No 11 [ISSN 2450-0402]

Discourses

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Editor-in-chief: **Iga Maria Lehman**

Łódź 2019

Wydawnictwo Społecznej Akademii Nauk

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The electronic version is the primary version of the journal

http://dyskursy.san.edu.pl

All the articles published in the journal are subject to reviews.

Editor-in-chief: **Iga Maria Lehman**

Adjustment: Małgorzata Pająk

Text design and typesetting: Marcin Szadkowski

Cover design: Marcin Szadkowski

ISSN 2450-0402

University of Social Sciences Publishing House

ul. Kilińskiego 109, 90-011 Łódź

phone: 42 67 625 29 ext. 339

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Discourses

WYDAWNICTWO
SPOŁECZNEJ AKADEMII NAUK

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.01

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Academic Cultures and Disciplinary Writing: Specificity in EAP

Abstract
It is almost a cliché now to say that writing (and reading) are not abstract skills but only make sense within wider social and cultural practices. This means that we must see the social context of an event as more than just the immediate environment surrounding it. We have to look beyond specific acts of writing to recognise how wider institutions and social groups influence them. We must, in other words, see communities as cultures. Culture is a key dimension of writing and of writing differences, and it can influence every aspect of language use. In this paper I will explore some of the ways that disciplinary cultures influence writing in academic contexts by looking at repeated patterns of language choices as evidence of specific cultural beliefs and practices. I discuss some data which supports the importance of specificity by drawing on some of my research over the last decade, arguing that identifying the particular language features, discourse practices, and communicative skills of target groups is central to teaching English in universities.

Key words: specific EAP, hedging, bundles, directives, academic bios

Introduction

A text is a projection of a writer's shared social world; a culture which he or she creates and reinforces through use of particular approved discourses. The

use of corpora can help us see aspects of these cultures by revealing patterns of everyday language use. This can help us to:

1. understand something of the practices of particular communities;
2. underline the importance of communicating as an insider by identifying the familiar ways insiders talk about reality.

In this paper I will argue for the importance of discipline in academic writing by showing that they represent distinct academic cultures, and, by implication, for the need to adopt specific approaches when teaching English for Academic Purposes.

Culture, community and discipline

Every community has its own distinctive culture. This culture is characterised by an ideological schema which controls its self-identification, knowledge, goals and conduct and is expressed in the conventional actions of its members, particularly in their use of language. So texts are written or spoken to be understood within certain cultural contexts and thus reveal shared group values and beliefs through their routine rhetorical patterns. A community, then, is more than a group with shared goals, but a way of 'being in the world', a means of interacting with colleagues and creating certain values and understandings. Essentially, communities provide the contexts where we craft our identities, cement relationships, achieve recognition and acquire the specialized discourse competencies to participate as members.

The idea that disciplines should be seen as communities, however, is contentious. Discipline is a concept under attack from post modernism, which sees fragmentation and the collapse of disciplinary coherence (e.g. Gergen, & Thatchenkery, 1996), and from institutional changes such as the emergence of modular and practice-based degrees. Their boundaries shift and dissolve and research problems often encourage multidisciplinary treatments. Each one, moreover, often embraces a range of specialisms, theories, methods and subject matters (Becher, & Trowler, 2001; Hyland, 2015).

Disciplines, however, have a real existence for those who work and study in them. Members have a sense of being part of something with others. This is done through communication and, most centrally, through writing. Writing embodies basic assumptions concerning the nature of the world, so Wignell, Martin and Eggins (1993), for instance, characterize the sciences as reworking experience technically by establishing a range of specialist terms which are ordered to explain how things happen or exist. The humanities, like history and philosophy on the other hand, employ abstraction rather than technicality, moving from instances to generalizations by gradually shifting away from particular contexts to build ever-more abstract interpretations of events. Discipline is a term that helps us see academic cultures by joining writers, texts and readers together, providing the context within which we learn to communicate and to interpret each other's talk in academic settings. Students do not learn in a cultural vacuum but are judged on their use of discourses that insiders are likely to find effective and persuasive.

In what follows I will draw on four very different sources to show how language varies across disciplinary cultures, looking at preferred lexis, genre features, identity claims in bios, and undergraduate writing assignments. All reinforce the importance of specificity as a core principle which should inform our understanding and teaching of EAP.

Lexical variation

Perhaps most obviously, each discipline draws on different lexical resources to create specialized knowledge: they have different ways of naming and describing the world, and this makes it difficult to identify a common academic vocabulary. University students need to do a great deal of reading, presenting them with a huge vocabulary load. As readers, they need to understand around 95–98% of the words in a text in order to comprehend what they read, and a high proportion of this lexis is discipline specific (Hyland, & Tse, 2007).

As a result, several discipline-specific vocabulary lists have been created, for example, for those studying plumbing (Coxhead, & Demecheleer, 2018) and agriculture (Munoz, 2015).

Students are not only likely to encounter completely different content items, but attempts to create general academic word lists suitable for students across a range of disciplines have also met with limited success. The Academic Vocabulary List (Gardner, & Davies, 2014) discriminates between academic and other registers and covers an impressive 14% of a 120-million-word academic corpus, but does not help students with the fact that words may change meanings when they cross disciplines. A study by Hyland and Tse (2007), for example, shows that the so-called universal 'semi-technical' items which make up the earlier *Academic Word List*, actually have widely different frequencies and preferred meanings in different fields. For example:

- '*consist*' means '*stay the same*' in social sciences and '*composed of*' in the sciences.
- 'volume' means *book* in applied linguistics and '*quantity*' in biology.
- '*Abstract*' means '*remove*' in engineering and '*theoretical*' in the social sciences.

So words which seem to be the same have different meanings across different fields. Thus in a study of a 6.7 million word corpus of texts from economics and finance, Ha and Hyland (2017) identified over 800 words which had a meaning specific to those fields, even if they had a general meaning too. This becomes even more complex when we consider how everyday words take on discipline specific meanings through preferred collocations, such as 'settling time' and 'load factor' in engineering.

Genre features

A second area where language evidence supports the need for specific EAP teaching is in genre features. Rhetorical choices vary enormously across disciplines because they express very different epistemological and social practices (e.g.

Swales, 2004; Hyland, & Bondi, 2006). This means that students learn their disciplines as they learn its discourses. While the hard-soft distinction is a blunt instrument to elaborate these differences, it helps reveal some of the ways that authoring involves writers relating their rhetorical choices to wider social and academic understandings. Here I refer to three of these feature differences. Hedges and directives in a 1.4-million-word corpus of 120 research articles in 8 disciplines (Hyland, 1996; 2002) and bundles in a 4-million-word corpus of 120 research articles and 120 post-graduate dissertations (Hyland, 2008).

Hedges

First, hedges index their context. These devices withhold complete commitment to a proposition, implying that a claim is based on plausible reasoning rather than certain knowledge. They indicate the degree of confidence the writer thinks it might be wise to give a claim while opening a discursive space for readers to dispute interpretations.

Because they represent the writer's direct involvement in a text, they are twice as common in humanities and social science papers than in hard sciences. We find more statements like this:

1. The existence of such networks did not go unnoticed by contemporaries and it seems sensible to assume the men concerned were probably not unreflective about this patterned conduct either. (Soc)
2. With hindsight, we believe it might have been better to have presented the questionnaire bilingually. (AL)

The fact that there is less control of variables, more diversity of research outcomes, and fewer clear bases for accepting claims than in the sciences means that writers can't report research with the same confidence of shared assumptions. So papers rely far more on recognizing alternative voices. Arguments have to be expressed more cautiously by using more hedges. Some disciplines such as philosophy, literary criticism, and cultural studies, in fact, hold explicit reflection and subjectivity as a central part of their ideology.

In the hard sciences, on the other hand, positivist epistemologies mean that the authority of the individual is subordinated to the authority of the text and facts are meant to 'speak for themselves'. This means that writers often disguise their interpretative activities behind linguistic objectivity. They downplay their personal role to suggest that results would be the same whoever conducted the research. Less frequent use of hedges is one way of minimising the researcher's role. Another is the preference for modals over cognitive verbs as these are more often used without explicit author subjects. So we tend to find far more hedges like 3 and 4 than 5 and 6 as they do not attribute agency to the researcher:

3. The deviations at high frequencies may have been caused by the noise measurements... (EE)
4. This shift could be partially caused by solvent-exposed helical segments... (BIO)
5. We interpret this as a potential consequence of the earlier decision. (AL)
6. It seems sensible to assume the men concerned were probably not unreflective about this patterned conduct. (Soc)

Scientists tend to be concerned with generalisations rather than individuals, so greater weight is put on the methods, procedures and equipment used rather than the argument. In other words, claims for the originality of research have to be balanced against the beliefs of readers, taking into account their likely objections, background knowledge and rhetorical expectations. Modals are one way of helping to reinforce a view of science as an impersonal, inductive enterprise while allowing scientists to see themselves as discovering truth rather than constructing it.

Directives

Another feature which reflects the difference between hard and soft knowledge areas regarding the extent to which succinctness and precision are valued, or even possible: directives. These instruct the reader to perform an action or

to see things in a way determined by the writer and are expressed through imperatives (like *consider, note,* and *imagine*) and obligation modals (such as *must, should* and *ought*). They direct readers to 3 main kinds of activity:

- **textual acts** direct readers to another part of the text or to another text;
- **physical acts** direct readers how to carry out some action in the real-world;
- **cognitive acts** instruct readers how to interpret an argument, explicitly positioning readers by encouraging them to *note, concede* or *consider* some argument in the text.

Generally, explicit engagement is a feature of the soft disciplines, where writers are less able to rely on the explanatory value of accepted procedures, but directives are a potentially risky tactic as they instruct readers to act or see things in a certain way. As a result, if we exclude Philosophy, 60% of directives in the soft knowledge texts direct readers to a reference or table rather than telling them how they should interpret an argument. So examples like these are common:

7. See Steuer 1983 for a discussion of other contingencies' effects. (Marketing)
8. Look at Table 2 again for examples of behavioristic variables. (Marketing)
9. For transcription conventions please refer to the Appendix. (App. Ling)

Argument in the hard knowledge fields, in contrast, is formulated in a highly standardised code. The linear, problem-oriented nature of the natural sciences enables research to occur within an established framework, allowing authors to presuppose considerable background knowledge among their readers. Directives in the sciences allow writers to guide readers explicitly through an argument, emphasising what they should attend to and the way they should understand it:

10. What has to be recognized is that these issues... (Mech Eng)
11. Consider the case where a very versatile milling machine of type M5... (Elec Eng)
12. A distinction must be made between cytogenetic and molecular resolution. (Biology)

Bundles

The final feature of academic genres I want to mention are lexical bundles – or frequently occurring word sequences. These are a key way of shaping text meanings and contributing to our sense of distinctiveness and naturalness in a register. So collocations like *as a result of* and *it should be noted that,* help identify a text as belonging to an academic register while *in pursuance of*, and *in accordance with* mark out a legal text.

The most common bundles in academic writing are *on the other hand*, *at the same time* and *in the case of*, although there are considerable variations across disciplines. Of the four disciplines in the corpus, the Electrical engineering texts were most dependent on bundles and used many sequences not found in the other disciplines. This could be because technical communication is relatively abstract and graphical. Language constructs an argument by linking data or findings in routinely patterned ways and so Engineering relies on formulaic sequences far more and uses more of them for stylistic variation.

There are also considerable differences across disciplines in the 4-word bundles themselves. In fact, there are just two forms in all 4 disciplines (*on the other hand* and *in the case of*) and just a handful in 3. In fact, over half of all items in the top 50 bundles in each discipline don't occur in the top 50 of any other discipline. The greatest similarities are between cognate fields. Business Studies and Applied Linguistics share 18 items in the top 50 with four sequences exclusive to these two fields. Biology and Electrical Engineering have 16 bundles in common, again with four bundles which were not in the social science lists. Here we see the bundles which ae exclusive to papers in the broad areas:

Exclusive to social sciences	**Exclusive to sciences**
On the basis of	*it was found that*
in the context of	*is shown in figure*
the relationship between the	*as shown in figure*
it is important to	*is due to the*
	the presence of the

There are also differences in the functions that writers in different fields ask bundles to perform. Here we find a split between ***research-oriented bundles***, referring to real world activities, comprising about half of all those in the sciences; and ***text-oriented bundles,*** focusing on the argument itself – comprising half those in the social sciences. These choices reflect the argument patterns in the two domains. ***Participant bundles*** concern the writer or reader of the text and are twice as common in the discursive fields.

These are text-oriented examples from the social sciences

13. The term 'linguistics' might be too narrow *in terms of the* diverse knowledge-base and expertise that is required. (AL)

14. The *purpose of this paper* is to investigate the perceptions of consumers in the Hong Kong market toward fast food. (BS)

While these bundles largely connect aspects of argument, those in the sciences point to the research and findings:

15. *The structure of the* coasting-point model can be divided into three areas.

16. The DNA was precipitated *in the presence of* 2.5 volumes of ethanol and 0.1 volume of 3.0 M sodium acetate pH. (Bio)

These convey the grounded, experimental basis of work in the hard sciences. Finally, Participant bundles imply the presence of the speaker or reader more explicitly:

17. Such a dilemma may be due to the fact that they generally are unable to get support on English difficulties. (AL)

18. Nevertheless, it is possible that greater social interaction between marketing and engineering managers would be beneficial. (BS)

They express a stance and modality of statements – they are twice as common in soft sciences.

We could go on and look at many other features like stance, metadiscourse, personal pronouns, citation practices and so on but the point is that the rhetorical practices of each discipline don't just *reflect* a disciplinary epistemology but help *construct* it. It's clear that writers in different disciplines represent themselves, their work and their readers in different ways, with those in the humanities and social sciences taking far more personal positions than those in the sciences and engineering.

Academic Bios

The academic bio is another genre which displays disciplinary variation. This is a genre where, in 50 to 100 words, academics present a narrative of expertise for themselves. It is particularly interesting as it sits in stark contrast to the article itself, which has been stripped of identifying information for blind review. Another reason it is interesting is that, while it is essentially a genre of self-representation, presenting the competence and qualifications of an individual academic, it reflects disciplinary values. This is, then, a site where individuals stake a claim for a particular version of themselves and so they indicate what writers see as important and valued by a community.

Our corpus here comprised 600 bios, with 200 from leading journals in each of Applied Linguistics, Electrical Engineering, and Philosophy (Hyland, & Tse, 2012). We were interested to see the importance of other variables on this site of identity representation and so also controlled for gender, with 100 bios written by males and females in each discipline, and by status, using four categories from senior academics to technicians and teachers. In the analysis we looked at what people said about themselves and how they said it.

Bio moves

First I looked at what aspects of themselves writers included as these show kinds of identities likely to be approved by peers in this context. Virtually everyone mentioned their current or previous employment and together with research interests this comprised over half of all moves in the corpus. Clearly, for junior academics this is often all they are able to say about themselves, but professors obviously have a greater range of experiences to draw on in constructing a biographical identity. As a result, there is an upward curve in the number of bios which mention research, employment, publication and achievements as we move up the status ladder from teachers to professors. Gender seems relatively unimportant in how these individuals constructed identity as men and women said similar things about themselves. In fact, discipline was the most significant influence on what authors included in their bios.

The biggest disciplinary difference was the weight engineers give to education. For them, this was typically linked with the area of study, thereby demonstrating a specific expertise and insider-competence:

19. She received the Ph.D. degree (on thin-oxide technology and novel quasi-nonvolatile memory) from the University of California, Berkeley in 1999.

20. Irene Ntoutsi received her Ph.D. in Informatics from the Department of Informatics, University of Piraeus, Greece.

This reflects a hard science apprenticeship-model where the education of Ph.D. students is also an opportunity to research and publish as part of a team, making education more central to their bios. We also find engineers giving more importance to personal information, so that almost all engineers mentioned their birthplace, for example, and often the year of birth:

21. Meiling Zhou was born in Changsha, China,

22. Sarah C. McQuaide was born in Ventura, CA, in 1976.

In contrast, applied linguists crafted identities around their research interests, making a claim for credibility through insider expertise. These made up about a third of all acts in their bios:

23. Her research interests include human motivation and affect in a variety of applied contexts.

24. Jennifer deWinter's scholarship unpacks traditional and new media convergence within global markets.

Philosophers, on the other hand, parade publications.

25. He is author of seven books and over nine edited volumes on various topics in New Testament studies. His most recent books are ...

26. His latest book is *An Exploration of epistemology*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2009.

Generally, these publications are monographs and involve a greater investment of time than the multiply authored, frenetically paced and rapidly produced articles in the hard science. As a result, they may be more significant to how disciplinary members see themselves.

Process types in bios

Identity is expressed not only in terms of *what* we talk about but *how* we talk about it. One way of understanding identity in this way is to focus on verbs, or rather, process types. Systemic Functional Linguistics recognises a broad distinction between *mental* and *material* processes:

- *mental processes* – are verbs relating to sensing (*think, belief, feel*)
- *material processes* – are concerned with doing *(work, write, study)*
- A third form are *relational* processes which express *being*.

These choices matter in identity performance. For example:

a) 'she is interested in…' (a mental process), constructs the author as an active, thinking being exercising conscious choice in a research interest, whereas

b) 'her research interests are…" (a relational process) is more impersonal, downplaying the author's role to highlight something that belongs to her.

We can see that acting on the world in some way (a material process) represents greater visibility than subjectively interpreting it with mental processes.

In these bios, writers used relational and material processes in 95% of all clauses, stressing what they *are* and what they *do*. This is because bios have

something to say about *who the author is*, or rather, how he or she wants to be seen. Interestingly, relational forms increased with rank and material forms decreased with rank so, interestingly, there is a shift from seeing our activities as something we ***do*** to something we ***are***.

Relational clauses present identity claims as they construe 'being' and relational processes are mainly *intensive*, where a writer claims to *be* something, such as an assistant professor, doctoral student, etc. These claims are strengthened by use of *identifying* over *attributive* choices, particularly among professors, where these forms are over twice as frequent:

27. Bonnie Urciuoli is Professor of Anthropology at Hamilton College (AL)

28. She is the author or co-author of over 40 technical papers and is the holder of two patents. (EE)

These identifying choices give a definiteness and uniqueness to what is being claimed. They *identify* the writer by signalling that this is an important part of who they see themselves to be. The bios of students and support staff, in contrast, use *attributive* options to signal class membership rather than a unique identity:

29. Sampath is a member of the Institute of Industrial Engineers. (EE)

30. (He is a Ph.D. student in Teaching English as a Second Language at UBC. (AL)

So, status has some impact on identity representation, but once again, it isn't status or gender but discipline which is the major influence on self-representation.

Applied linguists often used mental process types, representing themselves as thinking academics rather than as intellectual workers grinding out a quota of papers and presentations:

31. Her recent work considers the intersections of civic rhetoric and digital spaces. (AL)

32. His fascination with computers leads him to examine why some technologies are taken up while others are abandoned. (AL)

Choices such as this project a distinctively intellectual identity to the writer. Engineers, in contrast, used more verbal forms to present themselves as arguers and talkers:

33. She is now lecturing at Sanjesh College of Computing and Statistics, Tehran, Iran. (EE)

34. He proposes the use of selectively grown epitaxial layers … (EE)

Such verbal choices highlight agency, helping to construe the author as an active scholar.

The biggest variations were in relational processes. Interestingly, Philosophers used identifying relational clauses over twice as frequently as linguists and 4 times more than engineers:

35. Jeanne Openshaw is Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Edinburgh (Phil)

36. She is the co-editor of Philosophy of film (Phil)

Explicitly naming yourself as something is key to identity and this perhaps reflects the more individualistic ethos in philosophy. Here research represents the creative insights of the author and this is very different to the more humble scientific ideology which sees results as the collective endeavours of a team using appropriate methods.

Student assignment types

Finally, for students, disciplinary specificity is most apparent in the *kinds* of writing that they are asked to do at university. It almost goes without saying that different fields value different kinds of argument and set different writing tasks, so that analysing and synthesising from multiple sources are important in humanities & social science fields while activity-based skills like describing procedures, defining objects, and planning solutions are needed in science and technology subjects (Hyland, 2016).

We also know that different fields make use of different genres, so that in their large-scale corpus study of 30 disciplines in UK universities, for example, Nesi and Gardner (2012) found disciplinary differences in the assignments students wrote with 13 different 'genre families', ranging from case studies through empathy writing to reports. These differ considerably

in social purpose, genre structure and the networks they form with other genres. Even in fairly cognate fields students write quite different texts. In looking at the assignments given to medical students, for instance, Gimenez (2009) found that nursing and midwifery students were given very different writing assignments. Similarly, in the courses at Hong Kong University, we find discipline-specific assignments such as community health reports, Speech & Hearing Sciences project reports, popular science journal articles, hospital bulletin articles, political science dissertations, and patient case histories.

This underlines the different ways students are assessed and different expectations of how they should write.

Conclusions

The idea of disciplinary specificity has become important in EAP as we have become more sensitive to the ways students write as members of social groups. This research shows that scholarly discourse is not uniform and monolithic but an outcome of different practices and strategies, where argument and engagement are crafted within specific disciplines that have different ideas about what is worth communicating and how this should be done. The fact that subject teachers are generally unwilling, for various reasons, to teach these practices encourage EAP teachers to bring their courses as close as they can to their students' reasons for learning English. This is likely to make teaching more effective as students will be able to make use of it in their subject classes. Equally importantly, students are likely to be more motivated if they can see that their English course is directly related to their subject course.

To summarise: EAP has nothing to do with topping up generic language skills, but about developing new kinds of literacy. The most effective, and time-economical EAP courses are likely to be those which seek to equip students with the communicative skills to participate in particular academic cultures.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.02

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Empirical Insights in Methodological Integration of Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics: A View from Political Discourse Study

Abstract
Much of today's CDA is taking a 'cognitive turn', drawing upon advances in cognitive science and incorporating vast amounts of work on spatial-temporal cognition and conceptualization into various interdisciplinary studies of ideologically motivated construals of meaning within different discourse domains. The cognitive-linguistic approach to CDA provides a disciplined theoretical account of the conceptual import of linguistic choices identified as potentially ideological and affords an excellent lens on persuasive, manipulative and coercive properties of discourse, worldview and conceptualization which have hitherto been beyond the radar of CDA.

In the first part of the paper I review the cognitive models and the models of spatial cognition in particular which have been making the most significant contribution to CDA. Discussing Levinson's spatial frames of reference, Text World Theory, and Deictic Space Theory), among others, I describe the input of cognitive-linguistic research in the account of the basic deictic architecture of the Discourse Space (DS). I particularly acknowledge the role of that research in elucidating the DS center-periphery arrangement underpinning ideological and value-based positions in discourse. At the same time, however,

I argue that cognitive models reveal further theoretical potential which has not yet been exploited. As of today, the cognitive contribution to CDA involves primarily issues of mental processing and conceptual organization. It thus focuses on how people establish representations and ideologically charged worldviews, rather than explaining how they are made to establish a worldview, in the service of speaker's goals.

In response to this deficit, the second part of the paper outlines Proximization Theory (PT), showing its application to a state interventionist discourse (the US anti-terrorist discourse) and, potentially, to other important discourses of the public sphere. Proximization is a discursive strategy of crisis and conflict construction in the dynamic Discourse Space (DS). It consists in presenting physically and temporally distant events and states of affairs (including 'distant' and therefore adversarial ideologies) as increasingly and negatively consequential to the speaker and the addressee positioned in the deictic center of the DS. Projecting the distant entities as gradually encroaching upon the center, the speaker seeks legitimization of actions aimed to neutralize the growing impact of the negative, 'foreign', 'alien', 'antagonistic', entities. Thus, Proximization Theory has its lens on not only the bipolar static location of the center-periphery entities, but also on the discursive construal of movement from the periphery to the center. Unlike the other models, it fully captures the complex ideological positioning in political/public discourse and, crucially, the dynamics of conflict between the opposing ideologies of the DS entities.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Cognitive Linguistics, Discourse Space, Proximization, political discourse

Introduction

Much of today's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is taking a 'cognitive turn', drawing upon advances in cognitive science and incorporating vast amounts of work on spatial-temporal cognition and conceptualization (Talmy, 2000; Fauconnier, & Turner, 2002; Levinson, 2003; Evans, & Chilton, 2010; among many others) into various interdisciplinary studies of ideologically motivated construals of meaning within different discourse domains (e.g., Cienki, Kaal, & Maks, 2010; Hart, 2010; Dunmire, 2011; Kaal, 2012; Filardo Llamas, 2010; 2013). The cognitive-linguistic approach to CDA provides a disciplined theoretical account of the conceptual import of linguistic choices identified as potentially ideological and affords an excellent lens on persuasive, manipulative

and coercive properties of discourse, worldview and conceptualization which have hitherto been beyond the radar of CDA (Hart, 2014; Hart, & Cap, 2014).

In the first part of the present paper (Section 2) I review the cognitive models and the models of spatial cognition in particular which have been making the most significant contribution to CDA. Discussing Chilton's Deictic Space Theory (Chilton, 2005; 2010; 2014), as well as Levinson's (2003) spatial frames of reference and Text World Theory (Werth, 1999; Gavins, 2007), I describe the input of cognitive-linguistic research in the account of the basic deictic architecture of the Discourse Space (DS) (Chilton, 2005). I particularly acknowledge the role of that research in elucidating the DS center-periphery arrangement underpinning ideological and value-based positions in discourse. At the same time, however, I argue that cognitive models reveal further theoretical potential which has not yet been exploited. As of today, the cognitive contribution to CDA involves primarily issues of mental processing and conceptual organization. It thus focuses on how people establish representations and ideologically charged worldviews, rather than explaining how they are made to establish a worldview, in the service of speaker's goals.

In response to this deficit, the second part of the paper (Section 3) outlines Proximization Theory (PT) (Cap, 2013; 2017), showing its application to a state interventionist discourse (the US anti-terrorist discourse) and, potentially, to other important discourses of the public sphere. Proximization is a discursive strategy of crisis and conflict construction in the dynamic Discourse Space (DS). It consists in presenting physically and temporally distant events and states of affairs (including 'distant' and therefore adversarial ideologies) as increasingly consequential to the speaker and the addressee positioned in the deictic center of the DS. Negative developments are envisioned to generate negative emotions, such as fear and general anxiety, paving the way for swift policy legitimization. Projecting the distant entities as gradually encroaching upon the center, the speaker seeks legitimization of actions aimed to neutralize the growing impact of the negative, 'foreign', 'alien', 'antagonistic', entities. Thus, Proximization Theory has its lens on not only the bipolar static location

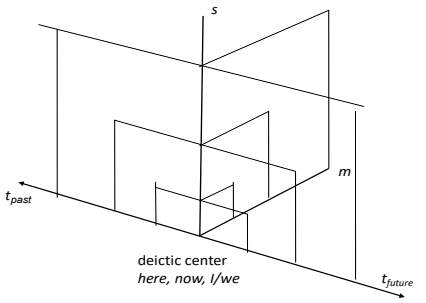
of the center-periphery entities, but also on the discursive construal of movement from the periphery to the center. Unlike the other models, it fully captures the complex ideological positioning in political/public discourse and, crucially, the dynamics of emotively charged conflict between the opposing ideologies of the DS entities.

Formative models: representing worldviews in discourse space

The most comprehensive of the established cognitive-linguistic (CL) models of discourse and (critical) discourse study seems Chilton's (2004; 2005) Discourse Space Theory (DST), though we must not brush aside several other approaches, such as Levinson's (2003), Werth's (1999) and Gavins's (2007).

In Chilton (2004, p. 57) a central claim is made that in processing any discourse people 'position' other entities in their 'world' (Werth, 1999; Gavins, 2007) by 'positioning' these entities in relation to themselves along three axes in three dimensions, 'spatial', 'temporal', and 'modal'. This arrangement presupposes the primacy of the spatial dimension as the remaining dimensions involve conceptualizations in spatial terms. Time is conceptualized in terms of motion through space ('the time to act has arrived') and modality is conceptualized in terms of distance ('remotely possible') or as a metaphoric extension of the binary opposition between the close of the remote (see below). The origin of the three dimensions is at the deictic center, which includes the symbolic Self, i.e. I, we, etc. All other entities and processes exist relative to ontological spaces defined by their coordinates on the space (s), time (t) and modality (m) axes (Figure 1). This makes it possible, Chilton argues, to conceptualize the ongoing kaleidoscope of ontological configurations activated by text.

Figure 1. Dimensions of deixis



Source: adapted from Chilton (2004, p. 58)

Figure 1 represents the basic interface of cognition and language shared by most of the CL models trying to account for the construal of discourse. At the heart of the account is the concept of deixis and, what follows, deictic markers. The spatial markers, such as I/we and they, 'located' on the s axis are the core of the linguistic representation, which is usually a representation in terms of binary oppositions extending into all three dimensions. Typically, entities and processes construed as 'close' in the spatio-temporal dimension are assigned positive values within the modal dimension, while those construed as 'distant' are at the same time (or as a result) assigned negative values. In models other than Chilton's, the central status of the spatial deixis is reflected at theoretical and terminological levels, where 'US/THEM' is more of a conceptual than solely linguistic dichotomy (cf. Text World Theory in Werth [1999], Gavins [2007] and Kaal [2012]).

How do models such as DST work for CDA? In his study of the discourse of the Kosovo war, Chilton (2004, p. 142) analyzes the following text, an excerpt from President Clinton's TV address to the American nation on March 24, 1999[1,2]:

1. The day the NATO interve ntion in Kosovo began.

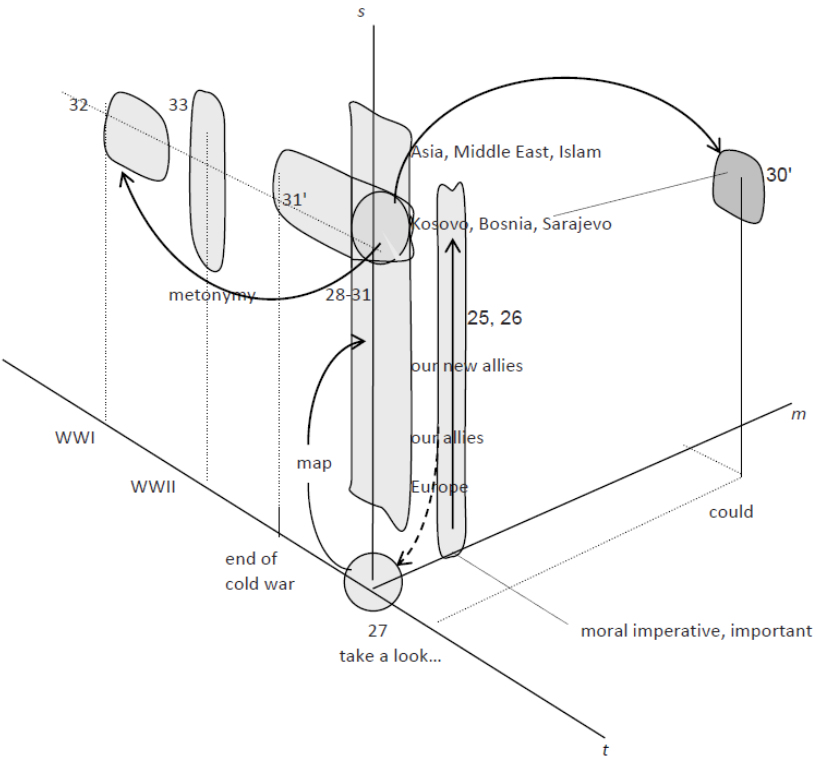
2. I have saved the original numbering of the sentences (25–37).

(25) Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative. (26) It is also important to America's national interest. (27) Take a look at this map. (28) Kosovo is a small place, but it sits on a major fault line between Europe, Asia and the Middle East, at the meeting place of Islam and both the Western and Orthodox branches of Christianity. (29) To the south are our allies, Greece and Turkey; to the north, our new democratic allies in Central Europe. (30) And all around Kosovo there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges – countries that could be overwhelmed by a large, new wave of refugees from Kosovo. (31) All the ingredients for a major war are there: ancient grievances, struggling democracies, and in the center of it all a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the Cold War ended but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division. (32) Sarajevo, the capital of neighboring Bosnia, is where World War I began. (33) World War II and the Holocaust engulfed this region. (34) In both wars Europe was slow to recognize the dangers, and the United States waited even longer to enter the conflicts. (35) Just imagine if leaders back then had acted wisely and early enough, how many lives could have been saved, how many Americans would not have had to die. (36) We learned some of the same lessons in Bosnia just a few years ago. (37) The world did not act early enough to stop that war, either.

Chilton's DST analysis can be summarized as follows. At the intersection point (the origin) of the three axes (see Figure 2 below; numbers refer to the sentences or [30–31'] sentence parts responsible for a particular conceptual operation) is 'this map' (President Clinton is seen pointing to a visual aid). The map itself does not represent an objective reality; its task is to launch a reality space to be specified by the verbal commentary. A presupposition obtains: addressees must, in order to interpret the unfolding text as coherent, infer that (27) and the following sentences are intended to motivate (26) (that national interests are at stake) and (25) (that action is a moral imperative). On that presupposition, sentences (28), (29) and (30) can be regarded as setting up a 'map representation' space. This construal involves a conventional

pragmatic function, by which cartographic images are taken to represent objective reality spaces (Fauconnier, & Turner, 2002). 'This map' in the studio (or 'in' the viewer's area) represents a conceptual space that is mutually understood as remote (viz. 'there' in [31]), but which the map presented 'here' and 'now' makes conceptually close. In the process of defining the map's conceptual projection space the use of 'could' ([30'] in 'countries that could be overwhelmed by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo'), prompts the viewer/addressee to launch a space at the possibility point of m and in the near future zone of t. This is not part of the televised map picture; it is part of the conceptual 'picture' produced by the discourse, which conflates the apparently remote Kosovo space and the viewer/addressee space. The resulting proximity of the Kosovo space and its negatively charged entities (as opposed to the positively charged entities [President Clinton, his audience, allies in Europe] in the deictic center) allows transition to (31), which expresses a generalized likelihood of a major military conflict and thus threat to American interests. In (31), the positioning of the (31') embedded clause ('... who has done nothing since the Cold War but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious divisions') as syntactic and intonational focus furthers this likelihood by a metaphoric phrase: the 'flames of divisions' (refugees fleeing from Kosovo) will cause a major 'fire' in the region as they 'meet' with (more) 'gasoline'.

Figure 2. Events located on spatial, temporal and modal axes



Source: adapted from Chilton (2004, p. 144)

On the t axis, the geopolitical and historical space is extended 'backwards', metonymically, by reference to the spatial location 'Sarajevo' (32). Kosovo is linked to Sarajevo, and Sarajevo is linked metonymically to World War I, and World War I to World War II and the Holocaust. The links can be considered metonymic since the relation between Kosovo, Sarajevo and WWI is one of conceptual 'contiguity' in a geopolitical frame which holds events progressing from the remote past toward the present. 'Sarajevo' is used to evoke the whole WWI frame, and 'this region' (33) is used in the same metonymic fashion to evoke the WWII and the Holocaust frames. These discursively linked frames constitute the groundwork for two sets of generalizations: (31) relating to the geographical space conceptualized 'around' Kosovo, and (34)–(35) relating

to a flashback historical space conceptualized in connection with Sarajevo. These generalizations are used in turn to wrap up the entire representation ([36]–[37]) and justify its initial point (25), that is a moral imperative to act.

Altogether, Chilton's DST provides CDA with excellent insights in the representation of entities in political discourse space. First, it recognizes the fundamental role of distance from the 'Self' entities (in the deictic center) in conceptualizing other entities and events in political/public discourse. Obvious as this may seem, it is a vital prerequisite for any further inquiry in linguistic ways of construing distant objects and happenings as close to the deictic center. Second, it acknowledges that the distance is relative and that it is symbolically represented through discourse. This in turn makes possible further explorations in how the symbolic representations can be evoked strategically, for pragmatic effects. Third, the DST model shows that 'distance' involves a number of mutually interactive dimensions, which make mental representations of entities and events arise from a combined activation of different cognitive domains such as spatial, temporal and modal.

There are at the same time some obviously unattended issues, in both DST and other approaches grounded in the classical conception of deixis, deictic dimensions, and notably, deictic markers. As for DST, it can be described as a theory of general and relatively 'fixed' conceptual organization of entities in political discourse space. Its aim is to demonstrate how people's mental representations are positioned with respect to three cognitive dimensions; it is clearly not to show how people are made to establish representations that would suit the accomplishment of the discourse goals pursued by political speaker. The reason is that DST does not offer a systematic account of quantifiable lexico-grammatical items responsible for locating entities and events at different (measurable) distances from the deictic center determining the intensity of pragmatic powers of these entities/events. While it recognizes ideological, legitimizing, coercive, etc. discourse roles of certain words and expressions, it arbitrarily assigns them a static position on one of the three axes, in fixed distance to/from the deictic center (cf. Figure 2). Consequently,

conceptual shifts from the DS periphery to the center are hardly accounted for; there is little systematic way to determine which linguistic items, in what numbers, and within which dimension, are the most effective in forcing a worldview upon the addressee. This 'deficit' follows from DST's conventional arrangement of the Discourse Space which indexes entities and events by primarily nominal phrases and pronouns. At the same time, the role (as well as typology) of verbal forms, a core element in the conceptual shifts, is underappreciated as these do not belong to the standard arsenal of deictic expressions.

The above problem echoes Verhagen's (2007, p. 49) skepticism concerning 'a substantial amount of arbitrariness' behind any classificatory systems in CL of language forms (especially deixis) reflecting different conceptualizations. Werth (1999), Gavins (2007) and especially Levinson (2003) demonstrate similar awareness. In his theory of spatio-temporal frames of reference, Levinson (2003) challenges the traditional Buehlerian view of deixis, on which deictic markers are considered merely a technical necessity for the possible interpretability of a language, rather than an instrument of strategic communication involving persuasion, legitimization and social coercion. Contesting the conception of deixis as a finite repository of 'deictic expressions', he argues for a much broader approach to deictic markers. This new approach involves bigger lexico-grammatical phrases and discourse stretches within which the 'conventional' deictic items (such as pronominals) combine with atypical indexical items (such as complex verb phrases) as the speaker constructs elaborate discourse forms to meet the changing contextual conditions. Levinson's (2003) perspective on the verbal element of the Discourse Space is productive as it helps understand how both an entity and (crucially) its movement become indexed and symbolically represented to establish the target vision construed by the speaker. This in turn opens up vistas for analysis of expressions such as 'they have set their course to confront us and our

civilization'[3], which force conceptual shifts from the periphery of the Space to the center, in the service of constructing an ideologically charged worldview (entailing a specific act, e.g. a preventive action). Unfortunately, neither Levinson nor for instance Gavins (in many ways following up on Levinson in her 2007 work) attempt a formal lexico-grammatical typology of the extended deictic territory they argue for.

New developments: Proximization Theory and the forcing of worldviews

Chilton's (2004; 2005) DST and Levinson's (2003) spatio-temporal frames can be considered the most important reference models for several later works trying to revise and redefine the original account of conceptual shifts toward deictic center in strictly linguistic (lexical and grammatical) terms. Aiming to determine specific linguistic items construing the shifts in the service of forcing worldviews, most of these works employ the concept of 'proximization'.

In its broadest sense, proximization is a discursive strategy of presenting physically and temporally distant events and states of affairs (including 'distant' adversarial ideologies) as increasingly consequential to the speaker and her addressee. The speaker constructs an appealing scenario to generate negative emotions in the addressee, such as fear and general anxiety. Projecting adversarial entities as gradually encroaching upon the speaker-addressee territory (both physical and ideological), the speaker seeks legitimization of actions and/or policies she proposes to neutralize the growing impact of the negative, 'foreign', 'alien', 'antagonistic', entities.

The term 'proximization' was first proposed by Cap to analyze coercion patterns in the US anti-terrorist rhetoric following 9/11 (Cap, 2006; 2008; 2010). Since then it has been used within different discourse domains, though

3. G.W. Bush on Al-Qaeda terrorists allegedly harbored in Iraq (17 March 2003).

most commonly in studies of state political discourses: crisis construction and war rhetoric (Chovanec, 2010), anti-migration discourse (e.g. Hart 2010), political party representation (Cienki, Kaal, & Maks, 2010), construction of national memory (Filardo Llamas, 2010), and design of foreign policy documents (Dunmire, 2011). Findings from these studies have been integrated in Proximization Theory (PT) put forward by Cap (2013). The theory follows the original concept of proximization, which is defined as a forced construal operation meant to evoke closeness of the external threat, to solicit legitimization of preventive measures. The threat comes from DS-peripheral entities, referred to as ODCs ('outside-deictic-center'), which are conceptualized to be crossing the Space to invade the IDC ('inside-deictic-center') entities, the speaker and her addressee. The threat possesses a spatio-temporal as well as ideological nature, which means proximization can be considered in three aspects. 'Spatial proximization' is a forced construal of the DS peripheral entities encroaching physically upon the DS central entities (speaker, addressee). Analogously to Chilton's DST, the spatial aspect of proximization is primary as the remaining aspects/strategies involve conceptualizations in spatial terms. 'Temporal proximization' is a forced construal of the envisaged conflict as not only imminent, but also momentous, historic and thus needing immediate response and unique preventive measures. Spatial and temporal proximization involve fear appeals (becoming particularly strong in reactionary political projects) and typically use analogies to conflate the growing threat with an actual disastrous occurrence in the past, to endorse the current scenario. Lastly, 'axiological proximization' involves construal of a gathering ideological clash between the 'home values' of the DS central entities (IDCs) and the alien and antagonistic (ODC) values. Importantly, the ODC values are construed to reveal potential to materialize (that is, prompt a physical impact) within the IDC, the speaker's and the addressee's, home territory.

Proximization Theory holds that all the three aspects or strategies of proximization contribute to the continual narrowing of the symbolic distance between the entities/values in the Discourse Space and their negative

impact[4] on the speaker and her addressee. This does not mean, however, that all the three strategies are linguistically present (to the same degree) throughout each stretch of the unfolding discourse. While any use of proximization principally subsumes all of its strategies, spatial, temporal and axiological, the degree of their actual representation is continually motivated by their effectiveness in the evolving context. Extralinguistic contextual developments may thus cause the speaker to limit the use of one strategy and compensate it by an increased use of another, in the interest of the continuity of legitimization.

Compared to approaches such as Chilton's or Levinson's, Proximization Theory makes a new contribution at two levels, (i) cognitive-pragmatic and (ii) linguistic, or more precisely, lexico-grammatical. At the (i) cognitive-pragmatic conceptual level, the Spatial-Temporal-Axiological (STA) model of proximization revisits the ontological status and pragmatic function of deixis and deictic markers. As has been said, on classical views deixis is primarily a technical necessity for the possible interpretability of communication in the first place. Within the proximization approach deixis goes beyond its 'primary' status of a formal tool for the coding of elements of context to make all communication possible. It becomes, eventually, an instrument (or a component thereof) for legitimization, persuasion and social coercion (Lehman, Sułkowski, & Cap, 2020). On the proximization view, the concept of deixis is not reduced to a finite set of 'deictic expressions', but rather expanded to cover bigger lexico-grammatical phrases and discourse expressions which the 'conventional' deictic markers (e.g. pronominals) get part of as the speaker constructs complex discourse forms to meet the changing contextual conditions. As a result, the 'component' deictic markers partake in forced conceptual shifts. An example of the proximization approach to deixis and deictic expressions is Cap's (2013, p. 109) spatial proximization framework (Table 1), which not only reflects the very constituents and the mechanism of

4. For the best legitimization of response, the speaker tends to project ODC actions as maximally consequential (i.e. threatening) to the IDC entities.

proximization in the Discourse Space, but also plays a key role in abstracting the relevant (i.e. 'spatial') lexico-grammatical items. It thus allows a quantitative analysis yielding the intensity of spatial proximization (and thus the intensity with which a given worldview is forced) in a discourse timeframe.

Table 1. Spatial proximization framework and its key lexico-grammatical items

Category	Key items
1. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements of the deictic center of the DS (IDCs))	['USA', 'United States', 'America']; ['American people', 'Americans', 'our people/nation/country/society']; ['free people/nations/countries/societies/world']; ['democratic people/nations/countries/societies/world']
2. (Noun phrases (NPs) construed as elements outside the deictic center of the DS (ODCs))	['Iraq', 'Saddam Hussein', 'Saddam', 'Hussein']; ['Iraqi regime/dictatorship']; ['terrorists']; ['terrorist organizations/networks', 'Al-Qaeda']; ['extremists/radicals']; ['foreign regimes/dictatorships']
3. (Verb phrases (VPs) of motion and directionality construed as markers of movement of ODCs towards the deictic center)	['are determined/intend to seek/acquire WMD']; ['might/may/could/can use WMD against an IDC']; ['expand/grow in military capacity that could be directed against an IDC']; ['move/are moving/head/are heading/have set their course toward confrontation with an IDC']
4. (Verb phrases (VPs) of action construed as markers of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['destroy an IDC']; ['set aflame/burn down an IDC or IDC values']
5. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as anticipations of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['threat']; ['danger']
6. (Noun phrases (NPs) denoting abstract concepts construed as effects of impact of ODCs upon IDCs)	['catastrophe']; ['tragedy']

Source: adapted from Cap (2013, p. 109)

The six categories depicted in the left-hand column of Table 1 are a stable element of the spatial proximization framework. The key items provided in the right-hand column depend on the actual discourse under investigation. In Table 1, they come from the domain of anti-terrorist rhetoric, which has been widely analyzed within the proximization paradigm. Table 1 includes the most frequent of the spatial proximization items in the 2001–2010 corpus

of the US presidential addresses on the US anti-terrorist policies and actions.[5] Quantifiable items appear in square brackets and include combinations of words separated by slashes with the head word. For example, the item ['free people/nations/countries/societies/world'] includes the following combinations, all of which contribute to the general count of the first category: 'free people', 'free nations', 'free countries', 'free societies', 'free world'. The italicized phrases indicate parts that allow synonymous phrases to fill in the item and thus increase its count. For example, the item ['destroy an IDC'] in category 4 subsumes several quantifiable variations, such as 'destroy America', 'destroy our land' or 'destroy the free and democratic world'.[6]

The framework and its 6 categories capture not only the initial arrangement of the DS (ctg. 1, 2), but also (and crucially) the shift leading to the ODC-IDC clash (3, 4) and the (anticipated) effects of the clash (5, 6). The third category, central to the design of the framework, sets 'traditional' deictic expressions such as personal pronouns to work pragmatically together with the other elements of the superordinate VP. As a result, the VP acquires a deictic status, in the sense that on top of conventionally denoting static DS entities (marked by pronominals), it also helps index a more challenging element of context, their movement, which establishes the target perspective construed by the speaker. Recall Bush's words, 'they [terrorists] have set their course to confront us and our civilization' (fn. 3). The person deixis ('they') combines with the verb phrase that follows into a complex deictic structure marking both the antagonistic entity and its movement toward home entities in the deictic center.

Emerging from the spatial proximization framework (as well as the temporal and axiological frameworks [Cap, 2013]) is the (ii) lexico-grammatical contribution of the STA model. The model makes it possible to extract

5. The corpus contains 402 texts (601,856 words) of speeches and remarks, downloaded from the White House website http://www.whitehouse.gov in January 2011. It includes only the texts matching at least two of the three issue tags: defense, foreign policy, homeland security.

6. See Cap (2013, pp. 108–109) for details. See also the two other frameworks, temporal (p. 116) and axiological (p. 122), which we do not have space to discuss here.

quantifiable linguistic evidence of the use of different proximization strategies within a specific timeframe. The STA model can thus also account quantitatively for – as will be shown in 3.1 – the cases where one proximization strategy is dropped in favor of another one, for contextual reasons.

A case study of proximization in (state) political discourse

As has been mentioned, the main application of Proximization Theory so far has been to critical studies of state political discourse seeking legitimization of interventionist preventive measures against an external threat. In this section I give an example of this application, discussing instances of the US discourse of the war-on-terror. Specifically, I outline what proximization strategies were used to legitimize the US government's decision to go to war in Iraq (March 2003), and what adjustments in the use of the strategies were made later (from November 2003) as a result of contextual changes which took place in the meantime.

Initiating legitimization through proximization

Below I look at parts of G.W. Bush's speech at the American Enterprise Institute, which was delivered on February 26, 2003.[7] The speech took place only three weeks before the first US and coalition troops entered Iraq on March 19, and has often been considered (Silberstein, 2004) a manifesto of the Iraq war. The goal of the speech was to list direct reasons for the intervention, while also locating it in the global context of the war-on-terror declared by G.W. Bush on the night of the 9/11 attacks (Oddo, 2018). The realization of this goal involved a strategic use of various lexico-grammatical forms reflecting different proximization strategies.

7. The parts are quoted according to the chronology of the speech.

Providing his rationale for war, President Bush had to confront the kind of public reluctance faced by many of his White House predecessors: how to legitimize the US involvement in military action in a far-away place, among a far-away people, of whom the American people knew little (Bacevich, 2010; Blum, 2004). The AEI speech is remarkable in its consistent continuity of attempts to overcome this reluctance. It amply applies spatio-temporal and axiological proximization strategies, which are performed in diligently designed pragmatic patterns drawing from more general conceptual premises for legitimization (Lehman, Sułkowski, & Cap, 2020):

We are facing a crucial period in the history of our nation, and of the civilized world. (...) On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century. (...) We learned a lesson: the dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and our cities. And we will not allow the flames of hatred and violence in the affairs of men. (...) The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. (...) Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction are a direct threat to our people and to all free people. (...) My job is to protect the American people. When it comes to our security and freedom, we really don't need anybody's permission. (...) We've tried diplomacy for 12 years. It hasn't worked. Saddam Hussein hasn't disarmed, he's armed. Today the goal is to remove the Iraqi regime and to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. (...) The liberation of millions is the fulfillment of America's founding promise. The objectives we've set in this war are worthy of America, worthy of all the acts of heroism and generosity that have come before.

In a nutshell, the AEI speech states that there are WMD[8] in Iraq and that, given historical context and experience, ideological characteristics of

8. Weapons of mass destruction.

the adversary as opposed to American values and national legacy, and Bush's obligations as standing US president, there is a case for legitimate military intervention. This complex picture involves historical flashbacks, as well as descriptions of the current situation, which both engage proximization strategies. These strategies operate at two interrelated levels, which can be described as 'diachronic' and 'synchronic'. At the diachronic level, Bush evokes ideological representations of the remote past, which are 'proximized' to underline the continuity and steadfastness of purpose, thus linking with and sanctioning current actions as acts of faithfulness to long-accepted principles and values. An example is the final part: 'The liberation is (...) promise. The objectives (...) have come before'. It launches a temporal analogy 'axis' which links a past reference point (the founding of America) with the present point, creating a common conceptual space for both the proximized historical 'acts of heroism' and the current and/or prospective acts construed as their natural 'follow-ups'. This kind of legitimization, performed by mostly temporal and axiological proximization (the originally past values become the 'here and now' premises for action[9]), draws, in many ways, upon the socio-psychological predispositions of the US addressee (Dunmire, 2011). On the pragmatic-lexical plane, the job of establishing the link and thus winning credibility is performed by assertoric sequences, which fall within the addressee's 'latitude of acceptance' (Jowett, & O'Donnell, 1992).[10] The assertions there demonstrate different degrees of acceptability, from being indisputably acceptable ('My job is (...)'; 'The liberation of millions (...)'), to being acceptable due to credibility developed progressively within a 'fact-belief series' ('We've

9. This is a secondary variant of axiological proximization. As will be shown, axiological proximization mostly involves the adversary (ODC); antagonistic values are 'dormant' triggers for a possible ODC impact.

10. Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) posit that the best credibility and thus legitimization effects can be expected if the speaker produces her message in line with the psychological, social, political, cultural, etc., predispositions of the addressee. However, since a full compliance is almost never possible, it is essential that a novel message is at least tentatively or partly acceptable; then, its acceptability and the speaker's credibility tend to increase over time. See also Lehman, Sułkowski and Cap (2020).

tried diplomacy for 12 years [FACT] (...) he's armed [BELIEF]'), but none of them is inconsistent with the key predispositions of the addressee.

At the synchronic level, historical flashbacks are not completely abandoned, but they involve proximization of near history and the main legitimization premise is not (continuing) ideological commitments, but the direct physical threats looming over the country ('a battlefield', in President Bush's words). As the threats require a swift and strong pre-emptive response, the 'default' proximization strategy operating at the synchronic level is spatial proximization, often featuring a temporal element. Its task is to raise fears of imminence of the threat, which might be 'external' and 'distant' apparently, but in fact able to materialize anytime. The lexico-grammatical carriers of the spatial proximization include such items and phrases as 'secret and far away', 'all free people', 'stable and free nations', 'Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction', etc., which force dichotomous, 'good against evil' representations of the IDCs (America, Western [free, democratic] world) and the ODCs (Saddam Hussein, Iraqi regime, terrorists), located at a relative distance from each other. This geographical and geopolitical distance is symbolically construed as shrinking, as, on the one hand, the ODC entities cross the DS towards its deictic center and, on the other, the center (IDC) entities declare a reaction. The ODC shift is enacted by forced inference and metaphorization. The inference involves an analogy to 9/11 ('On a September morning [...]), whereby the event stage is construed as facing another physical impact, whose ('current') consequences are scrupulously described ('before we see them [flames] again in our skies and our cities'). This fear appeal is strengthened by the FIRE metaphor, which contributes the imminence and the speed of the external impact (Hart, 2010).

While all spatial proximization in the text draws upon the presumed WMD presence in Iraq – and its potential availability to terrorists for acts far more destructive than the 9/11 attacks – Bush does not disregard the possibility of having to resort to an alternative rationale for war in the future. Consequently, the speech contains 'supporting' ideological premises, however tied

to the principal premise. An example is the use of axiological proximization in 'The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder'. This ideological argument is not synonymous with Bush's proximization of remote history we have seen before, as its current line subsumes acts of the adversary rather than his/America's own acts. As such it involves a more 'typical' axiological proximization, where the initially ideological conflict turns, over time, into a physical clash. Notably, in its ideological-physical duality it forces a spectrum of speculations over whether the current threat is 'still' ideological or 'already' physical. Any result of these speculations can be effectively cancelled in a prospective discourse, because, as in the example quoted ('The world…'), they are all based on implicatures (Grice, 1975).

Maintaining legitimization through adjustments in proximization strategies

Political legitimization pursued in temporally extensive contexts – such as the timeframe of the Iraq war – often involves redefinition of the initial legitimization premises and coercion patterns and proximization is very well suited to enact these redefinitions in discourse. This promises a vast applicability of Proximization Theory as a truly dynamic cognitive-pragmatic model in CDA. The legitimization obtained in the AEI speech and, mainly, how the unfolding geopolitical context has put it to test is an illuminating case in point. Recall that although Bush has made the 'WMD factor' the central premise for the Iraq war, he has left half-open an 'emergency door' to be able to reach for an alternative rationale. Come November 2003 (the mere eight months into the Iraq war), and Bush's pro-war rhetoric adopts (or rather has to adopt) such an emergency alternative rationale, as it becomes evident that there have never been weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, at least not in the ready-to-use product sense. The change of Bush's stance is a swift change from strong fear appeals (forced before then by spatial proximization of the 'direct threat') to

a more subtle ideological argument for legitimization, involving predominantly axiological proximization. The following quote from G.W. Bush's Whitehall Palace address of November 19 is a good illustration:

By advancing freedom in the greater Middle East, we help end a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people. By struggling for justice in Iraq, Burma, in Sudan, and in Zimbabwe, we give hope to suffering people and improve the chances for stability and progress. Had we failed to act, the dictator's programs for weapons of mass destruction would continue to this day. Had we failed to act, Iraq's torture chambers would still be filled with victims, terrified and innocent. (...) For all who love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and safer place.

The now dominant axiological proximization involves a dense concentration of ideological and value-oriented lexical items (e.g. 'freedom', 'justice', 'stability', 'progress', 'peace' vs. 'dictatorship', 'radicalism') as well as of items/phrases indicating the human dimension of the conflict ('misery', 'suffering people', 'terrified victims' vs. 'the world' [being] 'a better and safer place'). All of these lexico-grammatical forms serve to build, as in the case of the AEI address, dichotomous representations of the DS 'home' and 'peripheral/adversarial' entities (IDCs vs. ODCs), and the representation of impact upon the DS 'home' entities. In contrast to the AEI speech, however, all the entities (both IDCs and ODCs) are construed in abstract, rather than physical, 'tangible' terms, as respective lexical items are not explicitly but only inferentially attributed to concrete parties/groups. For example, compare phrases such as 'all free people', 'stable and free nations', [terrorist] 'flames of hatred', etc., in the AEI address, with the single-word abstract items of general reference such as 'dictatorship' and 'radicalism', in the Whitehall speech. Apparently, proximization in the Whitehall speech is essentially a proximization of antagonistic values, and not so much of physical entities as embodiments of these values. The consequences for maintaining legitimization stance which began with the AEI address are enormous.

First, there is no longer a commitment to a material threat posed by a physical entity. Second, the relief of this commitment does not completely disqualify the original WMD premise, as the antagonistic "peripheral' values retain a capacity to materialize within the DS deictic center (viz. '...a cycle of dictatorship and radicalism that brings millions of people to misery and brings danger to our own people', reiterating 'The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder' from the AEI speech). Third, as the nature of ideological principles is such that they are (considered) global or broadly shared, the socio-ideological argument helps extend the spectrum of the US (military) engagement ('Burma', 'Sudan', 'Zimbabwe'), which in turn forces the construal of failure to detect WMD in Iraq as merely an unlucky incident amongst other (successful) operations, and not as something that could potentially ruin the US credibility.

Add to these general factors the power of legitimization ploys in specific pragmalinguistic constructs ('programs for weapons of mass destruction'[11], the enumeration of the 'new' foreign fields of engagement [viz. 'Burma', etc., above], the always effective appeals for solidarity in compassion [viz. 'terrified victims' in 'torture chambers']) and there are reasons to conclude that the autumn 2003 change to essentially axiological discourse (subsuming axiological proximization) has helped a lot towards saving credibility and thus maintaining legitimization of not only the Iraq war, but the later anti-terrorist campaigns as well. The flexible interplay and the discursive switches between spatial and axiological proximization (both aided by temporal projections) in the early stages of the US anti-terrorist policy rhetoric have indeed made a major contribution.

11. The nominal phrase '[Iraq's] programs for WMD' is essentially an implicature able to legitimize, in response to contextual needs, any of the following inferences: 'Iraq possesses WMD', 'Iraq is developing WMD', 'Iraq intends to develop WMD', 'Iraq intended to develop WMD', and more. The phrase was among G.W. Bush's rhetorical favorites in later stages of the Iraq war, when the original premises for war were called into question.

Conclusion

Proximization Theory (PT) is where spatial cognition and CDA meet in a conspicuous fashion, paving the way for an integrated account of conflicting ideological positions in (political) discourse. While drawing on the essentially cognitive-linguistic approach to discourse (viz. Section 2), PT provides the CL representation of Discourse Space with a dynamic element reflecting the speaker's awareness of the constantly evolving context. In its account of discourse dynamics, PT focuses on the strategic, ideological and goal-oriented essence of construals of the near and the remote. Most importantly, it focuses on how the imagining of the closeness and remoteness can be manipulated in the public sphere and bound up with fear, security and conflict. Proximization Theory is thus a critically minded revision of the classical models of Discourse Space such as Chilton's DST or Levinson's spatio-temporal frames of reference. It is also a truly linguistic revision, in terms of linking specific construals to stable and recurrent sets of lexico-grammatical items.

The landscape of discourses where proximization could help CDA in its descriptive commitments and practices seems enormous. The domains addressed in CDA in the last 30 years have been racism, xenophobia, national identity, gender identity and inequality, media discourse, discourses of national vs. international politics, and many more. This list, by no means exhaustive, gives a sense of the spectrum of discourses where proximization seems applicable. Since the central commitments of CDA include exploring the many ways in which ideologies and identities are reflected, (re)-enacted, negotiated, modified, reproduced, etc., in discourse, any 'doing' of CDA must involve, first of all, studying the original positioning of the different/conflicting ideologies and identities, and, in the majority of cases, studying also the 'target positioning', that is the change the analyst claims is taking place through the speaker's use of discourse. Doing CDA means thus handling issues of the conceptual arrangement of the Discourse Space (DS), and most notably, the core issue of the DS symbolic re-arrangement. As such, any CDA practice may

need the apparatus of proximization to account for both the original and the target setup of the DS. Crucial for such an account is the proven capacity of the STA model to pinpoint specific, quantifiable lexico-grammatical choices responsible for strategic enactment of conceptual shifts. Anti-terrorist discourse clearly holds a lot of lexical material deployed, legitimization-wise, to force such strategic shifts. Among other domains, the most analytically relevant seem those whose discourses force the distinction between different ideologies and/or identities in a particularly clear-cut and appealing manner – to construe a conflict between 'better' and 'worse' ideologies/identities. This is evidently the case with the discourses of xenophobia, racism, nationalism or social exclusion, all of which presuppose a rigid in-group vs. out-group distinction, arguing for a 'growing' threat from the out-group. It seems also the case with many national discourses, where similar opposition is construed between 'central-national' and 'peripheral-international' interests – the ongoing debate over the future of the EU is a case in point.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.03

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Squaring the Circle between Perceived Rhetorical Norms in Academic Writing and Developing an Individual Academic Writer Identity

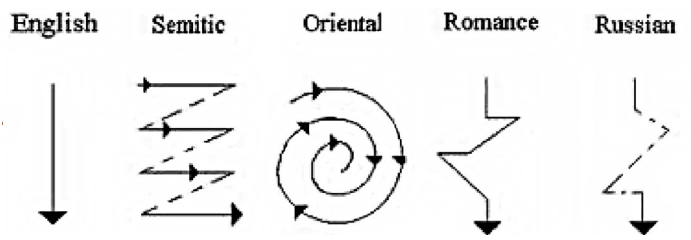
Abstract
This paper sets out to examine the issues around the influences on academic writing practices and to what extent these influences are culturally, socially, institutionally or disciplinarily determined and whether multi-cultural, tertiary level academic writing classes can be effective in developing a student's unique academic writer identity in English. Contrastive rhetoric (CR) studies and discourse studies have long since pointed to the existence of an internationally recognised style in academic writing and this, due to the indisputable dominance of global English, is the Anglophone rhetorical model. In this paper we set out to briefly analyse this model and to challenge some of the traditionally held views about the nature of the model and some of the notions held about its importance and use. Finally we propose some ideas as to how to tackle some of the notions and difficulties we raised in our study.

Key words: contrastive rhetoric, global English, academic writing, discipline specific rhetorical norms, third space pedagogy

Introduction

Kaplan (1966) was one of the earliest scholars to attempt to identify how different cultures represent their different thought processes in varying written rhetorical styles, graphically in his diagrams called 'doodles';

Figure 1. Inherent cultural rhetorical patterns



Source: Kaplan (1966)

This initial discussion of culturally diverse writing styles gave rise to a wealth of studies and became known as the study of contrastive rhetoric (CR), or contrastive rhetoric analysis (CRA) and its current incarnation is known as intercultural rhetoric.

Historically, cultural and intellectual endeavours moved from oral to written discourses, transforming human consciousness from situational, homeostatic and aggregative orally-based thought to a literate mindset that relies on analytical, abstract and individualistic thinking patterns (see Lehman, 2018). As Ong observes, "[w]ithout writing, the literate mind would not and could not think as it does, not only when engaged in writing but normally when it is composing its thoughts in oral form" (Ong, 2002, p. 92).

So over time different cultures developed their own standards and traditions for structuring written discourse and presenting content. Galtung (1981), for example, argues that varying levels of linearity in academic texts result from the differences between four major writing conventions: linear (Anglo-American, "Saxonic" style), digressive (German, "Teutonic" style; languages such as Polish, Czech, and Russian), circular (Oriental, "Nipponic"

style) and digressive-elegant (Romance languages, "Gallic" style). As Connor points out CR "is premised on the insight that, to the degree that language and writing are cultural phenomena, different cultures have different rhetorical tendencies" (Connor, 2002, p. 498).

A brief overview of CR issues

Numerous studies were carried out to exemplify the diversity of writing styles and text features among different languages; such as the relationship between writer and reader (Mauranen, 1993; Schröder, 1991), overall text coherence (Blumenthal, 1997), text structure (Schröder, 1991), metalanguage (Hutz, 1997; Mauranen, 1993), and paragraph structure (e.g. Trumpp, 1998).

With the growth of English as the dominant global language, CA was often employed to compare and contrast world languages with English and often had a pedagogical motivation. And so non-native writers of English were measured to the perceived rhetorical norms of native English users and deviations from these were often attributed to the writer's first language/culture (L1/C1). Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz point out that when writing in English "non-native speakers inevitably apply a written style which incorporates their own cultural habits" (2014, p. 29). By the second half of the 20th century English was established as the dominant language for academic publication. For example SCOPUS, the world's largest database for peer-reviewed journals with titles from 5,000 publishers, has a publishing policy that a journal published in a language other than English must at the very least include English abstracts (Anderson, 2019). Scientists who want to produce influential, globally recognized work will most likely need to publish in English, however many are asking whether this might result in "the great cost of losing (…) unique ways of communicating ideas" (Lo Bianco, 2007).

It is generally accepted that Central and Eastern European countries follow the 'Teutonic' style of writing (see Connor, 1996), whose writing conventions

typically allow for digression and extraneous content in the text. The focus is on content over form and the author's display of her/his intellect, so much so that the articulation of the main purpose of the text may even be delayed until later on in the work (see Čmejrková, 1997, p. 307; Duszak, 1997). In her 2003 study, Reichelt found that in 'Teutonic' academic writing the thesis statement is often missing and there is little emphasis placed on introductions and conclusions (Reichelt, 2003). In Teutonic texts "it may be more acceptable or expected for a writer to exhibit his/her intellectual prowess by writing obscurely (...) it is the readers who have to make the extra effort in German-speaking countries so that they can understand the texts, especially if the author is an academic" (Reichelt, 2003, p. 107). Duszak agrees and states that in order for the reader to process such texts "[i]ntellectual effort is required, and readiness for deep processing is taken as an obvious prerequisite for engagement" (Duszak 1997, p. 18). Whereas Anglophone writers are "expected to convey information in a way that is as clear as possible (...) that texts should be transparent (...) readers would be able to interpret texts for themselves" (Reichelt, 2003, p. 107).

Saxonic conventions follow a linear development of ideas and employ deductive and analytic reasoning in their writing and this linear organizational pattern of academic writing demands no prior knowledge of the propositional content of the writing on behalf of the reader as it is the writer's responsibility to provide the structure and the meaning of the discourse, by way of an introduction, explicitly identifying the purpose of the essay, identifying and clarifying the main points which are then developed and supported in the main body and a final section which restates the main points and concludes the piece.

As Lehman points out, "this type of organization contrasts with the structure of other writing conventions, including Polish written discourse, where, academic writing is rather impersonal in style and reader-friendly devices such as advance organizers, signposting (the use of transitioning words), careful and logical paragraphing and the use of precise and concise vocabulary are rare" (Lehman, 2018). Therefore, as Lehman concludes what

are of "high importance to one writing culture (...) are not necessarily perceived as being so relevant to author writers who belong to other writing traditions" (Lehman, 2018, p. 55).

So as we have stated briefly above, tertiary level students studying their academic discipline in English may not be familiar with the way knowledge and ideas are presented and as a result may find themselves unable to process academic texts as efficiently as they may be required to do so. What is more, this view of academic writing as necessarily following well-defined stages, can also present a clash between cultures as these discourses "embody a typical worldview [that] speaks through an academic persona who is objective, trying to prevent emotions or prejudices from influencing the ideas in the writing" (Bizzell, 2002, p. 2) and in this way serve to create, mark and build relations of affinity and inclusion but also of distance and exclusion across social groups (see Buell, 2004). In fact in Poland where from 1975 to 2000, the percentage of academic articles published in Polish fell from 65% to 10% (Ball, & Tunger, 2005) and these changes are not without their negative consequences; Duszak and Lewkowicz write of this tension between national cultural elements and the "supranational community" (2008, p. 109).

However, while it is accepted that a writer's native culture exerts an important influence on how texts are composed, it is not the only influence and when non-native writers are required to write in English we need to be aware of other influences which may determine the writer's choice of rhetorical features (see Grabe, & Kaplan, 1996; Clyne, 1987).

Criticisms of traditional CR positions

CRA is not without its critics and two major accusations are that traditional CRA a) presents national writing styles as homogeneous and static and b) reinforces the superiority of the perceived English rhetorical style, as being, linear, direct and logical and therefore any deviation from this style is perceived

as being non-linear, indirect and less logical (see Connor, 2002). The static, homogeneous nature of academic writing has been challenged by a number of researchers recently; from a traditional perspective an academic writer is expected to remain hidden and to function as an anonymous medium in the transmission of knowledge and information. However, more recently researchers have challenged the conventional understandings of the role of the academic author in the writing process noting the existence of a wide array of influences on the academic writer, such as the cultural and disciplinary resources available, writer expectations of reader response and writer agency and intentionality (see Cherry, 1988; Ivanič, 1998; Vassileva, 2000; Lillis, 2001; Hyland, 2002; Kowalski, 2015). These studies have led to the reconception of academic writing as a dynamic combination of relations which make each academic text a manifestation of writer identity.

To reinforce this challenge to the notion of stasis and heterogeneity in academic texts, CR studies also found that in contrasting two languages the findings may not always produce the same results. In two studies in Poland Duszak concludes that the difference between English and Polish is in the focus on what is presented in Polish texts as opposed to the how in English (1994), whereas Golebiowski (1998) argues that the main difference between Polish and English academic texts is in the way the paper's goals and objectives are presented. Therefore, it seems clear that "Culturally and linguistically influenced thought patterns cannot by themselves account for differences in rhetorical patterns and features" (Severino, 1993, p. 51).

Another area where there will be differences in how writers compose and organize their texts will be within the academic discipline itself; writers with different disciplinary backgrounds will attempt to highlight their own views and attitudes in accordance with the practices of the discipline they feel part of. "The literacy practices of a disciplinary community embody different orientations to knowledge constructions" and rhetorical features have significance in that they reflect "the writer's beliefs and values, and thus provide an indicator of disciplinary difference in professional academic writing (North,

2005, p. 435). These rhetorical features then are ways in which authors "intrude to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement" (Hyland, 2005, p. 176).

The final area to consider in the considering potential influences on the rhetorical choices of student academic writers is their previous or current writing instruction. As Severino points out, "There is a complex relationship between cultural ways of thinking and that culture's literacy instruction" (Severino, 1993, p. 51). Ling Yang and David Cahill argue that "While culture as a whole may have an important impact on students' rhetorical patterns, the influence of school education, which is direct and immediate, is non-negligible" (2008, p. 121). As stated previously, traditionally CR studies point out that 'Teutonic' academic text patterns differ culturally from 'Saxonic' because they do not employ a thesis statement in the beginning of the text (see Reichelt above); however, what this finding overlooks is the fact that in German academic writing classes thesis statements are simply not taught. Researchers are beginning to ask CR to take into account how both culture and education affect the writing situation, believing that the scientific aspect of how cultural influences may or may not affect the rhetorical patterning of texts has been adequately considered but not enough focus has been put on the pedagogical influences (see Connor, 2008; Matsuda, & Atkinson, 2008).

Pedogocial considerations for English writing instruction

Today many universities in non-English speaking countries have been compelled to provide courses in the global lingua-franca, English. According to Knight, "[I]nternationalisation must be taken as one of the main reasons for using English as a medium of instruction across universities in Europe" (Knight, 2008, p. 24). And for many scholars and practitioners this internationalization of educational settings and the dominance of English as

a medium of instruction (EMI) and "the internalization of reductive notions about rhetorics of different languages and cultures, (…), can lead to skewed, simplistic expectations and interpretations of ESL students and their writing and an ethnocentric, assimilationist pedagogical stance" (Severino, 1993, p. 53). The challenge for writing instructors as we see it, is not to eradicate C1/L1 rhetorical habits, but to enable academic student-writers to recognise the function of those typically recurring English rhetorical devices present in discipline-specific academic texts and to choose whether to adopt/adapt them in their own writing in order to develop their own unique writer identity.

Therefore the premise from which we begin looking at some broad pedagogical issues regarding teaching writing is that academic writing is not homogeneous and static and that the rhetorical styles in academia are not only affected by C1/L1 issues, but are very often also discipline-specific, adopting the typically recurring, disciplinary accepted rhetorical norms. What is more, traditional views of academic English as being impersonal and non-reader inclusive have long been proven simplistic in their conception (see North, 2005; Hyland, 2005) and that students' "writing 'styles' do not come in neat packages; they are as complex and varied as the personalities and life experiences of each individual" (Fox, 1994).

There have been a number of CR studies which have focussed on specific aspects of an academic text and this paper argues that we are therefore well placed to construct and tailor academic writing courses in order to heighten the awareness non-native academic writers of English to the Anglophone rhetorical devices, while constantly bearing in mind that different disciplinary communities have also evolved their own preferred literacy practices and that L1/C1 influences will and can persist.

In order to briefly investigate how this might be done we want to quickly look at a study on academic publications by both Anglophone and non-Anglophone (Polish) academics by Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz in 2014. At the global, textual level, they focused on the presence or otherwise of the Introduction-Method/Materials-Results-Discussion (IMRD) pattern,

a structure which is typical to many scientific journals (Swales, & Feak 2009) but which Duszak observed was lacking in many Polish scientific texts speaking instead of the 'flow of consciousness' in Polish academic writing (Duszak, 1994, p. 302). The next area for analysis was on the introductory section of the academic text, referred to as Create-A-Research-Space (CARS), and typically consisting of three moves; 1) the acknowledgement of the importance of this and previous research 2) indicate research gaps and 3) state the purpose of the present research (Swales, & Feak, 2009). Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz found that this section does not "necessarily occur, presumably since the Polish scientific style does not know of any such schema" (2014, p. 34). The other 3 features Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz (2014) consider are 'reciprocity', 'linearity' and 'referencing'.

Reciprocity refers to the balance between what the writer expects the reader to know and what the reader expects from the text (Nystrand, 1986, p. 53). As has been stated previously, Teutonic texts tend to include as much academic information and theory as possible and it is the reader's task to understand the messages conveyed; while the Anglo-Saxon style outlines the goals of the paper and continues to guide the reader through the process of understanding.

Linearity is created by logical argumentation and development of the themes previously introduced; unlike traditional Teutonic academic texts, which tend to be digressive and allow for additional, extraneous information (see Clyne, 1987; Duszak, 1994; Golebiowski, 1998).

Referencing is a way of citing other authors in the field and in doing so, strengthening the academic argumentation of the text. Golebiowski (1998) found that in Saxonic texts, referencing was tied to individual themes or points, while in Polish scientific texts the references seemed to have no particular pattern and often "resemble abbreviated statements on all available knowledge on the topic" (Golebiowski, 1998, p. 82).

Practical approaches

Most writing has some kind of global patterning, McCarthy argues studies have shown three types of common patterns; 1) problem-solution 2) claim-counterclaim and 3) general-specific (1991, p. 157). The problem-solution pattern, consists of four basic elements: the situation, within which there is a complication/problem, the problem which requires a response, the response or solution to the problem and finally, the evaluation or result of the response/solution (see Hoey, 2001, p. 124).

Below is a graph which I have used in class order to train students to look for patterns in texts.

Figure 2. Example of textual patterns

PROBLEM – SOLUTION PATTERN
Step 1
Students read and identify the Problem/Difficult situation.
Step 2
Students read and identify the possible solution(s) to the situation
Step 3
Students read and identify the methods employed to resolve/change the situation
Step 4
Students read and identify the methods employed to resolve/change the situation
Step 5
Students read and identify the results/outcomes of methods employed to resolve/change the situation
Step 6
Students read and identify the evaluation of results/outcomes

Source: own.

With such activities students can be sensitised to the existence of global textual patterning and this kind of activity can also be carried out on discipline specific texts, even by simply asking students to underline or highlight the 4 sections of the *Introduction-Method/Materials-Results-Discussion* (IMRD) pattern.

In the introduction to an English academic text we typically find the CARS pattern; Create-A-Research-Space, which usually consists of three moves; 1) the acknowledgement of the importance of this and previous research (in bold), 2) indicate research gaps (in italics) and 3) state the purpose of the present research (Calibri light 9). Once more, we begin by sensitising student academic writers by asking them to recognise these 3 different sections;

> **Because negotiating academic identity is an integral part of tertiary students' learning process our purpose in this paper is to look at both 'institutional possibilities for selfhood', which offer participants opportunities to enrich their academic identities within the context-sensitive, instructional environment, as well as 'institutional constraints on selfhood', which draw attention to the ways in which possibilities for selfhood are institutionally limited.** *To achieve this objective we build on Clark and Ivanič's conceptualization of writer's voice seen as both 'voice as form' and 'voice as content' (Clark and Ivanič 1997). These conceptualizations are represented by the concepts of 'the discoursal self', which refers to the social notion of voice and is constructed by a "writer's affiliation to or unique selection among existing discourse conventions" (ibid.) and 'the self as author', which refers to "writers' expression of their own ideas and beliefs" and reveals an individualistic, expressive and assertive voice (ibid.).* Since cultural context is both reflected in and constituted by discourse we call for the development of 'multivoiced classrooms' (Dysthe, 1996) which overcome the constraints of a homogeneous, institutionalised discourse. Such an approach to culture in pedagogical contexts will foster the formation of a third space (Kramsch, 1998), a place in which the intercultural speaker (ibid.) is competent in negotiating and mediating discourse, but not necessarily with a native speaker's competence (adapted from Anderson, & Lehman, 2018).

Typically, an Anglo-Saxon rhetorical style outlines the goals of the paper and continues to guide the reader through the process of understanding, balancing what the writer expects the reader to know and what the reader expects from the text (Nystrand, 1986, p. 53). For van Dijk, this notion of reciprocity or sharedness is information which the writer assumes to be known to the reader; either situational/cultural, or textual, that is, having been brought into the discourse earlier (van Dijk, 1997, p. 207). There are

many lexico-grammatical features which function in the text to create this reciprocity, which can be focussed upon in order to train academic student writers with the skills to both understand and create this rhetorical function. For example, exophoric references direct the reader out from the text for the information, they assume that the reader will have this information in their pre-knowledge, that they will be able to refer to this knowledge and determiners are often used in this way;

The government are to blame for unemployment.

McCarthy suggests that it would be odd for someone to ask 'Which government?' that, "It is assumed by the speaker that the hearer will know which one, usually 'our government' or 'that of the country we are in / talking about" (McCarthy, 1991, p. 39). As Halliday and Hasan (1976) point out, referencing exists in all languages and so second language learners can usually transfer this discourse knowledge from L1 to L2, however, the specific grammatical cohesive features that are employed in English, pronouns, articles and demonstratives, may cause decoding problems for second language students. As McCarthy points out, in languages where the definite article is not employed in this way, may lead to non-reciprocity; "'Do you like the folk music?' the listener thinks, 'Which music is he referring to, I can't hear anything?'" (McCarthy, 1991, p. 41). When the referent is a proper noun and the writer assumes pre-existing knowledge of the referent, then no determiner is used; 'the biggest of which is Coca Cola', 'a combined wage bill that would not even hire Tom Cruise'. But when the writer feels that there is no shared knowledge a brief definition or explanation is offered; 'Atlantic Records, a label from Warner Music Group', 'Richard Parsons, AOL Time Warners co-chief'. Therefore there is a case for lexico-grammatical cohesive devices to be explicitly taught. As we have stated earlier many CR studies have pointed to the aspect of linearity in Anglophone texts as opposed to other cultures which are typically digressive. We argue that in working on typically recurring textual patterns, this will help student writers develop an awareness of this rhetorical style, but also certain grammatical items such as pronouns, demonstratives and articles can

be used to give the text cohesion (see Beaugrande, & Dressler, 1981). Halliday and Hasan (1989) identified two major types of grammatical cohesive devices; co-reference and co-classification. Co-references can refer either forward in a text (cataphoric references) or backwards, (anaphoric reference). Francis calls cataphoric references advance labels as they function to introduce new information and anaphoric references as retrospective labels as they re-state given information (Francis, 1994). Anaphoric referencing is generally much more used in English, the examples found are; 'It will be right up there with the Star Wars franchise', 'Now that is power'. Anaphoric references 'this' and 'that' can be used to refer back to large parts of text, or to information which is not located in only one place, as opposed to a single referent and in so doing can make it difficult for student writers to retrieve or paraphrase the information being referred to. As stated earlier (Halliday, & Hasan, 1976), referencing occurs in most languages, but difficulties can still arrive at the lexico-grammatical level, where the reader fails to identify how certain pronouns, demonstratives and articles are functioning to provide textual cohesion, by means of intertextual linking and referencing. Once more the case for explicit teaching of these rhetorical devices seems evident.

As regards the citation of other authors in the field academic writing teachers need to counsel prudence and control, restricting the number of references cited for each theme/point. The tendency for non-English writers to over-use references, often as a demonstration of being widely read in the field, needs to be challenged.

Discussion

As we have tried to point out in this paper, CR studies, discourse studies and identity studies have all pointed to the rich variation in styles employed by academic writers; however, we have also pointed to the dominance of English as a lingua franca in the world of academia. Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz ask "whether there is an actual need for an internationally recognised

style" in academic writing (Smakman, & Duda-Osiewacz, 2014, p. 43) and the answer is clearly no, and yes. For us the 'yes' refers to the indisputable dominance of English in academia and we have briefly shown how academic writing classes can address this by awareness raising activities. The 'no' is a far more complex answer and involves whether maintaining English as the gatekeeper to scientific discourse comes with "the great cost of" other cultures "losing their unique ways of communicating ideas" and of "gradually lose their own voice" (Lo Bianco, 2007). The fear is that the dominance of English will result in the scientific vocabularies of many languages failing to keep pace with new developments and concepts. In fact Duszak and Lewkowicz point to changes in the way Polish academics compose their texts more in line with the typical Anglophone rhetorical style (Duszak, & Lewkowicz, 2008). Jenkins points out that there is variation among Anglophone writers which is tolerated, pointing out stylistic differences between US and UK academic writing and asks why this tolerance can't be extended to other cultures. She goes on to ask why variation should be seen as a hindrance and suggests that non-native academic writers may eventually "have significant influence on the spread of English" (Jenkins, 2003, p. 42).

Smakman and Duda-Osiewacz in their concluding remarks repeatedly suggest that academic writers have choice as to what extent they do or do not accept Anglo-Saxon rhetorical strategies, pointing out that this choice "to a degree lies with the authors themselves" (Smakman, & Duda-Osiewacz, 2014, p. 45). We would disagree with this on two counts, both of which are touched upon in this paper; firstly, it is difficult to see a diminishing of the hegemony of English as the language of academia, if anything recent changes in the world of publishing are tightening this hold, with ever-more monopolistic control of academic publishing and secondly, it is debatable how conscious academic and would be academic writers are of the lexico-grammatical and text features which help create a particular rhetorical style. Hence the great importance this paper has given to addressing awareness raising classes for writers on these rhetorical features.

Adapting Kramsch's third culture pedagogy approach (see Kramsch, 2009), tertiary level academic writing classes (and indeed in-house classes for practising academics), need to provide a context in which non-native participants are taught to be aware of the 'imposed' imposed rhetorical norms of the discipline-specific discourse and are then encouraged to create meaning on the margins or in the interstices of these conventional features. We believe that with such an approach non-native, academic writers can be given the possibility to recognize and understand the meaning-making function of the discipline's rhetorical features and to be encouraged to use, adapt or reject these conventional linguistic tools in order to create their own academic identity.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.04

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Developing Self-efficacy with the Use of Vocabulary Strategy Training

Abstract
This article reports on part of a larger study of legal vocabulary learning with the use of strategy training at the tertiary level. The aim of the research was to develop effective strategy training in the area of vocabulary learning, develop self-efficacy in the area of vocabulary learning and to investigate the impact of the comprehensive strategy training on strategic capacity and self-efficacy beliefs in the area of vocabulary acquisition. The quasi-experiment was carried out with the use of Self-regulating Capacity in Vocabulary Learning Scale (SRCVoc) (Tseng, Dörnyei, & Schmitt, 2006) and Vocabulary Learning Strategy Based Instruction (VLSBI) in the context of legal vocabulary learning. The study was conducted with SRCVoc-Polish version, a Polish translation of a psychometric instrument for measuring self-regulating capacity in L2 vocabulary learning. The results confirmed improvement of the self-regulating capacity in vocabulary learning in the target area. Vocabulary Learning Strategy Based Instruction proved to assist learners from the experimental group in their perceived vocabulary learning. The article focuses on the appropriate preparation of strategy training in the area of lexical acquisition, and discusses the impact of effective strategy training comprising a wide array of both metacognitive and cognitive strategies on developing self-efficacy.

Key words: self-efficacy, vocabulary learning, strategy training, self-efficacy beliefs, self-regulating capacity

Introduction

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on self-efficacy, a construct essential for understanding motivation, self-regulation and notions of the self. It is a key element of social cognitive theory, crucial in student learning as it affects students' motivation and achievement. The role of students thoughts and beliefs in the learning process is vital (Schunk, 1995; 2003), and there is a large and growing body of self-efficacy investigations in the field of foreign language (FL) learning establishing the relationship between self-efficacy and achievement, listening and reading proficiency, language learning strategy use, anxiety and self-efficacy for self-regulation (Graham, 2007; Graham, & Macaro, 2008; Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007). Graham (2007) pointed to the fact that self-efficacy may be enhanced through explicit language strategy training. This article focuses on the preparation of strategy training in the area of vocabulary acquisition comprising both metacognitive and cognitive strategies in order to enhance students' beliefs about their own abilities and competences.

Self-efficacy

In 1977 Bandura introduced the construct of self-efficacy, a key element of social cognitive theory. Self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one's capabilities for learning or organizing and performing actions (Bandura, 1997). In accordance with social cognitive theory human functioning is viewed as a dynamic interplay among personal, behavioral and social/environmental variables, known as triadic reciprocality. It implies that strategies addressing various factors can enhance human functioning, thus learners can regulate their behavior and teachers can positively affect their students by promoting the learning and motivation of their students. It is worth noting that people's accomplishments can be better predicted based on their beliefs than on their capabilities. Those beliefs are connected with goal-related effort, persistence and resilience and are associated with outcome expectations, or beliefs about the an-

ticipated result of one's actions (Bandura, 1997). Students tend to engage in activities that in their opinion will result in positive outcomes and avoid ones leading to negative outcomes. Behavior of students is also dependent on their values, i.e. perceptions of importance and utility of learning (Schunk, & Usher, 2011, p. 285). Even students who feel highly efficacious in the specific area may not develop in this area if they do not value it.

Self-efficacy beliefs are context-specific and future-oriented judgements of competence that may be easily changed (Schunk, & Usher, 2011, p. 287). They are formed by interpreting information from their own prior performances (mastery experiences), observations of others (vicarious experiences), persuasive information from others (forms of social persuasion) and strong emotional reactions to a task (physiological indexes) e.g. anxiety and stress (Bandura, 1997). The most influential are mastery experiences, and generally successful performances raise self-efficacy, while failures lower it. However, as it is emphasized an occasional failure or success should not affect it. On the other hand, if students lack the skills needed to success, no amount of self-efficacy can result in a competent performance (Schunk, 1995).

Self-efficacy for self-regulated learning is a crucial part of self-regulation, as developing and maintaining self-efficacy helps to motivate students to learn and to self-regulate their learning. Self-regulation of learning comprises not only detailed knowledge of a skill, but also self-awareness, self-motivation and behavioural skills to implement this knowledge effectively (Zimmerman, 2002, p. 66). There is research (Schunk, Zimmerman, & Barry, 1998; Boekaerts, Pintrich, & Zeidner, 2000) indicating that self-regulatory processes are teachable and can lead to increased student motivation and achievement. Moreover, there are specific tools available to be implemented in order to develop self-regulatory skills, e.g. a self-regulatory learning cycle model by Zimmerman (2002). Self-efficacy is perceived as one of the keys to self-motivation beliefs and learners who perceive high self-efficacy set more challenging goals; they use more effective learning strategies; monitor their learning more closely and are much more motivated to self-regulate their

learning (Stoeger, & Ziegler, 2011, p. 91). Unfortunately, despite extensive evidence that self-regulatory processes can be taught to students, few teachers encourage students to set specific goals or teach explicit learning strategies. Additionally, learners are rarely asked to self-evaluate their work.

It has been emphasised by Zimmerman, Bonner & Kovach (2009, p. 8) that an instructional model involving explicit learning can be used in classroom situations. As argued by them (Zimmerman, Bonner, & Kovach, 2009, p. 10) "when self-regulatory processes play an integral role in development and use of study skill, students become more acutely aware of improvements in their academic achievement and experience a heightened sense of personal efficacy".

Self-regulated learning is an effective means to improve the achievements of students that range greatly in proficiency. It is not a single personal trait that individual students either possess or lack (Zimmermann, 2002, p. 66). The students' willingness to study for a test depends on their beliefs, labelled by Bandura (1997) as self-efficacy, about (a) their self-regulated learning capabilities and (b) the outcomes of them (Schunk, & Zimmerman, 1998, p. 10). Low perceptions of self-efficacy can be detrimental to achievement. The researchers agree that efficacious students work harder and persist longer than students who doubt their capabilities. In SLA self-regulated learning is connected with the concept of language learning strategies and the efficient use of strategies which can be enhanced by strategy training (Kossakowska-Pisarek, 2014; 2016). Weinstein, Acee and Jung (2011a, p. 46) highlight that all theories of strategic and self-regulated learning encompass the use of learning strategies. Let's look at this concept more closely.

Language Learning Strategies and strategy training

The concept of language learning strategies (LLS) has been the most significant in the research in the area of language learning. It is closely related to the fact that it is a common belief in SLA that some learners are more successful

than others. It may be caused, at least partly, by the fact that some learners approach tasks in a better way (Anderson, 2005), which is called language learning strategy in SLA. It should be noted that from the very beginning there was considerable unease and criticism among researchers concerning the theoretical underpinnings of LLS research. The vital driving force of LLS was, nevertheless, the enthusiasm of many researchers and practitioners as to its applicability in the classroom. The efficiency of this workable component of the learning process can be improved by strategy training. Conversely, Dörnyei (2005) suggested that the concept be abandoned and replaced by self-regulation due to "the manifold theoretical issues with the concept" (Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015, p. 143). Nevertheless, as Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, p. 148) indicate there is "a new wave of serious strategy publications' focusing on reinterpreting language learning strategies" (inter alia Cohen, 2011; Cohen, & Macaro, 2007; Oxford, 2011). Nevertheless, more and more scholars have become proponents of strategy training (cf. Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015, p. 155).

The topic of strategy instruction has attracted a lot of attention. Weinstein et al. (2011b, p. 297) remark that "we must explicitly teach learning strategies that are domain-specific to our courses". This is vital, as in order to be self-regulated learners students must learn strategies appropriate for the domain in which there are different discourse structures, forms of argument and ways of approaching and solving problems. Pintrich (1995) stresses that faculty can be models of self-regulated learning. It is vital, therefore, that teachers model discipline-specific thinking processes and course-specific strategies for learning in the classroom. By providing feedback and guidance regarding self-regulation, teachers may considerably affect students' self-regulation. As Weinstein et al. (2011b, p. 293) claim "the instructors' role is helping students become more strategic and self-regulated" and highlights that teachers can all have a tremendous impact on students' development of a useful repertoire of learning strategies. Comprehensive strategy training should comprise metacognitive, cognitive and social strategies combined to increase its effectiveness. In order to learn a foreign language effectively, and this is

particularly important in the area of vocabulary learning, students need to be aware of the various factors influencing vocabulary learning and how to employ various strategies, i.e. cognitive, metacognitive and socio-affective strategies, to enhance their process of learning.

Metacognitive strategy training aims at increasing students' self-awareness of learning and learners' strengths and weaknesses in this domain, knowledge about oneself as a learner, and the ability to choose the appropriate tasks and strategies in order to accomplish tasks. From an educational psychologist's perspective Weinstein et al. (2011b, p. 299) defines cognitive strategies as "goal-directed approaches and methods of thought that help students to build bridges between what they already know or have experienced and what they are trying to learn". The aim of these strategies is to build meaning in such a way that new information becomes an integrated part of organised knowledge and can be accessed. The third type of strategies, the socio-affective one, entails cooperation with other learners, a teacher, and L2 speakers.

In order to be effective, self-regulation training should comply with a set of rules. It is widely accepted that self-regulatory instruction should be integrated within the curriculum and it is vital that the integration is properly implemented. Therefore, it is important to stress that such training should include expert and peer modelling, direct social feedback and practice routines. Furthermore, acquiring mastery of optimal studying techniques is connected with multiple efforts of the students. The implementation should be self-monitored and the outcomes ought to be self-evaluated positively. There is ample evidence that students with no explicit training are often unable to devise techniques that improve their success or self-monitoring. Thus, well-planned self-regulated training enhances students' use of learning strategies and self-monitoring of goal attainment. Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, p. 153) advocate strategy instruction as the current state of research suggests its ample utility.

Vocabulary strategy training

Nation (2001, p. 222) argues that as strategies allow learners to take control of learning from the teacher, it is important to include strategy training into the vocabulary development programme. As there is a broad range of strategy options, learners could benefit from being made aware of the wide array of strategies they can draw on. Strategies are particularly useful (Nation, 2001, p. 223) for the low-frequency words of the language as they provide a way of coping with unknown words, e.g. in case of legal English lexis. Researchers agree that no strategy is believed to be superior or better than others. As Zimmerman, Bonner and Kovach (2009, p. 136) put it "no learning technique or strategy is universally effective, and thus we must constantly self-evaluate our effectiveness as learners to optimally refine our strategic approach". The difference between learners lies in choosing an appropriate strategy to the task and implementing it effectively. At the same time, various students prefer different strategies, so the choice is often dependent on personality. That is why strategy training should be comprehensive, balanced and adapted to the learning situation and the needs of the learners.

Nation recommends (2001, p. 223) spending a total of at least four to five hours per strategy, sp ensive strategy training comprises cognitive, metacognitive and socio-affective strategies. As far as vocabulary learning strategies are concerned the simplest forms of cognitive strategies include repetition and reviewing. The most recommended strategies by various scholars include semantic elaboration, semantic mapping, word lists, word cards and keyword technique. Socio-affective strategies are connected with the environment and encourage learners to interact with each other and learn from each other (Schmitt, 2000). Schmitt (1997) in his taxonomy included the following social strategies in the area of vocabulary learning: asking a teacher for an L1 translation, a paraphrase or a synonym, asking classmates for meaning, discovering meaning through a group work activity, studying and practising meaning in a group, teacher checking students' cards for accuracy, and interacting with native speakers. Affective strategies are related to learners' attempts to

understand and control their feelings. It is worth noting that there are no affective strategies in Schmitt's Taxonomy (1997). Oxford (2011) proposes two affective strategies: activating supportive emotions, beliefs, and attitudes and generating and maintaining motivation.

Research

This part of research consisted of the two separate studies: a pilot study of the SRCVoc–Polish version instrument, and the experiment conducted to compare the influence of strategy training on vocabulary learning followed by the use of the SRCVoc in the groups which took part in it. The participants of the pilot study of SRCVoc–Polish version were mainly students of Law at the University of Warsaw taking part in Legal English courses taught by 4 teachers at B2 level CEFR. There were 229 respondents (133F, 96 M) aged 19 to 23 years old. The experiment involved using the validated version of SRCVoc–Polish version. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, PASW Statistics, version 18.0) was used for statistical analysis of both studies. A 6 point Likert scale was used ranging from the highest control to the lowest level of control. The coding frame was as follows 1 – definitely agree, 2 – agree, 3 – partly agree, 4 – partly disagree, 5 – disagree, 6 – definitely disagree. Two negatively worded items, i.e. S1 and S12, were reversed and recoded before computing the score. After the reversal of the appropriate items, high scores on items reflected more agreement with the item in question and subscale referents.

Self-Regulating Capacity in Vocabulary Learning instrument (Tseng, Dörnyei, & Schmitt, 2006) was used which focuses on general learner traits not specific behavioral habits. SRCVoc comprises 20 items in five scales: commitment control, metacognitive control, satiation control, emotion control, environmental control and its focal point is vocabulary learning. It is reported to have good psychometric properties (Tseng, Dörnyei, & Schmitt, 2006). It is worth noting that the items in this instrument can be described as based on self-efficacy. Metacognitive control comprises the following items "When

learning vocabulary, I have my special techniques to keep concentration focused", "When learning vocabulary, I think my methods of controlling my concentration are effective", "When it comes to learning vocabulary, I have my special techniques to prevent procrastination", and "When it comes to learning vocabulary, I think my methods of controlling procrastination are effective". These items are not outcome expectations, as they refer to beliefs concerning control what and how they learn, not expected outcome. There include plenty of expressions like: I believe, I think, I know how, I am confident, I feel satisfied with, I cope with suggesting perceived control over vocabulary learning. The items include words like effective, efficient, special techniques, methods and often refer to achieving or reaching goals. The vast majority of items, practically all statements in commitment, metacognitive, satiation and emotion control scales, refer to self-efficacy. The only scale that includes items that are not related to self-efficacy is environmental control: i.e. "When learning vocabulary, I am aware that the learning environment matters".

The quasi-experiment was carried out from October to January during the whole semester in two groups of learners, experimental and control one (73, 43 F, 30 M). The students participated in 1h 30min weekly course of Legal English, while the experimental group treatment comprised vocabulary training, the control group was only treated with standard Legal English learning. The leading course book was *English for Legal Professionals*, Express series, by A. Frost, published by Oxford University Press in 2009. The SRCVoc-Polish version was used twice in both groups at the beginning and at the end of the semester to measure the self-regulating capacity before and after the treatment. The results were analysed with the use of SPSS PASW statistics version 18. Strategy training comprised up to 5–10 minutes of each weekly lesson plus homework and focused on the strategy training in the context of Legal English vocabulary learning. Strategy training included metacognitive awareness raising based on the results of the pilot study. To invigorate the process of learning and to increase its attractiveness, strategies were rehearsed in groups, pairs and individually, which also accounted for

the socio-affective strategy training. They were practised both at class and at home to familiarise students with them fully and thoroughly. Self-regulatory instruction was carefully integrated with the curriculum in order to ensure proper implementation and to avoid a dichotomy between self-regulatory process and learning content. The goal was threefold: a) to raise the awareness of the factors and strategies in the area of vocabulary learning, b) to offer a wide repertoire of alternatives to enable learners to reach educated decisions in this field and c) to increase learners' self-efficacy. Strategy training comprised both metacognitive and cognitive strategy training. The teacher taught self-regulatory techniques by demonstrating his or her own use of process-monitoring forms. The training enabled students to take responsibility for their learning by self-monitoring and analysing their own data in pairs, groups and individually. The teacher encouraged self-monitoring highlighting that refining strategies is a must and a key part of the training. In that way, students could raise their self-efficacy by doing challenging tasks and were assured that the obstacles could be overcome through careful selection of learning strategies while self-regulatory techniques are applied appropriate. A repertoire of strategies was presented and practiced but it was stressed that the further application of strategies was up to the learners. It is worth remembering that to consciously choose effective strategies, students must be acquainted with an array of them and their suitability to a given task must be clear.

Strategy training, which is the primary focus of this article, comprised the following aspects:

(1) Raising awareness of factors influencing vocabulary learning; gauging strengths and weaknesses of students.

(2) Goal setting and general introduction to the Vocabulary Leaning Strategy Based Instruction (VLSBI) programme. Time management tips: suitable times for study, correct use of break-taking during studies, the best succession of vocabulary learning cycles.

(3) Identification of personal Vocabulary Learning Strategies (VLS); reflecting on the process of vocabulary learning, learners' strengths and weaknesses,

general characteristics of their approach to vocabulary learning; self-evaluation; task and strategic analysis; self-monitoring and peer learning in order to provide support and assistance: group work, discussions, pair work.
(4) Planning and organising effective learning; modelling and encouragement; strategy refinement.

a) Scheduling the repetition: use of increasing spaced intervals, shorter, but more often scheduled repetition.

b) Changing the order of the repetition.

c) Using colours for various word classes and other vocabulary learning aspects to aid memory.
(5) Increasing self-awareness of learners and their learning; implementing a cyclic self-regulatory approach; self-monitoring and peer learning in order to provide support and assistance.
(6) Task and strategic analysis; checking usefulness of strategies for the task; choosing the appropriate cognitive strategies to ensure the best results.
(7) Maintaining motivation; overcoming hurdles; self-monitoring.
(8) Combining strategies to increase effectiveness; analysis of the task.
(9) Obtaining and using resources; modifying strategies.
(10) Monitoring, time management; eliminating unproductive habits.
(11) Evaluating.

The training was combined with the cognitive training as self-regulated learning requires complex cognitive control processes and effective cognitive strategies. Cognitive strategy training involved direct training in the use of various strategies. It comprised also opportunities to practice and reflect on the effectiveness of various techniques, their appropriateness to the task and in the given learning situation. As Legal English words are mostly of low frequency, abstract and appear almost only in the legal context, the teacher used the ways of quickly giving attention to the words (based on Nation, 2008, p. 98):
(1) Using L1 translation.
(2) Using a known L2 synonym or/and definition.
(3) Breaking the word into the parts and giving the meaning of the parts.

(4) Giving example sentences with the word in context to show the meaning.
(5) Commenting on the underlying meaning of the word and other referents.
(6) Referring to Latin cognates as students are familiar with Latin due to an obligatory course in Legal Latin.

The teachers used the following techniques to draw attention to the form of the word:
(1) Writing the word on the blackboard.
(2) Giving the stress pattern of the word and its pronunciation.
(3) Getting the students to repeat the pronunciation of the word.
(4) Showing the prefix, stem and suffix that make up the word.
(5) Pointing out any spelling irregularities in the word (e.g. enterprise vs. entrepreneur).
And the following ways to draw attention to the use of words were practised:
(1) Showing the grammatical pattern the words fit in (e.g. transitive/intransitive, countable/uncountable, etc.).
(2) Giving a few collocations.
(3) Mentioning restrictions of use (e.g. formal/informal, only used in the US/UK, old-fashioned).
(4) Providing a well-known synonym/antonym, category of the word (e.g. terms of contract).

The three main strategies used for the experiment were chosen based on their effectiveness and popularity. Wordlists are widely used among students, word cards are regarded by many researchers as one of the most effective methods and are one of the most researched methods, and semantic maps enable students to organise vocabulary in a spatial manner. In strategy instruction semantic elaboration and word parts were also used as the theoretical background provides ample evidence that this is useful for learners.

Discussion of results

SRCVoc – Polish version was tested for internal consistency reliability (α = 0.855) which confirmed both overall reliability and reliability of subscales (α = 0.61 to 0.74). The problems that Polish students face were marked the most significantly in the area of metacognitive and satiation control. Both skewness and kurtosis were excellent and confirmed a normal distribution. Metacognitive control (M = 3.52) proved to be the most problematic in the area of preventing procrastination (+0.4 for M; M = 4.28, F = 3.91) and keeping concentration focused (+0.4 for M; M = 4.01, F = 3.64), even more for male students than for female ones. The satiation control problems were marked the most in becoming impatient with learning (M=3.59, F = 3.44) and the ways of eliminating boredom (M = 3.54, F = 3.45). The problems are similar among female and male learners. Among all the subscales the most problematic areas are connected with special techniques to make vocabulary learning more effective. The statements concerning methods and techniques have the highest scores which confirm that students generally believe them to be their weaknesses.

It is worthwhile to note that these techniques may be introduced through strategy training incorporating both metacognitive and cognitive strategies aiming at developing of self-efficacy. Furthermore, conducting of the pilot study can be perceived as an awareness raising activity concentrated on factors influencing vocabulary learning. The use of it entails learners' reflection over their strengths and weaknesses in this area. Moreover, self-reflection over effectiveness of the process of learning is a vital part of strategy training. Based on author's experience students are, for example, often unaware of the fact that conditions of learning may adversely affect the process of learning, but they can control these factors and optimise their learning in the area of environmental control.

Based on the results of the pilot study the following requirements of the strategy training were formulated: enhancing motivation with the use of var-

ied and more attractive activities in the area of deliberate vocabulary learning, training in the effective use of strategies to avoid impatience and boredom, practising of strategies in groups of learners to increase situational intrinsic motivation and self-determined forms of motivation (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 32). As far as the feeling of boredom and impatience are concerned, Zimmerman, Bonner and Kovach (2009, p. 42) highlight that they may be overcome by rewarding feelings connected with self-regulatory capacity development and increasing self-efficacy.

The t-test for paired samples was carried out to compare the scores in self-regulating capacity before (Scale 1) and after the treatment (Scale 2) first in both groups.

Table 1. Statistics for paired samples in the experimental group

Statistics for paired samples for experimental groups						
		M	N	SD	t	df
Pair 1	Commitment1	2.8021	48	.69182	1,842#	47
	Commitment2	2.6215	48	.65345		
Pair 2	Metacognitive1	3.6701	48	.86260	3,107**	47
	Metacognitive2	3.2240	48	.85247		
Pair 3	Satiation1	3.3670	47	.90568	2,761**	46
	Satiation2	2.9770	47	.91711		
Pair 4	Emotion1	2.8262	47	.91614	1,379	46
	Emotion2	2.6507	47	.81957		
Pair 5	Environmental1	2.6146	48	.77863	1,907#	47
	Environmental2	2.3698	48	.74196		

# $p < 0.1$
** $p < 0.01$
Source: own.

The t-test confirmed the positive influence of the treatment as means in the post-test (Scale 2) are better (lower) than means in the pre-test (Scale 1). As we can see there is a significant difference between the following subscales: (1) Metacognitive 1 and Metacognitive 2, $t(47) = 3.11$; $p < 0.01$

(2) Satiation 1 and Satiation 2, t (47) = 2.76; p < 0.01

Moreover, in the following scales there is significant statistical tendency in the following scales:

(1) Environmental 1 and Environmental 2, t (72) = 2.26; p = 0.063

(2) Commitment 1 and Commitment 2, t (72) = 1.99; p = 0.072

The difference, however, is not significant for Emotion 1 and Emotion 2 subscales.

The t-test was also carried out in the control group. The t-test confirmed the positive influence of the treatment as the means in the post-test (Scale 2) are better (lower) than the means in the pre-test (Scale 1).

Table 2. Statistics for paired samples for control groups

Statistics for paired samples for control group						
		M	N	SD	t	df
Para 1	Commitment1	2,7500	25	,60381	,908	24
	Commitment2	2,6000	25	,81330		
Para 2	Metacognitive1	3,8800	25	,80078	2,297*	24
	Metacognitive2	3,4367	25	,76121		
Para 3	Satiation1	3,3467	25	,73782	,245	24
	Satiation2	3,3100	25	,81739		
Para 4	Emotion1	2,8400	25	1,03047	,601	24
	Emotion2	2,7400	25	,98816		
Para 5	Environmental1	2,5133	25	1,11692	1,200	24
	Environmental2	2,2933	25	,79499		

* p < 0.05
Source: own.

As we can see there is a significant difference only between the following subscale:

(1) Metacognitive 1 and Metacognitive 2, t (24) = 2.29; p < 0.05

There is no significant difference between any other subscales.

Based on the statistical data we can conclude that only in the experimental group there is a significant difference or at least a significant tendency for

improvement in four out of 5 subscales. The significance in metacognitive subscales is $p < 0.001$, which is the highest norm for significance. The means in the SRCVoc post-treatment were lower in the experimental group in all those subscales, which means that the students overall perceived themselves as better. Only in the results of emotion subscale there was no significant difference. At the same time, in the control group there is no significant difference except metacognitive subscales, $t(24) = 2.29$; $p < 0.05$. In both subscales that were reported as the most problematic for students there is a significant difference after the treatment in the experiment group. That would suggest that strategy training has been appropriately designed to assist in the targeted area of learning control and has been successful.

The component of Vocabulary Learning Strategy Based Instruction (VLSBI) proved to be crucial in assisting learners from the experimental group in their vocabulary learning. The results confirmed improvement in the target area of metacognitive and satiation control and also an improvement could be seen at the level of statistical tendency in two additional scales: commitment and environmental. The results cannot be generalised and the findings should be confirmed by other studies in this area in various contexts as the results of the experiment could be influenced by the context. Overall, the research confirmed that through a well-designed programme incorporating the VLSBI, the problems with control over the process of learning can be effectively addressed and the perceived control over the vocabulary acquisition may be enhanced by strategy training.

Conclusion

The results of a quasi-experiment conducted with the use of strategy training may suggest that the strategy training affects positively self-efficacy of students and it is another argument for introducing well-prepared strategy training into language learning courses. If students have problems with their vocabulary learning those problems may be addressed by relevant comprehensive

strategy training including cognitive and metacognitive strategies. The development of self-regulatory skills is a "lifelong pursuit for all of us" (Zimmerman, Bonner, & Kovach, 2009, p. 136) and creating a responsive environment by showing that developing strategic competence is worth the time and vital. As Zimmerman, Bonner and Kovach (2009, p. 135) argue "instruction in self-regulation processes is an investment in student growth" and "will yield numerous dividends throughout the course and beyond". As the students refine the capability to self-regulate learning they develop learning efficiency, and their perceived self-efficacy for accomplishing learning tasks. Through well-designed strategy training, the problems with control over the process of learning and perceived self-efficacy for accomplishing learning tasks can be effectively addressed.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.05

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On the Road to Linguistic Equality? Irish and Maltese as Official EU Languages

Abstract
Although the Republic of Ireland and Malta have English as an official language, both countries have ensured that their co-official languages, Irish and Maltese, are also recognised at European Union (EU) level. Yet, lacking a tradition as international conference languages, the road to linguistic equality in the EU institutions has not been straightforward. This article examines the motivation underpinning EU recognition of Irish and Maltese, before analysing how this change of status has been implemented.

Key words: Irish, Maltese, European Union, multilingualism, language policy

Introduction

Following the Brexit referendum of June 2016, the expected departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union has meant that of the twenty-seven remaining member states, the only countries with English as an official language will be the Republic of Ireland and Malta. However, both countries

are bilingual polities, an issue which was the source of scurrilous, quickly scotched rumours that English would no longer be an official EU language after the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the organisation (Boyle, 2016; Guarascio, 2016). Yet, despite their long histories in Malta and the Republic of Ireland, both Maltese and Irish are relatively recent additions to the family of official EU languages, having gained this status only in 2004 and 2007 respectively. With the ever-increasing dominance of English on the global stage, it is timely and important to examine not only how less commonly spoken languages such as Irish and Maltese have managed to gain prestige and recognition on the European stage, but also how these languages have managed, through official EU status, to gain equality with major international conference languages such as English and French.

As part of a wider project examining the translation and conference interpreting professions in the Republic of Ireland (Hoyte-West, 2019; Hoyte-West, under consideration), this article seeks – in a preliminary manner – to analyse the factors underpinning the motivation behind the recognition of Irish and Maltese as official languages of the European Union, and their ensuing implementation in its institutions. This will be done initially by providing a brief overview of the common features between the Republic of Ireland and Malta, before outlining the importance of multilingualism in the EU context. Subsequently, the historical and sociocultural reasons for Irish and Maltese becoming EU official languages will be analysed in greater detail, before examining the ways and means that both languages have become integrated into the EU institutions.

The Republic of Ireland and Malta – an overview

At first glance, the Republic of Ireland and Malta may appear to have little in common. Yet, a deeper analysis reveals a number of shared characteristics. Both countries are islands – in the case of the Republic of Ireland, the island

of Ireland is shared with Northern Ireland, part of the United Kingdom. In European terms, both the Republic of Ireland and Malta are relatively small in terms of population, with around 4.5 million and 450,000 people respectively. Indeed, in the case of Malta, it is the EU's smallest member state, both with reference to population and to land area (European Union, 2019a). Both countries, too, are situated geographically at the periphery of the European continent, with the Republic of Ireland situated on the Atlantic fringe, and Malta located in the southern Mediterranean.

In addition, both countries possess distinctive linguistic and cultural identities. The Republic of Ireland has Irish, a member of the Celtic branch of the Indo-European languages that is related to Scots Gaelic, Welsh, and Breton. It is an ancient language with a strong literary and cultural pedigree, yet was subsequently marginalised by English (Anderson, 1991, p. 78). However, as the first official language of the Republic, in legal terms Irish currently enjoys precedence over English. In the case of Maltese, it is the only Semitic language represented among the EU's official languages, and together with Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian, also represents the non-Indo-European official languages. Although written in Latin letters like the majority of other EU official languages, Maltese is closely related to Arabic, especially from the Maghreb; however, the country's location at the crossroads of the Mediterranean means that its language has been subject to many other outside influences, most notably from Italian and English (Badia i Capdevila, 2004).

Both languages can be considered as less widely spoken languages given that there are fewer than half a million native speakers of Maltese (The Economist 2015), and, in addition, despite the uncertainty regarding the exact number of native speakers of Irish, UNESCO (2011) classes the language as 'definitely endangered'. The presence of English as one of the official languages of both countries attests to past colonisation by the United Kingdom, which, in the case of Ireland lasted for several centuries, and for Malta, lasted just over a century and a half. As one of the most enduring legacies of British rule, the coexistence of English with the local languages has led to prolonged

language contact which has affected all levels of society. Thus, in the Republic of Ireland – and especially so in Malta (Camilleri, 1996) – there is a long tradition of multilingualism and code-switching, which influences all of the languages concerned.

Multilingualism in the European Union

Having gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1922 (the Republic of Ireland, as the 'Irish Free State') and 1964 (Malta) respectively, both countries joined the European Union in 1973 (the Republic of Ireland) and 2004 (Malta) respectively. In accordance with the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the EU has had the concepts of multilingualism and linguistic equality at its core since its foundation. Since those early days, however, the number of languages has increased from four (Dutch, French, German, and Italian) to 24 (Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, and Swedish), with Croatian being the newest addition in 2013 (European Union, 2019b). At present, three different alphabets (Cyrillic, Greek, and Latin) are represented, as are languages from the Celtic, Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Hellenic, Romance, Slavonic, and Semitic linguistic families.

Under the principles of linguistic equality, citizens of the EU have the right to use any of the abovementioned official languages in correspondence with the EU institutions (European Commission, 2019). For ease, given the wide range of languages covered, certain EU institutions have designated certain languages as working languages – for example, the European Commission has recognised English, French, and German in this regard (Quell, 1997). EU regulations and legislation, however, are required to be made available in all 24 official languages. In the European Parliament, MEPs can speak in any of the 24 official languages during plenary sessions, leading to over 500 possible language combinations for the interpreting services to manage.

Consequently, the volume and combination of languages requires a large cadre of trained linguists, and the responsibility falls to staff and freelance translators and conference interpreters (European Parliament, 2019). Whereas several EU member states have a long tradition of providing translation and interpreting provision at the domestic level, this was not necessarily the case for some of the others. This was especially so with regard to some of the smaller EU member states, such as Latvia (EU Interpreters, 2013), whose languages had historically not previously been used as international conference languages. The same too, was true of Irish and Maltese, as English, being a major global language, had been traditionally used by the Republic of Ireland and Malta on the international stage.

Research questions and methodology

Building on the abovementioned overview, it was decided to investigate the impetus and rationale for the Republic of Ireland and Malta's decision to have Irish and Maltese accorded full EU official status. Hence, the following research questions were advanced:

i. What were the historical and sociocultural reasons for the governments of the Republic of Ireland and Malta to seek recognition for Irish and Maltese at the EU level?

and

ii. How has this recognition of Irish and Maltese as official EU languages been implemented in the EU institutions?

Given the preliminary nature of the study, it was decided to conduct a literature-based analysis, focusing on English-language resources. The sources consisted primarily of the online archives of newspapers and journals, supplemented with relevant official EU resources. However, the limitations of this approach were clearly apparent; in ideal circumstances, there would have the opportunity to conduct interviews with relevant national and European officials and policymakers in Dublin, Valletta, and Brussels. In addition,

in order to gain access to potentially useful materials written in languages other than English, there would also have been the necessary investment of time to gain sufficient reading knowledge of Irish and Maltese for research purposes. Nonetheless, given the dearth of previous research in the area and the pioneering nature of the topic, it was felt that a literature-based approach would still provide a good preliminary overview of the issue, and thus provide a solid basis for further work.

Results of the analysis

The sources were analysed in line with the different research questions. As such, with regard to the historical and cultural reasons for the governmental impetus to recognise Irish and Maltese, it is important to note that language is a key marker of national identity (Anderson, 1991, pp. 67–68). Having gained independence in the 20th century, both the Republic of Ireland and Malta are comparatively young nation states. Hence, language plays a role both in advancing national consciousness and in differentiation from the colonial overlords. By opting for the elevation of Irish and Maltese to EU level, the governments have sent a clear signal that, although they may share some aspects of their heritage and language with the United Kingdom, both countries, nonetheless, have their own language, heritage, and history that is independent of the former colonial power.

This aspect is closely interlinked with the implementation of Irish and Maltese as official languages. Initially, both countries had requested English as their sole official language for interactions with and recognition by the EU, an approach which had been espoused by the Republic of Ireland since joining the EU in 1973, where Irish was used only on formal occasions such as signing a major treaty (Truchot, 2003, p. 103). On beginning its negotiations to join the European Union, Malta too seemed to follow a similar approach; however, during the accession negotiations, the Maltese government requested official EU status for Maltese. Correspondingly, this led to discussions in the Republic of Ireland regarding potential official EU status for Irish (Murphy, 2008).

Initially, both languages were subject to derogations on their use in the EU institutions. The derogation for Maltese lasted for three years following Malta's entry to the EU, and ended in 2007, the same year that Irish became an official EU language and its derogation entered into force (Morgan, 2015). The primary reason for both derogations was the challenge of recruiting suitably qualified translators and interpreters, thus guaranteeing quality of linguistic provision. Consequently, there was increased cooperation with relevant training programmes at universities in both countries. In addition, due to the lack of conference interpreting provision in the Republic of Ireland and Malta, the first Irish and Maltese interpreters were actually trained in London at the University of Westminster (European Commission, 2007a; 2007b). Following this initial step, however, suitable training programmes in conference interpreting were founded at the universities of Malta and the National University of Ireland, Galway (University of Malta, 2019; de Rioja 2012). Given that all speakers of Irish are native speakers of English, and also bearing in mind the high level of English language proficiency in Malta, the demands on translators and interpreters working with Irish and Maltese are considerable. Building on the sociocultural factors outlined above, it can be argued that the high degree of contact between both languages and English means that, when translating and interpreting, a premium is placed on avoiding code-switching and other common lexical and grammatical interferences that may arise due to bilingualism and language contact.

Although Maltese has, in theory, been fully implemented in the EU institutions since the derogation was lifted in 2007, in practice things have not always run smoothly. In 2013, a notable example was the case of the MEP Joseph Muscat beginning a speech in Maltese only to find that no interpretation had been provided. As shown in video footage (Sammut, 2013), his angry response to the situation and subsequent refusal to give his speech in another language thus illustrates the importance of language equality within the European Union institutions.

For Irish, however, the situation remains incomplete, given that it is still subject to derogation. In 2015 the MEP Liadh Ní Riada highlighted the lack

of full provision by speaking solely in Irish for a whole week in the European Parliament, even though the necessary interpretation services were not available (Ryan, 2015). However, it is important to note that attempts have been made towards meeting these requirements. Indeed, the first EU staff interpreter with active Irish has been recruited (EU Interpreters, 2018), and according to the European Commission, the derogation on the use of Irish in the European Institutions will be lifted on 1 January 2022, and it will subsequently enjoy the same status as any other official language of the European Union (European Parliament, 2018).

Conclusions and suggestions for further research

Building on the findings outlined above, analysis of relevant resources has highlighted the numerous similarities between the Irish and Maltese experiences with regard to their historical and sociocultural contexts. In addition, it has been noted that the recognition of both languages as official languages of the European Union has been important in highlighting the unique linguistic and cultural heritage of both countries. However, both Irish and Maltese have had problems in gaining linguistic equality due to derogations on their use in the EU institutions. Furthermore, both languages have suffered similar challenges regarding the provision of relevant translation and interpreting services, due primarily to the lack of relevant personnel and training opportunities. However, the development of suitable training courses at the domestic level has managed to largely remedy the shortfall of translators and interpreters. As such, with the lifting of its derogation in 2007, Maltese currently enjoys parity with the official EU languages. In the case of Irish, the wait is still not over but the future remains very optimistic.

As suggested in the methodology section, the limitations inherent in a purely literature-based approach could be removed by gaining additional empirical data through interviews and surveys. In addition, as the linguistic

diversity of the European Union continues to gain greater prominence, the preliminary findings outlined here regarding Irish and Maltese may be transferable to other case studies. A potential example is Luxembourgish, which, although one of Luxembourg's three official languages, is nonetheless not an official language of the European Union. However, building on its domestic success, there are growing initiatives to have it recognised as an official EU language (Euractiv, 2018). Should this happen, it is hoped that the information gathered here regarding the Irish and Maltese experiences will potentially be of relevance when conducting comparative analyses.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.06

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The Perception of Vowels and Phonological Processes of English by Poles Demonstrating Limited Knowledge of English as Evidenced by Amateur Phonetic Transcription

Abstract
This paper aims to examine if an amateur phonetic transcription can serve as a provider of information for a specialist in phonetics and phonology. Two phonetic transcriptions of songs and a phonetic prompt prepared for speakers at one of the railway stations in Poland were studied. For obvious reasons, for people who do not have knowledge of phonetics and phonology, the only way to register speech in writing is to use letters of the Polish alphabet. This method of transcription finds its justification in the literature on the subject, where the concept of semi-phonetic transcription is proposed by Polish linguists. In terms of the perception of vowels by Poles, the transcriptions under analysis uncovered some new solutions related to the pronunciation of [ə], [æ], [ʌ] and [u:] by Poles. The graphic representation of the closing diphthongs confirmed that they are invariably perceived as a vowel + off-glide sequence also by the musically gifted and/or educated transcribers. As to the relationship between musical skills and linguistic performance, which is also in the focus

of this paper, the most significant observation concerns the transcriptions of songs in which the musically skilled and/or educated transcribers heard chunks of speech rather than single words. Other phonological processes operating in connected speech remained unnoticed by them, but some new light was shed on the perception of syllabicity which was graphically notated as full vowels [e] and [y] apart from [o] and [ə] featuring in the subject literature.

Key words: phonetic transcription, semi-phonetic transcription, phonology, phonetics, music-phonology relationship

Phonetic and semi-phonetic transcriptions

Phonetic transcription is a representation of speech sounds with the use of phonetic symbols. The phonetic symbol is the medium through which an utterance is available in writing. A transcriber of a particular set of data has to learn the nuances of phonetic symbols occurring in a given language. However, as Ladefoged claims (1993, p. 26), there is much more to learn and understand in order to record pronunciation and write down a language in a systematic and unambiguous way than the mastery of a set of phonetic symbols alone. To reach the mastery of transcription, one must first decode the numerous principles of phonetic transcription and understand the basic rules of phonology.

The same text, whether written or spoken, can be phonetically notated in various ways depending on the aim of the notation. If the aim is to isolate the significant functional elements of an utterance, the notation that results is broad transcription, also called phonemic. In phonemic transcription, one phoneme is represented by one phonetic symbol. This transcription focuses on such differences between sounds which document differences in meaning. If the aim is to indicate detailed sound values, that is, real speech, the transcription is narrow, also called allophonic. The principle operating here is the one which focuses attention on the details of pronunciation such as, for example, aspiration or velarization in English and i- or u-gliding in Polish. To put it differently, in this style of transcription, every phonetic feature of an utterance is notated, whether it influences the meaning or not.

Guided by the preferences or requirements, several transcription systems are now in use and none of them rules out the possibility to use another. For example, based on the analyses provided by Ladefoged (1993, pp. 28–31) and Sobkowiak (2001, p. 32), the English diminuendo or (falling) diphthongs are transcribed by different authors in the manner presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Phonetic symbols representing English closing diphthongs

As in the word:	Ladefoged/ Wells	Gimson/Jones EPD 14	Benni	Jassem	Bałutowa
bait	eɪ	ei	ej	ej	ei
bite	aɪ	ai	aj	aj	ai
boy	ɔɪ	ɔi	oj	oj	ɔi
boat	oʊ, əʊ	ou	ou	ɜw	ou
about	aʊ	au	au	aw	au

Source: Sobkowiak (2001, p. 31)

The above are just a sample of a variety of symbols used in the literature to transcribe English. It is worth noticing that Benni, Jassem and Bałutowa choose to use the symbols [ej, aj, oj] probably having the Polish learners in mind, as these clusters, to a great extent, remind the Polish spelling sequences <ej, aj, oj>. However, in the remaining two diphthongs, i.e. [aʊ] and [əʊ], Jassem and Benni are not consistent with the Polish orthoepic habits, as the words boat and about were not transcribed as [oł] and [ał] but as [ɜw] and [aw], and [ou] and [au], respectively. Let us also mention that English diphthongs, as argued by, for instance, Dziczek-Karlikowska (2012, pp. 119–132) can have the graphic representation shown in the following English – Polish pairs of closing diphthongs: [eɪ] – [ɛj], [ɔɪ] – [ɔj] and [əʊ] – [ɔw] and centring diphthongs: [ɪə] – [ijɛ] and [ʊə] – [uwɛ].

Notwithstanding the above facts regarding the types of transcription, there is also a simplified so-called semi-phonetic transcription, in which, essentially, instead of phonetic symbols, orthographic signs are primarily used. This type of transcription is used by Lubaś and Urbańczyk (1994) as well as Dunaj (2006, p. 163) who, subscribing to the view that sounds can be represented by orthographic signs, writes as follows:

> To facilitate the use of the rules for readers who do not know the phonetic record, I use the semi-phonetic record using orthographic signs. Only exceptionally, when there is no possibility to give the pronunciation by means of orthographic signs, I introduce special phonetic signs, e.g. <i, o>. To distinguish orthographic signs from sounds, the first ones are given in capital letters (Dunaj, 2006, p. 163; the translation is mine).

To complete the above discussion on the types of phonetic transcription, it seems worth mentioning that the semi-phonetic record, which is based almost exclusively on orthographic signs, was also used by Jodłowski and Taszycki (1997, p. 5). They claim that the potential recipient does not have to know the phonetic symbols at all to read the text recorded in this way, for example: szypka, łafka, waliska are pronounced instead of szybka (fast), ławka (bench), walizka (suitcase), and młotszy, grupszy, zdrofszy instead of młodszy (younger), grubszy (fatter), zdrowszy (healthier). Obviously, the spelling is not affected by the loss of voicing by the consonants involved in the words given.

As is commonly known, different transcription systems might be used by descriptive phoneticians, theoretical phonologists, language teachers, lexicographers, speech and language therapists, specialists in computerized systems of speech recognition and text-to-speech synthesis. However valuable is the phonetic transcription in the realm of science, it cannot be left unnoticed that the medium of writing used to represent the medium of speech also finds its application beyond the professional domain. If the users of a foreign language happen to be untrained or not professionally guided, it is highly possible that they will develop their own systems of graphic representation of the sounds they hear and these systems are often far from those referred to above. Having little or no knowledge of phonetic theory, while transcribing, these users are often guided or rather misguided by both segmental and prosodic factors.

Difficulties resulting from the differences between the Polish and English systems of monophthongs, closing diphthongs and phonological processes

As has been shown in numerous studies, Poles learning English face the problem of finding an exact Polish substitute for English vowels. Problems arise for several reasons. First of all, in the British English system of monophthongal vowel sounds, there are 6 short vowels (and, additionally, [ə]) and five long vowels. The short vowels are only relatively short, as their length or duration depends much on the following sound. Long vowels tend to be longer than the short ones when placed in similar contexts. The length or duration of vowels depends on the sound that follows or the presence or absence of stress (e.g. Roach, 2009, p. 16). Apart from length, the short – long pairs of similar English vowels, for instance, [iː] and [ɪ], also differ in quality, which results from the different shape and part of the tongue engaged in the articulation and the shape of lips. In addition to the monophthongal vowel sounds, English has 8 sequences of two vocalic elements forming a glide within one syllable, that is, diphthongs, whereas in Polish, identical combinations do not exist.

To compare, in the Polish system, there are only 6 vowels. Hence, the Polish learners of English have to learn and recognize a set of sounds which are either non-existent or different than those present in their native language. Furthermore, the duration of English vowels being inherent to particular positions makes this feature distinctive in this language whereas in Polish the feature of length is non-distinctive.

Apart from difficulties arising from segmental differences, the Polish users of English, in their endeavor to imitate the foreign phonological features, may find themselves trapped. To master the non-existing in Polish phonological processes operating in connected speech in English such as aspiration, syllabicity or velarization, etc. requires years of study, but there is reason to

believe that the users of English that are musically gifted/trained should be predisposed to recognize these processes. In recognizing alien phonological features though, the phonology of the native language may pose a too serious problem to combat.

The relationship between musical and linguistic skills

There have been many empirical studies carried out to confirm the music-phonology link. The musical aptitude and/or musical training and the impact these factors exert on phonological perception and production have been in the focus of linguists, neuroscientists and psychologists (among others, Pastuszek-Lipińska, 2004; Callender, 2007; Zhengwei et al. 2016) since the 18th century when the French philosopher Rousseau (Aitchison, 1996, p. 17) suggested that "the first languages were singable and passionate before they became simple and methodical". This idea was taken up by Jespersen (1922, p. 420) who claimed that "The speech of uncivilized and primitive men was more passionately agitated than ours, more like music or song". Other researchers studying the relationship between music and language notice that language and music are similar in consisting of "perceptually discrete elements organized into hierarchically structured sequences" (Patel, 2003, p. 674) and they document that the areas in the brain which are responsible for language processing "are also implicated in musical processing" (Patel et al., 1998, p. 726).

There are numerous theories according to which music may facilitate language reception and production. The ways in which musical aptitude and musical training play in language phonology were explored by, for example, Zhengwei et al. (2016, p. 25) who confirmed that the musical aptitude had an effect on English phonological skills and that in the experiment they carried out, "they primarily manifested themselves on suprasegmental level and in productive domain". They proved that students having high receptive musical

aptitude also have an auditory acuity which may help them perceive and discriminate the prosodic features of language. A significant correlation between perception and production of both music and language was also considered by Zybert and Stępień (2009, pp. 108–109). In their study, they provide arguments in support of the assumption that "the ability to articulate FL sounds accurately results from their ability to discriminate between phonemes".

In addition to the connection between the natural musical gift and language abilities, the connection between musical training and language abilities was brought forth by many researchers. Among those who explored the link between music and success in foreign language acquisition was, for example, Pastuszek-Lipińska (2004, 2008), who showed that musically trained students outperformed those with no musical education in imitating foreign languages. Carroll (1965), Skehan (1989, p. 309) and Zybert (2000, p. 194) argue that 'music smart' foreign language learners possess a good phonemic coding ability, that is, the ability to analyse sound in order to retain it in memory for more than a few seconds, which helps them in acquiring a foreign sound system. It is also claimed that musical training can significantly facilitate the acquisition of phonology because it stimulates the plasticity of the brain and improves phonological awareness.

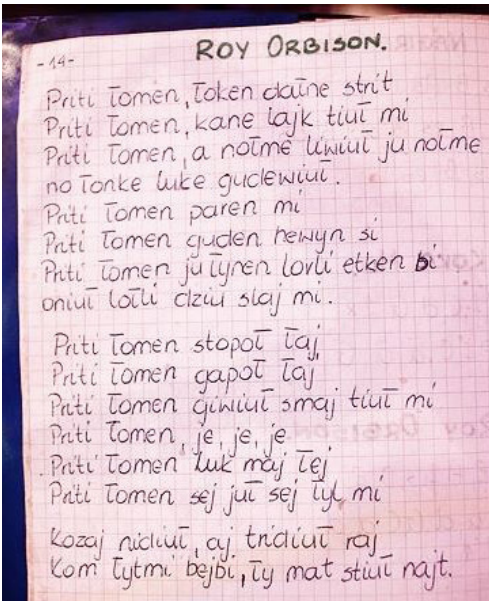
The studies mentioned above show that the relationship between music and language is indisputable. They also indicate that talented and/or musically educated people are more likely to hear and reproduce not only individual sounds, but also phonological processes occurring in a foreign language. Notwithstanding the above facts, the phonetics of the native language is also significant, which can be a huge barrier in both the perception and production of sounds and processes that do not exist in the native language, but also native language processes can affect language behaviour. For instance, Dziubalska-Kołaczyk et al. (2014, p. 236), claim that the second language learners "In terms of the influence of their first language, they are used to paying attention to some details, but disregarding others. (...) What reaches their ears is the

acoustic signal which has to be deciphered. It is deciphered according to first language processes, and in doubtful cases universal processes often apply".

An analysis

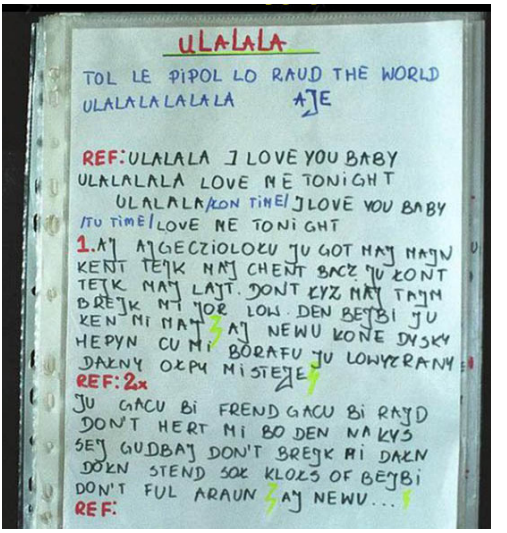
The following analysis concerns two phonetic transcriptions prepared by/for members of Polish music bands and one prepared for announcers at a railway station. The transcribers, in addition to the graphic notation in the form of the original English spelling, use a notation which could be compared to the semi-phonetic notation proposed by Jodłowski and Taszycki (1997), because they use the letters of the Polish alphabet. The examples presented will be discussed in terms of the phonetic notation of individual sounds and processes that do not exist in Polish, as well as in terms of the impact of the Polish language on the perception of such sounds and processes. The detailed analysis is based on examining the graphic record of sounds and processes by transcribers who have no knowledge of phonetic symbols and comparing them with the theories existing in this area. The analysis of the transcriptions of songs will be also analysed with a view to find out the possible relationship between musical and language skills in amateur transcribers. The phonetic transcriptions of both pieces of music and then the message are presented below.

Pretty Woman
Pretty woman, walkin' down the street
Pretty woman the kind I like to meet
Pretty woman I don't believe you,
you're not the truth
No one could look as good as you,
mercy
Pretty woman won't you pardon me
Pretty woman I couldn't help but see
Pretty woman that you look lovely as
can be
Are you lonely just like me
Pretty woman stop awhile
Pretty woman talk awhile
Pretty woman give your smile to me
Pretty woman yeah, yeah, yeah
Pretty woman look my way
Pretty woman say you'll stay with me
,Cause I need you, I'll treat you right
Come with me baby, be mine tonight



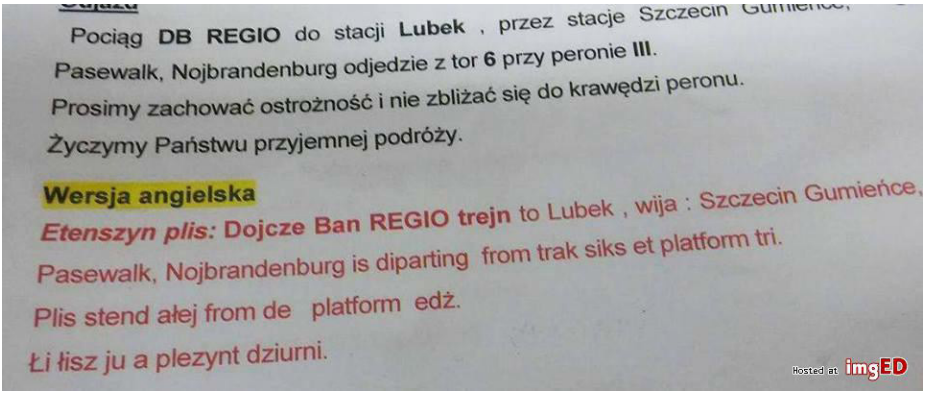
Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=pretty+woman+lyrics&oq=pretty+&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j0l4.3736j0j9&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 and https://demotywatory.pl/4653343/Weselny-spiewnik-w-najlepszym-wydaniu

Uh la la la - Alexia
To all the people all around the world
Uh la la la la la la la la la la la la
(Oh yeah)
Uh la la la I love you baby
Uh la la la la love me tonight
Uh la la la (One time) I love you baby
Uh la la la la la (Oh yeah)
I, I got your love, you got my mind
Can take my hands but you won't take my life
Don't waste my time, bring me your love
And baby you can be mine
I've never wanted this could happened to me but I feel
Your love is right and I will always be there, yeah!
Uh la la la (One time) I love you baby
Uh la la la la (Uh yeah) love me tonight
(Come on, get it)
Uh la la la (One time) I love you baby
Uh la la la la la (Uh yeah)
You got to be a friend, got to be right
Don't hurt me boy then I will say go-odbye
Don't bring me down, don't stand so close
Oh baby, don't fool around
I've never wanted this could happened to me but I feel
Your love is right and I will always be there, yeah!



Source: https://www.tekstowo.pl/piosenka,alexia,uh_la_la_la.html and http://www.strefa-beki.pl/img.php?id=7006

The transcription of the instruction for the railway announcers in the Polish State Railways in Szczecin given in the form of a phonetic prompt was obtained by the journalist of the 'Stargard' Radio who, on Twitter, posted an instruction which he managed to reach (http://www.tvn24.pl). The instruction is as follows:



Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=etenszyn+plis&tbm

One of the problems to address in the discussion that follows relates to the way in which [ə] was transcribed. As claimed by Sobkowiak (2001, p. 132), "it is perfectly pronounceable for Poles as long as... they are not trying to pronounce it in English. When they are, they will immediately search for the closest Polish sound to serve as support". The two vowels which are most commonly forced into the function of [ə] are Polish [e] and [i]. Reszkiewicz (2005, pp. 43–44) distinguishes between the raised variant of [ə], which occurs in initial and medial positions within words, and the lowered variant, which occurs in the final position of a word, phrase and sentence. The raised [ə] is intermediate between English [ə:] and Polish y which is a little higher than the English [ə:], whereas the lowered variant is intermediate between English [ə:] and Polish a Additionally, Sobkowiak (2001, p. 133) addresses the schwa-lowering effect on the pronunciation writing that "in early Polglish especially, this substitute is a fairly common error".

In the transcription for announcers, the word at [ət] is graphically represented as [et], the [ðə] as [de] and attention [ə›tenʃn] as [etenszyn], and this is a typical way for Poles to transcribe the English vowel [ə] as [e]. This transcription, but also the other two, show that there are other possible solutions to dealing with this weak English vowel. Namely, the words away [ə'weɪ] and around [ə'raʊnd] were transcribed as [ałej] and [araun], respectively. The Polish [a] appears in the description of the lowered variant by Reszkiewicz

(2005, p. 43) but only in the context of [ə] occurring at the end of the word, and here, [ə] is initial in both words. Besides, to me [tə mi] was transcribed as [cu mi], to be [tə bi] as [cu bi], and never ['nevə] as [newu], which is not typical according to the previous studies.

To continue, the English [ʌ] which is non-existent in Polish is a sound described by Reszkiewicz (2005, p. 25) as very similar to Polish [a], but not so open. Sobkowiak (2001, p. 140) writes that many Poles transfer the Polish [a] into the contexts of the English [ʌ]. However, the analysed transcriptions of songs indicate that Poles perceive this sound as [o], transcribing one can [wʌn kən] and come [kʌm] as [łonke] and [kom], respectively.

As indicated earlier, all English long vowels are commonly, but at the same time erroneously, transcribed with Polish letters with no indication of length accompanying, as it is a feature that is not recognized by Polish learners of English, especially those at the beginner level. This assumption is confirmed by the transcription of [u:] as [u] in the prompt for railways announcers but in the transcription of songs the issue seems to be more complex. The transcribers of both songs heard two sounds instead of one which is longer and transcribed need you as [nidiuł] and good as you as [gudewiuł]. Such a transcription of [u:] confirms Jassem's (in Sobkowiak, 2001, p. 155) view who suggests representing this sound as a digraph, that is, [uw], claiming that [u:] undergoes diphthongization. In the above transcriptions, the off-glide is recorded as a letter <ł>. It must be stressed here that no diphthongization of [u] or any other vowel appears in Polish.

When it comes to phonological processes, the transcription of closing diphthongs with an off-glide as a target point, that is, [j] instead of [ɪ] and [w] instead of [ʊ] confirms the previous research in this field (e.g. Jassem, Rubach, Benni, Dziczek-Karlikowska). Namely, in the analyzed transcriptions, the diphthong [eɪ] appears as [ej] in the words train [trejn] and away [ałej] in the announcement and in both songs, for example, in the words right, break, say. The diphthong [aʊ] appearing in the songs was transcribed as [ał] in e.g. down, around and the diphthong [əʊ/oʊ] was transcribed as [oł] in the

word close. This incorrect pronunciation of English diphthongs occurs as a result of the Polish i-gliding rule. As proved by Rubach (2000, pp. 290–296) and Dziczek-Karlikowska (2012, pp. 119–132), in the Vi/Vu sequences in Polish, the high vowels are glided to j and w, which is reflected in the gliding of the high vowel in English closing diphthongs as, for instance, in age [eɪdʒ] pronounced with [ɛj] or cloud [klaʊd] pronounced with [aw]. In addition, the transcription of the announcement confirms that another Polish rule, namely, i-insertion has been applied, and the example is the word via transcribed as [wija]. The occurrence of an intervening glide in the iV/uV strings in Polish was confirmed, among others, by Rubach (2000, pp. 290–296) and Dziczek-Karlikowska (2012, pp. 125–132).

In keeping with the above, the Polish rules of voice assimilation are also often transferred to the pronunciation of English, which results in pronunciation errors (e.g. Rubach, 1996, pp. 70–74). The Polish Voice Assimilation (Regressive) takes the form of Devoicing before voiceless obstruents as illustrated in ud+o [ud+ɔ] (thigh) – ud+k+o [ut+k+ɔ] (dim. thigh). In English (Gimson, 1962), voiced obstruents are also devoiced before voiceless obstruents, but in English, devoiced obstruents are not equivalent to their voiceless counterparts. In the announcement there is a case where the transcriber devoiced [z] in please stand [pli:z stænd], probably because of the voiceless [s] following, and transcribed it as [plis stend]. Nevertheless, departing from [di'pa:tɪŋ frəm] was transcribed as [departing from], so the transcriber was not influenced by the Polish rule here. A similar tendency is observed in the transcription of songs, that is, the transcriber was not influenced by the Polish rule when transcribing stand so without voicing i.e. [stend sołt]. However, the Polish rule was applied in the phrase hand but you transcribed as [chent bacz ju].

As to Final Devoicing, it concerns obstruents which are devoiced when placed word-finally, as in chleb [xlep] (bread) and głaz [gwas] (boulder). Out of the three transcriptions being under discussion here, there are two cases in which the context for the rule is met. The word edge occurring at the end of a sentence in the announcement was transcribed correctly, that is, without

the application of the Polish full devoicing rule as [edż]. If the Polish rule was applied, then, the transcription would most probably surface as [ecz]. In the songs, the correct [s] in the adjective close was preserved and the word was transcribed as [kłoɫs] even if in the transcription, it was followed by a word beginning with a vowel, i.e. [əʊ] (representing the word Oh), and such a context would normally trigger voicing in, for instance, south-western Polish.

With regard to the English rules, it is interesting to observe how the transcriber coped with the syllabicity of the English consonants /n/ and /l/. The English sonorants are classed phonetically as consonants because of their typical for consonants manner of articulation and their marginal function within syllables. However, they can sometimes function as the syllable nuclei and in such occurrences, they are referred to as syllabic consonants. There are words whose both syllabic and non-syllabic pronunciations are possible. For example, the word maddening is pronounced with the syllabic [n] or with [n] that is non-syllabic. In maddened (past simple) or spectacles (plural), however, the only possible pronunciation is the one with an obligatory syllabic sonorant [n] and [l], respectively (e.g. Cruttenden, 2014, p. 162; Rubach, 1977, pp. 68–69; Sobkowiak, 2001, pp. 233–234).

On the one hand, Sobkowiak (2001, pp. 232–234) writes that syllabic sonorants also appear in Polish fast pronunciation of words such as bym [bm] (conditional mood suffix), tylko [tlko] (only), oranżada [ornżada] (orangeade). There is an automatic reduction of an unstressed vowel followed by syllable-final sonorants of which the speakers are unaware. On the other hand, in careful speech in Polish, no syllabic consonants appear. Consequently, Polglish speakers may use the vowel+sonorant sequences instead of a sonorant which is syllabic. The vowels that most frequently surface are [o] and [ə], where even though the schwa+nasal consonant does not cause misunderstanding, it sounds unnatural in English. In the phonetic prompt for railway speakers, there is one word in which a syllabic sonorant appears, namely, pleasant and it was transcribed as a vowel+nasal sequence, i.e. [plezynt]. In the transcriptions of songs, there are two words with syllabic consonants:

people transcribed as [pipol] and pardon transcribed as [paren]. All examples indicate that the Polish users, whether musically gifted/trained or not, instead of suppressing the pre-sonorant vowel, pronounce or hear it and graphically represent it as a full vowel [y], [o] and [e].

Another phonological process that is alien to Poles is aspiration, which is described as "(...) a period of voicelessness after the stop articulation and before the start of the voicing for the vowel" (Ladefoged, 1993, p. 50). However, it is also compared to a sound that is described as the short glottal fricative [h] (Sobkowiak, 2001, p. 100) and is normally indicated by a small raised h, that is, [h], as in kite, pardon, contain transcribed allophonically as [khaɪt], [pha:dn] and [kən'theɪn], respectively. For aspiration to appear, several conditions must be met. First, the voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ must be released. Then, in the post-release stage, the air passes through the vocal cords making a sound that can be described as [h]. For this to happen, /p, t, k/ must be syllable-initial and followed by a vowel. Finally, the vowel must be stressed and only vowels which are primarily stressed can trigger strong aspiration. Weaker aspiration appears before vowels secondarily stressed (e.g. Sobkowiak, 2001, p. 100; Roach, 2013, p. 27). It has to be added that if s- precedes the referred to above sequence, aspiration is cancelled as in spite ['spaɪt]. Referring to Poles speaking English and aspiration, Sobkowiak (2001, p. 102) states that in ordinary Polish speech there is no phonetic signal that resembles aspiration. Needless to say, its absence, in the same way as exaggeration that occurs often following the first stages of learning it by Poles, results in a foreign accent. On the other hand, Rubach (1977, p. 64) states the following: "Although little is known about phonetic variation in Polish in this respect, there is no question that aspirated stops may occur in panie ('sir'), taka ryba ('such a fish'), ale kiedy to zrobisz? ('but when will you do it?')". Nevertheless, the distinction between the ranks of these two rules must be made. In English, the rule is obligatory while in Polish, "the rule is phonostylistic with a heavy marking for highly emotional speech" (Rubach, 1977, p. 64) and as such, they are dissimilar.

In the phonetic transcription of the announcement, the word attention [ə'thenʃn] was transcribed as [etenszyn] and departing [dɪ'pha:tɪŋ] as [dipar-ting]. In the correct English pronunciation, both words have aspirated sounds, but the process of aspiration has not been demonstrated in the transcription. Due to the fact that it is relatively easy to graphically represent aspiration, namely, with the letter h, it could be said that this transcription was prepared based on the written English text and the transcriber's own pronunciation in which aspiration is absent. In the transcriptions of songs, there are two words in which [t] is normally aspirated, namely, time [thaɪm] and take [theɪk], but they were transcribed without aspiration as [tajm] and [tejk], respectively. An educated musical ear should grasp this nuance of English pronunciation, even if in Polish such a phonological phenomenon does not occur. However, since musically gifted people and/or musically educated did not capture it, it can be concluded that in this case the talent/musical education did not bring the expected effect, because transcribers failed to show aspiration, similarly to the person transcribing the message for announcers. Obviously, this pho-nological process of English is not contrastive and phonetically untrained native speakers are unaware of it.

In English, words are often linked together and pronounced as chunks and not as individual words. There are several ways of linking words and the one most frequently used is linking r. In RP, [r] does not occur in syllable-final position but when the letters -re or -r appear finally in the spelling of a word and the following word begins with a vowel, then [r] is usually pronounced, for instance, car [kɑ:] but car in [ka:r ɪn]. Where a word which does not have r in its spelling ends with a vowel and the word that follows begins with a vow-el, then there are three possibilities of linking the two words. When the first word ends with [ə], [ɑ:] or [ɔ:], then [r] is introduced to make the transition easier, for instance, I saw it [aɪsɔ:rɪt]. When the first word ends with [i:], [i] or a diphthong having [ɪ] as the target point, then speakers usually introduce [j] to ease the transition to the vowel beginning the word that follows, for instance, I agree [ajə'gri:]. Finally, when the first word has [u:] or a diphthong

ending with [ʊ], speakers usually introduce [w] as the sound linking the two words, for instance, go away [gəʊw ə'weɪ].

There is also smooth linking of the consonant ending a word with a vowel sound at the beginning of the next word, for instance, ten hours [ten aʊəz] and so it is when a word ends with the same consonant that begins the next word, as in, for instance, some mice [sʌm maɪs]. In such a case, one lengthened consonant is pronounced (among others, Roach, 2013, p. 115; Hewings, 2007, p. 58; Kelly, 2000, pp. 111–112).

There is ample evidence that in the analyzed transcriptions of songs, words are linked, but in a non-systemic way, incompatible with the basic rules of linking words in English. One can make an attempt at specifying the phonological processes which allowed, for example, Kind I like to surface as [kane lajk], indicating the reduction of the diphthong [aɪ] to [a] and elision of the plosive [d] in kind, the reduction of diphthong [aɪ] to [e] inIand a linking of both these words resulting in [kane]. However, in most cases, the words have been linked in a way that leaves much doubt as to the context that would justify the use of formal rules for linking words in English. Other examples of linking words: down the [dałne], as can be [etken bi], with me [łytmi], got to [gacu], but I feel [borafu], treat you [tridiuł], give you [giwiuł], I got your love [ajgecziolołu].

Conclusions

The analysis of amateur phonetic transcriptions considered in this article, in terms of vowels that do not exist in the Polish language, indicates solutions that complement the knowledge of the pronunciation of these vowels adopted so far. It was pointed out that [ə], in addition to [e] and [i], is perceived as [u] (e.g. never [newu]) and [a] (e.g. away [ałej]); the [ʌ] is seen as [o] (e.g. one can [łonke]) in addition to [a]. Besides, there are many examples in the transcription of "Pretty woman", among others, good as you

transcribed as [gudewiuł], confirming Jassem's thesis that long vowels can be perceived as double sounds, for example, [u] as [uw]. The long vowel [u:] is perceived and transcribed as [uł]. If it comes to the closing diphthongs, they are implemented in all transcriptions as vowel+off-glide as a result of the Polish i-gliding and u-gliding rules, or vowel+glide+vowel as a result of glide insertion active in Polish.

With regard to English phonological processes, transcriptions have shown that when it comes to syllabicity, Poles, who do not have syllabic consonants in their native language, hear the full vowel between a consonant and a syllabic consonant. The contribution of this study in this respect is showing that these full vowels are [y] and [e] in addition to those described by Sobkowiak, that is, [o] and [ə]. Overall, whether musically gifted/trained or not, instead of suppressing the pre-sonorant vowel, all the users perceive syllabicity and graphically represent it as a full vowel [y], [o] and [e].

One of the most remarkable observations regarding musically talented and/or trained Poles is related to the phonological process of aspiration which is not heard by them. Consequently, it was not registered in the transcription in spite of the fact that it is relatively easy to mark this process, namely, with the letter h.

In turn, the transcriptions of songs have shown that gifted and/or musically educated people hear chunks of speech, not single words. In the phonetic prompt for railway station announcers, words were not linked but graphically notated as separate words. It cannot be excluded, however, that if the prompt was transcribed by ear, the linking of words would also occur.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.07

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Some Observations on the Academic Writing Style in Economics

Abstract
Numerous studies have demonstrated that academic writing practice is neither uniform nor monolithic and displays a considerable number of differences in many respects. The number of studies investigating different aspects of writing style in economics seems, however, moderate at best. This article aims to discuss the specificity and selected characteristics of academic writing style in the field of economics. The concepts of style and stylistic competence provide the starting point for further discussion of the stylistic features displayed in economics texts. An additional purpose of this article is to shed some light on the extent to which stylistic conventions recommended for academic writers are followed in practice by scholars in economics. With this in view, the author analysed a small corpus of texts written by two renowned American economists. The study yielded interesting findings suggesting the strong authorial identity manifested by both writers and their nonconformity to the accepted standards and conventions of academic writing.

Key words: academic text, authorial identity, convention, economics, style

Introduction

An orthodox view of academic writing, that imposes a set of rigid principles to be followed in composing academic texts, still appears to prevail in textbooks for students and aspiring researchers in the halls of the academe. In particular, it is often proclaimed that academic writing should present argumentation and findings in an objective and formal way, striving to employ such linguistic means as nominalization, lexical density and impersonality, the latter of which includes the use of the passive voice constructions and the avoidance of the first person pronouns. According to Sanderson (2008), the need for impersonality is explained by the main purpose of scholarly communication, which is to convey facts or factual information. Even Einstein (as cited in Hyland, 2018, p. 316) admits that "when a man is talking about scientific subjects, the little word 'I' should play no part in his expositions". Similar observations are easy to find in the literature.

Implementation of these principles varies in many respects across time, space and disciplines, which has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Bazerman, 1988; Hyland, 2002; 2004; 2006; 2009; 2018; Swales, & Feak, 2010; Sword, 2012). Writing style is an important aspect of these differences, and researchers have found that academic texts differ considerably in terms of their linguistic characteristics, for example, sentence lengths or frequency of difficult and rare words measured by different readability scores (Hyland, 2006, p. 25). In addition, academic writers can represent themselves in various ways in their texts and project their stronger or weaker individual authorial identities, which adds to the multitude of other differences that can be found in their writings. Perhaps the most visible manifestation of an authorial identity is the use of first person pronouns, which was widely discussed in both Hyland's (2002; 2018) and Lehman's studies (2014; 2015; 2018).

Yet another rhetorical feature also makes an important difference here, namely the extent to which the passive voice is used in scientific and academic texts. The passive voice, as is claimed by Cooray (as cited in Banks, 2017,

p. 2), "helps the writer to maintain an air of scientific impersonality". Moreover, the researcher just mentioned (Banks, 2017, p. 13) claims that the use of the active voice with the concurrent use of first person pronouns is inversely correlated with the incidence of the passive voice constructions. In other words, the increased use of the passive voice may be linked with the decreased use of the first person pronouns and thereby with the less pronounced authorial identity. In this regard, however, the existing research has focused mainly on interdisciplinary differences, while the question that also seems worth investigating, namely that of intradisciplinary differences, has been left unexplored. The only known exception was Hyland's study (2018, p. 78), where the author's focus was on investigating the writings of two linguistic celebrities, Deborah Cameron and John Swales, and on examining how they demonstrated their distinctive identities through their repeated rhetorical choices.

For a similar purpose, I have set myself a goal of examining some aspects of the academic writing style in economics, more specifically the aspects pertaining to the selected stylistic features of the articles written by two renowned American scholars, Paul Krugman and Joseph Stiglitz. I have selected these two scholars largely because of their high academic profile and scholarly achievements crowned by the awarding of the Nobel Prize in economic sciences. These two distinguished scholars also share a relatively common area of interest, namely international economics, international trade and globalization. I presumed, therefore, that their articles might expose more visibly the authors' rhetorical choices, without being influenced by the field-specific features.

Based on a corpus of twenty academic research articles, this study attempted to examine differences between the texts written by both economists with regard to several categories of rhetorical style and authorial identity. Before discussing the findings of this study, it would appear proper to provide background information on some selected issues of style, stylistic competence and economics.

Style, competence and identity

A considerable number of linguists would probably concur with the view that style is too complex a phenomenon to be forced into a simple definition, with the exception being only for some metaphors alluding to language such as, for example, the dress of thought, where style is the particular cut and fashion of the dress (Hough, 1969, p. 3). In a similar vein, Leech and Short (2007, p. 9) maintain that the word 'style' has a fairly uncontroversial meaning only in its most general interpretation, referring to the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person and for a given purpose.

Leech and Short (2007, p. 31) provide, however, their viewpoint on some significant characteristics of style that most linguists would probably share, namely that:

- style is a way in which language is used, i.e. it belongs to parole rather than to langue, and that
- style consists in choices made from the repertoire of the language, choices made by a particular author, in a particular genre in a particular social setting.

Before considering this issue further, an important distinction should be made between the two common meanings of style, namely editorial and rhetorical style, as explained below:

1. Editorial style pertains to the rules governing conventions of printing and manuscript presentation.
2. Rhetorical style refers to the set of decisions any author makes about word choice, sentence and text structure, while remaining within the rules of grammar (Holcomb, & Killingsworth, 2010, p. 173).

Our focus here is on the second meaning, i.e. the rhetorical style. Stylistic choices are sometimes considered similar to pragmatic choices in that they both refer to specific ways of using language. As Hickey (1993, p. 578) points out, pragmatics coincides with stylistics in that both are interested in author's choices from among a range of grammatically acceptable linguistic forms. Yet

he points to the fact that pragmatics is more concerned with choices intended to perform actions (illocutions), while stylistics aspires to make choices producing effects of aesthetic and affective nature on the reader (Hickey, 1993). This does not mean, however, that stylistic choices are neutral or limited to producing only aesthetic and affective effects on the readers. On the contrary, style is a powerful medium of social interaction, which according to Holcomb and Killingsworth (2010, p. 6), may manifest itself in the following ways:

- Style allows writers to present a self or take on an already established role.
- Style allows writers to assign roles to readers.
- Style is a resource for managing relationships among writers, readers and subject matters (Holcomb, & Killingsworth, 2010, p. 6).

The presentation of self, especially displaying a sense of social belonging to a group of potential readers, brings us closer to a broader notion of authorial identity, which significantly contributes to the effects of credibility produced by the author. In this context, Ivanič (1998, p. 32) rightly notes that "writing is an act of identity" in which authors imitate or challenge dominant practices and discourses.

Lehman (2018, p. 22), on the other hand, views authorial identity as "being formed by writer's agency and intentionality as well as by the socio-cultural experiences and institutional contexts." Such an identity is an ever-changing construct being shaped in the process of social interactions and discourses within particular communities.

As Hyland argues (2009, p. 70), identity also refers to the various 'selves' writers employ in different contexts and communities, and in their responses to the power relations institutionally inscribed to them. These responses are manifested by pragmatic and stylistic choices made by the writers who tend to conform to the community's conventions. The authorial identity is manifested strongly by self-mentioning, using the first person pronouns or the active voice rather than passive construction in academic texts.

Worth noting here is also Hyland's assertion (2002, p. 1091) that the ability of writers to construct a credible representation of themselves and

their work, aligning themselves with the socially shaped identities of their communities, is a central element of their pragmatic competence. Hyland's claim implies that rhetorical choices projecting writers' identity are part of their pragmatic choices resulting from the higher order pragmatic competence of these writers.

Hickey treats pragmatic and stylistic choices on equal footing and considers integrating pragmatics and stylistics into a discipline called pragmastylistics (1993, p. 578). Some other linguists represent, however, a different approach, e.g. Grochowski (2008, p. 46) who, as is also the case with Hyland, argues in favour of a certain hierarchy, where stylistic choices are subordinate to pragmatic choices deemed higher in this ranking.

It seems reasonable to assume that the real impact of language style and its persuasive power is largely dependent not only on the writer's competent decisions about numerous choices mentioned above, including word choice, sentence and text structure, but also on their decisions concerning other elements particularly involved in constructing the authorial identity.

Leech and Short (2007, p. 39) claim that each reader and writer has a stylistic competence analogous to and additional to the linguistic competence shared (according to Chomsky) by all native speakers-listeners of a language. They also argue that stylistic competence is not, like linguistic competence, a capacity that native speakers possess and exercise unconsciously and intuitively. Only with special training can it be turned into stylistic explicit knowledge and competence. Moreover, both authors (Leech, & Short, 2007, p. 39) claim that unlike Chomsky's ideal linguistic competence, stylistic competence is an ability which different native speakers possess in different measure. This may be due to numerous dimensions of stylistic competence relating to its different aspects such as:

1. genre dimension,
2. human/authorial/individual dimension,
3. group- or team-related dimension referring to a professional group or discipline, e.g. in an academic setting,

4. culture-related dimension pertaining to cultural aspects of a particular writing style.

The above list is by no means exhaustive. More to the point, each piece of writing is usually a mixture of different stylistic components reflecting the authorial preferences of style, genre-specific conventions and contextual factors. The fact remains that in academic texts we often notice certain patterns of unusual regularity that are considered typical of both academic and authorial style.

Needless to say that writing for a general-audience academic journal is quite different from writing for a field-specific journal, notably in terms of stylistic norms and expectations from the editors. These expectations are far from similar in different countries and cultures. As Hayot (2014, p. 38) points out, patterns of academic writing may differ substantially throughout the academic institutions in the world. In France, for instance, academic writing is far less hypotactic – less vertically organized, less structural – than in the United States (Hayot, 2014, p. 38). Consequently, scholar's competence in academic writing also refers to their knowledge of factors that make academic writing acceptable in the eyes of the editors and the academic community. However, the canons of acceptability, at least regarding the use of the passive voice constructions, are changeable and create some confusion particularly among novice writers.

The passive voice and stylish academic writing

The title of this section has been borrowed from Sword's book (2012) where the author discusses at length the recommendations for producing stylish academic prose. According to Sword, who surveyed over 100 guides of academic writing, the following are nonnegotiable principles that all academic writers would be well advised to follow:

1. Strive to produce sentences that are clear, coherent and concise.
2. Keep sentences short and simple.

3. Write in plain English, avoid flowery, ornate, pompous language.
4. Avoid vagueness and imprecision.
5. Avoid passive verb constructions.
6. Create a compelling narrative.

One is tempted to wonder whether those rules are to be followed strictly to the letter. After all, each piece of writing is a unique blend of different rhetorical means reflecting the author's pragmatic intentions, preferences of style and contextual constraints. Yet academic writing is a specific area where impersonal language prevails, and jargon-laden sentences with passive constructions still abound. This is despite the fact that such constructions can make the text more wordy and difficult to understand, especially when used in long sentences. These features of academic discourse are believed to function "as a rhetorical device for the maximization of objectivity" (Lachowicz, 1981, p. 107, as cited in Lehman, 2014, p. 609).

What is interesting is that earlier studies investigating the corpora from the 18th and 19th centuries confirmed that academic and scientific discourse strongly favoured the active voice. The prevalent use of the passive voice was characteristic of scientific discourse later, during the major part of the 20th century. Barber (1962 as quoted in Banks, 2017, p. 1), who investigated the use of passive constrictions, found that 20% of non-modal verb forms were in the passive voice, the most common form being the simple present passive which accounted for 25%.

The latest research conducted by Banks (2017) confirmed that the use of the passive voice declined in the period of 1985–2015. The move towards the passive voice in the second half of the 20th century – around 1960s and 1970s – was the result of the increasing demands for academic and scientific discourse to be objective and professional.

Academic journals and editors preferred the passive voice constructions that were also overtly supported by the academic staff and journal editors until the end of the 20th century. The authors submitting manuscripts for publication were advised to avoid using the active voice, especially the

use of "I" and "we" in their academic research papers. In his essay "How to Write Mathematics", the mathematician Paul Halmos (as cited in Foster, 2018) described the use of "I" as sometimes having "a repellent effect, as arrogance or ex-cathedra preaching".

In a letter to the leading science journal "Nature", Leather (1996, p. 467) maintains that:

"Using the passive voice in scientific writing allows the researcher to stand at a distance from his or her work. By standing at a distance, an unbiased viewpoint is much more likely to be reached. An unbiased viewpoint encourages a world view and an open mind, surely prerequisites for good science".

He further claims that the use of the passive voice encourages disciplined writing and it is therefore more demanding, while using the active voice is an easy option because authors can just pour out their thoughts. This leads to careless presentation of arguments in scientific texts, particularly in methods and materials sections (Leather, 1996, p. 467).

The situation today, at least with respect to the recommendations of textbooks on academic style, is beginning to change. A shift in consensus among authors, as to the use of the active instead of the passive voice, is becoming more and more noticeable. A considerable number of writing guides now favour the use of the active voice again whenever possible for reasons of clarity and conciseness. As mentioned earlier, however, the scope of implementation of these recommended principles varies greatly across disciplines. The number of studies investigating these aspects of writing style in economics is particularly scarce, hence a closer examination appears to be a useful method for gaining insight into the real application of the advocated principles of style in economics writing.

Economics and economics writing

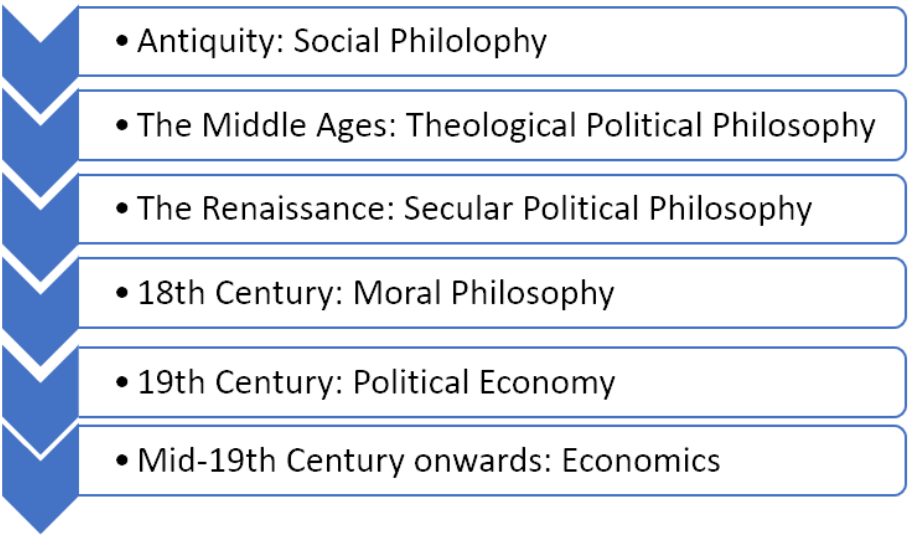
Bannock, Baxter and Davis (2003, p. 114) define economics as "the study of the production, distribution and consumption of wealth in human society".

Economics pertains to the broad area of social sciences, also known as "soft" sciences, as it deals with the variables that characterize human behaviour.

Economics considerations first originated as social philosophy and had its roots in philosophical and theological reasoning. This historical background provides some elucidation for the rhetorical features of written texts in economics and had its implications for language and writing style. Writings in economics have long been stiff and formal, laden with lofty and high-flown phrases.

The sequential stages of evolution from social philosophy to economics are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Evolution from social philosophy to economics



Source: Resche (2013, p. 55)

Before the economy was considered a specific domain and economics was born as a discipline, thinkers, who reflected on economic issues, were mostly concerned with ethical questions pertaining to wealth, money, just price and usury. Medieval economic thought was mainly scholastic and was termed theological political philosophy. It was only in the 18th century that economic thinking started becoming autonomous.

The 19th century was marked by the recognition of economics as an academic discipline known as political economy. The shift from the term 'political economy' to 'economics' in the 20th century was also connected with the increasing influence of mathematical language and methods on economics. However, economics is still regarded as being part of the hybrid disciplines employing language and means typical of other fields and methods from mathematics, statistics, psychology and sociology.

According to McCloskey (1998, p. 11), modern texts in economics are obscure in style and this is explained by the necessity to defend scientific ethos. McCloskey refers to the words of St. Augustine who viewed the obscurity of the Bible as having "a pragmatic function in the art of winning over an alienated and even contemptuous audience" (Bruns, 1984, as quoted in McCloskey, 1998, p. 11).

McCloskey (1998) further claims, "Scientists, including economic scientists, pretend that Nature speaks directly, thereby effacing the evidence that they, the scientists, are responsible for the assertions. (...) Any first-person narrative, on the other hand, may prove unreliable."

Not surprisingly, most economics journals require writing in the passive voice, and even if their editors do not expressly require that, they still require using the pronouns "we" even for single-authored papers (Berlatsky, 2016). Whether these recommendations are implemented in practice is another matter. I ventured to explore this issue in a comparative study of a small corpus consisting of twenty articles in economics written at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries by P. Krugman and J. Stiglitz.

The selected features of Krugman's and Stiglitz's articles

Twenty papers written by P. Krugman and J, Stiglitz have come under scrutiny using the following software programs:
https://datayze.com/readability-analyzer.php

https://www.webpagefx.com/tools/read-able/
with the purpose of analysing the following characteristics of these texts:

- Overall readability (Flesch Reading Ease Index, based on a scale of 0–100. A high score over 50 means that the text is easy, while low scores indicate that text is complicated to understand).
- Percentage of sentences in the passive voice.
- Average number of words per sentence.
- Percentage of difficult and rare words. This calculation is based on the linear word scale ranging from common to rare words, which gives an approximation for how well a word may be understood by the general public.

The results of this analysis are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Results by authors, papers and text features

Article numbers, author's initials and titles: K for Krugman's article S for Stiglitz's article	Flesch Reading Ease Index		% of sentences in the passive voice		Number of words per sentence		% of difficult words in texts	
	Krug-man	Stiglitz	Krug-man	Stiglitz	Krug-man	Stiglitz	Krug-man	Stiglitz
1K: The prices: cost of globali-zation. 1S: The origins of inequality and policies to con-tain it.	39.1	45.2	3.4	5.8	25.46	22.13	18.01	18.32
2K: Confusions about social se-curity. 2S: Symposium on bubbles.	57.2	40.7	4.3	7.2	20.08	24.88	15.17	18.05
3K: The new eco-nomic geography now middle-aged. 3S: Equilibrium wage distributions.	40.6	52.3	5.1	3.3	21.75	20.40	20.64	15.83
4K: Will there be a dollar crisis? 4S: Where modern macroeconomics went wrong?	50.1	41.0	4.1	7.0	21.29	22.56	16.33	20.39

5K: The profession and the crisis. 5S: The Revolution of Information Economics: the past and the future.	54.1	42.8	4.0	5.6	21.83	20.90	14.71	24.07
6K: Agglomeration, integration and tax harmonization. 6S: The invisible hand and modern welfare economics.	48.1	43.9	4.0	6.1	20.92	14.82	19.25	21.73
7K: And now for something different: an alternative model of trade. 7S: Alternatives to debt-driven growth.	50.0	40.1	2.6	2.4	16.47	22.76	18.55	19.64
8K: Debt, deleveraging and the liquidity trap. 8S: Structural transformation, deep downturn and government policy.	34.9	44.3	3.9	6.3	22.44	15.35	18.41	21.29
9K: Revenge of the optimum currency area. 9S: Macro-economic management in an electronic credit/financial system.	52.1	43.2	3.4	6.0	18.13	22.35	18.7	18.26
10K: The road to global economic recovery. 10S: Countering the power of vested interests: advancing rationality in public decision-making.	65.7	41.0	2.2	6.1	16.82	20.92	12.97	21.59
The mean	49.19	43.45	3.7	5.58	20.52	20.71	17.27	19.92

Source: the author's own calculations

The results shown in Table 2 reveal no highly significant differences in the text features of the articles written by the two economists. Only the percentage

of the passive voice does differ considerably. The frequency of occurrence of the passive constructions in Stiglitz's papers is about 50% higher on average than in Krugman's papers. This might be partly explained by Krugman's double authorial identity, namely as an academic and journalist. Krugman has been publishing in "The New York Times" on a regular basis for years. His journalistic style of newspaper articles is certainly more accessible and appropriate for the general public, which may also be reflected in his academic papers in terms of the lower frequency of using the passive constructions.

With regard to the reading ease, sentence length and difficult lexis, both authors seem to produce a similarly readable and comprehensible prose. What is particularly noticeable, compared to the other studies mentioned earlier, is that the mean results in the use of the passive constructions found in the articles by both economists are strikingly low in comparison to other findings that indicated a much higher percentage of passive voice constructions (25–28%) in scientific and academic texts (cf. Banks, 2017).

Clearly, this also runs counter to the recommendations of the many economics journals and editors still requiring the extensive use of the passive voice constructions in the manuscripts submitted for publication.

It should be noted, however, that this analysis has been carried out on a relatively small corpus of texts. This research and its results are therefore presented with all the provisos that such a small corpus requires. It is certainly imperative that further studies based on a larger corpus and with a broader range of measurable characteristics should be conducted.

Concluding remarks

Intradisciplinary differences in style, as illustrated by the selected data extracted from texts in economics written by Krugman and Stiglitz, are not significant and these data seem point to some degree of homogeneity of their writing styles. They both write in comprehensible and understandable English, which is confirmed by Flesch Reading Index displaying a relatively small

number of difficult words in texts and also a small number of words per sentence. The latter is almost in line with the recommendations of the Plain English Campaign, suggesting that clear writing should have an average sentence length of 15 to 20 words (cf. Plain English Campaign).

Significant intradisciplinary differences between the two economists could only be observed in regard to the frequency of use of the passive voice constructions. The lower frequency of the passive voice constructions observed in Krugman's texts may seem to be indicative of this author's greater desire to represent himself and to reveal stronger authorial identity in his texts. In addition, this may also signal Krugman's predisposition to use the less rigid and less conventionalized journalistic language in his academic writing.

The relatively low frequency of use of the passive voice in the economics texts is negatively correlated, as mentioned earlier, with the use of first person pronouns. Although the instances of first person pronouns have not been quantitatively evaluated, their occurrences in the texts by both academics were clearly visible and this would seem to suggest stronger and more prominent authorial identity of both Krugman and Stiglitz. This may also point to a high level of confidence allowing the authors to express themselves authoritatively, which is in line with their high professional profile in the economic sciences. One cannot but suspect that their rank, profile and high achievements in economic sciences allow them to flout some still recommended conventions of impersonal academic writing.

Conventions and practices regarding the use of the passive voice and first person pronouns in academic writing have considerably changed throughout the last decades. Even Nature journals now prefer authors to write in the active voice, as explained in the latest guidelines for the aspiring authors (cf. Nature journals guidelines).

The changes occurring nowadays in the academic writing style are not confined, however, to the issues discussed above. According to Hyland (2018), something close to a full-blown paradigm shift in the approach to academic writing has occurred during the last thirty years. This shift is

particularly visible in several spheres such as corpus analyses, new approaches to teaching academic writing with the focus on social participation and identity, and the growth of non-native practitioners in research and publishing in the English language.

It can be speculated that the digital revolution we are witnessing now will bring about even more changes, further reshaping academic writing practice and style in many respects.

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DOI DOI 10.36145/DoC2019.08

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Perspectives for the Use of Lesser-spoken Languages in Academic Contexts: The Example of Friulian

Abstract
Friulian, a lesser-spoken European language, one of the three minority languages used in the north-eastern region Friuli – Venezia Giulia, and one of the three Rheto-Romance linguistic varieties, has been, over the last few decades, in the process of revitalisation also as a means of communication within scientific circles. If on the one hand it represents a challenge merely for a limited number of nowadays' schollars, most of them preferring to use either Italian, the lingua franca of the region, or English, today's universal code creating the field of science, it is evident on the other that the number of academic texts and articles in Friulian is nonetheless increasing. The existing situation is in fact a symptom reflecting the problem of the identity of Friulian people, the question of their attitude toward their 'marilenghe' (mother tongue) and their whole cultural heritage. The problem seems a logical consequence of Friuli's historical background, particularly of the period of the independent 'Stât Patriarcjâl di Acuilee', better known under the name 'Patrie dal Friûl' (1077–1420). During that period a pattern of parallel trilingualism evolved in the country, the language of the noble class being German, Latin prevailing to a great extent in the Roman Catholic Church and religious contexts, the Aquileia Vulgar Latin vernacular (the future Friulian) finding its way of being spread by the lower classes of society.

Therefore, the multicultural and multilingual reality of the contemporary Friuli might derive from that pattern.

Key words: Friulian identity, sociolinguistic situation, process of revitalisation, linguistic hybridisation, scientific literature

The problem of the Friulian identity

This paper focuses on the linguistic reality within the contemporary Friulian society, with a special emphasis put on the situation within the academic circles, as it results from the cultural identity of the inhabitants of this economically prosperous north-eastern autonomous Italian region. This population's cultural identity, caught between the homeland's historical background and their basic needs and priorities in everyday life, undoubtedly reflects a great deal of contradictions. Many Friulians demonstrate contradictory, sometimes even illogical attitudes towards their 'marilenghe' as well as their own cultural heritage. On the one hand, the aspect of pride and honour can be noticed: their awareness of otherness in the frame of the Italian cultural and linguistic space, almost a fighting spirit. For example, they like emphasising their diverse origin, traditions and specific historical events. On the other, elements of notorious pragmatism constantly appear, connected with conformism: they do not hesitate to accept the power of the Italian state and thus the supremacy of the Italian cultural pattern as the only available option.

Such cultural bipolarity is probably due to the rich and eventful history of the Friulian territory. One should particularly bear in mind the period of the independent 'Stât patriarcjâl di Acuilee', better known as 'La Patrie dal Friûl' (1077–1420), taking part of The Holy Roman Empire. Throughout these 353 years of the medieval period the sociolinguistic situation in the country was characterised by the evolution of a concept of parallel trilingualism.

The three-dimensional linguistic evolution comprised:

- Latin, used as liturgical language, i.e. in the religious service and in most other religious contexts;
- German, the language of the noble class, also prevailing as the language of communication among members of the Parliament;
- Aquileia Vulgar Latin vernacular, the ancestor of Friulian, spread around the country by the lower class of society, which managed to be preserved for centuries in its rather archaic version, thanks to strict limits in the communication between the three classes.

The third dimension, the Aquileia Vulgar Latin vernacular, evolved over the centuries into a Rhaeto-romance language called Friulian, has been orally transmitted by its native speakers, i.e. people living in the countryside between the Livenza River in the west, the rivers Soča/Isonzo and Idrija/Iudrio in the east, the Carnic Alps in the north and the Adriatic Sea between Lignano and Grado in the south, particularly those belonging to the lower classes of society, mostly illiterate, to younger generations.

Nowadays, as regards the Friulian language, this pattern remains partly perpetuated. The belief that the term Friulian does not indicate a real language, but it refers to several varieties of a lesser developed vernacular used by rural population, persists deep in people's subconsciousness. All people in Friuli do certainly not follow such a model of thinking; yet, great part of Friulian speakers (or non-speakers) betray themselves with small ironic remarks or jokes which may at first sight first sound innocent, however, after considering them well, we can understand them as a confirmation of our hypothesis.

As for the position of German, after the end of 'La patrie dal Friûl' in 1420 the former language of the nobility was replaced by Venetian, the language of 'La Serenissima', for most of this territory had been conquered by the Venetian Republic. Later on, in 1861, the unification of Italy imposed standard Italian, first as the official language of the Kingdom of Italy, afterwards of the Italian Republic. At present both languages coexist with Friulian, Italian enjoying the status of the official national language, Venetian having a lower

legal status, that of a regional language. Still, in the German-language exclaves and Slovene-language islands respectively, German and Slovene fight for survival as minority languages.

By contrast, Latin in the Roman Catholic Church has partially survived, nowadays occupying the second position in this sphere, the major role having been taken by Italian.

In addition, a sixth language is penetrating into all spheres of life inside the Friuli area, namely English as a global lingua franca. Neither Italian nor Friulian can be exempt from the process of strong influence that the English adstratum exerts on most contemporary European languages.

Therefore, the three-dimensional linguistic situation from the Middle Ages has been transformed into a multilingual and multicultural present-day reality.

Massimiliano Verdini, an expert in Rhaeto-romance linguistics, exposes in his book *Il plui biel furlan, il friulano di San Daniele* (S.D. not being merely well-known as the capital of smoked ham in that part of Italy, but it is also considered to be the 'Siena of Friuli' or the heart of the Friulian language) the problem of "a wrong perception of the Friulians themselves regarding the question of their own status within the region FVG and their own attitude toward the Friulian language" (Verdini, 2016, p. 27), pointing out that "they feel like a minority even in the places where they actually represent the majority of population, despite the fact that the Friulian speaking area actually constitutes the major part of the territory in the region" (Verdini, 2016, p. 27). His words concisely illustrate the manner in which the Friulians perceive their position on their own piece of land and point out how indecisive they seem to be when confronting the question of their identity.

In his interview published under the title *Sorestants e sotans*, the Friulian historian Gianfranco D'Aronco, who dedicated his whole life to the battle for the Friulian autonomy, deeply agrees with the interviewer's, i.e. William Cisilino's statement, in which the latter evokes the importance of the religious and cultural event in 1992, when Pope John Paul II visited Udine, where he greeted the Friulian people, during the mess, in their mother tongue (Cisilino,

& D'Aronco, 2012, p. 132). As an additional comment, Cisilino adds that "not every minority language has been so priviliged as to be used by two popes... " (Cisilino, & D'Aronco, 2012, p. 132). Through such statements just the opposite aspect, that of self-confidence, nearly a glorification of friulanity, is expressed.

The sociolinguistic situation of Friulian at the beginning of the 21st century

Like the other two Rhaeto-romance linguistic varieties, Dolomitic Ladin in Italy and Swiss Romansh (Surselva as well as Engadine) in Switzerland, Friulian has been, over the last few decades, in the process of revitalisation. They all belong to the group of lesser-spoken languages or languages in danger. According to the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's languages in danger* (2017), which includes in its index the names of 6,796 languages, Friulian is categorised as a 'definitely endangered language'. This formulation represents the third or middle level of endangerment on the scale consisting of six levels of vitality: -safe, -vulnerable, -definitely endangered, -severely endangered, -critically endangered, -extinct (UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework). Simone De Cia at the University of Manchester reports in his dissertation, entitled *The Vitality of Friulian in the Province of Udine: a Sociolinguistic Study* that it is classified among 'the disappearing languages' according to Whaley's scale (2006), which also corresponds to the third or middle degree of endangerment: -safe, -at risk, -disappearing, -moribund, -nearly extinct, -extinct (De Cia, 2013, p. 14). The topic takes part of the branch of science for which James Matisoff proposed the name 'Perilinguistics' (Matisoff, 1991, p. 201, 224), occasionally he also uses 'Thanatoglossia' and 'Necroglossia', whilst David Crystal prefers the term 'Preventive linguistics' (Crystal, 2000, p. 124).

Talking about languages at risk of becoming extinct, it is necessary to connect their situations with the problem of identity faced by the native speakers

of these languages. Many of them are being revitalised during the last decades. It means a kind of intervention the aim of which should be, as Crystal claims in his book *Language death*, "to create opportunities for the people to improve morale so that they come to think of their language with feelings of confidence, self-esteem and pride" (Crystal, 2000, p. 149). Let us cite in this context also the following note: "The decision to abandon one's own language always derives from a change in the self-esteem of the speech community" (Brenzinger, Heine, & Somner 1991, p. 37).

In many resources we can find idealised estimates concerning the number of Friulian speakers, i.e. approximately one million. Nonetheless, Linda Picco's research from 2001 reveals a different reality. According to her findings the number of active speakers of this language, taking into consideration both native and non-native speakers, approximates to 430,000. She adds to this number another 140,000 speakers who use Friulian occasionally, and rounds the number up to 600,000. It is true, however, that the research involved only the speakers of Friulian in the territory of the region FVG. Since the homeland of the Friulian population covers also the eastern part of the neighbouring region Veneto, further research is needed to find out more realistic data. A new research ought to include, besides the Friulian speakers in Veneto, those few Friulian speakers who live in other parts of Italy, as well as the members of the strong Friulian diaspora, particularly in Romania and Argentina, but also in Brazil, Australia, Canada and the USA.

Furthermore, her research shows that an average speaker of Friulian is over forty years old and is a fluent speaker of this lesser-used language; still, with limited writing competencies. At this point it might be relevant to add that in the author's opinion many a speaker has never even heard of the existence of the Friulian alphabet, not to mention the Friulian grammar or orthography.

Considering its historical background, it seems logical that Friulian is more often used in the countryside than in towns, where Venetian and Italian influenced and still influence the speakers' choice of the language to a considerably larger extent.

Moreover, the use of Friulian is most typical of informal communication situations, which means at work or school only during the breaks, preferably outside of working hours, when socialising, during sports activities and other hobbies, over a drink in pubs and bars etc. From the author's personal experience it is possible to find, across the Friulian speaking area, even bars in which speaking Friulian automatically gives a higher status to a customer. If we paraphrase, in the eyes of bartenders and regular guests a newcomer is welcome as soon as he/she greets by saying 'Mandi!' instead of 'Buongiorno!' and then continues ordering in Friulian. Yet, on the other side, there are also places where a client risks to be somehow underestimated or even ignored by a waiter/waitress serving him/her.

Returning to Linda Picco's findings, an important conclusion of the researcher is that what reflects the biggest problem connected with the present-day, that is to say the recent sociolinguistic reality of Friulian, is a serious lack of intergenerational communication (De Cia, 2013, pp. 9–14) in this language. In other terms, the transmission of this language knowledge and skills from parents to children is on the decrease, the process of their communication normally going on in Italian, the majority and most prestigious language of the region. But in the communication between grand-parents and grand--children, on the contrary, the minority language still finds its spontaneous manner. For many young people this represents their only link with the traditional culture of the former generations.

Friulian as a language of university classes

Like a multitude of other lesser-spoken languages across Europe, Friulian is being revitalised to a great extent through the educational process, but merely by means of optional lessons and classes. It has been introduced, although not systematically so far, into many curricula at the pre-elementary and primary school level, not only as a subject Friulian language, but also in the form

of interdisciplinary lessons (e.g. Informatics & Sports Education or other similar combinations) as part of various national or regional research and development projects. At the secondary school level we can observe, on the contrary, nearly a complete gap: very few optional lessons of and in 'marilenghe' are held in secondary schools across the region with a view of upgrading teenagers' oral skills and enabling them to read and write in the language they use(d) in the dialogue with their grandparents. The main two reasons for such a situation are obviously a lack of enough qualified secondary school teachers and of interest among students' parents, who prefer their children to learn, besides the compulsory languages, i.e. Italian and English, one or two foreign languages, choosing among German, French, Slovene, Russian, Spanish.

At the Department of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literatures of Udine University (It. l'Università degli Studi di Udine), students can opt for two graduate study programmes related to the 'Lenghe e culture furlanis'. The first programme, called Friulian Language with Literature, which is classified in the frame of Foreign languages and cultures (Frl. Lenghis e leteraduris forestis), focuses on linguistics and literature, whereas the second, Primary Education Course (Frl. Siencis de formazion primarie), provides the formation of future teachers of Friulian in kindergartens as well as primary schools.

Between 100 and 120 students are registered in both programmes at the moment. Students' degree papers are to be written in Friulian and after having accomplished the studies, they are conferred degree certificates, also written in Friulian.

Furthermore, a doctoral programme is available, entitled Ladin and Plurilingualism (Frl. Ladinistiche e plurilenghisim), dedicated to the topic known in linguistics as 'the Ladin question' (It. La questione ladina), therefore seeking convergence within the three Rhaeto-romance varieties and identifying discrepancies between them respectively.

If we consider the fact that in the late 1990-ies most university classes on Friulian linguistics, literature and culture were still given in Italian, a great progress has undoubtedly been achieved over the last twenty years as for

lecturing in Friulian, the latter having become the predominant language of the classes. This improvement is probably due to two factors: the emergence of the new language policy and a certain change in the perception of Friulian as a language (not a dialect). By the new language policy we refer especially to a strong influence of numerous international declarations on the rights of national and ethnic minorities and sets of regulations concerning the status of minority languages, whilst by a change in the perception of Friulian the author wants to emphasise that nowadays people are less afraid and ashamed, overcoming step by step their prejudice in connection with the use of Friulian in public settings, even in official institutions, something that was not approved of in the past, even though not forbidden by law.

The remarkable advances in terms of using Friulian as the language of university classes described in the above paragraphs remain unfortunately limited exclusively to the three above-mentioned study programmes.

The outcomes of the sociolinguistic investigation carried out in 2002 which Linda Picco analyses in the chapter "Opinioni ed atteggiamenti dei dipendenti dell'Università di Udine su temi inerenti la lingua friulana" of her latest book (Picco, 2013, pp. 47–72) signal that only 41,8% of professors, researchers, assistants and other members of the staff employed at various departments of the University of Udine agreed to complete the survey questionnaire asking them to express their opinion about legislative measures on the protection of Friulian and the other two minority languages and cultures in the region (Slovene and German), as well as other matters connected with the promotion of Friulian. A surprising number of those participating in the inquiry, among whom emerge the names of some highly honoured scholars, even linguists, refused to give their anagraphic data, openly expressing fear and diffidence (Picco, 2013, p. 47). What is shown from her analysis in the first place is that among the interviewees in favour of Friulian 'non-teachers' prevailed; secondly, the highest percentage of university teachers and professors who supported the development of Friulian belonged to the Faculties of Humanities, Jurisprudence and Economics, while most of their colleagu-

es lecturing Natural Sciences and Engineering declared either an attitude of direct opposition or indifference (Picco, 2013, p. 69). Another disappointing fact is that positive attitude towards the 'Friulian question' varies in accordance with academic titles, decreasing unfortunately from the lowest to the highest titles within the hierarchical ranking structure. Two other groups of participants prove to be pro-Friulian, namely non-teaching members of the staff, i.e. secretaries, technicians, administrators, especially those living in the Friuli region since their birth, and younger interviewees (Picco, 2013, p. 72).

The role of other institutions stimulating the use of Friulian in academic contexts

The Friulian Philological Society (Frl. Societât Filologjiche Furlane/SFS), the organisation founded at Gorizia in 1919 in order to promote the Friulian language and culture, but since 1966 located at Udine, publishes two scientific reviews: *Ce fastu?* and *Sot la nape*. Both titles imply strongly symbolic meanings. *Ce fastu?* imitates Dante Alighieri's ironic citation in his famous work *De vulgari eloquentia* (Dante 1304–1305), which stressed the divergence of the local speeches of the Aquileia area in comparison to the majority of other varieties within the Italo-romance linguistic sphere. *Sot la nape* literally means 'around the hearth', 'at home', thus expressing the idea of local people's domestic traditions.

Ce fastu?, a semi-annual journal, published since 1920, is included into two European lists: ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences) and The Nordic List (Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers). It contains articles dealing with Linguistics, Philology, History, Arts and Ethnology. Despite the fact that it is officially bilingual, Italian-Friulian, articles in Italian outnumber those in 'marilenghe' approximately ten to one. For instance, the latest volume, XCIV (2018) 1–2, consists only of contributions written in Italian. Nevertheless,

every article is followed by an abstract in three languages: Italian, Friulian & English (Riassunto, Sunt & Abstract).

In *Sot la nape*, a quaterly journal, launched in 1949, treating different aspects of the Friulian history, language and culture, a little more space is covered with contributions in Friulian. If we consult the latest two volumes, LXX / Lui-Setembar 2018 – n° 3 and LXX / Otubar-Dicembar 2018 – n° 4, we can find in the first one twenty-four pages out of sixty-four covered with texts in Friulian, i.e. a little more than a third of the whole journal, whilst in the second Friulian is the language of eight pages out of sixty-four, i.e. it covers one eighth of the whole volume.

Besides, the society publishes the professional journal *Scuele furlane*, addressed primarily to teachers and students of Friulian.

The Regional Agency for the Friulian Language (Frl. Agjenzie Regjonâl pe Lenghe Furlane/ARLEF) is in charge of the language policy for the Friulian speaking area. They created, in 2000, 'il Grant Dizionari Bilengâl talian-furlan' / 'il GDBTF', in two versions: as an on-line and a paper dictionary (a collection of six books). It represents a real treasure for a foreign translator as well as a native Friulian speaker translating various texts into the southern Rheto-romance variety. This outstanding work, the creation of which had taken five years, the product of a group of scholars, writers and journalists, implying over 70,000 Italian entries to which correspond 68,000 Friulian entries, is very rich in abstract terminology, art and scientific vocabulary. It is elaborated according to the criteria of modern lexicography. For example, it proved to be an indispensable source of information to the author of this article when translating the theoretical chapters of a musicological textbook into Friulian. In many cases it facilitated his selection of suitable semantic units related to the topic in question. What could be considered its weakness is the fact that it involves too many italianisms. Consequently, academic texts in Friulian risk to become a kind of hybrid between Friulian and Italian. And the linguistic hybridisation is nothing but the mirror of the cultural bipolarity of most Friulian language users.

The other essential instrument by means of which literacy in Friulian can be developed is ARLEF's *Coretôr Ortografic furlan*. Like the GDBTF, the latter is based on the rules of The official spelling system of the Friulian Language (Frl. La grafie uficiâl de lenghe furlane), published in Friulian in 2002 by the *Osservatori Regjonâl de Lenghe e de Culture Furlanis*.

From 2014 to 2015 four numbers of another scientific journal, *Cîl e tiere* (Eng. The sky and Earth), with the subtitle *Divulgazion sientifiche in lenghe furlane*, printed by the *Forum Editrice* within the University of Udine, were published by the Friulian Scientific and Technological Society (Frl. Societât Sientifiche e Tecnologjiche Furlane / SSTF) in cooperation with the ARLEF. Twenty-four scientific articles in Friulian can be read in these four volumes, covering fourteen different branches of science.

Academic literature in Friulian

Most academic papers and articles appearing in Friulian are translations, either from Italian, the lingua franca of the whole Italo-romance linguistic sphere, or English, today's universal code in the fields of science and art. It is particularly difficult to find original scientific articles or booklets written in Friulian. There are but few, mainly analysing topics and questions related to diverse disciplines in the context of social sciences (e.g. History, Ethnology, Religion, Linguistics, Literature, Literary criticism, Jurisprudence) and other Humanities, like Philosophy and Arts. Even though not manifold, academic texts covering these branches are multiplying, for the greatest percentage of scholars who encourage the development of the Friulian usage work in this sphere. An increase of texts in Friulian is noticeable in the literature treating two other branches of Applied Science, namely the Didactics of foreign languages and Computer Science, probably thanks to their practical orientation.

By contrast, when browsing through scholars' texts displaying subjects which take part of Natural Science disciplines or Technical Engineering, we

witness a conspicuous absence of Friulian, with few bright exceptions. For instance, the four volumes of the above-mentioned *Cil e tiere* comprise four articles on Economics, including Environmental Economics and Economic Geography, likewise on Physics and Neuroscience, i.e. combination of Medicine and Biology. On the other hand, each of the following disciplines is represented by one contribution: Chemistry, Biology, Meteorology, Engineering, Energetics, Physiology, Forensic technology, Mathematics, Viticulture, i.e. a branch of Horticulture, Demography and Paleoanthropology. In addition, every volume entails an interview, with a successful scientist or businessman, and two recensions. Some contributions were written in Friulian and then revised by the Publication Committee, others were translated directly from Italian. If the users of any lesser-spoken language wish to strengthen its vitality, it is certainly very important for them to enrich its scientific, philosophic and art vocabulary. And they can only attain this goal by creating and publishing such types of texts, so that younger generations can be supplied with appropriate samples to follow. It means one in a series of necessary tools to prevent what Matisoff refers to as 'linguistic euthanasia' (Matisoff, 1991, p. 221).

The Friulian cultural heritage is therefore far from abounding with samples of academic writing in the frame of Natural Science disciplines. It is possible, however, to find authors from the past periods of the Friulian history whose items could or should be used as fundaments for further creation. We can state at this point the name of Tite Quargnâl (It. Giovanni Battista Corgnali, 1887–1956), one of the co-authors of *Il Nuovo Pirona*, the second bilingual Friulian-Italian dictionary. Let us read, below, a short extract from his geological description under the title *Sui marciepîs di Rive Bartuline*:

> Duncie, lis pieris neris, che siarvin di marcepît in Rive Bartuline e in cualchi altri lûc, culì a Udin, 'e partegnin a la formazion raibliane (Carnic), Trias superiôr. 'E vegnin iù de alte Val dal Tilimènt, indulà che cheste formazion 'e iè svilupade, in ogni so "facies", diluncvie il Cianâl di Soclêf. Chest plan al è stât ben studiât des bandis di Dogne, dulà che al è une vore potent e ch'al è plen di fòssii.

> I fòssii de nestre piere, che si presentin in sezion longitudinâl e ancie di traviàrs, ‘e son Gasteropodos “holostòmiti” (cussì› clamaâz parcè che àn la bocie ovâl e, abasvie, staronzade), de famee des “Pyramidellidae”. ‹E partegnin al gienar “Chemnitzia” d›Orbigny, caraterizât de conchilie bislungie, gieneralmentri grande, a ponte, cence umbrizzòn, componude di diviàrs zîrs.
> Lis “Chemnitziis” si puedin considerâ – al è simpri il dotôr Martinis ch’al fevele – i gigànz de faune raibliane, parcè che qualchidune di lôr, se iè interie, ‘e rive a dimensiòns bastanze grandis (…) (Verone, 1999, pp. 172–173).
> (Therefore, black stones used as a paving material of the Bartuline river bank and in some other places in Udine belong to the Upper Triassic Raiblian (Carnic) formation. They originally come from the Upper Tagliamento Valley, to be preciser, they can be found along the whole Soclef Canal where it formed in all its strata. This terrain has been studied in detail in the surroundings of Dogna, where the ground is vigorous and abounds with fossils.
> The fossils from our stones, which appeared in longitudinal sections and diagonally, are Gasterópodos ‘Colostomies’ (named after their oval, and underneath rounded mouth, belonging to the ‘Pyramidellidae’ family. They take part of the genus ‘Chemnitzia d’Orbigny’, a mollusc, oblong in shape, generally big, pointed, without ombilicus, composed of diverse spires.
> The ‘Chemnitz’ shells can be considered, according to doctor Martinis, as the giants of the Raibl fauna, for some of them reach quite large dimensions (…))

Prospects for the future and conclusions

D’Aronco’s statement “(…) a healing action will be necessary to prevent, first a complete fusion of the Friulian cultural patterns with the Italian ones, afterwards the predomination of English and the cultural transformation coming with it” (Cisilino, & D’Aronco, 2012, p. 47) can be understood as a clear warning for the future sociolinguistic status of Friulian. The author of this article keeps, however, more optimism: his hypothesis, based on his personal observations of the current situation, is that in the next decades Friulian is

likely to survive not only as a language of communication within lower segments of society, nor will its use remain restricted to a few practical domains, but we can expect its further evolution for academic purposes (in academic publishing, if not as an equal language of conferences, at least as one of the languages appearing in presentations, which is the case at present), though to quite a limited extent. Thus, it will presumably keep the second or third position within the academic circles of the Friuli region, continuing to cover mainly the sphere of Humanities, notwithstanding sporadic trials of individual explorers or professors, dealing with Natural Science disciplines and Engineering, who might reveal, thanks to their emotional involvement rather than other factors of motivation, that this minority language with a long literary tradition and strong spiritual dimensions is worth being used for developing academic creativity in that sphere, too. It would certainly be an illusion to expect radical changes in the near future linguistic reality of the Friulian speech community. Its evolution considerably depends on the local scholars' awareness how important it is that they overcome their own prejudice from the past and fear of being stigmatised by the authorities and that they identify themselves with the original values of their nation. They should upgrade and diversify the cultural heritage of their ethnicity by publishing research papers in the language of their ancestors. Besides, the future of Friulian is conditioned with the evolution of society in a wider sense. An important component to be mentioned at this stage is the presence of newcomers, i.e. immigrants from Africa, the Middle East, South America, who represent a potentially new category of Friulian speakers. These people are highly motivated to learn both, Italian and Friulian, with a view to a better and faster social integration. Some of them, especially younger, are supposed to become excellent students or even experts in various branches of science and arts. Finally, an effective cooperation ought to be established between all the institutions sharing responsibility for the development of Friulian, well-correlated with the language policy in vigour, so as to reverse the language shift to Italian (and English) and replace it by a well-balanced bilingualism or multilingualism

respectively. And seeing many analogies between Friulian and some other lesser-spoken languages across the world, the author's hypothesis could eventually be extended to their future realities.

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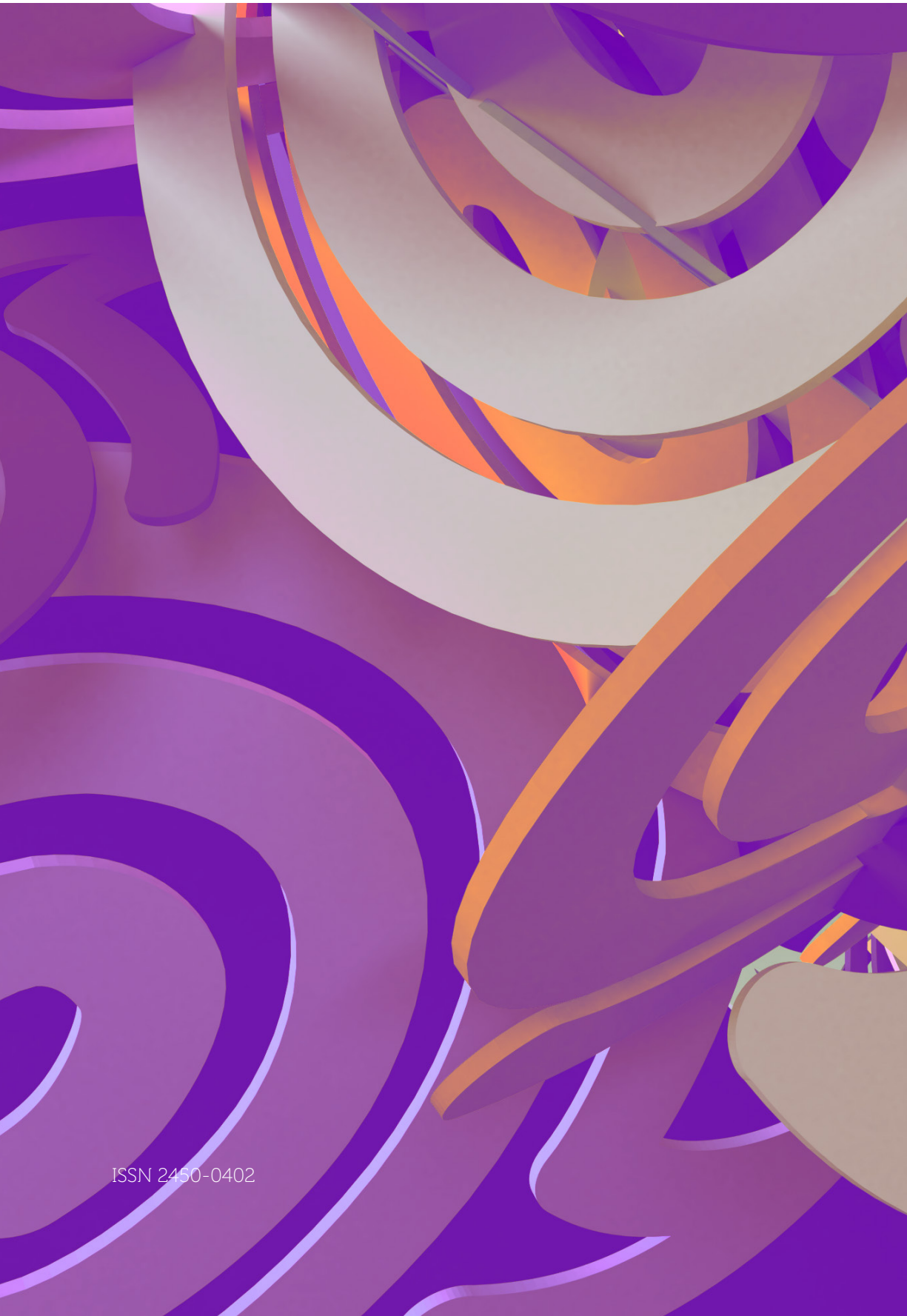

ISSN 2450-0402