the Seventeenth century. An early use comes from Captain John Smith in *Accidental Young Seamen*, 1626: "Watch bee vigilant to keepe your berth to windward. "In general current English this MWU means 'A goodly distance'.

(13) **Battening down the hatches**. 'Hatch' is one of those words with dozens of meanings in a technical dictionary. In this case, we are looking at the 'opening in the deck of a ship' meaning. Ships' hatches, more formally called hatchways, were necessary on sailing ships and were normally either open or covered with a wooden grating to allow for ventilation of the lower decks. When there was bad weather, the hatches were sheltered with tarpaulin and the covering was edged with wooden strips, called battens, to prevent it from blowing off.

An Example of this MWU is found in Admiral W H Smyth's 1867 encyclopaedia *The Sailor's Word Book*. Smyth, he uses a variation, 'battening of the hatches' but it is clearly the same expression:

"Battens of the hatches: Long narrow laths serving by the help of nailing to confine the edges of the tarpaulins, and keep them close down to the sides of the hatchways in bad weather." Nowadays it means 'to prepare for trouble'.

(14) **Cut and run**. It has been suggested that it has a nautical derivation and that it refers to ships making a hasty departure by the cutting of the anchor rope and running before the wind. The earliest known citation of 'cut and run' is the 1704 Boston News Letter: "Cap. Vaughn rode by said Ship, but cut & run."

The 'cutting rope' derivation was certainly accepted later in that century by David Steel, the author of the 1794 tome *The Elements and Practice of Rigging and Seamanship*:

"To Cut and run, to cut the cable and make sail instantly, without waiting to weigh anchor." In general current English it means now 'to run away'.

(15) **Edge forward/toward**. The phrase 'edging forward' describes this inch-by-inch progress. It was first used in the seventeenth century, typically in nautical contexts and referring to slow advance by means of repeated small tacking movements, as here in Captain John Smith's *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* 1624: "After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we **edged towards** her to see what she was". It now means in current English 'to join a conversation in which another is speaking continually and leaving little opportunity for others'. This practice of 'edging' was used with reference to the spoken word by David Abercromby, in *Art of Converse*, 1683: "Without giving them so much time as **to edge in** a word".

(16) **On your beam ends**. The beams here refer to the horizontal transverse timbers of ships. This nautical phrase came about with the allusion to the danger of imminent capsize if the beam ends were touching the water. This dates back to the Eighteenth century and is cited in a 1773 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*: "The gust laid her **upon her beam-ends**."

The current meaning 'Hard up; in a bad situation' came soon afterwards, in Captain Marryat's *The King's Own*, 1830: "Our first-lieutenant was **on his beam-ends**, with the rheumatiz."

(17) **Slush Fund**. 'Slush', or 'slosh', which is the fat or grease obtained from meat boiled on board ship. Slush was considered a perk for ships' crew and they sold the fat that they gathered from cooking meat whenever they reached port. This practice became known as a 'slush fund' as in *Evils & Abuses in Naval & Merchant Service*, 1839: "The sailors in the navy are allowed salt beef. From this provision, when cooked nearly all the fat boils off; this is carefully skimmed and put into empty beef or pork barrels, and sold, and the money so received is called the **slush fund**".

Nowadays, it is money put aside to make use of when required. The use of such savings for improper uses like bribes or the purchase of influence began in the USA not long afterwards. The Congressional Record for January 1894 printed this: "[Cleveland] was not elected in 1888 because of pious John Wanamaker and his \$400,000 of campaign **slush funds**".

(18) **Tide over**. The original 'tiding over' was a seafaring term and derives ultimately from 'tide', synonymous with 'time'. The literal meaning was 'in the absence of wind to fill the sails, float with the tide'. This usage was recorded by the English seaman Captain John Smith. His influential sailor's manual *A Sea Grammar*, 1627 includes this earliest known citation of this MWU: "To **Tide ouer** to a place, is to goe ouer with the Tide of ebbe or flood, and stop the contrary by anchoring till the next Tide."

That sense of tiding over, in which ships would tide over here and tide over there, was outdated by a 'coping with a short-term problem' meaning. This meaning drew on the imagery of ships floating over obstacles on a swelling tide. This general usage of that image was established by the early 19th century, as in the Earl of Dudley's Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, 1821: "I wish we may be able to **tide over** this difficulty."

The former MWUs examples were taught to students of *English for Professional and Academic Communication* studying two different degrees at the Naval Engineering School of Madrid: Naval Architecture and Maritime Engineering. Students have a B2 level and were interested to find out the particulars of these MWUs. They said that getting to know the socio-cultural background and figurative meaning of some MWUs helped their Second Language Vocabulary Acquisition. They also realized that idiomatic MWUs cannot be always translated word by word, as they also have figurative meaning on certain occasions. Generally speaking, the learner's assumption was that the meaning of the whole was the sum of the meaning of its parts. They were also surprised to meet that naval language was so rich in the use of metaphors. The first activity related to the learning of these metaphorical chunks was to ask students to brainstorm the words in a ship. They came up with words such as *hatch*, *hull*, *tide*. Once I checked that students have understood the literal meaning of all the

words involved, I ask them to guess what the metaphorical meaning of these words or MWUS might be.

3. Metaphorical Expressions used in EU Discourse

An extra activity for learning current maritime MWUs used in institutional discourse was carried out. I explained my students that figurative MWUs from the maritime register are used to manifest expert writer’s stance not only in European Union Fisheries and Maritime Affairs (EUFMA) but also in other types of EU Institutional Discourse. Hyland (2005, 2009) explains that stance involves positioning, or adopting a point of view (in this case about fishing, maritime affairs, agriculture and rural development issues) in relation to both the issues discussed in the text and to others who hold similar or different points of view. EU writers express their “judgments, feelings or viewpoint about something” (Hyland, 2005, p. 174) and relate to the EU common value system and they are influenced by different epistemological assumptions and permissible criteria of justification common to the EU institutional contexts. Stance allows report writers to present themselves as fully committed in their arguments.

Electronic searches in the EU website rendered the following results shown in graph 489 maritime metaphorical MWUs were found. Examples 19 to 26 explore the uses of these MWUs in their contexts of production.

Table 3. Most frequent MWUs used in EU Discourse

MWU (Multiword unit)	Number of raw tokens
<i>Sea change/sea of change</i>	150
<i>At the helm</i>	174
<i>In the same boat</i>	76
<i>Turn the tide</i>	75

(19) **Sea change/ Sea of change:** "a change wrought by the sea". (OED)

This MWU is often used metaphorically to mean a metamorphosis or alteration. It mainly appears in Functioning of the EU texts (46 raw tokens), followed by Infrastructure, research and innovation (38 raw tokens) and Business and Industry (20 raw tokens) as in the example below:

“The current economic buzzword is 'generative' - the economy is undergoing a **sea-change** transformation as more and more corporations climb on the lifeboat that has rescued so many already from the nastiness of cut-throat competition without ethics for the sake of a dwindling number of faceless but vastly rich shareholders.(Digital Agenda for Europe, Futurium, 2013)”

This maritime metaphor referring to changes in economy is further elaborated by lifeboat (underlined in the example). This MWU is mainly used as a noun phrase to assess changes and actions in EU Discourse.

(20) **At the helm.** It is used in the figurative sense “to be in the position of control of something.” It transfers the idea of steering a ship to directing other enterprises, as in the following example, the title of a Fisheries report whose aim is to set guidelines for fishing families living in Norway: “**At the Helm.** Organising Daily Life and Occupational Participation in Fishing Families). NFFR-report II, Tromsø, Norway: Norwegian College of Fisheries Science” (http://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/documentation/studies/role_of_women/annex4_en.pdf).

(21) **In the same boat,** whose meaning is “in the same predicament or trouble”.

This expression refers to the dangers shared by passengers in a small boat at sea. This MWU has been found in Janez Potočnik's speech, Commissioner for Environment, when referring to the deterioration of marine ecosystems: "To me, **'being in the same boat'** forces us to take a more responsible attitude. And I believe we are doing just that. But we need to work harder and build on the momentum provided by the current economic situation and the growing awareness of the deterioration of marine ecosystems. Our new approach to maritime policy must emphasize sustainability" (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-10-263_en.htm).

(22) **Even keel**. Its literal meaning is "floating level, without inclination". It means now "to keep the stability of something" figuratively, as in the following example where the maritime MWU is applied in a finance context: "In general, thus, immigration policies should aim to keep the development of foreign workers **on an even keel** in the medium term and to avoid harmful stop-and-go policies" (http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/publication644_en.pdf).

(23) **Take/ try a different tack**. It means to use a different method for dealing with a difficult situation, especially in the way you communicate with other people. It is used in a report about sustainable tourism in Europe:

A SWOT analysis can determine whether a different focus is needed, e.g. going for a bigger area because the attractions are too limited or targeting more of the different market segments. This simply means going back to the situation analysis and **trying a different tack**. (<http://ec.europa.eu/DocsRoom/documents/1740/attachments/1/translations/en/renditions/pdf>)

(24) **Ocean of opportunity**. It alludes to "plenty of opportunities". It is a creative metaphor, an original comparison between two unlike things that calls attention to itself. It is used by the Commissioner, Borg, to refer to the new opportunities offered to stakeholders by Integrated Policy Making: "**Ocean of opportunity**. In October 2007, after a year-long public consultation, the European Commission published a Communication describing its vision for an Integrated Maritime Policy for the EU, together with a detailed action plan setting out an ambitious work programme for the years ahead." (http://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/documentation/publications/pcp2008_en.pdf)

(25) **Turn the tide**. It literally means "at high or low water". It now also means "change of opinion" outside maritime contexts as in this sentence from a press release during the World Water Week "and the private sector to join us and help us **turn the tide** and do all we can to preserve our precious water supplies before it's too late" (http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-627_en.htm)

(26) **Row in the same direction**. Rowing in the same direction was essential for good sailing in the old days. Today it means "to work as a team in order to obtain results" Durao Barroso uses it frequently in his speeches, as shown in examples (26). Interestingly, the MWU coexists with another MWU from maritime language ("in the same boat" underlined in example 26) to add greater emphasis, that is, to persuade EU citizens of the need to collaborate together in times of economic hardship:

"Secondly, the "everyman for himself" principle is not acceptable. We are all in the same boat. Let's make sure we **are rowing in the same direction**. What Europe needs most today is unity. This is exactly the "European spirit" I would like to instil in the current circumstances. Thank you". (europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-09-97_en.htm)

A salient rhetorical feature of these metaphorical MWUs is that they create an authoritative, direct, assured tone for EU Institutional Discourse. Finally, it is interesting to note that there are several instances of syntactic variation in the metaphors. They frequently refer to hardship caused by economic crisis when used with negative axiology.

4. Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, many MWUs in English form part of the repertoire of ESP and are worthy of teaching. Several maritime idioms have undergone a process of metaphorization. There is a co-existence of literal and metaphorical uses as shown in the examples above. A teacher can develop students' awareness of maritime metaphors by encouraging students to 'collect' metaphors - by noting them down when they encounter them on the Internet, in journals, etc. These metaphors can then be explained and discussed in the classroom (Cameron and Low, 1999).

Finally, we have also seen that maritime idioms are used in EU Discourse apart from Fisheries to express certain ideas and policies for users of different types of text; legislative summaries, Commissioner's speeches, etc. They tend to co-occur in oral texts for adding greater emphasis and communicative impact. These MWUs are not easily found in maritime glossaries for Spanish ESP learners. Fortunately, the internet is an exceptionally rich source of collocational information. Clearly enough, an L2-L1 MWUs list becomes a necessity from B2 level onwards.

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