

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES AND  
CENTRE FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

LANGUAGE FOR INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNICATION:  
LINKING INTERDISCIPLINARY  
PERSPECTIVES

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA PRESS

## LANGUAGE FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION: LINKING INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

**Annotation:** This collection contains papers delivered at the 2nd international symposium *Language for International Communication: Linking Interdisciplinary Perspectives* held at the University of Latvia, Latvia, on 23-24 May 2013.

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ISBN 978-9984-45-798-7

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# FIGURATIVE PERCEPTION OF THE CONCEPT *INTERNET* IN COMMON LINGUISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS

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**Abstract.** Linguistic consciousness is a part of consciousness that ensures the mechanisms of speech activity and is to be studied through the semantics of various language units in the course of nomination and communication. As the Internet is one of the most important means of communication and possesses high social significance, the subject of the article is the concept *Internet* and its specific characteristics. The purpose of the article is to investigate figurative perception of the concept Internet in common linguistic consciousness, which is studied with the help of interpretative and contextual analyses and experimentally, particularly by means of an associative experiment. The experiment was carried out among representatives of the Russian culture, who are non-professional users of the Internet. Over a hundred respondents of different ages and occupations were questioned. A text abstract is taken as a short piece of writing on a studied subject. To specify the figurative perceptual component of the concept Internet short essays on the topic were analyzed that reveal their idea of the concept. Analyzing the essays different reasons to use the Internet and general perception of the Internet were distinguished.

**Key words:** Internet communication, concept studies, linguistic consciousness, figurative perception, interpretative and contextual analyses

Internet communication and concept studies are principal tendencies in linguistic studies of recent years. The Internet is a worldwide network, which ensures information and communication opportunities. The subject of the article is the concept Internet and its specific characteristics. *Concept* is a ‘multidimensional meaningful mental image with value, figurative and notional characteristics’ (Karasik (Карасик), 2004: 109). The purpose of the article is to investigate figurative perception of the concept Internet in common linguistic consciousness. *Linguistic consciousness* is a part of consciousness ‘which provides mechanisms of speech activity and is studied through the semantics of various language units in the course of nomination and communication’ (Popova, Sternin (Попова, Стернин), 2007: 31). Figurative component of the concept is considered to make a mental note of cognitive metaphors which help bear the concept in consciousness and reveal its ethno-cultural specificity (Vorkachev (Воркачев), 2004: 7).

Reflection of the objective world in different images and notions in sensory perception and rational knowledge is individual cognitive activity of a human being (Ananjev (Ананьев), 1980: 121). Images help verbalize and verbal representation provides complementary information about the qualities of the object which are not understood sensory perception (Gostev (Гостев), 1992: 16-17).

Figurative perception of the concept is comprehended as the trace of sensory presentation in memory in unity with metaphorical shifts (Karasik (Карасик), 2005: 27). To this side of the concept visual, auditory, haptic, gustatory senses and sense of smell can be added as they characterize objects, phenomena, events reflected in our memory and represent relevant data of practical knowledge (Karasik (Карасик), 2004: 154).

Figurative perception of the concept Internet in common linguistic consciousness is studied with the help of interpretative and contextual analyses and experimentally, particularly by means of an associative experiment (Wierzbicka, 1992). A text abstract is taken as a short piece of writing on a studied subject. To specify the figurative perceptual component of the concept Internet short essays on the topic were analyzed that reveal their idea of the concept (Karasik (Карасик), 2007: 56). Analyzing the essays different reasons to use the Internet and general perception of the Internet were distinguished.

The experiment was carried out among representatives of the Russian culture, who are non-professional users of the Internet. Over a hundred respondents of different ages and occupations were questioned. All the data received, the respondents are divided into several groups. The most numerous group turned out to be young people aged 16-25, who use the Internet to communicate with friends, to search for some information for their finals and projects. This group is the most technically- and Internet-savvy one. The second group includes people aged 25-35 who mostly appreciate the possibilities of shopping and paying bills on the Internet. Besides they are in a search of lost friends and new contacts. They communicate on the Internet both with professional and private purposes (chatting, sending e-mails, contracts or reports). The third group of respondents aged 36-50 is busy with the search of information pertinent to everyday life, i.e. recipes, different tips for women, weather forecast, horoscope, dream books. The least numerous group consists of people over 55 years old, one of the reasons is that retired adult generation cannot use the Internet.

Figurative perception of the concept Internet in common linguistic consciousness is observed in short essays; one of the examples is given below: 'Thinking about the Internet the following pictures come to my mind as being able to look up many things. I can get directions or look at products (shopping). Also I usually go to communicate with friends that I haven't seen in a while or that I'm trying to make plans with'. 'I imagine all the uneducated people using the internet that constantly download mail ware, illegal music, videos,

software, Trojans, ad ware, viruses & then come here & tell us about it. It's hilarious. Also they can try & get something for free'.

As a result of the content research of the associative sphere of the key lexeme several semantic fields were singled out:

- Internet is a source of information
- Internet is means of communication
- Internet is an entertainment
- Internet is a network
- Internet is a place
- Internet is a community

Most respondents pointed out the Internet providing vast amount of information practically on all imaginable themes and topics that is why the semantic field *Internet is a source of information* is given. People mentioned the Internet as a broad inter-connected network of information gathering and receiving or an unlimited source of information. It is critical to underline an easy and quick access to the information stored for universal usage. Highlighted links and tons of information beyond them; an easy click might take a user to something he or she has been looking for days. The format of the data retrieved was also mentioned as the information is used in the form of a text, audio, video. Many young people compared the Internet with a library or books because of great amount of containing information, scientific, historic or cultural. It is of great importance to people studying at schools and universities. Moreover young people consider social websites as a good source of news.

The Internet not only changed the attitude to the information getting and giving process but also to the process of communication. So the second semantic field is *Internet is means of communication*. 'Communication on the Internet is not just mere exchange of information but intercourse that embraces interactions and relations' (Ageev (Areeb), 2002: 14). Communication involves three interconnected processes: communicative, interactive and perceptual. Communicative process means information exchange, interactive process is connected with different activities taken place between different sides and perceptual process helps establish mutual understanding. Moreover, due to specific conditions of interaction and perception in the situation of remote usage Internet communication has the following peculiarities (Rheingold, 2000):

- Anonymity which allows creation of individual personality;
- Absence of responsibility that means almost everything can be said without taking into consideration morals or ethics of the society, community;
- Insincerity which takes place as the interlocutor is not seen and words and smileys can be deceitful;
- Freedom to act, to express yourself; there are few restrictions and all dreams can come true, different creative projects can be implemented;
- Absence of time limits and distance restrictions.

The Internet provides huge opportunities for communication and a lot of respondents noted its necessity and importance in the modern world. It is easy to find someone to talk to, it is not necessary to make an appointment or know the schedule to 'meet' a person. The Internet connects people all over the world working and communicating together and connecting like they have never been able before. It is the opportunity to communicate with people in different parts of the world and share ideas, the ability to better understand and know the world. Those asked compared the Internet to phones and mail boxes because both of them are the way that people contact each other.

The Internet provides its users unlimited resources in the sphere of entertainment that is why another semantic field is singled out and it is *Internet is an entertainment*. The respondents cannot but mention the fact that the Internet allows people to download services such as music and films. The Internet is also compared to a dating agency or club because of a lot of sites where people can find single girls and boys and get acquainted with any of them. The Internet is an endless resource of new music, latest movies, and virtual games available practically free. It is getting more and more popular to play games on-line. Unfortunately, free and easy access to the Internet sources has some drawbacks (Furnell, 2002). Some male respondents mention the availability of adult-oriented pictures and files, noting that children are not protected against such kind of information.

The Internet is a global system of interconnected governmental, academic, public, corporate, and private computer networks, which is based on the networking technologies. So some Russians when thinking about the Internet point out not its functional side but the technical appearance, i.e. *Internet is a network*. The Internet is perceived as a vast network of integrated systems, as a great number of intertwined interlaced lines, routes, fibers located in different directions on a certain space. In this respect the following semantic field appears *Internet is a place*. On the one hand the Internet is considered to be an enormous world that is no longer separated by borders or territorial division. On the other hand, the Internet is compared to a certain place; it is spoken of as a real place such as a small country with its own rules or even a smaller place, for example a shopping mall, hypermarkets, flea market as people can find and buy almost everything. Sometimes the Internet is seen as a whirlpool that can take down in the unknown depth.

In most essays the people asked do not express their attitude to the point discussed but tell about their strongest associations. However there is strong indignation concerning the way people use the provided information and the way they communicate and behave on the Internet. Although it is an incomparable resource it has its pitfalls, online pornography and gambling has caused a dramatic increase in addiction worldwide. The respondents do not suggest any means of protection but they point out the government should stay away from the Internet except for protecting against sexual predators.

They mention uneducated people downloading illegal music, videos, software though it is very popular in Russia to download free books, music, films and teaching aids as well. Moreover despite the fact that the Internet is highly developed technology viruses can be found in the Internet and that damages people's software and hardware.

*Internet is a community* is sure to be the most important semantic field as the Internet is also a place with different people inhabiting it, visiting it, guiding it, and controlling it, who form an on-line community. An on-line community is a virtual community that exists on-line and whose members provide its unique existence through taking part in membership procedures. An on-line community can take the form of a system where anyone can post content or one where only a restricted number of people can initiate posts. On-line communities have also become a supplementary form of communication between people who know each other primarily in real life. An on-line community shares similarities and differences with a social community. Unlike a social community, an online community provides real-world communities a place to come together using the Internet. Similar to a social community, being a member of an online community allows you to meet with several people in a chat room, or send messages to one another. An advantage of being a part of the online community is that it is always on and does not have operating hours. Online Communities are easier and is a more accessible way to keep in touch with people who are geographically far or with those who have conflicting schedules with oneself (Budiman, 2008).

People of different ages and occupations are devoted users of the Internet but the adult users state children have an opportunity to be educated in ways that past generations never could have imagined and what impact it has on children's social skills. Nowadays people in Russia do nothing without social networks. Schoolchildren and students prefer *vk.com* (*vkontakte.ru*) where they spend much time chatting, listening to music, and joining various groups in accordance with their interests. Adult people enjoy *odnoklassniki.ru* which helps them to find their classmates, roommates, friends lost in the course of the life and to make new contacts. Those who travelled or studied abroad and have acquaintances and friends there use mostly *Facebook.com*. Additionally, one of the greatest attractions towards online communication is the sense of connection users build between each other and the awareness of their global audience. Teachers widely use social networks to involve students in research and educational activities, parents use social networks and get better understanding of their children who spend hours on their pages.

Although the Internet enables amazing opportunities for communication, still there are some problems with online communication, which were reflected in different essays. The most common problem with virtual communication tend to be online harassment, which means threatening or offensive content aimed at friends or strangers. Another form of harassment prevalent online is

called flaming. According to a study conducted by Peter J. Moor, flaming is defined as displaying hostility by insulting, swearing or using otherwise offensive language (Moor, 2010).

As it has been written above Russians are getting more and more involved in social networking and here arises another problem that seems to be more an issue of privacy. Online communities like *vk.com* or *odnoklassniki.ru* have a very unclear distinction between private and public information. For most social networks, users have to give personal information to add to their profiles. Usually, users can control what type of information other people in the online community can access based on the users' familiarity with the people or the users' level of comfort. But sometimes there appears some sort of a conflict when a mere acquaintance asks to be added to 'friends' and when that person is not invited he or she gets offended.

Basic figurative characteristics are considered to be the following: the Internet as a net of intertwined parts located in different directions on open space and the Internet as a closed space with restricted access to store information. Besides certain characteristics of Internet communication were determined due to specific conditions of people's interaction and self-perception on the Internet.

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# ENGLISH – CONTACT INDUCED CHANGES IN SERBIAN – FROM BORROWING TO CODE-SWITCHING AND MORE

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**Abstract.** The dominance and the penetrating influence of the English language on practically every other world language are beyond any doubt. The ongoing orthographic, lexical, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic changes in the Serbian language prompted by its contact with English show that Serbian is no exception to the current trend of linguistic Anglo-globalization. Serbian linguists have so far focused on linguistic borrowings, i.e. Anglicisms, the creation of a Serbian-English hybrid language, and the elements of code-switching. Many have even blamed English for the current state of the Serbian language norm, the utter neglect of its speech culture, its functional marginalization (Piper 2010: 36). By using a corpus consisting of miscellaneous Serbian language resources, the author attempts to illustrate the current English-contact induced state of the Serbian language in both (a) informal written discourse (that shows some qualities of oral discourse, such as spontaneity and directness, and illustrates status-motivated use of English language elements); and (b) formal and more rigid academic discourse, illustrating Anglicization of the Serbian language for specific purposes and technical terminology. The focus of the paper is not only the current state, but the future prospects of the Serbian language as well. Namely, the author attempts to point to the degree to which English-contact induced changes have exceeded the limits of simple lexical and structural borrowing and whether or not these may in the future lead to serious structural, typological and normative shift in the Serbian language.

**Key words:** Anglicism, Anglo-globalization, borrowing, contact-induced language change, language norm, style, register

## Introduction

The English language has undoubtedly achieved a global status and become the international lingua franca and the dominant language of business, science and other areas of life. Its penetrating influence has been a topical issue in recent decades, resulting in a body of research dealing with Anglicisms in almost all European languages (Furiassi, Pulcini and Gonzales, 2012: 4). Language contact situations, the power of mass media, modern information and communication technologies and, very often, poor and superficial

translation have been regarded as the major guilt groups for the widespread phenomenon of Anglicization.

The Serbian language is no exception to the trend of Anglicisation or even Anglo-globalization or Americanization (terms used by Prčić, 2004a, 2004b, Vlajković, 2010). Namely, English has become the dominant second language studied at Serbian schools, replacing all the other foreign languages. It is omnipresent in the media and (at least for the young and educated) no longer regarded as a foreign, but rather an actively used linguistic code (Filipović-Savić, 1998: 137). Some domestic linguists (Piper, 2010: 36) even warn about the current state of the Serbian language resulting from its contact with English, claiming that the representation of Serbian has dramatically decreased in the public sphere (advertising, company names, the media) and that it is being replaced by English. It is also believed that Serbian speech culture is in the state of utter neglect, the language is being functionally marginalized, and even its native speakers regard it as dysfunctional and unsophisticated. The current trend of language globalization is regarded as one of the most significant factors that led to this state, in addition to others, such as poor language teaching and the failure of Serbian language standardization.

Serbian and English belong to separate branches (South-Slavic and West-Germanic) of the larger Indo-European language family and therefore cannot be regarded as closely related genealogically. In addition, the morphological and syntactic structures of the two languages are significantly different in typology, with Serbian being synthetic and inflectional, while English is an analytic language with a relatively fixed word order. In addition, the two languages are neither in geographical proximity nor share a common bilingual community (the analysis of English-Serbian bilingual communities in countries widely populated by Serbian immigrants, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, etc., is not the topic of this paper). Despite all this, the current state of the Serbian language is often related to its intensified contact with English, and most changes in it are explained as contact-induced. It is important to note that ‘contact’ here is interpreted in a wider sense, so as to include social, cultural and business relations, not the geographical proximity.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate English contact-induced changes in the Serbian language with examples from the corpora. The author would particularly like to focus on the degree to which these changes have exceeded the limits of simple borrowing and may at some point in future lead to serious structural and typological shift in the Serbian language.

## 1 Degrees of English contact-induced changes in Serbian

In language contact situations, certain parts of a language system, such as phonology and lexicon, tend to be less immune to influences from other languages than other parts, its syntax and stylistics in particular. For

this reason traditional linguists for a long time believed in system-internal motivation and mechanisms of language structure change driven by forces of language economy and the need for simplification (Filipović, 1999: 60), rather than externally motivated (or contact-induced) changes in the structure and typology of a language.

Newer research, however, proves that any part of language structure can be transferred from one language, i.e. that structural and typological changes in a language can be contact-induced. The term sometimes used to describe this is *grammatical replication*, which is more likely to occur if there is a large degree of intensive and extensive bilingualism among the speakers of the replica language and if the contact extends over a longer period of time (Thomason, 2003: 689 in Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 13). A body of research into English influence on European languages (Furiassi et al., 2012) proves that more and more structural borrowings (i.e. the copying of English morpho-syntactic and semantic patterns) have been observed in addition to material borrowings (English – derived loanwords).

According to *Model of Contact-Induced Language Change* provided by Sara Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (1988: 35), the scope of language change depends on the intensity of contacts between the two languages. Namely, in case of sporadic contacts between two speech communities, individual lexical borrowings may appear. Intensified contacts result in more significant structural borrowing, which can further lead to strong cultural (economic, educational, political) pressure and even typological restructuring of two languages. The final step is the language change or language death.

The one-way contact between the English and the Serbian language has certainly intensified over the past couple of decades in all areas of life, including leisure and business. This resulted in greater frequency of English-contact induced changes, which are no longer restricted to sporadic lexical borrowings, but are now evident on all linguistic levels: orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, etc.

Serbian linguists have so far mostly concentrated on the following phenomena related to English-Serbian language contact: (1) linguistic borrowings, i.e. Anglicisms; (2) the creation of a Serbian-English hybrid language with its own (orthographic) pseudo-norm; (3) the elements of code-switching; (4) English contact-induced structural and typological changes in Serbian.

In the following sections, this gradation of contact-induced changes will be referred to regarding both the formal and the informal written discourse.

## 2 English contact-induced changes in style and register-diversified corpora

Examples of English-contact induced changes in the Serbian language cited in research papers written so far come from various sources: Internet chat

rooms and social networks (Injac, 2002 and Vlajković, 2010), translated texts and newspaper articles (Panić-Kavgić, 2009), texts illustrating language for academic and specific purposes (Silaški, 2009; Tasić, 2010), etc. Each author has mostly concentrated on a single sublanguage representing the corresponding variety of corpora. The diversity of corpora used in the research proves that English contact-induced changes have been observed both in general Serbian and in Serbian for specific purposes, in formal and informal style, and in all language styles, even including the scientific one. There are, however, significant cross-register and cross-style differences in terms of the degree to which these contact-induced changes have overcome the stage of simple lexical borrowing and reached further.

In this paper, the examples come from language sources that range from informal written discourse to formal and more rigid scientific discourse, illustrating Anglicization of Serbian language for specific purposes and technical terminology. The language sources cited here belong to different registers and corresponding styles. For practical reasons, we have divided the language sources used here into two separate groups illustrating:

- 1) informal written style and casual register (further referred to as *I*), present in examples taken from two social networks (*Facebook* and *Twitter*, Online 1, 2) and three issues of a Serbian ladies' magazine (*Joy*, Serbian edition – March, April and May 2012). This group of sources shows many qualities of oral discourse, such as spontaneity and directness.
- 2) formal written style and academic register (further referred to as *F*), present in the four issues of a Serbian scientific journal (*Management*, issued by the Faculty of Organizational Sciences, Belgrade University in September and December 2011, March and September 2012). This group of sources represents the use of Serbian for specific purposes.

Due to the importance of the linguistic differences between the two styles, diversified corpora will help us compare the contact-induced changes in lexical and grammatical features, and also help us decide what level of contact-induced changes has each of the two Serbian language styles reached. Our hypothesis is that informal language is generally more prone to the introduction of English language elements, and has therefore gone further in contact-induced changes than the formal language.

### **3 Lexical borrowings – Anglicization of Serbian**

The most obvious and the best researched level of English contact-induced changes in Serbian is certainly the introduction of Anglicisms through the process of linguistic borrowing. Traditionally, Anglicisms were defined as English words, morphemes (i.e. prefixes and suffixes) and idioms that are used in Serbian with different degrees of integration into its orthographic and

grammatical system. The meaning of term Anglicism, however, has recently been expanded to include not only words, but also phrases and sentences that follow the English language norm on all linguistic levels: orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, etc.

Prćić (2004a: 114-128) suggests several categories of lexical Anglicisms, namely: (1) by type: obvious, hidden and raw Anglicisms; (2) by justification of their use: fully justified, justified and conditionally justified; (3) by formation: Anglicisms made by either trans-shaping or translating of English words, or by combining the two processes; (4) by status: completely naturalized, partially naturalized and un-naturalized. Prćić also discusses the motivation behind the excessive use of English language elements in Serbian, claiming that the creation of such a language hybrid is motivated either by the perceived status, dominance and prestige of the English language or by the belief of professionals in almost all subject-fields that only English terminology is valid and authentic. In the following chapters, we are going to illustrate the abovementioned types of Anglicisms in both styles and discuss their motivation.

### 3.1 Obvious Anglicisms

According to Prćić (2004a: 114-115), obvious Anglicisms are all lexical units (lexemes and affixes) that are taken from the English language and are more or less integrated into the Serbian orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic system. Examples of this type of Anglicisms abound in all language sources used in this analysis and therefore will not be mentioned here in full.

Table 1 Obvious Anglicisms in Serbian

Nouns	I	<i>šoumen, asesoar, lajnap, dobar stajling, moderni šop, bronzani mejkap, helanke od denima, hrabri miks, biznis ideja, inbox, lajk;</i>
	F	<i>edukacija, ekvilibrijum, moralni hazard, kreditor, racio analiza, dejta vendori, reiting grupa, stejkholderi, top menadžment, autsorsing (autsorovanje), autputi i inputi, grupver, metalni asesoar;</i>
Verbs	I	<i>šopingovati;</i>
	F	<i>pozicionirati, percipirati, plasirati, alocirati;</i>
Adverbs and adjectives:	I	<i>okej, hot, kul;</i>
	F	<i>determinirajući faktor, top menadžment, devastirani prostor, konfirmatorna analiza, samoevalucionia komponenta;</i>
Prepositions:	I	<i>in kombinacija;</i>
Pronouns:	I	<i>'it' devojka;</i>
Prefixes	F	<i>kros-kulturalno, e-kupovina, post-projektni, interorganizacioni, redizajn, superstruktura, makro-ekonomski problemi;</i>
Exclamations	I	<i>Ups, Vau.</i>

As we can see from the examples above, obvious Anglicisms belong to all parts of speech, but nouns dominate in both formal and informal style. Formal style shows more English contact-induced verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Exclamations and prepositions that belong to the group of obvious Anglicisms have not been observed in the formal style at all, while there are no English-contact-induced prefixes in the informal style.

### 3.2 Raw Anglicisms

According to Prćić (2004a: 115), Anglicisms are *raw* if they have been directly taken from the English language without any adaptation to the Serbian orthographic system. The term lexical Anglicism corresponds to terms lexical and sub-lexical code-switching (to be illustrated later). Raw Anglicisms, a relatively new category of lexical Anglicisms, have been observed in a significant number in all the analyzed language sources used in this research. The frequency of raw Anglicisms found in the first two groups of language materials (social networks and magazines) indicates not only their uncontrolled and *ad hoc* use, but even their deliberate insertion in all places. The author believes that this is due to the casual attitude towards the Serbian language prompted by the widespread belief that English is a prestige language, associated with social status and power.

On the other hand, the raw Anglicisms found in the observed scientific articles mostly belong to the field of terminology, i.e. represent terms that describe newly-adopted concepts and have been introduced for the purpose of filling lexical gaps in specialized languages. An interesting fact is that raw Anglicisms used in formal style observed here are sometimes put in quotation marks, which proves that they are mostly not yet regarded as integral part of the Serbian language system, but rather as individual interpolations of English language elements.

Table 2 Raw Anglicisms in Serbian

I	<i>eyecatcher leta, beauty doktor, plavi total look, sexy vaterpolisti, lifestyle magazin, must have dezeni, uživajte u reggae muzici koju puštaju sound sistemi, blue starke, jednostavno savršen lipgloss;</i>
F	<i>lifestyle analiza, korporativni 'goodwill', 'know-how', 'cloud computing' concept, online rast, 'spin-off' forma, greenwashing, cost-benefit analiza.</i>

As seen from above, most raw Anglicisms in both styles are either nouns and noun phrases (*eyecatcher, beauty, lifestyle, lifestyle, 'goodwill', 'know-how', 'cloud computing', cost-benefit, etc.*), while a significant number of adjectives have been observed in the informal part of the corpus (*total, sexy, blue*).

Raw Anglicisms are sometimes pleonasms, as in *day bag torbe*, an example observed in the informal style. In addition, both styles show examples of an obvious and a raw Anglicism being used together in the same context, which results in having English and Serbian orthographic rules within the same sentence, as in *seksi snake sandale, stajliš clutch tašnice*, etc.

English abbreviations are often used in Serbian written discourse as raw Anglicisms, both in formal and informal style:

- a) Informal style: *naslov je lol* (*laughing out loud*), *prijava ispita na a.k.a. rocket science* (*also known as*)
- b) Formal style: *SSC vs. autorsing* (*versus*).

### 3.3 Hidden Anglicisms

Hidden Anglicisms, i.e. the ones in which English language forms and meanings are ‘hidden’ inside Serbian forms (Prćić, 2004a: 115) and easily integrated into the Serbian language system. They can be created either by means of translation or by remodeling and adaptation of English words to Serbian language system.

The corpora provided many examples of hidden Anglicisms created by means of translation. These are domestic neologisms made out Serbian morpho-syntactic and semantic elements and are, therefore, rarely regarded as ‘foreign’. In addition to words, hidden Anglicisms are also collocations, phrases and even whole sentences. Most of the hidden Anglicisms created through translation found in the observed corpus are collocations and phrases:

Table 3 Hidden Anglicisms in Serbian

Collocations	I	<i>ohrabriti</i> (= <i>podstaći</i> ) <i>ljude</i> (encourage people); <i>napraviti</i> (= <i>skuvati</i> ) <i>kafu</i> (make coffee); <i>imati seks</i> (have sex); <i>laskavi</i> (= <i>lep, udoban, ...</i> ) <i>model patika</i> (flattering model of shoes).
	F	<i>ući u</i> (= <i>započeti</i> ) <i>posao</i> (to enter business); <i>dizajnirati</i> (= <i>osmislići, sastaviti, ...</i> ) <i>finansijski izveštaj</i> (= to design a financial report).
Phrases	I	<i>Moje ime je</i> (My name is..) = <i>Zovem se, Ja sam...</i> ; <i>Šta god.</i> (Whatever.) = <i>Bilo kako. Kako bilo.</i> ; <i>Pričaj mi o tome.</i> (Tell me something about it!) = <i>Ma šta mi kažeš! / Meni kažeš!;</i> <i>Gospodin pravi</i> (Mister Right); <i>Zgrabi ih sve</i> (Grab ‘em all); <i>Reci da faltama</i> (Say yes to pleats); <i>Zaboravi!</i> (Forget it!) = <i>Nema veze! / Nije važno, itd.</i>
	F	<i>Što je pre moguće</i> (As soon as possible). = <i>Što pre.</i>

## 4 Serbian orthographic pseudo-norm

*Anglo-Serbian language* is ‘a hybrid of Serbian and English and a new urban sociolect, characterized by the gradual and unjustified replacement of Serbian language elements with corresponding English elements and the creation of an orthographic pseudo-norm’ (Prčić, 2004b: 560–562). The motivation of such a language hybrid is either the perceived status of English words and expressions or the belief of professionals in almost all areas that only English terminology is valid and authentic (Prčić, 2000: 872).

Examples of Serbian language norm violation, inconsistent use of both Serbian and English orthographic rules and the creation of new orthographic pseudo-normative conventions is very common (and sometimes even extreme) in the part of the corpora illustrating the informal style. These norm violations, though not that extreme, are not completely absent from the formal style, as the following will attempt to outline.

### 4.1 The Alphabet

The most extreme examples of English-contact induced Serbian orthographic norm violation are the replacement of Serbian Latin alphabet letters containing diacritics with other letters or consonant clusters of the English alphabet and the introduction of non-Serbian (English) letters instead of Serbian consonant clusters. Namely, in the informal register, especially in the examples coming from social networks, Č is consistently being replaced with CH (e.g. *uocheni nedostatak*, *tachna informacija*, *chim završimo*, *zakljuchavati temu*, *Milichica*), Š with SH (e.g. *zashto*, *greshka*, *Milosh Mish*), KS with X (*fax*, *extra*, *max*).

The Serbian language alphabet excludes the use of double consonants and vowels, except in some cases (for further reference, see Pešikan, 2002). The doubling of letters is, however, present in informal style, especially with the young: *Pisallica*, *Alleksandra*, *Lazza*. The doubling of vowels is usually made with the intention to imitate English language norm: *alboom* (*album*), *glooopo* (*glupo*).

### 4.2 Transcription

Serbian transcription rules do not allow transfer of foreign words in their original form, with the exception of proper nouns. This implies that all the examples of raw Anglicisms cited above illustrate total disregard of transcription and utter ignorance or reluctance to consult transcription dictionaries. In addition, examples found in the corpus show a great arbitrariness in the transfer of individual Anglicisms. For instance, there are several ways of transferring the word e-mail in both formal and informal style: as *e-mail* (in its original form, as a raw Anglicism), *imejl* or *i-mejl* (adapted to the Serbian language norm),

*e-mejl* (a hybrid form between the Serbian and the English transcription rules). The same goes for the following: *cool/ kul* (informal) and *stakeholder/ stejhholder, pre-paid / prepaid / pripejd, online/onlajn* (formal).

In accordance with the abovementioned, raw Anglicisms that are not adapted to Serbian transcription rules cannot get Serbian suffixes that mark case, tense, person, gender and verb aspect. Therefore, these are examples found in the informal style are not allowed: *dva atraktivna looka, u S&L storeu* (English *in S&L store*).

The frequency of the Serbian orthographic norm regarding the transfer of Anglicisms indicates the ignorance and disregard of the orthographic norm. It, however, warns us about one more fact: that the Serbian orthographic rules need to be urgently revised, having in mind the growing trend of Anglicization.

#### 4.3 Punctuation

The most obvious Serbian punctuation norm violation is the placement of quotation marks. Without exception, it follows English language rules in all parts of the corpora, by placing both the opening and the closing quotation mark upwards: ‘*u zimskom snu*’ (informal), ‘*Vinča*’ *Institut za nuklearne nauke* (formal style), etc.

Another peculiarity observed in the informal style is the use of & symbol instead of Serbian conjunction *i* (English *and*), typical of informal English, as well as the expression &Co. instead of Serbian *i tako dalje: suviše tanka, suva & neposlušna, najlepše letnje tašne & cipele, manjak samopouzdanja, višak stresa & Co.*

#### 4.4 Capitalization

The online sources used in this paper show (only) a few examples of Serbian capitalization norm violation prompted by its contact with English. These mostly refer to names of institutions, titles of books and films, internationalisms and anglicisms in terminology, in which the initial letters of all the words are capitalized: *Predsednik Saveza Studenata* (= *Saveza studenata*), *Dom Omladine* (= *Dom omladine*) *Beograda* (informal), *Cost-Benefit Analiza, Model Sposoban da Opstane* (formal), etc.

### 5 Serbian-English code-switching

Even though code-switching is traditionally associated with bilingual or multilingual individuals and communities, the author has here followed a new approach to code-switching suggested by Filipović (2009: 90-93), by which code-switching also occurs in monolingual communities (Serbia) with seemingly monolingual speakers (young and educated Serbian people). The following structural criteria are used to distinguish between borrowing and

code-switching: (a) the degree of structural integration, (b) the frequency of use, (c) belonging to the lexicon of the language that provides the structural frame and (d) the social function in language interaction (Filipović, 2009: 92). In addition, according to Myers-Scotton (1993 in Savić 1995: 476) and her *Matrix Language Frame Model*, there are two languages in code-switched sentences: the matrix language – ML (that serves to provide the structural, i.e. morphological and syntactic frame to a statement in code-switching) and the embedded language – EL (that provides the rules for morphological marking of morphemes). In case of English-Serbian code-switching, ML is Serbian, while EL is English. Following these criteria, we can conclude that examples of lexical and sub-lexical code-switching are rare. Namely, most of the examples of contact-induced changes show a high frequency of use, belong to the lexicon of the matrix (Serbian) language and are (partly or fully) integrated into morphological and syntactic system of the Serbian language.

Individual cases of intra-sentential code-switching are characterized by lower frequency in the informal style and almost complete absence from the formal style. They completely lack morphological, orthographic and syntactic integration into the Serbian discourse. The author believes that the observed examples in the informal style mostly serve a specific social function, motivated by the perceived status of the English language and its power: *Wow, stavila si 'and then suddenly I felt nothing' kao cover sliku?, I just became the mayor of Red ispred šaltera, Nema uopste gramatike lol? Now I think even less of you. =)), Day No.1 Srecan rad!*

However, they can also indicate bad translation skills, negligence and ignorance, especially in the formal style: *Prema proračunima Institute for Economic Sciences, etc.*

## 6 Morphological Changes in Serbian

Most examples listed in sections above show that the Serbian language has not yet undergone significant morphological changes due to its contact with English and the introduction of Anglicisms. Namely, the majority of lexical Anglicisms illustrated above (with the exception of raw Anglicisms and code-switching) have been partly or fully integrated into the Serbian morphological system, i.e. they get case suffixes, marked tense, person, gender and verb aspect. In addition, even though the content morphemes may be English, the system morphemes are still Serbian, as the following examples clearly show: *u beogradskom clubbingu* (in Belgrade clubbing), *100 lajkova* (100 likes), *SHARE-ujte nasu stranicu* (share our page).

However, slight tendencies towards simplification and reduction in the use of inflectional, especially nominal, morphology, as well as towards mapping of English word order in Serbian phrases and sentences have been observed and illustrated by the examples below. The author believes that this tendency is the

result of the fact that these less stable and more marked structural paradigms of the Serbian grammar system are more prone to contact-induced changes.

## 6.1 Phrases and word order

Most deviations from the Serbian language norm appear on the level of noun phrases consisting of two nouns. A significant number of examples illustrating Serbian noun phrases replicating English word order rules and often disregarding Serbian inflectional morphology (particularly case markers) have also been observed in both styles:

Table 4 Replication of English word order in Serbian noun phrases

I	<i>Templ Univerzitet</i> (= <i>univerzitet Templ</i> ); <i>Sziget festival</i> (= <i>festival Sziget</i> ); <i>vaterpolo reprezentativci</i> (= <i>reprezentativci vaterpola</i> );
F	<i>e-mejl prototip</i> (= <i>prototip imejla</i> ); <i>Cloud Computing concept</i> (= <i>koncept / pod nazivom/Klaud kompjuting</i> ; <i>'Vinča' Institut za nuklearne nauke</i> (= <i>Institut za nuklearne nauke 'Vinča'</i> ); <i>PR aktivnosti</i> (= <i>aktivnosti odnosa sa javnošću</i> ); <i>KM projekti</i> (= <i>projekti upravljanja znanjem</i> ); <i>CPM metoda</i> (= <i>metoda kritičnog puta</i> ).

As we can observe from the examples above, the replication of English word order in noun phrases is particularly evident when the first part of the phrase is an English acronym – a raw Anglicism, as in *PR aktivnosti* (Public Relations activities) and *KM projekti* (Knowledge Management projects), used instead of *aktivnosti ljudskih resursa* and *projekti upravljanja znanjem*) and similar examples.

The first constituent of a noun phrase, a noun in nominative case, is often used in adjectival function, mostly as a possessive adjective. In this way, Serbian adjectival inflections have been avoided, reduced and simplified.

- Informal style: *FONIS projekat* (= *FONIS-ov projekat*), *Gaga stil* (= *Gagin stil*), *Joy predlog* (= *Džojov predlog*)
- Formal style: *marketing orientacija* (= *marketinška orientacija*), *menadžment filozofija* (= *menadžerska / upravljačka filozofija*), .....

Serbian grammar does not allow constructions consisting of preposition *za* (English *for*) and a verb infinitive. The examples of this construction, however, prove that obvious replication of the English infinitive phrase has taken place, probably having language economy for a reason:

*Moda za poneti* (Serbian alternative: *modni predmeti koje možete da kupite i ponesete sa sobom*; English – *fashion to take*);  
*ponuda za umreti* (Serbian alternative: *ponuda toliko dobra da zbog nje vredi umreti*; English – *offer to die for*).

## 7 Syntactic, Structural and Typological Changes in Serbian

These levels of English contact-induced Serbian language change have rarely been dealt with by Serbian linguists, except by Šević (1996) who analysed English structural borrowings into the Serbian standard variety (Filipović-Savić, 1998: 144) and concluded that there are no indications that the morphosyntactic frame of Serbian sentences will change in the near future.

By examining the corpora used in this paper, the author has observed a few examples of structural borrowings, i.e. the mapping of English syntactic constructions in Serbian. These all refer to the tendency towards statement nominalization, generally more common in the English than in the Serbian language. Namely, in discourse situations where Serbian language norm predicts the use of verb phrases, adjectives and or more complex structures, nouns and noun phrases have been used instead, thus changing other sentence elements as well. It must be noted that, although the tendency towards statement nominalization has been introduced into Serbian through imprecise translation, the author believes that it is no longer restricted to it, and can therefore be observed as an element of contact-induced language change.

Table 5 English-contact induced statement nominalization in Serbian

e.g.	F / I	Serbian	English translation
1	I	<i>Pronašla je potpuno ispunjenje i sreću.</i>	She found <b>complete fulfillment and happiness</b> .
2	I	<i>Taj dogadaj je ohrabrio moje bavljenje glumom.</i>	That event encouraged <b>my acting</b> .
3	F	<i>Ovaj rad predstavlja ogromnu dodatu vrednost za sve one koji upravljaju rizikom.</i>	This paper represents <b>huge additional value</b> for all those who run risks.

In all the examples in the table above, we have underlined Serbian noun phrases and their corresponding English translations. Serbian sentences listed above, however, may sound more acceptable and less English if paraphrased this way: *Postala je potpuno ispunjena i srećna* (e.g.1), *Taj dogadaj me je podstakao da se bavim glumom* (e.g. 2), *Ovaj rad je veoma koristan za sve koji upravljaju rizikom* (e.g. 3). In other words, adjectival phrases (e.g. 1, 3), and subordinate clauses (e.g. 2) would be more welcome than noun phrases as parts of the sentences above.

The low frequency of syntactic changes observed in the corpus indicates that there is still not enough evidence of contact-induced structural changes in the variety of Serbian spoken in Serbia. Such changes are only slightly evident among fluent bilinguals in Serbian (predominantly) monolingual speech community, but represent an exception rather than a rule. As opposed

to Serbian-English code-switching situations in bilingual communities where English is gradually becoming the matrix language (Savić 1995: 475-492), such change is not likely to occur in Serbia in the foreseeable future.

## Conclusion and Discussion

The author believes that the examples presented above represent the true picture of the current English-contact induced state of the Serbian language and indicate the future prospects of its development.

Following the contact-induced model of language change provided by Sara Thomason and Terrence Kaufman and outlined in the *Introduction*, we can conclude that the power of new information and communication technologies has definitely accelerated the English contact-induced changes in the Serbian language. These are no longer restricted to uncontrolled introduction of lexical Anglicisms, but have spread to structural borrowings and even show traces of lexical, sub-lexical and intra-sentential code-switching, even though these changes are happening in a seemingly monolingual speech community. The heralds of such changes are young, educated and urban (partial or full) bilinguals. Even though the examples of contact-induced changes in Serbian morphology and syntax are not frequent enough to indicate significant structural and typological changes, but may lead to more intensified structural convergence with the English language, especially if we have in mind the ever-growing exposure to English and high English language proficiency among the young.

Another issue the paper attempted to draw attention to is the negligence of the Serbian language culture and disregard of its norms. The author does not advocate language purity, which is an impossible and certainly unwanted solution to the trend of linguistic Anglo-globalization, but rather wishes to indicate the need for a more elaborate and diachronic research of the current state and future prospects of the Serbian language norm that would have to include more extensive corpora, diversified functional styles and take social variables and English language proficiency of the respondents into account. The ultimate goal of such research would be the revision of the Serbian standard language model and the creation of an elaborated one that would account for the present language situation and its future.

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# MODELLING LITERARY COMMUNICATION: CONTEMPORARY CHILDHOOD MEMOIR

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**Abstract.** The communicational dimension of literary genres is a comparatively recent focus uniting narratologists, linguists and cognitive psychologists. When literary genres are understood as part of schematised knowledge negotiation, the literary schema acquires a special status of a higher-level conceptual structure organising ways of reading. Based in the theory of image schemas Michel Kimmel's idea on their macrostructural function in creating global contours of prototype plots (Kimmel, 2005, 2008, 2009) allows us to claim that any prominent narrative genre raises high expectations of a specific macrostructure composed of image schemas. Choosing the contemporary childhood memoir as the object of research, we attempt to create a global plot topology rendering the inner dynamics of the memoir prototype. To demonstrate the model, the Irish childhood memoir brand is used for its prominence in genre consciousness. Being a productive way to conceptualise the genre, the approach links plot causality of childhood memoir to its image schema structure and creates ample opportunity for a deeper linguistic analysis of individual narratives.

**Key words:** mental model, image schema, story macrostructure, metaphor, childhood memoir

## Introduction

Genre has always been used as a classifying statement, especially in the field of arts and media, though the theory of genres as a principle of order and a set of restrictive practices underwent a considerable change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus 'today, *genre* is quite easily used to refer to a distinctive category of discourse of any type, spoken or written, with or without literary aspirations' (Swales, 1990: 33).

Given the scope, genre, understandably, remains a fuzzy concept, and particularly slippery when used in arts, mostly so because of its association 'with a disreputably formulaic way of constructing (or aiding the construction of) particular texts – a kind of writing or speaking by numbers.' (Swales, 1990: 33). The question arises how to deploy genre analysis in the trajectory of literary genres and not to devalue the literary merit of books under their umbrella. In other words, what conceptual tools may help outline a generic

framework of a currently prominent genre such as, for example, childhood memoir and subsist in its further analysis?

## The Concept of Genre: Cognitive Reconceptualization of Categorization

One can argue for discourse analysis embracing the three-dimensional view of genre as ‘the product and process of communicative practice within a social context, as the application of a theoretical framework for understanding that regularity, and as the locally constructed understanding of the rules and conventions for a particular form’ (Vaughan and Dillon, 1998: 559). Among many, Vaughan and Dillon argue, however, that the conceptualization of regularity with the sole focus on the text would be incomplete, so understanding of a genre can be significantly augmented by research on mental representations of its structure. Genre theory and cognitive psychology combination offers a potentially richer and more complete understanding of reader comprehension of literary texts, memoirs included. Whereas genre scholars theorise on the role of genre characteristics in conveying meaning and forming user responses, cognitive psychologists seek to capture an understanding of genre through schematic representations and mental models formed by readers.

The concept of genre, thus, can be viewed both as referring to a textual pattern and/or to a reader construction, the latter is ‘the particular constellation of properties and expectations a reader may have concerning works of particular type’ (Bortolussi and Dixon, 2003: 252). Making sense of texts readers do not only deploy their linguistic competence, but also address their so-called encyclopaedic knowledge, that is, both knowledge of texts and knowledge derived from texts. Furthermore, despite the uniqueness of individual experience, we share its conventional representations prompted by our social way of life. Given that, readers’ representations of genre can be placed on the same footing as representations of other categories studied in cognitive psychology, so that ‘readers have a collection of salient examples or prototypes available for each genre label with which they are familiar, and readers are usually able to assess the similarity between a given work and those prototypes’ (*ibid.* 252).

Developed in the 1970s by the cognitive psychologist Eleanor Rosch prototype theory became the most influential for cognitive semanticists and significantly impacted cognitive linguistics as a whole, for it finally called into question the definitional or classical theory of human categorization (see Evans and Green, 2006: 248-267). In this new rival view, ‘categories are defined not in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions but with respect to prototypes and various family resemblance relations to these prototypes’ (*ibid.*).

Empirical findings presented by Rosch inspired the linguist George Lakoff to the formulation of the theory of idealised cognitive models (ICMs) (Lakoff, 1987), which appeared ‘as part of a synthesis of existing research on categorization within the various branches of cognitive science’ (Cienki, 2007: 176). The relatively stable mental representations are called “idealised” because they abstract across a range of experiences rather than representing specific instances of a given experience’ (Evans and Green, 2006: 270). Relating to quite complex knowledge structures, any ICM defines our knowledge of a category, where the most characteristic features are at the centre of an ICM (e.g. two wings, a beak and the ability to fly for a bird) and the most fitting members are prototypes (robin). Lakoff (1987: 284) enumerates the five basic types of ICMs, namely, image-schematic, propositional, metaphoric, metonymic, and symbolic, and it is image schemas that are of particular import here.

## Image-Schemas

‘To summarize thus far, a schema has been historically defined as a fixed template for ordering specific information, whereas an image has been defined as a representation of specific patterns capable of being rendered schematically’ (Oakley, 2007: 216). For Lakoff, image-schemas are fundamental building blocks of and foundational for cognitive structure. He claims that our experience of space is structured by image-schemas such as CONTAINER, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK as the arguably most important ones. What is more, the scholar maintains that the same image-schemas structure concepts themselves, i.e. they ‘define most of what we commonly mean by the term ‘structure’ when we talk about abstract domains. When we understand something as having an abstract structure, we understand that structure in terms of image schemas’ (Lakoff, 1987: 283). Thus, arising from our basic bodily experiences, projected onto nonbodily experiences and helping to structure other complex concepts, image-schemas structure our conceptual system as a whole.

Since ‘categorization is usually not an end in itself’ (Barsalou, 1992: 25), and, as Kovács (2006: 19) argues, ‘it is a cognitive process that we use to achieve some goal, such as [for example] sitting down to read’, it is only logical that ‘[i]n cognitive literary studies the notion of image schema can boast a certain career by now’ (Kimmel, 2009, 160). Such research however has been mostly based on metaphor analysis overlooking other possibilities of the exploration of image-schematic story themes. Building on van Dijk and Kintsch’ (1983) influential model of mental representations and with literary narrative in view, Kimmel (2005) constructs his case study to demonstrate how ‘image-schematic macrogestalts account for important cognitive aspects of global story structure’ (2005: 200). Compressed macrostructures, and, consequently, compressed representation of plot, are important both for story recall and coherence during

reading; 'the most fundamental macrostructural function of image schemas is the creation of a condensed and global representation readers use in plot recall (**or expected plot**)' (Kimmel, 2005: 210; the bold is mine). Accordingly, in his study of Joseph Conrad's short novel *Heart of Darkness* Kimmel 'propose[s] a model in which compound gestalts represent major aspects of the plot-defining macrostructure' (199).

Without going into detail of Kimmel's intricate system of the readerly understanding of the text, his proposed diagrammatic representation (Kimmel, 2005: 211) is particularly appealing (see Figure 1 below). So, it is apparent that the image-schemas of container and source-path-goal represented as circles are superimposed by a force-dynamic schema represented by opposing arrows, the diagram explicitly demonstrating that image-schemas 'may ... form complex structures that make sense of complex sets of events' (Kovacs, 2006: 224).

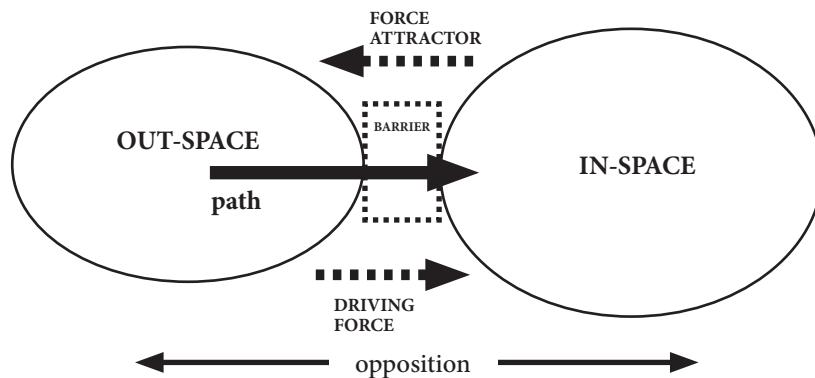


Figure 1. Superimposed image schemas in understanding the plot of *Heart of Darkness*

Kimmel's bottom-up progressive compositional analysis raises a pertinent question about global contours of prototype plots in the reader's mind. Since '[i]mage-schemas appear to account in part for how we understand the plot of longer literary texts' (Kovacs, 2006: 225) and 'simple image schemas become progressively 'inscribed' in a sketchpad-like mental substrate' (Kimmel, 2005: 203), our claim is that any currently prominent narrative genre, and childhood memoir is not an exception, raises high expectations of a specific macrostructure composed of image schemas. Further we attempt to create a global plot topology rendering the inner dynamics of the prototypical childhood memoir.

## Approaching Childhood Memoir

The childhood memoir, and particularly the specimen of 'troubled' childhood presently cluttering front shelves of bookshops all around the world,

is a comparatively recent invention. Among the traits helping the reader to identify the genre at a glance is the word ‘A Memoir’ either on the cover, on the title page, or at least in the blurb. Such labelling hardly being a definitive feature, the texture of imitated storytelling is simple, abounding in patterns characteristic to spoken discourse and meant not to be discordant with the protagonist’s age.

Chamberlain and Thompson (1998: 11) observe that ‘not only can autobiography itself be broken down into a series of genres, but each of them is likely to draw on other genres: both in the sense of major genres, and also of generic motifs and devices’. Structurally and thematically, childhood memoirs seem to have inherited much from the *Bildungsroman*, a novel of youth and apprenticeship originated within German literature and widely flourished during the Victorian Age in Britain (see Buckley, 1974). Similarly to the childhood memoir, the prototypical *Bildungsroman* centres on a young underprivileged protagonist’s struggle toward early adulthood, and although obstacles, education and crisis worked through and leading to self-knowledge are shared traits, reflection on the past, at some point indispensable in any childhood memoir, moves the two genres apart.

Identity requires some continuity and one of its constituents is the continuity with one’s past self, the latter often serves as a stimulus to writing one’s autobiography. ‘Life writing engages in what seems the most commonsensical and inescapable of narratives, the story predicated on the linear chronology of an individual life’ (Rieder, 2007: v). Logically, central to the literary dimension of both autobiography and selfhood is the idea of plot, this drawing of disparate elements into one meaningful whole - story narrative defined as a relatively bound unit of talk or writing, its beginning, middle and end formally and functionally different from one another (cf. Schiffрин, 2006b: 22). Then there should be some driving force holding the plot together, the link making readers recognise the generic similarity of all disparate autobiographical narratives.

## Genre as a conceptual metaphor: life as a story, teleology and closure

Understanding one’s life in terms of a coherent life story imposes a coherent structure on its elements, ‘[a]nd it is the coherence that you see in your life that gives it meaning and significance’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 174). The focus is on the conceptual metaphor imposing the frame on the overall structure of any autobiographical narrative, the overall schemata favouring inherent teleology of such stories and overcoming the impossibility of closure.

In terms of conceptual metaphors, the LIFE IS A STORY metaphor represents the most common experiential gestalt giving coherence to one’s life, the gestalt often supported linguistically in the text. In their schematic

representation of a simplified version of a typical experiential gestalt Lakoff and Johnson claim participants, parts, stages, linear sequence, causation and purpose to be the typical features of a life narrative (2003: 172-3). Clearly, an autobiographical narrative may consist of parts or episodes, and each separate episode could present a story in itself, such subnarratives adding complexity but not significantly diminishing (and often intensifying) the teleology (or ‘purposefulness’) implied in the main gestalt.

To support the wholeness of the story there should be the sense of closure which is no less significant than causality or purpose. However, ‘no autobiography as conceived in a traditional, common-sense way can possess wholeness because by definition the end of the story cannot be told, the bios must remain incomplete’ (Olney, 1980: 25). The evidence for the ‘open’ state of many autobiographical tales comes from empirical research in sociolinguistics (Finnegan, 1998: 120). Moreover, this pattern is seen as approaching completion as if nothing might alter it afterwards. In his extensive study of stories admired around the world, Patrick Colm Hogan (2003) arrives to an accordant conclusion, and that is ‘prototypical narratives have a telic structure including an agent, a goal, and a causal sequence connecting the agent’s various actions with the achievement or nonachievement of the goal’ (Hogan, 2003: 205). For many (if not all) of them another conceptual metaphor, namely, **LIFE IS A JOURNEY** solves the problem inhibiting readers’ uncertainty and making them see the narrated life in terms of an organizing pattern.

The connection between autobiography and conceptual metaphor has never been extensively discussed, rather curtly mentioned (e.g. in Kovecses, 2005), but the related idea of frames as defining prototypes can be put to good use in the study of life writing. Thus, **LIFE IS A STORY** metaphor conceptualising the domain of life writing evokes the imagery that is typical of cognitive semantic views on autobiographical self as being moving towards some goal: the concept **STORY** illustrates the **SOURCE-PATH-GOAL** schema, for every story has a setting for the beginning/precondition (**SOURCE**), proceeds though some buildup of linear structured events or changing states (**PATH**) with the aim to achieve some purpose (**GOAL**). The inherent teleology of life writing evokes the **PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS** metaphor which intensifies the basic image-schema, for this metaphor is understood in terms of the same **SOURCE-PATH-GOAL** schema too (see Lakoff, 1987: 277-278). In fact, the motion schema **SOURCE-PATH-GOAL** seems to underlie all conceptual metaphors regularly involved in structuring memoirs including the above-mentioned **LIFE IS A JOURNEY** and its extended variant **LIFE IS A JOURNEY THROUGH TIME** metaphors.

Other conceptual schemata may impose further structures on the reader’s experience, but the basic experiential **SOURCE-PATH-GOAL** schema is always present as a conceptual backbone in autobiographical narratives, its separate realisations determine the proximity of an analysed specimen to its prototype and therefore the related ease of narrative comprehension.

To summarise, the rendering of life writing in terms of conceptual metaphor allows for a better view on structural boundaries of the whirlpool of autobiographical narratives as well as gives more definitive answers to the prototypicality of teleology. The reader enters any life story with a set of expectations and disposition for following a certain scenario structured by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema in the time domain, the scenario further informed by a number of pre-set cues. On the whole, the structure of life narratives subconsciously leads the reader to a belief in the dynamic character of events, where dynamic signifies a specific view on human history and a person within this history, the perception adequate to our expectation of progress. On the other hand, the view of the prototype plot of childhood memoir as a specific macrostructure composed of image schemas stands in good stead for its further conceptualization.

## Dynamic Macrostructure of Childhood Memoir

As it was explained above, image-schemas serve as the basis of other concepts, and target domains may be structured in terms of image-schemas of their source domain. The motion schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL seems to underlie all conceptual metaphors (i.e. LIFE IS A STORY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY OR LIFE IS A JOURNEY THROUGH TIME) involved in the global plot of the childhood memoir. Accepting a performative view of life writing, i.e. taking ‘autobiographical occasions as dynamic sites for the performance of identities constitutive of subjectivity’ (Smith and Watson, 2001: 143), the adaptation of Kimmel’s model (2005) of the dynamic plot-defining macrostructure as represented by image-schemas seems pertinent and it is to follow.

Given the idea that ‘simple image schemas become progressively ‘inscribed’ in a sketchpad-like mental substrate’ (Kimmel, 2005: 203), we attempt to create a global plot topology rendering the dramatism (or inner dynamics) of the prototypical childhood memoir (see Figure 2 below). For this purpose we are using salient textual force-dynamic elements and image-schemas along spatial, temporal, causal-intentional dimensions as well as we provide transition between states and protagonist interaction. It results in ‘a compound gestalt constituting the novel’s *image-schematic plot-gene*.’ (Kimmel, 2005: 203; the notion of *plot-gene* as a compressed gist of a story, is borrowed from Lotman).

Thus, home is defined by a strong underlying sense of place and understood as a CONTAINER. The compound topology is formed by two loci (CONTAINERS) – IN-SPACE (home) and OUT-SPACE (wider world), and the arrow of temporality moves into the bigger sphere forming an inevitable PATH from the home into the world outside. The temporal-psychological movement into adulthood may be intensified by the superimposed spatial dimension as, e.g., Joycean paradigmatic emigration in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The OUT-SPACE encloses the home space, thus the extensive boundary and

potential multidirectionality of ‘breakthrough’ are some of the consequences of the given topology. The barrier zone formed by social constraints surrounds the in-space (it may be inside in case of disability of the protagonist, or even inside and outside of the contour), though the broken line stands for boundary penetrability. The causal dimension may be superimposed on the temporal one.

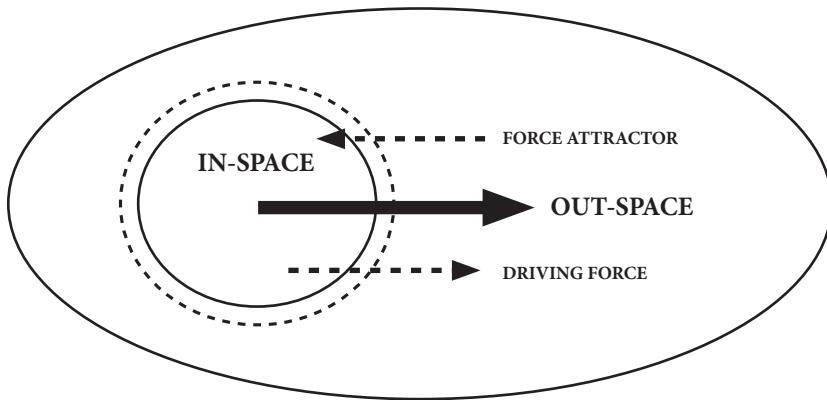


Figure 2. The image-schematic plot-gene of the childhood memoir

Furthermore, the intentionality is two-fold and it is defined by two force vectors. In Kimmel's terms, the movement to some outside landmark/attractor is determined by DRIVING FORCE of the intrinsic urge for knowledge and FORCE ATTRACTOR or 'a quasi-magnetic pull' of extrinsic motivation. Actant roles may add to the schemata, and multiple barriers may create a set of Chinese boxes. The plot-gene is just a script, and serious research into sustained metaphorical conceptualisation may significantly inform the picture. 'A crucial point to bear in mind is that megametaphor may occur purely in the mind of the reader without being cued in a textually traceable way' (Kimmel, 2009: 183).

Before summarising and drawing final conclusions, several examples of the plot-gene subsisted textual analysis should be brought into the discussion. For that purpose we take two Irish childhood metaphors: Frank McCourt's seminal *Angela's Ashes* (1996) (arguably the memoir having paved the way to the current popularity of childhood memoir) and quite random Hugo Hamilton's *The Speckled People* (2003). The focus is on the point of transition from the IN-SPACE to the OUT-SPACE.

The absorbing story of Frankie describes the first nineteen years of McCourt's life, and the language of narration corresponds to the changing age of the child narrator. The limitedness of his vocabulary is compensated by other language means, the discussion of which is beyond the scope. The insistent repetition of some key words and phrases however triggers reader's attention and deserves a special mention in the context. Among many, the narrator is 'slapped' or receives 'slaps' throughout the book; similarly many

doors ‘closed in the face’, his family and his own. Thus, applied FORCE creates a BARRIER which prohibits young Frank from getting outside his CONTAINER of squalid conditions. The moment of crossing is when being drunk he becomes violent towards his mother and ‘slaps her on the cheek’, and that is the point of no return when the finale of his emigration (entering the OUT-SPACE) quickly follows.

The matryoshka doll of Hamilton’s embedded narration, with the child narrator incorporating his parents’ stories in his own rendition of surrounding reality, noticeably differs from the range of miserable childhoods. In this autobiographical narrative all episodes could be distributed into a number of groups by a vocaliser, and each group forms a separate subnarrative with a perceptibly different gestalt. The whole book is about getting trapped and silencing (CONTAINER, BARRIER, etc.), telling stories and uncovering secrets in the wardrobe (PATH, LINK, etc.), but the linguistic realisations of superimposed image-schemas, as well as the plot-gene of each layer are so rich and plentiful that we don’t analyse it here. Instead, we bring up the last chapter of the open-ended roaming in OUT-SPACE. Thus, they are ‘trying to go home now’, ‘trying to find way home, but sometimes it’s hard to know where that is any more’ (296). The metaphor of the search for belonging is literalized through the words and word combinations for moving around (‘went back’, ‘going on a trip’, ‘travel around’, ‘came to a town’, ‘walked for a long time’, ‘passed a house’, ‘walked around another corner’, ‘got the wrong road’), and the passage ends with ‘She [mother] said she didn’t know where to go from here. We were lost, but she laughed and it didn’t matter’ (298). Thus roaming OUT-SPACE is not a final destination but a relay point, and being lost (OUTSIDE) does not have any negative connotation. The open-endedness suggests a new PATH is to lead ‘home’ (CONTAINER), though that should be a narrative with a different macrostructure from that of the childhood memoir global plot.

## Conclusions

The diagram of the plot-gene resulting from a schematic representation of memoir image-schemas’ combination seems to be a productive way to conceptualise both individual work and the genre comprising it. The value of such modelling is not only in delineating an individualised pattern of literary communication but also in its pedagogic potential. Although at present there is no agreement on how to define the exact number of image-schemas in a conceptual structure or what is their finalised list (see Cienki, 2007: 183), their adequate coding might make a detailed analysis of conceptual metaphors much more effective than any other systematisation for that purpose.

Despite some caution required applying image schemas to literary analysis, the approach demonstrated above allows us to delineate the genre of childhood memoir as a macrostructure rendering the inner dynamics of its prototype.

The created framework scaffolds foregrounded image schemas endowing them with defined narrative functions. Moreover, it creates a stable background for further investigation of metaphoric target domain(s), staging empirical studies of embodiment and reader-response in general. As concerns childhood memoir, or life writing for that matter, Kimmel's approach helps to go beyond surface similarities, and links plot causality to image schema structure. In its turn, such a linkage creates ample opportunity for deeper linguistic analysis of individual narratives.

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# LINGUISTIC POLITENESS IN ENGLISH FOR ENGINEERING

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**Abstract.** In recent years, applied linguists have become increasingly interested in pragmatics and the application of pragmatic principles in the analysis of speech acts and discourse. The well-known phenomenon of linguistic politeness has been a widely discussed topic both in pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The English language competence has become one of the major aspects of Engineering students' and graduates' professional development due to the growing need for engineers to communicate on the international level using professional English. However, little research has been done in Applied Pragmatics regarding linguistic structures of English for Engineering. The aim of the article was to show how utterances in the technical consultant-client communication express implied meaning by observing the pragmatic principle of linguistic politeness. The present research draws its data from the analysis of the Technical English textbooks for Engineering students. The case study was based on the analysis of the speech acts used in the dialogues between the technical consultant and the client on the phone when the client calls the technical service. The research has resulted in the conclusion that the utterances in the technical consultant-customer communication in the context of dealing with troubleshooting express the consultant's implied meaning by observing the pragmatic principle of linguistic politeness.

**Key words:** pragmatics, linguistic politeness, English for Engineering, language acquisition, speech acts

## Introduction

The present research has been carried out in the area of applied linguistics focusing on the concept of pragmatic competence as a subdomain of sociolinguistics and applied pragmatics. The notion of linguistic politeness has been widely discussed among applied linguists in the recent decades. 'Politeness, in an interaction, can be defined as a means employed to show awareness of another person's face'. (Yule, 2011: 60)

'Conversational implicatures derive from the shared presumption that S (speaker) and H (hearer) are interacting rationally and cooperatively to reach a common goal' (Horn and Ward, 2007: 7). The study was designed to analyse the speech acts in the dialogues between technical consultants and

clients in the Technical English course books. The aim of the present paper is to analyse the strategies of linguistic politeness followed in ELT materials for students of Engineering. The discourse analysis from the pragmatic perspective would enable us to identify which linguistic devices used by the conversation participants help achieve their common goal – solving the technical problem. We will also determine whether both the hearer and the speaker are interacting ‘rationally and cooperatively’ according to Grice’s Cooperative Principle (1975).

The following research questions were set:

Do course books of Technical English provide an insight into pragmatic competence? Do the dialogues represented in ELT materials for students of Engineering involve the various linguistic politeness strategies?

It has been hypothesized that the example conversations in the Technical English course books are a representation of linguistic strategies of positive and negative politeness and both the speaker and the hearer follow Grice’s conversational maxims.

The enabling objectives of the present research are:

1. At a theoretical level – to examine the concepts of linguistic politeness, positive and negative politeness strategies and teaching pragmatics in FL classroom.
2. At an empirical level – to show how utterances in the technical consultant-client communication represent positive and negative linguistic politeness strategies as well as directness and indirectness of the speech acts.

The paper deals with the case study of the indirect speech acts in the conversations composed for the Technical English course books by David Bonamy published by Pearson Education Limited (2008).

## Literature review

According to A. Hewings and M. Hewings (2006: 17), ‘[o]ur choice of language depends on such things as who is involved in the communication and the relationship between them, and what we hope to achieve through our communication’.

Pragmatic competence should be acquired at tertiary level in order to develop the students’ communicative competence. The students of Engineering are not usually considered to be well aware of the pragmatic principles as they mostly focus on professional terminology, but in case of service consultant-client communication linguistic politeness being one of the crucial pragmatic issues plays an important role.

Recently there has been focus on teaching pragmatics in the FL classrooms and it has been argued that ‘teachers need to provide students with a wide range of communicative activities for developing pragmatic ability’ (Felix-Brasdefer and Cohen, 2012: 665). Thus, it will also refer to the ESP classes including

English for Engineering. Our goal was to prove that despite this professional area usually deals with terminology it should as well be focusing on gaining pragmatic competence.

It has also been argued that language teaching should include instructional pragmatics. (Cohen and Ishihara, 2009: 16) It is essential for a language learner to be able to use definite linguistic patterns in order to participate in 'standard' real-life situations. A conversation between a technical consultant and a client is a common example of such situation.

Although the context is essential for developing pragmatic competence, speech acts in isolation as provided in textbooks are also useful for teaching pragmatics.

Even if the from more traditional speech act work do not precisely reflect actual discourse patterns, this material still provides both teachers and learners acceptable, if perhaps simplified, models for how speech acts can be performed. (Cohen, 2007: 4).

Thus, we can suggest that the dialogues designed for ELT materials are relevant for teaching pragmatics.

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggested that we often avoid using direct speech acts, because we do not want to perform face-threatening acts (Roziņa, 2011: 45). That is the reason why we use a variety of positive and negative linguistic politeness strategies. Certainly, the technical consultant cannot afford a face-threatening act towards a client, thus, the politeness strategies can be found in the example dialogues from the textbook.

## Methods

At an empirical level, the present research takes a qualitative perspective focusing on pragmatic interpretation of the ELT materials. Corpus of 5 dialogues consisting of 695 words was selected for analysis. All of the dialogues represented the telephone conversations between the service consultant and the client calling for technical support. Indirect questions and expressions of approval were chosen as a focus of the research as they hypothetically involved linguistic strategies of positive and negative politeness.

The selected conversational situations were not authentic dialogues; they were written for the educational purposes by the course book author and approved as an educational material.

## Results and discussion

The analysis of the obtained material revealed the extended use of linguistic strategies of positive and negative politeness according to Brown and Levinson (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2011: 46). The tables below enlist the examples of these strategies.

*Table 1 Strategies of positive politeness (the desire for approval)*

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Be optimistic	OK (12 times) Right (4 times) All right Oh right Great That's great 'I'm pleased to tell you' 'And I'm happy to say that we're going to give you five euros discount'
Offer sympathy	'I'm sorry to hear that'
Promise	'You will receive the goods by the end of the week' 'I'll talk you through it'
Include both a speaker and a hearer in the activity	'OK. Now let's look at the lights'
Notice hearer's interests, wants and needs	'What can I do for you?' – 2 times 'How can I help you?' 'What's up?' 'Let me just summarise the situation. You've told me that the adapter doesn't work and has never worked. Is that correct?'

The examples of negative politeness strategies have been found in the dialogues between a service technician and his colleague calling for technical support while talking to a stranger (the client) makes the technician choose positive politeness strategies. This finding suggests that the more informal are the relationships between the speaker and the hearer, the less the speaker is concerned about the possible contradiction between the business strategies and linguistic politeness strategies.

Thus, the negative politeness strategies are not desirable as they maximize the distance between the speaker and the hearer. Then it is more difficult to establish the cooperation between the client and the consultant. By using negative politeness strategies 'speakers can avoid imposing by emphasising the importance of the other's time and concerns, using apology and hesitation, or a question giving them the opportunity to say no' (Cutting, 2008: 45).

*Table 2 Strategies of negative politeness (the desire for something not to happen and not to be imposed on)*

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Apologize	'I do apologize for that. It must be our fault.'
Be pessimistic	'Are you sure you're typing the correct password?'
Be conventionally indirect	'Could you read the order number, please?'

As we can suggest, the service consultant must avoid disagreement with the client, thus, there should be no opportunities for the client to reject an offer or to refuse to be involved in solving the problem. It is another reason to use positive linguistic politeness strategies rather than negative ones.

It is essential to involve the hearer as he or she should follow the instructions precisely, because the solution of the problem depends solely on the telephone communication. The technician is trying to involve the hearer into the collaboration by addressing him/her (the pronoun 'you' is used 13 times), e.g. 'Now, have you connected your computer to the router?'; 'Have you done that?'

Moreover, the textbook offers the analysis of the communicative competence rules by asking the learners which communication rule has been broken by the service consultant. The answer in the teacher's book states that the technician should not have admitted it was the company's fault. As we can see from this example, the course books of Technical English provide an insight into pragmatic competence focusing not only on linguistic aspects of the foreign language studying, but also on the social context as well as the appropriateness of the language chosen for communication.

We can also notice that there are examples of direct and indirect instructions in the dialogues.

*Table 3 Direct and indirect instructions*

<b>Direct instructions</b>	<b>Indirect instructions</b>
First check the cable between the printer and your computer.	Is it loose?
Connect the cable. Now check the power.	Is the printer on?
Now check the paper.	Is there any paper in the printer?
Put some paper in the printer.	Are you sitting at the computer now?
Look at the back.	Are you sure that you're typing the correct password.

The analysis of the conversation shows that technical consultants use direct instructions as often as indirect ones. On one hand, indirect instructions can be interpreted as a sign of respect, therefore, representing linguistic politeness strategy, which is an essential part of business strategy. On the other hand, direct questions help the client understand the instruction better and, therefore, save time and avoid miscommunication, which is also important in order to solve the technical problem. Thus, there should be the balance between indirectness and directness to achieve the communicative goals. The technical consultant should not impose on the client, but he or she should be confident and persuasive enough in order to instruct the client. This contradiction results in a very careful choice of a linguistic strategy. 'Indirectness enables speakers to

address particular people but be polite by giving them options and retreating behind the literal meaning of the words' (Cutting, 2008: 44)

On one hand, the technical consultant possesses more knowledge to solve the problem. On the other hand, the client possesses more power as according to business strategies 'the client is always right'. The question remains – who should gain control of the situation?

The established distance between the speakers should be big enough to show respect to the client, but the situation should not be very formal as both participants have to cooperate to solve the problem. Thus, the choice of language in the particular context is supposed to be very careful as 'requests are, by definition, impositions, and the clash that they present with the rule of politeness is in need of resolution' (Horn and Ward, 2007: 71).

In order to avoid miscommunication, the client should not interpret the service consultant's utterances as offensive. The situation is more complicated by the fact that the client has a problem and might be under stress, which can provoke inadequate perception of the consultant's utterances. Thus, the technician must not perform any face-threatening acts. Indirect speech acts seem to be a solution as 'what looks on the surface like a question is actually a polite form of a directive or a request to perform an action' (Horn and Ward, 2007: 580).

It is also possible that the client shows uncooperativeness by not observing Grice's Cooperative Principle. The anxiety might result in disregarding the maxim of Quantity and Manner in particular as the client might not have sufficient relevant knowledge to explain the problem giving as much information as needed and remaining calm and orderly.

To conclude, we should say that although linguistic politeness is not considered to be one of the main aspects of language learning for Engineering students, it is still discussed in the course books and the students are given the opportunity to observe the use of pragmatic principles in technical discourse. The linguistic politeness strategies are not taught separately at a theoretical level, which might be a reasonable solution as students of Engineering are usually more motivated to study practical aspects of language and do not focus on their strategic competence.

## Conclusions

The research resulted in the following conclusions:

1. The course books suggest avoiding the use of negative politeness strategies.
2. There are no cases of miscommunication, but will it be the same in the real-life situations?
3. Consultants use indirect speech acts to increase the degree of politeness.

4. Informal relationships between the speakers suggest the use of negative politeness strategies.
5. Modesty Maxim contradicts with business strategies applied in the conversation with the client.

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# WENGLISH: PECULIARITIES OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURES AND SPEECH FORMS

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**Abstract.** The paper is devoted to Wenglish as a distinctive dialect form of English spoken in the Valleys of South Wales. It identifies structural and social linguistic standing of Wenglish taking into account the history and development of Wenglish, its relationship with other living speech forms, the linguistic situation in this part of Great Britain, its complex description and analysis of its structures and vocabulary. The following methods of investigation are applied here: (1) comparative analysis; (2) statistical analysis; (3) classification method; (4) quantitative analysis of the material; (5) sociolinguistic analysis; (6) interpretation analysis; (7) introspection.

**Key words:** Wenglish, regional dialects, language variations, literary standards, bilingualism

## What is Wenglish

Wenglish (Welsh English) is the term that has recently appeared to be in focus of linguistic and sociolinguistic research. The name was introduced by John Edwards in 1980s in his Talk Tidy books and can be defined as *a non-standard dialect form of English spoken in the South Wales Valleys*.

Wenglish is a combination of 'Welsh intonation and accent and the speech rhythms of spoken English' (Lewis, 2008: 9). Its origin dates back to the nineteenth century when workers from all over the country came to South Wales seeking for employment in the fast-growing coal-mining industry.

## The history of Wenglish

The history of Wenglish is fascinating and includes four periods: initial, a period of industrial and linguistic development and consolidation, classical, postclassical and modern (Lewis, 2008: 14).

The *initial* period (late eighteenth century – 1840s) is characterized by such factors as: iron industry, copper smelting and coal industry development which provided a considerable influx of workers from outside and increased population dramatically. During this period Welsh was the prevailing language with some infusions of spoken English.

The *second* period (1840-1900) provided all the opportunities for further economic growth, but the language situation was challenging: English was suggested the main medium of communication in South Wales Valleys. Its popularity was growing but for many people it was still a language of aliens. This caused many borrowings from Welsh, for example: *cwpwl* (couple), *to tamp mad* (to go mad), *cwrdd* (meeting – a church or chapel service), etc.

The *classical* period (1900-1939) was the Golden Age of Wenglish. Prestige and industrial prosperity of the Valleys contributed to the change of linguistic landscape: English attained leading positions replacing Welsh backward. ‘English was necessary if one wanted to get on’ (Lewis, 2008: 15).

The *postclassical* period lasted forty years (1940-1980). Wenglish was still under attack from Standard English and to some extent American English. Wenglish borrowed some features from Standard English, for example, diphthongization of simple vowel sounds.

The *modern* period (1980 – up to the present day) brought a greater exposure to Standard English. It has been everywhere: at home, at school, in the office, on TV, on the radio, etc. But the appearance of Talk Tidy made it clear that Standard English and Wenglish are not the same. Since 1985 Wenglish has been considered a unique regional dialect with its own phonology, grammar, lexis and speech forms.

The relationships between Standard English and Wenglish are always worth studying. Lewis in his book singles out two tendencies which cause changes in the dialect and in the standard language itself.

The first one is connected with borrowing some words and expressions from the standard language. Certainly, the dialect was subjected to the acquiring of new features, e.g. the mentioned diphthongization of certain vowel sounds.

The second tendency involves new forms. As to Wenglish, it is a further contraction of the contracted verb forms, e.g. *They an' taken* or *They never taken* (Lewis, 2008: 23).

## Phonology and Pronunciation

Wenglish phonetics is conditioned by its specific diachrony in the South Wales Valleys, interconnections of neighbouring English counties dialects, impact of the Welsh and English languages. If in some areas the pronunciation of many sounds and sound combinations is the same as in Standard English, in other areas there are considerable differences, besides the pronunciation of some sounds in Wenglish is different in different territories.

Linguists note that the most famous of phonological qualities attributed to the Welsh influence on Wenglish is the ‘singsong’ intonation of the language, with the tone usually rising, then falling at the end of a sentence. John H. Connolly writes that ‘as intonation in Welsh and other Celtic languages is

commonly distributed by stress and emotion rather than rigidly defined word inflections, nuclear pitch movement in Welsh English is often applied to the entire word, rather than just the tonic syllable of the sound unit' (Connolly, 1990: 126). This feature of Welsh can also be seen in the Wenglish use of long vowels. Alan Thomas explains that 'if a long vowel exists in a stressed syllable, the 'singsong' Celtic influence will support its length' (Thomas, 1994: 121).

*Wenglish consonants* don't differ from Standard English consonants, but to attain an authentic Wenglish pronunciation, it is recommended to take into consideration the following guidelines:

- Wenglish is usually non-rhotic, which means that /r/ is not pronounced before a consonant (as in *hard*) and at the ends of words (as in *far*), but generally shows the length of the preceding vowel.
- In the accents of South Wales the word-initial /h/ is usually dropped, due to this the accents are called *aitchless*.
- The inventory of consonants is augmented from Welsh by the voiceless alveolar lateral fricative *ɬ* (spelt *ll* as in *Llangollen*), the voiceless alveolar roll /ɾ/ (spelt *rh* as in *Rhyl*), and the voiceless velar fricative /χ/ (spelt *ch* as in *Pentyrch*).
- The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ are often aspirated in the initial position, as with /bʰad/ for *bad*, often heard by non-Welsh people as 'pad'. The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are often aspirated in all positions, as with /pʰipʰ/ for *pip*. Consonants between vowels are often lengthened, as in /mɪs:ɪn/ for *missing*, and /ap:i:/ for *happy* (*Online 1*).

*Wenglish vowel sounds* differ notably from those of Standard English. First of all, there exist 24 vowels in Wenglish: 7 short, 8 long and 9 diphthongs (there are no complex triphthongs in the language), which indicates a strong preference for monophthongal vowel sound to a broad RP vowel, employing the short /ɑ/ in 'dance' rather than the /a:/ of the RP accent, and the short /ʊ/ or schwa instead of the /ʌ/ in words like 'mud' or 'but'. According to Thomas and McArthur this preference is closely connected with another peculiarity of Wenglish phonology: the Celtic syllable break. They state that 'as Welsh is characterized by pure vowel sounds and the diphthongs consist of two such sounds with no liaison existing even between semivowels and vowels, many Welsh English speakers create a syllable break between the vowel sounds provided them in the English language, pronouncing for example 'beer' 'bee-uh' (/bi'-ʌ/), and 'poor' 'poo-uh'(/pʊ'-ʌ/)' ( Thomas, 1990: 100; McArthur, 2002: 107-108).

In the book '*Wenglish. The dialect of the South Wales Valleys*' Robert Lewis writes about 'a new marked feature of the speech of Cardiff and Newport which seems to be getting more widespread in Wenglish' – diphthongization. However, in order to achieve 'an authentic and distinctive Wenglish pronunciation, use of pure vowels, as in 'Classical' Wenglish is recommended'. He also introduces short and long murmur vowels, indicating that a short

murmur vowel is an indistinct vowel, something between the short /a/ and the short unrounded /u/. It has a similar pronunciation with the vowel sound of -er at the end of 'later' and in the word *the* as usually pronounced before a consonant. A long murmur vowel is the vowel which corresponds to the German /ö/ but without lip rounding, for example, 'fur', 'girl', 'sir' (Lewis, 2008: 35-37).

Among other peculiarities we cannot but mention the use of [e:] instead of the standard / ei / in such words as 'great' /greit/ or <date> /leit/ and such differences as: / ə / is pronounced instead of /ʌ /: /a'bəv/ 'above'; / ə / after diphthongs is not dropped, / j / appears before it: /fərjə/ 'fire'; / ə / between consonants can be dropped in Standard English /tɒl(ə)reɪt/ 'tolerate', in Wenglish dropping is impossible /tɒləret/.

## Grammar

Though Wenglish grammar does not differ much from West English dialects due to Anglicisation which has taken place here, its peculiarities are related to the influence of not only English but the Welsh language as well:

- Double or even multiple negation: *They didn't go nowhere*.
- The use of different forms of reflexive pronouns: *hisself, issself and theirselves instead of himself, itself and themselves respectively*: *He saw it for hisself*.
- Non-standard verb forms (*She catched it, He has broke it, The coat was all tore*).
- The use of reduplication for emphasis: *It was long-long ago*. In the Welsh language there is no distinction between clefting and pseudo-clefting as in English, so linguists explain this phenomenon by a Welsh influence conventionally unconcerned with dividing semantic importance with syntactical placement (Coupland and Thomas, 1990: 137).
- Widespread use of the analytical construction with the verb 'to do': *She do run*. This form is typical of Wenglish and is one of the peculiarities which differentiates Wenglish from Standard English. The form denotes a usual, habitual action. 'Using it is an immediate sign of good Wenglish!' (Lewis, 2008: 232).
- The use of the third person singular verb with a plural noun subject, e.g. *Mary and John is going to see us to-night*.
- The use of the verb + noun construction, while in Standard English there is a verb only, e.g. *to have an anch of* – to bite, *to have a lend of* – to borrow, etc.
- Very few cases of using the Subjunctive mood, e.g. *Long live the queen! Pity help!*
- The use of the gerund with the Welsh construction o + verb-noun, which means of + doing, e.g. *Of going to the local shopping centre, I'll*

*give you a lift* (As I'm going to the local shopping centre, I'll give you a lift).

- The use of the *-s* verb ending with all subjects in the present: *I goes to school an' they goes to work.*
- The non-use of the subject pronoun is also characteristic of Welsh-influenced English: *Saw 'im, bach. Saw 'im yesterday.*
- The syntactical use of the Welsh verb *bod*, having been transposed into the English language. In the Welsh language, '*bod* (*be*) is followed by a subject nominal, a predicator *yn* (semantically related to the English preposition *in*), and an uninflected verb-noun, as in:  
*Mae ef yn mynd i'r sinema bob wythnos.*  
(*He goes to the cinema every week*).  
(lit. 'is he in go to the cinema every week'). (Coupland and Thomas, 1990: 6).

Thomas illustrates this phenomenon with a variation on Coupland's example: *He do go to the cinema every week* (Thomas, 1990: 111); McArthur offers *he did go regular like* and *he do go to the rugby all the time* (McArthur, 2002: 135). This *be* confusion is also present in the general Celtic use of *will*, followed by zero, as an English modal auxiliary, as in *is he ready yet? – No, but he will in a minute* (Coupland and Thomas, 1990: 139). Just as Welsh and other Celtic languages do not require the *be* verb to supplement the existing one, so does Welsh English omit the extraneous word.

## Vocabulary

Although the Welsh influence on English is restricted and only few words of Welsh origin have survived in the English language, they are worth mentioning here. Words drawn from Welsh generally relate to culture and behaviour: *carreg* (a stone), *clennig* (a gift of money), *glaster* (a drink of milk and water), *iechyd da* ('yachy da') good health (a salutation or toast, from *iechyd* (health), *da* good); *hiraeth* (a profound, consuming longing for a place or person), *hwyl* (a sense of enthusiasm); terms of affection like *bach* and *del* (dear, honey) remain popular in Welsh English: *Like a drink, bach? Come near the fire, del.*

Some scholars promote a great number of words being derived from Welsh. As a rule, Welsh words are used to describe peculiarly Welsh customs or entities with no exterior currency, such as *eistedfodd* (a cultural festival unique to Wales), *cymaenfa* (a chapel singing festival unique to Wales), and *penillion* (a form of choral singing peculiar to Wales) (Thomas, 1994: 142; McArthur, 2002: 112).

It should be noted that words of Welsh origin are generally short words, of only one or two syllables, e.g., (from Radnorshire) *caib* (mattock) *Abal* (well-off) *Nychu* (languish) *towlants* (loft), etc.

Another word that is widely used in South Wales is *gran*. It means ‘neat and attractive appearance’, ‘good quality’ or ‘a job done with a polish and a finish about it, a work turned out showing the craftsmanship one expects from a real master’. ‘There’s a bit of *gran* on his work.’

Other words of Welsh flavor are *cwpwl* (couple), ejaculations, *jew jew* and *daro*. *Tampin* is another very expressive word, as in the sentence ‘the boss was tampin(g) mad’ the expression ‘to tamp mad’ means ‘to be very angry’.

David Parry, in his article on Newport English, in the *Anglo-Welsh Review*, notices a few words and idiomatic survivals: to *shiggle* (to shake), from the Welsh *siglo*, and ‘there’s nice it is.’ He singles out ‘the most notable of the words used in Newport English, and which he says appear to have been borrowed from adjacent English counties’ amongst them, the interjection *Bar cwtch!* (a warning for people to keep away from one’s place) (Online 2). *Less* is used in the sense conveyed by the Welsh word *llai*. It is common to hear: ‘There were less people present than usual’ rather than the more correct: ‘There were fewer people . . .’

Words that are shared by Welsh English and dialects of England include: *dap* to bounce, *lumper* a young person, *pilm* dust, *sally* willow, *steam* a bread-bin.

General English words with local colouring of meaning include: *delight* a keen interest, as in *She’s gettin’ a delight in boys*; *lose* to miss, as in ‘*Urry or we’ll lose the train*; *tidy* good, attractive, as in *Tidy ‘ouse you’ve got, bach*.

The form *boyo*, from *boy*, has a meaning of address and reference, and sometimes has a negative connotation: *That boyo is not to be trusted*.

Robert Lewis notes that ‘certain words and expressions in Wenglish are peculiar to one particular valley or community and might be completely unknown only a short distance away.’ He singles out some variations of speech which should be taken into consideration, for example, according to geographical location, age and on socioeconomic and educational lines. Geographical variation divides Wenglish into Western, Central and Eastern areas. Western area is characterized by a large number of borrowings from the Welsh language. The speakers of Wenglish in Central area, especially the young ones, tend to diphthongize some sounds. They use some words which are unfamiliar to the Western speakers, for example, ‘craxy’ (unhappy, discontent, angry), ‘wanged out’ (exhausted), ‘moithered’ (bewildered, confused), ‘bosh’ (sink). Eastern area has a number of borrowings from English dialects due to the close location to English counties and migration processes (Lewis, 2008: 21).

## Conclusion

The development of Wenglish has a two-century history, but until recently it has not been recognized as a valid dialect form of English. Thus, the

importance of studying Wenglish is worthy of note, because the discrepancy between dialect forms of English spoken in Wales and standard English can be seen on all language levels and is of systematic character. Regional forms of English are a part of the National curriculum today. Being also recognized as a part of regional cultural identity Wenglish seems to have all the possibilities to raise its prestige on the international level, not only in the South Wales Valleys.

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# A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH INTERJECTIONS IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

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**Abstract.** Today the questions connected with the meaning of interjections continue to attract linguists' attention from all over the world. Extensive research has been carried out to explore the hidden potentialities of these minute particles and yet no universal agreement has been reached (F. Ameka, A. Wierzbicka, T. Wharton, A. Sharonov and others). However, the general definitions given in most dictionaries that describe interjections as words expressing a speaker's emotions and having no meaning of their own seem insufficient and inaccurate. On the other hand, the assumption that a simple, two-syllable 'meaningless' word can accomplish a goal beyond this also presents a topic for debate and controversy. The pragmalinguistic approach to the study of interjections allows us to assert that interjections do *have* a meaning of their own and that in every particular context they are capable of producing new meanings. The present paper employs a corpus-based analysis of interjections to investigate the co-occurring patterns of English interjections in various conversational situations and to compare how they are used to convey messages which are not directly stated in the utterances. The results of the research show that the same interjection can have different, even contradictory meanings and acquire new ones.

**Key words:** interjections, pragmatics, spoken discourse, corpus-based analysis

## Introduction

In the recent years interjections have become a topic of close scrutiny and constant debate, arousing the interest of scholars from all over the globe. With so many different types of research and theories, it is apparent that interjections, like no other part of speech, present a source of endless discussion, ambiguity and controversy.

Most scientists stick to the seemingly obvious fact that interjections are particles devoid of any meaning. Some claim that these are words which do not decline or move from one class of words to another, i.e. change their part-of-speech meaning (Ameka, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1992; Wharton, 2003; Sharonov, 2009; Nikolaeva, 2006). Despite recognizing their rich semantic

structure, the latter propose that interjections do belong to the language system and are thus properly linguistic.

As opposed to this viewpoint, other scholars maintain that interjections are para-linguistic or even non-linguistic phenomena used to express feelings and emotions (Sapir, 1921; Miller, 1998; Goffman, 1978; Crystal, 1995). In this way interjections can easily be equalized to gestures or any other type of body language, which serves as a tool to clarify the emotional state of the speaker rather than the content of the message itself. This in its turn suggests that it could as well be left out without changing or distorting the intended meaning of the utterance.

Whilst agreeing upon the assertion that interjections cannot have a role as important as the more 'substantial' parts of speech, such as the noun or the verb, in terms of providing a full and comprehensive type of communication, we shall try to prove that interjections must by no means be overlooked or ignored by contemporary linguistic science. What is more, the present paper is an attempt to illustrate the new, yet undiscovered pragmatic potentialities of interjections in spoken discourse. In other words, we follow the assumption that interjections do not only possess a lexical, but also a connotative meaning which manifests itself under certain communicative situations upon the speaker's own intention.

## Literature Review

As we delve into many theories developed to understand the nature and meaning of interjections, we find that they are built around the idea of the semantic emptiness of the latter (Goffman, 1978; Trask, 1992). However, there are some linguists who have studied interjections from a more global perspective, which has deeply affected the kinds of research questions raised and the kind of methods employed in an attempt to answer them.

Thus, in his article 'Interjections, Language and the 'Showing/Saying' Continuum' (2003), Tim Wharton states that there are at least six arguments against the so called conceptualist view to interjections supported by Ameka (1992), Wierzbicka (1992) and Wilkins (1992). According to these linguists, interjections have a definite semantic and conceptual structure which can be explained or formulated. Wharton concurs with them on this adding that apart from communicating complex conceptual structures, interjections make communication achievable through *encoding* the latter. He also agrees that interjections are part of language since they have semantic content. Wharton, however, refuses to encode these structures by breaking down interjections into small chunks or segments of meanings, as Wierzbicka, for example, does for the interjection 'wow'. The suggested conceptual structure is as follows (1992: 68):

*Wow!*

I now know something  
 I wouldn't have thought I would know it  
 I think: it is very good  
 (I wouldn't have thought it could be like that)  
 I feel something because of that

Neither does he agree with the more complex structure proposed by Wilkins

*Wow!*

I/you have just now become aware of this something that I/you would not have expected  
 [or 'that I/you would not have thought I/you would become aware of']  
 This something is much more X than I would have expected, and this causes me/you to feel surprised, and to feel that I/you could not imagine this something being more X than it already is now. I/you say '/wau/' because I/you want to show how surprised (and impressed) I/you am feeling right now.  
 (Wilkins, 1992: 152)

In relation to this, Wharton claims that the meaning of *wow* cannot be 'rigorously defined' (2003: 6). Without denying the fact that interjections can communicate a great deal, he asserts that the range of communicative effects of *wow* may go well beyond anything 'capturable' in conceptual structures, especially when combined with intonation or facial expressions. We shall follow him on this and refer back to the points when presenting our own observations and analysis below.

Among the other arguments proposed in the above mentioned research paper we found context-dependence of interjections to be relevant for our investigation. In his work, Wharton grants special significance to pragmatic/contextual or *inferential* factors to the interpretation of interjections, which allows a deeper insight into the essence of the latter.

As for the place of interjections within the language paradigm, Wharton suggests they fall somewhere *between* the natural and the linguistic for they retain an element of naturalness and spontaneity and at the same time encode certain conceptual structure. [...] 'With tone of voice, facial expressions and even gestures, they share the property of being partly coded and partly natural' (2003a: 6).

As opposed to the conceptual account of interjections, Wharton suggests that 'alternative semantic treatments should be explored' (2003b: 8). In doing so, he develops the idea of analyzing interjections as non-truth-conditional indicators following the theories of Wilson and Sperber (1986), Austin

(1962), Searle (1969, 1979), and Grice (1975, 1989). But here too he finds certain drawbacks calling the existing speech-act and relevance theories too ‘restrictive’ (2003c: 13). He concludes that it is not possible to reveal the meaning of interjections merely in terms of propositions and propositional attitudes and that an adequate analysis of what interjections communicate should involve all of the above mentioned observations.

Undoubtedly, all these theories have greatly contributed to the contemporary study of interjections and we do agree with the authors in most respects. Nevertheless, there are two questions which, in our own view, require further investigation and clarification, namely: what is the pragmatic function of interjections and how it is actualized in spoken discourse?

Before answering these questions it is first of all vital to define what is meant by pragmatic function. As one of the most influential scholars in the field of discourse analysis and pragmatics, Teun A. van Dijk puts it ‘semantic and pragmatic functions are so close that they cannot be properly distinguished’ (1980: 1). In his article ‘The semantics and pragmatics of functional coherence in discourse’ van Dijk considers pragmatics to be the ‘third’ component of discourse, after semantics and syntax. From this standpoint, ‘pragmatics should also systematically account for utterances of natural language; whereas syntax accounts for abstract structures of expression types of such utterances, and semantics for the meaning and reference assigned to these expressions, pragmatics accounts for the systematic uses of such utterances as a particular type of social actions, viz. speech acts or illocutionary acts; in a wide sense of the term meaning, the pragmatics hence also contributes to the theory of meaning for utterances’. (1980a: 2) Instead of this illocutionary meaning van Dijk, however, speaks of pragmatic functions of utterances.

Another relevant aspect of pragmatics proposed by van Dijk is the so called *appropriateness conditions*, under which ‘an utterance functions as, or counts as, an appropriate speech act in some context. The appropriateness conditions are formulated in terms of structural features of the pragmatic context. And conversely, a pragmatic context may be defined as the set of features of a speech situation which may determine the appropriateness of speech acts’ (1980b: 3). Going back to Wharton’s view of context-dependence of interjections, we find the term ‘pragmatic context’ extremely suitable for our further analysis in which the choice of interjections is highly dependent upon the speech situation, as well as the speaker himself.

Now, since our research is based on the analysis of pragmatic functions of interjections in spoken discourse, we include here a short description of what is understood by the term. Today there exist many different definitions to the word ‘discourse’. The most widespread one often found in textbooks for students of linguistics is ‘language beyond sentence’. Dictionaries define it as ‘a connected series of utterances; a text or conversation’ (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary); or ‘formal and orderly and usually extended expression

of thought on a subject', 'connected speech or writing', etc. (Merriam-Webster English Dictionary). In linguistic theory, however, the term is interpreted from a much wider perspective. According to Deborah Cameron, discourse is 'language in use; language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context' (2001: 13). Russian linguist Grigorieva categorizes the term 'discourse' into three main classes: (1) discourse as a unit of communication inserted into speech situation; (2) discourse as a type of language used in social and political journalism; and (3) discourse as a form of language used in formal linguistics which tries to introduce elements of discursive concepts into generative grammar (2007: 9). And again the most relevant definition for the present research is the one given by Teun A. van Dijk, according to which discourse is understood as 'a particular form of language use, as well as a formal way of social interaction that can be defined as a communicative event in a social situation (interviews, conversations, meetings, discussions, etc.)' (1980c: 21) And since the corpus material used in the present paper came from television interviews and discussions, we find this definition sufficient to meet our research needs without further specifying the formal characteristic features of spoken discourse (structure, morphology, phonology, etc). In other words, we regard the selected examples as a form of spoken discourse.

## Methods

In order to answer the research questions mentioned above we have carried out a corpus-based research of 25 instances of the use of the English interjection *wow* in spoken American English. The research material came from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), one of the most popular corpora comprising more than 450 million words.

The corpus allows searching for exact words or phrases, or any combinations of these, as well as searching for surrounding words (collocates) or limiting searches by frequency and comparing the frequency of words, phrases, and grammatical constructions by genre (spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, academic, and even web-based English) and over time (compare different years from 1990 to the present time).

The development of corpus-based approaches to discourse analysis has undoubtedly facilitated the study of linguistic features. Researchers have employed several methodologies to conduct corpus-based studies (annotation, analysis, concordance, part-of-speech, etc.) For our analysis we have chosen the key word method, which consists in finding examples at random through typing a key word into the search box and later selecting the most suitable and interesting ones. The selection process obviously requires more time and effort, but the acquired data are still valid and reliable and can easily be adapted to the specific needs of the researcher. And since our main interest lies in the

investigation of the pragmatic potentialities of interjections, our aim is to reveal the co-occurring patterns of the use of interjections in spoken discourse and compare them in various contexts from pragmatic point of view.

## Results and Discussion

As long as there is no unanimous attitude to the semantic meaning of interjections, it is apparently difficult to further develop any assumptions about their pragmatic potentialities. But new interjections continue to appear in English, which testifies an absolute necessity of their existence. There is an opinion that one of the reasons for the emergence of new meanings of interjections is the lack of other linguistic means to follow the precise import of the utterance. As one of the online dictionaries, the Urban Dictionary, defines it 'Wow is an overused word used to make other people realize how bad they are by saying it loud enough everyone can hear. Some people use the word when they fail and got nothing better to say (Online 1).

Take, for example, the following conversation which is Fox News host Sean Hannity's reaction to Ken Pittman's interview with Martha Coakley, Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on the issue of religious freedom of U.S. citizens:

[...] believe what the pope teaches, you know, that any form of birth control is a sin, you don't want to do that -- that... MARTHA-COAKLEY-1D: No, but we have a separation of church and state here, Ken, let's be clear. PITTMAN: In the emergency room you still have your religious freedom. COAKLEY: The law says that people are allowed to have that. So then if you -- you can have religious freedom. You probably shouldn't work in the emergency room. PITTMAN: Wow. HANNITY: Wow is right. (Online 2)

Pittman's *wow* here well supports one of the traditional implications of this interjection given in most dictionaries: that of showing surprise. As for Hannity's *wow*, however, the interpretation is not so straightforward.

To begin with, he repeats the same word thus emphasizing the appropriateness of its use. If we followed the conceptualists' view on the semantic emptiness of interjections according to which *wow* means nothing, this would suggest that Hannity repeated nothing, or at least a combination of letters that *meant* nothing.

Here, though, it is obvious that *wow* was used to show surprise, disagreement or perhaps even disapproval of Coakley's views. It is hard to think of an utterance to replace the interjection, which is in its turn proved by Hannity's subsequent use of it.

In other words, even though disagreement and disapproval are not among the common meanings of *wow*, it is possible to understand them within certain

contexts with little or no difficulty for the speakers involved, which, however, can often be challenging for an outsider. To illustrate this, let us look at another example:

GOLDBERG: Right. ! SIMON: Do you say, 'Forget it. I don't want this stuff'?! GOLDBERG: I don't do that because they are basically the only game in town. ! SIMON-1voice-over: But today won't be one of those days for Goldberg. With a camera recording the only game in town, De Beers wouldn't want a disappointed client. ! GOLDBERG: Wow. ! SIMON-1on-camera: **Is 'Wow'** good?! GOLDBERG: Yeah. Yeah. I love this guy here. (Online 3)

The excerpt here does not provide enough contextual information for an unequivocal interpretation of the meaning of *wow*. Moreover, the addressee himself needs further clarification of the speaker's intended meaning to be able to continue the interaction. This is where the pragmatic function of *wow* comes into being. It is therefore unpredictable which of the numerous meanings of the same interjection a speaker might be employing in a specific situation to communicate a message.

Such examples are quite frequent. Let us look at the following ones:

[...] I think that was my reaction in my head, was like, **wow**. (Online 4)

Or:

Today we got strange new details about what Karr had claimed. And all I can say **is -- wow!** (Online 5)

Our study led us to even more curious observations, such as the excerpt below:

[...] Let's look at just a few of them. Let's switch maps and take a look. Let's go to the national map. There is no question -- no question at all that in the state of Nevada, the Latino vote is critical. Let's take a look here: 26.5 percent, little more than a quarter of the vote in Nevada will be Latino voters. That's up a little bit from 2008. Back then, look at that. That's a **wow**. Seventy-six percent in Nevada went for President Obama. (Online 6)

It is of course easy to guess the meaning of *wow* here, but what immediately attracts attention is its unusual combination with the indefinite article. This contradicts the above mentioned idea of the indeclinability of interjections for in this particular example *wow* is used as a noun. Furthermore, *wow* can also be an adjective or even a verb, as in these extracts:

[...] I know Bob thinks that Bill Clinton is -- is just **wow** popular in California, but if you get a Californian on the ticket with, say, Bob Dole, I think it's going to be tough for Clinton to win California, a state he has to win. (Online 7)

Or:

[...] Next, Johnny Depp's dream dinner date and Jamie Foxx's -- Jamie Foxx is going to wow the audience. We'll be right back. (Online 8)

## Conclusions

As already discussed above, the so called 'human' factor emerges in linguistic research as frequently as ever before. So, the subject of pragmatics, which is the study of the speaker's choice of particular linguistic units, which they consider appropriate in terms of situation and addressee, seems to broaden its scope of concept and cover all the existing cognitive sciences, including corpus linguistics. Every time we speak we use certain vocabulary and grammar depending on where we are or who we are speaking to, bestowing those words and grammatical structures with shades of meaning which appear in a concrete speech act and disappear as the conversation ends. So, corpus-based studies provide a unique opportunity to ensure a wider and more in-depth analysis of such instances through large quantities of research material such as spoken discourse, for example. And as a complex communicative phenomenon, discourse comprises not only the text, but also other extralinguistic factors such as knowledge about the world, opinions, addresser/ addressee, communicative intentions, etc.

But what is the role and place of interjections within this realm? Can we, as speakers, add to the already existing and commonly accepted meanings of interjections new meanings just on the spur of the moment? If yes, what are the motives and principles for doing so?

The pragmatic function of interjections is usually displayed in particular speech situations when there is lack of precision in the meaning of the utterance or when the speaker wants to add emotionality or subtle shades of meaning without using words directly denoting them. In this respect interjections are irreplaceable linguistic means fulfilling such a pragmatic function.

All the presented case studies also allow us to argue that despite being short spontaneous words or phrases interjections can be used alone either as integral utterances or sentence substitutes, or in combination with other words. What is more, they can even serve as other parts of speech within the sentence, like nouns or adjectives, bearing specific denotative meanings. But whatever form they take they always possess a cognitive content which, in most cases, can be inferred from the context or the speakers' shared background knowledge.

In other words, due to the fact that new interjections continue to appear in English, they can no longer be isolated from the language system proper. They constantly expand their scope of meaning and application thus acquiring new roles and functions. However, these functions, both semantic and pragmatic, still require extensive empirical research. We believe that our conclusions prepare a good basis for further analysis and discussion.

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# STYLISTIC PECULIARITIES OF CODE-SWITCHES IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN PRINTED TEXTS OF MASS MEDIA

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**Abstract.** Code-switches are an integral part of modern journalistic style. Code-switches are structural parts of the Guest Language in the utterance in the Matrix Language which carry out definite pragmatic functions and, as it was found out in the research, stylistic ones. The data for the research are modern magazines in English and Russian (*Elle*, *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Glamour*, etc.). The subject of the research is stylistic functions of code-switches into English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Latin in the texts of articles and in headlines. The stylistic analysis reveals that code-switches may lack any stylistic function if they serve only for logical information communication. Also, they can be used as a stylistic device (allusion, antithesis, epithet, humor, irony, oxymoron, parallelism, periphrasis, pun) and as expressive means (introducing colloquial and idiomatic words and phrases of the Guest Language into texts, rheme markers, creating a 'presence effect')\*.

**Key words:** code-switch, Matrix Language, Guest Language, journalistic style, stylistic function, stylistic device, expressive means

## Introduction

Modern so-called 'glamour' Russian and English magazines, printed texts of mass-media, are equally full of code-switches that differ greatly in structure, graphics and pragmatic and stylistic functions. *Code-switches* are the central notion of the research. According to Isaeva, a *code-switch* is a structural unit (a morpheme, a word, a phrase, a simple or complex sentence, part of a complex sentence, a set of sentences) of the Guest Language in the utterance in the Matrix Language; the use of this structural unit does not violate the grammar rules of the Matrix Language. This structural unit also carries out definite pragmatic functions and is capable of being a stylistic means (Исаева, 2009: 170).

*The Matrix Language* (or the frame language), according to Carol Myers-Scotton, determines the morphosyntactic frame of the utterance with

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\* The research reported in this article was fully supported by a grant from the Russian Humanitarian Science Foundation (No. 13-34-01232).

code-switches; *the Guest* (or Embedded) *Language* contributes to the Matrix Language different content elements (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 234). In this research we stick to the definitions of the Matrix and Guest Languages, given by C. Myers-Scotton.

At present code-switches, the Matrix Language and the Guest Language are the principal terms of *contact linguistics*, a promising, developing linguistic discipline. The subject, object and methods of this discipline were introduced by Myers-Scotton in her book *Contact Linguistics* in 2002 (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Besides code-switches, it focuses on the investigation of borrowings, different types of interference, Creole languages and pidgins. Contact linguistics researches the semantic and grammatical structure of languages in contact.

## 1 Code-switches as part of journalistic style

### 1.1 The features of modern journalistic style

Journalistic style comprises several substyles. One of them is newspaper-publicistic. Magazines belong to this substyle. The features of journalistic style define the stylistic peculiarities of code-switches in the headlines and articles of Russian and English magazines. A functional style is, according to Arnold, the language subsystem that has its own peculiarities in the use of lexis, syntax and phonetics (Арнольд, 2002: 246). The features of modern journalistic style were analyzed by many linguists, among them Arnold (2002), Golub (2010), Kozhina (2008), Lekant (2007), Pleshchenko (2001) and others. Let us consider some of these features, relevant to the present research.

First of all, the area of journalistic style is mass communication. But some of the researchers point out that nowadays we may observe fragmentation of target groups of publicistic editions (e.g. magazines). It means that 'small groups of population exchange images created on their own, this process is called blip-culture' (Bakulev, 2005: 150). Thus, the area of some publicistic editions and, particularly, modern magazines and newspapers has become much narrower. We hypothesize that code-switches may be one more means of target groups fragmentation. This mainly concerns the magazines with the main topics of making a career abroad, studying abroad, travelling. They imply the readers with a special kind of interests and hobbies. In such 'women's magazines' as *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, the code-switches used by journalists refer to the thematic sets of fashion and cosmetics. Code-switches are a means of creating 'fashion language' that can be understood by the readers who are vigorously interested in world's fashion or work in this sphere.

Secondly, in journalistic style informative and expressive functions are combined (Кожина, 2008: 109). In some editions information predominates, in others - expressiveness. This depends on the themes and target group of a magazine or a newspaper. The informative function implies that information

is addressed to all native speakers. The swift transferring of information is also very important. Thus, journalists pay much attention to the choice of lexis. In this case one may raise the question: is it justified to use code-switches in publicistic editions? If code-switches serve the purpose of the target groups fragmentation discussed above, their use is justified and does not contradict the main aim of a magazine. The use of foreign units in publicistic editions also helps the expressive function a lot. The journalist convinces readers with the help of emotional impact while using different expressive means. According to Dibrova, one of such expressive means is foreign units: borrowings, 'foreignisms', 'exotisms'. In our research the latter two types of foreign units stand for code-switches: foreignisms are defined as words, parts of sentences and sentences of the other language in the utterance in Russian, exotisms are foreign words or phrases that denote an unknown to a person thing or a notion characteristic of some other culture (Диброва et al., 1995: 306).

Thirdly, expressive means, according to Chirsheva, carry out gnoseological and pragmatic functions. The gnoseological function stands for explaining, proving, making one's thought more concrete and convincing; the pragmatic function stands for creating the evaluative effect (pathos, sarcasm, irony, solemnity, condemnation, etc). The scholar includes code-switches in the list of expressive means (Чиршева, 1994: 160). Code-switches, according to Chirsheva, serve in Russian and English magazines these two functions: by the gnoseological function they help to actualize the informative function of the journalistic style, by the pragmatic function – partly its expressive function.

So, we may infer that code-switches in magazines, as publicistic editions, represent both informativity and expressivity.

## 1.2 The stylistic function of code-switches

Representing expressivity in publicistic editions, code-switches carry out a great variety of stylistic functions in texts of articles and their headlines, printed texts of mass media. Journalists use code-switches both as an expressive means and a stylistic device (a trope or a figure of speech). The difference between expressive means and stylistic devices, as many linguists underline, is often quite slight. Both of them are examined by lexical stylistics. According to Galperin, we differentiate these two notions in the following way:

1. 'An *expressive means* (phonetic, lexical, morphological or syntactical) intensifies emotionality of speech and serves for logical emphasizing some part of sentence' (Гальперин 1958: 45). The most typical expressive means are set phrases, proverbs, sayings, inversion, repetitions on different levels of language, interjections, colloquial words and expressions and some others. The scholar underlines that the analysis of expressive means is still incomplete and the list of expressive means is open.

2. ‘A *stylistic device* is an intentional literary handling of some language fact’. Lexical stylistic devices are metaphor, metonymy, irony, antonomasia, epithet, oxymoron, hyperbole, euphemism etc. The use of a stylistic device signals the author’s attempt to ascribe a connotative meaning to the word in some context (Гальперин, 1958: 122-169).

There are two opposite views on the stylistic function of code-switches:

1. Code-switches lack any stylistic meaning and they are necessary only for inserting untranslatable lexical units in the text, i.e. for logical information. Journalists themselves point out that very often there are no lexical equivalents of some modern notions which they are eager to introduce into the text of the article. The ex-editor-in-chief of the magazine *Elle* remarks that it was even hard to ‘push the key-word “glamour” through the Russian vocabulary’, but they still don’t have adequate equivalents of such fashion notions as ‘must-haves’, ‘understated chic’, ‘oversize’, etc. in Russian. Journalists have to use an original foreign word, they have to work as fashion linguists (Сотникова 2003: 53).
2. Code-switches may be both expressive means and stylistic devices.

We suggest all code-switches should be classified into three types by their stylistic meaningfulness in bilingual discourse:

1. Code-switches lacking any stylistic meaning and conveying only logical information.
2. Code-switches taking part in composing a stylistic device (irony, pun, oxymoron, periphrasis etc.).
3. Code-switches serving as an expressive means: a) as the units of colloquial style, introducing colloquial speech into the utterance while indicating some peculiarities of a person’s speech, b) as the means of logical emphasizing of some sentence parts, c) as set phrases of the Guest Language, d) as the means of creating, according to Pleshchenko (Плещенко 2001), the ‘effect of presence’ or, in other words, creating a local colouring (geographical and proper names, names of national cuisine and phenomena of another culture, e.g. films, exhibitions, restaurants, cafes, streets, squares, etc.).

So, we include proper and geographical nouns in the Guest language in the list of expressive means for bilingual discourse.

The first type of code-switches contributes to the informative function of journalistic style a lot, the second and the third – to its expressive function.

In Russian and English data there are code-switches of all the three types. But code-switches in Russian and English magazines have some stylistic peculiarities.

## 2 Data

The *object* of our research the texts – articles and headlines – of popular Russian and English magazines. The *subject* is functional (stylistic) peculiarities

of code-switches. The *data* for our research are 1902 code-switches from 69 issues of magazines, both in Russian and English: *Elle*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Vogue*, *Обучение за рубежом/Study and Training Abroad*, *Иностранные языки и учеба за рубежом*, *GEO*, *MINI*, *Yes!*, *Glamour*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Marie Claire* dated 1999-2013 and chosen randomly. The main topics of these magazines are fashion, beauty, studying foreign languages, travelling, building one's career abroad, national cuisines and some others. Thus, the use of code-switches is justified in the publicistic editions under consideration. It is important to note that all the analyzed articles are original, not translated ones due to the multinational editorial board of the magazines. This is especially meaningful for Russian editions.

In Russian magazines the Matrix Language is Russian, the Guest Languages are English, French and German; in English magazines the Matrix Language is English, the Guest Languages are French, German, Spanish, Latin and Italian.

### 3 Stylistic analysis of code-switches

#### 3.1 Code-switches in Russian magazines

In the analyzed Russian magazines there are all stylistic types of code-switches. The majority (60%) are expressive means, 36 per cent are code-switches lacking any stylistic meaning, 4 per cent of foreign units are stylistic devices. Let us consider the examples of both kinds of code-switches in the Russian texts of mass-media.

1. 'Osen' predлагає vsevozmozhnye pal'to: ukorochennye, s poyasom, *oversize*'

Autumn offers all possible coats: shortened, with a belt, oversize (*Cosmopolitan* 2009, No. 2: 442).

The code-switch into English *oversize* in the Russian sentence lacks stylistic meaning and serves as part of logical information. *Oversize* means clothes several sizes larger than a person's normal size, but this is a style solution. There is no precise equivalent of this word in Russian. So, the journalist uses a graphically unassimilated code-switch.

2. 'To bikini or not to bikini? –vopros dlya pervyh modnits v mire byl reshen...'

To bikini or not to bikini? – this problem was solved by the most fashionable women of the world... (*Elle* 2003, No. 7: 47).

The code-switch into English is the allusion to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The author of the article paraphrased the famous quote. The question 'to be or not to be' is the question of life and death for Hamlet. For women-fashionmongers the question 'to bikini or not to bikini' has the same importance as for the prince. By means of the code-switch the journalist mocks the women who care too much about their clothes. Thus, irony is created with the help of an allusion, and the code-switch is a stylistic device.

3. '*hot couture*' (Elle 2003, No.4: 166). The code-switch into English and French in the Russian magazine is the example of a stylistic device - pun (word-play). The pronunciation of the English adjective 'hot' partly resembles the pronunciation of the French word 'haute' (haute couture). So, the journalist means summer fashion and haute couture fashion at the same time.

4. 'Anton predpochitaet Orehovo-Zuevo Style'

Anton prefers Orehovo-Zuevo Style (Glamour 2007, No. 11: 350).

The code-switch into English is the means of expressing irony. Orehovo-Zuevo is quiet a small Russian town. So, it is ridiculous to discuss the style of its inhabitants in fashion terms. In this context the use of the foreign graphically unassimilated word 'style' creates the comic effect. Also the code-switch is used as a stylistic device – oxymoron, for the attribute 'Orehovo-Zuevo' contradicts the noun 'style'.

5. 'Stoilo nam vyiti na ulitsu, kak ona vmig ozhila i zaburlila. "Hello,boss! Ne prohodite mimo – u nas samiy luchshiy rafting. Haf, praiz, boss!" "Hello, miss, massage?"'

As soon as we went out into the street, it brightened up and seethed.  
 'Hello, boss! Come to us – we have the best rafting. Half price, boss!'  
 'Hello, miss, massage?' (MINI 2007, No. 9: 186).

The code-switches into English are graphically assimilated (in the original all are written with in the Cyrillic script) and represent colloquial speech. Thus, they are expressive means.

6. 'Amerikantsy gordyatsya svoey istoriey, i kazhdyyi shtat imet svoy nickname' Americans are proud of their history, and every state has its own nickname (Study and Training Abroad, 2002, No. 2: 62).

The code-switch into English logically emphasizes the sentence rheme: American states' nicknames. So, the code-switch is an expressive means.

7. 'Le Bristol. Otel' Le Bristol, sosedstvuyushchiy s luchshimi Domami vysokoy mody v Parizhe na ulitse Fobyr Sent-Onore, nedavno obzavelsya ocherednoy prelestnoy traditsiyei – 'modnymy subbotami'.

Le Bristol. Recently the hotel Le Bristol that is next to the best haute couture fashion houses in Paris in the street Faubourg Saint-Honore, has introduced one more lovely tradition – 'fashion Saturdays' (Elle 2003, No. 1: 94).

The code-switch into French is a proper noun (the name of the hotel). This foreign unit serves the means of creating 'the effect of presence': the journalist tells us about the French fashion and uses the authentic names that represent some key fashion events. The code-switch is an expressive means.

8. 'Se la vie ... u se l'été...'

This is life ... and this is summer (Cosmopolitan 2002, No. 6: 118).

This is a distorted quote of the well-known French idiomatic phrase (*c'est la vie*). The code-switch is an expressive means. But we also can observe

syntactical and lexical parallelism (*se la, se l'*). The journalist compares life to summer and makes these two notions equal due to parallelism. So, in this case the code-switch is also a stylistic device.

All said above proves that code-switches in Russian magazines are stylistically meaningful. Sometimes they combine different stylistic functions – an expressive means and a stylistic device. Code-switches in Russian editions help journalists to realize the expressive function of the journalistic style and to attract readers' attention.

### 3.2 Code-switches in English magazines

In the English magazines under consideration there are also all stylistic types of code-switches. But code-switches used as a stylistic device are quite numerous – 11 per cent of foreign units. The stylistic devices based on code-switches are more various and numerous compared with the Russian data. Besides oxymoron, pun, irony, humour, sarcasm, parallelism, allusion we come across periphrasis, epithet, antithesis. 61 per cent of the code-switches are expressive means, 28 per cent of the foreign units lack stylistic meaning and serve as part of logical information (e.g. they are fashion terms with no full equivalents in English). Let us consider the code-switches that either lack stylistic meaning or, on the contrary, carry out the stylistic function in the English texts of mass-media.

1. ‘Toms, a line of casually chic canvas slip-ons, modeled after Argentine *alpargatas*, is now at the crux of a do-gooder’s crusade’ (Elle 2009, No. 2: 95). The code-switch into Spanish *alpargatas* lacks stylistic meaning and serves as part of logical information. *Alpargatas* are canvas shoes with a hemp sole or hemp sandals. There is no precise lexical equivalent in the Matrix Language. The journalist prefers a code-switch to a long descriptive phrase.
2. ‘Instead of looking like I’m carrying a small pack around my waist, my new interest in Pilates has given me sleek *minaudière* of a tummy’ (Elle 2011, No. 7: 110). The code-switch into the French *minaudière* is used to form a stylistic device – contextual antithesis: the French *minaudière* ('makeup kit, cosmetic bag') is opposed to the word 'pack' as something diminutive and with a good shape to something rather big and shapeless.
3. ‘The designers’ onset endorphins are residual, left over from the fashion show they delivered the day before, which was a *molto, molto Italiano* ode to the golden age of Italian cinema, a testament, if you will, to their rich body of work, with cinched waists, corsets, and lace frocks rendered with their signature Italian flair’ (Elle 2012, No. 3: 485). The code-switch into Italian *molto, molto Italiano* ('very, very Italian') is an epithet with intensifiers. With the help of this stylistic device the

journalist underlines that the fashion show was fully devoted to Italian classical fashion design.

4. ‘Karl Lagerfeld must be pleased: The *Kaiser’s* favourite jewelry house... recently opened a boutique in the city of Light’ (Elle 2009, No.2: 86). The code-switch into German is a stylistic device: periphrasis. Using the code-switch *Kaiser* (‘king’), the author of the article underlines the leading role of Karl Lagerfeld in the fashion house Chanel. Also the journalist hints at the origin of the fashion designer.
5. ‘*Fête-a-porter*’ (Elle 2009, No. 2: 45). The code-switch into French is a pun: the graphics and pronunciation of the French word ‘*fête*’ (‘celebration, holiday’) partly coincides with the French word ‘*prêt*’ (‘ready-made’). Compare the code-switch with the phrase ‘*prêt-a-porter*’ (‘a ready-made dress’). With the help of the pun the journalist invents a new phrase with the meaning of ‘a dress for some celebration’.
6. ‘Then? After pilfering loot from their spring/summer 2012 show, Stefano returns in front of the camera wearing door – knocker – size chandelier rhinestone earrings and mamboesque headpiece covered in silk flowers. “*Pronti!*” he shouts, striking a diva pose’ (Elle 2012, No. 3: 494). The code-switch into Italian *pronti* (‘ready’) is an expressive means that introduces an Italian designer colloquial speech.
7. ‘*Broderie anglaise* lends a delicate accent to the latest ladylike separates’ (Elle 2009, No. 2: 56). The code-switch into French *broderie anglaise* (‘English embroidery’) logically highlights the sentence rheme. The journalist deliberately uses the foreign word that has a full lexical equivalent in the Matrix Language to emphasize the most important part of the utterance.
8. ‘On Jessica this look is like young Hollywood meets *la dolce vita* Rome’ (Elle 2013, No. 1: 129). The code-switch into Italian is a well-known set phrase. Also the code-switch is the allusion to Fellini’s famous Italian film about a carefree luxurious life of a beautiful young actress Silvia. So, the journalist compares the life of Jessica and Silvia by means of the code-switch that represents both an expressive means and a stylistic device.
9. ‘British singer Florence Welch *veni vidi vici*-es in Italy’s Eternal City’ (Elle 2012, No. 10: 116). The code-switch into Latin is Caesar’s well-known saying used as an expressive means. The journalist uses it to describe the great flash success of the singer in Italy.
10. ‘Taty – so much more vivid than anyone I met growing up in Toronto – lived in Paris’ Montparnasse district, in a small but *soigné* apartment adored with sun -welcoming windows, a couch as white and fluffy as whipped cream, and an equally white and cottony poodle, Peluche, who had a penchant for *jambon*, *saucisson*, and a good *Camembert*’ (Elle 2012, No. 4: 122). All the code-switches into French help the author

to create the effect of presence: while telling readers about the aunt's life in Paris, he uses '*soigne, jambon, saucisson*' that have full lexical equivalents in English ('neat, ham, sausage') to make the description of the aunt's French life more picturesque. Thus, all the code-switches are expressive means.

The examples discussed above point out that code-switches in English 'glamour' magazines may be stylistically meaningful. The most interesting examples are the ones that represent a code-switch as a stylistic device. As we may see, the code-switches in English publicistic editions can serve both as an expressive means and stylistic device simultaneously.

## Conclusions

In the 'glamour' magazines of the last decade code-switches are the source of logical information and the way of making the texts of mass media more expressive. As we could see above, units from many languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin) of various size (words, phrases, sentences) and of various types of graphic assimilation function in Russian and English magazines. So, they are an integral part of modern journalistic style.

Code-switches are a very complex language phenomenon. Contact linguistics analyzes psycholinguistic, structural, pragmatic and stylistic aspects of foreign units. It works out the detailed algorithms for the analysis of code-switches, structural and psycholinguistic models that help to define the primary reasons for the use of code-switches by applying the semantic levels of mental lexicon. This paper presents only a small part of code-switches' analysis, revealing the interrelation of pragmatic and stylistic functions.

Code-switches in magazine articles and headlines show a diversity of stylistic functions. English magazines are especially rich in examples that are interesting from the stylistics point of view. While interpreting the stylistic meaning of the foreign units under analysis, we addressed both the micro- and macrocontext: microcontext in this research is a sentence, whereas macrocontext is the full text of an article. Thus, the analysis of the stylistic aspect of code-switches has much in common with text interpretation and exploits its methods. This research, as all papers connected with code-switches, is interdisciplinary.

One of the further research perspectives is to enlarge the research material and to analyze stylistic peculiarities of code-switches from 'glamour' magazines in French, German and other languages. One more perspective consists in a complex (structural, graphic, psycholinguistic, functional) analysis of code-switches with stylistic analysis as its integrated part.

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- Cosmopolitan* (2007, No. 3, 11).
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# TEACHING ESP COLLOCATIONS USING AUTHENTIC MATERIALS

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**Abstract.** Collocational competence is a part of communicative language competence; the lack of collocational competence results into artificial language use. However, becoming collocationally competent is complicated for non-native speakers, as they do not have a vast collection of ready-made language in their mental lexicon that they retrieve at a fast rate and use immediately. One of the most prominent researchers in the field is Lewis (1993, 1997), who popularized the Lexical Approach, which forms the theoretical framework of the current study. One of the most useful tools for teaching collocations is corpus analysis, as stated by Nation (2001), Reppen in Tomlinson (2011), and others. Thus, teaching ESP collocations is a widely researched theme, which means that this field is necessary for the learners and needs further investigation. The aim of the work is to find out the most effective techniques of teaching ESP collocations to bachelor programme pre-experience students of three higher education establishments. The methods of the study are quasi-experiment and case study. The basic findings of the study show that the tasks of the Lexical Approach developed on the basis of corpora analysis data have enabled the undergraduate programme students to recognize and later use the collocations in speech and written sentence production.

**Key words:** collocations, ESP, authentic materials, corpus analysis, collocational competence

## Introduction

The present paper focuses on teaching collocations in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) using authentic materials. Being collocationally competent is essential nowadays; following Hill in Lewis (2000: 62), it makes the learners ‘more communicatively competent’. Communicative language competence plays a vital role for ESP students, as the lack of it may undermine their future careers.

The paper focuses on teaching ESP collocations using authentic materials. The activities employed for teaching ESP collocations are chosen among those offered by Lewis (1997) within the framework of Lexical Approach.

The goal of the present paper is to discuss the most effective techniques of teaching and learning ESP collocations to bachelor programme pre-experience students.

The hypothesis of the paper is formulated in the following way: employing authentic materials in ESP classroom might improve bachelor programme pre-experience learners' collocational competence.

The research population consists of 36 Modern Languages and Business Studies BA (Bachelor of Arts) programme students of the University of Latvia, 50 Veterinary Medicine second level professional higher education programme students of Latvia University of Agriculture and 65 Law BL (Bachelor of Laws) programme students of Riga Stradiņš University.

The empirical part of the paper describes three researches that were conducted, and includes the description of the research methods, results and conclusions.

## 1 Theoretical background

The theoretical background of the study reviews such notions as *collocational competence* and the Lexical Approach, paying special attention to the activities for teaching collocations. The concept of *authentic materials* and, in particular, *corpus analysis*, is also discussed.

### 1.1 Collocational competence

First of all, it is essential to define the term *collocation*. Collocations 'are those combinations of words which occur naturally with greater than random frequency' (Lewis, 1997: 25). According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1992: 46), 'collocation refers to the restrictions on how words can be used together, for example, which prepositions are used with particular verbs, or which verbs and nouns are used together'. The characteristic features of collocations are their naturalness, conventionality and non-random occurrence. It is stated that 'A student with a vocabulary of 2,000 words will only be able to function in a fairly limited way. A different student with 2,000 words, but *collocational competence* with those words, will also be far more *communicatively competent*' (Hill in Lewis, 2000: 62). Thus, collocational competence is discussed next.

Collocational competence can be defined as the knowledge and correct use of collocations in spoken and written communication (following Hill in Lewis, 2000: 49-50). Acquiring collocational competence causes significant difficulties for the learners. 'The knowledge of and the ability to use prefabricated units are thus essential for the language learner; unfortunately, [...] they also pose considerable difficulties, even for the advanced learner' (Nesselhauf, 2005: 2). Collocations often cause problems for non-native speakers, as they cannot acquire collocations naturally. Moreover, 'lack of competence in this area forces

students into grammatical mistakes because they create longer utterances because they do not know the collocations which express precisely what they want to say' (Hill, year, in Lewis, 2000: 49). In order to be successful communicators, which is particularly important for ESP students, whose communication skills are linked to their jobs, the learners have to know collocations

To summarize, collocational competence is directly linked to communicative language competence; acquiring it is both important and difficult.

## 1.2 The Lexical Approach

The discussion of the ways of teaching collocations will start with analyzing the Lexical Approach introduced by Lewis and will be followed by describing the activities aimed at the learners' collocational competence development.

It is argued that the Lexical Approach, 'popularized by the writer Michael Lewis (1993, 1997) is based on the assertion that 'language consists not of traditional grammar and vocabulary but often of multi-word prefabricated chunks' (Lewis 1997: 3)' (Harmer, 2004: 91). Collocations, idioms, fixed and semi-fixed phrases fall in this category.

The Lexical Approach is both praised (e.g. by Ribisch (1999) and Barfield (1995) quoted in Lewis (1997: 12-14)) and criticized (e.g. Harmer (2004: 92) claims that that 'no one has yet explained how the learning of fixed and semi-fixed phrases can be incorporated into the understanding of a language system'). Nevertheless, the author of the study considers it to be a powerful tool for teaching collocations. There are several sets of activities based on it, which are discussed next.

The first task type is labeled as *text search*. Lewis (1997: 108-112) proposes the following activities:

- asking the learners to look for 'different kinds of chunks [...] such as [...] *Adjective + Noun* collocations, expressions with the verb (*call*) [...]' (ibid. 108);
- scanning the text to find and underline nouns, and then reading it without time limit, to find the 'partner verbs' (ibid. 109);
- performing *Green Cross Code*: 'When you see a word, even a word with which you are familiar, stop, look left, look right, look left again, and, when satisfied, proceed' (Brown, 1994 cited in Lewis, 1997: 111);
- looking for pronouns, as these 'usually replace previously mentioned nouns' (Lewis, 1997: 111).

The second set of exercises is connected with *matching*. Lewis (1997, 2000) offers the following tasks:

- phrase matching, when 'after reading a text learners are given a set of incomplete phrases taken from the text and asked to complete

them, either by scanning the text again, or by matching from a list of alternatives' (1997: 114);

- *spaghetti matching* (the term used by Lewis, 1997: 115), during which the words that have to be matched are 'arranged randomly on the page' (*ibid.* 115);
- matching words from two columns to form collocations (Hill, Lewis and Lewis in Lewis, 2000: 110);
- multiple choice tasks, e.g. a multiple choice of collocations, parts of collocations, sentences split into halves, as provided in the examples by Lewis in Coady and Huckin (1997: 263).

Another way, which also involves matching and is advocated by Bahns (1997: 87) cited in Mehburger (2010: 11), is teaching collocations using a collocation grid.

There are also exercises that belong neither to the first, nor the second set described above. These are as follows:

- introducing collocational errors of the students (e.g. *for \*many ages, \*to take an activity in*), and then suggesting together with the learners the correct variants, as proposed by Gough (1996) cited in Lewis (1997: 144);
- paraphrasing task, in terms of which the learners have to paraphrase the sentences using collocations, e.g. a word is replaced by a synonymous collocation (Hill, Lewis and Lewis in Lewis, 2000: 111);
- odd-one and gap-filling activities (Hill, Lewis and Lewis in Lewis, 2000: 113).

It is worth noting that these tasks comprise only a part of the list of the activities for teaching collocations within the Lexical Approach.

### 1.3 Authentic materials

Authenticity is a significant factor in ESP materials development. Mishan (2005: 10-20) explores authenticity, stating originality and uniqueness to be its defining characteristics. Generally, it is concluded that authenticity is an ambiguous concept as such, as 'the [...] emphasis on 'real' language use begs the question of what is real [...]' (*ibid.* 11). Authentic materials can be defined as 'print, audio, video and pictorial material that has not been produced for teaching purposes' (Karapetjana, 2008: 60). Next, corpus, which is a source of authentic materials, is described.

Corpora are widely employed for teaching vocabulary, especially for teaching collocations. 'The availability of large corpora, cheap and effective software [...] has helped research on collocation considerably' (Nation, 2011: 56). Moreover, it is maintained that 'Advances in computer-based studies of language (referred to as corpus linguistics) have also provided a huge, classroom-accessible database for lexically based inquiry and instruction' (Richards and Rodgers, 2007: 132). Thus, the use of corpora in the classroom

is linked to the Lexical Approach. The corpora contain authentic materials that enable the learners to see the target constructions in the context, which is useful not only from grammatical, but also from semantic point of view, e.g. as argued by Tsui in Sinclair (2004: 43), corpus can help the students to recognize the distinction between synonyms, which might be useful also in the case of collocations.

There are different kinds of corpora. For the current study, the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) were selected. The choice was based on the number of words that the corpora contain, as well as on the fact that both corpora are free of charge.

Having a vast amount of authentic materials, it is necessary to investigate them. Not all materials are appropriate for teaching; therefore, a careful materials selection should be performed. Ellis and Johnson (2003: 162) claim that materials selection and exploitation depend on the needs of the learners, their level, interests and requirements. The following guidelines for the selection of authentic materials are proposed:

1. Who is it for?
2. What is the training purpose?
3. How can the material be exploited? (Ellis and Johnson, 2003: 162).

Additional criteria offered by Donna (2000: 36-37) are cost, availability, content and relevance, balance, syllabus, input, lexis, students' preferences and needs, cultural sensitivity, and others. There are also other approaches for materials evaluation, for example, CATALYST framework (Grant, 1987: 119). However, it is considered by the author of this paper that when selecting materials, the ESP practitioner should bear in mind the criteria appropriate to the situation. Basically, the content, relevance and level of difficulty of the materials were taken into account while selecting materials for the present study.

To finalize, the theoretical aspect of the current work has been covered. Therefore, the author will turn to the empirical part of the current research, first of all describing the research methods.

## 2 Methods

The paper contains the description of three empirical studies – the major study conducted at the University of Latvia, and two supplementary studies, performed at Riga Stradiņš University and Latvia University of Agriculture. The research method of the first study was quasi-experiment, and the research method of other two supplementary studies was case study.

First of all, the research on teaching Business English collocations conducted at the University of Latvia is described. As it was previously stated, the research method selected for the current study was a quasi-experiment. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 272) claim that all the experimental

research are linked to causality; ‘the model can explain outcomes’ (*ibid.*). The scholars state that the essential characteristic of the experiment is as follows: ‘investigators deliberately control and manipulate the conditions which determine the events in which they are interested, introduce an intervention and measure the difference that it makes’ (*ibid.* 272). There are several types of the quasi-experiment; the present paper followed *the pre-test-post-test non-equivalent group design*. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 283) hold that this type of the quasi-experiment comprises two groups: an experimental group and a control group. The data collection tools were questionnaires, tests and observation. The research was two month long. The research population comprised 36 Modern Languages and Business Studies BA programme first year pre-experience students.

The procedure of the research includes the following steps:

1. The students of both groups filled in the needs analysis questionnaire, thus, the themes that were the most relevant and challenging for them were clarified.
2. The novice teacher selected the EBE collocations from the course books listed in the syllabus and developed the pre-test on these collocations (e.g. *dotcom frenzy*, *online sellers*, *private exchange*).
3. The students wrote the pre-test on the selected Business English collocations.
4. The novice teacher designed two sets of materials for teaching the EBE collocations; one set was developed using the authentic materials, selected employing corpora and business-related websites’ analysis, while the other one was inspired by the relevant tasks in the textbooks listed in the syllabus (e.g. *Intelligent Business: Course book. Upper-intermediate Business English*) and designed by the novice teacher.
5. Four 45 minute classes were delivered in each group. The experimental group was taught the EBE collocations by means of the authentic materials, while in the control group the non-authentic materials were used. During the third class, the students had to write the progress test. Throughout the teaching process, the novice teacher performed a constant classroom observation.
6. During the third class, the university tutor filled in the observation checklist that aimed at evaluating the materials used in both groups.
7. The students wrote the post-test and filled in the course evaluation questionnaire.

Secondly, the small-scale studies on teaching Veterinary Medicine collocations at Latvia University of Agriculture and Legal English collocations at Rīga Stradiņš University are discussed. As the studies followed the same model, they are described together. The research method was case study. ‘Case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area

or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study' (Tellis, 1997: online). Following Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 289), 'case studies can establish cause and effect ('how' and 'why'). The data collection tools were tests and observation. The studies were one semester (four month) long. The research population comprised 50 Veterinary Medicine second level professional higher education programme students, Latvia University of Agriculture and 65 Law BL programme students, Rīga Stradiņš University. The students of both groups were the first year students; however, at Latvia University of Agriculture the students were pre-experience, while at Rīga Stradiņš University the students had already had some experience, as it was the second semester of their studies, but they had not been exposed to teaching Legal English collocations using authentic materials before.

The procedure of both studies included the following steps:

1. The themes for teaching ESP collocations were selected on the basis of syllabus of each individual course.
2. Authentic materials for teaching ESP collocations on the basis of corpora analysis and the Lexical Approach were designed.
3. Teaching ESP collocations was integrated into the teaching process throughout the semester.
4. Each month, the students submitted written works, in which they had to use ESP collocations.
5. At the end of the semester, the students wrote a final written work, in which they had to use different ESP collocations, randomly selected out of those which had been taught throughout the semester.
6. During the teaching process, the teacher performed a constant observation of the students' progress.

Having analyzed the research method and the research procedure, one turns to discussing the results of the empirical study.

### 3 Results and discussion

The current section of the paper is divided into three parts, corresponding to the number of studies conducted. The major attention is devoted to the first study; the small-scale supplementary studies are described more briefly.

#### 3.1 Teaching Business English collocations

As it was stated above, there were three data collection tools employed in the current study. Thus, the results gained via each data collection tool are discussed separately.

First of all, one describes the results of the tests written by the students. During the quasi-experiment, both groups wrote three tests: the pre-test at the beginning of the course, the progress test after two lessons taught by the

author of the present research and the post-test at the end of the course. Both the pre-test and the post-test comprised the same items (with few exceptions, i.e. the collocation *to keep customers* was absent in the experimental group pre-test, however, present in the post-test; the collocations *online seller* and *Internet start-ups* in the control group pre-test were replaced by the collocations *B2C E-commerce* and *to keep customers* in the post-test); moreover, one task was absolutely identical in both tests.

The results of the pre-test in each group are discussed next. The experimental group students (19 people) did not have excellent results, which was natural, as the tested collocations had not been taught before. However, there was one outstanding test, scoring 20 points (out of 30 possible). The lowest score in the group was 4 points. Generally, 12 students out of 19, which made 63 per cent of the group, scored less than 10 points; it means that these learners completed less than 34 per cent of the test correctly. The average score for the experimental group was 8.9 points.

In the control group, which consisted of 15 learners, the situation was similar, as the students did not achieve good results. The best score was 13 points, while the lowest was only 4 points. All in all, 11 learners out of 15, which made 73 per cent of the group, received less than 10 points for the test. The mean of group B results was 8.4 points. It should be added that having completed the test, both groups were asked to evaluate its difficulty; the experimental group learners considered the test to be more difficult than the control group students. Both groups admitted that during the test they based their answers mainly on guessing or on logic, but not on the knowledge. Moreover, the research participants were not announced the results of the test in order to avoid a negative washback, and the tests were not returned to them.

The results of the pre-test of both experimental and control groups can be observed on the following figures:

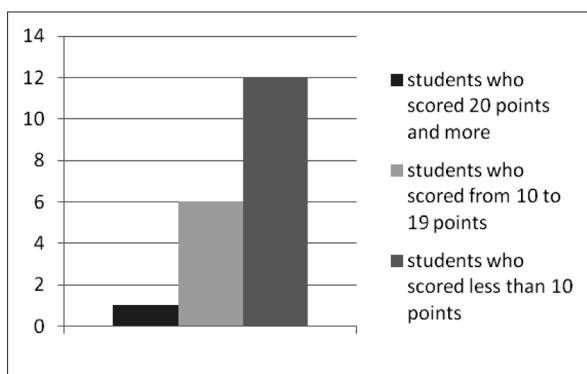


Figure 1 The experimental group pre-test results

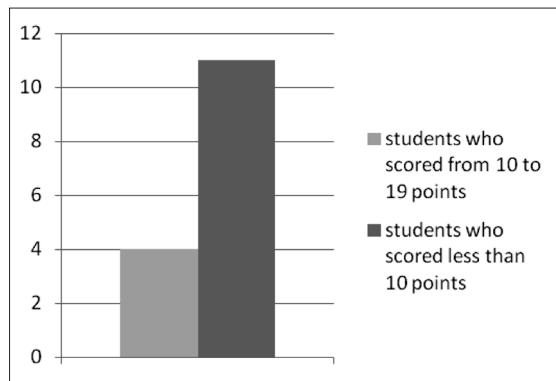


Figure 2 The control group pre-test results

Secondly, the results of the post-test are discussed. In the experimental group, there were 17 learners present on the post-test. In general, the results of the post-test were high. None obtained the highest possible score; the best result of the group was 27 points. The lowest result was 19 points, which showed that even the student who scored the worst completed more than 65 per cent of the test correctly. The results of the test were consistent. There were 3 learners who scored more than 25 points, thus performing more than 86 per cent of the test correctly. The mean of the experimental group results was 23.05 points.

Control group students, who were 13, also performed well; however, the results were different. The best score obtained was also 27 points; the lowest score was 14 points. There were 6 students who completed correctly less than 68 per cent of the test, thus scoring lower than 20 points. The mean of the group results was 20.23 points.

The results of the post-test showed that the learners who were exposed to teaching Business English collocations via authentic materials had a more considerable progress than the learners who were taught the same collocations using non-authentic materials.

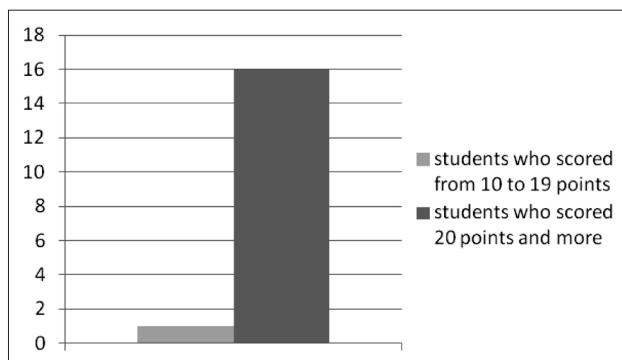


Figure 3 The experimental group post-test results

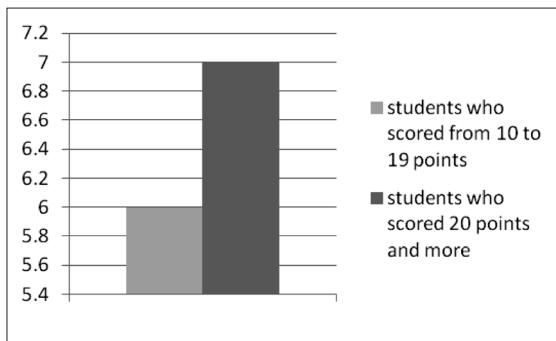


Figure 4 The control group post-test results

The second data collection tool was questionnaire, filled in by the learners at the end of the quasi-experiment. It can be stated that the students in the control group experienced difficulty in relating the target collocations to real-life situations, which was also supported by their comments. Moreover, the students of the experimental group estimated their linguistic progress facilitated by the materials more highly. It is supported by the fact that 100 per cent of experimental group students would like to continue learning the collocations as they had done before, while in the control group, there were 2 learners who would prefer an absolutely different way of studying them. It can be summarized that both groups evaluated their progress positively, but the experimental group evaluated the materials higher materials than the control group.

The last data collection tool was the observation made by the university tutor, which aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of both sets of the materials. Again, the authentic materials were estimated more highly than the non-authentic materials (52 points versus 45 points).

To conclude the present chapter, the results of the quasi-experiment should be related to the hypothesis of the current research. Initially it was hypothesized that employing authentic materials in ESP classroom might improve bachelor programme pre-experience learners' collocational competence. The results obtained by means of all data collection tools employed in the research have confirmed the hypothesis of the research.

Having discussed the major research of the paper, one turns to the brief description of supplementary small-scale studies.

### 3.2 Teaching Veterinary Medicine collocations

The main data collection tools of this study were the written works' analysis and observation; each of them is discussed separately. The taught collocations included such expressions as *severe illness*, *lingering illness*, *communicable disease* and others. The collocations were selected after the analysis of materials

provided by other teachers, which consisted on 12 printed texts, lacking any sources.

Throughout the semester, the students wrote several written works, namely, essays (50 works), commenting on topical issues of Veterinary Medicine (47 works) and formal e-mail (49 works); the students were encouraged to use Veterinary Medicine collocations. At the beginning of the semester, the analysis of written works showed that the collocations were almost absent in the works of the learners. In general, the students used 0-1 ESP collocation per one printed page (Times New Roman 12, spacing 1.5). The lack of collocations can be explained by the fact that the students were pre-experience, as well as by relatively rare occurrence of Veterinary Medicine collocations in media (in comparison with Business English collocations), where the learners could have acquired them.

As it was stated before, the students were exposed to teaching Veterinary Medicine collocations using authentic materials, designed on the basis of corpus analysis and following the Lexical Approach. By the end of the semester, the students have acquired the collocations of such themes as *Animal Classification, Inner Diseases, Microbes*, and others. The final written work of the students was a 2 pages long essay, in which they were expected to employ the acquired collocations. All 50 essays that were submitted contained collocations; however, the numbers were different. Two students used only 3 collocations per two printed pages; one student had 18 collocations in his essay. In general, the students' essays included 5-7 collocations per one page, which is quite a good result, especially in comparison with the situation at the beginning on the semester.

The observation performed by the teacher showed that the students were not acquainted with the notion of *collocation* at the beginning of the semester. Nevertheless, having understood the gist, they were successful in performing the tasks on collocations offered by the teacher, as in general the number of mistakes was 2-3 per 10 sentences.

It can be summarized that authentic materials improved the knowledge and facilitated the use of ESP collocations in written communication of the Veterinary Medicine pre-experience learners.

### 3.3 Teaching Legal English collocations

The data collection tools of this small-scale study were observation of students' presentations and the written works' analysis. Before the description of the results gained via each data collection tool, it has to be reminded that the students were already experienced, as the study was conducted during the second semester. Some examples of the taught collocations were as follows: *to assign rights, binding contract, fulfill obligations*. The collocations were selected after analyzing the textbook *Professional English in Use: Law*.

The written works of the students included summaries (64 works), commenting on quotations (64 works), writing formal e-mail (64 works) and expressing their opinions on legal issues (58 works). At the beginning of the course, the students used on average 2-3 Legal English collocations per one printed page. Having learned Legal English collocations of such themes as *Criminal & Civil Law, Employment Law, Mens Rea*, and others, the students were expected to use them in the final written work, which was commenting on a quotation. The analysis of the final written work showed the following results: on average, the learners used 7-12 collocations per printed page; three students used 3 collocations per page; one student had 19 collocations per one page. Therefore, the progress of the learners was obvious.

Regarding the observation, the teacher concluded that the materials were positively evaluated by the students, as they were aware of the necessity of collocations for their future professions and considered the materials to be useful for acquiring them, as it was stated by the students during one of the lectures. Unfortunately, it was not possible to perform a recording of the spoken presentations of the students, however, during the observation, the teacher noticed that the collocations were at least present in their spoken communication, while at the beginning of the semester, in contrast to written communication, Legal English collocations were absent in the students' speech.

Thus, one can conclude that at the end of semester there was a considerable improvement of the learners' collocational competence in written and spoken communication.

## Conclusions

Conclusions of the following paper consist of three parts – theoretical findings, empirical conclusions and the possibilities for the further research.

The theoretical part of the article contained the discussion on the characteristics of collocational competence, the description of the activities for teaching collocations within the Lexical Approach and authentic materials.

The empirical part consisted of the description of one major and two small-scale studies on teaching ESP collocations using authentic materials. To conclude, the data obtained in three universities enabled the researcher to claim that the application of authentic teaching materials helped ESP students to fill the gaps in their collocational competence. Taken together, the results gained by means of all research tools applied in three studies showed that employing authentic materials in teaching EBE collocations to pre-experience bachelor programme learners was effective. Thus, the technique of using corpora analysis for designing the tasks on teaching collocations offered within the framework of the Lexical Approach was successful. Therefore, the current findings can enable ESP teachers to consider the possibility of using corpora for their materials development for teaching collocations.

The current paper focuses mostly on using collocations in the students' written communication; however, the last small-scale study also has an insight into employing the collocations in spoken communication. It would be interesting and useful to continue the research, paying particular attention on the influence of authentic materials on the students' collocational competence development in spoken communication.

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# APPLICATION OF DIVERSE METAPHORICAL MODELS IN MASS MEDIA ARTICLES DEVOTED TO RUSSIAN DOMESTIC POLICY

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**Abstract.** The present article investigates the application of metaphorical models in mass media articles devoted to Russian domestic policy and aims at revealing source domains that can be used for mapping onto a target source, i.e. the political situation in Russia. We argue that the choice of metaphorical concepts employed in analytic articles is predetermined by newsworthy events. As a result of the analysis of mass media articles the following source domains have been revealed: war, medicine, and theatre. These metaphorical concepts are characterized in terms of their constituents – metaphorical models.

**Key words:** metaphor, frame, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), source domain, target domain, mapping

## Introduction

Political discourse has become a subject of great interest in Russia. It is connected with domestic political current affairs. Parliamentary and presidential elections, public rallies and opposition protests have awakened civil society and thereby attracted attention to ongoing political processes. Hence the demand for qualitative mass media content has increased. The focus has been shifted from informative to analytical sources. There is now a considerable demand for unbiased viewpoints that enable a reader to correlate his/her opinion with the author's position.

Under such conditions there is a great need for an author to depict colourfully and vividly his/her reflections in analytical articles and reports. Thus stylistic devices play a significant role in writing articles.

The main purpose of the present article is an investigation of the application of diverse metaphorical models in mass media articles devoted to domestic political affairs in Russia. Their role in the image cultivation of Russia will be described as well. The material for analysis includes articles on current social and political affairs in Russia taken from the weekly British newspaper *The Economist* for a one-year period (December, 2011–December, 2012).

The mass media are often referred to as a powerful weapon of influence. It is not for nothing that the term ‘the Fourth Estate’ is applied to mass media underlining their substantial role in society. To influence a reader’s, viewer’s or listener’s viewpoints is an art. To create an image that will be associated in people’s minds with a certain person or an event is a craftsmanship requiring definite skills.

Metaphor, like simile, allegory, epithet, metonymy is one of the most widely spread stylistic devices in journalism. The role of metaphor can hardly be overestimated: it is no longer treated as an expressive stylistic means used for image-building (image cultivation). In cognitive linguistics metaphor has long become a way of learning, analyzing and structuring the surrounding world. ‘If Cognitive Linguistics is the study of ways in which features of language reflect other aspects of human cognition, then metaphors provide one of the clearest illustrations of this relationship’ (Grady, 2007: 188).

The article begins with a brief review of different approaches to metaphor. An overview of the basic tenets and premises of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is given. We then briefly review the application of CMT in the study of political science. The concepts and frames related to Russian political life that have been identified in previous works of other researchers are considered in more detail. On the basis of this discussion, we analyze the use of metaphorical expressions in the Economist articles devoted to the recent political events.

## 1 Theoretical background

The phenomenon of metaphor was examined in terms of rhetoric in ancient Greece. This branch of learning dealt with the persuasion of others with a definite viewpoint by means of rhetorical devices. Metaphor was among these devices better known as tropes and played a crucial role in the art of persuasion and was later considered as the master trope. Within this framework metaphor was regarded in terms of the scheme model: A is B as in ‘Achilles is a lion’. Evidently Archilles is not a lion, but our knowledge and experience tell us that in this comparison Archilles acquires not the physical resemblance, but some characteristics of the lion’s nature: courage and ferocity. The comparison is made implicitly. This distinguishes metaphor from simile where the comparison is highlighted by the use of *as* or *like*: Archilles is as brave as a lion (Evans and Green, 2006).

Metaphor has been one of the main areas of discussion in cognitive linguistics since this branch of linguistics was established in the 1970s. Among the predecessors of cognitive approach to metaphor we can mention Anderson (1971) who investigated the comprehension of spatial relationships and their extension to other relations described in grammar and Reddy (1979) whose ideas of metaphors as tools for communication George Lakoff and Mark Johnson regarded as a catalyst for their own interest in this field. Concerning

the contribution that Cognitive Linguistics has made, Grady (2007) points out that metaphorical language is to be treated as data and examined systematically in connection with other basic aspects of mental activity. Metaphor stops being solely a poetic device and starts as an implement of common language exploration: ‘scholars in the field have recognized the thorough pervasiveness of metaphor even in ‘ordinary’ language and thought’ (Grady, 2007:189).

The study of metaphor in the field of Cognitive Linguistics is inextricably connected with the above mentioned names of Lakoff and Johnson and their highly influential work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) that provides the basis for further research conducted by a number of scientists (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Sweetser, 1990; Turner, 1991; Kovecses, 2002; Grady 1997, 2007, etc.) and gave birth to a new theory of conceptual metaphors.

Grady (2007) points out that the most important notion of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is mapping, a term borrowed from mathematics, which refers to systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas. For example, a state can be conceptualized in terms of a ship, containing the following correspondences:

STATE	SHIP
State's policies/action	Ship's course
Determining policies/actions	Steering the ship
Success/improvement of the state	Forward motion of the ship
Failures/problems	Sailing mishap
Circumstances affecting the state	Sea conditions

Another essential attribute of CMT is its unidirectionality, i.e. we can understand A in terms of B, but not vice versa. Therefore, the phrase ‘Achilles is a lion’, where characteristics of lion’s nature are mapped onto Achilles, creates a clear image in the addressee’s mind, while the reverse mapping ‘Lion is Achilles’ is uncertain and leaves the recipient guessing what is meant. The same is true for the pattern LOVE is a JOURNEY: ‘we cannot conventionally structure JOURNEYS in terms of LOVE: travellers are not conventionally described as ‘lovers’, or car crashes in terms of ‘heartbreak’, and so on.’ (Evans and Green, 2006: 297)

Metaphorical unidirectionality leads to two issues of source and target domains: First, which conceptual domains typically function as source domains and which as targets? Second, what might motivate such patterns?

First, in his detailed survey Kövecses (2002) asserts that the most common source domains for metaphorical mappings involve domains relating to the HUMAN BODY (the *head* of the department), PLANTS (a *buddingbeauty*), COOKING and FOOD (a *recipe* for success), GAMES and

SPORT (a *heavyweight* politician), LIGHT and DARNESSESS (a *darkmood*) and many others. The target domain also has several sources the most common ones include conceptual categories like EMOTION (He *unleashed* his anger), MORALITY (I'll *pay you back* forthis), THOUGHT (She's grinding out new ideas), SOCIETY and NATION (the founding *fathers* of the country), POLITICS (The president *plays hardball*), ECONOMY (They *pruned* the budget), HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (Their friendship is *in full flower*) and TIME (Time goes by fast).

As for the second question, Evens and Green (2006) explain that target concepts tend to be more abstract, lacking physical characteristics and therefore more difficult to understand in their own terms. In contrast, source domains tend to be more concrete and therefore more readily 'graspable'.

In the framework of CMT, the aim of metaphor is to transfer structure to abstract domains. But the question arises: if a target is already structured in its own terms and notions, should it require metaphoric structuring? The answer can be found in Grady (1997) who distinguishes two types of metaphors: primary and complex, thus giving rise to the primary metaphor theory. By primary metaphors Grady means simple patterns (like DIFFICULT is HEAVY) which 'map fundamental perceptual concepts onto equally fundamental but not directly perceptual ones' (Grady, 2007: 192). Thus, such metaphors as MORE is UP, HAPPY is BRIGHT, SWEET is APPEALING can be considered as primary ones because their meaning arises directly from human experience, unlike complex metaphors such as THEORIES are BUILDINGS. In other words, there is an evident correlation between happiness and brightness (we feel more comfortable and safer in sunshine than in the darkness), while in case of theories and buildings or states and ships, there is no such correlation. Complex metaphors are composed of primary metaphors.

## 2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory and political discourse

Since it was formulated in the 1980s, CMT has spread widely and is used to describe the cognition of diverse spheres in human activity. It is still considered to be highly productive in interdisciplinary research. However, Cienki (2008) points out its limited application by political scientists suggesting several reasons for this. The first is theoretical isolationism, which separates researchers in different traditions of scholarship. The second is the divergence of research questions asked by political science and linguistics. The third, and most important, is that the methods employed in CMT research might not be relevant in political research.

In the same work Cienki also states that for many years methodology has been an unmentioned subject in the framework of CMT and that most examples of metaphorical mapping drawn by Lakoff and Johnson were intuitively plausible sentences, but not attested examples of linguistic data from

any identified source. Reflecting upon the causes of unattested use of examples, Cienki suggests that this might be the 'legacy' of the tradition of generative grammar where the major goal is to describe the knowledge of linguistic structure that is below the level of conscious awareness. Thus research in it relies on native speakers' intuitive judgments about whether constructed examples are grammatical or not in their language (Cienki, 2008). However, for cognitive linguistics, whose goals go far beyond the descriptive use of language the observation of conceptual metaphors in corpora database is a crucial point because it proves the idea that people think in terms of metaphors.

### **3 Russian political life in the context of CMT**

Over the last two decades Russia has undergone considerable political and economic change: from a single-party regime to a multiparty system, from a state-planned to a market economy. Some shifts had dramatic effects on society and culture. People need to comprehend new entities of a young democratic state, thus the conceptualization of crucial aspects of human life occurred.

Politics was one of those aspects Russians needed to have a clear vision of. In terms of the new political reality – free voting, liberalization of political parties and freedom of speech – language has become the main tool used by politician in reaching their goals. The interest in political discourse as a subject within the study of communication has arisen. As Vraciu (2012) points out, Russian scholar school employ various methodologies, both traditional (rhetoric, semantics, stylistics) and recent (cognitive science) to explore political discourse, mentioning works by Chudinov (2001), Seriot (1999) Baranov and Kazakevich (1993). Vraciu's exploration of these works summarized four main source domains that are employed in the conceptualization of Russian political life.

The first source is human. Man plays a central role in the anthropocentric paradigm of the world, consequently the metaphoric image of the political world created by man is significantly anthropocentric. This source produces the following metaphoric models:

The STATE is a HUMAN BODY  
RUSSIA is a SICK MECHANISM  
The STATE is a FAMILY  
The ELECTION is a WEDDING

The second source is society. Politics cannot exist without society and interaction with society. From this perspective, the main objective of politicians is to represent at times the very divergent views of their electorate. Therefore, political reality is often depicted in terms of the society it exists in. The most illustrative example here is the metaphoric model RUSSIA is a CRIMINAL

SOCIETY. It is already a deep-rooted notion in the Russian national consciousness that crime is an integral part of political life. The other models that come from society are:

RUSSIA today is a MILITARY SOCIETY  
RUSSIAN POLITICS are THEATRE  
RUSSIAN POLITICAL LIFE is SPORT COMPETITION

The third source for metaphorical mapping is nature. Man is an integral part of nature whose master he claimed himself to be. Possessing extensive knowledge of flora and fauna and the environment enables man to think in terms of nature. From this perspective, Vraciu (2012) pinpoints two highly-productive models: ANIMAL-related concepts and PLANT-metaphors.

Finally, the forth source domain mentioned in Vraciu's work is artefact. The main metaphorical model presented through this source is RUSSIA is a HOUSE.

We need to acknowledge the fact that all the above mentioned metaphorical models have been deduced from Russian sources: transcript of political speeches and articles from the Russian press. The main aim of the present article is to expose metaphorical models that are employed to depict Russian political life via analyzing analytical articles of English-language press.

## 4 Methods and data

The implementation of corpora to investigate metaphorical models in everyday use of a language poses one challenge – the corpus dimension. It is a great challenge to build and process corpora consisting of tens of thousands of words, and one faces even a greater challenge if he/she wants to use larger corpora of the millions of words to generalize the experimental data and make broader applicable claims.

How to respond to this challenge? In current research we follow the method initiated by Cameron and Deignan (2003) that was employed in Musolff (2004). A search of metaphors in a small representative corpus of text was conducted in some detail, according to our main aim – investigation of metaphorical models in analytical articles devoted to domestic Russian policy.

Then one can perform a focused search of a larger corpus for the frequency and patterning of occurrence of the particular features found in the smaller corpus. Musolff's goal was to investigate how the use of metaphor might reflect attitudinal differences towards European integration policies in the United Kingdom and Germany between 1989 and 2001. To this end, he assembled a pilot corpus consisting of 2,110 texts from 28 British and German newspapers and magazines (half of the texts in English and half in German), with a total of 388,600 words. Twelve overarching source domains of metaphors were found to

occur frequently in this corpus, characterising the target domain of ‘attitudes towards Europe’. Examples include scenarios relating to WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED, LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY, and GAME-SPORTS, with the hyphenated names indicating the superordinate level of metaphor groupings.

The empirical data of the current paper comprise 25 articles in ‘*The Economist*’ devoted to Russian domestic political current affairs. In the process of the analysis we found just over 300 examples of metaphorical expressions. This figure enables us to establish the main source domains and to trace their mapping onto target domains. We are aware of the small dimension of the empirical data and we realize that it is not sufficient to come to valid conclusions and to make broad generalizations, but the number it is enough to outline the scope of further investigation.

Chudinov (2001) observes the importance of discursive approach to the investigation of political texts, i.e. text investigation is to be conducted taking into account the following factors: the political situation it (text) is created in; references to other texts; the author’s goal sets and political views; the specific character of the individual perception of the text by all manner of people. From this perspective two aspects should be referred to in order to track the application of diverse conceptual metaphors. First, a reference is to be given to newsworthy events that stimulate an author to write an analytical report. Second, we should expose and explore various frames that constitute a particular source domain.

## 5 Metaphorical models of Russian domestic policy

### 5.1 Election is a battle

Parliamentary and presidential elections in Russia in 2011 and 2012 generated wide-ranging discussions within both mass media and society. After the allegedly rigged parliamentary election in December 2011 the presidential campaign was closely monitored in the press.

The correspondence between newsworthy events and the content of the article is obvious. For instance, on the eve of the presidential election held on 4 March 2012 The *Economist* published an article ‘Call back yesterday’ devoted to the electoral campaign in Russia. Vladimir Putin’s speech at Luzhniki stadium on Defender of the Motherland Day (February 23) – the holiday celebrates people who are serving or have served in the Russian Armed Forces – where he gave references to Lermontov’s poem ‘Borodino’ and cited Molotov, predetermines the choice of conceptual metaphor.

He gave it all he had. He quoted from Martin Luther King – ‘I have a dream’ – before moving on to Lermontov’s poem *Borodino* – ‘*By Moscow then we die/As have our brethren died before!*’ – and then seamlessly into Vyacheslav Molotov ‘*The fight continuous. The victory will be ours*’. He worked the crowd hard: his

voice roared, his face twitched. 100 000 people brought in front all over Russia cheered. (Call back yesterday, 2012)

The *Economist* authors observed Putin's militant tone and made some comments on this linking the content of his speech to the presidential campaign.

Since the outcome [of the presidential election] was predetermined, there was at first not much by way of a campaign. But after a wave of protests against his job swap, and the subsequent rigging of December's parliamentary elections, Mr Putin has been forced into a much more combative mode; *Russia is under threat*, he says, calling on his supporters to *mobilise for a final battle* against enemies foreign and domestic. ('Call back yesterday' in *The Economist*, 03.03.2012)

It is no surprise that the authors do not just observe the usage of military terms in the candidate's speech but carry on with the conceptualization of political affairs in terms of wars. The following examples of metaphorical expressions not only illustrate this tendency but also constitute the perception of different frames thus proving the conceptualized vision of the situation.

A few days later Mr. Putin's rally, '*the enemy*' *encircled the Kremlin*. On a snowy Sunday afternoon some 20,000 Muscovites held hands along the 16 kilometre ring road, sporting the white ribbons that have become the symbol of protest. (Call back yesterday, 2012)

The colourful, almost festival protest *marches against* him [Putin] have attracted celebrities (openly) and the wives of government officials (secretly). (*ibid.*)

Russia is under threat, he [Putin] says, calling on his supporters to *mobilise for a final battle against enemies foreign and domestic*. (*ibid.*)

This sentiment is largely the result of Kremlin propaganda, which over the past decade has cultivated the *image of Russia as a besieged fortress by foreign enemies*. (Politics begins at home, 2012)

The implementation of such military terms as: *encircle*, *march against*, *mobilise for*, *a final battle*, *a besieged fortress*, can be combined into the frame 'rallying cry'.

We can talk about the conceptual use of war terms in the description of the electoral campaign providing that the mapping is done systematically. The systematic projection of elements from one conceptual domain onto elements of another involves not merely the objects and properties characteristic of

the domain but also the relations, events, and scenarios that characterize the domain (Grady, 2007).

## 5.2 Participants of political life are warriors

Any war is unimaginable without warriors. The frame ‘participants of the election campaign’ is mapped in terms of ‘warriors’ and is widely presented in the articles under discussion. The most frequently used word is the depersonalized ‘enemy’.

... to mobilise for a final battle against *enemies* foreign and domestic; a fortress besieged by foreign *enemies*; ‘*the enemy*’ encircled the Kremlin. (Call back yesterday, 2012)

Alongside with ‘enemies’ stand ‘allies’

It became clear that *two allies of the Kremlin*: the Russian Orthodox Church and the state-managed RT television channel (...) would fall into the category of ‘foreign agents.’ (If you can’t suppress them, squeeze them, 2012)

However, the frame ‘warrior’ is not merely mapped by means of depersonalized slots ‘enemy’ and ‘ally’. For example, Alexei Navalny is identified as a ‘crusader’.

In the December elections the disgruntled followed the advice of Alexei Navalny, an influential blogger and *anti-corruption crusader*, and voted for any other than ‘the party of crooks and thieves’, as labeled United Russia. (Call back yesterday, 2012)

## 5.3 Results of election are outcomes and consequence of a battle

In the article ‘Moscow doesn’t believe in tears’ devoted to the results of the presidential election war terms prevail, but they all have literal meanings just to describe the situation in the capital of Russia.

With hundreds of military lorries, menacing police vans, hovering helicopters and thousands of soldiers and riot police around. (Moscow doesn’t believe in tears, 2012)

This proves the idea expressed above that the choice of conceptual metaphorical models in analytical articles is predetermined by a newsworthy occurrence.

As for the metaphorical use of war terms the author correlates the results of the presidential election with the frame ‘outcomes and consequences of a

battle'. Every battle has its own winner. Vladimir Putin turned out to be a self-proclaimed winner.

'We won in an *open and honest battle!* Thank you friends, thank you!' Mr. Putin said. (Vladimir Putin Election Victory Speech from 'Moscow doesn't believe in tears', 2012).

While Mr. Prokhorov was acknowledged as the main casualty:

*The main victim was Mikhail Prokhorov*, a business tycoon and the only fresh face in the election. Officially he got 8%. His real vote was probably nearly twice that, says the League of Voters. (*ibid.*)

In the course of a war as in a political race, the phenomenon of betrayal occurs quite frequently. Gennady Gudkov's figure is an illustrative example. The analysis shows that different frames of the conceptual metaphorical model of war have been applied to Mr. Gudkov: first, at the beginning of electoral campaign he was considered to be a 'threat', then turned into a 'target' and finally became a 'traitor' at the end.

In many ways, Mr. Gudkov makes an *obvious threat – and target*. (*Gudkovs, bad cops*', 2012)

Moreover, his (Gudkov's) past as a KGB lieutenant colonel made him not just an opponent, but a *traitor*. (*Fear and loathing*, 2012)

The systematic metaphorical projection of war terms onto political life enables us to conceptualize correspondences between Russian politics and War. About two thirds of the examples of metaphorical language use found in the articles refer to the domain of war, thus, giving us the following model:

POLITICS	WAR
Election	Battle
Participants of political life	Warriors
Election Results	Battle's outcomes and consequences

The concept of war is likely to be the main one in describing Russian domestic affairs in mass media articles, but it is definitely not the only one.

#### 5.4 Other domain sources for metaphorical mapping

Medicine is another source domain that is highly exploited to describe the target domain (Russian inner political arena). Chudinov (2001) points out

that the metaphorical model ‘Russia is an ailing organism’ gained currency in political discourse at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From this perspective vocabulary denoting diseases of society is of considerable use in analytical reports.

The number of examples of medical terms used in a metaphoric way is rather insignificant compared to the ones (examples) of war expressions. We cannot deduce any conceptualization due to insufficient data, but medicine seems to have potential as a source domain for various metaphorical models. However, some outline and a few illustrative examples might be given.

One of the possible frames can be described as the following: ‘political actions as ways of treatment, medical instruments and drugs’. For instance, black oil addiction is seen as an anaesthetic in Russian political economy, while Dmitry Medvedev’s presidency is compared with a placebo.

Although these problems are long-standing, double-digit income growth smoothed the sting for quite a while. And after the economic crisis of 2009 removed that *anaesthetic*, the presidency of Dmitry Medvedev provided something of a *placebo*. (Call back yesterday, 2012).

Drug intake could cause side-effects, likewise some public activities might provoke political fallouts. Thus, in the article reporting about mayoral elections in the city of Astrakhan, where Oleg Shein, a candidate from Just Russia, went on hunger strike, the author concludes that this might have some side-effect for the Kremlin.

One intriguing *side-effect* of the events in Astrakhan has been the emergence of Just Russia as something resembling a real opposition.’ (The Prisoner of Astrakhan, 2012)

In the process of analysis we have come across some models mentioned in Vraciu’s research. Thus the model RUSSIAN POLITICS is THEATRE can be illustrated by the example:

Mr Putin, who is now prime minister, saw his popularity start to fall the moment in September when he announced his plan to swap jobs with Dmitry Medvedev, *the puppet* he installed as president after his first two terms ended in 2008 (The Cracks Appear, 2012)

The results of the analysis also point to an interesting trend: Mr. Putin’s name tends to be used in the metaphorical model of war, while Mr. Medvedev’s is associated with some medical and theatrical terms. A broader scope of research material is needed to come to more definite and precise conclusions, but preliminary observations are interesting.

## Conclusions

On the basis of our data we can conclude that the conceptualization of Russian domestic political life in analytical articles rises from the following source domains: warfare, medicine and theatre. War is the main source domain: about two thirds (200) of examples are connected with warfare and form such frames as:

POLITICS	WAR
Election	Battle
Participants of political life	Warriors
Election Results	Battle's outcomes and consequences

The source domains of medicine and theatre need to be explored further.

Comparing the obtained results with previous research done by Vraciu (2012) we can deduce that the metaphorical model of war is common to both Russian and English-speaking journalists. Further comparative analysis of Russian and English press might reveal some peculiarities and differences in the use of warfare as a source domain for conceptual metaphors.

The choice of metaphorical model by journalists is likely to be determined by newsworthy events that constitute the context of analytical articles. Thus, 'military environment' on Moscow streets just after presidential and parliamentary elections with hundreds of military trucks and thousands of soldiers predisposes the authors to employ the concept of war to describe current political situation not only literally, but also figuratively.

Further investigation of the topic might reveal some broader scope of metaphorical concepts applied to Russian political life. The comparative analysis of the implementation of diverse metaphorical models in Russian and English-speaking press can be carried out to establish the peculiarities of the use of metaphorical concepts.

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# ESP COMPETENCE ASSESSMENT IN TERTIARY EDUCATION

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**Abstract.** Europe faces a moment of transformation. In higher education the orientation has shifted from input to learning outcomes. The existing tool for setting standards and evaluating learning outcomes in language learning in an internationally comparable manner, the CEFR provides descriptors of language competence for six levels. The higher education assessment system in Latvia, however, is on a 10 point scale. Thus there is a need to create an assessment model that could be applied to assess students' language competence at universities. This paper analyses language competence for intercultural communication, *English for Special Purposes* (ESP), different international language assessment systems and provides descriptors for assessing language competence in correspondence with a 10 point scale incorporating the specific features of the ESP.

**Key words:** language competence, ESP, intercultural communication, language proficiency descriptors, assessment

## Introduction

Europe faces a moment of transformation in economics, education, social life etc. In the post-crisis period such long-term challenges as globalisation, pressure on resources and ageing have become especially significant. The main targets for successful further development are smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (*Europe 2020*, 2010). Alongside other changes, 'the demand for foreign languages and communication skills is steadily rising on the European labour market' (*Languages for Jobs*, 2012: 5) and the role of effective communication and cultural awareness increases. The employers require employees possessing a highly developed intercultural competence, able to work in multicultural and multilingual teams. In order to fulfil this requirement it is important to transform the content of the language learning and the assessment criteria. The content has to become more 'practically oriented and more applied to professional contexts' (ibid. 5) and the assessment has to be nationally and internationally comparable.

Higher education implements one of the most important social functions – to provide purposeful personality development in accordance with the contemporary and future requirements. The introduction of *European*

*Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning* (EQF, 2008) has set new requirements for higher education. The orientation has shifted from input (the length and place of studies, teaching-learning methods) to learning outcomes (knowledge, skills, competencies). Hence, the issue of creating syllabi and assessment standards that would correspond to the new requirements has become topical.

The existing tool providing a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabi and curriculum guidelines across Europe as well as for evaluating learning outcomes in an internationally comparable manner – *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR, 2001) – provides descriptors of language competence for six levels: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2. The higher education assessment system in Latvia, however, is on a 10 point scale. Most higher education institutions in Latvia offer students the opportunity to acquire *English for Special Purposes* (ESP). Therefore, it is necessary to create such an assessment system that would correspond to the 10 point scale incorporating the specific features of the ESP and could be applied for assessing learning outcomes in ESP for different professions. This paper analyses language competence for intercultural communication, ESP, different international language assessment systems, and provides descriptors for ESP competence assessment created and applied for assessing students' ESP competence at a tertiary education institution.

## 1 Theoretical Background

### 1.1 Language competence for intercultural communication

'The turn of the century has marked a new era of increased need for communication on a global scale' (Babamova, Grosman, Licari and Pervan, 2004: 59). Social interaction as the central feature of communication (Penz, 2001) forms a constituent part of work-related, educational and everyday activities.

During the last years in European higher education an emphasis has been laid upon the facilitation of the development of students' generic competences (Hyde, 2006; Boni and Lozano, 2007; Jones, 2009; Munar and Montaño, 2009). This has become a topical issue since graduates will have to work in a rapidly changing situation where they will have to apply not only specific professional skills, but also demonstrate a wide range of general competences, which are vital in coping with unexpected situations and new challenges.

Tuning Educational Structures in Europe, started in 2000 as a project to implement the Bologna Process into higher education sector, distinguishes three types of generic competences: instrumental, interpersonal and systemic competences. In this approach competences are viewed as a dynamic combination of knowledge, understanding, skills and abilities and the terms

*generic competences* and *transferable skills* are applied as synonyms (González and Wagenaar, 2003). The full list comprises 30 generic competences, including ability to communicate in a second language, appreciation of diversity and the multicultural aspect, ability to work in an international context, understanding of cultures of other countries. The competences related with intercultural communication fall in all the three previously-mentioned groups. As cultural values and communication skills are acquired while interacting with others the role of language learning is increasing. Hence, the content of the language course and the applied methodology are important.

One of the most popular language teaching/learning models is communicative language competence development model which has been recognized and implemented in language teaching/learning for the last forty years. Developed by Canale and Swain (Canale and Swain, 1980; Canale, 1983a; Canale, 1983b), modified by Bachman and Palmer (1982), and later by Tarone and Yule (1989) it implies: knowledge and skills necessary for communication (Canale and Swain, 1980); morphology, syntax, lexis, cohesion, and organization of the text (Bachman and Palmer, 1980); an ability to form and understand syntax, lexis, phonology of the language; an ability to use the language appropriately in the socio-cultural context and apply communication strategies in problem-solution (Tarone and Yule, 1989).

More recently, the CEFR has pointed out that ‘communicative language competences are those which empower a person to act using specifically linguistic means’ (CEFR, 2001: 9). The CEFR implies that communicative language competence consists of linguistic competence (lexical, phonological, syntactical knowledge and skills and other dimensions of language as a system, independently of the sociolinguistic value of its variations and the pragmatic functions of its realizations), sociolinguistic competence (socio-cultural conditions of language use), and pragmatic competence (the functional use of linguistic resources, such as production of language functions, speech acts) (*ibid.*).

The studies in language teaching/learning and language use (Byram, 1998; Byram, 2000; McKay, 2002; Stier, 2004; Stier, 2006; etc.) show that language communicative competence includes cultural knowledge and exposure as well. Here, the term *intercultural communicative competence* is being introduced.

As pointed out by Glaser, Guilherme, Méndez García and Mughan (2007) three components form the core of successful intercultural communication: verbal communication (grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, strategic competences), non-verbal communication (body language, eye contact, gestures, proxemics, appearance, dressing style, etc.), as well as language awareness. Language awareness may be defined as ‘the awareness of how speaking one or more languages or a particular language such as English is related to social/professional status’ (*ibid.* 33). Yet, there is another component – cultural awareness – that is also of the utmost significance to

ensure intercultural communication. According to Fenner (2000: 144) ‘cultural awareness is based on knowledge of the foreign culture, but also on knowledge of one’s own culture’ which coincides with Rost-Roth’s (2004) comprehension of intercultural competence that reveals its twofold character. On the one hand, intercultural competence means understanding of other cultures and recognition of one’s own culture. On the other hand, it implies the use of appropriate communicative action in other cultural groups and expressing oneself in an appropriate linguistic manner.

Cultural awareness covers the following aspects: knowledge and awareness-raising, attitudes and personal growth, intercultural awareness, language and communication (Camilleri, Fenner and Newby, 2000). Here, awareness of the self and the other come to the foreground. As argued by Glaser, et al. (2007) awareness of the self and the other is linked to recognizing similarities and differences between people, assessing and reflecting on one’s own social construct, finding out about the other, exploring culture shock and reverse culture shock, and dealing with stereotypes and generalization. ‘Without knowledge and understanding of both native and target cultures, intercultural communication is hardly possible’ (Fenner, 2006: 43).

## 1.2 English for Special Purposes

Most higher education institutions in Latvia offer students the opportunity to acquire *English for Special Purposes* (ESP), which has become popular in Latvia during the last 15 years.

The term *English for Specific Purposes/English for Special Purposes* was introduced in the second half of the 20th century. From early 1960ies ESP has grown to become one of the most prominent fields of English language teaching (ELT) in the world (Tratnik, 2008; Lo, 2012). According to Gatehouse (2001) and Hutchinson and Waters (1987) three reasons for the emergence of ESP can be singled out: the demands of the Brave New World (the increase of the role of English in the modern world), revolution in linguistics (focus on the language used in real communication), and orientation towards the language learner (focus on how the language is acquired, and different language learning strategies). Considering different ESP definitions (Robinson, 1980; Robinson, 1991; Strevens, 1988; Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Dudley-Evans and St.John, 1998; Gillet, 1996), the definition worked out by Gillet (1996) based on Robinson’s (1991) ideas may still be regarded as one of the most appropriate definitions for the current situation:

- 1) ESP is goal-oriented, i.e., the learners are learning English not for the sake of the language but because they need it for practical application;
- 2) ESP courses are based on stakeholders’ needs analysis;
- 3) Often there is a strictly specified period for the ESP course;
- 4) ESP learners tend to be adults;

- 5) Learners need a special professional language;
- 6) Depending on the occupation, in some cases, a very high language proficiency level might not be required.

Nowadays, it is necessary to supplement this definition with the necessity to develop ESP learners' intercultural competence.

Orr (2008) identifies three phases in ESP development: First Generation ESP (from its origin to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), Second Generation ESP (since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), and Next Generation ESP (since late 1990ies). Thus, at present two stages of ESP exist simultaneously. As pointed out by Lo (2012: 77), the main features of the Second Generation ESP are 'needs-based, purpose-driven English language instruction; significant growth in research, publishing, and professional events; and growth in the number of language educators identifying themselves as ESP professionals'. The characteristic features of the Next Generation ESP are moving the language learning to the real professional settings, the change in the course content from general content to highly specific professional one, the use of ICT tools that has made materials more accessible to learners.

As it can be seen, ESP is developing and so is the research in its current trends. According to Moreno (2010), it is becoming more and more topical to bring cross-cultural and intercultural elements into ESP courses. Interculturalism is associated with communication between two speakers representing different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, whereas cross-culturalism is perceived as stretching across cultural borders.

As emphasized by Narančić-Kovać and Kaltenbacher (2006: 78) 'raising intercultural awareness of foreign language learners is a case in point'. In the ESP course, students develop certain linguistic skills and acquire professional lexis, as well as develop additional skills and competences important in their future career, such as, critical thinking, intercultural awareness, attitudes, social and communicative skills and competences, etc.

Another trend concerns materials development. Despite the existence of numerous course books in ESP, ESP teachers increasingly continue tailoring their own materials. This specifically concerns minor ESP areas and the reason for that is the lack of suitable materials for highly specialized vocabulary in the narrow field, varying length of ESP courses, a gap between the published course books and pedagogical practice (Bocanegra-Valle, 2010).

Another point is connected with the language skills that university students are expected to master. There is an increasing trend to require incorporation of academic writing into ESP courses (Gimenez, 2010). Hence, the issue of discipline-specific academic writing is coming to the foreground.

To conclude, ESP will continue developing, especially in the field of specialized English discourse and the development of effective methodologies to teach it (Ruiz-Garrido, Palmer-Silveira and Fortanet-Gómez, 2010).

## 2 Methods

The *purpose of the study* is to analyse the trends in language teaching/learning for special purposes, as well as different international language competence assessment systems and elaborate descriptors for ESP competence assessment.

The study applies evaluation design (Geske and Grīfelds, 2006) as it provides an overview of the existing practice in the field and based on the former analysis enables formulating descriptors for ESP competence assessment.

The *research questions* are:

- 1) What components form language competence for intercultural communication?
- 2) What assessment criteria should form the basis of descriptors of ESP competence assessment system?

The *research methods* applied: review of theoretical literature (linguistic, pedagogical) and sources; review of regulations, instructions and methodological aids; analysis and synthesis of information; designing a new model; elaboration of conclusions and suggestions.

The descriptors for ESP competence assessment were created based on the analysis of theoretical literature and sources (cf. Results and Discussion) as well as the empirical studies conducted in Latvia the result of which is a successfully defended PhD Thesis in pedagogy or applied linguistics (Lūka, 2007; Rudzinska, 2010; Boge, 2010; Līsmane, 2010, Surkova, 2010, Turuševa, 2010). The subsequent analysis was done in a group of 5 leading language educators of the University, whose experience in teaching ESP ranged from 15 to 20 years. The created ESP assessment system was tested not only at Turiba University but it was also tested and approved by an independent expert, professor of Riga Technical University, experienced in teaching English for 35 years and ESP for 20 years.

## 3 Results and Discussion

In order to create an assessment system for ESP competence that would correspond to the 10 point scale, and would be internationally comparable and understandable, it is important to analyse the existing international and national language competence assessment systems. Learning outcomes form a part of innovative teaching/learning approach, which may be considered as a component of a new learning paradigm. Learning outcomes take a central role in organizing of systemic goals, study programmes, assessment and quality assurance. Learning outcomes may be regarded as a set of useful tools to be applied in different teaching/learning situations (*Pāreja uz mācīšanās rezultātiem*, 2008) and they are connected with assessment as well.

Analysing learning outcomes, it is important to differentiate between two terms – assessment and evaluation. As pointed out by Piccardo, Berchoud, Cignatta, Mentz and Pamula (2011) *evaluation* is a more global term than *assessment*. The focus in assessment is on learner's performance, i.e., the language competence level, whereas evaluation includes the course quality, teaching methods and teaching-learning materials. In this study the focus is on assessment, namely, students' ESP competence assessment system.

The EQF (2008) and correspondingly the *Latvian Qualifications Framework (LQF, 2012)* define descriptors of learning outcomes for each education level. They are basic documents for grading learners' skills, knowledge and competences. A similar reference system for language learning outcomes – CEFR was adopted in 2001 and since then has grown in popularity among language learners and teachers all over Europe. The CEFR applies 6 language proficiency levels, each of them containing descriptors for all language competences that determine learners' language proficiency.

As the CEFR provides reference levels based on learning outcomes, it has common features with the EQF (*Languages for Jobs, 2012*). The CEFR also sets the main principles for developing descriptors: definiteness, clarity, brevity, and independence (CEFR, 2001: 206-207). Furthermore, in order to attain learning outcomes, it is important for students to know 'what characterizes any given level of attainment and what is required for a certain grade' (Oscarson, A.D. and Oscarson, M., 2010: 83-84).

Numerous handbooks, studies and documents have been published to explain the use of the CEFR, its comparison with other examination/testing systems. It has to be stressed that the CEFR is considered as a tool for describing language proficiency level and thus cannot be automatically transferred into an assessment system, but, based on the CEFR descriptors, a suitable assessment system may be created. 'The aim of the CEFR is to facilitate reflection, communication and networking in language education. The aim of any local strategy ought to be to meet needs in context' (Noijons, Bérešová, Breton and Szabó, 2011: 11).

Overall, in the CEFR language proficiency level is determined by assessing the following language competence aspects: communicative language competence (linguistic, pragmatic, and socio-linguistic competence), communicative language activity (reception, interaction, production, and mediation) and use of strategies (reception, interaction, and production) (Tardieu, Hilden, Lehmann and Reichert, 2010).

European Language Portfolio (ELP) was designed to serve as an implementation tool for the CEFR. The focus of the ELP is on reflection and self-assessment thus providing valid evidence of learners' foreign language proficiency which is determined according to the six CEFR language proficiency levels (Little, Hodel, Kohonen, Meijer and Perclová, 2007).

The DIALANG language assessment system – an application for diagnostic purposes of the CEFR – focuses on self-assessment statements regarding learners' reading, writing, listening skills for 6 levels. It provides feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the learner's language proficiency and gives advice on how to improve the language competence level. This is a learning tool and it does not issue certificates (*DIALANG*, 2012).

Since the introduction of the CEFR and its recognition Europe-wide, in order to internationally compare testing results, numerous national and international testing systems have been compared with the CEFR and their level descriptions have been aligned to it.

International ESOL examinations of the Trinity College London have 12 levels, subdivided into 4 stages from beginners to full mastery. Learners' reading, writing, speaking and listening skills are assessed in an integrated manner (Taylor, 2009).

The ALTE Framework has 6 levels – ALTE Breakthrough Level (A1 according to the CEFR) and 5 ALTE levels. The descriptors are formulated using 'can do' statements and they describe learners' listening/speaking, reading and writing skills. ALTE provides level descriptions in four areas: overall general language ability; social and tourist; work; and study typical abilities (ALTE, 2006). The strength of the ALTE descriptors is their brief formulation, clear structure and logical linking to the CEFR.

University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations offer internationally recognized examinations for different language proficiency levels. Over the last decade, it has expanded its activities targeting the education sectors from primary to higher education (Randall, 2010). *Cambridge English: Advanced* is recognized as a high-quality test of English for Academic and Professional Purposes. Its score is reflected at 11 levels that are linked to the CEFR Levels B2, C1 and C2, as well as to IELTS of Band scores from 4 to 9 (*Cambridge English Advanced*, n.d.).

North's (2007) study compares the descriptors of language proficiency levels in the CEFR; ALTE Can Do Project of 2002; DIALANG; ELP of Switzerland, Germany, France, Ireland and Sweden; European Association of Language Centres in Higher Education; ELP Higher Education; the Bergen Can Do Project and the Cambridge Common Writing Scale project. The descriptors are provided in a 'can do' form and they cover all language competence aspects. The analyzed levels correspond to the CEFR Levels C1, C2 and B2+. The descriptors enable suggesting that learners' ESP competence must correspond to B2+ or C1 language proficiency level, depending on the area of the language use.

The trend to align language examinations to the CEFR has been observed outside Europe as well. Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB, 2012) is a descriptive scale of adults' language ability in English as a Second Language comprising three stages of proficiency levels, each of them consisting of 4 sub-levels. The model of communicative language ability in the CLB contains

grammatical, textual, functional, sociolinguistic knowledge and strategic competence. Each benchmark (sub-level) describes characteristics of speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. According to the CLB, students' ESP competence has to correspond to at least CLB8 – fluent intermediate language ability or CLB9 – initial advanced language ability, depending on their professional field.

One of the most comprehensive studies for relating language examinations to the CEFR provides a comprehensive description of the different language competence levels and a ready-made tool for linking different systems. The strength of the tool is its strong empirical evidence and practical suggestions on how to do the comparison of different systems (*Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)*, 2009). However, the aim of the present study was to create a suitable ESP assessment system that could be applied for assessing students' learning outcomes according to the 10 point scale adopted in Latvia. Thus, the ESP competence assessment system has been created considering all the previously-mentioned assessment systems and tools as well as considering the national specifics and the specifics of the industries (tourism, public relations, business) for which the University educates future specialists.

So far, several studies have been conducted in Latvia that also include the creation of descriptors for assessment of language competence for special purposes (Lüka, 2007; Lüka, 2008; Rudzinska, 2010; Boge, 2010; Lismane, 2010), as well as descriptors for assessing students' creativity (Surkova, 2010) and professional competence (Turuševa, 2010). A common feature of these studies is the fact that in every study competence is measured by using 3-4 criteria containing several indicators each, which are in line with the research topic. The difference lies in the fact that in most studies the competence assessment system comprises 3 different levels of proficiency, whereas the study of Turuševa (2010) provides 5 professional competence proficiency levels. Another similarity lies in the fact that descriptors in the offered competence assessment models are linked with the CEFR levels and thus certain their features may also be incorporated in the ESP competence assessment system.

Based on the literature review on competence components, ESP specifics, different international and national language examinations and assessment systems, an assessment system for determining students' ESP competence has been created and applied in assessing students' ESP competence in the fields of tourism, management, business, public relations, international communication, law (EQF Level 6) and finances, marketing, advertising, law and hospitality service (EQF Level 5). The created assessment system includes the following components: listening, reading, speaking and writing skills, cooperation skills, intercultural communication skills, the knowledge of professional lexis, grammar knowledge and the correspondence of the competence to the EQF Level 6 (for BSc programmes) and EQF Level 5 (for college level programmes).

The focus in assessment is on occupational/professional field and language skills are assessed through the prism of professional field. The descriptors have been created to suit the 10 point assessment scale so that students could get a grade. The descriptors have been created considering the three main language proficiency levels – basic, independent and proficient user and may be linked to the CEFR. Basic user corresponds to B1 level, independent user – to B2 level and proficient user – to C1 level. Each level is broken down into several sub-levels and corresponds to a definite grade. Table 1 provides a comparison of the ESP competence level, the corresponding grade and the CEFR level.

*Table 1 The ESP competence levels, grades and the CEFR levels*

The ESP competence level	Grade according to the 10 point system	The CEFR level
Proficient user	10, 9	C1
Independent user	8, 7	B2
Basic user	6, 5	B1
Not applicable	4	A2
Not applicable	Not tested	A1

In order to succeed in their occupational field students' ESP competence has to correspond to B2 and/or C1 level. Therefore it may be regarded that the students' who have demonstrated A2 language proficiency level, have not attained the necessary ESP competence level. On the other hand, although their general language competence level might be assessed as low, they still can operate in everyday situations, so these students get a pass at the exam. Students, whose language proficiency corresponds to A1 level only, do not get a positive grade. Another point is that one level is built upon the other thus incorporation the features of the lower levels as well. An analysis of tertiary education students' final examination mark shows that the average grade for students is between 7 and 8. Therefore, in this paper to illustrate ESP competence descriptors a description of grade 7 (independent user) is provided (see Table 2).

The present ESP competence assessment system was created in 2010, piloted in 2010/2011, updated in 2011/2012 and since then has been successfully applied for assessing students' proficiency of ESP competence and has received students and experts' positive evaluation.

**Table 2 Descriptors for independent user's (grade 7) ESP competence**

<b>Criterion</b>	<b>Description</b>
Listening skills	Can understand a longer speech and lectures, can follow complex argumentation, providing the topic is familiar enough. Can understand almost everything on TV news and broadcasts on the current issues and themes connected with the professional field. Can understand monologues, dialogues, groups, etc.
Reading skills	Can read reports and articles on topical problems connected with the professional field, in which the author expresses certain attitudes or opinion.
Speaking skills	Can communicate with native speakers. Can actively participate in discussions on well-known themes and professional problems justifying and defending their opinion.
Writing skills	Can write a clearly structured, detailed text on different issues related with their professional field, can justify their opinion. Uses medium complicated grammar constructions and appropriate professional lexis.
Cooperation skills	Actively participates in pair work and group work, is interested in other students' opinions.
Intercultural communication	Intercultural communication skills have been developed theoretically but the student can use them independently.
Knowledge of lexis	The student has acquired 70-79% of the professional lexis envisaged by the syllabus.
Knowledge of grammar	The student has acquired 70-79% of grammar themes envisaged by the syllabus.
Competence as to the EQF	The language competence level indicated in the syllabus is attained by 70-79%. Can apply the acquired knowledge and developed language skills in the studies and in everyday professional activity.

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## Conclusions

Introduction of the CEFR into language teaching-learning in Europe has contributed to the development of common understanding between language educators Europe-wide and even worldwide. Despite many discussions and arguments regarding its complexity, the CEFR undoubtedly may be regarded as a unified tool for comparing learners' language competence level internationally. Similarly, introduction of the EQF in Europe has served as a common tool for comparing learning outcomes in vocational and higher education Europe-wide in the lifelong learning context.

Considering the trend that most students in HEIs of Latvia study ESP of their field and will apply the developed language competence level for professional communication in an intercultural context, there is a need for a tool that would enable describing ESP competence level and incorporate the

specific features of the ESP, intercultural competence and would correspond both to the EQF and the CEFR. The developed ESP competence assessment system offered in this paper may be an example of such a tool that is applied in practice.

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# INTONATIONAL MEANS OF SIGNALING INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEECH

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**Abstract.** Signaling of information structure in English is mainly expressed by intonational means and is reflected in the utterance accentuation pattern. The experimental research is aimed at revealing the degree of native language influence on nuclear position in the speech of Mexican and Russian speakers of English. Comparative analysis of English, Spanish and Russian accentual patterns helps explain erratic nucleus choice in non-native English speech. Types of sentences which cause most difficulties are revealed and classified. The comparison of English and Spanish experimental phrases proves that the erratic nucleus shifts in the speech of the Mexican speakers of English manifest themselves due to the accent placement rules in Spanish. Erratic nucleus positions revealed in the English speech of the Russians can be accounted for not only by the influence of the mother tongue but also by the lack of the English accentuation rules knowledge. The natural linguistic surrounding most probably help Mexican speakers overcome the interfering effect of their native language and demonstrate better result in comparison to the results of the Russian speakers with higher level language proficiency but learning English in the conditions of ‘artificial’ or classroom bilingualism.

**Key words:** information structure, nucleus placement, tonicity errors, bilingualism

## Introduction

Signaling of information structure in English is mainly expressed by intonational means and is reflected in the utterance accentuation pattern. The phonological significance of the most prominent syllable (main accent or nucleus) is accepted by most linguists. Nucleus position and the factors affecting its place in the English utterance have been under discussion for the last decades. Apart from being interesting for the purely linguistic investigation it has become an important subject for research from the point of view of English language teaching methodology. Being included in the lingua franca core nucleus placement has been proclaimed one of the phonological features to be taught to a foreigner, as its erratic shifts can cause difficulties in communication (Jenkins, 2000). According to the linguistic literature Germanic and Romance languages differ in rules governing nucleus position

(Vallduví, 1991). The teaching experience and registration of regular nucleus shifts in the English speech of the Russians accounts for the choice of the Russian language for the research. The erratic nucleus position in the English speech of the Spanish speaking subjects based on the differences between accentual structures of English and Spanish have been registered in several works (Ortiz-Lira, 1995; Chela-Flores, 2001; Jurado, 2005). The thorough analyses of this type of errors in the English speech of the Russians have not been given much attention yet.

The main difference between English and Spanish in the field of tonicity is considered to be the tendency for the last lexical item to be accented in Spanish in contrast to English, where nucleus shifts due to different reasons are quite common. The Russian language demonstrates more similarities with the English accentuation rules than Spanish. The research is aimed at revealing the degree of native language influence on nuclear place position for the subjects learning English in different linguistic surroundings. The importance of the natural language environment has been a disputable matter (DeKeyser, 1991; Brecht and Robinson, 1995) and its influence on acquiring phonetic and phonological features of a foreign language is still unclear.

Along with the linguistic surrounding the factor of linguistic competence is also taken into consideration.

## Methods

The material for the experimental research consists of 200 English utterances (each included in a dialogue) mostly with non-final nuclei, surrounded by micro-context, including the so called event sentences (which contain an intransitive verb denoting appearance/disappearance of something or misfortune, e.g. Any problems? – My **car** disappeared), general questions (Did you listen to the **news**? – I did), sentences with final adverbials of time and place (Why are you so exited? – I'm seeing **Tom** today), sentences with final items of low semantic weight (something, somebody, e.g. Does she speak French? – She can **say** something), examples with an opposition element (Care for some ham and eggs? – I'd rather have **bacon** and eggs). The expected nucleus position (shown in bold) on the last but one lexical item in each type with the exception of general questions with final nuclei, is based on the rules governing phrasal accent placement in the English language (Wells, 2006). To confirm the only possible nucleus position the material was read by six native American speakers of English who don't speak Spanish. The American subjects didn't demonstrate any variation in the experimental material from the nucleus placement point of view. The same dialogues were read by 30 Mexican speakers of English students of UTEP (El Paso, Texas) with different degree of English language competence: Intermediate (10), Upper- Intermediate (10) and Advanced (10).

The experimental material was also read by 30 Russian learners of English with the same levels of English language competence learning English in Ural State University of Economics (Ekaterinburg, Russia) in the conditions of the so called artificial bilingualism.

The recorded data (13 200 utterances) was the subject for auditory analyses aimed at registration of nucleus placement. The nuclear tones' configurations were also registered but they are not discussed within the limits of the article.

## Results and Discussion

The results for the Mexican speakers shown on Figure 1 prove the significance of the language competence factor for the nucleus placement choice.

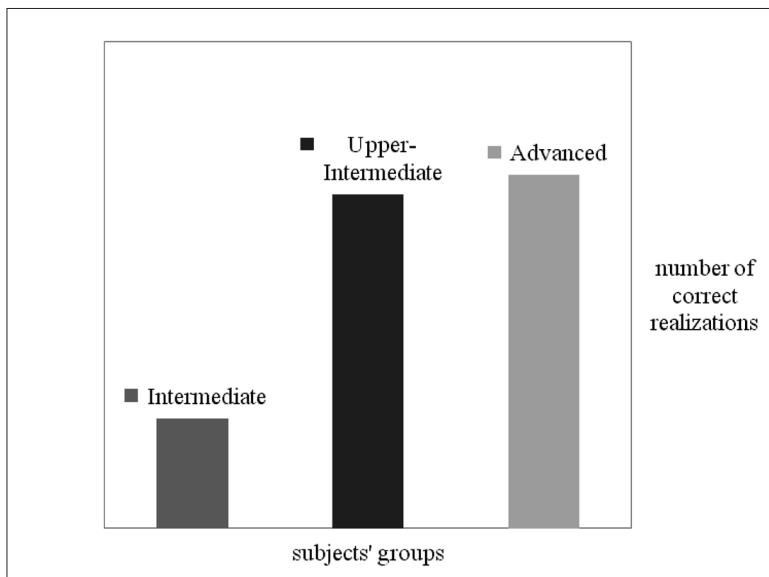


Figure 1 Number of correct realizations in the reading of 30 Mexican subjects

The number of correct realizations for the speakers with Intermediate level of English language competence is 448 (22%), Upper-Intermediate – 1372 (69%), Advanced – 1451 (73%) out of total 2000 utterances for each group. The linguistic analyses of the experimental material demonstrates that event sentences, examples with adverbial modifiers of place and time as well as words of low semantic weight in final position belong to the most difficult areas for the Mexican subjects in the aspect of nucleus position choice. The comparison of the English and Spanish experimental phrases proves that the shifts of the nucleus to final position in utterances of these categories manifest themselves due to the accent placement rules in the Spanish language. The types of phrases

with the highest number of correct realizations include general questions and statements with an opposition element. The final nucleus placement in English general questions allowed to predict the absence of difficulties for all three groups of Mexican subjects' nucleus placement choice. As for the contrastive accent, subjects with Intermediate English language level faced considerable difficulties in its realization, the other two groups demonstrating skill existence of nucleus placement choice in the sentences with an opposition element.

The results for the Russian speakers which are different are represented on Figure 2.

The number of correct realizations for the speakers with Intermediate level of the English language competence is 1378 (69%), upper-Intermediate – 1390 (69%), Advanced – 1356 (68%) out of total 2000 utterances for each group. There is no significant difference in the number of correct nuclei placement choice in the experimental phrases in the Russian speakers' readings.

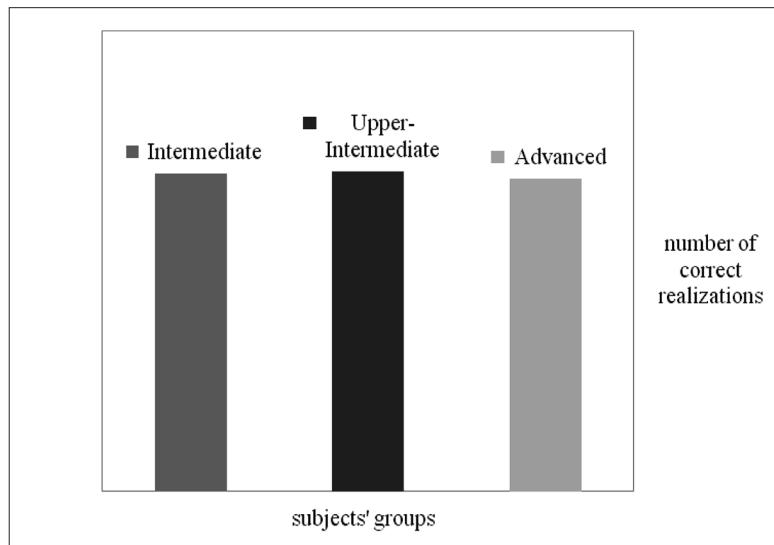


Figure 2 Number of correct realizations in the reading of 30 Russian subjects

Moreover, the result for the Advanced level speakers is slightly lower in comparison to the data of the subjects with the lower levels of language competence. The erratic variants are characterized by the shift of the nucleus to the final lexical item. The sentence type which proved to be the most difficult for the Russian learners of English contains grammar words in final position. Prepositions can be accented in the Russian utterance only for contrast. Besides, in the Russian equivalents of this type it is the pronoun which is the nucleus. The influence of the mother tongue as well as the absence of accentuation rules knowledge account for this type of errors. The other types of sentences which caused difficulties for the Russian subjects coincide with the ones difficult for

the Mexican students: sentences with words with low semantic weight and event sentences. The fact is that in the Russian language these types of phrases have the same accentuation pattern as the corresponding English utterances. In spite of this fact the Russian speakers demonstrate the tendency to choose the final lexical item as a nucleus. The sentence types which turned out to cause no difficulties for the Russian learners are general questions and sentences with an opposition element.

The results of the comparative illustrate that the overall number of correct realizations of the Russian speakers prevails – 4124 (69%) in comparison to 3271 (55%) out of 6000 in both cases revealed in the readings of the Mexican subjects. The findings can be explained by the common features between the English and the Russian language in the area under discussion in most of the experimental phrases. The more detailed comparison helps make an interesting conclusion. Language accentuation structure differences are significant only for the speakers of the lowest (in the experiment Intermediate) English language competence level. The higher is the level (upper-Intermediate and Advanced levels) the less meaningful such differences are.

We conclude that the influence of natural linguistic surrounding, that is learning English in the conditions with the native English speakers around, help Mexican subjects overcome the interfering effect of the Spanish language and show even better result in comparison to the result of the Russian subjects (Advanced level). The negative transfer disappears the better the language competence is. As for the Russian speakers learning English without any contact with the English native speakers the number of mistakes remains unchanged.

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## CREATING DEFINITIONS FOR LSP DICTIONARIES: THE CASE OF ENGLISH-RUSSIAN SOCIO-POLITICAL DICTIONARY

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**Abstract.** The paper presents the process of creating definitions in the LSP dictionary. The project is an interactive web portal and is supposed to be a rather large, semi-crowdsourced, mostly-datamined dictionary of English-Russian socio-political lexicon. Socio-political language is specific due to its composite nature: while it primarily relates to the field of political science it also stretches out to very different fields of human activity. Moreover, ideological evaluation plays an important role in understanding and using socio-political words. The choice of a lexical unit and its translation equivalent in a particular context greatly depends on the political, social and cultural values of the society. The corpus-based dictionary project has been compiled mostly manually. The major sources of the data are both purely language-related discoveries and laypeople's conceptions and understanding. The definition includes the translation equivalent(s) and additional comment on the lexical meaning of the key word within the definition/translation equivalent, in brackets, to explain the semantics of the notion and show the difference (if any) between the English and Russian concepts. The paper illustrates the problems and dilemmas while creating the definitions and attempts at their resolution with the analysis of the texts.

**Key words:** LSP dictionary, definition creation, socio-political lexis, entry, corpus-based dictionary project, bilingual dictionary.

### General Outline of Socio-Political Language

‘Obshestvenno-politicheskij jazik/terminologija’ (socio-political language/terminology) is a term of Russian linguistics to define the words denoting notions and realia of socio-political life and it is widely used in mass media and political essays. It was introduced at the beginning of the 50s to name numerous political words that would be broadly registered in the *pre-revolutionary reference books* (dictionaries of foreign words; political encyclopedias; dictionaries of political words; etc. totally amounting to 42 reference books as A. Golovanevsky noted in his article of 1986). That was the time when first researches on their semantics appeared in the *post-revolutionary decade*. Thus the lexico-semantic subsystem turned into an independent research subject.

Socio-political language is specific due to its composite nature: while it primarily relates to the field of politics and political science, it also stretches out to very different fields of human activity, such as the military sphere, disarmament, social sphere, economics, medicine, environment protection, diplomacy, anti-terrorist activity, anti-piracy activity, national liberation movements, etc (Manik, 2010). For example, *preventive war; casualty; aerial and ground attack; cease-fire violation; decadelong war; to maintain post-surge troop level; bomb plot; suicide bomb; to perform a suicide mission; to expand anti-piracy mission; breakaway republic; collapse; coup; refugee; protest rally; Occupy Wall Street Movement; riot; to oppose social injustice; election clouded by allegations of widespread fraud; to deliver anti-austerity message; banning ballistic missile testing; nuclear facilities; jobless benefit; invisible unemployed; to raise public-health alarm*. Thus, socio-political vocabulary is much wider and more diverse than political language in the narrow sense since it covers numerous everyday and professional communication spheres. It is commonly used in mass media and non-native speakers (Russians) may have problems in understanding and translating them from English.

The lexis under discussion has been studied in Ivanovo State University for over 15 years and the *conceptual model* has been developed dividing socio-political vocabulary into social and political terminology and indexes (Manik, 2012). For example, social terminology consists of the terminology of Social Movements, Gender and Racial Relations, Health Care, Environment, Migration/Immigration, Social Policy, etc. Political terminology comprises political notions (= structure of the government; political set-up), terms of Parliamentary Procedure, military terms, antiterrorist activity terms, antipiracy activity terms, national-liberation movements terms, disarmament and (inter)national security maintenance terms, etc. Indexes are meant for proper names, titles, positions, NGOs, treaties, etc.

It should also be mentioned that ideological evaluation plays an important role in understanding and using socio-political words. The choice/preference of the lexical unit and its translation equivalent in a particular context greatly depends on the political, social and cultural values of the society (compare Russian *боевик* '*bojevik*' with the equivalents in English *gunman, terrorist, fighter, commando, militant; tax evasion and tax avoidance* in English may be used in different contexts depending on the connotation and semantics – and Russian *уклонение от уплаты налогов* '*uklonenije ot uplati nalogov*' is used only with a negative connotation).

Definitely, this connotational and ideological difference between the word/word combination and its translation equivalent is very important. The terminology of socio-political life denotes conflicts and contradictions in the society, multifacetedness and critical character of numerous social processes and reforms, ethnic discords, wars and 'cleansing', political 'battles' for the votes and power, religions and gender relations, social and economic debates

on unemployment, financial crisis, mortgage, credit crunch, etc.. Thus it has its peculiar (ideological, social, gender, cultural, etc.) features and characteristics. It is stipulated by the identity of every community and consequently it is reflected in the language. Simultaneously the lexis reproduces the government stand of the given country. Most bilingual dictionaries (English-Russian) do not provide such comments on the cultures' differences, though it might be rather useful.

## Methods

Such discoveries are possible due to ongoing work with mass media resources, both in English and Russian. For example: the events in Syria are interpreted differently in English- and Russian-speaking mass media (key dictionary resources):

State-run and government-friendly television networks aired glowing descriptions of Daraya's recapture by forces loyal to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad after a weeklong **siege**, blaming the deaths of more than 200 civilians there on '**terrorists**' driven out by the army. But opposition activists said the dead were victims of a **rampage** by government troops after the rebel Free Syrian Army withdrew from the city late Friday.

Opposition activists posted video of mass burials and reported dozens more bodies were found Sunday. (Online 1)

Rebels in the **disputed district** of Salaheddine supervise locals queuing outside a bakery.

The opposition Syrian National Council says Aleppo is facing 'a humanitarian crisis' exacerbated by the **regime's siege** on the city. (Online 2)

Another **bloody day** in Syria with as many as 90 people killed on Thursday.

Amateur footage uploaded to social media websites gives a glimpse of the **fierce fighting** said to be raging in parts of the capital Damascus. (Online 3)

Сирийские войска ведут зачистку окраин города Алеппо, занятых боевиками. Как передает телеканал 'Аль-Арабия', удары наносятся по районам Масакин-Ханнано, Саххур и Шаар, где сохраняются очаги сопротивления и сосредоточены значительные силы террористов.

(The Syrian forces are conducting the **cleansing** of the uptown Aleppo being held by the **gunmen**. As Al Arabiya reports the strikes are launched at Masakin-Hannano, Sahour and Shaar, the centers of resistance and great number of **terrorists** – the author's translation)

В Бустан-эль-Баша, по сведениям сирийского телеканала 'Сурия', был уничтожен командный центр антиправительственных

формирований. Убиты и ранены десятки террористов и наемников. Боевики отвечают беспорядочным огнем из минометов по центральным и западным кварталам, занятых войсками. Из Мейсалуна, с улиц Райя-эш-Шабаб и шейх Таха поступают сообщения о раненых среди мирных жителей.

(In Bustan Al-Basha, as the Syrian channel Suria reports, the command center of **anti-governmental forces** was destroyed. Many terrorists and mercenaries were killed and injured. The gunmen respond by a sporadic fire from the trench mortars at the central and western blocks occupied by the troops. From Meisalun streets, Rey-ash-Shabab and Taha numerous reports come on injured among the **civilians** – the author's translation).

В окрестностях северной столицы формирования так называемой 'Сирийской свободной армии' /CCA/ попытались захватить военный аэродром в городке Кувейрас. Однако, как сообщает новостная служба издания 'Аль-Ватан', военнослужащие, охранявшие этот важный военный объект, отразили атаку боевиков.

(Near the northern capital the **forces of the so-called 'Syrian Liberation Army'** executed an attempt to capture the military airfield in Kuveyras. But, as Al-Vatan news agency reports, the militants safeguarding this important military object defeated the attack of the **gunmen** – the author's translation).

Правительственные войска подтягивают подкрепления к городу Абу-Кемаль на сирийско-иракской границе, где мятежники, перешедшие на сторону ССА, захватили в пятницу крупную военную базу.

(The governmental forces are bringing up the reinforcement to Abu Kemal located on the Syrian-Iraqi border, where the rebels, having taken the side of the Syrian Liberation Army, seized a large military basis on Friday - the author's translation). (Online 4)

As one may note English-speaking news agencies (American and European mass media) make use of the words *siege* (осада, долгий и тяжелый период), *rampage* (неистовство, ярость), *disputed district* (оспариваемый район), *fierce fighting* (жестокая борьба) describing military disorders in this region, and anti-governmental forces are called *terrorists* (террористы). In Russian mass media the description is more expressive: зачистка (*cleansing, elimination*), боевики (*gunmen*), террористы (*terrorists*), мятежники (*rebels*), наемники (*mercenaries, contractors*), антиправительственные формирования (*anti-governmental units*), формирования так называемой 'Сирийской свободной армии' (*forces of the so-called 'Syrian Liberation Army'*). By all means the reader's emotions are rather different on reading such interpretations dictated by the state stand.

## Process of Creating Definitions in English-Russian Socio-Political Dictionary

The paper presents the process of creating definitions in the electronic English-Russian Socio-Political Dictionary. The project fills an important gap in bilingual LSP reference sources for Russian learners since there is still no contemporary bilingual (English-Russian) dictionary of socio-political vocabulary available (the latest Russian-English Dictionary by Tsarev (Царев, 2005) is dated 2005 and the latest edition of English-Russian Dictionary of Socio-Political Lexis is dated 1985 (Крупнов, 1985).

Simon Krek truly noted during his presentation in eLEX 2011 the evolution of digitalized tools in linguistics. So, the eighties brought the first extensive use of digitalized dictionaries for linguistic querying, the nineties were dedicated to collecting and exploring huge amounts of language data in digital format, such as corpora, lexicons, ontologies, lexical databases, etc. Finally the first decade in the new century saw the explosion of freely available (crowd-sourced) web contents such as Wikipedia and online dictionaries, everyday use of NLP (natural language processing) technologies, and the first move towards the abandonment of paper as the primary medium of written language transmission (for example, *MacMillan Learner's Dictionary* is no longer on paper). Simon Krek declared that 'Information is cheap, but meaning is expensive' (Online 5). At the beginning of the present decade it is therefore reasonable to ask what will fulfil the persisting human need to understand difficult elements of one's native language, or contribute to maintaining a common language standard. On the multilingual side, there is an equally important need to communicate with people or understand texts in languages other than one's own, the area where free web content and freely available statistical machine translation tools made a considerable step forward in recent years.

Political communication is rather delicate since the translation/understanding/ interpretation may change the message. Thus a bilingual dictionary may be very useful.

Recently online dictionaries have become popular since the access to lexicographical online information is easy, quick and cheap. The internet is a good medium to present not only new kinds of *lexicographical information* (graphical icons, visuals, cultural notes, usage notes, collocations, word of the day, discussion forums, hypernyms (words that are more generic or abstract), hyponyms (words that are more specific), reverse dictionary (words that contain the entry word in their definition), etc.), but also new kinds of *lexicographical products* (Wikipedia, wordnik.com, sketchengine.co.uk, DANTE database, other databases, corpora and online lexicons).

Consequently, it is necessary to conceptualize a new format – an interactive web portal on English-Russian socio-political vocabulary, where

reliable information on all aspects of two particular languages is available – an ‘all-about’. It is supposed to be a rather large, semi-crowdsourced, mostly-datamined dictionary of English-Russian socio-political lexis.

It is aimed at mostly Russian-speaking users with the intermediate or advanced level of English who are interested in politics, the socio-political life of the country and the world: students, teachers, politicians, diplomats, translators, etc.

The major sources of the portal will be:

- purely language-related discoveries in:
  - English- and Russian-speaking news releases, mass media (CNN News, BBC News, Euronews, NBC News; ria.ru; Newsru.ru; etc.), documents, treaties, public speeches and presentations, etc.;
  - available online corpora (Mass Media Corpus Christi; the British National Corpus; the Reuters Corpus; Corpus of British News; Corpus of Russian newspapers; the AQUAINT Corpus of English News Texts; Computer Corpus of Newspapers Texts of the End of XX Century, etc.), lexicons, ontologies, lexical databases of the English and Russian languages;
- laypeople’s conceptions and understanding of what a dictionary could or ought to be, which should be sent through comments, a special forum box or social network site.

The data have been logged in the carefully, manually and systematically populated database with some rough characterization of the entry meaning and its translation equivalent, its combinatorial behaviour in numerous examples (syntactical patterns, lexical collocations), indication of any stylistic, ideological, cultural, subject-field or other features. It started in 1997 when the research diploma paper on *Peculiarities of English Political Language* was carried out in Ivanovo State University. Then it has been continued individually within the course Political English. All these resources are valuable for the execution of the challenging task of creating definitions for the dictionary entry.

Atkins and Rundell underline that ‘definitions succeed when they get two things right: content and form. The precise configuration will be determined by the needs and skills of the users of the particular dictionary’ (Atkins and Rundel, 2008: 450). That is why while working on a definition we take into consideration the results of the user’s needs and expectations research held in the Department of Translation in Specialized Communication Sphere, Ivanovo State University. It proved the great importance of the translation equivalent, of some comment on the subject-field, of usage labels, collocations and examples. It is well-known that a bilingual dictionary, going from L1 to L2, is chiefly a translation aid, and ideally it should be backed by monolingual dictionaries of the two languages. The user is looking for equivalents rather than analysis. However, as truly noted by Coward and Grimes, bilingual dictionaries do not always work this way (Coward and Grimes, 2000). The main reason is that

the lexicons of different languages are never completely isomorphic – their semantic categories do not match one-to-one. And it is the main concern of the translation theory. Besides, as Manik has stated earlier, socio-political language is rather hard to understand due to its ideological evaluation. Thus, while working on definitions in the English-Russian Dictionary of Socio-Political Vocabulary we consider the key principle to be explanation: semantics, connotations, evaluation, etc. (Manik, 2013).

For example, the world economic crisis has brought the colloquial word *crunch* to the official socio-political vocabulary, meaning '*the critical moment or situation*'. The online Concise Oxford English Dictionary (OED) registers the following definition: '*a severe shortage of money or credit*'. *Credit crunch* has won the OUP UK's Word of the Year 2008. Susie Dent, an English lexicographer and a well-known resident dictionary expert and adjudicator on Channel 4's long-running game show Countdown, underlines that 'the world's financial markets have been one of the biggest generators of vocabulary in the past year. Specialized vocabulary is now firmly on the British public's radar. As fears of a recession escalate, it may be productivity of the linguistic kind that is the safest bet. **Credit crunch** is an example of an established term – it was already in currency back in the 1960s – being resurrected as circumstances change' (Online 6).

The word combination has been widely used, but it has moved from the banking sphere with the meaning of 'tightening of the conditions required to obtain a loan from the banks' to mass media and everyday communication with the meaning 'shortage of money'. It is interesting to note that facing the necessity to define a more general tendency of credit problems initially in the USA and later world-wide the definition of the term *credit crunch* has been recently added to the corpus of numerous English reference books ranging from 'tightening of the loans' to 'period of economic crisis':

- a period during which there is a sudden reduction in the availability of credit from banks and other lenders (World English Dictionary);
- a period when a country's economy is in a bad state and banks are not willing to lend much money (MacMillan Dictionary);
- a period of economic crisis in which credit and investment capital are difficult to obtain (Wiktionary);
- a period in which there is a short supply of cash to lend to businesses and consumers and interest rates are high (WordNet 3.0);
- an economic condition in which investment capital is difficult to obtain. Banks and investors become wary of lending funds to corporations, which drives up the price of debt products for borrowers (Investopedia).

Simultaneously several synonymous terms appeared: *liquidity crisis*, *squeeze*, *cash crunch*; *economic crunch*; *budget crunch*; *global liquidity crunch*; *fiscal crunch*; etc.

To our mind and according to the survey, this information is important for the user. So, the definition of the English-Russian Socio-Political Dictionary includes the translation equivalent(s) and an additional comment on the lexical meaning of the key word within the definition/translation equivalent, in brackets, to explain the semantics of the notion and show the difference (if any) between the English and Russian concepts.

Thus, *credit crunch* is registered in the English-Russian dictionary in the following way:

*Credit crunch* – ограничение кредита или ужесточение условий кредитования (особенно в банковской сфере – especially in the banking sphere – the author's translation); кредитный кризис (о периоде времени, когда экономические условия неблагоприятны для получения инвестиционного капитала, поскольку банки и инвесторы с большой осторожностью одолживают средства корпорациям и компаниям, что приводит к удешевлению кредитного продукта – about a period of unfavorable economic condition for obtaining investment capital because banks and investors become wary of lending funds to corporations, which drives up the price of debt products – the author's translation)

The comments in the brackets indicate the difference between the translation equivalents: tightening of the loans and a period of time; as well as the sphere (banking). Besides the *Interesting!* Section provides the following data:

В недавнем прошлом фраза ‘кредитный кризис’ характеризовала сокращение кредитного предложения в ответ на снижение стоимости банковских активов и установление регуляторами более жестких требований к капиталу банков. Кредитный кризис 2007 г по настоящее время не был ни неожиданным, ни непредвиденным; он явился логическим следствием накопившихся негативных событий и недостатка регулирования финансовых рынков. По сути, проблемы сектора низкокачественныхипотечных кредитов в США (subprime), когда американские банки отошли от традиционной модели ‘выдавай и держи’ к новой – ‘выдавай и продавай’, стали спусковым крючком накопленных диспропорций в глобальной экономике. (In the recent past ‘credit crunch/crisis’ would characterize the credit proposal reduction resulting from the reduction of bank assets impairment and set of tough regulations to bank capital. The credit crisis of 2007 till present was not unexpected or unforeseen; it was a logical consequence of the accumulated negative events and lack of financial market regulations. Per se, the problems of low-quality mortgage (subprime) in the USA, when American banks had moved from an old model ‘lend and hold’ to a new one ‘lend and sell’, moved the trigger in the misbalanced world economy – the author's translation)

Рост просроченных платежей по низкокачественным ипотечным кредитам, банкротства ипотечных компаний сопровождались падением

цен на недвижимость, появлением убытков и потерю от вложений в структурированные продукты и коллапсом хедж-фондов. В 2007-2008 годах кризис продолжил свое развитие: дальнейший рост просрочек и дефолтов по ипотечным кредитам, массовые сокращения сотрудников в банковском секторе, острая критика рейтинговых агентств, масштабная правительственная поддержка финансовых рынков и прекращение существования крупнейших инвестиционных банков Уолл-стрит. (Growth of the overdue payments on low-quality mortgages, bankruptcy of banks was accompanied by the property slump, losses from investments in structured products and collapse of hedge funds. In 2007-2008 the crisis continued to develop: further overdues and defaults on mortgages, mass bank staff reduction, sharp criticism of the rating agencies, large-scale government support of the financial markets and shut down of huge investment banks on Wall Street – the author's translation).

Кредитный кризис стал глобальным и охватил множество стран, включая Великобританию, Германию, Францию, Австралию, Индию, Россию и другие рынки. (Credit crunch became international and covered a pretty many number of countries, including the UK, Germany, France, Australia, India, Russia and many others – the author's translation).

Важно подчеркнуть, что в России кредитный кризис выражается немного в иной форме. Специалисты отмечают тенденцию роста кредитов, по которым клиенты не просто задерживают платежи, а не платят вообще, что началось еще во втором квартале 2012 г. Это грозит обернуться банковским кризисом. Российский рынок переполнен предложениями о быстром легком кредите в банке. В результате мощного разгона кредитного портфеля банков в 2011-2012 годах опасно увеличилась долговая нагрузка (прежде всего, на физических лиц). Долг рос несопоставимо с доходами населения, из-за чего в абсолютных объемах стала увеличиваться 'просрочка' по кредитам. (It is important to underline the Russian credit crunch runs in a different way. Experts note a tremendous growth of the credits when the customers simple do not pay at all. It started in the second quarter of 2012. It may turn into a bank crisis. Russian market is overfilled with the offers of a fast and easy bank credit. As a result of a great acceleration of the credit portfolio in 2011-2012 the debt burden (mostly on individuals) increased. The debt exceeded the incomes of the population that naturally resulted in overdue payments. – the author's translation)

Следовательно, кредитное сжатие (*credit squeeze*), характеризующееся высоким уровнем процентных ставок и трудностями с получением кредитов (см. *credit squeeze*), не отражает ситуацию в России. Вместе с тем, оно довольно часто стоит в синонимическом ряду с *credit crunch* в английском языке. (Consequently, *credit squeeze* characterized by high interest rates and difficulties in obtaining the credit, does not reflect the

situation in Russia. Note in English often these are synonyms – the author's translation)

<http://www.rcb.ru/ol/2008-01/16489/>  
<http://www.mrcmarkets.ru/articles/289297/>  
[http://www.odnako.org/blogs/show\\_25578/](http://www.odnako.org/blogs/show_25578/)

It should be mentioned that the links offered in the entry are major resources of the information, though specialized reference books and expert opinions are also invited.

Another example of the entry is rather interesting; it also reflects peculiarities of the socio-political language.

*Social (protection) floor (SPF)* – минимальный уровень социальной защиты.

*Interesting!* Идея введения понятия минимального уровня социально-экономической защиты принадлежит Всемирной комиссии по социальным аспектам глобализации (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization), 2004 г. Несмотря на то, что на сегодняшний день не существует четкой и принятой на международном уровне дефиниции, термин *social floor* или *social protection floor* используется для обозначения и гарантирования выполнения ряда основных социальных прав. Каждому человеку должен быть гарантирован минимальный уровень социальной защиты.

(The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization introduced an idea of the term in 2004. Though there has not been any internationally adopted definition of the term 'social floor' or 'social protection floor', the notion is used to define and guarantee the observance of the essential social rights. Every man should enjoy the social protection floor – the author's translation).

Понятие 'минимальные уровень социальной защиты' было официально утверждено в апреле 2009, когда ООН утвердило Инициативу по созданию минимального уровня социальной защиты (Social Protection Floor Initiative (SPF-I)), одну из 9 совместных инициатив в ответ на мировой финансовый и экономический кризис 2008 г. Важность социальной защиты как права, так и механизма, гарантирующего долгосрочное развитие, вылилась в целое направление в политике по всему миру.

(The SPF concept was formally adopted in April 2009 when the United Nations Chief Executives Board (CEB) endorsed the Social Protection Floor Initiative (SPF-I) as one of nine joint initiatives to respond to the global financial and economic crisis of 2008. The continued relevance of social protection, both as a right and as a means to ensure long-term development, has transformed the SPF into a widely pertinent policy approach – the author's translation).

Председатель группы экспертов, Исполнительный директор новой структуры 'ООН-женщины' Мишель Бачелет так объяснила данную

концепцию: ‘Во-первых, каждый должен иметь доступ, по крайней мере, к базовым услугам здравоохранения, начальному образованию, жилью, воде и канализации и другим жизненно необходимым услугам. Во-вторых, никто не должен жить ниже определенного уровня доходов’.

(The Chair of the Advisory Group, CEO UN-Women, Michelle Bachelet explained the concept in the following way: ‘Firstly, everyone should have the access to at least essential goods and services, services of health care, primary education, housing, water and sanitation and other vital services. Secondly, everyone should enjoy at least basic income security sufficient to live’ – the author’s translation).

Более подробно можно ознакомиться с данными международными документами на следующих сайтах:

<http://www.un.org/en/ga/second/64/socialprotection.pdf>

[http://library.fes.de/pdf\\_files/iez/07814.pdf](http://library.fes.de/pdf_files/iez/07814.pdf)

[http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Social\\_protection\\_floor\\_initiative\\_ONU.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Social_protection_floor_initiative_ONU.pdf)

<http://www.socialprotectionfloor-gateway.org/4.htm>

Идея установления минимального уровня социальной защиты приобретает растущую популярность в ООН, поскольку сегодня трое из каждого четырех жителей планеты не имеют необходимых социальных гарантий.

В РФ основные социальные гарантии закреплены в Конституции РФ и находят свое подтверждение в социальной политике. Они определены в ст. 7 Основного закона РФ: ‘В Российской Федерации охраняются труд и здоровье людей, устанавливается гарантированный минимальный размер оплаты труда, обеспечивается постоянная поддержка семьи, материнства, отцовства и детства, инвалидов и пожилых граждан, развивается система социальных служб, устанавливаются государственные пенсии, пособия и иные гарантии социальной защиты’.

Социальные гарантии – это механизм долговременного действия, предусмотренные законом обязательства государства, направленные на реализацию конституционных прав граждан. Основой государственных социальных гарантий должны стать минимальные социальные стандарты.

Минимальные социальные стандарты – это установленные законодательством РФ нормы и нормативы, которые закрепляют минимальный уровень социальной защиты, ниже которого опускаться нельзя. Систему государственных минимальных стандартов составляют взаимосвязанные государственные минимальные социальные стандарты в области: оплаты труда; пенсионного обеспечения; образования; здравоохранения; культуры; социального обслуживания; жилищно-коммунального обслуживания.

It should be mentioned that the information in the *Interesting!* Section is presented in Russian since the target audience is Russian. According to the survey of users' needs it is preferable for the students. This chapter is rather informative and reminds a textbook. It traces some historical background of the term, its legal status. Then some links to official documents are given for further detailed reading, if necessary. Besides, the Russian user gets some description of the Russian system of social protection (the last four paragraphs). It contributes greatly to the understanding the semantics of the headword.

While working on the definition of the bilingual dictionary it is extremely important to register a rather 'representative' translation equivalent. As Verbitskaja states 'representativeness' means the ability of the translation equivalent to replace the original in the translation language and culture (Вербицкая, 2008: 162). This term (compare with 'adequacy', 'equivalence') does not stipulate identity (equality) of the original and translation, implicitly it brings some cultural and pragmatic component in the translation. It helps to find a functional replacement and provides transition from one language to another, from one culture to another.

To our mind, it is possible to include some additional cultural and pragmatic comments next to the translation equivalent in brackets, if necessary. For example:

*to jumpstart the economy* – запустить экономику (в разгар экономического кризиса или в ходе экономических реформ в качестве оживления и возрождения здорового экономического климата в стране).

(in the heat of the economic crisis or in the course of economic reforms as some means to revive and restore sound economic climate in the country).

## Conclusion

To sum it up, socio-political terminology is a special 'channel' implemented to create a particular/required worldview in public consciousness. With the help of these terms the interpretation of life and events takes place on the conceptual level. That is why the correct word choice plays an important role in the political communication. The bilingual dictionary defines the words of socio-political sphere, registers the translation equivalent with the pragmatic and cultural comments in brackets (if necessary) and provides a special information section on the cultural and ideological differences. The work on definitions is never-ending since the dynamics of political life obliges to correct and update them regularly.

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# BUILDING BRIDGES INTO THE ENGLISH SPEAKING WORLD

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**Abstract.** The article discusses the issue of cross-cultural education in the process of foreign language training in Russia (the Russian Technical University). Cross-cultural competence can be an issue for both Russian and English speaking students owing to the incomprehension that might sometimes arise between people from different countries. Socio-cultural approach to language teaching is closely connected with the use of foreign language as a means of exploring the world and national cultures, an intellectual heritage of English speaking countries and their people, as well as a tool of overcoming cross-cultural misunderstandings. The authors suggest a new approach towards the teaching foreign language on the basis of new information technologies: International Studies Project (ISP). The effectiveness of the project lies in the implementation of the new forms of language education via the application of modern information technologies, leading to the improvement of cross-cultural linguistic competence and the intensification of English-learning motivation.

**Key words:** professionally-oriented English, cross-cultural communication, International Studies Project (ISP), foreign language teaching, new information technologies

## Introduction

During the Soviet Union period the status of the Russian language was obvious since it was the common language on the whole territory of the USSR and served as a tool of cross-national communication between fifteen republics within the country.

Upon the collapse of the USSR the appearance of sovereign states choosing different political, economical and national values, denying the previous priorities in its development, influenced the language situation greatly in many countries of the former Soviet Union. If we take a look at the states formed right after the collapse of the USSR, one might notice that the major issue of that time was the influence of the Russian language on the fates of national cultures and languages. It was during this time when a huge campaign was launched. The consequences of the Russian language domination over the national languages in the former USSR were evaluated. As a result, the bilingual situation was thought to be ‘politically harmful and scientifically unsound’ in

the speakers' assumptions at various local conferences. However, there were certain tendencies of getting rid of the Russian language in some territories of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In a number of countries inside the CIS the government bodies took and are still taking a very tough look at limiting the Russian language in all spheres of their society. This process is clearly demonstrated in the sphere of education when either the amount of hours for studying Russian is dramatically limited or this subject is entirely eliminated from the curriculum of the national schools. Besides, the teachers' training has almost been stopped and the publication of all Russian text-books has been discontinued. In this connection, it should be noted that there has been a sharp reduction of TV and radio programmes and what is more, the decrease of informational, educational and cultural continuum owing to ousting of the Russian language from all kinds of Mass Media.

It is interesting to note that the total number of population on the territory of the CIS is 272.4 mln and about 260 mln can speak Russian: 147 mln people are native speakers, while 113 mln speak Russian as a second language. Therefore, 12.4 mln citizens of CIS cannot speak Russian at all (The State Duma Committee of the Federal meeting of Russia on the CIS affairs and compatriots' relations). Consequently, all non-Russian speakers would have been able to study Russian as an international language inside the former USSR provided they had had a chance; however, it may not be possible today.

Despite the fact that Russian is being underestimated, there are lots of people who are still interested in it. Moreover, it is the language accepted by United Nations Organization. Russian culture is getting more and more popular and welcome in the world. It serves the aims of successful communication.

## 1 Theoretical Background

What place does the Russian language take in the national communication? According to the sociolinguistic researches in CIS and some other materials represented in the Bank of Linguistic Data of the Russian Federation (project No. 99-04-00202a), 'It is evident that the Russian language occupies its leading place as the main tool of overcoming the language barrier between the former citizens of the USSR' (Белоусов, 1997: 18). However, the modern generation having no opportunity to speak Russian due to the above mentioned reasons, has to study a foreign language, mainly English. Unfortunately, this alternative means of getting over the language misunderstanding in the countries of the CIS has not widely spread yet for certain reasons mostly of educational nature.

Today English is reasonably considered to be one of the widely spread languages in the world. English is known to be spoken by 1.5 billion people and about 1 billion are studying it intensively. Actually, English is the third most

commonly spoken language in the world. The second place belongs to Spanish, and Chinese is the unquestionable leader.

In the USA there are about 215 mln people speaking English. In the UK – about 58 mln English speaking citizens, in Canada – 18.2 mln, in Australia – 15.5 mln, in Ireland – 3.8 mln, in the Southern African Republic – about 3.7 mln and in New Zealand – 3.5 mln of the population speak English as their first language. Judging by these facts one might realize that English is spoken all over the world, therefore, the globalization of this language is obvious.

At present English is considered to be the international global language (Crystal, 2012: 4). India and China are the leaders in the amount of people speaking English as a second language. Nowadays it is English which is the language of medicine, Mass Media, art and sports, aviation and diplomacy and other forms of international communication. The knowledge of English is an essential skill one must have while applying for a job and Russian companies are not the exception to the rule. Thus, in order to be understood all over the world you ought to study English. Since the most qualified language training can be obtained at the university level, it is necessary to take an insight into the approaches to English teaching practices.

The improvement of the English teaching system in the university is provided by the type of a university, needs analysis, educational standard and normative documents executed in the frames of Bologna process but only on condition of their dynamic interrelation.

## 2 The Aims of Research within the Frames of ISP

The aims of *professionally-oriented English training* are characterized by a backbone feature and represent a perspective on the one hand, and the result, on the other hand, and should be considered in terms of general educational goals. The process of education is supposed to provide favorable conditions for switching to self-training, self-education and creative personality development. Accurate and well-ordered organization of the aims of professionally-oriented English training in a university allows everybody who is involved in the teaching and educational process, firstly, to focus on the essence and set the problems of high importance, to see the perspectives; secondly, to support the transparency and publicity in students and teachers' mutual cooperation; thirdly, to get an idea about the criteria of progress assessment simultaneously providing its trustworthiness.

As a matter of fact, the majority of Russian first year students speak English at the elementary level and even worse than that, since most students haven't had a chance to travel or go on any immersion programs abroad. Therefore, 'English coaches in Russia nowadays tend to teach the basics of cross-cultural communication along with grammar, syntaxes and *English for occupational purposes*' (Поляков, 2003: 73). Thus, one of the educational

aims in the Russian university is to form students' *cross-cultural and linguistic competence*, since 'cross-cultural competence is important in professional and interpersonal interactions and an area in which every interventionist should be educated', as it is stated by Eleanor W. Lynch. Defining what cross-cultural competence is, however, is considerably more difficult. The same author points out that 'the notion of cross-cultural competence can be applied to individuals, agencies, and systems, consequently *cross-cultural competence* should be defined as 'the ability to think, feel, and act in ways that acknowledge, respect, and build upon ethnic, socio-cultural, and linguistic diversity', which in its turn demonstrates that socio-cultural factors often play as great or greater a role in people's shared or unshared experience as their ethnicity, language, or culture (Lynch and Hanson, 2011: 10). Socio-cultural approach to language teaching is closely connected with the use of foreign language as a means of exploring the world and national cultures, an intellectual heritage of English-speaking countries and their people, as well as a tool of overcoming cross-cultural misunderstandings. As a result, teaching *communication competence* in English is implemented in the course of cross-cultural dialogue based on the socio-cultural perception of the world.

The particular feature of the modern epoch is the yearly accelerating rate of new information technologies. These changes directly influence the sphere of education resulting in new requirements for its contents. The application of the computer gives an opportunity not only to increase the efficiency of studies but also motivates the students to further English self-learning. Our experience of working at Ivanovo State Power University shows that there is an urgent need for using information technologies in teaching English, as the application of the Internet (English websites and social networks), classroom equipment (interactive white boards, OHPs) and a great variety of modern gargets (i-pads, i-pods, laptops, e-books) has become a common practice.

The advantages of the internet technology implementation into the process of English education are obvious and don't require extra proof. In recent years there has been written a lot of research in which linguists describe the positive impact of different forms of *synchronous* and *anisochronous* internet communication (e.g. emails, chats, forums, web-conferences, and etc.) on the formation of learners' communication competence. The internet resources are an extremely valuable basis for the creation of infomedia, the conditions favorable for education and self-training, as well as the realization of personal interests and needs. The economical development of the Russian Federation is gradually making the Internet the daily routine for the majority of Russian students.

### 3 Methods

The access to the internet resources does not guarantee a prompt and quality language education. In the scientific theory and practice there are a lot of examples of false or incorrectly organized students' work with the Internet resources from the methodological perspective, which results in the formation of erroneous stereotypes and ideas about the specifics of the English speaking world and, moreover, racism and xenophobia. Therefore, at the current point of language education when the innovative technologies are being applied 'there is an urgent need for the design of the educational internet resources meeting all the requirements and aiming directly at the integrated formation and development of several foreign language *communicative skills*' (Казакова, Прохорова, 2011: 28), which are namely the following:

- search and select, generalize, classify, analyze and synthesize the data obtained;
- represent and discuss the results of the internet analysis performed;
- educate and self-educate while getting acquainted with cultural and historical heritage of various countries and peoples;
- represent the native culture, country, city, town or settlement when abroad;
- use the internet resources for personal interests and needs, etc.

All the above mentioned facts encouraged the authors of the article for the creation of innovative *International Studies Project (ISP)* devoted to cross-cultural studies for training students' communicative competence and learning English for professional purposes. This resource has been designed for the students of all the departments and specialties of ISPU. The effectiveness of the project lies in the implementation of the new forms of language education via the application of modern information technologies, in the increase of students' humanitarian training within the framework of the humanization process at the technical university, as well as in the improvement of cross-cultural linguistic competence and in the intensification of English-learning motivation.

### 4 Results and Discussion

Since *International Studies* is one of the issues in the Russian Government Educational Standard for teaching Foreign Languages, the authors of the project included the main cultural facts about the Commonwealth of Nations and five English speaking countries (the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), quizzes with keys for self-control and tests to be done in the classroom. Moreover, the above mentioned *ISP* contains the English Speaking World in Pictures section with the photos of famous personalities, places of interest and national symbols. The students who have the best preliminary *ISP*

test results were invited to take part in *the Guide to the English Speaking World Contest* which was held between the students of all the departments during the period between 2008-2013. The competition is a team game consisting of four main stages, the Captains' Contest and the Map Contest. Generally, there are four or five teams of about twenty students within every group. The spectators are also the students who are involved in the process and given a special task to be solved within the frame of the competition.

The four main stages of the competition include the following aspects:

- geography, history and the traditions of English speaking countries (Stage One);
- national symbols and descriptors (Stage Two);
- places of interest, famous people and national cuisine (Stage Three);
- national anthems, singers and composers (Stage Four).

The amount of correct answers given by each team is traced down and summed up at the end of each stage by the Jury. The latter is represented by the most experienced professors of the Foreign Languages Department. On evaluating the results the Jury board announces the winners of the Captains' Contest and the Map Contest and the team-winner.

Judging by the previous experience, the preparation for the written test as well as for the Guide to the English Speaking World Contest is of great interest to the students. It is a well-known fact that English speaking culture attracts younger generations and is widely presented in different sources. However, some of these materials are not always reliable and competent enough due to their excessive complexity for the students (bad structuring of tasks, lack of appropriate linguistic methods of presenting the data, etc.). As for *the ISP* designed at ISPU ([www.ispu.ru](http://www.ispu.ru)), there have been employed the number of didactic steps in introducing the material:

- easy format of presentation;
- succinct format and brief spirited summary of the articles;
- visualization provided by the use of visual methods, namely, pictures.

All the above mentioned reasons make this resource an effective means of cross-cultural education for all English learners and can be used in all non-English speaking countries all over the world.

## Conclusions

It goes without saying that in the present day situation every professional is supposed to have not only occupational skills, but also the ability to communicate in another language with a foreign partner paying attention to the cultural assumptions and specifics of the overseas mentality. In order to avoid confusing situations when cooperating with foreign partners it is necessary to establish friendly, effective and long-term relationship which can be mutually profitable. Hence, any professional should be well aware of cultural

peculiarities of the language along with grammar, vocabulary and phonetics of the target language. Furthermore, language competence is part and parcel of building cross-cultural bridges process between various countries and nationalities.

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# **STEREOTYPES ABOUT SCHOLARS IN POPULAR SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES IN ENGLISH AND LITHUANIAN: A MULTIMODAL PERSPECTIVE**

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**Abstract.** The aim of the article is to analyse the visual representation of scholars in popular scientific articles in English and Lithuanian. The theory of multimodality, which is defined as the combination of various modes (e.g. the text, photos, pictures, videos, etc.) in meaning making, forms the theoretical basis for the research. In total, 252 photos representing scholars from English and Lithuanian popular scientific articles in the humanities have been analysed. The research reveals that the scholars (authors of the articles and the subject matter in the articles) are represented in an emblematic and stereotypical way. A neutral and depersonalized portrait of a scholar is created by the combination of such variables as a direct look to the viewer, a smile, official clothes, or unidentified setting. The cultural differences in the representation of scholars in English and Lithuanian highlight the existing cultural stereotypes concerning scholars, as well as contribute to different genre expectations.

**Key words:** multimodality, modes, popular scientific discourse, stereotypes

## **Introduction**

Until recently, discourse analysis was limited to the analysis of texts; however, contemporary discourse is comprised not only of texts, but also of audio or video material, pictures, photos, maps, diagrams, and other modes. These elements perform their own functions in discourse, while only their combination produces the whole meaning of a message. The aim of this article is to analyse popular scientific articles in English and Lithuanian from the multimodal perspective and to discuss the stereotypes about scholars, which are created visually.

For the present research, online popular scientific articles in the humanities were chosen. Popular science is a sub-genre, which has not been widely analysed from a scholarly perspective. Besides, popular scientific articles are not only printed but also appear online; thus the internet provides new possibilities concerning design of the websites or modes. In addition,

the function of popular science is to attract wider audiences; therefore, an interesting aspect of the research is to analyse how different modes cooperate in meaning making and performing the functions of the subgenre.

Various popular scientific magazines were chosen in English and Lithuanian. Not all of them are directly related to the humanities; in such a case, only the articles from this particular field were taken into consideration. The articles from the following popular scientific magazines were analysed: *Word.*, *American Heritage*, *History Today*, *How Stuff Works*, *Language Magazine*, *National Geographic*, *nature.com*, *Discovery News*, *The New York Times*, *Popsci*, *Popular Linguistics Magazine*, *Science Daily*, and *Scientific American* and *Aidas*, *Alkas*, *Filosofija Lietuvoje*, *Istorija.net*, *Istorikas.lt*, *Kultūrpolis*, *Literatūra ir menas*, *Mokslo Lietuva*, *Muzikos barai*, *Naujasis židinys – Aidai*, *Nemunas*, *Post Scriptum*, *Rubinaitis*, and *Viduramžių Lietuva*.

In total, 246 popular scientific articles in the humanities and 252 photos from these articles representing people are analysed. The research is also limited by the time span, as the articles were printed during the period of 2007-2011.

The research mainly focuses on the visual mode, namely, the photos depicting people. First, the photos are categorized into the professions depicted. Second, qualitative analysis is employed in order to discuss the pervasiveness of certain professions depicted in the articles. Third, such variables as eye-contact, posture, facial expression, and actions are discussed in order to provide a broader socio-cultural and generic interpretation of the data.

## 1 Main principles of multimodality

Multimodality is a recent branch in discourse studies, which can be defined as the combination of various semiotic modes used for meaning making (Kress, 2001: 67-68). The definition of multimodality is closely related to the definition of a mode, which can be referred to as 'a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning' (e.g. image, writing, layout, gesture, or soundtrack) (Kress, 2010: 79).

Until recently, language was considered to be the main mode, expressing meaning. This is especially true of online discourse, which is multimodal in its nature, as the readers can not only read texts (e.g. articles) but also watch a related video, listen to an audio, navigate to other websites using hyperlinks, or even see some advertisements, which are unrelated to the information provided textually. According to the multimodal perspective, language role cannot be downplayed; however, in contemporary discourse, it is only one of many other modes, which creates meaning.

The functions of each mode may be different, as they complement each other or even provide new aspects of meaning. For instance, language in academic or popular scientific texts serves the informative function, the

function of advertisements is commercial, while audio and video material not only includes additional information related to the text, but also performs the expressive function.

The functions of different modes are also genre dependent, as for instance, the visuals perform the illustrative or the complementary function in academic texts, while in advertisements their role is clearly persuasive. Besides, the medium influences the functions of the modes. For instance, the expression of modes is more restricted in paper versions of magazines or newspapers, while more possibilities may be explored when the same information is provided online (e.g. hypertext, audios, videos, or slideshows may be incorporated into the text). In addition to that, cultural differences also shape the genres and the use of modes.

There are several aspects, which are essential in analysing discourse from the multimodal perspective. One of them is the participant or Carrier, to use Kress and van Leeuwen's term. Dyer provides a list of aspects that should be considered in the analysis: representation of bodies (age, gender, race, hair, body, size and looks); representations of manner (expression, eye contact and pose); representation of activity (touch, body movement and positional communication); props and settings (Dyer, 1982: 96-104 quoted in Rose, 2001: 75-77). Naturally, this list is not finite, and more variables may be included in the analysis. As noted by Kress, a systematic representation of a certain group of people (a nation or a profession) leads to stereotyping, as well as reveals cultural differences.

Lister and Wells (2002: 65-76) also focus on the methodological issues of the research of the visual and claim that first the location of the image should be defined, which relates to other features, and the interpretation of the image. Second, the purpose of looking should be analyzed, as this provides information as to how and why the image will be used and defines the purpose of the image itself. Third, the context of production should be defined; in this case the focus is on the intentions of others and institutional and social contexts. Fourth, the form and meaning of the image are discussed by taking into consideration pictorial, photographic, social conventions and codes.

According to Kress, one may distinguish two main types of visuals, i.e. narrational visuals and conceptual visuals (Kress, 2001: 46). The former type depicts actions, which may contribute to the creation of narrativity in texts. In some texts, the same story can be told both textually and visually, while in others the information provided visually may include different aspects, which are unrelated to the text.

The latter classification type, conceptual visuals, provides a classification or an analysis. Classification or creation of social constructs is significantly important for the present paper, as the visual in popular scientific articles contributes the creation of stereotypes, i.e. the people are depicted in such a way that the viewer may identify or classify them to a certain group of people.

In addition to the participants in the images, the relationship between the producer and the viewer is very important, as the reproduced images always intersect with the social context of its viewing; moreover, different images are associated with different kinds of spaces. The way of seeing differs, for example, at home, in the living room and the art gallery (Rose, 2001: 15). In addition, Lister and Wells claim that ‘the viewing position constructed via the camera cannot be seen as ideologically neutral’ (Lister and Wells, 2002: 83). Kress and van Leeuwen especially emphasize the importance of eye-contact of the person (sometimes animal or even an object) depicted in the picture and the viewer. A direct look creates an immediate contact; however, the meanings of eye-contact are unlimited, as in face-to-face communication. In addition, distance may also create a certain relation between the person or object depicted and the viewer: a close shot or ‘close-up’ indicates a close social distance, while, for instance, in diagrams, the human figure is almost always shown in a medium long or long shot emphasizing the impersonal distance. According to the researchers, size can also suggest social relations between the viewer and objects, buildings and landscapes: a close distance indicates engagement, while a far distance suggests detachment; various combinations of distance are also possible (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 117-121).

The representation angle is also significant: the horizontal angle expresses involvement, while the oblique angle has the meaning of detachment. Double messages may be achieved when the body is angled away from the viewer and his/her head and/or gaze is turned towards the viewer or vice versa. In addition, a high angle makes the subject look small and insignificant, while a low angle makes it look imposing and awesome (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 136-140).

In general, multimodality is a comparatively new approach to discourse analysis, thus, the research from this perspective is still limited. However, this methodology provides a broader look towards discourse and discusses the role and features both of linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, which are topical in the internet sphere and in contemporary discourse in general.

## 2 Representation of the scholars as authors of the articles

The represented scholars can be categorized into two main categories: scholars as authors of the articles and scholars as social participants in the articles. This section discusses the representation of authors of the articles. The representation of scholars as authors of the articles can be discussed only in English, as in Lithuanian popular scientific articles only four authors are represented visually, while in English 87 photos were found. First, the position of a photo in an article is going to be discussed; second, the stereotypical portrayal of the authors is analysed by taking into consideration such variables as body position, facial expression, and features of setting.

There are three possibilities of indicating the author of the article: (a) only the author' name and surname; (b) the name, surname and the photo; (c) the name, surname, the photo and a short description of the author. In very few cases the author is not indicated at all. If the photo is included, structurally, it is placed either at the very beginning (below the title) or at the very end of the article.

When only the name and surname of the author are included, the information about the author is minimal. Usually there is even no title or any other indication that the person has an academic degree. Thus the author may be viewed as a journalist rather than a scholar. This modifies the status of a scholar in the society, as s/he is viewed more as an ordinary/lay person rather than a representative of an elitist profession.

The author completely 'disappears' from the online magazine *Science Daily*, which does not even include the author's surname. Referencing is limited to a sentence, such as 'The above story is reprinted from *materials* provided by Michigan State University'. However, even though references are included at the end of the text, the authorship of the article presented in the online magazine remains unclear, as the reader does not know whether the article is a part of a broader research or whether somebody simplified the information from an academic journal. Even though this tendency is not typical of all online popular scientific magazines, it leads to the conclusion that in some cases academic research is becoming depersonalized. Besides, the reliability of the research or of the article may be questioned, as the authorship of the article remains unclear.

When the photo is included, it provides more prominence to the author, as it attracts the readers' attention, and is distinct from the whole article. Besides, the author is immediately recognizable by regular readers of the magazine, and they may also associate the photo of the author with a certain topic (i.e. one author usually writes about history or archaeology, another about music, etc.). However, these ways of presenting the author are not systematic, and variation is apparent even in the same magazine. Besides, it seems that the choice to include or not to include the photo of the author of the article depends on the 'in-house style' of the magazine; for instance, *Popular Linguistics Magazine* and *DNews* usually present the photo of the author at the beginning of the article, while *nature.com* and *The New York Times* include only the name and surname of the author.

The most extensive representation of the author of the article is when not only his/her name but also his/her photo and a short description are included. In this case, the author receives considerable attention because the reader/ viewer can see the author and can find out about his/her research interests or academic achievements. The description may be quite succinct, as in Examples 1 and 2, or elaborate enough, as in Example 3:

1. By Lauren Hall-Lew, Lecturer in Sociolinguistics, University of Edinburgh.
2. By Janet M. Fuller Director of Women's Studies, Southern Illinois University – Carbondale.
3. Warren Merkel ([merkelthree@yahoo.com](mailto:merkelthree@yahoo.com)) is a teacher trainer and visiting professor currently working at Chonnam National University in Gwangju, South Korea. He received his BA in German from Miami University and MA in TESOL from the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont.

Thus the information about the author is either restricted to only his/her name or elaborated to his/her job position, education, profession, and address or email. The main publications may also be mentioned.

One more aspect related to the representation of the author is that his/her surname is sometimes hypertextual, and by clicking on the name and surname, the reader can access the website, which contains all the articles by the same author. Thus the affordances of the internet are used to provide access to more articles written by the same author. However, no academic information about him/her is given; thus, again the reader may associate him/her with a journalist rather than a scholar, which implies a changing role and status of a scholar in the society.

The role of the scholar, as the author of the article, is different in Lithuanian. As has been mentioned, from all articles, only 4 of them represent the author visually, while only in a few articles, the title of the person is indicated (e.g. *prof.* or *prof. habil. dr.*); all other articles include only his/her first name and last name, even though the article may be written by a well-known scholar. Thus the reader is expected to have some background knowledge on who the author is; otherwise, he/she is not provided with any additional information. Besides, the author either remains unnoticed or at least his/her role is diminished (especially if compared to English popular scientific articles).

As has been mentioned, because of the existing 'in-house' style of online popular scientific magazines, some authors of the articles are presented by using a photo. The variables discussed below (such as the facial expression of the scholar, eye-contact, and setting) allow making an assumption that the representation of the scholars is quite emblematic or stereotypical.

Traditionally, scholarly writing is expected to be innovative, creative and devoid of stereotypes. However, one may observe certain pervasive stereotypes expressed visually, which counterbalance the new and sometimes intriguing information expressed textually. For instance, the stereotype of a scholar is created by the photos, probably, chosen by the scholar himself/herself.

The choice of a photo suggests that, first, the person is viewed as an official person because the traditional photo usually put on official documents is chosen to represent the author of the article. Compared to other photos in the articles, the photos representing the author are very small so that they would

not occupy much space; an example of such a photo can be seen in Figures 1 and 2 (the reproduced size is original):



Figure 1. Photo of Rosella Lorenzi (*DNews*)



Figure 2. Photo from the article 'You Say Potato, I Say Cassava: Language, Culture and Perception' (*Scientific American*, February 6, 2008)

What the viewer can see in Figures 1 and 2 is the headshot of the person or, in some cases, neck and shoulders as well. In neither of the collected examples the whole body of the scholar/author of the article is visible. Thus the viewer cannot see any other context, only such distinctive features as the author's hair, eyes, and facial expression. These features facilitate the identification of the person and are the most distinctive and unique.

The eye-contact of the authors of the articles is very strong, as they look directly at the reader/viewer. In Kress's (2003, 2010) and Kress and van Leeuwen's terms (2006), the representation angle is horizontal, which implies that there is no hierarchical differentiation: the author and the viewer have an equal status. Besides, a direct look is more persuasive and involving rather than, for example, no eye-contact at all. Thus in general, direct eye-contact of the author of the article serves the purpose of attracting the readers.

The facial expression of the authors of the articles is almost always neutral: they look kind, are calm and smiling. An impression is created that different people are wearing the same mask, as no personal emotion is revealed: the scholars seem to be happy and kind. The same holds true for both males and females, different age groups, or various scientific fields (linguistics, history, archeology, or music), which implies that the represented scholars are significantly unindividualised, as their social role is more important than their personality.

To conclude, in the examples were authors of the articles are portrayed, the reader cannot identify any concrete context, as only a neutral light or dark setting can be seen behind the author in the background. This supports the idea that in popular scientific texts an attempt is made to present scholars as official people, the depiction of whom is restricted by the chosen portrait genre.

In addition, the creation of the stereotype of a scholar is reinforced in the representation of scholars as social participants in the articles.

### 3 Representation of scholars as social participants in the articles

This section discusses the representation of scholars as social participants or the subject matter of the articles, which means that the tasks or achievements of the scholars are focused on both textually and visually. The main aspects, which contribute to a certain standard of depicting scholars, are the following: (1) features of the photo, (2) posture and actions of the scholar, (3) facial expression, and (4) setting. It can be argued that repetitive patterns of these variables form certain expectations on the appearance, actions, or typical features of scholars, as well as the scholarly sphere in general.

First, the photos portraying the scholars as the subject-matter of the article are bigger than the ones depicting the author of the article. As has been mentioned, the photos of the authors usually reach the size of 10mm x 10mm, while the photos depicting scholars as the subject-matter of the article, vary from 10 mm x 10mm to 130mm x 110mm. An example of such a photo can be seen in Figures 3 and 4:



*Figure 3. Photo from the article  
'The Secret Language  
Code' (Scientific American,  
August 16, 2011)*



*Figure 4. Photo from the article  
'Morphology: How Are  
Words Formed?' (Popular  
Linguistics Magazine,  
January 6, 2011)*

On the one hand, the size of the photo provides more prominence to the photos of scholars because the small repetitive photos of the scholars/authors may not be very noticeable for the reader. On the other hand, bigger photos contain more information expressed visually, or more details are visible than in the small portraits.

Similarly to the depiction of scholars, authors of the articles, the viewer cannot see the whole height of the scholar, only his/her portrait. It is not

clear what his/her bodily position is (whether s/he sits or stands), as only his/her portrait can be seen, which means that the face and expression are predominant, while in some cases a three-quarter view is chosen. Thus the position of the scholar is apparently restricted. As the photo is highly emblematic, this reinforces the image of the scholar as an official person, and it seems that it follows certain stylistic requirements, disregarding the age, position, or field of interest of the scholar.

Another similarity is that the person portrayed in the photo maintains a strong eye contact with the viewer. It is not typical of the scholar to look sideways. A strong and direct eye contact has more impact on the reader, which is also a typical feature of a portrait. Besides, the look contributes to the creation of a general atmosphere of the photo. As can be seen in Figures 3 and 4 above, the look of the represented people is calm and pleasant. This presupposes that they attempt to present themselves as pleasant people.

On the contrary, the portrayed Lithuanian scholars do not maintain a strong eye-contact with the viewers. In the photos, they look sideways, i. e. either to the left or to the right. This is illustrated in Figure 5:



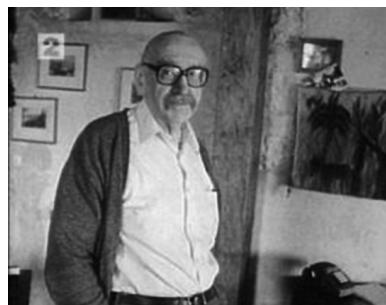
Figure 5. Photo from the article ‘Vytautas Rubavičius: filosofija – tai mąstymas apie veiksmažodį “yra”’ (*Filosofija Lietuvoje*; January 1, 2010)

The lack of eye-contact affects the relationship between the represented person and the reader/viewer, which is not as engaging the reader as the portraits of English scholars, who maintain a strong eye-contact. Besides, the look sideways creates the impression of an uncontrolled situation, which creates the impression of immediacy and momentariness.

The facial expression of the scholars in English is also more neutral or pleasant; however, gender differences can be observed. Most male authors look serious, while all female authors smile quite broadly, this way creating a more relaxed atmosphere (an example could be seen in Figure 4 above). From the point of view of gender stereotypes, women are represented as more kind, while male scholars tend to be represented as more serious. However, the representation of both genders is relatively neutral because the facial expression

and eye-contact are restricted to only a few possibilities. Thus the scholar is represented without revealing too much about his/her scholarly interests or personal character features.

The variable of facial expression is also dominant in popular scientific articles in Lithuanian, and this variable contrasts highly with the representation of scholars in English. Lithuanian scholars are mainly serious and calm, as there are only two portraits with smiling participants. An example of a Lithuanian portrait of a scholar can be seen in Figure 6:



*Figure 6. Photo from the article ‘Didysis prasmės ieškotojas – Algirdas Julius Greimas’ (Alkas, March 9, 2011)*

This variable may be considered as a contrast to the stereotype of scholars in English, who are almost all smiling. Possibly, the explanation can be cultural differences and different norms concerning appearance, posture, and facial expression of a scholar. In English, the portrait of a kind and pleasant person is created, while in Lithuanian the scholar is understood as a serious and thoughtful person.

Concerning facial expression, gender differences cannot be distinguished in Lithuanian, as almost all individually portrayed scholars are males (only 4 of all photos representing scholars are females). This tendency supports the presumption about male dominance in the scholarly sphere, as has been the case with the representation of scholars in English. As indicated in the qualitative data, this tendency is more apparent in Lithuanian rather than in English.

As the photos of the scholars, subject matter of the articles, are bigger, they also reveal more about the scholars' appearance. An observation can be made that the represented scholars in English popular scientific articles tend to wear classical or official clothes. For instance, men scholars tend to wear suits or a shirt, while women tend to wear dresses or two-piece suits. Besides, neutral colours are chosen, such as white, grey, blue, or black. Thus clothing is one more aspect which is emblematic and contributes to the creation of the stereotype of the scholar as an official person.

The appearance of Lithuanian scholars contrasts with the appearance of the scholars in English popular scientific magazines. In the majority of cases the scholars are dressed in more casual or unofficial clothes, as can be seen in Figures 5 and 6 above. Without textual information, it is impossible to indicate the profession of the depicted person unless the reader recognizes him. Thus either the knowledge of the reader or the text is essential in the identification of the scholar. This way, an impression is created that the scholar is portrayed in an everyday context, and there are no features to distinguish or distance him/her from ordinary people. This tendency is in contrast with a widespread notion that scholars are an elite social group and, possibly, a way to attract a wider audience (in English this function is performed by high interactivity of the websites and a substantial use of various modes).

Concerning the popular scientific articles in English, in 21 photos, the actions performed by the scholars are visible. This aspect is more typical of male scholars. However, the actions are also very restricted, as they are limited by academic activities in academic settings and field research in open areas. The examples of the activities can be seen in Figures 7 and 8:



Figure 7. Photo from the article ‘Indian Tribes Go in Search of Their Lost Languages’ (*The New York Times*, April 5, 2010)



Figure 8. Photo from the article ‘Roman Naval Power: Raising the Ram’ (*History Today*, August 2011)

As can be seen in Figure 7, the scholars are represented in their working space: the viewer can see many books behind them, the scholars also stand or sit at a desk looking at some papers or books or discussing something, which suggests reading seriously or working on a project. The eye contact is not maintained with the viewer, focusing on the fact that the scholar is involved in his/her tasks.

Another group of photos exemplified by Figure 8 represent the scholars involved into a physical activity, which is related to their research. In this

photo they are raising some ruins from the water; other examples where archaeologists are doing excavations can also be found. These activities may be related to the subject field under investigation, i.e. humanities. Thus history or archaeology are represented by field research, especially excavations, while linguistic research is visualized by the photos of making recordings of endangered languages. This way, emphasis is placed on intriguing or still undiscovered aspects of these scholarly areas. This contributes to the purpose of popular science to attract and intrigue the reader; thus a conclusion can be made that the photos highlight this purpose and add immediacy to the textual information.

Similarly to popular scientific articles in English, in Lithuanian the scholars are more represented rather than active. Their activities are significantly restricted, as they are mainly depicted at a conference or a book presentation (e.g. sitting at a table, discussing something, or giving a speech), i.e. engaged in an academic activity. An example of this activity can be seen in Figure 9:



*Figure 9. Photo from the article ‘Ivairiaspalvis XVII Klaipėdos miesto ir valsčiaus gyvenimas’ (Mokslo Lietuva, July 9, 2009)*

It can be maintained that certain objects are typical of the identification of scholars, namely, a table, papers, or books. In English, one more object is a computer; however, such examples are not observed in Lithuanian. A distinctive difference from popular scientific articles in English is that field research or work by historians/archaeologists are not depicted, even though a significant part of the articles in Lithuanian are concerned with the topics in history.

## Conclusions

To sum up, the present research has aimed at discussing the images of scholars expressed visually in popular scientific articles in English and Lithuanian. Such a research perspective highlights the importance of different

modes: in addition to the informative content of the articles, the visual representation enhances the stereotypes of scholars.

It can be generalized that portraits dominate in the representation of scholars as authors of the articles and as social participants in the photos. A neutral and depersonalized portrait is created by the combination of such variables as a direct look to the viewer, a smile, official clothes, or unidentified setting.

Cultural differences are apparent in the representation of scholars in English and Lithuanian popular scientific articles. First, it is untypical to represent authors of the articles in Lithuanian, while they are extensively represented in English. In addition, some information (such as his/her position, education, or working place) about the author is also provided linguistically in English. Second, the scholars in Lithuanian do not maintain a strong eye-contact with the viewer, which is typical in English. Besides, in English the scholars are depicted as official people, while in Lithuanian an attempt is made to bring the scholar closer to lay people, which is done by depicting the scholar in unofficial clothes or in the home setting.

Despite the existing cultural differences, such strongly emblematic photos contribute to the creation of a stereotype of a scholar in English and in Lithuanian and create certain genre expectations from the readers/viewers.

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## SPECIFIC NATURE OF DRAMA TRANSLATION

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**Abstract.** The paper gives a brief account of distinct features of drama translation, outlining the discussions among scholars about the performability and speakability of drama in translation, as well as discussions about its dual nature. Drama translation represents a separate branch in the system of translation theory due to the ontological nature of the genre. Drama as a literary type is concise in volume and concentrated in meaning, which entails an elaborate work on the part of the translator who is supposed to transfer the implicit meanings of the drama dialogue, recreate the personalities of its characters revealed in the dialogues, as well as make the speech flow natural for the target cultural community. Due to the fact that a play is supposed to be perceived immediately from the stage by the audience in a different culture, the translation should be focused both on the linguistic and cultural aspects of the drama text. At this, the translator has to balance between different strategies in drama translation resorting to foreignization, domestication or acculturation.

**Key words:** performability, speakability, target language, implicit meaning, subtext, acculturation, adaptation

### Introduction

According to Gostand, ‘drama, as art-form, is a constant process of translation: from original concept to script (when there is one), to producer/director’s interpretation, to contribution by designer and actor/actress, to visual and/or aural images to audience response...’ (Gostand, 1980: 1).

Drama is a concise type of literature that describes the most significant period in characters’ life. It is a literary work written on paper and at the same time – designed for stage production. This poses a number of difficulties for the translator. While literary translation in general is, actually, rendering of the source text into the language of translation, theater texts contain a series of extralinguistic factors that need to be interpreted on stage. Translation for the theater differs from translation of other text types in terms of its dual nature, performability and speakability factors, the necessity to interpret actions and intentions rather than words, as well as explicating hidden meanings and cultural issues in order to receive the immediate response of the audience.

Among scholars who attempted to define translation for the theater as an independent branch of Translation Studies are S. Bassnett, P. Pavis, E. Nikolarea, A. Fernandes, E Espasa, M. Snell-Hornby, L. Venuti, C.-A. Upton, to name a few. Nevertheless, drama translation still remains a scantily studied branch of literary translation – for centuries it was treated in the same way as prose or poetic translation.

## 1 The Performability Factor

Susan Bassnett, a notable researcher of drama translation, states in her elaborate study on translation:

There is very little material on the special problems of translating dramatic texts, and the statements of individual theatre translators often imply that the methodology used in the translation process is the same as that used to approach prose texts. Yet even the most superficial consideration of the question must show that the dramatic text cannot be translated in the same way as the prose text. (Bassnett, 2002: 123)

In her early studies she used to assert that drama translation is a ‘neglected’ area of literary translation thus suggesting its distinction from the translation of other text types that lies in the *performability* and *playability* of drama texts (Bassnett, 2002: 126).

However, in a few years her views took a drastic turn to the opposite and she stated that drama translation is subject to the same rules as any other literary text (Nikolarea, 2002). She doubted the very existence of the widely spread notion of *performability* for the fact that it can hardly be defined: ‘Bound in this servile relationship, one avenue of escape for translators was to invent the idea of “*performability*” as an excuse to exercise greater liberties with the text than convention allowed’ (Bassnett, 1991: 105). The *performability* and *speakability* factors aroused numerous discussions ever since. In her book *Translation Studies* Susan Bassnett assumes:

... if the theatre translator is faced with the added criterion of *playability* as a prerequisite, he is clearly being asked to do something different from the translator of another type of text. Moreover, the notion of an extra dimension to the written text that the translator must somehow be able to grasp, still implies a distinction between the idea of the text and the performance, between the written and the physical. (Bassnett, 2002: 126)

A theoretician of theater translation Patrice Pavis, on the other hand, argues that theater translation can exist only on the level of *mise en scène* (*performability*), and that the written drama text without performance is incomplete. In her further works Bassnett refutes Pavis’s assumptions about the

translator's overwhelming role in creating the final spectacle, asserting that the translator only translates the source text into the TL, while the transposition of the written text into the performance is a task of a different person, implying the director (Bassnett, 1991: 101).

*Speakability* and *performability* still occupy the central part in the discussion of drama translation as an individual branch of literary translation studies. Pavis underlines that there are many other elements of theatrical communication connected with speakability (Pavis, 1992: 138). Pavis notes that 'the text (T) makes sense only in the situation of enunciation which is usually virtual, since the translator usually takes a written text as point of departure' (Pavis, 1992: 137). At this, he stresses the importance of combining speech with body language that is outlined by the traditions and culture in each community. Drama text should not be simple or primitive but easy enough for articulation and perception. In addition, Susan Bassnett suggests that natural rhythms in the target language require constant renewal of translations, for speech is always in the process of change, and that is why it is usually connected to a certain period of time (Bassnett, 2002: 77).

There have been numerous attempts taken to define *performability*, still there is no precision in the concept, mainly because of its abstract nature and difference in perceiving the notion from culture to culture. The most widely spread understanding of it is that *performability* is a number of concealed gestures inherent to the text. To our mind, *performability* is grounded in the idea that drama text should be easy to articulate and easy to act according to given circumstances, which means the drama text should represent natural utterances the characters would use in certain situations. This is actually an intrinsic feature of a well-written drama piece, for any play (at least contemporary ones) is written for the purpose of eventual performance. The translator's task, therefore, is to recreate this subjective *performability* in terms of a different language and culture. In practice, it means the translator, considering a certain drama scene should find words in his/her language that represent the style, manner and natural flow of the intercourse keeping to the author's idea and intention, which pertains to a number of difficulties. The issue is extremely subjective, which is the reason Bassnett refuted the term of *performability* as such. However, the *performability* (or *playability*) already exists in the original drama text, so if a translator transfers the author's intention and idea correctly by means of another language, the text will be playable in the translation to the same extent, as in the original. However, transferring the author's intention is not an easy task to accomplish – the translator should possess a vast knowledge of the author and the background of the play to uncover the sub-text meanings, allusions, to represent possible metaphors, puns, irony, render sociolects and idiolects of the characters and so on.

Let us consider an extract from a comedy by G. Kaufman and M. Hart *The Man Who Came To Dinner* to exemplify the *performability* of a drama

text. In an attempt to fight against the obtrusive journalists Whiteside and his secretary Maggie are trying to get rid of Bert Jefferson, who is insisting on an interview with Whiteside.

WHITESIDE (looking around, interested). Mm. Touche if I ever heard one and in Mesalia too, Maggie dear.

MAGGIE (still on the job). Will you please leave?

JEFFERSON (ignoring her). How about an interview, Mr. Whiteside?

WHITESIDE. I never give them. Go away.

JEFFERSON. Mr. Whiteside, if I don't get this interview, I lose my job.  
(Kaufman and Hart, 1980: 227)

Even a scene short as that can give the reader a picture of the conflict and ambience of events going on. This is the power of drama. There is no need to narrate about the events because we can get into the very heart of them and witness them happening right in front of our eyes due to the perfectly written dialogues presented to us by the author. The difference of a stage production is that you view the same picture but through the lens of the director's vision. The cues also give us a clear picture of the characters – their personalities, status in the society, attitudes to each other. From this extract we can guess that Mr. Whiteside is a nagging old man, while Maggie is doing her best to please him.

Taking into account this intrinsic feature of a drama text to spur imagination it is more than obvious to say that a written drama piece is already a complete work, while a stage production provides only one of its numerous interpretations and implementations. On the other hand, with regards to translation, there is no such thing as an ideal translation – it can be good or bad, faithful or free.

Another example would be E. Albee's *Who's Afraid Of Virginia Woolf* where one of the main characters Martha is a strong, self-willed woman who controls her husband and considers him dependent on her in his status that is why she has the right to order him and demand anything she wants from him.

MARTHA: Hello. C'mon over here and give your Mommy a big sloppy kiss.

GEORGE: ...oh, no...

MARTHA: I WANT A BIG SLOPPY KISS!

GEORGE (preoccupied): I don't want to kiss you, Martha. Where are these people? Where are these people you invited over?

MARTHA: They stayed on to talk to Daddy... They'll be here... Why don't you want to kiss me? (Albee, 1971: 17)

The example clearly shows that the text is playable and vividly performable per se. The task of the translator here is to represent in the target language this vivid picture of a 'fight', the clash of intentions evinced in the original, and support it by an appropriate wording as well as meaning. Even if we do

not know that Martha and George are spouses we can understand from this extract that they are in some relationship and that Martha is a leader in this relationship. We can guess that they are waiting for somebody and George is already sick of Martha's obtrusive behaviour. A challenge for the translator would be to transfer in the target language the informality of the cues ('c'mon over here') and pauses between sentences, to make them sound natural and authentic in the translation without overdoing or overemphasizing some aspects. The characters in translation should produce the same effect on the target audience (perlocutionary effect), create the same image in the mind of the target audience as in the original culture. Only in this case the translation will be successful.

Thus, we agree on the fact that performability and speakability are immanent features of a drama text to call for action and produce conflict which distinguish this type of literature from other text types.

## 2 The Dual Nature of Drama

A very important issue and a reason for multiple discussions is also the question whether a play is complete without its stage production. Scholars have divided into two parties, supporting opposite views in this respect. Some of them are confident in the self-sufficiency of the author's text, while others give preference to stage interpretation. Patrice Pavis argues that a play does not exist without its enunciation on stage – for him the result of drama translation is necessarily a performance (Pavis, 1989: 26). In her early studies Susan Bassnett defines the primary goal of a drama text as being produced on stage, and only 'in performance the full potential of the text is realized' (Bassnett, 2002: 124). In one of her seminal works she states:

Theater texts cannot be considered as identical to texts written to be read because the process of writing involves a consideration of the performance dimension, but neither can an abstract notion of performance be put before textual considerations (Bassnett, 1991: 110-111).

According to Kochur (Кочур, 1968: 35), a Ukrainian translator and scholar, both approaches have their reasons. We would agree that a play is a complete literary work that can be produced on stage.

The dual nature of drama translation was elaborately discussed by Levy in his monograph *The Art of Translation*. According to J. Levy, drama translation is aimed both at page and at stage (Levy, 1974: 71). In one of his first studies of the drama translation theory Levy states that the language of a drama text functionally depends on the speaker, the recipient and the norms of speech. Levy considered drama dialogue as a form of conversational language limited by theatrical traditions, and emphasized that 'speakability' of the translation

text and easy perception of it by the audience are the main criteria of drama translation evaluation. He also focused on the necessity to build short sentences, use simple and well-known words instead of over-sophisticated and rarely used ones, to avoid clusters of consonants difficult to pronounce, etc. On the whole, Levy introduced the two basic parameters into the theory of drama translation: 'speakability' and the dual nature of drama. The translator who wants to reproduce the pragmatics of drama as well as adapt it to the translation culture, should always keep in mind these two notions.

With the development of globalization the cultural issues seem to lose their weight especially in contemporary drama that increasingly has a trend to universality. On the other hand a certain foreignness may attract the audience. Thus, domestication or even relocating a play would seem superfluous. Nowadays literature, art, theater serve as bridges between cultures that enrich each other in this spiritual communication. Due to a higher mobility of stage directors and availability of resources on productions worldwide stage directors take advantage of this and incorporate numerous elements into their performances, blending the words, music, color, emotions, blurring at this, the boundaries of human perception. Thus, a stage production of a play is no more a naturalistic representation of the drama text loyal to the author. The times when a director followed the author's initial text and remarks have long gone away with the naturalist theater. The director is usually in a constant search of new forms of representation of his/her emotions and feelings, imposing these feelings on the audience. And in case if the audience is not acquainted with the piece before the performance, it will stick only to the director's perspective, revealed through the work of actors, set designers, music directors and so on. What a director would need is a good translation of the original drama piece that will nourish his/her imagination and inspire him/her for a stage production, and this can be done only if the text in translation is, firstly, of high literary quality and, secondly, transfers the intention and idea of the original.

Another issue that drama translators face is the change in times and traditions. According to the latest trends in theater it becomes more modernized – directors adapt the texts to the needs of the contemporary audience. Translators may as well modernize the drama text in their translations. Sometimes it can even prolong the lifecycle of a play – Shakespeare thus lives on in French and German, while being long since dead in English (Pavis, 1992: 140).

### 3 Drama Dialogue as a Refined Form of Speech

All literature consists of words – the originality of plays lies in the fact that they consist of words to be pronounced on stage. The general rule for drama dialogue is the fact that the language we use in real life is idealized on stage. While a novel narrates a story, the author tells us about its characters,

describes their personalities, drama is a direct picture of a story revealed in cues with personality types inferred from speech acts and concealed in the context. Drama dialogue is distinguished by its clearness and expressiveness close to perfection – at this, an illusion of reality is created. Drama translation requires both art and craft on the part of the translator, whose creativity and understanding of the play should equal that of the playwright. According to Corrigan, the best drama translator is a dramatist but, unfortunately, this is not always the case (Corrigan, 1961: 100).

Drama dialogue is a refined form of oral speech usually characteristic of a certain social community. In comparison to prose texts, the fundamental principle of any drama is a conflict or a number of conflicts as well as intense emotional experience of socio-historical or eternal philosophical collisions. The dramatic conflicts find their realization in the characters' behavior and in their actions – both verbal and non-verbal. Every word in drama is active, while a cue and a response to it is a 'blow and a counterblow' (Волькенштейн, 1969: 246).

According to Aristotle, drama is an imitation of action, and it is action in itself – not narration. A playwright brings his\her intention into life with the help of characters, whose feelings and relations are mainly displayed in dramatic dialogues. So, the conflicts in drama are usually developed through dialogues and stage directions, in which lifestyle of the characters, their actions, events, time and setting of the play are provided.

Therefore, a play as a literary text is a unique combination of dynamics, action, and emotions. The depth of each utterance, as well as the image of each character in it is usually introduced by a relatively limited set of linguistic means. The sentences are usually short but intense in meaning, which should be correctly perceived by the translator and interpreted into the target language (TL). A playwright is usually extremely meticulous about every word in drama, because the size of a play is limited and every sentence weighs a lot in comparison to prose. In drama any language unit contains a definite communicative meaning and, according to an outstanding stage director G. Tovstonogov, 'a play is a number of endless combats' (Бентли, 2004: 315).

Thus, it can be inferred that translation of dialogue is one of the most difficult elements in literary translation as it is important not only to convey the meaning of an utterance and its stylistics, but also to do it in a way that the translated conversation sounds natural, spontaneous and convincing in the target language. Bassnett (Bassnett, 2002: 125) asserts that a dialogue is 'characterized by rhythm, intonation patterns, pitch and loudness, all elements that may not be immediately apparent from a straightforward reading of the written text in isolation'. Not a single intonation, not a single exclamation or pause can be left unnoticed, because drama is a very concise type of literature, where every word matters and there are no accidental characters. Otherwise, it may happen that an aristocratic English lady in translation speaks like an

uncouth village woman from a far-away Ukrainian province, as it happened with Mrs. Higgins in the production of B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* on the stage of National Drama Theatre of Ivan Franko in Kiev, Ukraine.

Another point is that a playwright usually selects words for each character very scrupulously, so it is highly important for the translator not to lose this selectiveness rendering the bare message, but to feel and understand the text in order to find lexical and syntactical units in the target language and create a similar perlocutionary effect on the recipient. Very often actors add their own individuality into the characters they perform, either making schematic and vague images stronger in this way, or, on the contrary, deviating from the author's intention. The quality of translation plays the pivotal role in the production of a drama piece on stage within a foreign environment. According to a translation theoretician Hans Sahl, 'translating is staging a play in another language' (Pavis, 1992: 147).

Besides, drama translation is often compared to the art of a stage director or actor, and this is a well grounded apprehension, for in all these cases a text is interpreted by other means – either verbal or non-verbal, and in case of translation – by means of a different language. However, the translator's interpretation is only the first stage in the process of the performance development. The translator serves as a mediator between two languages and cultures, trying to keep fidelity to the source text, simultaneously relocating it into a different cultural milieu, which comprises the dialectics of drama translation.

As it was already mentioned, cues in a play are usually concise and precise statements, limited in time and length, due to which the message is partially transferred in the subtext – implicitly, which should be taken into account in the course of translation. The recipient of a drama text (first of all, the translator) should read between the lines and possess ample background knowledge about the community and its culture, in which the drama text was created. The drama translator should reveal all hidden meanings of the statements in a play, consider their pragmatics rather than semantics, translating in this way the implied messages, rather than mere words.

Due to its implicit messages drama can generate a number of readings, which means that it is polyvalent, as it can represent different things for different people in a certain period of time, and also diachronically, with the development of time. One and the same subject can be evident for some people, and pass unnoticed for others. There is usually a wider explication of implicit meanings in translation compared with the original.

Let us consider an extract from a play by Bernard Shaw *The Devil's Disciple* to highlight the implicitness of meaning occurring in drama. In the play we encounter a dialogue between Mrs. Dudgeon and minister Anderson. The play is set in 1777 during the American Revolutionary War, the main characters are on the one hand, puritan colonialists, and on the other – British colonial

troops. Mrs. Dudgeon, a religious rigorous puritan, is informed that her husband has passed away, but she does not seem distressed by the news: she had married her husband for money, not for love. Now she finds out that the entire legacy, to her great disappointment and indignation goes to her elder son, who rejects god and calls himself the devil's disciple. Thus, in the conversation with the minister she is about to say something tough about her late husband, which is incongruous both with the situation and the religious rules. That is why Anderson stops her in the middle of the sentence with the interjection *Oh*.

MRS. DUDGEON (forgetting herself). Richard's earthly father was a softheaded –  
ANDERSON (shocked). *Oh!* (Shaw, 1934: 220)

In the original the situation is clear, and although Mrs. Dudgeon's sentence is not finished, it is easy to predict what she was going to say – fool, bastard, etc. The reader can easily picture the situation. The Ukrainian translation of the play replicates the semantics of the original, thus offering a similar interjection *Oh* that exists in the Ukrainian language. Here comes the misconception. The translator did not get the implicit meaning of the speech act *Oh!*, that is why in translation the situation is not clear and the author's intention is lost. The Ukrainian interjection does not represent the same variety of meanings as the English one, revealing in most cases surprise, disappointment, a sudden new idea, depending on the intonation, but hardly ever can it be used to stop the interlocutor. That is why the meaning of this *Oh* should be explicated in translation and stated directly by a phrase like *Careful!, Stop it!, Hush!* etc.

Literary dialogue – be it a part of a novel or an individual drama piece, requires special attention in translation, as it reveals the personalities of characters, their social status, attitudes to each other, as well as contains presuppositions and alludes to previous events. This requires a holistic view on the part of the translator, who is responsible for recreation of all these factors in the target language, which can posit a number of problems of both cultural, language and pragmatic nature.

Reproducing the author's intention, the translator 'plays the part' of the playwright, attempts to convey the author's language style, acquires his/her intonations, speaks in the voices of the characters. According to Eco, even in prose translation there is a very efficient stylistic technique – to read the translation text out loud, which is particularly helpful for theater translation (Eco, 2001: 52). The language style of each character should be well recognizable in translation, in exactly the same way as it is in the original. For instance, in a play by Richard France, a contemporary American playwright, *Obediently Yours, Orson Welles* there are two characters completely different in their social backgrounds, age and professional expertise, which is clear from the way they speak:

MEL'S VOICE (beside himself). Whadda ya think you're doin'? (Welles ignores him. Mel charges into the studio.)

MEL. It's after three, for chrissake !!!

WELLES (on the phone). It's Orson Welles for David Lean. (France, 2010: 42)

It is a challenge for translator to reproduce Mel's speech properly in order that it provides necessary connotations of a careless young man speaking a very colloquial and informal language, in the target culture. There are two main approaches to solve this problem: to apply the slang of the target language, or to upgrade the language in translation – to make it neutral. The disadvantage of applying Ukrainian colloquial language or slang, for instance, is that it can create a totally different image of the character in translation eliminating his American origin. On the other hand, if we decide to translate it in a neutral way – this element of colloquial speech will be lost.

A successful translation requires, first of all, the knowledge of the context and situation in which the dialogue takes place, the status of speakers, their interrelations, their personality, and, most important, it requires wide erudition and background knowledge on the part of the translator, as long as the lack of information can lead in many cases to serious mistakes and losses, like misunderstanding of the allusions from the Bible or other famous works of literature (Комиссаров, 1990: 57-83). In most cases drama translation requires a deep study of the original text, its background, as well as the background of the author.

On the other hand, the subtext unity in translation of a play should also be preserved, which means that a translator also gets the task to recreate the specific nature of the author's style. Very often the translator would not follow this rule and would write in his/her own manner, as a result, we can only see the translator's style instead of A. Chekhov's or W. Shakespeare's. Peter Newmark, a theoretician of translation studies, discussing the translator's idiolect asserts:

From his idiolect, the language of his habitual use, with its personal peculiarities of grammar, lexis and word-order, the translator creates his linguistic reproduction of a situation he sees through the SL text. His idiolect at once incidentally expresses his own style and character and regulates the naturalness of his translation, ensuring that it is modern and full. (Newmark, 1988: 138)

Moreover, if the translator translates several plays by different authors, the language style in translation can be the same for both Chekhov and Shakespeare. In this sense the translator has to be pragmatically neutral and invisible.

The successful realization of the translator's function envisages comprehensive knowledge of history, culture, literature and other realities of

the source language community. The translator usually balances between two basic strategies in literary translation – foreignization and domestication, the translator's first and foremost task being to provide an assiduous selection of verbal and non-verbal means, keeping in mind that the author belongs to one culture, while the characters should come to life on stage in a different culture (Eco, 2001: 22-24). At this, the audience should not doubt even for a moment that these characters are real people, that the events and conflicts are real life situations.

Siri Nergaard, an Italian scholar, once mentioned: '... translation is always a shift, not between two languages, but between two cultures...' (Eco, 2001: 17). Drama usually contains a number of culturally specific elements that should be properly rendered in translation. Gaps in the knowledge of cultural or social aspects of the source language community may cause obstacles for proper translation. Bassnett also points out the fact that 'physical expressivity is not universal and varies from culture to culture. Gesture and body language is represented differently, understood differently, reproduced differently in different contexts and at different time...' (Bassnett, 1998: 107).

The background knowledge of the audience of the original and that of the target community can have a dramatic disparity. 'Complete understanding of a play is possible only if information supplied by the text and knowledge of the audience supplement each other' (Link, 1980: 31). Chekhov did not believe that his plays could be understood in a different culture (Scolnicov and Holland, 1989: 1). He regretted the mere fact of their translation and if he only could he would ban any translations of his plays.

In order to place foreign play texts in one line with other texts in the target culture, as well as with the realities of the target culture, translator can apply the strategy of acculturation or naturalization in an attempt to smoothen cultural discrepancies that hinder text perception. According to Aaltonen, a Finnish translator and scholar, 'acculturation is a process used with the purpose to lessen the effect of foreign impact on translation by way of removing boundaries between the source and target cultures' (Aaltonen, 2000: 43). In the process of interpretation of the source text an integration of cultural norms of language, behavior, morality, traditions, tastes, ideologies, sense of humor, prejudice, religion etc. takes place according to the competence level of the target audience. At this, culturally specific features are minimized, or even neutralized.

Translation is always a creation of a new text, which is never a full copy of the original. It is a very important remark for drama translation, because according to its nature theater translation requires adjustment of the written text to the conditions of its production. Thus, the strategy of adaptation recently becomes a leading strategy in translation for the theater. Translator as an 'alter ego' of the playwright chooses the most appropriate strategy to put the discourse of the source text into the target theater system, providing integration

and securing its perception in this way. From the point of view of translational pragmatics acculturation and adaptation are the most favorable strategies of drama translation, the specific nature of which is to be understandable for an unprepared audience in direct perception from the stage.

## Conclusion

Translation for the theater is a complex task due to a number of factors. First of all it is a literary work representing a culture that should be transferred into a different language and culture community, which in itself poses many issues for the translator. Secondly, a theater text is a concise and concentrated dialogue between characters that reveals their conflict, interactions and personality both on the verbal and non-verbal level. Finally, a play produced on stage is also translated into other forms of communication – visual, including sets and lights, audio, implying music, as well as non-verbal – the body language of the actors.

Drama dialogue is usually characterized by ‘speakability’ and ‘performability’ that should be preserved in translation, which often causes problems for translation, because a foreign text should sound authentic in translation. However, the discussions about the mere existence of performability, to our mind, only distract scholars’ attention from more serious problems the drama translator faces: how to transfer dialects, sociolects, idiolects, how to represent cultural differences and make them immediately understandable for the reader and the theater audience, how to deal with allusions that are hardly recognizable to the recipients in a different culture. The discussions on the dual nature of drama and performability (playability) issues still continue, arousing more disputes and disagreement among scholars.

There has been a long discussion of whether drama translation refers to stage or page, and still scholars cannot reach an agreement on this issue.

We would like to argue that the long disputed notion of performability or playability is already inherent in the original text, and the translator’s primary task would be to render it in the target language, or at least not to lose it in the translation process. This is the trickiest part of drama translation. The elusive performability factor is manifested in a number of issues, with rhythm, naturalness of speech and communication to name a few, which lead to the constant action penetrating the whole drama. If we consider any drama text we will see that intention and conflict underpin most of its cues and character interactions, either directly or on a sub-text level.

As far as drama translation is concerned, there is no unified system or methodology of translating for the theater so far. Most of the studies in this area are individual ‘case studies’ of drama translations that exemplify its nature and posit its complexity (Bassnett, 1991: 111). This gives us the grounds to

assume that drama translation is a distinct branch of literary translation and requires further elaboration on its nature.

In conclusion, it is necessary to admit that drama translation represents a separate branch in the system of translation theory due to the ontological nature of the genre. As far as translation of drama is done with the purpose of stage production within a foreign culture, a considerable number of factors, inherent in the original, should be adapted for the target audience. The performability factor is indispensable for drama translation and creation of an optimal translation equivalent. The main task for a drama translator is to interpret the original play in a way that will be clear and easily perceived by the audience in the target culture. A good translation can become the first step on its way to a stage production in the target community, followed by the work of directors, actors, props, light and costume designers. The fact that a play is supposed to be produced on stage distinguishes drama translation from the translation of texts of other literary types and opens vistas for studying the specific nature of its translation.

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# COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATIONAL SETTING

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**Abstract.** The present study has been undertaken in order to examine the efficacy of communicative competence development methodology applied to the teaching/ learning process at tertiary level. The methods of the research comprise the overview of the theoretical sources related to the theme under discussion and a case study. Two groups of the third-year full-time Bachelor Programme students enrolled in the course of Written and Spoken Communication V participated in this research. One of the most important tasks of the course is communicative competence development. The teaching/learning process included different stages starting from the theme development, searching for materials, designing tasks to the analysis and evaluation of the students' performance (presentations, discussions, listening to dialogues, negotiation simulations, legal document creation in structured settings, etc), the students' and the teacher's reflection as well as the analysis of the interviews followed by recommendations for further transformation of the teaching/ learning process to meet the needs and expectations of the students and develop the students' communicative competence more effectively. The results of the study indicated the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology of communicative competence development employed during the teaching/learning process. Furthermore, an attempt has been made to offer solutions to the methodological problems revealed during the research as well as propose recommendations for the educational setting arrangement aimed at increasing the efficacy of communicative competence development in the academic group of students.

**Key words:** communicative competence, sociolinguistic competence, interactional competence, discourse competence, student-centered methodology

## Introduction

The choice of the theme of this research has been determined by the fact that our dynamically changing reality demands deeper understanding of the complexity of the nature of communicative competence, which is indispensable for successful communication in the modern world. Therefore, the present study has been undertaken with the view to examining the efficacy of communicative competence development methodology applied to the teaching/ learning process at tertiary level.

Thus, the aim of the research is to study the peculiarities of the interaction of communicative competence components and consider the main

methodological principles of communicative competence development. The research hypothesis has been formulated as follows: discourse competence performs the integrative function in communicative competence components interaction and may determine discourse-based teaching as the main methodological principle of arranging the teaching/learning process.

As the term *communicative competence* implies the ability to use the linguistic system effectively and appropriately in the target language and culture, the methodological basis of the research is the integration of the theoretical concepts underlying the comprehension of the multi-level notion of competence and the methodology of communicative competence development in the educational setting of an academic group of students.

The methods of the research comprise the overview of the theoretical sources related to the theme under discussion and a case study. Two groups of the third-year full-time Bachelor Programme students (32 students) enrolled in the course of Written and Spoken Communication V participated in this study which included the selection and application of the appropriate teaching methodology in an academic group of students and evaluation of its effectiveness with the help of interviews, reflective inquiries of different types, questionnaires, discourse analysis etc, processing the data received; summarizing and interpreting the results.

As far as the participants' linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics are concerned, the groups of the students participating in the research can be characterized as heterogeneous as the students' level of the English language proficiency varies from intermediate to advanced. More than that, the students finished different secondary schools, e.g. Latvian, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, and others where the proportional distribution of the languages of education as well as cultural implications vary. In addition, two students participating in the Erasmus student exchange programme (one from Russia and the other from the Czech Republic) already had Bachelor degrees in Interpreting and Law correspondingly. Consequently, the students' linguistic and cultural background as well as needs and expectations are different.

## Theoretical background

The relationship between language and culture, individual and society which directly and indirectly affects communication has become one of the topical issues of discussion for educators, people of arts, philosophers, psychologists and politicians. And as long as communication exists, there will always be those who communicate. The first logical question to ask here is 'What is communication?' One of the answers is provided by Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics where communication is defined as 'the exchange of ideas, information, etc., between two or more persons' (Richards and Schmidt, 2002: 89).

However, this definition, which seems very logical at first sight, is criticized, e.g. Dr. Lane assumes that it is too simple and 'naïve' and describes the field of communication as the one that 'focuses on how people use message to generate meanings within and across various contexts, cultures, channels, and media' (Online 1). Hence, it is important to have an insight into the essence of communication and the ways of making it effective.

The efficacy of communication depends on numerous factors one of which is communicative competence. The only problem is that as any intangible asset, it is not so easy to see how it is developing as all the students may be sitting in the classroom, reading the same text, watching the same movie and will still perceive them differently and will speak and write about them in their own unique way. This way depends on their communicative competence.

The course of Written and Spoken Communication V sets the development of communication skills in the field of law as its primary task. Furthermore, communicative competence development is one of the most important foci in the language teaching/ learning process.

In *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* the term *communicative* competence is defined as the 'knowledge of not only if something is formally possible in a language, but also the knowledge of whether it is feasible, appropriate, or done in a particular speech community' (Richards and Schmidt, 2002: 90). Hence, not only the linguistic system but also social and cultural factors determine the effectiveness of communication. That is why, communicative competence is better understood viewing its constituent parts which are described in the above mentioned dictionary.

Thus, communicative competence includes:

- *grammatical competence* (also formal competence): knowledge of the grammar, vocabulary, phonology, and semantics of a language,
- *sociolinguistic competence* (also socio-cultural competence), i.e. the knowledge of the relationship between language and its nonlinguistic context,
- *discourse competence* knowing how to begin and end a conversation,
- *strategic competence*, i.e. knowledge of communication strategies that can compensate for weakness in other areas (*ibid.* 90-91).

The term 'competence' originally introduced by Noam Chomsky in his book *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), has been studied and further developed by such scholars as Campbell and Wales (1970), Crystal (1985), Hymes (1972), Canale and Swain (1980), Bachman (1990), Savignon (1983) and others.

Kramsch in her article *From Language Proficiency to Interactional Competence* highlights the essence of interactional competence stating that interaction 'entails negotiating intended meanings, [...] anticipating the listener's response and possible misunderstandings, clarifying one's own and the other's intentions' (Kramsch, 1986: 367).

Furthermore, Celce-Murcia, Dornyei and Thurrell (1995) distinguish between socio-cultural, linguistic, strategic, discourse and actional competences. Stern (1983) highlights the facets of communicative competence pertaining to language teaching differentiating between:

- the intuitive mastery of the forms of language;
- the intuitive mastery of the linguistic, cognitive, affective and socio-cultural meanings, expressed by the language forms;
- the capacity to use the language with maximum attention to communication and minimum attention to form;
- the creativity of language use (Stern, 1983: 346).

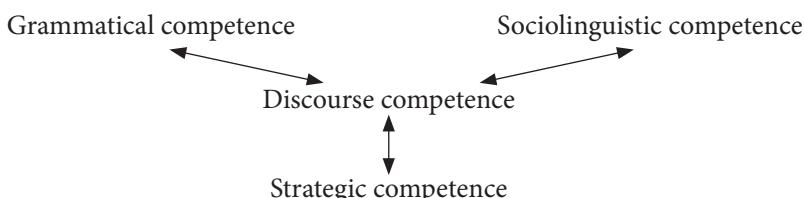
According to Harlow, the teaching of communicative competence should include the development of the awareness of linguistic, social and situational factors. The scholar states that

most importantly, both teachers and textbooks alike need to emphasise to the learner that the language is composed of not just linguistic and lexical elements; rather, language reflects also the social context, taking into account situational and social factors in the act of communication. (Harlow, 1990: 348)

As the term 'competence' is a live one, it is constantly unfolding its essence acquiring different shades of meaning and forming new terms for reflecting a deep multi-level nature of communicative competence, e.g. the interactional approach to discussing the essence of communicative competence (Savignon, 1983); organizational competence (Bachman, 1990), etc.

Whichever definition and components are employed, effective communication requires the development of all the competences integrating them through a set of activities into effective communication skills. Arranging communicative competence development in the educational setting, it is essential to consider the creative activity in the English language classroom as a didactic environment for activating the students' potential of linguistic and cultural development.

To construe the model of communicative competence components interaction the above mentioned definition from the Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics has been used in the present research:



*Figure 1. Communicative competence components interaction*  
(based on the definition by Richards and Schmidt, 2002: 90-91)

This model reflects the pattern of the communicative competence components interaction where discourse competence acquires a broader meaning than that of the knowledge of how to begin or end a conversation. In order to understand it, it is necessary to discuss the notion of 'discourse' which is defined as a 'general term for examples of language use, i.e. language which has been produced as the result of an act of communication' (Richards and Schmidt, 2002: 160). In case of the present research, discourse was placed in the center of the other components as during the course of *Written and Spoken Communication V* the students who did not study Law as their future professional field of science acquired both the knowledge about the subject and Legalese working with written (texts) and oral (audio and video materials) discourse applying their grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic and discourse competences and through the set of designed tasks developed a new level of the above mentioned competences resulting in a higher level of communicative competence.

Not only what but also how the students are taught the new knowledge and skills is important. Sleeter (1996) assumes that students should be taught content using instructional methods that value cultural knowledge and differences which are transferred into communication. However, the ability to perceive and value is not an inherent quality of any individual. Moreover, discourse is often determined by one's personal linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge and experience which have natural temporary constraints and potential to develop. The transformational nature of the teaching/learning process is one of the basic prerequisites of a successful interaction in our multicultural and multilingual world, which is also true about the heterogeneous groups of the students being the subjects of the research.

It is essential to note that the transformation of the teacher or learner implies his/her involvement in the critical process of examining his/her impact on the interaction, which implies a conscious effort to see what positive and negative effect some peculiarities of his/her personality, teaching or learning style and stereotypes may cause. One of the methodological tools recommended to assist in developing the awareness of the individual and mutual change is reflection carried out on a systematic basis by all those who are involved in the interaction (Brockbank and McGill, 2007). This raises again the question of what reflection is.

Since there exists different understanding of what reflection is and what it is not, there are also various definitions (Eraut, 1994; Harvey and Knight, 1996; Barnett, 1992). For example, Brockbank and McGill (2007: 99) provide a more holistic definition of reflection which 'values the senses, recognizes emotion and draws in personal experience through dialogue'. Metaphorically speaking, it presents a spiral of communicative competence teaching/learning if it is accepted as the main principle of development.

Considering the transformation of the teaching/learning process many other aspects should be examined, e.g. student-centered methodology, supportive classroom climate, ‘whole-learner’ materials (Stevick, 1980) and others.

Another point related to the theme under discussion is that of arranging the content in either a natural or structured educational setting. The former deals with undertaking project work in the target language country; the latter includes various methods of teaching the language at home, e.g. ‘the creation of a “cultural” board game, simulation tasks with mixed cultural groups’ (Byram and Morgan, 1994: 13). The structured educational setting created in the university auditorium for this case study was highly supported by linguistic, visual, auditory and kinesthetic materials presented in print, audio, or video forms including the students’ live performance.

## Results and Discussion

During the research period the students were working on the communication skills’ development offered within the frame of Written and Spoken Communication V. The teaching/learning process included: theme development (e.g. ‘Human Rights’, ‘Civil Law’, ‘Criminal Law’, etc.), searching for materials (e.g. textbooks, newspaper articles, documents dealing with law issues), designing tasks corresponding to the needs of the students, their performance (presentations, discussions, listening to dialogues, negotiation simulations, role plays, legal document creation in structured settings, etc.), evaluation, the students’ and the teacher’s feedback on the preparation and performance in the classroom provided on a regular basis. Reflective inquiries were aimed at stimulating the students’ ability to recall their performance and trace the difficulties they experienced prior to and during communication. The analysis of these reflections assisted in better understanding of the existing strengths and weaknesses of the grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic and discourse competences. The recommendations and commentaries offered by the teacher and the group-mates included the revision of grammatical rules, additional work on increasing the knowledge of vocabulary and phonology, training the application of the most appropriate strategies of clarification, explanation and rephrasing peculiarly to the field of law. This increased the students’ involvement in the speech acts and developed their awareness of the performance focusing on the understanding of the linguistic and socio-cultural context and searching the most appropriate means of verbal and nonverbal self-expression. Thus, grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic and discourse competences’ improved interaction served as a methodological basis for transforming the teaching/learning process to meet the needs and expectations of the students and developing their communicative competence.

In their commentaries which were usually provided by the students after creative tasks, they state that such classes contribute to the development of confidence, assist better understanding of other people and themselves, provide the experience of dealing with other people's cultural differences. At the beginning of the course, the majority of the students (80%) mentioned their increasing awareness of the necessity to improve grammar, extend their vocabulary in the field of Legal English, enhance their ability to concentrate and keep the listeners' attention, etc. At the beginning of the course, 20% of the students reported that they sometimes experienced difficulties and felt uncomfortable as they noticed that their opinions were ignored, sometimes the opinion dominating in the group was imposed on them. Similarly, 20% of the participants acknowledged problems of finding arguments to prove their point of view. However, at the end of the course 90% of the students reported their increasing awareness of the social and cultural peculiarities of their interlocutors, improvements of grammatical as well as strategic competences. All the students reported that they appreciate the opportunity of choice provided at all the stages of the teaching/learning process. The practice of successful interaction supported and developed in the academic group of students served as an effective tool of self-transformation and communicative competence development.

## Conclusions

In this study, discourse acts both as a source and tool of communicative competence components development, which, in their turn, enhance the ability of discourse processing as well as a new discourse creation and improved performance provided by the increasingly developed communicative competence.

The conclusion can be made that discourse-based methodology proves to be effective at all the levels of teaching, i.e. at the level of communicative competence components development and at the level of their interaction resulting in the students' more effective communication.

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# TEACHING ESP IN THE BLENDED FORMAT: USING NON-TRADITIONAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

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**Abstract.** Today, the wide use of information and communication technologies in education has led to the emergence of new learning environments and teaching formats including distance- and blended learning. Learning environments based on ICT are capable of integrating different scenarios of learning a language. The purpose of the paper is to present a general framework for developing a blended ESP course in a technical university. The paper also aims at examining the ways in which e-learning tools can be incorporated into an ESP course designed for increasing students' proficiency in professional communication. In addition, the author discusses some factors that should be taken into consideration when developing a blended language course. The paper is based on the theoretical concepts of blended learning as well as the author's professional experience in the area of ESP teaching. The paper concludes that the blended approach to language learning allows students to take advantage of the autonomous online-based work as well as the teacher-led instruction and the guidance they need; a combination of face-to-face and online learning activities is supposed to be the most efficient type of tuition.

**Key words:** English for Specific Purposes, blended language learning, learning activities

## Introduction

Motivating European citizens to learn two foreign languages is the basis of the EU's multilingualism strategy. The European Union being built around the free movement of people, capital and services, the EU citizens with good language skills will benefit from the various opportunities offered by an integrated Europe (Com (2003) 449 final; Com (2007) 184 final) in the context of lifelong learning. Creating a favourable language learning environment in higher education institutions has become a very important aspect of language education in Europe (*The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, 2001).

Nowadays, the wide use of ICT in education has led to the emergence of new learning environments and teaching formats including distance- and blended learning. These non-traditional environments are supposed to support computer-based and self-directed learning; they are aimed at encouraging students' motivation and promoting their intellectual and professional development.

Distance- and blended language learning in a technical university, where the emphasis is traditionally put on acquiring professional skills, is a solution that enables individualization of practice; it can contribute much to the enhancement of various language skills. This paper discusses some issues related to designing an ESP course that integrates online and classroom-based activities. To provide blended language learning, adequate tools and platforms have to be selected.

The purpose of the paper is to present a general framework for developing a blended ESP course in a technical university; the paper also aims at examining the ways, in which e-learning tools can be incorporated into an ESP course designed for increasing students' proficiency in professional communication. In addition, the author discusses some factors that should be taken into consideration when developing a blended language course. The paper is based on the theoretical concepts of blended learning as well as the author's professional experience in the area of ESP teaching.

## **1 General framework for developing a blended ESP course in a Higher Education Institution**

Using various formats and techniques to teach a foreign language can become an advantage of language teachers, since different students respond to information differently. With the advent of multiple learning formats that can be communicated over the Internet, language teachers now have quite a lot of new and inspiring ways to present information.

Learning environments based on ICT are more flexible compared to traditional learning environments; they are capable of integrating different scenarios of learning a language. The extent, to which higher education institutions (HEIs) implement ICT in language learning, may vary considerably. Every HEI decides on the instructional model to be used on the basis of a number of factors: social and university context, financial support, attitudes towards e-learning, etc. (Stukalina, 2011). In a technical university, the proportion between traditional classroom instruction and e-learning may depend on (a) how a higher education institution proceeds with the implementation of ICT in the educational process; (b) teachers' qualification and their experience of using ICT; (c) teachers' attitude to employing ICT in the learning process; (d) the educational objectives identified in the study programme.

HEIs may employ one of the following approaches to ICT implementation in the educational process: emerging, applying, infusing, and transformative (Anderson and van Weert, 2002). The *emerging* approach presupposes using simple software applications for creating documents and PowerPoint presentations; information and reference materials are available on CD-ROMs and DVDs. Today, the emerging approach is rarely used by HEIs; to stay competitive they must adapt their processes of innovation on an ongoing basis

according to changes in the global environment. It goes without saying that modern students have great expectations of ICT provision.

The *applying* and *infusing* approaches to ICT implementation involve some elements of blended learning: computer classrooms with multimedia equipment and the Internet access; subject specific software; information and reference materials placed on the Intranet, etc. In this context, blended learning can be defined as ‘a combination of forms of instructional technology, including traditional forms of learning used in conjunction with web-based, online approaches’ (Nicolson et al., 2011: 5). The main difference between these two approaches is the extent to which online-based elements are incorporated in the ESP course. At the applying approach stage, HEIs adjust the curriculum to increase the use of ICT in the subject area by means of employing specific equipment and software; the infusing stage involves integrating ICT across the curriculum through an assortment of computer-based technologies in laboratories, classrooms, and administrative offices (Information and Communication Technology in Education: A Curriculum for Schools and Programme of Teacher Development, 2002). The *transformative approach* aims at adopting a revolutionary ICT framework in a HEI; it presupposes that the instructional model is utterly online.

The use of up-to-date technologies in higher education grows, and their potential to influence language learning becomes more evident. However, the implementation of such technologies without clear goals and careful planning runs the risk of generating poor learning outcomes.

Almost all higher education institutions of Latvia now offer study courses that can be taken partially or fully online. We suppose that the blended language learning format can be efficiently integrated in the educational process in the context of the applying and infusing approaches to ICT implementation.

We also assume that in a higher education institution a few interrelated aspects – *technological*, *pedagogical*, *social (communicative)* – may provide important contributions to creating the teacher’s strategy intended to develop students’ language skills (Table 1).

*Table 1 General framework for developing a blended ESP course in a HEI*

Technological aspect	Social (communicative) aspect	Pedagogical aspect
Developing non-traditional student-centred learning environments that support computer-assisted language learning and provide new opportunities for self-directed learning and enable language learning autonomy	Developing non-traditional student-centred learning environments with the focus on (a) increasing student motivation for learning a language; (b) improving knowledge transfer and enhancing co-operation between teachers and students	Developing non-traditional student-centred learning environments based on the constructivist approach to organising language learning with strong emphasis on the learning objectives and learning outcomes

The combination of these aspects is determined by the complexity of the educational process, the diversity of the resources HEIs have at their disposal, and the impact of modern technologies that have changed the way students and teachers interact. These factors dictate the necessity of the reorganisation of knowledge delivery for improving the quality of European higher education (COM (2005) 152 final). The reorganisation of knowledge delivery is aimed at inducing students' motivation for studying a foreign language and supporting their intellectual and professional growth.

*Technological aspect* plays a key role in the *educational environment* based on ICT. Information technologies offer a great promise to both teachers and their students. Integrating technology is becoming more commonplace in the classroom. Computer technologies provide new alternatives for creating, storing and accessing knowledge within the educational organisation. ICT solutions can be used as a support for different classroom and 'virtual activities', group-work and pair-work assignments, independent work. Moreover, learning environments developed with the support of the ICT are quite flexible and can be quickly customized on the basis of the needs of students in terms of both learning objectives and learning outcomes. Such technologies as organizational data bases, intranets, etc. have been introduced to ensure knowledge transfer and knowledge sharing in a higher education institution. This, in turn, provides excellent opportunities for improving communication schemes in educational organisations.

*Social (communicative) aspect* includes developing non-traditional learning environments based on collaboration between a) language teachers and professionals; b) language teachers and students; c) teachers of special subjects and students; d) teachers, students and supporting staff. Professionals are invited to answer students' uncertainties, which may lead to increasing students' intrinsic motivation (Mendez and Gonzalez, 2011: 620). Tight collaboration between all participants of the learning process is supposed to facilitate information and knowledge transfer in the computer-based educational environment. It allows modelling professional activities and communication more efficiently and using the technological resources of the organisation in the most effective way.

*Pedagogical aspect* includes pedagogical strategies that focus on the learning objectives and learning outcomes. As it is said by Dziuban et al. (2004: 3), blended learning involves a fundamental redesign of the instructional model characterized by a shift from lecture- to student-centred instruction, increased interaction between student – instructor, student – student, student – content and student – external resources. Blended learning may help teachers 'evolve as designers of active learning environments', thus becoming 'more facilitative in their teaching' (Dziuban et al., 2004: 10).

The focus is put on developing the computer-based environment for (a) promoting student-centred learning, thus increasing student intrinsic motivation;

(b) supporting independence (autonomy) together with cooperation in sharing information and creating study materials. Today, there is a tendency of introducing autonomous language acquisition into the foreign language classroom, which leads to applying the constructivist approach to organising language learning inside and outside the classroom (Tarnopolsky, 2012: 9).

Constructivism is a student-centred learning approach. It provides students 'with opportunities of "constructing" their knowledge and skills through practical experience and real-life or modelled activities' (Tarnopolsky, 2012: 13). The constructive computer-based learning environment is supposed to support the development of students' personal identities as active and capable learners. In the constructive environment based on ICT, it is very important to change the teacher's role from that of a lecturer to that of a mentor (Sabag and Doppelt, 2012: 190). Knowledge is supposed to be built up actively, through the interaction between faculty, students and resources (Ros et al., 2012: 196).

According to Tarnopolsky (2012: 15), it is reasonable to combine the constructivist approach with blended learning, as only online resources activated by blended learning may provide adequate authentic materials for modelling professional activities and communication. Through blended learning mechanisms educators will be able to enhance the educational environment resources by means of employing additional learning resources from the external environment. Besides, a blended learning language course designed according to the constructive approach can be customized to suit the student's individual learning style.

## 2 Teaching ESP in the blended format

### 2.1 Using a flexible e-learning platform for teaching ESP

Blended courses require a flexible learning platform to support a specific instructional model. Recently, different e-learning platforms have been developed. An e-learning platform is software applications installed on a web server utilized to manage educational activities and distribute educational materials (Llamas-Nistal et al., 2011: 540).

*Moodle* (Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment) is widely used as an efficient and flexible platform for supporting blended language learning. It provides a range of functionalities to be applied in the learning process and integrate a variety of resources to be employed by both teachers and students in a technical university.

The functionalities of *Moodle* e-learning platform used for supporting a blended language course (including an ESP course developed for technical students) are listed below:

- Content delivery
- Practical assignments

- Self-assessment tests
- Internal e-mail
- Forums
- Group work
- Wikis
- Chat
- Blogs
- Podcasts
- Glossaries
- Videoconference, etc.

The content placed in *Moodle* includes texts, audio and video. Students' interactions with the content of the ESP course can also be more effective when they have multimedia materials at their disposal, and when they have control over the mode of presentation. Multimedia materials allow students to take a more active role in language learning. Moreover, language teachers should involve their students into creating multimedia materials, provided that they have support from teachers of special subjects (Computer Science, Telecommunications, Electronics, etc.). We presume that in a technical university, such tasks should become routine. It is vital to provide technical students with the opportunity to apply their knowledge in practice.

So, teachers can use students' ideas to create multimedia study materials, thus encouraging students to become active participants of the learning process. This way, language teachers make their contribution to developing students' multidisciplinary skills, which is vital for modern professionals, since one of the main concerns for educators today is to provide their graduates with a variety of skills necessary for the new knowledge-based economy (Stukalina, 2008: 199).

Engaging students in creating multimedia study materials (audio and video), as well as *Glossaries*, *Wikis* and *Blogs* presupposes more explorative learning in the student-centred collaborative environment based on the constructivist approach. Besides, such activities can be successfully applied in the framework of project-based learning (PBL). PBL establishes positive communication and collaboration relationships between teachers and students; they form a powerful learning community focused on achieving a common goal, in which an individual student contributes to the community (Lamar et al., 2012: 70). Project-based learning helps to keep the learning process more interesting; it emphasizes the importance of diverse skills and can stimulate the appreciation for life-long learning.

Practical assignments comprise different types of exercises:

- The tasks to be uploaded to the e-learning platform usually in PDF, Word or PowerPoint formats (essays, reports, presentations).
- Interactive Web-based exercises created by means of the program *Hot Potatoes* (multiple-choice, short-answer, jumbled-sentence, crossword,

matching/ordering and gap-fill exercises); the exercises can be related to other exercises to form a series of tasks; students can correct their own work based on the clues and feedback set up in advance by the teacher.

Being part of the ESP blended course, *Moodle* quizzes are used as computer-based self-assessment tools that allow students to evaluate their progress in language learning. Employing the *Moodle* e-learning platform language teachers can also (a) test students' listening skills and comprehension skills utilizing audio, video, and forums; (b) assess students' reading skills utilizing *Moodle* modules such as Timed reading quizzes; (c) assess students' speaking ability by recording audio files by using *NanoGong* functionality and by using *Chat* functionality – real-time conversation between teachers and students; (d) evaluate students' writing skills by using *Forums* and *Blogs*.

## 2.2 Learning activities to be performed in the ESP blended course

The general *objective* of the blended ESP course is to 'enable learners to function adequately in a target situation' (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987: 13), a target situation being related to proficient communication in a particular professional area. According to Fortanet-Gomez and Raisanen (2008: 12), the purpose of learning the language is to 'communicate within a specific academic, occupational or professional domain'. Therefore, the ESP course is aimed at developing technical students' communicative competence in a specific area (Aviation Engineering, Electronics, Computer Science and Information Technologies, etc.).

The universal *learning outcomes* of a blended ESP course can be formulated as follows: on completion of the course, students will be able to (a) recognise and use basic grammatical constructions; (b) understand specialized texts related to the course content; (c) give a clear well-structured presentation on an expert topic related to the course content (for example, 'Computer Hardware', 'Telecommunications Networks', etc.); (d) discuss expert topics related to the course content, in the role of active participants of the discussion group; (e) manage their own learning and work collaboratively with others; (f) work on small-scale projects in a group; (g) communicate effectively and appropriately with people of other cultures, etc.

The *course content* and the *course learning outcomes* are closely related. The blended ESP course usually consists of a few topics organised in units. The subject-matter content of the ESP course is closely associated with a particular discipline. An essential part of the constructivist approach that determines the selection of the course content is the integration of content from special subjects (students' majors) with the goals of target language teaching (Tarnopolsky, 2012: 73). A series of practical activities are designed, which require students to apply various skills acquired in the ESP course. Students' language skills and their intercultural awareness may be developed in the context of specific

experiential activities. As it is said by Tarnopolsky (2012: 27-28), these learning activities guarantee the acquisition of communicative skills as the by-products of extra-linguistic activities that model professional activities (which makes use of experiential activities important for implementing the constructivist approach in language education); they comprise role playing professional situations, simulating professional activities, project work, brainstorming, case studies, discussions of various professional issues, students' presentations, students' search for professional extra-linguistic information using target language sources (such as online and multimedia resources).

According to Harmer (2004: 168), learners regularly have to 'research language on their own', so assignments incorporated in the blended ESP course should be diversified. Practical language learning activities are realized in the guided/supervised (classroom activities) and the unguided (e-learning activities) format. Traditional ESP learning techniques are combined with e-learning content and functionalities of the selected e-learning platform. The success of the blended ESP course depends much on the adaptation of students to the use of Internet-based resources for language learning.

In the framework of the ESP course, classroom activities are accompanied by online components that extend beyond the classroom. Integrating e-learning activities in the language learning process is aimed at significant intensification of students' acquisition of language skills and communicative skills, development of students' linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences, providing higher level of objectivity of testing students' competences, providing constant collection of data related to students' progress, supporting students' learning autonomy and providing teachers' pedagogical autonomy (Tarnopolsky, 2012: 127). Various classroom and online activities that students are supposed to perform in the framework of the blended ESP course are shown in Table 2.

Both guided and unguided learning activities are intended for students that belong to different learning styles who 'absorb' and process information in a different way. While some students are more comfortable performing in the traditional classroom, others prefer online coursework. So the importance of providing students with a range of instructional strategies to facilitate learning is evident. The blended learning approach will allow teachers to balance the interests of individual students against the group, as they can make use of many different modes and means to convey information. Some assignments may not suit the particular styles of learners, so language teachers need to adjust or replace some activities (Harmer, 2004: 158). As students have different learning styles or a combination of styles, language teachers should plan activities that address their modes of learning in order to provide significant experience for each student. The e-learning environment can be more appropriate for some learning styles and personality needs; some students often find it much easier to communicate via computer-mediated environment than in face-to-face

situations. The e-learning environment offers a less hierarchical approach to instruction together with providing collaborative learning, which complements many students' learning styles. At the same time, it supports students' autonomy, and independent learners can also find online courses to be well suited to their needs.

**Table 2 Learning activities to be performed in the ESP blended course**

Instruction type	Activities
Face-to-face (classroom) instruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reading and discussing authentic texts</li> <li>• Writing and discussing essays and reports</li> <li>• Guided lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>• Guided audio and video assignments</li> <li>• Guided simulation activities: role playing professional situations, modelling professional activities, case studies, etc. (pair work and group work)</li> <li>• Joint discussion of professional topics</li> <li>• Individual and group presentations</li> <li>• Language games and quizzes</li> </ul>
Autonomous work (e- learning elements)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information seeking and Web searching</li> <li>• Unguided interactive lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>• Recording audio files (NanoGong functionality)</li> <li>• Self-assessment tests</li> <li>• Creating Glossaries, Wikis, Blogs</li> <li>• Online communication: E-mail (Quickmail)</li> <li>• Online discussions: Forums, Chat, Videoconference, Participation in group projects (through Forums, Chat, Videoconference, Glossaries, Wikis)</li> <li>• Interactive online language games and quizzes</li> </ul>

Therefore, designers of a blended ESP course ought to pay closer attention to students' learning styles taking into account their potential students' strengths and weaknesses. On the other hand, the blended learning format helps avoid stereotypes and may be used for facilitating students' whole-person and all-round development. We assume that the best results can be achieved when the instruction in class is multi-modal, when teachers and their students can benefit from various learning techniques.

The field of learning styles comprises a wide range of approaches (Coffield et al., 2004: 135). In this paper, we make use of Willing's (1987) model discussed in J. Harmer's book *The Practice of English Language Teaching* (Harmer, 2004: 43). Table 3 describes some e-learning activities that can be integrated in the ESP course in a technical university for supporting different learning styles. As they appeal to various learning styles they are supposed to make learning more dynamic, creative and purposeful.

**Table 3 Some e-learning activities integrated in the ESP blended course for supporting different learning styles**

<b>Learning style (Harmer, 2004: 43)</b>	<b>Supporting e-learning activities</b>
Convergers a) prefer to avoid groups b) are more independent c) are analytic and compose their own structures of learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Information seeking for individual use and group projects</li> <li>- Unguided interactive lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>- Self-assessment tests</li> <li>- Creating Glossaries, Wikis, Blogs</li> <li>- Interactive online language games and quizzes</li> <li>- Creating mind maps</li> <li>- Recording audio files and creating multimedia instructional materials</li> </ul>
Conformists a) tend to be dependent on authority b) are happy in non-communicative classroom c) prefer to see well-organised teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Information seeking for individual use and group projects</li> <li>- Unguided interactive lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>- Self-assessment tests</li> <li>- Regular online communication with the teacher: E-mail</li> <li>- Creating Glossaries, Wikis, Blogs</li> <li>- Interactive online language games and quizzes</li> <li>- Recording audio files</li> </ul>
Concrete learners a) enjoy social aspects of learning b) like to learn from direct experience c) are interested in language as a means of communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Information seeking for individual use and group projects</li> <li>- Unguided interactive lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>- Self-assessment tests</li> <li>- Creating Glossaries, Wikis, Blogs</li> <li>- Interactive online language games and quizzes</li> <li>- Online discussions: Forums, Chat, Videoconference, E-mail</li> <li>- Participation in online group projects: Forums, Chat, Videoconference, Glossaries, Wikis</li> <li>- Creating mind maps</li> </ul>
Communicative learners a) are language use oriented b) are entirely happy to operate without the guidance of a teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Information seeking for individual use and group projects</li> <li>- Unguided interactive lexical and grammar exercises</li> <li>- Self-assessment tests</li> <li>- Creating Glossaries, Wikis, Blogs</li> <li>- Interactive online language games and quizzes</li> <li>- Online discussions: Forums, Chat, Videoconference, E-mail</li> <li>- Participation in group projects (through Forums, Chat, Videoconference, Glossaries, Wikis)</li> <li>- Recording audio files and creating multimedia instructional materials</li> <li>- Creating mind maps</li> </ul>

We suppose that interactive online tools are an effective way to enhance language learning; moreover, they can be personalized to suit various learning styles. Through online learning students are able to independently organize their learning process; thus a certain degree of responsibility for learning can be transferred to students (Moeller and Reitzes, 2011: 6).

## Conclusions

Taking into account the above-mentioned considerations, the main conclusions can be summarised as follows.

Nowadays, new demands and pressures are being placed on the higher education institutions in the context of offering their students a variety of learning situations and instructional formats. Blending the best of e-learning techniques and classroom instruction can work well for both students and teachers. Blended learning can become a powerful strategy in the framework of the reorganization of knowledge delivery in a higher education institution. The blended approach to language learning provides students with more diverse, motivating, and authentic learning environments including non-traditional learning environments. It allows students to take advantage of the autonomous online-based work as well as the teacher-led instruction and the guidance they need. Utilizing interactive online tools integrated in the blended ESP course is associated with personalizing the learning experience for each student.

An ESP blended course is designed according to the communicative approach to language learning; it includes meaningful and contextualized instruction activities. It is also designed in ways that follow the constructivist philosophy, in which students are regarded as constructors of their own knowledge through their active engagement in the learning process. Experiential learning activities aimed at developing communicative skills as by-products of extra-linguistic activities can be successfully employed to enhance language learning.

The ESP course in a technical university should be tailored to fit the specific needs of the students; language teachers should work in close cooperation with teachers of professional subjects. An appropriate e-learning platform should be used; constant support from IT specialists is necessary for effective online instruction. A number of online tools can be tailored to suit various learning styles. However, multi-modal instruction – a combination of face-to-face and online learning activities – is supposed to be the most efficient type of tuition. Online training materials are well-suited for expanding language learning experience; they are aimed at increasing student motivation and engagement, and they provide opportunities for students to take some responsibility for their learning.

Language teachers utilize a wide range of ready-made paper-based and multimedia resources; they can also customize the available online resources

to the course syllabus. Student-generated multimedia materials and student-created wikis can be designed either in the framework of project-based learning or individually. Student-generated multimedia materials help students achieve meaningful outcomes more effectively. Involving students in creating instructional multimedia materials can be fruitfully applied in the context of the constructivist approach to learning.

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## ANGLICISMS IN SELECTED POLISH SPEECH ACTS

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**Abstract.** This article discusses research on the use of anglicisms in selected speech acts in the Polish language. The study referred to in the text was carried out with the application of corpus linguistics methodology. The study focuses on two major phenomena related to the employment of anglicisms by Polish chatters, occurring in selected speech acts in Polish, namely in: greetings, farewells, apologies and thanks. First of all, the study focuses on the word forms of the anglicisms. Analyzing them, the author attempts to depict word-formation processes accompanying the taking-over of foreign words. Secondly, attention is devoted to the motivation for the use of anglicisms in the studied speech acts. Focusing on contextual occurrences of selected borrowings, as well as the reactions of other interaction participants, the author attempts to unveil why chatters choose to apply a borrowing instead of a native-language expression. In addition to this, frequency analyses are carried out, in which the numbers of occurrences of words of foreign and native origin are contrasted. These are supposed to reveal the level of integration of the studied words of English origin with the subsystems (lexical, graphic or grammatical) of the Polish language. The study has shown that English borrowings once taken over are subject to word-formation processes of the target language. The author also points out that there are certain non-linguistic circumstances favorable to the use of anglicisms.

**Key words:** speech act, anglicisms, language contact, chat

## Introduction

This article covers selected excerpts of a large-scale analysis of Internet text-based communication presented in-depth by Szymański (2013). The said study focuses on the use of lexis (see Szymański, 2011) and various word-formation processes (see Szymański, 2012) which occur in text-based Internet chats.

The study reported in the present article came into existence as a consecutive development of a large-scale analysis of chat room lexis, which is cited below as Szymański (2013). The present text, however, contrary to those previously-mentioned studies, selects one facet and focuses on English-language lexical influences upon the Polish language excerpted from a corpus exclusively. Therefore, this paper seeks to present an analysis of anglicisms used by Polish chatters in text-based online chats and some estimated reasons for such behaviors discussed in one composition. What is more, previous

considerations of the studied corpus were published in Polish, which might pose certain limitations to international audience.

The paper begins with introductory explanations of language contact plus a brief sketch of Polish-English language contacts. To complete the terminological part, borrowing and speech act are defined. Furthermore the chosen research methodology, which is corpus approach, is brought to the reader. This is followed by an analysis of the language material, after which conclusions are drawn.

## 1 Language contact

Languages come into contact when speakers of two different ones interact. The most basic comprehension of this phenomenon is exhibited by Thomason (2001), for who ‘language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time’ (Thomason, 2001: 1). A similar approach is presented by, for instance, Crystal (2008: 107) who points to the ‘geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus mutual influence) between languages or dialects’. Contrary to this approach, in his 2008 article, Zabawa notices that, at present, the dualism of linguistic influences does not necessarily need to happen. The mentioned linguist claims that nowadays the influence of one language upon another may take place in one direction. The cited author exemplifies his statement with the influence of English on Polish via the Internet, the television, the movies and other mass media (Zabawa, 2008: 155). Consequently, the said scholar proposes that the given definitions be reviewed and devoid of the claim of the two-direction influences (*ibid.*).

## 2 A short overview of Polish-English language contact

The first reported contacts between Polish and English date back to the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1987). These are attributed to Polish diplomats as well as Poles emigrating to England for academic purposes. Similarly, in the 16th century, Catholics, mainly of Scottish origin, sought refuge in Poland (*ibid.*). Concurrently, theater troupes and various craftsmen from England began to appear in Poland. In the 18th century, Poland entered trade with England through the seaport in Gdańsk (*ibid.*).

Those contacts, either for academic, political or commercial reasons, had also their bearing on the languages of both these nations. Studying the earliest influences of English on Polish, Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1987) found that the foremost English words in Polish date back to the 18th century. In the same article, the cited scholar reports that at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, as many as eleven English borrowings were present in Polish (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1987), excluding geographical names. In her 1995 book, the same author states that in the 19th century there were 21 words of English origin

in various Polish texts and dictionaries altogether. A century later, which is at the beginning of the 20th century, the number rose to 250 (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 1995).

In fact, the second half of the 20th century was the time when the influx of anglicisms was witnessed most. To support this, Zabawa (2008) sees the climax in, and after, the year 1989 when Poland became independent. For this researcher, there are a number of sources of the influence of English on Polish. These are traced to the dominant position of the United States of America, the development of various media, including the Internet, as well as the opening of the job market in Great Britain, as a result of Poland's accession to the European Union (Zabawa, 2008: 155).

### 3 Terminology

#### 3.1 Borrowing

In the study of language, *a borrowing* may be defined as 'a linguistic form taken over by one language or dialect from another' (Crystal, 2008: 58). For Yule, *borrowing* is 'the taking over of words from other languages' (Yule, 2006: 54). One may see then that there is a distinction between the entity taken and the process of adopting a foreign element to the target language.

The most noticeable outcome of interlingual contacts are words of foreign origin. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995) maintains that borrowings are impossible to be avoided when languages come into interaction. What is also important to notice is that borrowings enter the target language on a number of levels. These include: lexis, graphics, semantics, syntax and morphology (Zabawa, 2008, Otwinowska-Kasztelanic, 2000). This, in consequence, leads to a number of types of borrowings (Otwinowska-Kasztelanic, 2000).

#### 3.2 Speech act

Language users accomplish a number of activities with their messages. Language is used to greet others, bid farewell, express gratitude, apologize, even to change or create the world. Such actions are referred to as *speech acts* and cover functions which speakers perform with their utterances (Austin, 1962).

### 4 Research methodology

The analysis outlined below was carried out with the application of corpus linguistics methodology. A *corpus*, following McEnry et. al. (2006) is 'a collection of (1) machine-readable (2) authentic texts (including transcripts of spoken data) which is (3) sampled to be (4) representative of a particular language or language variety' (McEnry et al., 2006: 4-5). As far as *representativeness* of such a compilation of language samples is concerned,

Biber (1993) explains that this feature ‘refers to the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population’ (Biber, 1993: 243).

In the investigation presented below, two methods of corpus linguistics were applied. One of them is *frequency analysis*. This approach allows one to examine which patterns of language behavior are frequent and which are sporadic or occasional. The other approach is *concordance analysis*. This method helps to study the contextual occurrences of words.

The choice of the corpus-based approach was made for a number of reasons (see Szymański, 2013). Most importantly, however, the cited author aimed at presenting the actual picture of language used in online interaction. Never the less, the findings presented in the source (Szymański, 2013) may lead to some further observations and remarks relating to various phenomena present in the casual speech of Polish speakers.

## 5 The language material

The material for this research comes from a corpus of Polish text-based Internet chats. The said collection of language samples consists of 1,629,823 words. Those were constructed of online chats which lasted from February 20, 2004 to March 27, 2006 (see, for example, Szymański, 2013).

The chat room itself gathered numerous interaction participants. A sociological investigation revealed that those were predominantly young male adults, at the age of 20 and above. They performed various professions, for instance: teachers, a dentist or IT specialists. The majority had completed higher education or were college or university students at that time (for details see Szymański, 2013). Of course, younger, as well as female, users were also encountered, yet those constituted a statistically insignificant minority (Szymański, 2009 and 2013).

The chat room from which the language samples come served mostly as a place for virtual, informal meetings. The topics which were discussed in that virtual community were informal and included, among others, sports, contemporary events, affairs or catastrophes. In addition to this, those online chats performed a phatic function. This is so because their participants formed a certain chat community. This resulted in situations when new friendships were made online; some of which were also transferred offline, to the real world (Szymański, 2009, 2011 and 2013).

## 6 Data presentation and analysis

This section acquaints the reader with the analysis of English borrowings, also called *anglicisms*, which may be found in every-day speech of young Polish speakers. All the examples derive from the already-mentioned extensive study of lexis scrutinized by Szymański (2013).

## 6.1 Greetings

One of the speech acts investigated by Szymański (2013) is *greetings*. These are expressions used to initiate a meeting or to attract someone's attention.

Out of the 20 expressions in performance of the said function listed by Szymański (2013: 59), three display English origin. These are: 'hello', 'hi' and 'yo'. Since corpus-based studies provide statistical information, a need to examine this arises. Underpinned with the said source (*ibid.*), the following data (see Table 1) may be juxtaposed.

*Table 1 Greeting expressions by their origin* (on the basis of Szymański, 2013: 59)

language of origin	word (and derivate) frequency	percentage of greetings
Polish	14256	84.605 %
English	2396	14.215 %
other languages	198	1.175 %

The above specification (Table 1) presents greeting expressions excerpted from the studied corpus with reference to their origin. As the presented frequencies show, one may conclude that anglicisms constitute an essential element of the Polish lexical subsystem concerning greetings. This is so because these borrowings appear in Polish-language contexts. Szymański (2013) maintains that his concordance analyses of the occurrences of anglicisms (and also of other foreign elements, which are beyond the scope of the present text, and hence are omitted) co-exist with their Polish equivalents rightfully. Chatters use them interchangeably and no misunderstandings are reported to occur. An argument, therefore, might be proposed that anglicisms function as substitutes for their Polish counterparts.

As far as the statistical information is concerned, the highest frequency was noted for the word 'hello' and its derivatives, many of which are hybrid-spelled. Altogether 1.205 such word forms were excerpted from the corpus, with the original form: 'hello' occurring 279 times in the studied material. Since in the examined chat room the written mode of communication was used, words (or expressions) underwent certain spelling modifications. These non-standard codifications were implemented not without a purpose, which is discussed later (and in Szymański, 2012). Furthermore, the second frequency of anglicisms in the studied corpus was noted for the greeting exclamation 'hi' (650 occurrences), with the original spelling form: 'hi' found 605 occurrences. The third word in the discussed function, which is 'yo', was used 541 times, and the original form 298 times. All these words experienced spelling hybridization, which is outlined below.

First of all, words were spelled with their letters multiplied, for example: 'hellllllllllloooo', 'heeeeeeeeeelo', 'heloooooooo', 'yoooo' or 'yoooooooooooooo'. Typically, this type of hybrid spelling is made use of in order to make the

graphic form exhibit the properties of spoken interaction (Werry, 1996). Crystal (2001) calls this phenomenon *written speech*. As Szymański (2012 and 2013) argues, such an attempt might be true with reference to the reduplication of vowels, especially those stressed ones. Howbeit, in numerous instances, the multiplied letter (or letters) does not represent a stressed vowel, for example 'heeeeelo', or even stands for consonants, for example 'l' in 'hellllllllllloooo'. The researcher supports the view that such instances exemplify emphasis (Szymański, 2012).

Continuing on the subject of the graphemic representation of speech, a number of other spelling deviances were noticed in the studied material. These include the realization of the final diphthong in letters. Poles simply adopted the spelling to the way they themselves hear or pronounce the words. Hence forms such as: 'hellou', 'helloł', 'hellow', 'yol' or 'joł' came into existence. The final letters were suffixed to show the diphthongized pronunciation. Similarly to this, 'hi' is transliterated by Polish chatters as 'hay' or 'haj'. Both these non-standard forms are to show how Poles pronounce the final diphthong; however, only the latter follows the rules of the Polish orthography.

As for phonetized spelling (Szymański, 2012), there was yet another tendency observed. For the anglicism 'hello', a manner of graphemic reduction was found. The studied material provides forms: 'hello' (279 occurrences) and 'helo' (229 occurrences), both in the function of greetings. This reduction stems from the fact that Poles utter the word with one '[l]', and so they write the word. Poles find no differences in these two words as far as their meanings and functions are concerned, since the number of 'l's in this case does not influence the meaning or function (Szymański, 2013).

## 6.2 Farewells

Expressions used to close an interaction are called *farewells*. These are also presented by Szymański (2013). The said scholar lists 24 expressions performing the function in question (Szymański, 2013: 91). Three of these display English origin, namely: 'good bye' (303 occurrences), 'good night' (24) and 'see you' (149).

Table 2 Farewell expressions by their origin (on the basis of Szymański, 2013: 91)

language of origin	word (and derivate) frequency	percentage of farewell expressions
Polish	8009	93.727 %
English	476	5.51 %
other languages	60	0.702 %

The data presented in Table 2 show that anglicisms were used by Polish chatters as good-bye expressions. The statistics, however, allow to state that English borrowings are not frequently employed to perform this function.

Again, a number of non-standard spelling tendencies were employed. Such were the multiplied graphemes, for example in 'good byeeeeeeee'. Also, word multiplication was witnessed, for example 'bye bye'. Chatters displayed additionally a manner to shorten the phrase 'good bye' to a single syllable: 'bye' (258 occurrences). This word underwent also a hybridization of spelling imitating the pronunciation of Poles. In this manner the construction 'baj' was achieved, which follows the rules of the Polish orthography.

With reference to the phrase 'see you', a number of other non-standard spellings was excerpted. Of course, the original two-word expression was noted, yet only eight times. Other forms include: 'cu' and 'cya' (and a number of variants of the latter with the multiplication of the final grapheme 'a'). These forms may be found in dictionaries, for instance in *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, as informal variants of 'see you'.

What may be found interesting here is the employment of the word 'see', which implies visual contact of the interlocutors. Never the less, the text-based characteristic of the chat room disallows the users to perceive their interlocutors through their eyesight. As Szymański (2013: 110) proposes, this convention switch suggests that users treat the chat as a substitute for face-to-face communication.

### 6.3 Apologies

Within the realm of speech acts studied in text-based chat interaction, Szymański (2013) explores also *apologies*. These are expressions used when one desires to repent of what they have done. The researched corpus provides a number of occurrences of anglicisms performing this function.

*Table 3 Apologies by their origin* (on the basis of Szymański, 2013: 124)

language of origin	word (and derivate) frequency	percentage of apologies
Polish	421	38.377 %
English	669	60.985 %
other languages	7	0.638 %

Much as surprising as these results in table 3 may seem, the fact is that the borrowed constructions outnumber those from the native language of the chat participants. This phenomenon may stem, as the cited researcher claims, from the fact that admitting one's guilt requires them to lose some of their desired public self-image. Therefore, users apply expressions from a language with which they do not feel much, if any, emotional relationship. In another of his works, the mentioned scholar [Szymański (in press) *Language awareness in an Internet chat room*] compares such a word of foreign origin to a shield, which protects the language user from having their desired public image flawed. In other words, message senders are unwilling, in their minds, to reduce

their prestige; yet at the same time they create an impression of expressing repentance.

The quoted study reveals that Polish chatters utilized only one anglicism, ‘sorry’, in the speech act of apologizing. Research, however, shows that, although this word functions in the source language as an adjective, the target language users treat one as a noun. This is proven by a number of word forms declined with Polish nominal suffixes, for example ‘sorka’, ‘sorek’, ‘sorki’ (Szymański, 2013: 131). Similar conclusions were drawn by Piotrowski (2003).

Of course, this borrowing underwent certain spelling modifications. The most noticeable one refers to the reduction of the letter ‘r’. Since Poles pronounce the word ‘sorry’ with one [r], they do not seem to have felt the need to maintain the double ‘r’ in spelling. This is how the construction ‘sory’, spelled with one ‘r’, was achieved. As Szymański (2013: 135) stipulates, 71.6 % of all the derivatives from the anglicism ‘sorry’ are spelled with one ‘r’. These occurrences, plus the Polish word-formation processes, prove that this word has become a grounded and fixed element of the Polish lexical subsystem (compare with Piotrowski, 2003).

#### 6.4 Thanks

The fourth speech act investigated by Szymański (2013) is *thanks*. This one is performed when a speaker expresses their gratitude.

*Table 4 Thanks by their origin* (on the basis of Szymański, 2013: 111)

language of origin	word (and derivate) frequency	percentage of thanks
Polish	1842	80.402 %
English	435	18.987 %
other languages	14	0.611 %

Although English expressions of gratitude are not as frequent in the studied language samples as those showing repentance, the former also constitute an element of the chat room lexis. Unsurprisingly, the anglicisms used in this speech act were: ‘thank you’ or ‘thanks’. Both these constructions were excerpted from the analyzed corpus. However, a number of modifications to these were found.

Firstly, a number of spelling hybrids of the ‘th-’ cluster was found. Szymański (2013: 121-122) exemplifies these with forms such as: ‘fenks’, ‘fenkju’ or ‘senkju’. The researcher concludes that these changes resemble the manner in which Polish speakers hear or pronounce the phrases: ‘thanks’ or ‘thank you’.

The influence of the English language in the described area is visible not only in the words or expressions taken over directly, but also in certain word-formation processes. This may be observed in the case of the construction

'dzięks'. Although the Polish language offers a verbal expression of gratitude: 'dzieękować' or an informal nominal one: 'dzięki', the studied informants produced a construction built on the basis of analogy to the English word 'thanks'. This word is: 'dzięks', which clearly combines the Polish stem: 'dzięk-' plus the English plural suffix: '-s'. Moreover, inspired by this tendency, the chatters moved even further to construct a short form 'dzx', which evidently is patterned upon the English abbreviation 'thx'.

## Conclusions

From the discussion presented above, certain conclusions may be arrived at (cf. Szymański, 2013). Definitely, Polish chatters apply anglicisms in speech acts, even though they may have used their native-language expressions. However, having chosen a foreign element, especially as far as lexis is concerned, Poles subject the borrowings to their native-language word-formation processes. In addition to this, Polish chatters display a tendency to transliterate words either according to the systemic features of their native language or on the basis of how they hear or pronounce the words.

Notwithstanding the above, one may wish to argue whether the insertion of borrowings is necessary when there exist a number of equivalents in the native language of the chatters. Answering this question requires the understanding of the users' motivation for the choice and application of foreign elements. For one thing, English is a fashionable language in Europe; the most widely taught in Polish schools. This might entail chatters' desire to boast about their command of foreign, and in this manner also fashionable, wordings. What is more, foreign elements are perceived as a fun-adding factor, with the role of maximizing the level of interaction informality. Anglicisms perform also the function of a protective armor, whose aim is to prevent one's honor from being disturbed. Taking into consideration all these explanations, one may complete the argumentation with an opinion that the use of anglicisms seems reasonable, although unnecessary.

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# AUTHENTIC MATERIALS AS A TOOL IN TEACHING VOCABULARY TO MARINE ENGINEERS AT THE TERTIARY LEVEL

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**Abstract.** Nowadays the number of internationally trading vessels with crews speaking different languages is increasing, therefore mistakes in cross-cultural communication and a poor command of English may cause misunderstandings leading to dangers to the vessel, the people on board and the environment. Consequently, the goal of the paper is to investigate the ways of mastering maritime terminology for the second-year students of the Marine Engineering Department by means of authentic materials. The empirical methods comprise a case study, which is aimed at exploring the development of the tertiary level students' lexical competence. The data received from the feedback questionnaires, regular achievement tests, and classroom observation prove that authentic materials are a useful tool for facilitating learning of the necessary maritime terminology at the tertiary level.

**Key words:** authentic materials, maritime terminology, teaching vocabulary, ESP, tertiary level, case study

## Introduction

Nowadays there is a great variety of learning materials developed for teaching ESP. However, various authors (Bocanegra-Valle, 2010; Claypole, 2010; Torregrosa Benavent and Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría, 2011) indicate authenticity as one of the important features in ESP methodology. Trappes-Lomax assumes that 'authentic materials have been given a new lease of life' (2006: 152). Moreover, in the field of Technical English, Claypole even insists on promoting COLT (Content Oriented Language Teaching) methodology based on the subject-matter and authentic materials (2010: 91). Torregrosa Benavent and Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría maintain that 'authentic materials are especially important for ESP trainees, since they reproduce an immersion environment and provide realistic context for tasks that relate to learner's needs' (2011: 89).

According to the statistical data, the main difficulties seafarers experience on board are connected with the use of the foreign language: they must read technical manuals and different publications; they have to study documentation relevant to the specialty and rank written in English, and communicate

with the crew members, supervisors, and coast stations. Thus, to become communicatively competent and to perform professional duties, the Maritime Academy students must be exposed to different authentic materials that they will encounter on board, for example, manuals, and checklists in order to stimulate their motivation for learning English; they have to be shown real language use, and introduced to the peculiarities of register, professional jargon, paying particular attention to the terminology.

The author's analysis of the available studies (Pritchard, 2008; Halid and Genova, 2009; Cui, 2010) on teaching Maritime English has revealed that the use of authentic materials as a tool for teaching maritime vocabulary is a poorly researched issue. What is more, the results of the survey of Maritime English materials carried out by Pritchard in 2008 has shown that 'there is rarely a comprehensive, all inclusive Maritime English textbook or other teaching/learning materials and there is no single material (textbook or other) that has imposed itself as the material with world-wide use or the one setting standards to other Maritime English materials' (Pritchard, 2008: 25). Besides, he has stated that the main drawback of these materials is lack of authenticity (*ibid.* 26).

Thus, the goal of the research is to investigate the ways of mastering maritime terminology for the second-year students of the Marine Engineering Department by means of authentic materials.

The hypothesis of this study is formulated in the following way: extensive use of authentic materials in the tertiary level classroom can facilitate learning of the necessary terminology for the second-year students of the Marine Engineering Department.

## 1 The Notions of Authenticity and Authentic Materials in Teaching ESP

The recent studies of this notion 'have identified *authenticity* in teaching as a significant yet poorly researched phenomenon lacking a straight-forward definition' (Kreber et al, 2010: 383). According to Rodgers and Medley, different people can interpret the terms *authenticity* and *authentic materials* differently (1988: 468). Consequently, the definitions of *authenticity* and *authentic materials* in relation to teaching EFL and ESP have been much debated both within the fields of applied linguistics as well as general education (Alibakhshi et al, 2010: 64).

The review of theoretical sources revealed that all the perspectives refer either to the notion of authenticity as a single unitary notion, which is defined in terms of synonyms or dichotomy (*authenticity* vs. *inauthenticity*), or as a complex notion that is identified in accordance with its types (*multiple authenticities*). All the views are going to be discussed and analyzed.

Traditionally *authenticity* has been regarded as a *single unitary notion* that is a synonym for ‘genuineness, realness, truthfulness, validity, reliability, undisputed credibility, and legitimacy of materials or practices’ (Shomoosi and Ketabi, 2007: 150). Although Widdowson supports this view, he considers that there is a distinction between two notions *authenticity* and *genuineness*. According to his view, *genuine* is considered to be an example of a native speaker’s language, whereas *authentic* is a native speaker’s response (Widdowson, 1998: 616). Taylor agrees upon differentiating these two notions and explains that the confusion about the terms is compounded by the idea of *naturalness*, which might mean different things to different people, in different contexts (1994:3). What is more, he claims that ‘*authenticity* is a function not only of the language but also of the participants, the use to which the language is put, the setting, the nature of the interaction, and the interpretation that the participants bring to both the setting and the activity’ (Taylor, 1994: 6).

Another approach to defining the notion was proposed by Taylor (1994) and Oxford (2001), who have discussed *authenticity* in terms of contrasting it to the concept of inauthenticity or artificiality.

The reconceptualization of this notion meant that it was no longer viewed as a single unitary notion that was over-simplified. Breen (1985) was one of the first scholars who proposed to refer to the notion of authenticity as a relative rather than absolute (Wardman, 2009: 14).

Bachman (1990; 1991) identified *situational* and *interactional authenticity* (cited in Alibakhshi et al., 2010: 69). ‘*Situational authenticity* refers to the accuracy with which tasks and items represent language activities from real life. *Interactional authenticity* refers to the naturalness of the interaction between [learner] and task and the mental processes which accompany it’ (*Manual for Language Test Development and Examining*, 2011: 82). It should be noted that many scholars (Kreber et al, 2007; Wardman, 2009; Alibakhshi et al, 2010; Torregrosa Benavent and Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría, 2011) support and use the terms *interactional* and *situational authenticity* (2011: 12).

An additional typology of authenticity has been proposed by Brown and Menasche; they distinguish between *input authenticity* and *task authenticity* (2005). Moreover, they propose the degrees of authenticity from *genuine input authenticity*, *altered input authenticity*, *adapted input authenticity*, through *simulated input authenticity* to *inauthenticity*. Similarly to Brown and Menasche (2005), Graves has also introduced the classification of materials, tasks and activities (2006: 157), according to which teaching materials can be either *pedagogically prepared* or *semi-authentic* or *authentic*, while tasks and activities—*pedagogical* (e.g. to read a dialogue) or *real world* (e.g. a role play of a telephone conversation) or *in the real-world* (e.g. a real telephone conversation).

One of the latest definitions of the notion of authenticity is ‘the degree to which texts or tasks resemble real-life activities’ (*Manual for Language Test Development and Examining*, 2011: 82). However, it is obvious that the notion

of authenticity is too complicated to be defined in this way. Having investigated different views on the notion, the author of the current research has come to the conclusion that this notion is multi-dimensional and should be discussed in accordance with its types (*situational* and *interactional authenticity*; *input* and *task authenticity*) and degrees (*genuine input authenticity*, *altered input authenticity*, *adapted input authenticity*, through *simulated input authenticity* to *inauthenticity*). Consequently, the authenticity of texts, tasks or activities will be discussed in accordance with this theoretical framework.

In reference to the definition of *authentic materials*, there are also many views. The traditional definition adopted was 'authentic materials are those materials which have been produced for purposes other than to teach language' (Nunan, 1988: 99). It was supported by many scholars (Rodgers and Medley, 1988; Little, 1994; Torregrosa Benavent and Sánchez-Reyes Peñamaría, 2011 and others), but supplemented with additional key words. Consequently, the analysis of the key words used in the definitions of the notion *authentic materials* provided by the authors mentioned has allowed compiling a common definition: *authentic material* is a record of any communicative act in speech or writing taken from real world and has not been specifically created and edited for the purposes of language. Little emphasized that the key words *a record of any communicative act in speech or writing taken from real world* also includes 'any communicative event that can easily become such a record' (e.g. the recording of electronic communication, radio and television broadcasts, etc.) (1994: 154). In continuation of this idea, Ellis and Johnson assume that these materials might also include *realia* (1994: 157), which are represented by 'actual objects and items which are brought into a classroom as examples or as aids to be talked or written about and used in teaching' (Gunderson, 2009: 187). It can be in the form of a text, visuals, audio, video materials, for instance: maps, checklists, diagrams, schemas, etc. (Ellis and Johnson, 1994: 158). What is more, Grellet holds an extreme view on the notion of authenticity of materials claiming that the material can be considered *authentic* only in case the original presentation and layout is preserved (1990: 8).

A distinct approach to describing the notion is offered by Rodgers and Medley; it is based on three key words that refer to authentic materials: *appropriate*, *qualitative* and *natural* (1988: 469). The first two key words are used in terms of 'goals, objectives, learners' needs, interest', while the last one refers to real-life and meaningful communication (ibid. 469).

In this study, the notion *authentic materials* includes authentic texts and videos which will be used as a *genuine* or *altered authentic input* for the target students. Apart from that, the tasks and activities will be designed on the basis of other authentic texts pertaining to the same theme; almost all the tasks refer to the type *pedagogical*, according to the classification presented by Menasche (2004). All the authentic texts have been chosen in compliance with the syllabus, course objectives, students' needs, and are aimed at professional

seafarers engaged in Mechanical Engineering and not for the purposes of the English language teaching.

### **1.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of Applying Authentic Materials**

Discussing the significance of using authentic materials in teaching ESP, many scholars have come to a conclusion that there are certain pluses and minuses which should be taken into consideration.

One of the first *advantages* is that authentic materials provide exposure to 'real' language and stimulate students' motivation for learning (Guariento and Morley, 2001). Richards highlights that authentic materials are beneficial for the development of cultural competence and provoke a more creative approach to teaching (2001: 71). Duquette et al. continues by stating that authentic materials help to 'facilitate cultural adaptation, language comprehension, and language use' (1987: 489). In addition, Oxford (1990) has enumerated some other advantages:

1. Authentic materials have an intrinsic value as they contain topical information;
2. In contrast to course books, authentic materials provide examples of improper or incidental English that students should be prepared to hear or notice in texts;
3. Reading authentic texts is efficient for developing and practising such sub-skills as, for instance, scanning, skimming, reading for the gist (Oxford, 1990: 85).

Among other advantages, Sanderson mentions that authentic materials can be used for different purposes and in various situations (1999: 24). Besides, these materials help teachers and students to be aware of language changes (Martinez, 2002: 5).

Gardner and Miller hold that authentic materials are particularly advantageous for instrumentally motivated learners, whose main reason for learning a language is a job-related need (1999: 101). They claim that 'learners should use authentic materials related to their professional areas, thus enabling them to channel their language learning energies in ways that are of direct relevance to their needs.' (*ibid.* 101). Similarly, Dudley- Evans and St John consider that authentic texts should be chosen for ESP as they 'exemplify the particular register to which they refer and often include specific terminology, professional jargon, typical organizational features and sentence patterns' (1998: 66). What is more, they believe that the information provided by authentic materials is more accurate and valid than in the majority of printed and edited training materials. Besides, the authors claim that this type of materials may be of great help in case of teaching a specialized course, especially if the objective of the course is to develop skills for reading manuals, contracts, reports.

Haines suggests exploring the advantages of authentic materials from the perspective of tasks (1995: 63). Thus, he enumerates the following positive features:

1. The right combination of tasks related to authentic materials can help learners to develop reading and listening strategies;
2. It is possible to set a variety of tasks related to authentic texts; the developed tasks might be from elementary to those that require in-depth understanding (Haines, 1995: 64).

As it has been already mentioned, there might be also *disadvantages* of implementing authentic materials in the study process (Martinez, 2002; Herrington et al., 2003).

1. The level of authentic texts might cause difficulties for lower-level students (Haines, 1995: 64);
2. The vocabulary items might not correspond to the target students' immediate needs (Peacock, 1997; Martinez, 2002);
3. The initial interest may decrease if the students decide that this material is irrelevant (Haines, 1995: 62);
4. The material in its original might be too long, but its shortening may be confusing for learners (Haines, 1995: 65);
5. The authentic texts might soon become outdated and not bring reality into the classroom (Haines, 1995; Peacock, 1997; Martinez, 2002);
6. Although teachers try to select authentic materials as realistic as possible, sometimes they still cannot reflect a work environment (Herrington et al., 2003: 62);
7. Teachers have to devote extra time to prepare the materials, as this process is time-consuming. Some instructors find it difficult to select, prepare suitable authentic materials and create appropriate communicative activities (Martinez, 2002: 7).

Applying the materials in the ESP classroom, the teacher should be aware of the idea that the successful integration of authentic materials depends upon the following variables: the students' needs, the syllabus, the texts and the task designing (pre/during/post) (Martinez, 2002: 7).

## 2 Methods

The methods of the theoretical and empirical research include a critical review of the theories concerning the application of authentic materials in vocabulary teaching and a case study. The case study has been carried out in the following stages:

1. the initial problem has been formulated and the critical analysis of the relevant literature has been administered;
2. the unit of study and its boundaries have been defined;
3. the data-collection techniques and researcher roles have been defined;

4. the needs analysis questionnaires have been designed and piloted;
5. the authentic materials for the course have been selected and the tasks and activities developed and practised;
6. the tests have been designed, administered, and analyzed;
7. the feedback questionnaire has been designed, filled by the learners, and analysed;
8. the results of the observation have been investigated;
9. the experience has been discussed and evaluated.

To increase the validity and reliability of the research findings, the author of the paper has employed triangulation or multiple data collection instruments (the classroom observation, the learners' needs analysis and feedback questionnaires, achievement tests).

### **3 Research population**

The target population of the pilot study carried out at Latvian Maritime Academy (LMA) in 2012 consisted of nineteen second-year students of the Marine Engineering Department and three students on the international exchange programme from the University of Cantabria taking a compulsory course in Maritime English. The students' average level of English is intermediate. Almost all the students, with one exception, have no maritime experience.). To eliminate the mortality threat to internal validity (the terminology used by Fraenkel and Wallen, 2006: 170), for the analysis it was decided to use only those tests and feedback questionnaires which were written by the LMA students who were able to participate in each lesson; the three Erasmus exchange students were excluded. The necessary information about the students, their needs and expectations was collected via a needs analysis questionnaire.

### **4 Results and Discussions**

The results of the needs analysis questionnaire revealed that all the respondents had learnt Maritime English for at least one year and the majority of them had an intermediate level of the English language proficiency. The students' preferences in the development of the four skills were different; however, almost all the participants would prefer to develop speaking skills. The predominant number of the students indicated that they would like to use visual materials, use handouts, and to participate in class discussions to learn the target vocabulary items. All the preferences had been taken into consideration when the authentic materials were selected, the tasks and activities were developed.

Since the variety of proposals for the evaluation and selection of teaching materials are less common in the field of ESP and far less common in reference

to authentic materials, the procedure for the selection of authentic materials had been developed on the basis of the theories of Tucker (1975), Williams (1984), Sheldon (1988), Hutchinson and Waters (1987), Grant (1987), Cunninghamworth (1995), Nuttal (1996), Berardo (2006), Tomlinson and Masuhara's (2010). Consequently, the authentic materials were selected and evaluated in accordance with the four stages that included the establishment of the criteria, the administration of the subjective analysis guided by the impressionistic evaluation and CATALYST approach, the realization of the objective analysis carried out by the expert group in the field of marine engineering and by the teacher of Maritime English at LMA, and the evaluation of the materials during the pilot study. The criteria established for the evaluation and selection of authentic materials comprised: *textual authenticity, suitability of content, exploitability, compatibility with course objectives and syllabus, readability, presentation*. Moreover, each authentic text has been examined with regard to *the instrumental, interactional, personal, and informative functions*. As a result, the authentic materials selected for the pilot study comprised audio-visual (videos) and visual (pictures, diagrams) materials, as well as printed texts which were used as a *genuine or altered authentic input* for the target students and realia. The sources of the authentic materials comprised four manuals, a textbook written for English-speaking Engineer Cadets or Junior Engineers (Taylor, 2001), the reports on acts of piracy, the Internet materials (videos), and realia (Westfall-Larsen Management (WLM) Bridge Checklist, the checklist that is a part of the Anti-Piracy Emergency and Contingency Plan used by Fairmont Shipping (Canada) Ltd., maps on the incidents of piracy).

To eliminate the decrease in the quality of materials, the corpus of twenty-eight authentic texts has been compiled, analyzed, and compared with the corpus of texts implemented in the classroom by the LMA instructor for teaching vocabulary on *Lubrication of the Engine, Cooling of the Engine, and Piracy at Sea*. Since the STTR is higher for the corpus of authentic texts, it means that the authentic texts are more lexically dense than non-authentic texts (see Table 1). Consequently, the quality of materials has not decreased.

*Table 1 The Statistics of the Texts in Corpus*

Corpus	Tokens	Types	Type/Token	STTR
Corpus of authentic texts	25 856	5 745	0.22	42.3
Corpus of non-authentic texts used at LMA	1 166	233	0.19	39.6

Taking into account that the list of the target vocabulary required for learning was not provided, the next serious decision-making process was focused on the identification of the target vocabulary items. The analysis of the theoretical literature pertaining to vocabulary selection allowed creating a

framework based on the following factors: *frequency, function, cultural aspects, needs and level of the students, expediency, coverage, and learnability*. To make this process as accurate and objective as possible, such offline sources as *Frequency33* and *Microsoft Excel* were used to process and analyze the data. As a result 108 items have been selected, the degree of technicalness of these terms is as follows:

- 1) 66 per cent of terms is used inside and outside the field with the same meaning (e.g. *barbed wire, distilled water*);
- 2) 21 per cent of purely technical terms (e.g. *drain tank, Kevlar blanket, mother ship*);
- 3) 13 per cent of terms with no specialization in meaning (e.g. *Pirate*).

The analysis of the pilot study by the researcher has revealed that the learners were fully engaged in the learning process. Although the students worked at a different pace, they were taught in accordance with the lesson plans. Referring to the selected authentic materials, they were appropriate for the level of the students and relevant to their needs. The observation of the students' performance during the speaking tasks based on the authentic texts has shown that the students were using the target vocabulary items and their proficiency has increased. Moreover, the students were good at doing the tasks and activities in the class and at home. The active participation in almost all tasks and activities could signify that the learners got satisfaction from the learning process.

The investigation of the achievement tests enables to conclude that the selected authentic materials, the developed tasks and activities were reliable and efficient tools for teaching maritime terminology pertaining to three themes *Lubrication of the Engine, Cooling of the Engine, Piracy at Sea*. The results are illustrated in Figure 1.

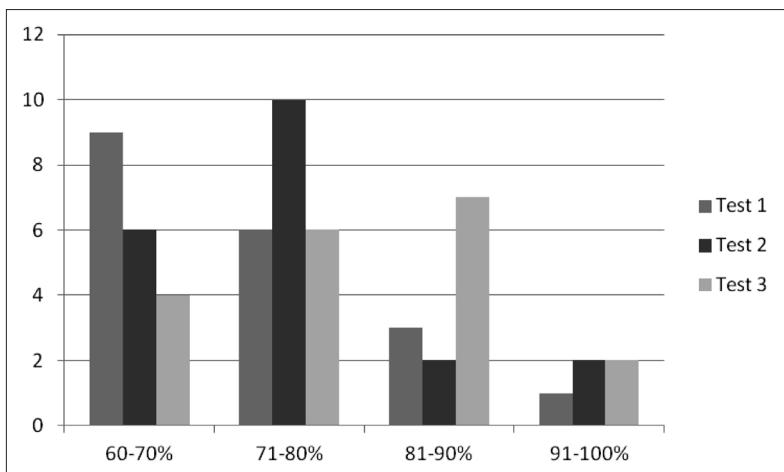


Figure 1 The Results of the Achievement Tests

The results of the observation carried by LMA instructor aimed at the evaluation of the selected authentic materials and vocabulary items, the developed tasks, activities, and tests, and the learning process testify to the fact that the most successful lessons were on the theme *Lubrication of the Engine*. The least successful class was on *Piracy at Sea*. However, all the lessons were evaluated not less than 4.6 points according to the five-point scale (see Table 2).

*Table 2 The Results of the Observation*

	The Themes of the Lessons		
	Lubrication of the Engine	Cooling of the Engine	Piracy
Average	4.8	4.7	4.6
Maximum	5	5	5
Minimum	4	4	4

Consequently, the results proved that the instructor considered that the selected authentic materials and the designed tasks and activities had facilitated the target vocabulary learning and they conformed to all the requirements issued by LMA. Moreover, the increasing effectiveness of the learning process was proved by the statistical analysis of the students' performance during the speaking tasks. The example of the statistical analysis of the evaluation of the students' performance when they were producing the summary is reflected in Table 3.

*Table 3 The Evaluation of the Students' Performance during the Speaking Task*

Scores	Aspects to be evaluated				
	Target vocabulary use	Fluency	Relevance to the content	Pronunciation	Grammar
Average	4.27	4.18	4.36	4	3.36
Maximum	5	5	5	5	5
Minimum	3	3	3	3	2

According to the feedback questionnaire, all the respondents considered that the information and concepts covered during the classes had met the stated course objectives and their needs and wants. The majority of them believed that the number of terminology was sufficient and they would like to learn vocabulary with similar authentic materials, which were evaluated as useful, interesting, and motivating (see Figure 2). It is worth noticing that almost all the participants of the questionnaire admitted that the tests were reliable, valid, and comprehensive tools for the evaluation of the students' knowledge of the target vocabulary for receptive and productive use.

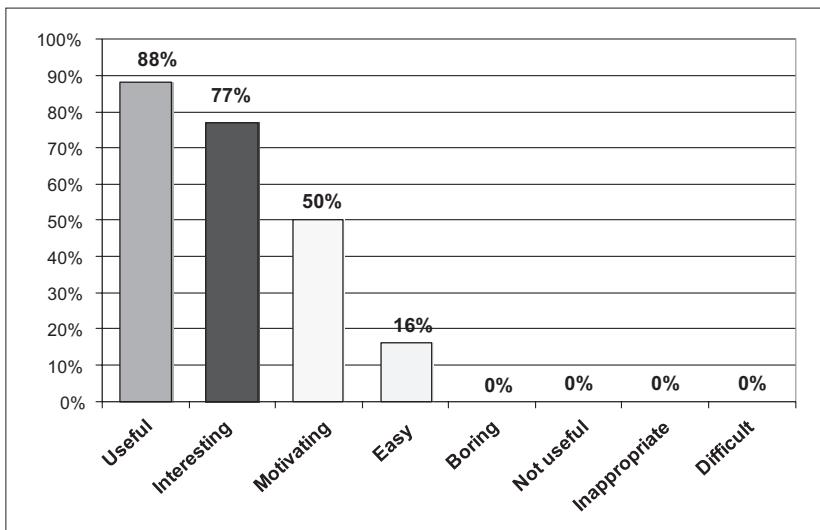


Figure 2 The characteristics of the authentic materials provided by the students

Consequently, the analysis of the students' responses has proved the initial assumption about the benefits of the authentic materials for the acquisition of the target vocabulary.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the pilot study has shown that the selected authentic materials and the designed activities and tasks were appropriate for the students' language level and needs. The observation of the students' performance during the lessons and the results of the achievement tests have proved that the students were able to use the target terminology for receptive and productive purposes. The group's active participation in almost all tasks and activities could signify that the learners were satisfied with the teaching/learning process. Since the instructor from LMA evaluated the students' performance during the speaking tasks, the analysis of the results has demonstrated that the students' language proficiency and the target vocabulary use have increased. The analysis of the students' feedback questionnaire has proved that the number of terminology selected was sufficient and they would prefer to learn it with the help of similar authentic materials, which were evaluated as useful, interesting, and motivating. The obtained results had verified that extensive use authentic materials in the tertiary level classroom can facilitate learning of the necessary terminology for the second-year students of the Marine Engineering Department.

The possible limitations for the study are lack of a long-term systematic, purposeful practice and absence of the control groups. One of the options

to contribute to the further study would be to investigate the peculiarities of implementation of authentic materials focused on teaching only technical terminology.

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# **THE DOCTOR X-RAYED MY HEAD AND FOUND NOTHING: THE LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON OF MALAPROPSIMS**

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**Abstract.** Linguistic mistakes such as malapropisms (e.g. *The doctor x-rayed my head and found nothing* and *The death of Francis Shaw was a major turning point in his life*) are ever-present in students’ papers, political disputes, sports commentaries, etc. They are also typical of inter-cultural communication, especially in public areas (e.g. public signs and hotel notices such as *Persons are prohibited from picking flowers from any but their own graves* and *Просьба не беспокоить/ Please do not worry.*) Such gaffes, despite the high frequency of their occurrence, can safely be claimed to be one of the most under-researched areas of discourse studies.

The present paper aims to draw attention to and discuss the generally-disregarded linguistic phenomenon of malapropisms. It argues that, first, such ‘funny’ language mishaps can be revealing as to cognitive process, and, second, that their analysis can be used in in-class activities.

The paper proposes a cognition-based typology of malapropisms.

**Key words:** linguistics gaffes, malapropisms, typology, cognition, cohesion, coherence

## **Introduction**

Linguistic mishaps are a phenomenon everybody has had their fair share of personal pleasure and pain with. No matter if a native speaker or a foreign language learner, everyone has at one point or another produced language gaffes. Some of those gaffes pass unnoticed, others are shrugged off as unimportant. Still others, however, may stay to haunt one for years to come – especially if one is a politician, a TV personality, a lecturer... So, why is such a frequent everyday discursive phenomenon an almost completely disregarded area of research? Is malapropisms’ yielding potential as to cognitive processes so unobvious? Or do scientists look down on them because malapropisms are thought of as nothing but ‘funny mistakes’?

The present paper seeks to draw attention to and discuss the generally-disregarded linguistic phenomenon of malapropisms. The results and conclusions stem from studies on a corpus of 500 linguistic mishaps in English,

which have been randomly chosen from my personal collection of over 2,000 malapropistic examples.

## 1 The Term and the Method

‘Occasional’ language mistakes such as, for example, *The doctors X-rayed my head and found nothing*, although regularly produced, seem to be so unimportant to the eye of the professional linguist that so far they have not even merited a special term to designate them. Instead, the phenomenon has spawned a multitude of ‘terms’, each of which focuses on only one aspect of the phenomenon:

Even the earliest interest in linguistic gaffes came not from linguistic but from psychoanalytic background. Sigmund Freud himself gave the name ‘Freudian slips’ to such mistakes (see Richard, 1981) – a term which gradually waned to be replaced by the general, layman’s ‘slips of the tongue’ (MacMahon, 1995). Freud was interested in what psychological phenomenon the slips disguised rather than why they happened in the linguistic form they do.

‘Malapropisms’, my survey of the scant literature on the subject reveals, is the term most frequently resorted to, whenever discursive gaffes come into focus. Coined after Richard Sheridan’s fictional character Mrs. Malaprop from his play of 1775 titled ‘The Rivals’ (see e.g. Sheridan, 1968), a malapropism is considered to be ‘an accidentally inappropriate choice, omission, or alteration of words’ (Online 1), or mis-use of similarly sounding words which brings about humorous results’ (e.g. *Oh, he will dissolve* (instead of *resolve*) *my mystery!*).

Another term used to designate linguistic gaffes is ‘spoonerisms’. This term derives from the name of the Reverend W. A. Spooner, who, on marrying a couple, would say: *It is kisstomary to cuss the bride now*. Spoonerisms, as the example demonstrates, can be postulated as a variety of malapropisms, produced intentionally for humorous effect. Spoonerisms have a lot in common with the so-called eggcorns, which themselves can be defined as ‘slips of the ear’.

Another, more recent term for discursive gaffes is Colemanballs. This one is coined after the BBC’s sports commentator David Coleman, who, while describing a 800-meter race said: *And there goes Juantorena down the back straight, opening his legs and showing his class*. Clearly, such examples are of a different kind than the typical malapropisms and spoonerisms. They do not contain overt language mistakes, neither do they display mistakes at the lexical level only.

Yet another alternative, as far as the term is concerned, is Bushisms, dedicated to the linguistic performance of ex-US President George W. Bush. As even a cursory look across his mishaps would show, Bush’s mis-uses vary widely (from *A leadership is someone who brings people together through It’s clearly a budget. It’s got a lot of numbers in it* to *Africa is a nation that suffers*

*from incredible disease)* and cannot be all analyzed as nothing but linguistic bloopers. They do not display only misuse of similar words (as malapropisms do), neither do they demonstrate intentional transpositions of words or parts of words (the way spoonerisms do).

Clearly, ‘malapropisms’, although the most widely and frequently used term, does not cover all possible realizations of such discursive practices. For the purposes of the present paper, however, I will resort to it as a general cover term for all kinds of discursive gaffes.

As far as the choice of the theoretical angle on the analysis is concerned, although Internet sites and publications of personal collections of malapropisms abound in the public domain, they have not attracted researchers’ attention. Existing studies of malapropisms almost exclusively took place in the 1970s. They can be summarized to focus on two major areas: the phonological nature and reasons for the mistakes (e.g. Fromkin, 1973) and the arrangement of the mental lexicon (e.g. Fay and Cutler, 1977; Zwicky, 1979). At present, the rare research on the issue relates either to statistical phonological analysis of speech error corpora (e.g. Vitevitch, 1997) or to computer-aided automatic malapropism detection and correction (e.g. Bolshakova et al.’s work of 2005 on collocation testing by means of Web search engines).

The approach adopted here is cognitive and linguistic. It relates to claims from cognitive psychology which state it is underspecification (e.g. incomplete data, insufficiently detailed frames, wrong profiling and attention placement) which most likely causes the emergence of malapropisms (for a discussion of underspecification see MacMahon, *ibid.*). The present viewpoint, however, is more closely bound to theories of discursive practices and linguistic structures, similarly to e.g. Tincheva’s understanding (2012) of malapropisms as both socially and cognitively motivated.

## 2 The basis for the hypothesis

The necessity for a cognitive re-definition of malapropisms was first prompted by the varying nature of spoonerisms, Bushisms, Colemanvalls, etc., as clarified above. Later on, the premise was additionally confirmed by two Studies I conducted (unpublished) to test the actual reception of language gaffes.

The present Section reports briefly on the two Studies and presents summaries of the major conclusions. The main corpus and the sub-corporuses used in the Studies are both compiled out of my personal collection containing more than 2 000 malapropisms. All examples in the corpus and the sub-corporuses are randomly chosen to ensure un-biased results.

## Study 1

involves 50 second-year University English Philology students. In their seminar classes on the subject of malapropisms, the respondents were presented with samples and asked to:

- (a) identify, analyze and categorize the type of mistake/ misuse in 15 examples, and
- (b) supply corrections for those mistakes/ misuses.

The malapropisms in the sub-corpus for Study 1 are the following:

- *The flattening of underwear with pleasure is the job of the chambermaid.*
- *Having one wife is called monotony.*
- *At least half their customers who fly to New York come by plane.*
- *Before I start speaking, I'd like to say something.*
- *The inhabitants of Moscow are called Mosquitoes.*
- *The congressman stayed after the town meeting and discussed the high cost of living with several women.*
- *Our wines leave you nothing to hope for.*
- *The bride was wearing an old lace gown that fell to the floor as she walked down the aisle.*
- *Handel was half German, half English, and half Italian.*
- *The conviction carries a penalty of one to ten years in Alabama.*
- *I challenge you to give a frank, affirmative answer, yes or no.*
- *Money roots out all evil.*
- *I'll give you a definite maybe.*
- *I hear a white horse coming!*
- *Reverend Hammond was congratulated on being able to get his parish plastered.*

In the analysis of the students' responses, two parameters are singled out as most significant:

- a) the duration of time taken for the task to be accomplished, and
- b) the success of the correcting procedure (as revealed by the respondents' edited text version).

The results obtained, among other things, reveal that:

- a) mistakes/ misuses such as, for example, the one in *Having one wife is called monotony* take considerably less time to identify and classify. In contrast, examples such as *Before I start speaking, I'd like to say something* and *I hear a white horse coming* take an average of up to 4 times as much time to correct.
- b) mistakes/ misuses such as, for example, the one in *Having one wife is called monotony* are identified and classified with better results than examples such as *Before I start speaking, I'd like to say something* and *I hear a white horse coming*.

- c) mistakes/ misuses such as, for example, the one in *The inhabitants of Moscow are called Mosquitoes* and *Having one wife is called monotony* are edited faster.
- d) mistakes/ misuses such as, for example, the one in *The inhabitants of Moscow are called Mosquitoes* and *Having one wife is called monotony* are edited with better results. Importantly, in them, the edited text displays a higher frequency of standard English-language phrases and syntax.

The results obtained prove unambiguously the presence of (at least) two major types of malapropisms, only one of which is exclusively language-knowledge-related (e.g. *Having one wife is called monotony* and *The inhabitants of Moscow are called Mosquitoes*). In other words, Study 1, among other results, suggest that malapropisms are not simply and only language mistakes. There prove to exist other factors at play in communicating through malapropisms as the respondents in the Study unambiguously distinguish between language-bound and non-language-oriented mistakes.

The conclusions from Study 1, brief as they are, provide the basis on which I conducted the following, broader, Study 2.

## Study 2

involves 80 third-year University students. Importantly, this time the respondents were in the process of taking a course in Text Linguistics which includes knowledge of cognitive processes and structures. On the course, ‘Cohesion’ and ‘Coherence’ are studied from two major perspectives – the narrower, ‘purely linguistic’, or, rather, strictly semiotic, perspective of Halliday (e.g. 1976, 1985), and the mental-processing-based viewpoint of de Beaugrande and Dressler (e.g. 1981).

The two major stances within Text Linguistics can easily be argued to converge most closely on the point of cohesion as a phenomenon (i.e. out of the seven parameters of textuality de Beaugrande and Dressler propose). However, significant differences do exist and they should be pointed out in relation to the present argument. To Halliday, cohesion is ‘the set of linguistic resources that every language has (...) for linking one part of a text to another’ (1985: 48). To de Beaugrande and Dressler, cohesion

concerns the way the components of the SURFACE TEXT, i.e. the actual words we hear or see, are *mutually connected within sequence*. The surface components **depend** upon each other according to grammatical forms and conventions, such that cohesion rests upon GRAMMATICAL DEPENDENCIES. (...) the grammatical dependencies in the surface text are major signals for sorting out meanings and uses. All of the functions which can be used to signal relations among surface elements are included under our notion of COHESION. (1981: 3)

Cohesion, then, the way it is perceived by de Beaugrande and Dressler, expresses (i.e. signals) relationships among conceptualized events and entities and does not simply hold among words, as Halliday has it. To de Beaugrande and Dressler, there exist connections between and among concepts which can be or may not be signaled linguistically in a particular text. To Halliday, in contrast, the connections hold between and among linguistic items only and people 'somehow' know and understand those connections.

The 'somehow' in Halliday's theory also applies to coherence, which, true to fact, is a phenomenon carefully circumvented, though present in his books. A coherent text to him is a semantically connected, integrated whole, which expresses temporal, locational, causational and other similar relations. A text receiver, according to this approach, knows a text is coherent, when there are direct and indirect semantic links between lexical items and sentences. Moreover, coherence, to Halliday, emerges from the potential of every part of a text to function as context to its other portions - 'every sentence may be impeccable in itself; but if the preceding sequence of sentences does not provide a context with which what follows can cohere then the effect will be one of confusion' (1985: 48).

In contrast, de Beaugrande and Dressler do not see coherence as a property inherent in a text, but rather as the output of the cognitive processes in a text processor's mind, which are aimed at building a mental picture of what the text is and what the text is about. To put it in a different way, texts are not coherent because they 'possess' some features and answer certain formal requirements; texts become coherent, when recipients interpret them as such.

It is this latter view that the present investigation supports, as the data from the respondents itself points to the importance of some very specific perceptual differences, when tackling malapropisms. To put it more simply, were malapropisms simply 'language mistakes', the participants in the Study would not have performed the way they did. The time taken to complete the task and the differences in quality of the editing efforts would have followed different lines, e.g. lexical mistakes vs. syntactic mistakes. However, the major line of division fell between lexical, grammatical, syntactic, etc. mistakes and mistakes which, if we follow de Beaugrande and Dressler, have to do with unacceptable conceptual structures (e.g. *I hear a white horse coming* and *At least half their customers who fly to New York come by plane*).

Moving on with Study 2, it should be noted that, on participating in it, the students were already familiar with both Halliday's and de Beaugrande and Dressler's theories and regardless of their personal preference for either, they were very much acquainted with the basic principles of both. Stage 1 of Study 2 was a repetition of Study 1 as far as the respondents were asked to locate the mistakes/ misuses, categorize them and provide corrections for the same set of malapropisms as listed above. The respondents here accomplished the tasks faster. The time taken for correcting non-language mistakes was not

more than 2 times as much as the time necessary for correcting ‘pure’ language mistakes. The corrections displayed a greater number of standard English phrases and syntactic structures. In other words, it seems safe to argue that students’ awareness of the functions of cohesive chains in text enhances not simply general editing abilities but also abilities to understand and deal with malapropisms. Moreover, as revealed in a subsequent discussion with the respondents, while isolating and analyzing the malapropisms, the majority of them clearly approached the malapropisms as emergent from either linguistic problems or problems with background knowledge and (what one participant described as) ‘wrong mental picture descriptions’. Background knowledge and ‘wrong mental pictures’, in my humble opinion, undoubtedly suggest the importance of the parameter of Coherence.

The next step in Study 2 – Stage 2 – has the respondents isolate, analyze and categorize the type of mistake in 30 malapropisms in terms of Cohesion and Coherence. The sub-corpus contains 30 malapropisms different from the malapropisms used in Study 1 and Study 2 Stage 1. The choice of a different set of examples is dictated by the need to avoid a second classification of the type of malapropism, after the first sub-corpus of malapropisms have been already analyzed in Stage 1. The examples for Stage 2 come from the same source and they are again included into the sub-corpus on a principle of random choice. The only difference is that all the malapropisms this time have a single author – former US president George W. Bush. The single authorship is intended to eliminate this time the parameter of intentionally-used malapropisms vs. unintentionally-produced ones, as intentionally-produced malapropisms might be easily argued to rely abnormally heavily on pun.

The parameters of Cohesion and Coherence were chosen as the results from both Study 1 and Study 2 Stage 1 prompt to the presence of language-associated and non-linguistic mistakes/ misuses. Admittedly, as I have argued previously (Tincheva, 2012), it is not always possible to distinguish between the two types of cognitive structures – the conceptual ones (associated with Coherence) and the language ones (associated with Cohesion) – as they not only operate jointly but also share the same biophysical sensimotor mechanisms (see Lakoff, 2009). As a clear-cut distinction between the two proves impossible to draw, here, Cohesion and Coherence will be seen as positioned at the two extremes of a scale (for a discussion see e.g. Tincheva, *ibid.*), so any number of the malapropisms from the corpus could be rated as ‘closer to the Cohesion’ or ‘closer to the Coherence’ end. In other words, due to the fact that Cohesion and Coherence in any text are highly interconnected, many malapropisms are allowed to and expected to be rated as borderline-cases (term as in Rosch, 1973; Rosch, 1975; Taylor, 1995) in the respondent’s answers. Finally, and most importantly, the respondents were asked not to provide answers, whenever they perceived Cohesion and Coherence as inapplicable to a specific malapropism.

For brevity, the results from Study 2 are listed in the following Table.

**Table 1 Results from Study 2**

N	MALAPROPSIM	COHESION	COHERENCE
E 1	<i>A leadership is someone who brings people together.</i>	6/80	74/80
E 2	<i>The illiteracy level of our children are appalling.</i>	80/80	0/80
E 3	<i>There's only one person who hugs the mothers and the widows, the wives and the kids upon the death of their loved one - I've got an additional responsibility to hug and that's me and I know what it's like.</i>	4/80	76/80
E 4	<i>We had a chance to visit with Teresa Nelson who's a parent, and a mom or a dad.</i>	8/80	72/80
E 5	<i>For every fatal shooting, there were roughly three non-fatal shootings. And, folks, this is unacceptable in America. It's just unacceptable. And we're going to do something about it.</i>	45/80	35/80
E 6	<i>Rarely is the question asked: Is our children learning?</i>	80/80	0/80
E 7	<i>In a changing world, we want more people to have control over your own life.</i>	62/80	18/80
E 8	<i>Can we win? I don't think you can win it.</i>	54/80	26/80
E 9	<i>The minute I got elected, the storm clouds on the horizon were getting nearly directly overhead.</i>	2/80	78/80
E 10	<i>It's clearly a budget. It's got a lot of numbers in it.</i>	2/80	78/80
E 11	<i>Our enemies are innovative and resourceful, and so are we. They never stop thinking about new ways to harm our country and our people, and neither do we.</i>	58/80	22/80
E 12	<i>Will the highways on the Internet become more few?</i>	80/80	0/80
E 13	<i>This very week in 1989, there were protests in East Berlin and in Leipzig. By the end of that year, every communist dictatorship in Central America had collapsed.</i>	0/80	80/80
E 14	<i>The vast majority of Iraqis want to live in a peaceful, free world. And we will find these people and we will bring them to justice.</i>	23/80	57/80
E 15	<i>I think war is a dangerous place.</i>	17/80	63/80
E 16	<i>This is what I'm good at. I like meeting people, my fellow citizens, I like interfacing with them.</i>	80/80	0/80
E 17	<i>I'm honored to shake the hand of a brave Iraqi citizen who had his hand cut off by Saddam Hussein.</i>	8/80	72/80
E 18	<i>Africa is a nation that suffers from incredible disease.</i>	0/80	80/80
E 19	<i>It'll take time to restore chaos and order. But we will.</i>	5/80	75/80
E 20	<i>I firmly believe the death tax is good for people from all walks of life all throughout our society.</i>	20/80	60/80
E 21	<i>The problem with the French is that they don't have a word for entrepreneur.</i>	0/80	80/80
E 22	<i>They misunderstood me.</i>	80/80	0/80
E 23	<i>I understand that the unrest in the Middle East creates unrest throughout the region.</i>	2/80	78/80

N	MALAPROPSIM	COHESION	COHERENCE
E 24	<i>There may be some tough times here in America. But this country has gone through tough times before, and we're going to do it again.</i>	35/80	45/80
E 25	<i>There's no cave deep enough for America, or dark enough to hide.</i>	32/80	48/80
E 26	<i>Like you, I have been disgraced about what I've seen on TV that took place in prison.</i>	38/80	42/80
E 27	<i>We cannot let terrorists and rogue nations hold this nation hostile or hold our allies hostile.</i>	68/80	12/80
E 28	<i>But the true strength of America is found in the hearts and souls of people like Travis, people who are willing to love their neighbor, just like they would like to love themselves.</i>	70/80	10/80
E 29	<i>If the terriers and bariffs are torn down, this economy will grow.</i>	78/80	2/80
E 30	<i>Put the 'off' button on.</i>	21/80	59/80

Admittedly, the Table may provoke a number of very pertinent questions. One would be the issue of whether the respondents' hesitation and inaccuracy in their choices should be attributed to the existence of borderline cases only, or whether the respondents' level of linguistic competence is what plays the major role in their decisions. Another issue would be the one of whether the sufficiency of the respondents' theoretical knowledge of the notions of Cohesion and Coherence themselves has not biased significantly the students' answers. Yet another question could be targeted at the absence of a 'borderline case' option in the Table itself.

As far as the first issue is concerned, it should be noted that most of the respondents' command of the English language corresponded to the Upper Intermediate level and ILR level of S4 (Full Professional Proficiency); 9 had a Proficiency C1 level; 3 were native speakers. Potential problems stemming from linguistic competence, thus, were taken to be statistically non-significant. On the second issue (the one of the theoretical competence of the students), it should be noted that although every respondent had successfully completed their mid-course tests in Text Linguistics, it was impossible to assume all respondents were equally well-versed on the subject of Cohesion and Coherence. The justification that all respondents have covered the basic requirement of the mid-course test may, admittedly, not always be perceived as satisfactory. At this stage of my investigation, however, I had to accept the course test as a valid and sufficient criterion. As far as the absence of a 'borderline case' column in the Table is concerned, Study 2 was intended as a preliminary study, whose objective is to test whether the Cohesion-Coherence distinction is applicable to malapropisms at all, or whether it is not. A future investigation would undoubtedly benefit from the presence of such an option

and, it is my conviction, the results obtained in such a fashion would display true precision – something which was not the aim at the stage discussed here. The limited aim is also why the present paper does not discuss the results in the Studies above from the point of view of teaching implications, which, it is my belief, when done, could also yield revealing results.

As stated above, the main purpose of Study 2 Stage 2 is to test whether the application of a Cohesion-Coherence line of differentiation is justifiable and perceptually sound in the case of malapropisms. As Table 1 demonstrates, in roughly 47% of the answers, there exists unanimous or close to unanimous agreement on whether a malapropistic use has occurred due to problem with Cohesion or a problem with Coherence. The two extremes of the Cohesion-Coherence scale are, thus, delimited almost unanimously, while 53% of the answers are spread across the continuum in between. Out of those 53%, only 13% account for the so-called borderline cases, in which there is a relatively 50-50% split of opinion on the answer. Overall, the spread of the percentages re-confirms the aptness of applying the parameters of Cohesion and Coherence to malapropisms. Above all, there is not a single occasion on which the respondents' answered that Cohesion and Coherence are inapplicable to the analysis of a specific malapropism. Consequently, it would be safe to argue that the data presented above is sufficient perceptual grounds for providing a Cohesion-and-Coherence based typology of malapropisms.

### 3 A (proto-)typology of malapropisms

The few existing typologies of malapropisms can be summarized to tend to rely on (a) types of linguistic structures containing the mistake (typologies employing distinctions such as, for example, syntax errors/syntactic ambiguity vs. word formation, synonymy, polysemy vs. non-existent words vs. idioms/proverbs); (b) pragmatic functions (e.g. face-preservation vs. control-asserting functions; or intentionally-produced vs. unintentionally-produced malapropisms), or (c) mixtures of both. An example would be the one I myself suggested (2012), where I discuss linguistic mishaps as resulting from requirements and constraints on the rate, time and space of text production. As the argument runs, malapropisms appear predominantly in social-status oriented types of discourse (e.g. public or mediated discourse), where language is perceived as the (major) tool the speaker has at their disposal. In a way, malapropistic discourse is actually language-centered discourse as malapropisms happen at occasions, on which the text producer is trying to present his/ her knowledge as larger and better-organized than it really is. In terms of social status, in malapropistic situations, status and prestige are of greater importance to the speakers than normally, as the speakers aspire to what they consider a move up the social ladder and, thus, the interpersonal function can safely be argued to be the primary one there. However, as I

also argue there, if one analyzes malapropisms as the product of the process of text production and not by means of the process itself, it is possible to study frequencies of occurrences and describe tendencies. To explain those tendencies, however, one needs cognition to step into the analysis.

That line of argument, combined with the results from Study 2, suggest the legitimacy of a typology of malapropisms of the kind offered below. It should be noted here that the new typology relies on (a) my personal analysis (to avoid all possible ambiguities of students' level of theoretical competence) and (b) an analysis of the whole corpus of 500 malapropisms, not only of the malapropisms in the sub-corpora for the two Studies above.

## Type 1

### Coherence-related malapropisms

Typical examples of this type of malapropisms are: *Handel was half German, half English, and half Italian* and *At least half their customers who fly to New York come by plane*.

As Study 2 reveals, several sub-types can be delimited here:

Type 1.1 Malapropisms resulting from unacceptable conceptualization, e.g. *A leadership is someone who brings people together* and *War is a dangerous place*.

Type 1.2 Malapropisms resulting from problematic background knowledge organization. Two further subdivisions are necessary here:

Type 1.2.1 Malapropisms resulting from background knowledge of language, e.g. *The problem with the French is that they don't have a word for entrepreneur*.

Type 1.2.1 Malapropisms resulting from problems with general background knowledge, e.g.

*This very week in 1989, there were protests in East Berlin and in Leipzig. By the end of that year, every communist dictatorship in Central America had collapsed.*

## Type 2

### Cohesion-related malapropisms

Typical examples of this type of malapropisms are: *Rarely is the question asked: Is our children learning?* and *The illiteracy level of our children are appalling*.

Type 2.1 Synonymy, Polysemy, Word formation, Non-existent words, e.g. *Past tense means you used to be nervous* and *Reverend Hammond was congratulated on being able to get his parish plastered*.

Type 2.2 Homonymy, Auditory and Graphic Similarity, e.g. *In the middle of the 18th century, all the morons moved to Utah* (instead of *mormons*) and *Mr. and Mrs. Sloane request your presents at the marriage of their daughter* (instead of *presence*)

Type 2.3 Intertextuality, e.g. *Not all that shivers is cold* (instead of *Not all that glitters is gold*) and *You have to take the bad with the worse* (instead of *You have to take the bad with the good*).

Such a typology, Study 2 proves, operates prototypically (term as in Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 19). In other words, between the two clear Types of malapropisms, there exist a multitude of middle-position, or border-line, cases.

Most frequently, the linguistic form of such cases is problematic/ambiguous syntax or problematic/ ambiguous cohesive referential chains (term as in Halliday and Hasan, 1976). An example of the former would be *The congressman stayed after the town meeting and discussed the high cost of living with several women*, while the latter type is evident in *For every fatal shooting, there were roughly three non-fatal shootings. And, folks, this is unacceptable in America*.

Such border-line cases, it is my belief, are of greatest variety and have the greatest yielding potential of all types of malapropisms. Their in-depth analysis, however, seems, first, to merit a separate investigation, and, second, seems too sizeable for the limits of the present discussion.

## Conclusions

The major objective of the present paper was to illustrate that malapropisms are not simply 'occasional language mistakes'. The results and the analyses both prove that only one of the two major groups of malapropisms can be related to problems with the language code used. The largest number of malapropisms occurs due to speakers' problems in constructing mental pictures throughout the process of text production. Therefore, malapropisms are not simply a linguistic phenomenon; they are a cognitive-constructs-related discursive feature.

The second objective was to show how an understanding of malapropisms from a cognition-based viewpoint can help explain their existence. A cognition-based analysis reveals they are very much products of the 'normal' linguistic system of the speaker which generally allows him/her to produce meaningful texts. What differentiates them from 'normal' uses is that they employ non-prototypical cognitive constructive devices. Were they non-linguistic/non-sensical/outside-the-system language phenomena, malapropisms would be impossible to decode. As listeners not simply understand but even make humorous interpretations of them, malapropisms could not be products of a different system. The 'problem' with them is that the same linguistic principles that operate in 'good' uses are employed in malapropisms in non-prototypical, i.e. unconventional, ways under the strain of the social-status sensitive activity of speaking in public.

The paper also put forward a Cohesion-and-Coherence-based typology of malapropisms, on the basis of which future investigations could be conducted.

Such investigation could focus, for example, on (a) teaching implications of using malapropisms in in-class activities, and (b) the prototypical and non-prototypical operation of the major classes of malapropisms.

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# ATTRIBUTIONAL AND RELATIONAL METAPHOR IN RAILWAY TERMINOLOGY

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**Abstract.** In the present report we are trying to investigate the phenomenon of metaphor in railway terminology. The purpose of metaphor in terminology may differ from its purpose in the common sense, i.e. bearing expressive value and enriching the language. The research is theoretically based on the study of the phenomenon of metaphor provided by Gentner and Jeziorski who have distinguished the type of attributional metaphor, the one that focuses mainly on the features common for the objects from the source and target domains, and relational metaphor that is mainly projected on the grounds of relational similarities. The initial hypothesis set for the research was that the majority of metaphors identified in the target terminological field would be referred to as attributional metaphors where various visual or functional aspects may serve as the reference point for metaphorical representation of terms. However, the research has proved that relational metaphor is indeed widely presented in terminology, which especially concerns the cases where metaphor has been formed on the basis of function similarity of the source and target objects.

**Key words:** attributional metaphor, relational metaphor, comprehension, terminology

## Theoretical background

We should start with the discussion of the purpose metaphor carries in the language. Metaphor has been extensively studied and numerous definitions have been proposed by scholars. The definition we have agreed on is that metaphor is naming the object from one domain or field of knowledge or experience (target domain) by the object from another domain or field of knowledge (source domain). Such naming can basically take place due to some coherent coincidence, resemblance in functionality or appearance of the two objects involved in the metaphorization process. However, an extensive study of metaphorical thought and figurative language in general in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has revealed new perspectives and dimensions of metaphor research.

A significant contribution to the development of metaphor theory has been made by Dedre Gentner and the associates. She substantiates the idea that

metaphor is a process unified with analogy and similarity and develops the structure-mapping theory according to which

analogical mapping is a process of establishing a structural alignment between the represented situations and then projecting inferences. Structure-mapping theory assumes the existence of structured representations made up of objects and their properties, relations between objects, and high-order relations between relations. (Gentner and Bowdle, 2001: 200).

Gentner has established the idea of analogical reasoning and thinking and concluded it within the framework of structure-mapping theory, whose main principle states that reflection of attributes and relations in the source domain (or the 'base' domain according to Gentner), i.e. the domain that serves for metaphor's mapping onto the target domain, should retain these relations between the objects involved in metaphorization in the target domain. Gentner claims that 'metaphors often convey that a system of relations holding among the base objects also holds among the target objects, regardless of whether the objects themselves are intrinsically similar' (Bowdle and Gentner, 1999: 90). This is illustrated by the example of the metaphor *Socrates was a midwife*. In order to perceive the idea through metaphor it is necessary to realize the relations implied in the two objects involved in metaphorical mapping, i.e. Socrates and a midwife. Both help someone to produce something. Just like a midwife helps a woman to produce a baby, Socrates helped students to come up with ideas, yield knowledge. This unites the theory with the Invariance principle discussed in George Lakoff's interpretation of metaphorical thought where he states that 'metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain' (Lakoff, 1993: 215). In Lakoff's theory the mapping is strictly structured, which implies that the objects from the source domain are to be given correspondences in the target domain, and, which is even more complicated and essential, there should be correspondence between the relations, properties, behavior etc. of the objects. In other words, the elements projected from the source domain should reflect all their inherent features upon entering the target domain. On the other hand, it can be said, that the elements penetrating into the target domain from the source domain may by no means interfere with its structure, they should preserve the same systematic layout. This is what Lakoff has named the Invariance principle (Lakoff, 1993: 215), and following it we might assume that the correspondences coherent to the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (capitalization of the conceptual metaphor has been proposed by the authors of the theory) may be as follows: travelers are lovers, vehicles are love relationships, bad road is equal to difficulties in the relationships, journey destination is the final state of love affair comma, etc. Thus we might produce the following metaphors:

*We are going nowhere; Our love has reached a deadlock; Their love ship has hit an iceberg; etc.*

Nevertheless, the principles described cannot work equally well with all metaphors. Gentner differentiates between analogies – metaphors in which mapping of relational structure may take place regardless of the objects' descriptions, and literal similarity matches that involve both relational and objects' descriptions. There is also a category of attributional metaphors that in Gentner's view are just mere-appearance matches, based on shared object descriptions and metaphors based on mixtures of object and relational commonalities (Gentner and Jeziorski, 1993: 452). Gentner does not find this type of metaphor linguistically interesting as they can indeed be considered 'the simplest' category of metaphor whereas analogies and relational metaphors present a more interesting case for linguists.

Terminology may provide a rich source for the study of metaphorical representation. On the one hand, the presence of metaphorical thought in specialized communication has been widely discussed by scholars (e.g., Hoffman, 1980; Skorczynska and Deignan, 2001; Goschler, 2007). The time has come to admit metaphor in terminology, specialized vocabulary and to show that its occurrence is not merely accidental but rather regular. On the other hand, terminology is a specific field of language preserving its own laws and principles. Specialized language, vocabulary layers of various technical fields have strict rules as to the use of terms, their formation, standardization and acceptance of new terms. All this might not comply with the principles of metaphorical thinking, mapping and metaphor interpretation. The analysis of metaphorically presented terminological units can be carried out in two directions. One is the study of scientific discourse in periodicals or specialized literature (the sphere of functioning), the second is the study of terms fixed in terminological dictionaries (the sphere of fixation) (see Skujīņa, 1993).

## Discussion of the study material

In the present research the author would try to analyze metaphorically presented terms in the dictionary of railway terminology with the attempt of application of the structure-mapping theory. The first thing to be noted is the challenge faced in the study of metaphorically presented terms out of the context, i.e. in their pure form stated in the dictionary. The initial hypothesis is that the majority of the revealed metaphorically presented terms would belong to the category of attributional metaphor, meaning that the relations and systems of relations would not be possible to be mapped from the source domain and retained in the target domain; we have assumed that in most cases metaphorical terms would be given their metaphoricity merely to the similarity of the shape of the two objects implied. Thus, in such terms as *a frog* (a certain type of a switch of rails) the technical objects is named so due to the

resemblance to the object from the source domain, or *a squirrel-cage armature* has been given such a denotation due to the resemblance of the device to one used for certain animals in the home environment. There has been a significant number of metaphorically presented terms found that can be placed among attributional metaphors where the attributes of the source object are mapped on the attributes of the target object.

The corpus of the research is the dictionary of railway terminology (Космин, А., Космин, Б., 2006). The dictionary comprises about forty-seven thousand terms and terminological phrases related to the field of railway. The definitions have been found in [www.merriam-webster.com](http://www.merriam-webster.com) or [www.thefreedictionary.com](http://www.thefreedictionary.com). We can classify the terms identified as metaphorically presented either according to their belonging to the group of attributional or relational metaphor (which is essential for us in order to prove the hypothesis set) or according to the source domain applied in mapping of the object to the target domain (which is interesting to observe from the linguistic point of view).

The domain of fauna has yielded in a considerable number of metaphorical terms. *A butterfly screw* has gained such naming since the shape of the device resembles that of a butterfly's wings. The object from the domain of fauna has served for finding a denotation. The same is true about *a swan-neck bracket* (a type of a holder in the shape of a swan's neck); *a spider* (a type of a fixture having extensions into various directions, thus reminding of a spider's shape); *a dovetail* (a fan-shaped tenon that forms a tight interlocking joint when fitted into a corresponding mortise). In the examples provided we may clearly see that the shape of the object in the source domain has served for metaphorical mapping onto the target object, which makes it clear that relational commonalities cannot be found in the corresponding terms. We do not call the detail *a dovetail* considering the behavior of a certain bird, for example, but rather the shape of its tail, neither the detail is called *a spider* due to some unification in the behavior or a function of the insect's tentacles, but rather their shape and position have been noticed and used for providing such denotation. On the other hand, another term can be considered – *a crocodile clip*. The term denotes a clasp with serrated interlocking edges used for making electrical connections. We perceive that what a crocodile's jaw does to the victim, the clasp does to the device to provide a fast and firm grip and connection. Thus, the mapping from the source domain to the target domain follows a different path, we may see that the system of relations holding for the source object also holds for the target object. Thus, the metaphorical term can be placed among relational metaphors. At the same time, a term *crocodiling* (or *alligatoring*) which denotes the formation of cracks on the surface of paint layers, presents a case of the attributional metaphor, meaning that the properties of the object in the source domain have been mapped onto the target object.

Another extensively employed domain for term metaphorization is that of the human body. Here an interesting observation can be made. We assume that the human body is the best-known field of knowledge for a person which makes it a wide source of metaphorical thought in various fields of life. That explains a wide use of denotations of human body parts for numerous objects in a variety of technical fields. We can name a few of them – *an angle rib* (a bending part of a mechanism), *an axle neck* (a joining part of a mechanism), *an elbow pipe* (a pipe bent at an angle), etc. However, our study has convinced us that in case of human body parts the relational commonalities are prior to objects' attributes or properties. An *elbow pipe* is indeed similar in shape to the elbow of the human body, but its function is predominant in the analysis of metaphorization. What the elbow does in the human body, i.e. join and bend the arm between the forearm and the upper arm, is essential for the target object. The same is true for all kinds of *ribs* used in terminology, which in the majority cases denote some kind of stiff strips supporting the mechanism, like the rib does in the human body. Another vivid example is the term *a diaphragm* that denotes a thin sheet placed between parallel parts of a member of structural steel to increase its rigidity. Being aware of the lexeme's core meaning, the one in the source domain of the human body, i.e. one of the major parts of the human body for it plays a vital role in the breathing process, it can be assumed that the term has been given metaphorically due to the essential function it performs in the whole structure. The function the diaphragm has in the human body is mapped onto the target object, thus making it clear that more than attributional metaphorization is implied in the case. The same can be referred to the term *an engine breather* that denotes a vent in a container to equalize internal and external pressure, such as the pipe in the crankcase of an internal-combustion engine. It is obvious from the definition that the function for the mechanical device is similar to the function our body performs while inhaling and exhaling the air. Thus, the relational commonalities can be found as holding in both domains, which can allow us to place the metaphor in the category of relational metaphors, and not attributional ones.

Another source domain that can be studied for the presence of source objects applied in metaphorical representation of terms is that of garments. Here again we can observe a diverse picture. Attributional metaphor can be found in this category, as in the case of *a conveyor belt* (a flexible endless strip of fabric or linked plates driven by rollers and used to transport objects, especially in a factory). However, the prevailing number of metaphorical terms mapped from the source domain of garments can be attributed to the category of relational metaphor. Let us exemplify this conclusion. The term *an apron* denotes a plate serving to protect or cover a machine, which makes us believe that relations holding between the objects in the source domain also hold in the target domain, i.e. the function an apron has in the household environment – to

protect clothing from dirt can be said to be projected onto the target domain. The same is true about *a dirt pocket*, that is a kind of a reservoir that holds up the dirt in various types of machines (we may perceive the meaning being aware of the function pockets have in our clothes, i.e. to hold something, like small objects); *a cable sleeve* (an insulating tubing used over wires or components) which as we may comprehend holds the relations in the source domain, i.e. just like a sleeve protects the arm, a sleeve in engineering protects a device, or in this case a cable.

The next domain under our consideration is the source domain of household items, which is extensively applied in the metaphorical mapping in transport terminology. The term *a fork* is used in a variety of collocations such as *a selector fork* (a part of the selector mechanism of a manual gearbox, shaped like a two-pronged fork, which fits into the groove round a coupling sleeve and moves a sliding pinion forward or back along a selector rod), *a loader fork* (a part of a lifting mechanism in the shape of a fork), *a forked chain* (a branched chain), *a clutch fork* (a clutch release lever with a forked end), etc. The terms above can be related to the category of attributional metaphor as these are the properties or attributes of the source object (a fork) that have served for denoting the target object. We cannot see relational parallels in the case or we can see them partially, as in metaphorical terms *a fork* is used either as a device having a shape of a fork or apart from this used for lifting something. It has not been identified in the selected corpus with the implication of the meaning of picking up something through pricking it by prongs. We can also mention other attributional metaphors in this category: *an elevation bucket* (the shape resemblance plays the key role in metaphorization), *a needle* (sharpness and the ability to prick is the key element in metaphorization, though relational commonalities such as the ability to join something with the help of a thread, or the ability to prick something with the certain purpose, are not implied), *an oil pot* (a reservoir for oil), *a scissor crossing* (a type of intersecting rails), etc.

Relational commonalities can be though revealed in the metaphorically presented term *a protective blanket*. Similarly to the blanket used in everyday life to cover the body in order to protect it from cold, the protective blanket in engineering denotes a protective layer on the surface. The term *an umbrella insulator* denotes an insulator having an outward-flaring lower part that is hollow inside to increase the length of the surface leakage path and keep part of the path dry at all times. It is obvious that the relations of the object in our everyday life hold to the relations between the target object and its reality. It is also interesting to note that this term has such synonyms as *a petticoat insulator*, *a skirted insulator* and *a bell insulator*. Though being mapped from different domains, the introduction of the metaphorical naming is justified by the relations held by the object in the source domain.

## Conclusions

The study of Gentner's structure-mapping theory has opened new horizons for metaphor study in not only the language of the prose or poetry but in specialized languages, too. The manual inspection of the railway terminological dictionary has been made in order to reveal metaphorically presented terms and see if they have been metaphorized through relational or attributional commonalities among the objects. The initial hypothesis set in work was that the majority of metaphorically presented terms in the particular dictionary would be those classified as attributional metaphors, where merely properties of objects have served for metaphorical mapping onto the target objects. However, a deeper analysis has shown that relational metaphors are also widely represented in railway terminology. The terms revealed by us as metaphorically presented were analyzed from the point of view of the aspect that has served for metaphorical mapping from the source domain to the target domain. We can conclude that if the shape solely has been employed as the aspect of metaphorization, the mapping results in attributional metaphor in which the properties of the objects are the initial prerequisites for metaphorical representation of terms. However, if the function is involved, the result comes out to be more interesting for the analysis, as the category of relational metaphors presents greater interest for linguists. Thus, our initial hypothesis has proved to be wrong or only partially true. As the research cannot be considered complete, a further investigation into the matter is needed to make a statistical substantiation of the study and make more established conclusions.

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## Internet resources

[www.merriam-webster.com](http://www.merriam-webster.com)

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IEGULDĪJUMS TAVĀ NĀKOTNĒ



This work has been supported by the European Social Fund within the Project  
**«Support for the implementation of doctoral studies at Daugavpils University»**  
Agreement Nr. 2009/0140/1DP/1.1.2.1.2/09/IPIA/VIAA/015

# DIDACTIQUE DU FLE À L'UNIVERSITÉ EN LETTONIE : POURQUOI ET COMMENT UN NOUVEAU PARADIGME PHILOLOGIQUE S'EST DÉVELOPPÉ DANS LES ANNÉES 2000

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**Résumé.** Le discours dominant en didactique des langues étrangères dans les pays occidentaux valorise les notions de compétence communicative, de plurilinguisme et d'autonomisation de l'apprenant. Cet article présente la réaction des enseignants de français langue étrangère du milieu universitaire à Riga, en Lettonie, face à ce phénomène. La méthodologie et les résultats d'une recherche qualitative sur les représentations sociales de ce public sont détaillés. L'analyse de discours de huit entretiens semi-dirigés effectuée sur la base du modèle SPEAKING de Hymes (1974) a permis de mettre en évidence le développement d'une *philologie modernisée* dans les pratiques des enseignants rencontrés. Ce nouveau paradigme philologique, influencé par la méthodologie communicative, permet aux enseignants de suivre le discours dominant en didactique des langues étrangères tout en tenant compte du contexte local, de leurs compétences propres et des contingences de leur métier. L'article conclut que ces enseignants commencent à se percevoir comme des praticiens orientés vers la méthodologie communicative et qu'une véritable politique de recherches-actions devrait être mise en place pour leur permettre d'évoluer encore pour réagir au discours dominant par des projets pédagogiques aboutis et assumés.

**Mots clés :** didactique du FLE, Lettonie, enseignement supérieur, compétence communicative, plurilinguisme, autonomisation de l'apprenant, représentations sociales, philologie modernisée

## Introduction

En cinquante ans, dans les pays occidentaux, le discours dominant en didactique des langues et cultures étrangères a évolué vers la prise en compte et le développement des compétences communicatives, du plurilinguisme et de l'autonomisation de l'apprenant-locuteur dans et hors la classe. Face à cette évolution encouragée par les institutions européennes, notamment le Conseil de l'Europe, comment les enseignants de français langue étrangère (FLE) en Europe ont-ils réagi et quel type de didactique mettent-ils en œuvre ?

Cet article a pour but d'apporter des éléments de réponses et de réflexion sur ce sujet en considérant le domaine de la didactique du FLE dans l'enseignement supérieur en Lettonie, à Riga. Pour cela, nous nous appuierons sur une recherche basée sur une démarche d'ordre compréhensif et qualitatif et qui a permis de cerner les représentations sociales des enseignants de FLE du niveau supérieur dans la capitale lettone concernant, entre autres, leurs statuts, leurs rôles et leurs pratiques professionnelles. Ces représentations ont été identifiées grâce à un travail d'analyse de discours à partir d'entretiens semi-directifs effectués en 2007 auprès d'une huitaine d'enseignants de FLE travaillant dans des établissements d'enseignement supérieur à Riga. C'est ainsi, que nous avons pu mettre en évidence, entre autres, l'apparition dans le domaine de la didactique du FLE en Lettonie d'un nouveau paradigme philologique, une *philologie modernisée*.

Ci-dessous, nous préciserons tout d'abord les fondements de notre questionnement, les notions de compétence communicative, de plurilinguisme et d'autonomisation de l'apprenant et nous expliquerons en quoi ces notions président à l'évolution du paradigme d'enseignement vers celui d'apprentissage. Après avoir abordé la problématique qui nous intéresse dans cet article, nous passerons à la présentation de notre recherche : les notions sur lesquelles nous avons bâti notre travail d'analyse, les outils que nous avons choisis et la démarche que nous avons mise en œuvre pour effectuer ce travail. Nous passerons ensuite à la présentation des résultats de notre recherche qui sont relatifs à la question que nous posons en ouverture de cette introduction. Nous présenterons les principales caractéristiques de la nouvelle philologie que nous avons identifiée et nous expliquerons comment et pourquoi cette philologie modernisée s'est développée dans le milieu universitaire de la didactique du FLE en Lettonie. Enfin, nous conclurons cet article en nous interrogeant sur l'évolution de cette philologie modernisée dans les années à venir en Lettonie.

## 1 Repères notionnels et problématique

Pour débuter et afin de préciser la problématique qui nous intéresse, attachons-nous à rappeler les notions mises actuellement en valeur dans le discours dominant en didactique des langues et cultures étrangères : la compétence communicative, le plurilinguisme et l'autonomisation des apprenants.

### 1.1 Les notions primordiales : compétence communicative, plurilinguisme et autonomisation des apprenants

D'après le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (2003: 48-49),

la notion de compétence communicative [...] désigne la capacité d'un locuteur de produire et interpréter des énoncés de façon appropriée, d'adapter son discours à la situation de communication en prenant en compte les facteurs externes qui le conditionnent : le cadre spatiotemporel, l'identité des participants, leur relation et leurs rôles, les actes qu'ils accomplissent, leur adéquation aux normes sociales, etc.

Cette notion a été proposée par Hymes en réaction à celle de compétence linguistique présentée par Chomsky (1965 : 4) comme 'la connaissance qu'a le locuteur/auditeur de sa langue', en fait un savoir linguistique qui ne tiendrait pas compte des contextes d'utilisation de la langue. Or, selon Hymes (1972 : 278),

il y a des règles d'usage sans lesquelles les règles de grammaire seraient inutiles. Tout comme des règles de syntaxe peuvent conditionner des aspects de la phonologie, et tout comme des règles de sémantique contrôlent peut-être certains aspects de la syntaxe, ainsi les règles des actes de parole interviennent également comme facteur de contrôle pour la forme linguistique dans son ensemble.

Ainsi, la compétence linguistique serait inutile sans la compétence de communication. Il ne suffit pas de produire ou d'interpréter des phrases grammaticalement correctes, il faut également que ces phrases soient produites et interprétées en adéquation avec le contexte. L'utilisation ou l'interprétation adéquate de toute production linguistique dépend de la prise en compte de la situation de communication dans laquelle cette production est donnée.

Quant au plurilinguisme, il est défini dans le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (*op. cit.*: 195) comme 'la capacité d'un individu d'employer à bon escient plusieurs variétés linguistiques'. Cela ne signifie pas qu'un individu a des compétences de communication égales dans différentes langues mais que, au contraire, ses compétences de communication varient d'une variété à une autre 'en fonction de sa participation aux activités sociales et de la distribution des domaines, des fonctions communicatives et des aptitudes, selon les normes et les besoins situationnels et intentionnels' (*ibid.* : 196). Par la suite, les auteurs indiquent que 'pour ces raisons, la manifestation la plus évidente du plurilinguisme est l'alternance codique', autrement dit le fait, chez un locuteur donné, de changer de langue au cours d'un énoncé, dans une discussion ou dans différentes situations de communication.

Venons-en maintenant à la notion d'autonomisation de l'apprenant. Cette autonomisation est un processus qui est censé amener l'apprenant vers, voire à l'autonomie. Dans ce cas, l'autonomisation est l'action d'apprendre à apprendre. Pour le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (*ibid.* 21)

c'est s'engager dans un apprentissage dont l'objectif est d'acquérir les savoirs et les savoir-faire constitutifs de la capacité d'apprendre, c'est-à-dire de la capacité de préparer et de prendre les décisions concernant la définition, les contenus, l'évaluation et la gestion d'un programme d'apprentissage.

Complétons cette définition en insistant, tout comme Holec (1985 : 4), sur un point. Il y a véritablement autonomie lorsque 'l'apprenant prend en charge son apprentissage', autrement dit quand il en a la 'responsabilité' et qu'il l'assume. Dans le cas de l'apprenant de langues étrangères, cette autonomisation dans l'apprentissage s'accompagne d'une autonomisation dans le domaine langagier qui doit permettre à cet apprenant de devenir autonome dans le maniement de la langue apprise. Il s'agit ici de ce que l'on nomme généralement autonomie langagièr. Le locuteur qui possède une autonomie langagièr ne se borne donc pas à utiliser des formules ou des expressions apprises et limitées lorsqu'il communique. Bien au contraire, il prend des risques et crée dans et avec la langue, il produit des énoncés inédits, jamais rencontrés ou appris. Ainsi, l'apprenant-locuteur autonome est capable d'apprendre à apprendre mais aussi d'apprendre à communiquer sans le guidage systématique de l'enseignant.

## 1.2 Du paradigme d'enseignement au paradigme d'apprentissage

Cette dernière remarque nous amène à rappeler que les trois notions dont nous venons de préciser les définitions sont fortement liées à l'évolution du rapport classique entre les principaux acteurs de la relation pédagogique, l'enseignant et l'apprenant, et la matière abordée, la langue étrangère. Le rapport classique est basé sur le processus d'enseignement : l'apprenant est obligé de suivre le développement de la relation entre l'enseignant et la langue enseignée. Les cours magistraux, et des cours qui suivent strictement un programme prédéfinis, sont l'exemple type de ce processus et de ce rapport. Avec les notions de compétence communicative, de plurilinguisme et d'autonomie de l'apprenant, un nouveau rapport se met en place, basé sur le processus d'apprentissage. La relation entre l'apprenant et la langue qu'il apprend prime alors sur tout le reste. Le moteur de la relation pédagogique n'est plus l'enseignant mais l'apprenant, ses compétences et ses besoins langagiers, plurilingues et d'apprentissage. Ainsi, en reprenant le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (*op. cit.* : 83),

[l'enseignant] n'est plus la source unique de tout savoir mais [...] crée et gère les conditions et ressources favorables à l'apprentissage, [...] apprend à apprendre en transmettant non pas son savoir académique mais son savoir-faire didactique pour permettre à l'apprenant de prendre les décisions constitutives de son apprentissage (identification d'objectifs, matériaux et activités, évaluation, etc.).

Ce nouveau rôle de l'enseignant par rapport à l'apprenant est signifié dans l'utilisation de nouveaux termes pour le désigner, dont ceux que le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (*ibid.*) met en exergue, celui de 'conseil' et celui d'"animateur".

Leurs objectifs sont identiques, mais la nature et le cadre de leur intervention dans le programme peuvent prendre des formes différentes : dans la pratique, le conseil travaille par entretien individuel, alors que l'animateur intervient auprès d'un groupe, la plupart du temps dans une classe. Le conseil intervient surtout dans et par le discours interactif et essaie de faire évoluer la réflexion, les représentations, la métacognition ; l'animateur intervient plutôt au niveau socioculturel, organise les activités du groupe et y participe, veille aux problèmes relationnels.

Cette centration sur l'apprenant ne met pas l'enseignant à l'écart du processus d'apprentissage, bien au contraire. Les compétences de l'enseignant sont, comme le fait remarquer Van Ek (1991 : 83), 'précieuses pour déterminer l'éventail des choix disponibles et mettre en place les procédures qui permettront aux apprenants une sélection mûrement réfléchie.' L'enseignant a donc un rôle important à jouer pour faciliter, alimenter le processus d'apprentissage.

### 1.3 Quelles sont les réactions des enseignants de langues étrangères ?

D'après ce que nous venons de mettre en exergue, les enseignants de langues étrangères devraient actuellement s'interroger sur l'influence des notions de compétence langagière, de plurilinguisme et d'autonomie sur les méthodologies qu'ils appliquent ou qu'ils souhaitent appliquer. Comment agir et se comporter si l'on souhaite ou si l'on ne veut pas mettre en place des approches communicative ou notionnelle-fonctionnelle qui favorisent le développement des compétences langagières en donnant, comme l'indique le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (*ibid.* : 49), 'priorité à la maîtrise des stratégies illocutoires et discursives' ? Qu'est-ce qui, dans le processus d'enseignement-apprentissage permet aux/empêche les apprenants d'utiliser, de valoriser, de développer leurs compétences dans d'autres systèmes linguistiques que celui de la langue abordée et apprise ? Quel contexte et quelles relations établir pour permettre à l'apprenant ou l'empêcher d'assumer son autonomie d'apprentissage ou un processus d'autonomisation ? En bref, nous nous demandons comment réagissent les enseignants de langues étrangères face à la montée en puissance de ces notions dans le domaine de la didactique des langues. Notre intérêt pour la Lettonie nous a amené à chercher des réponses à cette interrogation dans ce pays.

Dans les années 1970-1980, d'après ce que rapporte Rimsane (2008 : 4-5), les enseignants de langues étrangères en Lettonie devaient suivre un curriculum établi par les autorités et il leur était recommandé d'utiliser la méthodologie audio-orale complétée par de la grammaire-traduction. L'approche mise alors en œuvre était centrée sur l'enseignant et le contenu linguistique, principalement la grammaire et le vocabulaire. Nous comprenons que cette méthodologie ne favorisait ni l'autonomisation des apprenants ni leurs compétences langagières et plurilingues. Cela est confirmé par ce que Rimsane (*ibid.*) ajoute sur les résultats de cette méthodologie en reprenant les résultats d'une étude effectuée en 2005 : seulement 2,4% des personnes âgées de 36 à 45 ans en Lettonie cette année-là pouvaient parler une langue étrangère. L'influence de cette méthodologie reste forte parmi les enseignants lettons durant les années 1990 et 2000, comme en atteste les articles produits par Nollendorfs durant les années 1990. Rimsane (*ibid.* : 11-13) indique que, même si des efforts importants ont été faits dans le système éducatif letton pour quitter le modèle soviétique, il n'en reste pas moins que la didactique des langues étrangères en Lettonie n'a pas évolué significativement vers les notions et orientations prônées par le discours dominant dans les pays occidentaux. Selon l'auteur, cette évolution est engagée seulement depuis le milieu des années 2000 et elle sera lente à s'accomplir définitivement. Les travaux présentés par Kačkere (2003) sur les pratiques d'enseignement/apprentissage de l'anglais et de l'allemand en Lettonie dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire permettent de comprendre ce phénomène. L'auteur indique qu'alors 93% des enseignants d'anglais et 70% de ceux d'allemand déclaraient que l'approche communicative jouait un rôle essentiel dans leurs pratiques. Cela nous prouve qu'une majorité d'entre eux tenait compte du discours dominant dont il est question dans cet article. Ceci dit, nous pouvons remarquer que les enseignants n'avaient alors que partiellement intégré dans leurs pratiques les notions qui sont rattachées à ce discours. En effet, d'après Kačkere, les enseignants d'anglais et d'allemand en Lettonie avaient d'une part une représentation de l'approche communicative simplifiée à l'utilisation d'activités de production orale en langue étrangère. D'autre part, ils privilégiaient des activités qui ne constituent pas à elles seules la méthodologie communicative : les enseignants d'anglais utilisaient davantage des exercices de grammaire et de vocabulaire alors que ceux d'allemand préféraient des exercices de vocabulaire et de compréhension de textes à partir de questionnaires. Kačkere conclut son article en notant que l'enseignement des langues étrangères portait principalement sur des savoirs linguistiques en grammaire et en vocabulaire, ce qui n'amène pas les apprenants à une véritable compétence langagière. Elle ajoute qu'à l'avenir, il faudrait porter une plus grande attention aux stratégies et aux compétences d'apprentissage dans la classe.

Ainsi, durant les années 2000, les enseignants d'anglais et d'allemand ont réagi à la pression du discours dominant en didactique des langues étrangères

en privilégiant dans leurs propres discours un élément qui leur semblait symbolique de la méthodologie communicative, la production orale, sans pour autant avoir fait évoluer significativement leurs pratiques vers le respect des notions clés de ce discours dominant, que sont la compétence communicative, le plurilinguisme et l'autonomisation des apprenants. Qu'en est-il des enseignants de français ? Comment ont-ils réagi à ce discours dominant ? Pour tenter de le savoir, nous allons présenter plus loin les résultats d'une recherche effectuée en 2007-2009.

## 2 Une recherche qualitative à partir de la notion de représentation sociale

Cette recherche s'est construite sur la volonté d'identifier les représentations sociales que les enseignants de FLE dans l'enseignement supérieur ont de leur métier, d'eux-mêmes dans ce métier et des rapports qu'ils entretiennent avec les acteurs de leur environnement socioprofessionnel, notamment leurs apprenants. Nous nous sommes intéressé aux acteurs de l'enseignement supérieur car c'est d'après nous un des lieux fondamentaux de la mise en évolution d'une société. L'enseignement supérieur est censé être un lieu de réflexion et d'innovation où sont formés des personnes qui seront, théoriquement, des membres actifs d'une société donnée. Nous pensons donc que les représentations sociales des enseignants de l'enseignement supérieur pouvaient être significatives des évolutions en cours.

### 2.1 La notion de représentation sociale

Le support principal de cette recherche, la représentation sociale, est une notion primordiale de la sociologie et de la psychologie sociale, qui d'après une définition de Jodelet (2003 : 53) est ‘une forme de connaissance, socialement élaborée et partagée, ayant une visée pratique et concourant à la construction d'une réalité commune à un ensemble social.’

Cette connaissance est généralement présentée comme un ‘savoir de sens commun’ ou ‘un savoir naïf’, qui se distingue donc de la connaissance scientifique. Autrement dit, en reprenant Abric (2003 : 206), la représentation sociale est ‘un ensemble organisé d’opinions, d’attitudes, de croyances et d’informations se référant à un objet ou une situation.’ D’après ce même auteur, elle est déterminée à la fois par le sujet lui-même (son histoire, son vécu), par le système social et idéologique dans lequel il est inséré, et par la nature des liens que le sujet entretient avec ce système social.

Ceci nous permet d’expliquer ce que Jodelet signifie dans sa définition par ‘une forme de connaissance, *socialement élaborée et partagée*.’ Grâce à cette auteur (*op. cit.*), l’on peut comprendre en quoi les représentations sociales sont utiles :

Les représentations sociales, en tant que systèmes d’interprétation régissant notre relation au monde et aux autres, orientent et organisent les conduites et les communications sociales. De même interviennent-elles dans des processus aussi variés que la diffusion et l’assimilation des connaissances, le développement individuel et collectif, la définition des identités personnelles et sociales, l’expression des groupes, et les transformations sociales.

Afin d’identifier les représentations sociales qui nous intéressaient, nous avons décidé de travailler selon une démarche compréhensive, que nous avons mise en œuvre en utilisant les principes de l’analyse qualitative comme Paillé et Mucchielli (2008 : 9) les définissent :

Nous entendons par ‘recherche qualitative de terrain’ la recherche qui implique un contact personnel avec les sujets de la recherche, principalement par le biais d’entretiens et par l’observation des pratiques dans les milieux mêmes où évoluent les acteurs. La recherche est dite ‘qualitative’ [...] d’abord dans le sens que les instruments et méthodes utilisés sont conçus, d’une part, pour recueillir des données qualitatives (témoignages, notes de terrain, images vidéos...), d’autre part, pour analyser ces données de manière qualitative (c’est-à-dire en extraire le sens plutôt que les transformer en pourcentages ou en statistiques) [...].

## 2.2 Analyse de discours et modèle SPEAKING

Pour mener cette démarche qualitative, nous avons effectué un travail d’analyse de discours, à partir d’un corpus constitué des transcriptions de huit entretiens semi-directifs avec des enseignants de FLE entre 25 et 65 ans environ, travaillant à l’Académie de la culture de Lettonie et à l’Université de Lettonie et ayant des expériences et des statuts très divers dans leur domaine. Dans chaque entretien, différents sujets ont été abordés : la ou les spécialités professionnelle(s) de l’interviewé(e), ses conditions de vie et de travail, ses expériences de formation et professionnelles, sa vision de l’avenir du métier d’enseignant de FLE. Notre travail d’analyse s’est appuyé sur la définition que Maingueneau (2009 : 18-19) donne de l’analyse de discours, c’est-à-dire qu’elle est

[...] la discipline qui, au lieu de procéder à une analyse du texte en lui-même ou à une analyse sociologique ou psychologique de son «contexte», vise à rapporter les textes, à travers leur dispositifs d’énonciation, aux lieux sociaux qui les rendent possibles et qu’ils rendent possibles.

Nous sommes donc intéressé, pour chaque entretien, au processus d’énonciation à travers les énoncés des interlocuteurs. En effet, comme le fait remarquer Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009 : 32), ‘faute de pouvoir étudier directement l’acte de production, [il faut chercher] à identifier et décrire les

*traces de l'acte dans le produit*, c'est-à-dire les lieux d'inscription dans la trame énonciative des différents constituants du cadre énonciatif.<sup>7</sup> Nous avons donc tenu compte de ce que Kerbrat-Orecchioni (*ibid.* : 34) nomme le 'surgissement dans l'énoncé du sujet d'énonciation, l'insertion du locuteur au sein de sa parole' mais aussi du destinataire présent (en l'occurrence, nous-même), des 'circonstances spatio-temporelles' de la situation de communication tout comme des 'conditions générales de la production/réception du message : nature du canal, contexte socio-historique, contraintes de l'univers du discours, etc.'

Concrètement, nous avons conçu notre outil d'analyse à partir du modèle SPEAKING de Hymes. D'après ce modèle et ce qu'en écrit son concepteur (1974 : 53-62), les éléments à prendre en considération dans le cadre de l'analyse d'une situation d'énonciation sont au nombre de huit. Il s'agit tout d'abord du cadre physique (temps/lieu) ou psychologique de la situation (*Setting* en anglais). Puis, on considère les participants (*Participants* chez Hymes), les personnes qui participent à l'acte d'énonciation par la parole ou non, présentes ou absentes physiquement, en prenant bien soin de les situer socioculturellement et dans leurs relations réciproques. On analyse également les finalités (*Ends* en anglais) de la situation, c'est-à-dire le but de cette situation mais aussi son résultat. On s'intéresse aussi aux actes (*Acts* en anglais), ce qui désigne simultanément le contenu, les sujets du message et sa forme, son style, ces éléments étant pour Hymes fortement interdépendants et primordiaux à l'acte d'énonciation. Il s'agit de préciser également la tonalité (*Key* pour Hymes) de la situation en identifiant le ton utilisé par les interlocuteurs et leurs attitudes. On prend par ailleurs en considération les moyens de la situation d'énonciation (*Instrumentalities* en anglais), autrement dit les canaux utilisés (le langage parlé ou écrit, la gestuelle, le morse, etc.) et les codes correspondant (linguistiques, comportementaux, socioculturels, etc.) qui sont pertinents pour les participants. On prend également en compte les normes (*Norms* pour Hymes) d'interaction (tours de parole, interruptions et chevauchements, silences, etc.) et celles d'interprétation (en fonction des présupposés socioculturels, du contexte socio-historique et du vécu de chacun). Enfin, on analyse le genre de discours réalisé : poème, conte, prière, cours magistral, lettre commerciale, éditorial.

A partir de ce modèle SPEAKING, nous avons utilisé la méthodologie suivante. Nous avons réalisé une analyse fine de la progression thématique de chaque discours. En l'occurrence, il s'est agi de considérer l'enchaînement des différentes unités de sens dans les discours considérés : identifier ce que Paillé et Mucchielli (2008 : 13-14) nomment 'rubrique', c'est-à-dire 'de quoi parlaient' les interlocuteurs et analyser les 'thèmes' dans ces rubriques, autrement dit ce que les interlocuteurs pensaient des sujets abordés, leurs positionnements par rapport à ces sujets. Ce travail sur la progression thématique nous a permis de traiter les actes et les tonalités dans chaque discours. En analysant finement certains déictiques, nous avons pu travailler sur les différents

paramètres du modèle SPEAKING. Nous nous sommes plus particulièrement attaché à l'analyse des pronoms personnels sujets *tu*, *nous* et *on* car, grâce à eux, l'énonciateur peut marquer son positionnement personnel par rapport à autrui, que celui-ci soit un ou plusieurs co-énonciateurs. Par exemple, le *on* réfère tantôt à *je*, tantôt à *tu*, tantôt à *il* mais il peut prendre aussi d'autres valeurs comme celles du *nous*, du *vous*, de *quelqu'un*, etc. C'est seulement dans le contexte énonciatif que les valeurs de *on* peuvent être identifiées, et le positionnement du locuteur de même. Outre les pronoms personnels sujets, nous avons tenu compte des adverbes et locutions adverbiales qui précisent la localisation temporelle mais aussi les différentes dates et périodes données par les interviewés. De cette manière, nous avons pu établir une carte temporelle pour chacun d'entre eux et pour notre panel dans son entier. Pour compléter le modèle d'analyse SPEAKING, nous avons par ailleurs relevé les noms propres dans les discours, et plus particulièrement ceux qui indiquaient des personnes et des lieux (villes, pays, établissements). Nous avons ainsi pu savoir quelles personnes et quels lieux étaient importants pour chaque personne interviewée.

### 3 Mise en évidence d'une *philologie modernisée*

Maintenant que nous avons précisé notre démarche de recherche, il est temps de présenter les résultats de cette recherche qui concernent plus particulièrement le sujet qui nous intéresse dans cet article, c'est-à-dire la réaction des enseignants face à la mise en valeur dans le discours dominant en didactique des langues étrangères des notions de compétence communicative, le plurilinguisme et l'autonomisation des apprenants. Nous souhaitons remarquer que nous présentons ici une synthèse des résultats de notre recherche et que le lecteur qui souhaiterait connaître le détail de ces résultats peut consulter notre thèse de doctorat (Durandin, 2011).

#### 3.1 Un modèle philologique influencé par la méthodologie communicative

Au terme de notre travail d'analyse de discours, nous avons identifié les éléments centraux de la représentation sociale que les enseignants de FLE dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur de la capitale lettone ont concernant la méthodologie à mettre en œuvre dans leurs classes. Ces éléments centraux, ceux les plus partagés, les plus consensuels, constituent, d'après nous, une philologie modernisée. Comme ce terme l'indique, ce nouveau paradigme méthodologique s'appuie sur une base à orientation philologique complétée par des emprunts à la méthodologie communicative, ou plutôt à ce que les enseignants considèrent être significatif de cette méthodologie.

La philologie modernisée dont il est question ici se caractérise tout d'abord par le rôle primordial attribué aux supports de cours. En effet, le sujet

des supports de cours est une préoccupation majeure chez les enseignants interviewés : il est abordé dans tous les entretiens, généralement sans notre incitation et d'une manière détaillée. Le support de cours est considéré par les enseignants comme un média d'informations et de contenus pour les formations, bien évidemment, mais il est aussi le symbole de l'évolution méthodologique vers la modernité. De nombreux entretiens montrent la nécessité que les enseignants ont de renouveler les supports de cours pour faire valoir une modernité méthodologique. La plupart des enseignants indiquent que leurs pratiques de classe ont évolué au moment où ils ont utilisé un nouveau livre comme support de cours. Ainsi, le fait d'avoir utilisé *Panorama* a amené tel ou tel enseignant à s'orienter vers l'approche communicative. Autre exemple très symptomatique de l'importance accordée au support de cours dans l'évolution méthodologique, certains enseignants mettent régulièrement en avant le fait qu'ils utilisent ou qu'il faudrait utiliser des supports authentiques actuels, notamment issus d'Internet, pour amener les étudiants à faire des recherches d'informations ou à travailler sur le français d'une façon plus intensive, les informations à traiter étant plus nombreuses qu'auparavant. De cette manière, les enseignants cherchent à montrer que leurs pratiques pédagogiques évoluent : leur travail, plus dynamique que par le passé, se base non plus sur leur rôle de pourvoyeur de documents et d'information mais plutôt sur le partage des activités de recherche d'informations avec les étudiants. En effet, ceux-ci peuvent également obtenir et communiquer des contenus utiles au développement du cours. Dans le même temps, les enseignants signifient qu'ils tiennent compte de la centration sur l'apprenant en suivant les habitudes des étudiants et en leur proposant d'utiliser des supports qui les motivent, car actuels, modernes.

Une autre caractéristique essentielle du nouveau paradigme philologique présenté par la plupart des enseignants avec qui nous nous sommes entretenu réside dans la valorisation de l'approche du français à l'oral. Pour la plupart des enseignants, il s'agit de faire travailler ou d'évaluer les apprenants à l'oral : les étudiants doivent pratiquer en parlant, discutant, communiquant plutôt qu'en écrivant ou en lisant. En effet, une majorité d'enseignants opposent l'enseignement du français par l'écrit et l'enseignement du français par l'oral, l'un représentant la méthodologie du passé, dévalorisée, et l'autre celle du présent, mise en valeur. Travailler sur l'écrit, rédiger, apprendre des textes par cœur appartient au passé soviétique, celui des apprenants d'une trentaine d'années et plus. Par contre, travailler sur l'oral, parler, faire des dialogues, est moderne car c'est de cette manière que les jeunes apprennent. En présentant leur préférence pour l'enseignement du français par l'oral les enseignants démontrent leur évolution vers la prise en compte de la centration sur l'apprenant, sur ses habitudes, ses goûts et, ainsi, vers la modernité, vers la méthodologie communicative.

Cela dit, cette préférence pour l'oral ne démontre pas une évolution complète vers la méthodologie communicative. En effet, très peu d'enseignants

montrent un véritable intérêt à valoriser une approche langagière du français par rapport à une étude linguistique de cette langue. Les enseignants interviewés, pour la plupart, se représentent leur objet d'enseignement, la langue-culture française, comme un objet d'étude, linguistique d'abord puis civilisationnel. L'enseignement du français consiste généralement à transmettre des connaissances relatives au code linguistique de cette langue, présentées en disciplines telles la grammaire, la lexicologie, la phonétique, etc. et qui doivent être connues des étudiants. Ainsi, ces derniers peuvent apprendre d'autres connaissances sur la littérature ou la civilisation du ou des nations francophones. Pour les enseignants rencontrés, il est souvent question de faire produire un code linguistique correct ou riche aux étudiants ou de leur faire connaître des éléments de la culture française mais il s'agit plus rarement de leur faire produire ou comprendre une langue adéquate, tenant compte de situations de communication diverses, ou des éléments culturels en adéquation avec l'environnement social ou politique.

Ce travail sur les connaissances en langue-culture n'est cependant pas effectué selon une méthodologie magistrale, mais comme nous l'avons noté plus haut, à partir de textes dans lesquels les étudiants et enseignants repèrent des informations ou des structures utiles et les commentent pour les mettre en pratique et les assimiler ensuite. Les textes, qu'ils soient oraux ou, plus souvent, écrits, sont donc souvent utilisés comme des ressources d'informations sur des structures grammaticales, des éléments lexicaux ou des connaissances culturelles. Ils sont plus rarement abordés pour leurs fonctions : la notion de genre ou de type de texte n'est quasiment jamais évoqué chez les personnes interviewées. Cela démontre, selon nous, que les textes sont utilisés plutôt selon une approche philologique plutôt que d'après les principes de la méthodologie communicative.

Il semble que la philologie modernisée mise en œuvre par les enseignants de français des établissements universitaires de la capitale lettone prenne partiellement en compte les notions valorisées par le discours dominant dans le domaine de la didactique des langues étrangères. La compétence communicative des étudiants est comprise et recherchée principalement comme leur capacité à utiliser la langue apprise d'une façon dynamique à l'oral plutôt qu'à l'écrit et moins comme le développement de leurs compétences langagières. En ce qui concerne l'autonomie ou l'autonomisation des étudiants-locuteurs, elle n'est pas facilitée. Les enseignants effectuent une centration sur les apprenants en répondant à certains de leurs goûts et habitudes dans l'apprentissage des langues ou dans l'utilisation de supports modernes. Même si cette centration peut paraître superficielle, elle est le résultat de la volonté des enseignants de motiver leurs étudiants dans le travail sur le français. Toujours dans le but de motiver leurs étudiants, les enseignants ne se présentent pas ou plus comme uniques pourvoyeurs d'informations et incitent les étudiants à effectuer des recherches par eux-mêmes. Néanmoins,

cela ne permet pas aux étudiants de participer à ce que Van Ek (1991 : 79-80), reprenant Richterich, nomme une ‘pédagogie de la négociation’ et dans laquelle l’enseignant assiste l’apprenant dans son projet d’apprentissage, tient compte de ses besoins de formation personnels. Quant au plurilinguisme, notons que quelques enseignantes remarquent que l’apprentissage et la maîtrise du français peuvent être facilitées par la connaissance d’autres langues. Cependant, aucun des interviewés ne semble exploiter les compétences des étudiants dans d’autres langues dans le travail d’enseignement/apprentissage du français. Le fait de vivre dans un contexte local multilingue, celui de la Lettonie, n’est apparemment pas utilisé en cours non plus. La notion de plurilinguisme n’est donc pas prise en compte dans les pratiques de classe.

### 3.2 Pourquoi et comment ce nouveau paradigme philologique

Les caractéristiques de la philologie modernisée utilisée par les enseignants de FLE à l’université en Lettonie ne prennent pas ou peu en compte les notions de compétences communicatives, d’autonomisation de l’apprenant et de plurilinguisme, cela pourrait être considéré comme une réaction négative au discours dominant en didactique des langues. Sans doute en partie. Néanmoins nous pensons que ce nouveau paradigme philologique est plutôt une réponse positive à ce discours dominant, un moyen pour ces enseignants lettons d’accompagner ce discours tout en tenant compte du contexte local, de leurs compétences propres et des exigences de leur métier.

Tout d’abord, le contexte politique et social letton, marqué, malgré un discours officiel en évolution, par une conception ethnolinguistique du fonctionnement social n’est pas propice à l’émergence et à l’utilisation des concepts tels que la compétence de communication, le plurilinguisme ou l’autonomisation des apprenants. Sans rentrer dans les détails, formulés dans notre thèse de doctorat (Durandin : *op.cit.* : 370), nous estimons que ce contexte incite à considérer les langues-cultures comme des éléments stables constitutifs des nations, qui doivent être considérés comme des ensembles, et non pas comme des constructions fluctuantes dont les caractéristiques évoluent en fonction des contacts avec d’autres langues ou cultures, selon les caractéristiques des personnes ou des sociétés les utilisant et selon les situations dans lesquelles elles sont utilisées. Par ailleurs, la notion d’autonomisation des personnes n’est intégrée ni par les membres de la société lettone ni par les responsables politiques ou académiques en Lettonie.

Les représentations des enseignants que nous avons rencontrés sont marquées par cet environnement comme elles le sont par les expériences vécues par les enseignants eux-mêmes. Ainsi, dans une très large majorité, les enseignants interviewés ont évolué professionnellement à partir d’une formation initiale en philologie, influencée par la linguistique structurale, complétée par une formation continuée sur des savoir-faire et des techniques influencés par

l'approche communicative et, par conséquent, par la sociolinguistique ou la pragmalinguistique. Etant donné l'environnement professionnel hiérarchisé et concurrentiel qui est le leur, étant donné qu'ils se considèrent généralement comme des praticiens et rarement comme des didacticiens, ces enseignants doivent ou veulent utiliser rapidement et efficacement les techniques et les outils tirés de leurs stages de formation. Ainsi, comme ils n'ont pas le temps d'approfondir l'étude des fondements didactiques ou idéologiques de certaines notions, ils tirent de leur formation continuée quelques éléments issus de la méthodologie communicative, comme par exemple la valorisation de l'oral ou l'utilisation de documents authentiques. De cette façon, ils peuvent faire évoluer leurs pratiques en douceur, en répondant aux habitudes de leurs apprenants sans pour autant bouleverser les assises philologiques et linguistiques de leur métier. En l'occurrence, manier dans leur intégralité et leur complexité les notions d'approche communicative, d'autonomisation de l'apprenant ou de plurilinguisme en classe peut être considéré comme une perte de temps voire un danger, déstabilisant leur paradigme d'enseignement, ce qui pourrait les disqualifier aux regards de leurs pairs et de leurs apprenants.

## Conclusions

Pour conclure, nous constatons que les enseignants de FLE de l'enseignement supérieur à Riga ont pu répondre au discours dominant qui les incitent à évoluer vers la méthodologie communicative en donnant des preuves de modernité, c'est-à-dire des pratiques qui motivent leurs étudiants : utilisation de supports actuels, dont Internet, valorisation de l'approche orale de la langue, implication des étudiants dans les recherches d'information. La représentation qu'ils avaient d'eux-mêmes, basée initialement sur l'expertise dans la maîtrise de connaissances linguistiques, est donc en cours d'évolution vers celle d'un praticien orienté vers la méthodologie communicative. Cela dit, pour que cette évolution s'amplifie et amène la prise en compte des notions de compétence de communication, de plurilinguisme et d'autonomisation des apprenants dans la réalité de la classe, il faudra, selon nous, encore beaucoup de temps, dix à quinze ans au moins.

En effet, cela dépendra à l'avenir de l'évolution du contexte local et, en particulier, d'une forte volonté politique de débloquer des fonds mais aussi de donner l'opportunité aux structures de formation en français et en didactique des langues de s'organiser et de prendre des initiatives concrètes vers un travail sur les représentations sociales des enseignants. Il faudrait sans doute permettre aux enseignants de continuer à se former régulièrement au contact de collègues étrangers, qui devraient non seulement leur apporter des savoirs, des techniques ou des outils à appliquer mais aussi les inciter à un questionnement sur leurs propres représentations. Pour cela, il nous semble nécessaire de mettre en place, un système de formation continue à partir de

projets de recherches-actions liés aux notions qui nous ont intéressé dans cet article. Ces projets, réalisés en petits groupes et sur plusieurs mois, selon un rythme de travail régulier, devraient bien évidemment être soutenus par les institutions politiques, du moins académiques, et être intégrés à la charge des enseignants concernés. Ainsi, ces enseignants auraient véritablement le temps d'approfondir leur réflexion sur les notions qu'ils traiteraient et sur leur influence dans les pratiques de classe. De cette manière, ils pourraient se les approprier pour mettre en œuvre des évolutions paradigmatisques complètes, en accord ou non avec le discours dominant mais assumées.

Ceci est une question d'argent mais aussi une question de politique économique et de gestion des ressources humaines dans l'enseignement supérieur: comment laisser le temps aux enseignants d'effectuer des recherches ou de se former alors que la priorité est donnée actuellement au rendement, à la rentabilité des formations qu'ils assurent ?

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## FFL DIDACTICS IN UNIVERSITIES IN LATVIA: HOW AND WHY A NEW PHILOLOGICAL PARADIGM HAS DEVELOPED IN THE YEARS 2000

### Summary

The dominant discourse in foreign language teaching in Western countries highlights the notions of communicative competence, of multilingualism and of empowerment of the learner. This paper presents the French language teachers' reaction to this phenomenon, in the academic circles in Riga, Latvia. The methodology and results of a qualitative research on the social representations of this public are given in detail. The discourse analysis of eight semi-structured interviews conducted on the basis of the Hymes' model SPEAKING (1974) has shown the development of a modernized philology in teachers' practices. This new philological paradigm influenced by the communicative methodology allows teachers to follow the dominant discourse in foreign language didactics while taking into account the local context, their own skills and the requirements of their profession. The article concludes that these teachers begin to see themselves as communicative methodology oriented practitioners and that a real action-research policy should be implemented to enable them to continue to evolve in response to the dominant discourse by realizing complete and assumed educational projects.

**Keywords:** FFL didactics, Latvia, higher education, communicative competence, plurilingualism, learner's empowerment, social representation, modernised philology.

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# POLITESSE ET TRADUCTION : LE CAS DU COUPLE GREC MODERNE ET FRANCAIS

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**Résumé.** L'objectif de la présente communication est de faire une étude contrastive de la politesse en Grec moderne et en Français. Il s'agit de découvrir les possibilités de traduction de certains cas de politesse du Français en Grec moderne et, par conséquent, les convergences et divergences dans leur emploi, afin d'en dégager les opérations sous-jacentes. En ce qui concerne notre corpus, nous avons puisé nos exemples des Bandes Dessinées *Tintin* et *Astérix*. On examinera des exemples tirés des niveaux d'analyse morphologique et syntaxique. Le cadre théorique est celui de la théorie de Brown et Levinson, ce qui signifie qu'on aura recours aux notions de «positive and negative politeness», chacune desquelles est issue de différents degrés d'intimité entre les interlocuteurs. Nos deux langues d'étude se comportent-elles de la même manière envers la politesse? Ou bien témoignent-elles de degrés différents d'orientation vers la politesse, en général, et vers la politesse négative et positive, en particulier? On conclura que, dans le genre textuel de la bande dessinée, le français se place du côté de la neutralité qui, parfois touche à l'impolitesse, tandis que le grec préfère se mettre du côté de la solidarité, de la valorisation d'autrui et, pour cela, de la politesse.

**Mots clés :** Politesse, traduction, étude contrastive, français, grec moderne

## Introduction

Traduire la politesse se révèle être une tâche qui implique tenir compte des plusieurs paramètres culturels, paramètres qui varient d'une langue à l'autre. On aurait beau soutenir, de manière un peu naïve, que traduire égale changer des mots d'une langue à l'autre sans problème, puisque, dans un siècle de mondialisation, les référents culturels auraient des équivalents. Bien que cette acceptation faciliterait la tâche du traducteur, néanmoins, il est évident qu'il n'en est pas ainsi. L'impossibilité de la traduction automatique en constitue une preuve éloquente. A vrai dire, traduire n'égale pas changer d'étiquettes. Chaque choix linguistique porte des traces des opérations sous-jacentes. De plus, chaque choix linguistique dépend des préférences culturelles qui ne sont que rarement partagées par les locuteurs parlant des langues différentes. Cela paraît d'autant plus évident, si l'on se souvient de l'hypothèse de Sapir-Whorf,

une hypothèse, une théorie, par ailleurs avancée par plusieurs philosophes, expliquant que chaque communauté linguistique découpe de manière différente la réalité extralinguistique.

Il s'ensuit que, les paramètres culturels changeant, certains choix qui sont considérés comme étant réussis dans une langue peuvent être inacceptables dans une autre. Ou ils peuvent avoir des connotations tout à fait différentes. Le traducteur doit, par conséquence, d'abord, être au courant de ces divergences, de ces préférences, à la fois linguistiques et culturelles, afin de pouvoir, ensuite, les traduire. C'est la seule façon de faire une traduction qui sera bien accueillie dans la langue cible.

La présente communication étudie les contraintes qui régissent la traduction de la politesse dans le cas du genre textuel de la bande dessinée, donc dans un contexte qui relève du discours familier. Nos langues d'étude sont le français et le grec moderne. Nos allons procéder à une étude contrastive de certaines phénomènes, dans une tentative d'examiner comment ces phénomènes se comportent et qu'est-ce qui se passe lors du passage d'une langue à l'autre. Les phénomènes apparaissant dans l'original sont préservés en traduction? Et si ce n'est pas le cas, à quel degré y-a-il des changements? Est-ce qu'il y a des choix récurrents?

## Cadre théorique

Le modèle linguistique de politesse sur lequel on va s'appuyer est celui de Brown et Levinson (1987), qui est basé sur le Principe de Coopération de Grice (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002b : 439-441). Selon ce modèle, tout échange communicatif se déroule dans le cadre de ce principe de Coopération, dont le rôle consiste à garantir l'efficacité maximale dans l'échange d'informations. Sauf que, parfois, le souci pour la Coopération cesse d'être important, si bien que le langage des interlocuteurs peut dévier vers un côté moins coopératif. C'est à ce moment-là que la politesse intervient. 'Politeness is then the major source of deviation from such rational efficiency, and is communicated precisely by that deviation' (Brown et Levinson, 1987 : 95).

Alors, la conception de la politesse repose, selon Brown et Levinson (1987), sur trois notions de base : *la face, les actes menaçant pour la face* (FTA) et *les stratégies de politesse*. Brown et Levinson (1987 : 61) définissent *la face* comme l'image de soi-même que tout membre d'une société possède et qu'il essaie de faire valoir dans ses interactions. Cette image est constituée de deux aspects complémentaires :

- *la face négative*, qui, correspond au territoire de Goffman et qui renvoie à 'l'ensemble des territoires du moi : territoire corporel, spatial, temporel, biens matériels et symboliques' (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002a : 259). La face négative a trait à l'indépendance de chaque membre de la société,

au fait qu'il lui est permis de bien vouloir que personne n'intervienne pour l'influencer dans sa façon d'agir; et

- *la face positive*, qui, constitue 'l'ensemble des images valorisantes que les interlocuteurs construisent et tentent d'imposer d'eux-mêmes dans l'interaction' (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002a : 259). La face positive concerne le besoin de chaque individu d'être reconnu par les membres de la société dans le cadre de laquelle il vit, car 'Chacun cherche à conserver intacts, voire à accroître, son territoire et sa face' (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002a : 259).

La face étant très fragile, elle peut être perdue, maintenue ou améliorée. Néanmoins, certains actes sont susceptibles de tenir lieu de menace potentielle contre l'une ou l'autre des faces. Ces menaces constituent ce que Brown et Levinson (1987 : 61) proposent d'appeler *Face Threatening Acts* (FTAs), actes menaçants pour la face. Alors, les Face Threatening Acts sont des actions qui, par leur nature, sont opposées au vouloir-faire de deux interlocuteurs et qui détruisent la face soit du locuteur soit de l'interlocuteur.

Parmi les Face Threatening Acts sont compris :

1. les Face Threatening Acts pour la face négative de l'interlocuteur : un ordre, une requête, un conseil, tout acte susceptible d'abréger l'indépendance de l'interlocuteur,
2. les Face Threatening Acts pour la face positive de l'interlocuteur : une critique, un désaccord, une accusation, une insulte, tout acte susceptible de détruire son image publique,
3. les Face Threatening Acts pour la face négative du locuteur : offres et promesses qu'il fait à ses dépens et qui insinuent de lui qu'il s'implique lui-même, accepter des excuses (*ça ne fait rien, ne t'inquiète pas*), ainsi que des remerciements,
4. les Face Threatening Acts pour la face positive du locuteur : autocritiques, aveux, excuses, accepter des compliments (car le locuteur doit répondre à ses compliments, donc on lui impose une certaine manière d'agir) (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002a : 260 et Sifianou, *en ligne* 1).

Cela dit, si le FTA sera assorti d'actions réparatrices visant à adoucir l'attente portée à la face positive de l'interlocuteur (à exprimer de la solidarité envers l'interlocuteur), on parlera de politesse positive. Autrement dit, la politesse positive consiste à produire des énoncés susceptibles de valoriser l'autre. Si, par contre, les actions réparatrices sont orientées à la face négative de l'interlocuteur (autrement dit, si le locuteur éprouve de la réticence à s'imposer sur la volonté de son interlocuteur), il sera question de politesse négative. Celle-ci consiste à 'adoucir les FTAs' (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002b : 441), à éviter les énoncés qui peuvent heurter la sensibilité ou l'honneur d'autrui. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1996 : 55) a appelé ce type d'énoncés des 'FFAs (Face Flatering Acts)'. Les FFAs sont des cadeaux verbaux tels que les compliments, les remerciements, les voeux, etc., tout énoncé qui hausse l'image de la

personne à qui il est adressé. Pour Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1996 : 65), sur le plan interpersonnel, la politesse permet ‘d’arrondir les angles et de “polir” les rouages de la machine conversationnelle afin d’épargner à ses utilisateurs de trop vives blessures’.

Comme le signalent Bayraktaroglu et Sifianou (2001 : 3-4) :

The distinction between ‘positive politeness and negative politeness’ based on the assumed universal needs of every individual to build and protect a social image for him/herself and the strategies allocated to this types of politeness are questioned on the grounds that societies are not similar in the face needs of their members. It is this awareness that enabled Brown and Levinson (1987 : 248) to consider cross-cultural variation and recognise that some societies may be oriented towards one or the other type of politeness (i.e. negative or positive).

D’ailleurs, la thèse que ‘Le monde n’est pas seulement compris et pensé par l’homme au moyen du langage; sa vision du monde et la façon de vivre dans cette vision sont déjà déterminées par le langage’ (en ligne 2) est une thèse déjà connue depuis longtemps.

Après cette brève présentation du cadre théorique dans lequel on se situe, nous allons procéder à une étude contrastive de nos deux langues d’études : du français et du grec.

Etudiant le couple des langues grec et anglais, Sifianou (2001 : 132) avait remarqué que : ‘There is evidence from all levels of linguistic analysis which support the claim that Greece and England have different politeness orientations : relatively more positive in Greece, relatively more negative in England.’ Sifianou (en ligne 1) avait aussi mis en évidence que, en grec, ‘intimacy and solidarity are valued more than distance’, autrement dit, le grec préfère ‘positive politeness strategies’. Sidiropoulou (2004 : 106), elle aussi, rejoint cette thèse de Sifianou que le grec s’oriente vers la politesse positive, tandis que l’anglais vers la politesse négative.

La question que l’on va nous poser est «Qu’en est-il des nos deux langues d’étude? Pour ce qui est de notre corpus, nous allons puiser nos exemples à des bandes dessinées françaises traduites en grec, à savoir *Astérix* et *Tintin*.

## Analyse de nos exemples

- **Niveau morphologique**

Nous passons à l’étude des nos deux langues, commençant avec des remarques qui concernent le niveau morphologique.

FR (1) Hue <i>cocotte!</i> <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> , p.39	GR Ντε <i>Ασπρούλη!</i> Litt. Hue Blanchâtre + -ούλης [‘ulis] diminutif au vocatif
(2) O Téléféric! La dernière volonté des prisonniers est de préparer et de manger un <i>potage gaulois</i> ... <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> , p. 36	Ο Τελεφερίκ! Η τελευταία επιθυμία των φυλακισμένων είναι να φάνε γαλατική σουπίτσα. Litt. soupe + -ίτσα [‘itsa] (diminutif) <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> p. 36
(3) Un peu de <i>sel</i> , s'il vous plaît... <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> , p. 36	Λίγο αλατάκι, παρακαλώ Litt. sel + -άκι [‘aci] (diminutif)
(4) Ah! la montagne, qu'est-ce beau!... Et puis, cet <i>air vif</i> et léger, un peu piquant... <i>TinTin au Tibet</i> , p. 1	Τί ωραίο που είναι το βουνό!... Κι έπειτα, αυτό το ελαφρύ και κάπως τσουχτερό αεράκι... Litt. air + -άκι [‘aci] (diminutif)
(5) <i>Coloquintes!</i> Zigomars! <i>Le secret de la licorne</i> , p. 29	Κολοκυθάκια! Αποπλήματα! Litt. coloquintes + -άκια [‘aca] (diminutif au pluriel)
(6) <i>Druide débile!</i> <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> , p. 12	Αδύναμε παππούλη Litt. grand-père + -ούλης [‘ulis] au vocatif [comme sous (1)]

A partir de ces exemples, on constate qu'il y a des cas, comme dans l'exemple (1), où il y a un emploi symétrique dans les deux langues : le diminutif de l'original (tel qu'il est marqué par le suffixe -otte) est traduit par un diminutif en grec (-ούλης au vocatif).

Il convient, cependant, de remarquer que, dans la plupart des cas, tandis qu'en français il y a des noms en forme normal, sans diminutifs, en grec vient s'ajouter un suffixe marquant le diminutif. Ainsi, dans l'exemple (2), *potage* devient *σουπίτσα*, [σούπα (potage) + -ίτσα (suffixe qui marque le diminutif)]. De même, dans (3), *sel* se voit transformé en *αλατάκι* [αλάτι (sel) + -άκι (suffixe diminutif)]. Dans les exemples (4) et (5), respectivement, *air* ne devient pas *αέρας* mais *αεράκι* (*air* + -άκι, suffixe diminutif) et *coloquintes* se voient transformés en *κολοκυθάκια* [κολοκύθι (coloquinte) + -άκια (suffixe diminutif au pluriel)]. Enfin, dans (6), *Druide débile* devrait être traduit par *Αδύναμε Δρυίδη*. Néanmoins, *Druide* est rendu par *παππούλη* [*παππούς* (grand-père) + -ούλη (suffixe diminutif au vocatif)].

Dans tous ces exemples, on ne saurait pas se passer de remarquer le décalage, les dissymétries entre les deux textes (comme elles apparaissent dans les exemples (2)-(6)). Plus précisément, bien que le français possède des moyens pour exprimer le diminutif [plusieurs suffixes : *-on* (moussaillon), *-ette* (maisonnette), etc., mais aussi des adjectifs comme *petit*], dans l'original il n'y a pas de diminutifs. Néanmoins, *les diminutifs apparaissent dans la traduction grecque*.

Quant à l'ajout des diminutifs en grec, il est clair qu'ils attribuent à l'énoncé, au nom, plus de *solidarité*, *de politesse*, voire même *d'affection*. La neutralité, ou, pour en être plus exacte, la distance créée à l'original est, ainsi, anéantie dans la traduction, qui, quant à elle, devient plus *familière*, plus *intime*, donc plus *polie*. Cela parce que les diminutifs fonctionnent comme des marqueurs de *politesse positive*, étant donné qu'ils valorisent l'interlocuteur. Le fait qu'ils sont utilisés en grec dans des endroits où ils ne seraient pas censés apparaître, vu qu'ils n'apparaissent pas dans la version française, témoigne de la *fréquence* avec laquelle ils sont employés en grec. On peut, par conséquent, conclure que, dans le cas du discours familier, les diminutifs sont de loin plus employés en grec qu'ils ne le sont en français. Le grec, a, alors, un petit faible pour la politesse positive.

A noter ici qu'il y a, certes, des contre-exemples, des cas où nous avons en français un mot qui, de point de vue morphologique, comporte un suffixe diminutif [le cas des exemples (7)-(8)], mais qui est traduit en grec parfois par un mot comportant un suffixe diminutif, comme dans (7), et d'autres fois par un mot qui ne comporte aucun marqueur diminutif, comme dans l'exemple (8) :

(7) Voyons, <i>moussaillon!</i> <i>Tin Tin au Tibet</i> , p. 5	Μα, ναντάκι!... Litt. mousse + -άκι [aci] (diminutif)
(8) Tu auras affaire à moi, <i>moussaillon</i> de malheur! <i>Le Crabe aux pinces d'or</i> , p. 20	Θα'χεις να κάνεις μαζί μου, καταραμένε μούτσε! Litt. mousse
(9) Ah! je comprends : ce petit <i>misérable</i> prend la précaution de ramener Brutus à sa niche... <i>Le secret de la licorne</i> , p. 52	Α! Κατάλαβα. Αυτός ο άθλιος φρόντισε να δέσουν τον Βρούτο στο σπιτάκι του. Litt. ce misérable
(10) un seul coup de feu après mon départ et c'est la mort pour ce vilain <i>petit singe!</i> <i>Tin Tin au pays de l'or noir</i> , p. 57	[...] και το 'φαγα το μικρό πιθηκάκι! Litt. le petit singe + άκι [aci] (diminutif)

Ce qui est à noter ici, c'est que le nom *mousse* en français signifie 'jeune garçon de moins de seize ans qui fait sur un navire de commerce l'apprentissage du métier de marin' (*Le Petit Robert*). D'autre part, *moussaillon*, tout en étant synonyme de 'marin, matelot, homme d'équipage, mousse', signifie 'petit mousse' et relève d'un emploi familier (*Le Petit Robert*). D'où la traduction par un diminutif dans (7).

Quant à la traduction ne comportant pas de diminutif dans (8), elle peut être expliquée en termes *d'incompatibilité du trait sémantique [+ diminutif]*, qui attribue à l'énoncé de la *solidarité*, *donc, de la politesse*, voire même *de l'affection*, avec un *adjectif qui apporte une qualification négative forte* (καταραμένε, *de malheur*). D'où la nécessité de laisser tomber le diminutif, dont l'emploi est secondaire dans le contexte donné, qui est celui d'une *injure*. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1997 : 79) expliquait à ce propos que : 'L'injure constitue donc un emploi discursif particulier des axiologiques négatifs.' De même,

Laforest et Vincent (2004 : 62) définissent leur conception de l'insulte comme 'acte social qui se mesure plus sur un axe d'intentions (telles que perçues par l'allocataire) que sur une échelle de grossièreté des mots utilisés.' Vu que les intentions du locuteur ne sauraient être décrites en termes de politesse, l'abandon du diminutif, marqueur de solidarité, d'intimité et de politesse devient une obligation.

Pour ce qui est de l'exemple (9), *ce petit misérable*, énoncé par Nestor à propos de TinTin, est traduit par *αυτός ο ἄθλιος* (*ce misérable*). Une remarque pertinente de Lagorrette (2004 : 87) expliquait que la présence du modifieur de détermination (*petit*) attribue à l'énoncé une acceptation de solidarité, à condition qu'elle est, pour autant, imposée par la relation sociale de *proximité*, *d'intimité* entre les interlocuteurs. Autrement dit, dans notre exemple, *petit* sert à atténuer la portée de *misérable*. Mais, lors du passage en grec, le traducteur opte pour l'abandon de l'adjectif *petit*. A vrai dire, on ne peut pas expliquer cet abandon en termes d'incompatibilité des deux traits opposés, {[+diminutif] (*petit*) et la qualification négative (*misérable*)}, car une traduction du type *ο μικρός αθλιός* serait acceptable en grec. Cela dit, on peut prétendre que le choix du traducteur découle, peut-être, du fait que le traducteur attribue au personnage un antagonisme marqué, fort, ce qui empêche toute nuance de solidarité et d'intimité, en entraînant ainsi l'exclusion de l'adjectif.

Nous jugeons important de nous arrêter, sur ce point, sur le phénomène de la présence des suffixes/marqueurs diminutifs en français, phénomène déjà discuté par Bidaud (2012 : 52) qui remarque que :

Le fait a souvent été relevé que le diminutif créatif était d'une vitalité très faible en français par rapport à l'ensemble des autres langues romanes. En effet, là où l'espagnol utilise les diminutifs d'une manière abondante, le français, lui, préfère la tournure analytique avec l'adjectif "petit" et ne conserve de morphème diminutif presque qu'à l'état lexicalisé. [...] En tout cas, d'un point de vue strictement quantitatif, la vitalité de la suffixation diminutive française est quasi nulle par rapport à l'espagnol, au portugais ou à l'italien.

Et Bidaud (2012 : 52) continue en signalant que :

Le phénomène est d'autant plus curieux que, historiquement, le français a bien eu recours à la suffixation diminutive créatrice jusqu'à l'âge classique. Le diminutif est très présent à la Renaissance en France aussi bien qu'en Espagne. [...] Ces faits rappelés, il est d'autant plus surprenant de constater qu'à l'âge classique les diminutifs disparaissent brusquement. On passe en effet d'un état de langue où le diminutif est extrêmement présent à un état où l'on n'en observe presque plus.

Cette disparition assez hâtive du trait [+ diminutif] en français est, en premier lieu, expliquée en termes de *rationalisme* et *d'absence d'affection*,

qu'on a voulu associer à la langue française pendant l'époque du classicisme. Plus précisément, Bidaud (2012 : 53) avait noté que :

En effet, cette disparition est à notre avis une conséquence du paradigme logique qui prévaut à cette époque en France parmi les grammairiens et qui consiste à voir dans le français une langue miroir de l'esprit humain, une langue logique, qui reflète l'ordre de la pensée et qui est la langue de la science par excellence. Or, une telle conception de la langue, qui est reprise par bien des grammairiens de cette époque, et qui a eu beaucoup d'influence sur les écrivains, implique que le diminutif, morphème approximatif affectif, va à l'encontre du caractère «scientifique» de la langue française.

Outre ce premier argument portant sur la disparition du diminutif en français, Bidaud (2012 : 53) en offre un deuxième, qui découle du caractère *analytique* de la langue française. D'après lui, le français est une langue de loin plus analytique que les autres langues romanes. Or le trait [+ diminutif] constitue un élément synthétique, ce qui a entraîné sa disparition, sauf dans de rares exceptions (cf. -ette). Afin de consolider sa thèse, Bidaud a recours aux autres langues européennes, qui viennent à l'appui de son argumentation.

Cela dit, si l'on tient compte de ces points préliminaires dans notre étude contrastive, on peut aisément soutenir que le grec, qui est, d'ailleurs, une langue synthétique, se tient attaché au trait sémantique du diminutif, qu'il exprime à l'aide, même, de plusieurs moyens (mots simples, suffixes). Cette diversité constitue une preuve éloquente de la vitalité, de l'importance accordée par la langue grecque au phénomène en question. Par ailleurs, étant donné que le diminutif fait partie des *appréciatifs*, des *qualifications subjectives*, il s'ensuit que le grec familier n'a pas voulu s'orienter (de manière naturelle ou imposée de l'extérieur) vers un aspect plutôt logique et purement scientifique. C'est la raison pour laquelle il a préservé un aspect plutôt *affectif* et, par conséquent, plus *poli*, ce qu'on peut aisément constater dans un discours familier, tel celui des bandes dessinées. L'exemple (10) fait preuve de cela.

Pour en être plus précis, alors qu'il aurait suffi de traduire *petit singe* littéralement par μικρό πίθηκο (petit singe) ou πιθηκάκι (singe + -άκι, le suffixe diminutif), on voit apparaître μικρό πιθηκάκι (petit singe + -άκι, le suffixe diminutif). Ce choix, apparemment, constitue un pléonasme, puisqu'il y apparaissent deux marqueurs de diminution : le mot μικρό (*petit*) et le suffixe diminutif. Ce choix, pour pléonastique qu'il puisse paraître, exprime, néanmoins, de la politesse, rendant l'énoncé grec encore plus poli que ne l'est l'original. A noter que le référent dans ce cas est Milou, qu'on compare à un petit singe. Toutefois, cette *coloration* de l'énoncé intervient sur l'original en lui conférant des qualifications qu'il n'a pas. Et, bien que l'on pourrait l'attribuer à une faute de traduction de la part du traducteur, le fait qu'il y a des choix pareils dans plusieurs ouvrages étudiés montre qu'il

s'agit plutôt d'un emploi poli imposé aussi bien par le type de texte (bande dessinée) que par le caractère particulier de la bande dessiné de *Tin Tin*, dont le héros est un personnage idéal, sensible qui lutte contre l'injustice. Bien évidemment, les paramètres mentionnés ci-dessus s'entremêlent avec un petit faible du grec pour la valorisation de l'interlocuteur et la politesse. Il paraît que la constatation de Romero est pertinente pour le cas du grec. Romero (2000 : 38) notait que : 'les sociétés méridionales sont réputées faire un usage plus large' de la politesse dite positive.

#### • Niveau syntaxique

Passons maintenant à l'étude de la politesse en s'appuyant sur des exemples provenant du niveau syntaxique. Arrêtons-nous sur les exemples suivants :

FR (11) Ecartelez-moi ça! <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> p. 39	GR Να διαμελιστεί στα τέσσερα Litt. <i>Qu'il soit écartelé en quatre</i>
(12) N'y touchez pas! <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> p. 29	Όποιος των αγγίζει χάθηκε! Litt. <i>Qui le touche est perdu</i>
(13) Accepte de montrer ta magie, Druide! Je.. Je te couvrirai d'or! <i>Astérix et les Goths</i> p. 33	Δείξε τη μαγική σου τέχνη, Δρονίδη! Θα... Θα σε γεμίσω με χρυσάφι! Litt. <i>Montre ta magie</i>

Ces exemples témoignent, eux aussi, de la différente façon avec laquelle les deux langues s'orientent par rapport à la politesse. Plus concrètement, dans (11) la présence

1. d'un verbe à la voix active, en combinaison avec,
2. la présence du pronom *moi*

confèrent à l'énoncé un degré *d'intensité* plus élevé par rapport à la traduction grecque qui se sert de la voix passive. En grec, la voix passive, justement en raison de l'absence du sujet actant et de la personne qui 'se réjouit' de cet acte odieux (l'équivalent du pronom *moi*, le cas échéant), constitue un acte moins menaçant, donc oriente l'énoncé vers la politesse. Il en résulte que la voix passive établit une *distanciation* du sujet énonciateur par rapport à l'acte 'd'écarteler', ce qui égale orienter l'énoncé vers un aspect plus poli par rapport à l'original.

Il en va de même pour l'exemple (12), où les différentes orientations dans nos deux langues d'étude sont dues à la présence de l'impératif en français, forme verbale qui constitue un acte menaçant (*Face Threatening Act*) pour la face négative de l'interlocuteur. Par contre, dans la traduction grecque, non seulement l'impératif est absent, mais la personne à laquelle s'adresse l'énoncé n'est plus *vous* (la deuxième personne du singulier). C'est *Qui*, donc, un sujet un peu plus impersonnel/indéfini. Cette indéfinition fait que l'énonciateur opte à se distancier (Brown et Levinson 1978 : 279). En conséquence de cette

indéfinition/distanciation, il n'y a pas le même degré de menace à la face. Autrement dit, l'impolitesse de l'original est atténuée en grec.

L'exemple (13), d'autre part, constitue un contre-exemple de cette règle qu'on vient d'établir quant au degré d'orientation des nos langues d'étude vers la politesse (positive ou négative). Pour en être plus précise, alors que dans les deux cas il y a un impératif, on dirait qu'en français l'énoncé est plus atténué par rapport à l'énoncé en grec, donc orienté plus vers la politesse que son équivalent en grec. Cela est dû au fait qu'en français il y a deux verbes, dont le premier est à l'impératif : *Accepte de montrer*. Par contre, en grec il y a un seul verbe : δεῖξε (montre). Il ne serait, donc, pas inopportun d'associer la présence de deux verbes en français à une relative *distanciation* du locuteur par rapport à son énoncé, d'autant plus que le premier verbe, même s'il est à l'impératif, de par son sémantisme, constitue un appel, une invitation et pas un ordre, à proprement parler. Ainsi, l'énonciateur, qui éprouve de la réticence à s'imposer sur la volonté de son interlocuteur, *atténue* son propos en *valorisant*, de la sorte, son interlocuteur, ce qui égale à relayer un degré de plus de politesse positive dans l'énoncé français.

## Conclusion

Nous avons tenté de lancer une étude contrastive qui porte sur la façon avec laquelle nos deux langues d'étude s'approchent du phénomène qu'est l'expression de la politesse. Comment la politesse est-elle exprimée en français et qu'est-ce qui se passe lors du passage en grec. Sifianou (2001 : 132) avait conclus que l'orientation d'une langue vers la politesse positive ou négative ne peut pas caractériser la société en tout. 'Sauf que l'on peut, malgré tout, distinguer les sociétés d'après *l'éthos* qui prédomine dans les interactions quotidiennes des locuteurs' Sifianou (2001 : 133). Par ailleurs *ethos* (en grec έθος) égale *habitude* et chaque langue est inextricablement liée à la façon avec laquelle ses locuteurs découpent la réalité extralinguistique (pour se souvenir de l'hypothèse de Sapir-Whorf). Le monde n'est pas [seulement] compris et pensé par l'homme au moyen du langage; sa vision du monde et la façon de vivre dans cette vision sont déjà déterminées par le langage.

Dans ce sens, l'étude contrastive de la politesse dans le genre textuel de la bande dessinée, qui est régi par des contraintes qui lui sont propres, témoigne du fait que la société grecque semble avoir un petit faible pour la politesse, en général, et, pour la politesse positive, en particulier [cf. aussi Sifianou (2001 : 132), Sidiropoulou, (2004 : 41)]. D'où l'emploi fréquent des diminutifs, de la voix passive au lieu de la voix active dans certains contextes, d'un pronom indéfini au lieu d'un impératif, etc. Par contre, le français, la société française s'oriente plutôt soit vers la neutralité, soit vers la politesse négative. Ces préférences peuvent être expliquées en termes de rationalisme et d'affectivité, comme le signale Bidaud, qui attribue la perte du diminutif en

français au caractère rationnel, plutôt scientifique qu'on a voulu associer à la langue française. Par contre, le grec, les locuteurs grecs semblent rester du côté de la politesse positive en optant de valoriser l'interlocuteur et d'exprimer leur solidarité envers lui. D'où le petit faible pour la politesse, nettement verbalisée par l'intermédiaire des moyens lexicaux et morphosyntaxiques, dont on a pu présenter quelques uns dans le cadre de cette communication.

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## POLITENESS AND TRANSLATION: THE CASE STUDY OF THE COUPLE MODERN GREEK AND FRENCH

### Summary

The aim of this presentation is to proceed to a comparative study of politeness in Modern Greek and French. We engaged to discover the way certain cases of politeness are translated from French to Modern Greek and, consequently, the symmetric and asymmetric uses, in an attempt to explore the underlying operations. As far as our corpus is concerned, we discussed examples taken from comics, especially from *TinTin* and *Astérix*. We compared the originals in French and their translations in Greek. We studied examples from the morphological and syntactic level of linguistic analysis. The theoretical background we used is that of Brown and Levinson, meaning that we dealt with terminology such as "positive and negative politeness", either of which results from a different degree of intimacy between the interlocutors. We tried to answer to the question whether our two languages of study are facing politeness the same way. Or each one of them is differing from the other in terms of politeness and is, therefore, orientated towards negative or positive politeness? In the textual genre of comics, as far as the expression of politeness is concerned, it appears that Greek tends to be more polite as compared to French, which is more neutral and even impolite. Therefore, Greek expresses more often solidarity and valorisation of the interlocutor.

**Key words:** politeness, translation, contrastive analysis, French, Modern Greek.

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# LE MULTILINGUISME ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR : LE STATUT DU FRANÇAIS DANS LE CURSUS RUSSE

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**Résumé.** L'article porte sur le sujet du multilinguisme dans la société moderne ainsi que sur le thème de l'enseignement général des langues étrangères en Russie. Nous avons abordé la question liée à l'enseignement des langues et avons également décrit la situation dans le domaine de l'apprentissage des langues étrangères en Russie et dans l'Union Européenne. Ce document présente les résultats de l'analyse comparative de plusieurs recherches réalisées en Russie et dans l'UE portant sur l'éducation linguistique dans les pays concernés. L'étude a révélé une différence dramatique dans le niveau des compétences linguistiques entre la population russe et celle de l'UE. L'absence d'une politique cohérente qui contrôle l'enseignement des langues étrangères en Russie aggrave la situation. L'article conclut que le gouvernement doit réagir rapidement aux défis d'aujourd'hui pour rester à l'avant-garde des tendances mondiales. Il faut avoir une stratégie de développement de l'enseignement des langues étrangères qui respecte la diversité linguistique et la communication culturelle en Russie.

**Mots-clés :** multilinguisme, diversité linguistique, enseignement des langues étrangères, système éducatif russe

## Introduction

Un monde sans frontière : c'est probablement là notre plus grand but à atteindre. Afin de faciliter les interactions, l'humanité développe de nouveaux modes de communication (prise dans son sens général : 'un acte ou un exemple de communication; la transaction ou l'échange d'informations, d'idées ou d'émotions' (Oxford Dictionary of English 2009)).

L'unification et la fusion des entreprises, des marchés et des espaces de commerce sont aujourd'hui des phénomènes courants dans la sphère économique (par exemple, La Communauté des Etats Indépendants, l'Union douanière Russie-Biélorussie-Kazakhstan, La coopération économique pour L'Asie-Pacifique, etc). Depuis les années 1960, et surtout dès la création de l'Union Européenne, nous connaissons une nouvelle forme d'organisation géopolitique, économique et culturelle. Et c'est un fait qui ne peut pas être sous-estimé, étant donné que ce phénomène a élargi notre perception de la

réalité linguistico, socio et ethno-culturelle. Nous avons dans le même temps connu de meilleures possibilités d'échanges et de mobilité. Ce dernier avantage implique à son tour la maîtrise d'autres acquis et qualités, tels que la sociabilité, l'ouverture d'esprit, la tolérance mais aussi la maîtrise des langues. Il faut souligner qu'il n'est plus suffisant d'être bilingue. Il nous est à présent vital de former des personnes plurilingues prêtes à communiquer avec les représentants d'autres cultures.

## 1 Le terme du multilinguisme

Les premiers résultats des recherches sur le multilinguisme ont été publiés dans les années 1950. Nous devons les premières études dans ce domaine à Uriel Weinreich, un des pionniers de la théorie du polyglottisme. C'est lui qui introduit le terme de *multilinguisme* dans le contexte scientifique. Son oeuvre célèbre sur les contacts de langues (Weinreich 1953) aborde les problèmes du bilinguisme, de l'interférence, de la diglossia et de la convergence. Graduellement, les recherches dans ce domaine se sont multipliées.

Actuellement, le multilinguisme est un phénomène bien étudié ayant plusieurs définitions. V. M. Smokotin (B. M. СМОКОТИН 2007) le décrit comme 'une capacité/aptitude individuelle de fonctionner dans des environnements linguistiques différents' (Smokotin, 2007 : 28). L'article de G. A. Zograf (Г. А. Зорпаф 1990) dans le Dictionnaire linguistique encyclopédique nous dit que '[...] le multilinguisme représente l'usage de plusieurs langues au sein d'une même société, chacune de ces langues est choisie selon la situation concrète de communication' (Zograf, 1990 : 303). De là découle une conclusion très importante : les personnes multilingues sont plus adaptées à l'intégration dans diverses communautés; elles ont plus de chances d'être comprises, ce qui sous-entend la réalisation du but de la communication. Si l'on raisonne selon Darwin, nous pouvons avancer que les polyglottes s'en sortiront mieux à l'ère de la mondialisation.

## 2 Les dernières données statistiques sur l'étude des langues étrangères en Europe et en Russie

En 2008, la Commission de l'Union Européenne a annoncé le début d'un nouveau cadre stratégique pour le multilinguisme où ont été indiqués les principes fondamentaux de la politique linguistique : protéger la diversité linguistique et promouvoir l'étude des langues étrangères (Council resolution on a European strategy for multilingualism 2008). Les recherches récemment réalisées par la Commission prouvent l'importance d'être multilingue car cette compétence renforce la dimension socio-culturelle de la communication et améliore la compétitivité (Languages Mean Business 2008). Les experts

de l'UNESCO et l'Union Européenne sont unanimes : le 21ème siècle est proclamé le siècle des polyglottes.

En 2010, Eurostat a analysé le 'climat linguistique' en Europe (Boateng, Mejer, Turchetti 2010). La recherche relève des chiffres encourageants. Par exemple, selon le questionnaire d'auto-évaluation de la maîtrise des langues étrangères parmi les adultes, presque 28(%) des personnes entre 25 et 64 ans déclarent parler deux langues étrangères ou même plus.

On constate aussi un certain progrès dans la réalisation du programme 'mastery of basic skills' annoncé en 2002 à Barcelone (Boateng, Mejer, Turchetti : op.cit.). Les actions dans le cadre de ce programme portent surtout sur le renforcement de l'enseignement des langues étrangères à tous les niveaux du système éducatif. Les résultats intermédiaires illustrent bien l'effet positif de cette politique : depuis le dernier sondage effectué en 2000, le nombre d'élèves apprenant une langue étrangère a considérablement augmenté (l'augmentation totale représente un tiers, de 0.6 à 0.8).

Comme la Russie est partie intégrante du continent européen, elle est concernée par ces changements et leurs conséquences. Pour satisfaire aux exigences d'aujourd'hui, la Fédération de Russie a signé plusieurs programmes internationaux : le Processus de Bologne, les échanges Erasmus Mundus, etc. On peut supposer que cela devrait avoir un impact positif sur la situation linguistique dans le pays. Pourtant, pour le moment, nous avons du retard par rapport aux Européens.

D'après les données de la dernière recherche effectuée au Levada-centre, il n'y a que 15(%) de population Russe qui déclare connaître une langue étrangère (Volkov 2008). Cette analyse représentative a eu lieu en juillet 2008. Les experts ont interrogé 1600 personnes issues de 46 régions différentes (des citadins et des ruraux). Les personnes sondées étaient d'âges différents et appartenaient à diverses classes sociales ; elles avaient différents niveaux d'études et se distinguaient aussi par leurs situations professionnelles. Bien évidemment, les indices varient : de 35(%) dans de grandes villes comme Moscou jusqu'à 7(%) dans les villes provinciales et zones rurales. Pour la langue française la statistique est encore pire : le nombre total de ceux qui parlent français parmi les sondés est de 4(%) environ (tandis que la part de l'anglais est 80(%)).

Le 2e Symposium International *La langue pour une communication internationale* (2013) est une excellente occasion d'attirer l'attention sur ce problème. En tant qu'adhérents du 'camp' francophone, nous avons tendance à protéger et développer la langue française en Russie, non seulement dans les grandes villes comme Moscou, St Petersbourg ou Ekaterinbourg mais aussi dans les universités provinciales.

La situation d'aujourd'hui est paradoxale au moins pour deux raisons : 1) le français n'est pas une langue rare ; 2) la Russie et la France ont une longue histoire de relations intensives dans les domaines culturel, économique et politique. Pour prouver notre premier point, nous nous référerons aux données

statistiques sur la population francophone : 220 millions de locuteurs qui résident dans 75 pays (presque 40 (%)) d'entre eux sont les résidents européens) ; ce qui classe cette langue dans le groupe des langues les plus populaires (Organisation internationale de la Francophonie 2013). Notre second point appelle un bref récapitulatif de l'histoire des relations entre la Russie et la France.

### **3 La langue française en Russie : parcours historique**

Depuis la première visite en France de l'Empereur russe Pierre le Grand en 1717, l'interaction franco-russe se caractérise par une croissance constante. Tous ceux qui se rappellent des cours d'histoire et de littérature à l'école, savent à quel point la langue française a influencé la haute société russe et la vie culturelle du pays tout au long des 18-19ème siècles. Cette période est marquée par une hégémonie du français dans tous les domaines : littérature, architecture, mode, etc. Très souvent la noblesse russe savait à peine parler russe, leur langue maternelle, et n'employait que la langue française !

Jusqu'au 20ème siècle le français jouait un grand rôle dans la culture russe, tout en étant la langue officielle de la diplomatie. Il suffit de rappeler que le traité de Portsmouth, signé à la fin de la guerre russo-japonaise, était rédigé en français (Latsa 2011).

Le déclin de la 'belle époque' a eu lieu après 1945 avec l'expansion de l'anglais. Toutefois cette affection, voire amour pour la France, perdura en URSS où la langue française était associée à une certaine élite. Tout ce qui est français, ou issu de la France, est a priori considéré comme exquis et sophistiqué. C'est probablement la seule raison qui puisse expliquer la popularité de la langue française dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire pendant l'époque soviétique.

Après la chute de l'URSS, le 'front francophone' a perdu son rôle de premier plan, son leadership : l'anglais et l'allemand ont gagné l'attention du public. Et au moment où la Russie a passé la 'perestroïka' (les années 1990), le nombre de personnes étudiant le français ne dépassait pas 8(%), comparé à 20(%) dans les années 1960. Et malheureusement cette tendance continue à ce jour.

### **4 Le statut du français dans le système d'enseignement supérieur russe**

Selon les données officielles (le Ministère fédéral de l'éducation et de la science) en 2009, seulement 410.000 personnes apprenaient le français à l'école primaire et secondaire et 344.000 étudiaient cette langue dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur. Il y avait 6.250 enseignants de français à l'école primaire et secondaire et 5.750 dans l'enseignement supérieur (Latsa : op.cit.). Malheureusement, il faut constater qu'une telle diminution est

caractéristique de la situation mondiale (à l'exception des pays africains dont le passé colonial et un boom démographique expliquent la hausse du nombre de locuteurs).

L'enseignement du français en Russie subit une énorme pression de la part de l'anglais à tous les niveaux d'étude. Le français et l'allemand sont rares dans les cursus des écoles; même dans le cas où ils font partie du programme, le volume horaire est tellement limité qu'il est difficile pour les élèves de bien maîtriser ces langues.

En ce qui concerne les écoles et les universités provinciales, les chiffres suivants illustrent bien la situation : en 2001, le département de français de l'université pédagogique Ouchinsky à Yaroslavl a créé un cursus d'orientation professionnelle pour les étudiants de terminale dans plus de 30 écoles de la ville. En 2013, il n'en y avait que 10, les autres établissements ont remplacé le français par les cours d'anglais ou bien leurs classes terminales suivaient le programme de la pédagogie corrective/spécialisée.

Si on analyse la situation d'après le programme de 'mastery of basic skills', on remarque que 17(%) seulement de toutes les écoles de Yaroslavl insèrent les cours de français à l'école primaire. Ajoutons que Yaroslavl n'est pas une petite ville provinciale mais un des plus grands centres industriels et culturels de la partie européenne de la Russie. Sa population compte plus de 600 000 habitants (d'après les chiffres de l'analyse démografique du 1 janvier 2012) ; ce qui démontre la gravité de la situation.

En effet, tous ces éléments sont source de problèmes pour le développement du français dans l'enseignement supérieur. L'Université Pédagogique d'Etat Ouchinsky est obligée de s'adapter à une pénurie d'étudiants en français (cette année universitaire il n'y a qu'un seul groupe de 6 personnes en 1<sup>ère</sup> année) et à la réduction considérable du volume horaire alloué à l'enseignement des langues étrangères dans le nouveau cursus (6 heures par semaine). L'une des conséquences possibles de ce manque d'étudiants peut-être la réduction du financement budgétaire (la diminution des quotas pour les étudiants), voire la réorganisation de l'établissement.

Malheureusement ce n'est pas un cas unique : cette année la faculté des langues étrangères de l'Université de Kostroma a pris la décision de ne pas admettre d'étudiants en français mais de créer une filière 'générale' des langues étrangères pour contourner le manque d'étudiants francophones. Cette filière a été formée à la base d'étudiants anglicistes et on y a intégré les étudiants francisants.

C'est une autre preuve de la dominance de la langue anglaise à tous les niveaux de l'éducation en Russie, surtout en province. Une telle situation est en dissonance avec les besoins et les demandes d'aujourd'hui : c'est-à-dire l'orientation mondiale vers le multilinguisme dans l'enseignement et le développement d'autres processus que l'on a déjà cités dans la 1<sup>ère</sup> partie de l'article. L'usage de l'anglais comme lingua franca témoigne d'une politique

linguistique maladroite qui n'est pas orientée vers l'avenir. Or, il existe un besoin urgent d'enseigner d'autres langues étrangères au lieu de les remplacer par l'anglais.

Cela paraît possible. Tout d'abord parce qu'en Russie il y a toujours des spécialistes enthousiastes qui pourraient mettre en œuvre ce devoir social d'enseignement de la langue française, une fois celui-ci reconnu et assumé par l'Etat. Il y a donc une multitude d'exemples à citer. On se rappelle de la grande mission éducative de l'Association des enseignants de français qui organise régulièrement des conférences et des stages pour les professeurs ainsi que pour les étudiants. De plus, les écoles spécialisées en français ont très souvent des troupes de théâtre amateur ; cette tradition continue après à l'université (à l'Université Pédagogique d'Etat Ouchinsky il y en a une, par exemple). Alexandre Latsa, journaliste français résidant en Russie, parle aussi de l'exemple de l'Université pédagogique de Blagovechtchensk et de son initiative : le journal 'Salut ! ça va ?', publié en français (Latsa : op.cit.). Ces démarches contribuent au développement de la tolérance et au dialogue mutuel entre les deux cultures. Il va de soi qu'elles aident aussi à améliorer les compétences et les connaissances linguistiques.

Une autre raison d'être optimiste est liée à la coopération économique et culturelle croissante entre les deux pays. De multiples petites et moyennes entreprises françaises sont en plein essor en Russie. Les dernières analyses statistiques dans ce domaine indiquent une lente, mais persistante, extension de la circulation des marchandises. A l'époque où tous les aspects de la vie sont soumis à la rentabilité financière, ce facteur économique favorable doit servir à la promotion du statut de la langue française.

## Conclusion

Ainsi, nous constatons qu'aujourd'hui il y a une nécessité réelle d'être multilingue, compte tenu des tendances mondiales dans les secteurs économique et socioculturel. Nous aurons objectivement bientôt besoin de spécialistes multilingues. Si nous voulons rester compétitif, si nous souhaitons participer aux événements internationaux, il faut développer les compétences linguistiques (en français ou dans d'autres langues). L'anglais n'est pas la seule langue qui contribue au succès car le monde favorise la diversité. A présent, ce défi est devenu un enjeu sociétal. La réponse du gouvernement doit être rapide et efficace : il faut avoir une stratégie de développement de l'enseignement des langues étrangères qui maintienne le multilinguisme et la communication culturelle en Russie. Il est bien évident que cette initiative demande un apport financier ainsi que des ressources humaines, mais cela en vaut la peine car, après tout, il s'agit de l'avenir du pays. Sinon la Russie réduira son propre périmètre de développement, et risque même de passer à côté des tendances globales.

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## MULTILINGUALISM AND HIGHER EDUCATION: PLACE OF FRENCH ON RUSSIAN SYLLABUS

### Summary

The article relates to the theme of multilingualism in modern world and foreign language teaching in Russia. It gives a review on the tendencies connected with language learning and present day linguistic situation in Russian Federation and in the EU. The paper presents the results of the comparative analysis of several researches held both in Russia and in the EU concerning the language learning. The study has shown a drastic difference in linguistic competences between Russian and European population. The absence of a coherent foreign language education policy in Russia is one of the reasons explaining such a contrast. The article concludes that the Russian government should quickly respond to the present day need for multilingual specialists. Otherwise Russia

limits its own development and it even risks staying on the sideways of world process and main trends.

**Key words:** multilingualism, linguistic diversity, foreign language teaching, Russian education system.

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# NOUVELLES TENDANCES LEXICALES ET SYNTAXIQUES DE LA PRESSE ECRITE ITALIENNE

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**Résumé.** Pour pouvoir faire face à une aussi rude concurrence avec les autres moyens de communication de masse, les journaux traditionnels doivent continuellement adapter le contenu de leurs articles aux nouvelles exigences sociales. Dans cet article, nous avons parlé des spécificités lexicales et syntaxiques qui caractérisent le langage des quotidiens italiens. Nous avons donné dans un premier temps, un bref aperçu des moments les plus importants qui ont marqué cette activité éditoriale, surtout durant ces quarante cinq dernières années. Nous avons ensuite exposé un cadre théorique de référence à ces caractéristiques linguistiques. Ces théories de référence présentées ont été accompagné au fur et à mesure d'une analyse du contenu de textes journalistiques publiés dans diverses rubriques des deux plus grands quotidiens italiens à diffusion nationale : *Il Corriere Della Sera* et *La Repubblica*. Pour ce faire nous avons examiné dans la partie lexicale deux articles extraits de *Il Corriere Della Sera* et, dans notre analyse syntaxique nous avons pris comme exemple un autre article de *La Repubblica*. Cette recherche nous a permis d'offrir des exemples tangibles à ces théories mais, nous avons toutefois constaté que ces canons linguistiques ne sont pas toujours dûment appliqués et respectés par les journalistes.

**Mots-clés :** Lexique, syntaxe, analyse du contenu, stratégies de communication, évolution, journaux italiens

## Introduction

La grande rapidité de l'information véhiculée et la mise à jour instantanée des derniers événements qui se déroulent partout dans le monde font aujourd'hui de notre planète un village global favorisant ainsi les interactions communicatives entre personnes, peuples et cultures de diverses origines. Malgré cette importante évolution, le journal traditionnel réussit jusqu'à ce jour à exister puisqu'il est considéré comme une source crédible pour la diffusion de l'information à grande échelle et comme moyen pour la formation de l'opinion publique.

L'Italie présente un exemple type où le plus antique des moyens de communication de masse réussit encore à faire face aux nouveaux médias grâce

entre autres aux professionnels qui œuvrent à concorder le contenu de leurs articles aux changements sociaux.

Il est à préciser toutefois que l'activité éditoriale italienne est passée périodiquement par des moments de crise auxquels elle a réussi à échapper en opérant à chaque fois quelques changements stratégiques et/ou linguistiques afin de reconquérir le lecteur devenu de plus en plus exigeant. Il convient dans ce contexte retracer tous les changements stratégiques qui ont marqué l'activité journalistique italienne surtout depuis la fin des années soixante du siècle précédent. Nous essayerons ensuite de cerner toutes les nouvelles tendances lexicales et syntaxiques utilisées par les rédacteurs pour attirer un nombre toujours plus important de lecteurs. Ceci nous permettra de comprendre comment ce moyen de communication a pu faire face à une concurrence aussi rude avec les autres mass-médias qui jouissent d'un accès encore plus facile.

## 1 Evolution du domaine journalistique italien

Dès les débuts du siècle dernier on a commencé à relever d'énormes changements sur le plan éditorial en Italie. En effet, le XX siècle a été marqué en premier lieu par la naissance de la *formule omnibus*. Cette dernière consiste en l'insertion de nouvelles rubriques en mesure d'attirer un très grand nombre de lecteurs appartenant à toutes les classes sociales. Le nouveau quotidien de l'époque se composait alors de 10 à 12 pages contenait de nouvelles rubriques telles que *Cultura e spettacolo* (Culture et spectacle) et *Cultura e società* (Culture et société). Le format omnibus était donc la première tentative de rupture avec les vieux journaux de l'époque qui s'adressaient seulement aux élites de la société, une stratégie éditoriale adoptée par la suite par des journaux populaires qui cherchaient de traiter, avec un langage simple, des problèmes et des faits sociaux (Murialdi, 2006 : 24). Malgré tous ces efforts déployés, le langage utilisé par les journalistes restera toujours bien difficile et compliqué pour le lecteur moyen, une stratégie langagière qui subira une transformation radicale à partir des années soixante-dix.

Rappelons-nous à cet effet que dès la fin des années soixante, l'Italie avait subi (comme plusieurs autres pays européens) d'énormes changements sociaux générés entre autres par les protestations juvéniles et syndicalistes et des mouvements féministes, par les actes terroristes de Milan et la guerre au Vietnam ; tous ces facteurs ont donc joué un rôle très important sur le plan médiatique. En effet, les journaux traditionnels comme *Il Corriere Della Sera* et la télévision gouvernementale *La Rai* étaient devenus méprisés et considérés le centre de la manipulation capitaliste et, ne répondait plus donc plus aux exigences sociales. C'est alors que le secteur de la presse écrite a traversé une période de grande crise à tel point qu'en 1976 seulement 4 des 76 quotidiens vendus dans les qui osques détenaient un bilan positif (Agostini, 2012 : 20-21).

Dans ce nouveau climat, des journaux d'extrême gauche comme *Il Manifesto* ou *Il Potere Operaio* ont vu le jour. Ceux-ci cherchaient à présenter au lecteur une contre information à celle présentée par les médiums traditionnels en reproduisant l'argot spontané et parfois même vulgaire des jeunes extra parlementaires. Apparaissaient dans cette même période deux autres journaux *Il Giornale nuovo* et *La Repubblica*. Ce dernier, en particulier, avait eu un grand impact sur la situation journalistique du pays. Il s'agit d'un quotidien fondé en 1976 par un groupe de journalistes du groupe *Espresso* orienté par Eugenio Scalfari. *La Repubblica* était très révolutionnaire pour l'époque puisqu'elle avait adopté un format et un langage nouveaux. En effet, celui-ci était le premier à utiliser le format *Tabloid*, à supprimer la chronique locale et la page sportive pour se focaliser plutôt sur la politique nationale et internationale mais aussi à la culture et aux spectacles. Il avait même consacré une page pour recueillir les opinions des lecteurs et consenti aussi une plus large participation des femmes dans la rédaction. D'un point de vue linguistique, en revanche, on note que le journal est parvenu à conquérir et à fidéliser un très grand nombre de lecteurs grâce à un langage vif, linéaire et brillant à travers lequel on simplifiait le jargon complexe des politiciens par le biais de métaphores expressives et de néologismes plaisantins (Gualdo, 2007 : 20-21).

Grâce à ces initiatives et au progrès technologiques, l'activité éditoriale refait surface au cours des années 80. En effet, entre 1980 et 1985 le nombre de ventes de journaux comme *Il Messagero* et *La Repubblica* augmente considérablement même si d'autres quotidiens comme *La Gazzetta del popolo* et *Il Roma* avaient déposé leurs bilans. Cette décennie a été marquée aussi par la naissance de deux chaînes éditoriales : *L'Espresso* qui comprenait *Il Tirreno Di Livorno*, *Il Mattino Di Padova*, *La Tribuna Di Treviso*, *La Provincia Pavese*, *La Nuova Sardegna Di Sassari* et *Il Centro* et, la chaîne *Mondadori* qui opérait à Mantova, Reggio Emilia, Modena et Capri. De plus, il a été noté durant cette même période un grand intérêt du peuple pour l'information économique et financière d'une part et une grande diffusion des feuilles sportives de l'autre et ce surtout après la victoire de l'Italie dans les mondiaux du football en 1982 (En ligne 1).

Les années 90 ont été marquées elles aussi d'une multitude de changements parmi lesquels on peut citer : l'avènement d'internet et la distribution de journaux gratuits. L'invention et la diffusion d'internet a pu conquérir un très grand nombre de lecteurs à travers une information instantanée et, la concurrence imposée par ce moyen, a donné naissance vers les années 2000 aux feuilles d'approfondissements et à la presse gratuite distribuée dans les gares et les lieux publics. En ce qui concerne les feuilles d'opinion ou de tendance, notons que celles-ci se présentent sous un format traditionnel (Broadsheet), elles se réduisent à 4 pages et elles ne contiennent presque pas de photographies. En outre, elles possèdent un style plus personnalisé et sarcastique par rapport à celui des quotidiens d'information générale puisqu'elle adopte un jargon

politique et économico-financier très pointilleux sans tenir compte du lecteur moyen. C'est toujours vers les mêmes années que naît *la free press* des journaux très colorés constitués chacun d'environ 24 pages. Il est à préciser que ce produit financé grâce à la publicité a pu conquérir un très grand nombre de non lecteurs et il se distingue des autres bulletins pour le style et le langage auxquels ils font recours. En effet, les articles dont une bonne partie est dédiée à la chronique citadine sont très denses, brefs et rarement signés. D'un point de vue linguistique, ces bulletins utilisent un lexique très commun et des stéréotypes pris du langage parlé. Quant aux phrases, elles sont souvent très lourdes et mal construites (Gualdo, 2007 : 25). En partant de ces nouvelles données qui caractérisent le nouveau panorama éditorial italien, nous tenterons de cataloguer dans les deux parties successives les nouvelles tendances lexicales et syntaxiques du quotidien traditionnel.

## 2 Nouvelles tendances lexicales des quotidiens italiens

Une des caractéristiques les plus évidentes du langage journalistique contemporain est la quête de la simplicité et de la précision. Dans ce sens, il a été retenu que les journalistes cherchent désormais à trouver un compromis entre le langage parlé et écrit. De plus, il a été noté que dans la majorité des articles, les rédacteurs font toujours recours à des expressions typiques du langage parlé. En effet, l'objectif principal de ce nouveau moyen de communication de masse est de maintenir l'attention d'un lecteur toujours plus assoiffé d'informations fiables.

### 2.1 Nouveaux procédés lexicaux des quotidiens italiens

Les choix lexicaux des textes journalistiques contemporains sont très influencés par le parlé standard. Dans cette perspective, on peut distinguer quelques caractéristiques lexicales auxquelles les rédacteurs ont souvent recours :

- *Les néologismes* : Ils désignent des mots récemment formés, c'est le fruit d'une créativité linguistique qui entre peu à peu à faire partie du langage courant. Il est à souligner que ce phénomène lexical consiste en l'invention d'un mot inédit ou bien en la création d'un nouveau idiom ou désignation par le biais d'un préfixe ou d'un suffixe;
- *Les emprunts* : Souvent dans les textes journalistiques italiens, on retrouve des mots ou des expressions d'origine étrangère (surtout anglaise), des termes qui appartiennent généralement aux langages sectoriels : informatique, médical, économique, juridique, etc. Il est toutefois important de signaler que les emprunts sont tout de même des néologismes lexicaux (Seriani, 2003 : 261);
- *Les sigles* : Ils sont surtout utilisés pour alléger l'énoncé d'un article;

- *Les fautes et les erreurs* : Les fautes et les erreurs sont notamment dues à la rédaction sur ordinateur, à l'influence du jargon et au style d'écriture des e-mails et des Sms;
- *Les termes consacrés* : Vu la grande variété des articles présentés dans un quotidien, on retrouve très souvent des termes et des expressions qui se réfèrent aux langages spécialisés. On peut en distinguer dans ce sens des termes 1) *technico-scientifiques* dont par exemple 'Rodaggio politico' (Rodage politique); 2) *médicaux* tels que 'Emorraggia finanziaria' (hémorragie financière); 3) *économico-financiers* dont 'stagnazione economica' (stagnation économique); 4) *juridiques* comme 'Essere condannato a' (être condamné à); 5) *latins* comme 'ad hoc' (approprié) ou 6) *médiatiques* tels que 'Regista' (Régisseur) (Salerno, 2005 : 127-130);
- *Les stéréotypes* : Le recours aux stéréotypes est un processus contraire à toute créativité linguistique. On peut citer les *stéréotypes* : 1) *conventionnels* qui sont des expressions prises du répertoire du langage conventionnel ou 2) *produits par erreur* qui sont des substantifs qui, par habitude, sont toujours mal prononcés ou transcrits (Salerno, 2005 : 125-126).

## 2.2 Analyse lexicale de deux exemples journalistiques concrets

Dans cette partie de notre recherche nous avons choisi d'analyser deux brefs articles publiés récemment dans le quotidien *Il Corriere Della Sera* respectivement dans ces deux rubriques : Chronique et sportive. En effet, le premier article est intitulé *Tragico gioco : un dodicenne si strangola con un cavo elettrico* (*Jeu tragique : un jeune de douze ans s'étrangle avec un câble électrique*) publié le 22/12/12 sur la page 8 et écrit par Rosa Riccardo (En ligne 2). L'article 2 est apparu le 31/12/2012 sur le même quotidien à la page 9 et titré *La gioia senza freni del panchinaro Picci al suo primo gol* (*La joie sans limites du remplaçant Picci pour son premier but*) rédigé par Passerini Carlos (En ligne 3).

Ces deux articles sont riches de procédés lexicaux bien spécifiques au langage journalistique italien contemporain. Nous constatons à cet effet une multitude d'exemples concrets de la nouvelle créativité linguistique de ces professionnels, d'une part et, des constructions typiques du langage oral courant dépourvu de toute connotation poétique et académique de l'autre comme le démontre le tableau suivant :

**Tableau 1 Principaux recours lexicaux marqués de l'article 1 et l'article 2**

	<b>Article 1</b>	<b>Article 2</b>
<b>Néologismes</b>	---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abbattere (abattre) : 'Ab+battere'</li> <li>• Biancazzura (blanc bleu) : 'Bianc(a)+azzura'</li> <li>• Festicciola (petite fête) : 'Fest(a)+icciola'</li> <li>• Trequartista (joueur de football qui se place entre la ligne du centre et celle des attaquants) : 'tre+quart+ista'</li> <li>• Saccoccia (sacoche) : 'Sacco+cia'</li> <li>• Soprattutto (surtout) : 'Sopra+ttutto'</li> </ul>
<b>Emprunts</b>	---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gol (goal)</li> <li>• Chic</li> </ul>
<b>Erreurs</b>	• K.B pour K.P (faute de frappe)	• Gol pour 'goal'
<b>Sigles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• K.P/ K.B (initiales du nom de la victime)</li> <li>• 118 : numéro des urgences</li> </ul>	----
<b>Termes consacrés</b>	---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wikipedia/facebook</li> <li>• Panchinaro (celui qui s'assied toujours sur le banc, un remplaçant)</li> <li>• Trequartista</li> </ul>
<b>Stéréotypes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Giovane vittima (Jeune victime)</li> <li>• Mettere alcuni punti fermi (Mettre le point sur/ mettre des barrières)</li> <li>• Nuova realtà (Nouvelle réalité)</li> <li>• Trappola fatale (piège fatal)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stoffa del campione (L'étoffe d'un champion)</li> <li>• Prendere la briga (Prendre la peine de)</li> <li>• Essere l'uomo di (Etre l'homme de)</li> </ul>

Dans l'article 1 nous avons pu détecter la présence de 3 sigles, de 4 stéréotypes et d'une erreur. En ce qui concerne les stéréotypes, on note la présence d'une expression assez usuelle et typique du langage courant : *Mettere alcuni punti fermi* (mettre les points sur [...]) et de deux autres associations (adjectif + substantif) : *giovane vittima* (jeune victime) et *nuova realtà* (nouvelle réalité) mais encore *Trappola fatale* (piège fatal). Nous avons aussi relevé des symboles conventionnels (que nous considérerons aussi comme des sigles) comme le 118 avec lequel le rédacteur désigne le service d'urgence et les initiales du protagoniste de l'article *K.P* qui, par mesure de discréption on cherche à en garder l'anonymat. Toutefois, le professionnel a commis l'erreur de retranscrire ces initiales en remplaçant le *P* par *B*. Ces erreurs typographiques sont assez courantes vu la rapidité avec laquelle est rédigé un article et les fautes de frappes causées par le travail sur ordinateur.

Dans l'article 2 nous avons effectué le même type d'analyse que l'article 1 et nous avons remarqué ainsi une grande richesse dans les procédés lexicaux utilisés. Il est à constater dans le tableau dressé ci-dessus, nombreux sont les néologismes lexicaux constitués d'idiomes auxquels on a ajouté des préfixes et/ou suffixes donnant naissance ainsi à de nouveaux mots. C'est le cas par exemple de *Saccoccia* (petit sac) ou *Abbattere* (a + battre). Le mot *Trequartista* est en revanche considéré à la fois un néologisme (comporte un préfixe et un suffixe) et un terme consacré puisqu'il désigne une tactique de placement d'un joueur de football tout comme le terme *Panchinaro*. Nous avons finalement retrouvé des stéréotypes (souvent utilisés aussi en français) qui reflètent bien le langage usuel.

Cette analyse lexicale que nous avons à peine effectuée nous a permis de présenter des exemples concrets de ce qui a été théorisé par les grands professionnels du domaine. Il est à noter que l'utilisation fréquente et la large diffusion de ces expressions 'impropres' peut avec le temps faciliter leur introduction dans le langage académique.

### 3 Les caractéristiques syntaxiques

#### 3.1 Cadre de références théoriques des nouvelles tendances syntaxiques

Pour faciliter la compréhension des messages véhiculés aux lecteurs, les rédacteurs préfèrent désormais construire des phrases simples et mono propositionnelles suivant un ordre linéaire : *Sujet, verbe et complément* ou bien des phrases complexes qui ne soient pas compliquées. Nombreux sont les attributs syntaxiques propres au langage journalistique parmi lesquels on peut citer : *la nominalisation, la bi nominalisation, les phrases simples et les phrases complexes*.

- *La nominalisation* : C'est un procédé qui est utilisé surtout pour titrer les articles. Il transforme une phrase formée d'un verbe et d'un substantif par une autre phrase où le verbe est remplacé par un autre substantif. Exemple : *Arresto dell'assassino* (arrestation de l'assassin) au lieu de *l'assassino è arrestato* (l'assassin est arrêté). Il est par ailleurs très important de noter que la nominalisation peut donner lieu à une ellipse (figure de style où un élément de la phrase est omis ou éliminé) (Boldrini, 2006 : 126-127);
- *La bi nominalisation* : C'est l'association tacite de deux mots qui a pour but d'éviter le recours à des phrases complexes et faciliter par conséquent la compréhension du message transmis (Salerno, 2005 : 124) ;
- *Les mono propositionnelles* : Celles-ci sont liées à l'influence du langage parlé et du jargon sur cette typologie langagière à travers lesquelles on cherche à donner une information concise, claire et précise grâce à une segmentation marquée de la phrase ;

- *Les phrases complexes* : Dans les articles de presse, on trouve en plus des phrases simples, d'autres complexes basées sur la coordination et/ou sur la subordination. Il a été noté que, en général, dans le cadre des phrases articulées on préfère recourir aux propositions coordonnées surtout les juxtaposées puisqu'elles permettent une plus rapide compréhension du message transmis ou bien à des subordonnées relatives implicites. On note par ailleurs une utilisation fréquente et variée des conjonctions (surtout les temporelles et causales) selon la nature de l'article et le thème abordé.

### 3.2 Analyse syntaxique d'un article politique :

L'article qui sera désormais pris en exemple et qu'on désignera Article 3 est intitulé *Algeria, assalto ai rapitori ma è strage di ostaggi C'è la mano di Al Qaeda*. C'est un texte publié par le quotidien *La Repubblica* le 18/12/12 dans la section Monde, rédigé par le correspondant du quotidien Giampiero Martinotti qui relatait les derniers faits de la prise d'otage du champ pétrolier d'In Amenas en Algérie par Al Qaeda durant cette période là. A travers une analyse du contenu nous allons essayer d'individualiser les aspects linguistiques de ce passage.

Dans ce sens, nous avons repéré au moins 3 nominalisations et une bi nominalisation. En effet, nous avons remarqué une répétition du terme *assalto* (assaut), mot retrouvé même dans le titre de l'article. Malgré la présence du verbe *assalire* (attaquer), Martinotti a préféré utiliser le substantif plutôt que le verbe. Ce procédé semble vouloir non seulement alléger la construction des phrases mais aussi procéder à un marquage des informations. Dans le titre par exemple : *Assalto ai rapitori* (Prise d'assaut des kidnappeurs) serait *i rapitori sono assaliti da [...]* (Les kidnappeurs sont pris d'assaut par [...]).

D'autre part, la bi nominalisation repérée est *laconico commento* (laconique commentaire), utilisée à la place de *un commento (che è) laconico* (un commentaire qui est laconique). Cette association de mots sert donc à présenter une information plus simple, immédiate et concise à l'usager.

La deuxième partie de cette analyse sera dédiée à l'étude des diverses typologies des phrases et des propositions qui constituent notre corpus. Une première opération de comptage nous a permis de dresser le tableau 2 ci-dessous.

*Tableau 2 Pourcentages des phrases simples et phrases complexes*

Phrases	Nombres	Pourcentages
<b>Simples</b>	6	23.07%
<b>Complexes</b>	20	76.92%
<b>Total</b>	26	100%

On constate ici que le pourcentage des phrases complexes est nettement supérieur à celui des phrases simples. Nous pouvons donc affirmer que nonobstant l'exigence de construire un maximum de mono propositionnelles, le journaliste a préféré utiliser des phrases complexes, un choix qui pourrait porter à une mauvaise interprétation du message de la part du lecteur.

Il est impératif à ce stade de la recherche approfondir cette analyse afin de déterminer le taux des coordonnées (juxtaposées et celles liées par une conjonction) ainsi que des subordonnées (implicites et explicites). Ceci permet de nous informer davantage sur le degré de la complexité des phrases. Ainsi, d'après le tableau 3, nous notons que le nombre des coordonnées qui représente 53.84% est supérieur aux subordonnées (46.15%). Malgré cette modeste différence, les chiffres confirment la préférence du rédacteur pour la première typologie propositionnelle citée.

Tableau 3 Pourcentages des propositions coordonnées et subordonnées

Propositions	Nombres	Pourcentages
Coordonnées	21	53.84%
Subordonnées	18	46.15%
Total	39	100%

Par ailleurs, tel que souligné dans le tableau 4, nous constatons un pourcentage plus important pour les coordonnées par juxtaposition (61.90%) par rapport à celles introduites grâce à un élément de coordination (38.10%) et l'écart relevé entre les subordonnées explicites qui représentent 72.22% et les implicites (27.72%). Ces derniers résultats sont peu communs, puisque, en général on préfère utiliser les implicites pour alléger l'information véhiculée.

Tableau 4 Typologies des propositions coordonnées et des subordonnées

	Propositions	Nombres	Pourcentages
Coordonnées	Par juxtaposition	13	61.90%
	Avec éléments de coordination	8	38.10%
	Total	21	100%
Subordonnées	Implicites	5	27.78%
	Explicites	13	72.22%
	Total	18	100%

## Conclusion

L'examen d'articles pris de *Il Corriere Della Sera* et de *La Repubblica* nous a consenti d'observer des points de concordance et de discordance avec ce qui a été présenté dans la partie théorique. Dans l'analyse lexicale nous avons

relevé plusieurs exemples des nouvelles tendances comme les néologismes ou les emprunts. Ce sont des procédés qui peuvent avoir un grand impact sur l'évolution du langage. En effet, une expression prise du jargon, d'origine étrangère ou encore de pure invention journalistique pourra avec le temps (si elle est souvent répétée par les mass-médias) être ajoutée au dictionnaire. Par exemple, le mot *Gol* tel qu'il est présent (avec la faute d'orthographe) dans l'article 2 pourrait au fil des années devenir un stéréotype par erreur avant d'être introduit dans les dictionnaires du vocabulaire italien.

L'analyse syntaxique, par contre, nous a clairement démontré qu'il n'est pas toujours vrai que les journalistes italiens recourent plus souvent aux mono propositionnelles qu'aux phrases articulées vu que ces dernières représentent plus des trois quarts du nombre total des phrases. Il est aussi important ajouter que les phrases complexes sont composées presque à parts égales de propositions coordonnées et subordonnées alors que les premières sont généralement plus simples à saisir. Dernier point inhabituel que nous retrouvons dans l'article 3 est la prédominance des subordonnées explicites par rapport aux implicites. Ce choix syntaxique pourrait ralentir pour ne pas dire freiner la compréhension de l'article en question.

Par le biais de cette recherche nous avons pu présenter dans un premier moment les plus importantes phases qui ont marqué le plus antique des moyens de communication de masse en Italie depuis la fin des années soixante jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Ensuite, le fait d'avoir présenté un cadre théorique des spécificités lexicales et syntaxiques de la presse écrite contemporaine et de l'avoir appuyé par des exemples tangibles nous ont permis de confirmer et/ou d'inflimer certaines de ces théories.

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## NEW LEXICAL AND SYNTACTICAL TRENDS OF ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS

### Summary

In order to be able to face the rude competition with the other mass media, traditional newspapers have to continuously adapt the contents of their articles to the new social requirements. This research focuses in the individualization of the lexical and syntactical specificities which characterise the language used by Italian daily papers. Therefore, there are two main parts in the article, a brief outline of the most important moments which marked this editorial activity especially during these last forty five years, and a theoretical reference framework to these linguistic characteristics. The latter is accompanied by a content analysis applied on recently published journalistic texts in diverse columns of both Italian biggest national dailies and national broadcasting as *Il Corriere Della Sera* and *La Repubblica*. In the lexical part two articles have been examined extracted from *Il Corriere Della Sera*, while in the syntactic analysis an article has been selected from the newspaper *La Repubblica*. The finding presents tangible examples to the theories previously stated, and concludes that the latter rules are not duly applied and respected by journalists.

**Keywords:** lexicon, syntax, contents analysis, communications strategies, evolution, Italian newspapers

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# SUR LE RÔLE DES ÉLÉMENTS GRÉCO-LATINS DANS L'ENRICHISSEMENT LEXICAL DES LANGUES EUROPÉENNES

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**Résumé.** Selon le critère dérivationnel, le degré de leur isolement, de leur caractère central ou périphérique on trouve parmi les mots empruntés au latin les groupes suivants: (1) Les mots et les groupes de mots latins non-assimilés, isolés : *alias* ; (2) Les mots français, emprunts au latin assimilés qui restent isolés n'ayant pas de rapports dérivationnels: *ultimatum(s)* ; (3) Les mots de ce groupe sont aussi assimilés mais ils ne sont pas isolés. Ils ont des rapports sémantiques et structurels avec d'autres mots empruntés au latin: *diriger/ direction*. Il n'existe pas de rapports dérivationnels à l'intérieur de ces groupes de mots ; 4) On trouve encore des mots savants en français (cultismes en espagnol) qui diffèrent par leur structure des mots populaires. *Méthodes* : analyse étymologique, description linguistique, analyses morphologique et dérivationnelle. *Résultat*. On observe des paradigmes dérivationnels sur deux bases – savante et populaire. L'influence du latin classique et du grec ancien se manifeste aussi dans la composition savante. C'est un procédé autonome par rapport à la composition proprement dite.

**Mots-clés :** mots empruntés au latin et au grec: mots non-assimilés, isolés ; mots assimilés mais isolés ; mots assimilés et non-isolés ; mots savants

## Introduction

Le latin a toujours fourni des formants et des mots entiers au lexique de plusieurs langues. Il existe donc *le problème de leur classification*.

*Cadre théorique:* classification des mots empruntés aux langues classiques et le rôle des éléments gréco-latins dans la formation de mots accompagnés de *l'analyse des exemples*.

Selon le critère dérivation, le degré de leur isolement, de leur caractère central ou périphérique on trouve parmi les mots empruntés au latin les groupes suivants.

- 1) Les mots et les groupes de mots latins non-assimilés, isolés : *alias, honoris causa*. Outre cela, on peut citer des termes et des mots de nomenclature de droit (*de facto, de jure, persona grata, sine die, veto, statu quo*), de médecine, de botanique, de zoologie, etc.

- 2) Les mots français, emprunts au latin assimilés se prononcent à la française ([ɛm]: *mémorandum*, *moratorium*, *référendum*) ; ils ont la forme française du pluriel (des ultimatums), mais ils restent isolés n'ayant pas de rapports dérivationnel. On trouve les termes des groupes 1) et 2) dans d'autres langues européennes.
- 3) Les mots de ce groupe sont aussi assimilés mais ils ne sont pas isolés. Ils ont des rapports sémantiques et structurels avec d'autres mots empruntés au latin:

-g(-er)/	-ct (-ion)/	-ct (-eur)
[ʒ] /	[kt] /	[kt]
<i>corriger/</i>	<i>correction/</i>	<i>correcteur</i>
<i>diriger/</i>	<i>direction/</i>	<i>directeur</i>
<i>protéger/</i>	<i>protection/</i>	<i>protecteur</i>

On voit les mots de ce groupe dans d'autres langues, par exemple, en espagnol (*corregir/ corrección/ corrector; dirigir/ dirección/ director; proteger/ protección/ protector*), en portugais (*corrigir/ correção/ corretor; dirigir/ direção/ diretor; proteger/ proteção/ protetor*), en italien (*correre/ correzione/ correttore; dirigere/ direzione/ direttore; proteggere/ protezione/ protettore*), en roumain (*a corecta/ corectare/ corrector, a corija/ corijare a dirijá/ dirijáre/ dirijor*, voir aussi : *direcți(un)e/ director; protejá/ protécți(ún)e/ protector*). Pourtant on peut retrouver ces emprunts au latin non seulement dans les langues romanes mais aussi en anglais (*correct/ correction/ corrector; direct/ direction/ director; protect/ protection/ protector*), en allemand (*korrigieren/ Korrektion/ Korrektor; dirigieren/ Direktion/ Direktor; protegieren/ Protektion/ Protektor*) et en russe (корректировать/ коррекция/ корректор ; дирижировать/ дирижирование/ дирижёр, voir aussi : дирекция/ директор ; протежировать/ протекция/ протеже). Sans doute, les emprunts au latin "se sentent mieux à l'aise" dans les langues romanes et en anglais (grâce à la conquête normande). Or il convient de remarquer qu'on assiste bien souvent à la *restriction* de leur signification: *correttore* (italien), *corrector* (portugais), *corrector, dirijor* (roumain). Il n'existe pas de rapports dérivationnels à l'intérieur de ces groupes de mots, mais on peut tirer des dérivés à partir de quelques-uns de ces mots: *corrigible, corrifiable, corrivable, corigible; dirigible* (qui a pris en français un sens spécialisé), *dirigivel, dirigibile*. Néanmoins ces mots ne constituent pas de paradigmes ni chaînes dérivationnelles.

- 4) Il existe encore des mots savants en français (cultismes en espagnol) qui diffèrent par leur structure des mots populaires. Cette distinction structurelle des mots savants et populaires est une des particularités du lexique français. Cependant le rôle des mots savants dans la dérivation suffixale est apprécié de façons différentes. Selon Ch.

Bally, A. Dauzat, J. Marouzeau, P. Guiraud, A. Sauvageot leur rôle dans l'évolution du système dérivationnel est plutôt négatif parce que l'absence de rapports dérivationnels entre les mots savants et populaires a mené à l'appauvrissement de la suffixation française (Bally, 1944 ; Sauvageot, 1978). Pour d'autres linguistes la distinction entre les bases savantes et populaires n'est pas pertinente pour la dérivation suffixale (Katagochtchina, 1980 : 29-41 ; Corbin 1987 : 94) ; on essaie d'établir des corrélations entre ces deux groupes de mots, on étudie les formations hétérogènes: radical savant + suffixe populaire (Pichon, 1942 : 14, 47-54 ; Katagochtchina, 1980 : 34-38). Cependant d'autres savants considèrent qu'il existe deux principes de formation suffixale : à base savante et à base populaire (Marchand, 1951 : 95-112 ; Stepanov, 1965 : 117-150 ; Tsybova, 1981 : 10-11 ; 2008 : 36-41 ; 2010 : 82-84). Or les rapports dérivationnels impliquent des relations sémantiques et structurelles entre les mots de base et leurs dérivés. Il s'ensuit que les rapports dérivationnels n'existent guère **entre** les mots populaires et les mots savants sont bien en vie à *l'intérieur* de chacun de ces groupes de mots – mots populaires et mots savants. Cependant cette distinction structurelle entre les mots savants et populaires n'est pas absolue. Il convient de faire quelques précisions et rectifications. (1) Les mots populaires ne diffèrent pas toujours des mots savants par leur forme (comparez : *trottoir* – *notoire*) ni par leurs alternances dérivationnelles, comparez : *lapin* - *lapinière* et *intestin* – *intestinal*. (2) Il existe des correspondances phonétiques et orthographiques (qui ne sont ni régulières ni dérivationnelles) de mots populaires et savants : *père* – *paternel*. Si cette distinction, selon l'avis de J. S. Stepanov, n'a pas de sens pour les formations dénominatives (Stepanov, 1965 : 148-149), par contre, elle est caractéristique des suffixaux tirés des verbes et des adjectifs. Il existe donc des formations suffixales hétérogènes (base savante + suffixe populaire : *aciérage* et vice versa: *accompagnateur*). (3) De nos jours le vocabulaire savant s'enrichit aussi grâce à la francisation de plusieurs termes anglais venus, à leur tour, du latin : *conversationnel*, *factuel*, *privatisation*, etc.; on parle d'une nouvelle 'relatinisation' (Lerat, 1979 : 68-69). Enfin, il faut dire que dans le français d'aujourd'hui les mots savants s'emploient partout au même titre que les mots populaires, ils ne se distinguent donc plus fonctionnellement. Par contre, leur différence structurelle se maintient bien qu'on voie se développer une tendance à leur rapprochement. On observe des paradigmes déverbaux *sur base savante*.

*Paradigmes généralisés*

1. - er → -ation action, son résultat  
↓  
-ateur /-atrice agent, instrument, adj.
2. - iser → - isation action , son résultat  
↓  
-isateur/-isatrice agent, instrument, adj.
3. - ifier → - ification action, son résultat  
↓  
-ificateur /-ificatrice agent, instrument, adj.

Exemples de paradigmes concrets :

1. fonder → fondation f.  
↓  
fondateur, fondatrice m.f.
2. stabiliser → stabilisation f.  
↓  
stabilisateur / -atrice, adj. stabilisateur n.m.
3. amplifier → amplification n.f.  
↓  
amplificateur / -atrice, adj. amplificateur n.m.

- 5) Un rôle particulier revient aux suffixes *-iste* (*-ist*, *-ista*, *-ист*) et *-isme* (*-ism*, *-ismo*, *-ismus*, *-изм*). D'après leur appartenance aux internationalismes on peut diviser les dérivés en *-iste* et, en partie, en *-isme* en deux groupes : I. les mots ayant des correspondances formelles et sémantiques dans d'autres langues : *capitaliste/ capitalisme*, II. les mots en *-iste* désignant une personne par sa profession : *bagagiste*.

Ayant analysé 10 paires de mots en *-iste/-isme* dans 8 langues citées (absolutisme/ absolutiste, capitalisme/ capitaliste, communisme/ communiste, fascisme/ fasciste, impérialisme/ impérialiste, nationalisme/ nationaliste, opportunisme/ opportuniste, racisme/ raciste, réalisme/ réaliste, socialisme/ socialiste) on peut tirer les conclusions suivantes.

- 1) Les formations en *-isme* et *-iste* sont interdépendantes, elles constituent un paradigme dérivationnel. Les bases de ces dérivés sont savantes, sauf les noms propres dont on tire beaucoup de dérivés, y compris des

formations occasionnelles et éphémères apparaissant dans les média ; *Sarkozy - sarkozyste*.

- 2) Les dérivés avec les formants d'origine grecque *-iser*(-izar,-iza, -ize, *-isieren*, -изировать), *-isation* (- *izacion*, *-izaçao*, *-issazione*, *-ization*, -изация), *-isateur* (-*izador*, *-izator*, *-izzatore*, -изатор) qui constituent un paradigme déverbal peuvent faire partie d'une même famille de mots que les dérivés en *-isme/-iste* : *capital* – *capitalisme/ capitaliste* et *capital* – *capitaliser* – *capitalisation*. Quant aux dérivés du groupe II en *-iste*, ils n'appartiennent pas au lexique international et par conséquent ils n'ont pas de correspondances dans d'autres langues : par exemple, *bagagiste*, *visagiste* n'existent qu'en français (Tsybova, 1976: 194-199).
- 3) L'influence du latin classique et du grec ancien se manifeste aussi dans la *composition savante* (Guilbert, 1975 : 225-239). C'est un *procédé autonome* par rapport à la composition proprement dite qui fait partie des procédés syntaxico-morphologiques, tandis que la composition savante est un procédé morphologique (Tsybova, 2005 : 124). On peut signaler encore une différence entre ces deux procédés. L'ordre des éléments *déterminé* – *déterminant*, caractéristique du français, est observé dans les composés : *gagne-pain*. Par contre, on voit l'ordre inverse dans les recomposés : *aérodrome*. À mon avis on y voit la manifestation de deux 'tendances contradictoires : l'une engendre des formes analytiques, l'autre les condense et rapproche la langue du type synthétique' (Bally 1944 : 193). Les composés savants sont donc dans la plupart des cas des syntagmes à séquence régressive : *télépathie* (Tsybova, 2005 : 124-12).

Comme dit (Benveniste, 1966 : 87), le mot *microbe* est 'avec les lexèmes grecs un composé français'. Développant ces idées L. Guilbert parle de l' 'opposition de suffixes grecs dont le système demeure productif en français' (Guilbert, 1975 : 233). S'agit-il vraiment des suffixes ou préfixes en matière des éléments gréco-latins ? Je crois que d'après leurs rapports avec d'autres mots on peut y trouver des *radixoides* (*astro-*/ *astre*) et selon leur fonction on peut les diviser en *préfixoides* (*télé-* dans *téléphone*) et *suffixoides* (*-scope* dans *microscope*) (voir les tableaux de ces éléments dans Tsybova, 2005 : 128-131; 2008 : 91-94; 2010 : 99-102). La plupart des éléments savants appartenant à la terminologie scientifique et technique font partie du lexique international : *microscope*, *microscopio*, *microscop* (langues romanes), *microscope* (anglais), *Mikroskop* (allemand), *микроскоп* (russe), *میکروسکوپ* (arabe).

Si on comprend le dérivé comme une structure propositionnelle (2004 : 408) qui englobe les structures conceptuelles du mot de base et de l'affixe, on peut traiter les composés savants de la même façon. Toutefois la conceptualisation des termes scientifiques et techniques consiste en ce qu'ils reflètent les notions qui doivent être comprises de la même façon par 'les initiés', les spécialistes. Toutefois, de nos jours on assiste, grâce aux média, à la vulgarisation de plusieurs termes. Encore une chose à ne pas négliger : c'est la

terminologie scientifique et technique qui enrichit, avant tout, le lexique de la langue (à consulter Novodranova, 1989).

## Conclusion

Les langues classiques ont toujours servi de source inépuisable d'enrichissement du lexique des langues européennes. Cela se manifeste avant tout dans la formation de mots, en particulier dans le domaine français où on voit deux bases de formation (populaire et savante). Aujourd'hui, à l'époque de la révolution scientifique et technique, l'apport des langues classiques reste toujours immense.

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## THE PART PLAYED BY LATIN AND GREEK BORROWED WORDS AND MORPHEMES IN LEXICAL ENRICHMENT OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

### Summary

According to their derivational criterion, the degree of their isolation in language and to their central or peripheral character there are in French some groups of morphemes and words borrowed from Latin and Greek: (1) non-assimilated and isolated: *alias*; (2) assimilated but isolated: *ultimatum(s)*; (3) assimilated and not isolated (*diriger/ direction*), but these words have no derivational relations; (4) 'learned words' (mots savants in French, cultismos in Spanish). *Methods:* etymological, linguistic description, derivational and morphemic analysis. *Results:* In derivational system of French suffixation there are two principals of word-building: on vernacular and on learned basis. In French morphemes borrowed from Latin and Greek created a particular mode of word-formation – 'learned composition' (composition savante).

**Key words:** borrowed Latin and Greek words: non-assimilated and isolated, assimilated and isolated, assimilated and non-isolated, 'learned words', 'learned composition'

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# ZWILLINGSFORMELN IN DER ÜBERSETZUNG (DER SANDMANN VON E.T.A. HOFFMANN AUF RUSSISCH)

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**Zusammenfassung.** Phraseologiefragen bereiten oft wesentliche praktische Schwierigkeiten in der Übersetzung, weil die Wörter mit der gleichen gegenständlichen Bedeutung nicht den gleichen Sinn in verschiedenen Sprachen haben, nicht die gleichen stilistischen Funktionen ausüben und über verschiedene Kombinierbarkeitsmöglichkeiten verfügen. Am Beispiel der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann* und ihrer Übersetzung ins Russische wurde gezeigt, dass der Ausdrucksplan eines Phraseologismus so bedeutend sein kann, dass er methodisches Verfahren des Übersetzers größerenteils bestimmt. Durch eine wichtige Rolle der Duplizität in dem Stil E. T. A. Hoffmanns lässt sich eine große Zahl der Zwillingsformeln, einer besonderen Klasse der Phraseologismen, und ihrer Modifikationen in der Novelle *Der Sandmann* erklären. In der Übersetzung gelingt es nicht immer eine ähnliche phraseologische Einheit zu benutzen. Das Erhalten von einer paarigen Struktur und die Hervorhebung von anderen Merkmalen des Ausdrucksplans der Zwillingsformeln bleibt dennoch für den Übersetzer vorrangig.

**Schlüsselwörter:** literarischer Text, Phraseologie, Übersetzung, vergleichende Analyse, Zwillingsformel

## Einführung

Die ästhetische Funktion einer Nationalsprache, die in der Sprache eines literarischen Werkes verwirklicht wird, bestimmt eine besondere Rolle jeder Komponente eines schöngestigten Textes. Jede Textkomponente verfügt über eigene semantische Potenzen und kann aktualisiert werden, um die Intentionen des Verfassers zu verwirklichen. Das gilt sowohl für Grafik, als auch für Grammatik und Lexik. Was die phraseologischen Einheiten anbetrifft, sind ihre semantischen Potenzen dank der vorhandenen Expressivität besonders groß. Phraseologiefragen und allgemeines Problem unterschiedlicher lexischer Kombinierbarkeit in verschiedenen Sprachen sind für Übersetzungstheorie und -praxis äußerst wichtig, weil sie oft wesentliche praktische Schwierigkeiten bereiten. Diese Schwierigkeiten sind dadurch bedingt, dass die Wörter mit der gleichen gegenständlichen Bedeutung nicht den gleichen Sinn in verschiedenen Sprachen haben, nicht die gleichen stilistischen Funktionen ausüben und über

verschiedene Kombinierbarkeitsmöglichkeiten verfügen (Федоров, 2002: 180). Bei der Übersetzung wird die spezifische Kombinierbarkeit einer Sprache offengelegt, die sonst unbemerkbar bleiben könnten hätte.

In dem vorliegenden Beitrag werden Probleme der Wiedergabe einer besonderen phraseologischen Klasse, der Zwillingsformeln, in der Übersetzung der Novelle von E. T. A. Hoffmann *Der Sandmann* (Hoffmann, 1984) aus dem Deutschen ins Russische behandelt.

Es wurde festgestellt, dass in dieser Novelle Hoffmanns viele Zwillingsformeln gebraucht werden (z.B. *in Saus und Braus, kurz und gut* u.a.). Interessant ist nicht nur ihre Zahl, sondern auch ihre stilistische Rolle im ganzen Text, als auch die Möglichkeiten der Übersetzung solcher Einheiten, die am Beispiel der russischen Übersetzung von A. Morozov (Гофман, 1994) analysiert werden. Die Untersuchung testet folgende Hypothese: Der Übersetzer der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns ins Russische wird es versuchen, die Wichtigkeit der formellen Seite von Zwillingsformeln wiederzugeben.

## 1 Theoretische Grundlagen der Untersuchung

Zwillingsformeln (oder Paarformeln) bilden eine spezifische phraseologische Klasse. Sie werden von mehreren Forschern der deutschen Phraseologie, z.B. Harald Burger (2010), Wernfried Hofmeister (2010), Hans-Georg Müller (2009) als eine einzelne Gruppe der Phraseologismen betrachtet, weil sie über gemeinsame Merkmale in der Struktur und Semantik verfügen.

Zwillingsformeln sind nach einem Muster gebildet: Zwei Wörter der gleichen Wortart oder auch zweimal dasselbe Wort werden mit *und*, einer anderen Konjunktion oder einer Präposition zu einer paarigen Formel verbunden (z.B. *Schulter an Schulter*). Oft zeichnen sie sich auch durch den Stabreim aus (*fix und fertig, klipp und klar*). Zwillingsformeln können in allen Ausprägungen von Idiomatizität auftreten. Nicht-idiomatisch ist z.B. *dick und fett*, teilidiomatisch ist *klipp und klar*, idiomatisch ist *gang und gäbe*. Oft sind Zwillingsformeln Teil größerer phraseologischer Einheiten, vor allem verbaler Phraseologismen: *mit jmdm. durch dick und dünn gehen* ‘jmdm. ein treuer Kamerad sein’ (Burger, 2010: 45-46).

Zwillingsformeln sind als Ausdruck der Duplizität zu verstehen, eines Phänomens, das in vielen Sprachen vorhanden ist. V. Kolesov (Колесов, 1999: 256) bemerkte über die russische Sprache, dass für sie die Reduplikation charakteristisch ist. A. Potebnja (Потебня, 1968: 441), der die Folkloresprache analysiert hat, betrachtete die Wortpaare als eine Form der Volkspoetik und die Verwirklichung der Duplizität als einer grammatischen Kategorie. M. Artamonova (Артамонова, 2009), die die Rolle der Duplizität in dem Konzeptsystem eines Russen beschreibt, kommt zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass man alle Paarverbindungen im Russischen in drei Gruppen aufteilen kann: 1) zusammengesetzte Nomen (*диван-кровать, плащ-палатка*); 2) feste

Verbindungen (*без шума и пыли, и смех и гопе*); 3) kompositionell feste und linguistisch freie Wortverbindungen (*радио и телевидение, честь и совесть, физики и лирики*). Die zweite Gruppe in der Artamonovas Typologie ist im Zentrum der vorliegenden Forschung.

Plotnikova (Плотникова, 2012) betrachtet Wortpaare als Einheiten, die den Kollokationen ähnlich sind, sich an der Grenze zwischen den freien und phraseologischen Verbindungen befinden und über viele Kreativitätspotenzen in der Rede verfügen.

A.Raihstein (Райхштейн, 1980), der die phraseologischen Systeme des Deutschen und Russischen verglichen hat, schließt sich Rott (POTT, 1968) an und stellt fest, dass das Spektrum interner syntaktischer Strukturen in der russischen und deutschen Phraseologie sehr ähnlich ist. Er unterscheidet zwischen fünf gemeinsamen Strukturstufen in den phraseologischen Systemen des Deutschen und Russischen: Phraseologismen mit Subordination, Phraseologismen mit Koordination, Phraseologismen mit Komparation, prädiktative Phraseologismen und Verbindungsphraseologismen, unter denen verschiedene feste präpositional-nominale Ausdrücke verstanden werden (Райхштейн, 1980: 105). Diese Grundklassen werden auch weiter gegliedert.

Die meisten Zwillingsformeln, die in der deutschen Phraseologie eine besondere Gruppe bilden, können als Phraseologismen mit Koordination betrachtet werden. Raihstein findet, dass diese Klasse der Phraseologismen im Deutschen über weniger Strukturmodelle verfügt als im Russischen, weil die konjunktionslose Verbindung nicht vorhanden ist, vgl. rus. *хлеб-соль, видимо-невидимо, подобру-поздорову*, aber die gemeinsame Zahl der Phraseologismen mit Koordination ist im Deutschen viel größer als im Russischen (Райхштейн, ebd.). Raihstein meint auch, dass in den deutschen Phraseologismen mit Koordination nur Verbindungskonjunktionen möglich sind (*durch und durch, schalten und walten* etc.), aber keine adversativen Konjunktionen, vgl. rus. *не в бровь, а в глаз; светим, да не греем* (ebd.). Da kann man dem Forscher nicht zustimmen, denn in der *Sammlung der gebräuchlichen Zwillingsformeln in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* finden sich auch solche Belege wie: *hart, aber herzlich; langsam, aber sicher* (Hofmeister, 2010), obwohl man feststellen kann, dass die Konjunktion *und* in den Zwillingsformeln eindeutig dominiert.

Gemeinsamkeiten in den phraseologischen Systemen beider Sprachen sollten es erleichtern, ein passendes Äquivalent bei der Übersetzung zu finden. In der Übersetzungstheorie und -praxis gibt es eine Standartregel: Phraseologismen sollten am besten durch einen Phraseologismus der Zielsprache wiedergegeben werden, dessen Bedeutung ungefähr der des ausgangssprachlichen Phraseologismus entspricht. Wenn man keinen passenden zielsprachlichen Phraseologismus findet, so muss man den Sinn des Phraseologismus als ganzes mit anderen sprachlichen Mitteln wiedergeben (Albrecht, 2005: 118). Ein gewisses Problem entsteht dann hauptsächlich in der Textverständensphase: der Phraseologismus muss vom Übersetzer zunächst erkannt und richtig

interpretiert werden und erst danach kann er unter Beachtung der pragmatischen Wirkung in die Zielsprache übertragen werden.

Wenn man aber zu der analysierten Gruppe der Phraseologismen, den Zwillingsformeln, zurückkehrt, so lassen sich auch Probleme einer anderen Art prognostizieren. Zwillingsformeln sind Phraseologismen, in deren Struktur der Ausdrucksplan eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielt, manchmal sogar dominiert. Spezifische Ausdrucksmittel wie Rheim, Alliteration, Assonanz, Metrum haben in den Zwillingsformeln einen formbildenden Charakter, basieren aber auf dem materiellen Bestandteil der Wortkomplexe einer konkreten Sprache (vgl. rus. *мары –бары, еле-еле душа в телe*, dt. *fix und fertig, schmollen und grollen*). Ein Problem entsteht in der Übersetzung daraus, dass materieller Bestandteil der Wortkomplexe im Deutschen und Russischen kaum übereinstimmt. Deshalb sind phraseologische Äquivalente nicht immer leicht zu finden.

## 2 Die Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann* und ihre Übersetzung ins Russische

*Der Sandmann* ist das erste der Nachtstücke Hoffmanns, das 1817 veröffentlicht wurde. Das Nachtstück ist ein Fachausdruck aus der Malerei, es ist ein Bild, dass Figuren, Gegenstände und Landschaften in nächtlicher oder künstlicher Beleuchtung zeigt, wie es in den Werken von Rembrandt, Pieter Breughel dem Jüngeren u.a. ist (Feldges und Stadler, 1986: 53). Das Nächtliche wird von Hoffmann gegen das Licht gesetzt, um ‘ungerechtfertigte Geltungsansprüche der Ratio zu kritisieren’ und ‘um auf die gefährliche Dialektik jeder Vertiefung in die Nachtseite der Psyche hinzuweisen’ (Kaiser, 1988: 52). Das Thema der Novelle ist ‘die aus einem in der Kindheit erlittenen Schock entspringende Wahrnehmungskrise des Studenten Nathanael’ (ebd.). Eines der Hauptmotive der Novelle ist das Augenmotiv (Feldges und Stadler 1986: 142), zu dem auch der im Titel genannte Sandmann gehört, der den Kindern Sand in die Augen streut und ihnen damit die Sehfähigkeit nimmt. Das Auge hat eine Mittlerfunktion zwischen Innen und Außen. Es ist gleich ein Wahrnehmungs- und Ausdrucksorgan. Wie man diese Welt sieht, sieht man auch das Wunderbare im Alltäglichen, ist man bereit, auch eine dunkle Seite seiner eigenen Innenwelt zu sehen – das gehört zu dem so genannten *serapionischen Prinzip* (Kaiser, 1986: 133) in der Poetik Hoffmanns. Die Doppelzügel kann man in dieser Hinsicht als eine den Stil Hoffmanns markierende Eigenschaft bezeichnen, die in vielen seinen Werken verwirklicht wird, darunter auch in der Novelle *Der Sandmann*.

Die in dem Artikel analysierende Übersetzung der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns wurde von Aleksandr Morozov (Александр Морозов) gemacht und im zweiten Band der sechsbandigen *Gesammelten Schriften* Hoffmanns auf Russisch publiziert (Гофман, 1994). Aleksandr Morozov war Literaturwissenschaftler und Mitarbeiter des Puschkin-Hauses. Außer Hoffmann übersetzte er

aus dem Deutschen auch Werke von H. Heine und den Roman *Simplizissimus* von H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen (ЛКАО, 2013).

### 3 Analyse der Wiedergabe von Zwillingsformeln in der Übersetzung

#### 3.1 Methodisches Vorgehen

Alle gefundenen Belege der Zwillingsformeln aus der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns wurden auf ihre Registrierung in der *Sammlung der gebräuchlichen Zwillingsformeln in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Hofmeister, 2010) und im *Duden Redewendungen* (2006) überprüft. Dabei wurde festgestellt, dass in der Novelle von E. T. A. Hoffmann nicht nur *klassische* Zwillingsformeln, sondern auch ihre Modifikationen vorhanden sind, als auch Wortverbindungen, die nach dem Modell einer Zwillingsformel gebildet sind und im Text der Novelle ähnliche Funktionen erfüllen. Im Weiteren wurden klassische und modifizierte bzw. neu gebildete Zwillingsformeln separat betrachtet. In beiden Gruppen wurde die aufgestellte Hypothese überprüft, dabei wurde bestimmt, welche Übersetzungsverfahren für die Wiedergabe der Zwillingsformeln benutzt werden können.

#### 3.2 Wiedergabe der in den Wörterbüchern registrierten Zwillingsformeln

In der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann* wurden 14 Zwillingsformeln gebraucht, die genau in dieser Form in den Wörterbüchern registriert sind. 11 Zwillingsformeln sind in beiden herangezogenen Wörterbüchern, nämlich im *Duden Redewendungen* (2006) und in der *Sammlung der gebräuchlichen Zwillingsformeln in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Hofmeister, 2010) registriert; 3 Zwillingsformeln (*gesagt, getan; klar und deutlich; sengend und brennend*) dagegen nur in einem Wörterbuch (sieh. Tabelle 1).

*Tabelle 1 Die in den Wörterbüchern registrierten Zwillingsformeln der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns Der Sandmann*

Zwillingsformel	Duden 2006	Hofmeister 2010
<i>Arm in Arm</i>	+	+
<i>auf Schritt und Tritt</i>	+	+
<i>dann und wann</i>	+	+
<i>fort und fort</i>	+	+
<i>ganz und gar</i>	+	+
<i>gesagt, getan</i>	+	-
<i>Hand in Hand</i>	+	+
<i>hin und her</i>	+	+
<i>in Saus und Braus</i>	+	+

Zwillingssformel	Duden 2006	Hofmeister 2010
<i>klar und deutlich</i>	-	+
<i>kurz und gut</i>	+	+
<i>Leib und Leben</i>	+	+
<i>sengend und brennend</i>	+	-
<i>stehen und liegen</i>	+	+

Die Äquivalente der Zwillingssformeln in der russischen Übersetzung der Novelle sind in der Tabelle 2 dargestellt.

*Tabelle 2 Äquivalente der Zwillingssformeln in der russischen Übersetzung der Novelle E. T. A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann**

E. T. A. Hoffmann <i>Der Sandmann</i>	Übersetzung ins Russische von A. Morozov
<i>klar und deutlich</i>	Hervorhebung des Ausdrucksplans <i>отчетливо и ясно</i>
<i>dann und wann</i>	<i>время от времени</i>
<i>hin und her</i>	<i>взад и вперед</i>
<i>Gesagt, getan!</i>	<i>Сказано — сделано.</i>
<i>Arm in Arm</i>	<i>рука об руку</i>
<i>Hand in Hand</i>	<i>рука об руку</i>
<i>sengend und brennend</i>	<i>наля и обжигая</i>
<i>in Saus und Braus</i>	Keine Hervorhebung des Ausdrucksplans
<i>(vergesse) ganz und gar</i>	<i>в шумных удовольствиях</i>
<i>ganz und gar (erfüllte)</i>	<i>совсем позабыл</i>
<i>(verfolgte mich) auf Schritt und Tritt</i>	<i>всесело (завладевало бы)</i>
<i>(wenn ich ... alles) stehen und liegen</i>	<i>(следовал) по пятам</i>
<i>(lassen ...soll)</i>	<i>Ведь ежели я брошу все...</i>
<i>hin und her</i>	<i>в разные стороны</i>
<i>(Darum) Leib und Leben (daran gesetzt?)</i>	<i>Я вложил в нее всю жизнь!</i>
<i>fort und fort ... (betrachtend)</i>	<i>беспрестанно созерцая</i>

Man kann feststellen, dass der Ausdrucksplan einer Zwillingssformel des Originals nur in der Hälfte der Belege in der russischen Übersetzung hervorgehoben wurde. Dabei hat der Übersetzer in den meisten Fällen phraseologische Einheiten benutzt, die den deutschen Zwillingssformeln der Struktur nach ähnlich sind (dt. *dann und wann* – rus. *время от времени*, dt. *hin und her* – rus. *взад и вперед*, dt. *gesagt, getan* – rus. *сказано – сделано*, dt. *Arm in Arm* – rus. *рука об руку*, dt. *Hand in Hand* – rus. *рука об руку*). Zweimal gebraucht A. Morozov bei der Wiedergabe der deutschen Zwillingssformeln freie Wortverbindungen im Russischen (dt. *klar und deutlich* – rus. *отчетливо и ясно*, dt. *sengend und brennend* – rus. *наля и обжигая*), die aber der Struktur von Zwillingssformeln gut entsprechen.

In einem Fall, der in der Tabelle 2 nicht dargestellt ist, spielt ein breiterer Kontext der Übersetzung eine für die Zwillingssformelwiedergabe wichtige Rolle, weil der formelle Aspekt, der in dem direkten Äquivalent verloren geht,

durch den Kontext ausgeglichen wird. Die Zwillingsformel *kurz und gut* wird in der Übersetzung mit dem Phraseologismus *одним словом* wiedergegeben, der dem Bedeutungsplan gut entspricht, Besonderheiten des Ausdrucksplans werden aber mit einem anderen Phraseologismus ausgeglichen, und zwar *просто-напросто*:

*Kurz und gut*, das Entsetzliche, was mir geschah, dessen tödlichen Eindruck zu vermeiden ich mich vergebens bemühe, besteht in nichts anderem, als dass vor einigen Tagen, nämlich am 30. Oktober, mittags um 12 Uhr, ein Wetterglas-händler in meine Stube trat und mir seine Ware anbot. (Hoffmann, 1984)

*Одним словом*, то ужасное, что случилось со мною и произвело на меня смертоносное впечатление, от которого я тщетно силюсь избавиться, состояло *просто-напросто* в том, что несколько дней тому назад, именно 30 октября, в полдень, ко мне в комнату вошел продавец барометров и предложил мне свои товары. (Гофман, 1994)

In acht Fällen kann man in der russischen Übersetzung nur die Wiedergabe der Bedeutung feststellen, ohne Hervorhebung des markanten Ausdrucksplans der deutschen Zwillingsformeln. Dabei ist auch zu beachten, dass nur in einem Fall Phraseologismus mit einem Phraseologismus wiedergegeben wird (dt. *auf Schritt und Tritt* – rus. *идти по пятам*), alle anderen Zwillingsformeln werden mit freien Wortverbindungen in der russischen Übersetzung wiedergegeben. Die Expressivität, über die eine phraseologische Einheit verfügt und die man generell als Verstärkung der Quantität oder Qualität des Signals verstehen kann (Телия, 1986: 122), wird in vier Fällen durch den Gebrauch von Lexemen der freien Wortverbindungen ausgeglichen, die in ihrer Semantik Intensivierung aufweisen:

совсем (позабыл) – wört.: *überhaupt (vergessen)*,  
всесцело (завладевало бы) – wört.: *gänzlich (erfüllte)*,  
всю (жизнь) – wört.: *ganzes (Leben)*,  
беспрестанно (созерцая) – wört.: *fortwährend (betrachtend)*.

### 3.3 Wiedergabe der modifizierten und okkasionellen Zwillingsformeln

Die Duplizität, die für den Stil E.T.A. Hoffmanns charakteristisch ist, kommt auch dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass der Schriftsteller nicht nur *klassische* Zwillingsformeln benutzt, sondern auch ihre Modifikationen, als auch solche Wortpaare, die nach dem Modell der Zwillingsformeln gebildet sind. In diesem Artikel werden die letzten als okkasionelle Zwillingsformeln bezeichnet. Die Zwillingsformeln und ihre Modifikationen bzw. Neubildungen erscheinen in der Sprache der Novelle nicht voneinander abgesondert, manchmal werden beide Typen sogar in einem Satz benutzt, was ihre stilistische Rolle noch bedeutsamer macht und eine okkasionelle Bildung der Zwillingsformel nähert.

Aus methodischen Gründen werden die modifizierten Varianten aber separat betrachtet.

In der Novelle E.T.A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann* wurden 9 modifizierte Zwilligsformeln registriert (sieh. Tabelle 3).

**Tabelle 3 Modifizierte Zwilligsformeln in der Novelle E.T.A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann***

Modifizierte Zwilligsformel	Zwilligsformel im Wörterbuch
<i>Gesänge und Klänge</i>	<i>mit Sang und Klang</i>
<i>in Herz und Sinn</i>	<i>mit Herz und Hirn / Herz und Verstand</i>
<i>in Sinn und Gedanken</i>	<i>Sinn und Verstand</i>
<i>küsste und herzte</i>	<i>herzen und küssen</i>
<i>ruhig und geduldig</i>	<i>ruhig und vernünftig</i>
<i>sausend und brausend</i>	<i>in Saus und Braus</i>
<i>still und finster</i>	<i>still und stumm / still und heimlich</i>
<i>stumm und starr</i>	<i>starr und stumm</i>
<i>Wut und Entsetzen</i>	<i>Wut und Hass / Wut und Zorn</i>

Unter den Modifikationen der Zwilligsformeln wurden folgende Wortverbindungen verstanden:

- 1) sie enthalten beide Komponenten einer klassischen Zwilligsformel, aber mit einer anderen Wortfolge (*küsste und herzte, stumm und starr*);
- 2) in der Wortverbindung werden nicht die Komponenten einer Zwilligsformel, sondern wurzelverwandte Wörter benutzt (*Gesänge und Klänge, sausend und brausend*);
- 3) eine Komponente der Zwilligsformel bleibt erhalten, die zweite klassische Komponente wird durch ein Wort mit ähnlicher Bedeutung ersetzt (*in Herz und Sinn, in Sinn und Gedanken, ruhig und geduldig, still und finster, Wut und Entsetzen*).

In die Gruppe der okkasionellen Zwilligsformeln wurden 13 Wortpaare eingeschlossen (sieh. Tabelle 4).

**Tabelle 4 Nach dem Modell der Zwilligsformeln gebildete Wortverbindungen in der Novelle E.T.A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann***

<i>blickten und zuckten</i>
<i>Entsetzliche und Schreckliche</i>
<i>feindlich und verräterisch</i>
<i>flimmern und zu funkeln</i>
<i>grausig und entsetzlich</i>
<i>in Pulsen und Adern</i>
<i>in Schritt und Stellung</i>
<i>Nebler und Schwebler</i>
<i>rasselte und rauschte</i>
<i>schwarz und finster</i>
<i>täglich und stündlich</i>
<i>wach und rege</i>
<i>zerrten und zagen</i>

Sie entsprechen folgenden Kriterien: Es sind zwei Wörter der gleichen Wortart, die mit einer Konjunktion zu einer paarigen Formel verbunden und durch spezifische Ausdrucksmittel wie Rheim, Alliteration, Assonanz, Metrum markiert sind (sieh. §1).

Bei der Wiedergabe der modifizierten und okkasionellen Zwillingsformeln in der russischen Übersetzung blieb in allen Fällen außer einem (dt. *Gesänge und Klänge* - rus. *чудеснейшей небесной гармонией*) die paarige Struktur erhalten (sieh. Tabelle 5).

**Tabelle 5 Modifizierte und okkasionelle Zwillingsformeln in der Novelle**

**E.T.A. Hoffmanns *Der Sandmann* und ihre Entsprechungen in der Übersetzung**

E.T.A. Hoffmann <i>Der Sandmann</i>	Übersetzung ins Russische von A. Morozov
Modifizierte Zwillingsformeln (wunderbare himmlische) <i>Gesänge und Klänge</i>	<i>чудеснейшей небесной гармонией</i>
<i>in Herz und Sinn</i>	<i>в (моем) уме и сердце</i>
<i>in Sinn und Gedanken</i>	<i>в (своем) уме и сердце</i>
<i>küsste und herzte</i>	<i>и целовала и прижимала к сердицу</i>
<i>ruhig und geduldig</i>	<i>спокойно и терпеливо</i>
<i>sausend und brausend</i>	<i>с шумом и ревом</i>
<i>still und finster</i>	<i>безмолвно и мрачно</i>
<i>stumm und starr</i>	<i>безмолвный и неподвижный</i>
<i>Wut und Entsetzen</i>	<i>бешенство и ужас</i>
Okkasionelle Zwillingsformeln	
<i>blickten und zuckten</i>	<i>мигали и таращились</i>
<i>Entsetzliche und Schreckliche</i>	<i>(все то) страшное и ужасное</i>
<i>feindlich und verräterisch</i>	<i>враждебно и предательски</i>
<i>flimmern und funkeln</i>	<i>блестеть и мерцать</i>
<i>(ging es) grausig und entsetzlich (in meiner Seele auf)</i>	<i>(погружнув в ) ужас и трепет</i>
<i>(zuckte es krampfhaft) in Pulsen und Adern</i>	<i>(кровь) забилась и закипела (в его жилах)</i>
<i>in Schritt und Stellung</i>	<i>(в ее) осанке и поступи</i>
<i>Nebler und Schwebler</i>	<i>умствующие и мудрствующие головы</i>
<i>rasselte und rauschte</i>	<i>загрохотало и зашипело</i>
<i>(wurde) schwarz und finster</i>	<i>потемнело и замутилось</i>
<i>täglich und stündlich</i>	<i>всякий день и во всякий час</i>
<i>wach und rege (wird)</i>	<i>пробуждается и оживает</i>
<i>zerrten und zagen</i>	<i>тащили и дергали</i>

Man kann feststellen, dass der Übersetzer dieser Besonderheiten des Stils von E.T.A. Hoffmann bewusst ist und sich um deren entsprechende Wiedergabe bemüht. Viel schwieriger ist es jedoch, nicht nur eine paarige Formel in der Übersetzung zu bilden, sondern auch andere stilistische Mittel

zur Teilnahme am Ausdrucksplan dieser Formel heranzuziehen. In vier Fällen gelingt es dem Übersetzer auf die russischen Phraseologismen anzuspielen. Modifizierte Zwillingsformeln *in Herz und Sinn* und *in Sinn und Gedanken* werden in der russischen Übersetzung mit gleicher Wortverbindung wiedergegeben, nämlich *в (моем) уме и сердце*, die als eine Modifikation des Phraseologismus *ни уму ни сердцу* gelesen werden kann, zwar mit einer ganz anderen Bedeutung (rus. *не давать ничего ни уму ни сердцу* – ‘nicht überzeugend sein, überhaupt nicht bewegen’), aber mit beiden formal identischen Komponenten in der Struktur. Die modifizierte Zwillingsformel *sausend und brausend* wird als *с шумом и ревом* wiedergegeben, was auf den Phraseologismus *с шумом и гамом* ‘mit Trubel und Lärm’ anspielt. Bei der Wiedergabe der Zwillingsformel *küsste und herzte* bildet der Übersetzer eine paarige Wortverbindung *целовала и прижимала к сердцу*, deren zweiter Teil ein modifizierter Phraseologismus *прижать к сердцу* ‘jemanden an seine Brust ziehen’ ist. In vielen Fällen dient dem Übersetzer grammatischer Bestandteil der russischen Wortkomplexe als Inventar. Die formalen grammatischen Merkmale ermöglichen es, den Ausdrucksplan einer Wortpaarverbindung hervorzuheben, denn die Komponenten einer paarigen Wortverbindung verfügen über die grammatische Ähnlichkeit. Folgende Mittel gehören zum Inventar von A. Morozov:

- 1) Verbformen der Vergangenheit (Sufix *-л-* und gleiche Endung): dt. *blickten und zuckten* – rus. *мигали и таращились*, dt. (wurde) *schwarz und finster* – rus. *потемнело и замутилось*, dt. *zerrten und zagen* – rus. *маячили и дергали*;
- 2) Formen der Partizipien (Sufix *-ющ-*): dt. *Nebler und Schwebler* – rus. *умствующие и мудрствующие головы*;
- 3) Verben mit der Bedeutung ‘Anfang einer Handlung’ (Präfix *за-*): dt. *rasselte und rauschte* – rus. *загрохотало и зашипело*, dt. (zuckte es *krampfhaft*) *in Pulsen und Adern* – rus. (*кровь*) *забилась и закипела* (*в его жилах*);
- 4) Formen der Adverbien auf *-o*: dt. *ruhig und geduldig* – rus. *спокойно и терпеливо*, dt. *still und finster* – rus. *безмолвно и мрачно*;
- 5) Formen der Adjektive (Sufix *-н-* und gleiche Endung): dt. *Entsetzliche und Schreckliche* – rus. *страшное и ужасное*, dt. *stumm und starr* – rus. *безмолвный и неподвижный*;
- 6) Formen der Infinitive: dt. *flimmern und funkeln* – rus. *блестеть и мерцать*.

Außerdem wird einmal Wiederholung benutzt, um den Ausdrucksplan der paarigen Wortverbindung zu markieren: dt. *täglich und ständig* – rus. *всякий день и во всякий час*.

## Schlussfolgerungen

Zwillingsformeln bilden eine spezifische phraseologische Klasse und sind als Ausdruck der Duplizität zu verstehen. Durch eine wichtige Rolle der Duplizität in dem Stil E. T. A. Hoffmanns lässt sich eine große Zahl der Zwillingsformeln und ihrer Modifikationen in der Novelle *Der Sandmann* erklären. Zwillingsformeln sind Phraseologismen, in deren Struktur der Ausdrucksplan sehr bedeutend ist. Deshalb versucht der Übersetzer in erster Linie die Wichtigkeit der formellen Seite von Zwillingsformeln wiederzugeben. Der Übersetzer benutzt folgende Verfahren bei der Wiedergabe der Zwillingsformeln und ihrer Modifikationen:

- 1) Gebrauch der phraseologischen Einheiten, die ihrer Struktur nach den deutschen Zwillingsformeln ähnlich sind (dt. *dann und wann* – rus. *время от времени*, dt. *hin und her* – rus. *взад и вперед*);
- 2) Gebrauch der freien Wortverbindungen im Russischen (dt. *klar und deutlich* - rus. *отчетливо и ясно*, dt. *sengend und brennend* - rus. *наля и обжигая*), die der Struktur von Zwillingsformeln gut entsprechen;
- 3) Anspielung auf den Phraseologismus bei der Wiedergabe einer modifizierten Zwillingsformel, z.B. dt. *sausend und brausend* – rus. *с шумом и ревом* (Anspielung auf rus. *с шумом и гамом* ‘mit Trubel und Lärm’).

Wenn Phraseologismus nicht mit Phraseologismus wiedergegeben wird, können folgende kompensatorische Mittel benutzt werden:

- 1) Ausgleich der Verluste in einem breiteren Kontext;
- 2) Gebrauch der Lexeme mit Intensivierung in der Semantik in den freien Wortverbindungen, z.B. *совсем (позабыл)* – wört.: *überhaupt (vergessen)*;
- 3) Nutzung der formalen grammatischen Ähnlichkeit (z.B. Partizipien mit Suffix *-юиц-* : dt. *Nebler und Schwebler* – rus. *умствуюющие и тудорствующие головы*).

Die durchgeführte Analyse hat gezeigt, dass bei der Wiedergabe der Zwillingsformeln in der Übersetzung nicht nur das allgemeine Prinzip der Übersetzungspraxis (Phraseologismen des Ausgangstextes mit Phraseologismen im Zieltext wiedergeben) gilt, sondern auch eine besondere Rolle des Ausdrucksplans von Zwillingsformeln zu berücksichtigen ist.

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## BINOMINALS IN TRANSLATION: TRANSLATION OF E.T. A. HOFFMANN'S *DER SANDMANN* INTO RUSSIAN

### Summary

Phraseological issues (PU) often represent substantial practical difficulties in translation, as they are associated with differences in conceptual and stylistic functions fulfilled by words of identical real value, but in different languages; as well as with differences in the combinations formed by these words in different languages. The case study of Hoffmann's story *Der Sandmann* and its translation into Russian reveals that the plane of expression of a PU can be

of so much importance as to serve as a factor that influences the choice of a translation strategy. The importance of pairing in Hoffmann's style explains the great amount of binominals and their modifications in the story *Der Sandmann*. It is not always possible to ensure a phraseological equivalent in translation; however, the remaining primary task of the translator is to preserve the pair structure as well as to emphasise other formal features of a binominal.

**Key words:** binominals, comparative analysis, literary text, phraseology, translation

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# EINIGE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU DEN LEHRWERKEN DAF, IHRER GESCHICHTE UND AUSWAHL IM FREMDSPRACHENUNTERRICHT

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**Abstract.** Im folgenden Artikel wurde das Thema Lehrwerke und Lernerautonomie von Studierenden behandelt. Das Ziel des Artikels – zu erforschen, welche Lehrwerke an der Universität Lettlands im Fremdsprachenunterricht früher und jetzt verwendet wurden und werden, welche Erwartungen Studenten an Lehrwerke haben, nach welchen Kriterien die Lehrwerke ausgewählt werden müssen. Die Methoden sind die Umfrage von Studierenden und die qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Die Ergebnisse der Forschung zeigen, dass die Studierenden klassische Lehrbücher bevorzugen und von den Lehrwerken erwarten, dass sie strukturiert, mit Lösungen, mit weiteren Links und Empfehlungen sind, was Lernerautonomie fördert.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Deutsch als Fremdsprache, Lehrwerke, Lernerautonomie, Sprachen lernen und lehren, Universität Lettlands

## Einleitung

Dem Studenten, der heutzutage eine oder mehrere Fremdsprachen lernen will, stehen jetzt viele Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung. Man kann ein Lehrbuch zur Hand nehmen und mit Hilfe dieses Buches die Sprache lernen, man kann Radio hören, fernsehen, Filme sehen, im Internet surfen und aktuelle Texte suchen oder ins Zielsprachenland fahren und die gewünschte Sprache vor Ort in der Praxis lernen. Das sind verschiedene Wege zum Ziel. Welcher Weg ist aber am effizientesten? Wie kann man die Sprachflüssigkeit entwickeln und die Sprachrichtigkeit pflegen? Was bevorzugen eigentlich die Lernenden selbst? Diese offenen Fragen waren eine Anregung zu diesem Artikel.

## 1 Forschungsfragen und das Ziel des Artikels

1. Welche Traditionen des Fremdsprachenlernens und -lehrens gab es früher an der Universität Lettlands?
2. Braucht man traditionelle Lehrwerke im universitären DaF-Unterricht?

3. Welche Kriterien sind wichtig bei der Lehrwerkauswahl und welche Methodik könnte bei der Arbeit mit diesen Lehrwerken verwendet werden?

Das Ziel des Artikels ist, die Antwort auf die vorher definierten Fragen zu finden.

## 2 Methoden

Es wurden folgende Methoden verwendet:

1. Analyse der theoretischen Literatur und der Materialien aus dem Staatlichen Archiv Lettlands.
2. Datenerhebung – Studentenbefragung.
3. Datenanalyse – qualitative Inhaltsanalyse.

## 3 Lehrwerke im Fremdsprachenunterricht. Ein Auslaufmodell oder ein Ankermedium?

Was ist eigentlich ein Lehrwerk? Hans Jürgen Krumm bietet die folgende Definition an:

Mit Begriffen wie *Lehrbuch*, *Lehrwerk*, *Unterrichts- bzw. Lehrmedium*, *Lehr- und Lernmaterialien* u.a. wird all das bezeichnet, was dazu dient, Lernen anzuregen, zu stützen und zu steuern. Dabei signalisiert *Lehrwerk* gegenüber *Lehrbuch*, dass außer dem schriftlichen Material auch Medien, evtl. Internet-Plattformen o.ä. dazugehören und einen Medienverbund bilden. (Krumm, 2010: 1215)

Knapp-Potthoff (Knapp-Potthoff, 1999:98,99) listet die folgenden Funktionen von Lehr- und Lernmaterialien auf:

1. Lernmaterial bietet Texte in der zu erlernenden Sprache an, ist also Input-Lieferant.
2. Lernmaterial stimuliert die Unterrichtsinteraktion.
3. Lernmaterial bietet Strukturierungshilfen für den Input.
4. Lernmaterial kann durch interessante Themen motivieren.
5. Lernmaterial kann Informationen über andere Kulturen vermitteln.

In der didaktischen Literatur kann man 2 kontroverse Meinungen finden: einige Autoren vertreten die Meinung, das ein Lehrbuch in der heutigen Welt der technologischen Möglichkeiten und Reisen veraltet ist und unnötig geworden ist (z.B. Freudenstein, Bleyhl, 1999), oder die Meinung, wenn die Studierenden schon gute Fremdsprachenkenntnisse haben, braucht man das Lehrbuch nicht mehr und man kann nur mit authentischen Materialien arbeiten, andere stellen die Hypothese auf, dass ein Lehrbuch/Lehrwerk

ein Ankermedium ist, das schon im Moment seines Erscheinens veraltet ist, aber sehr wichtig für das systemisierte Fremdsprachenlernen ist, mit einer bestimmten Progression, ein solches Lehrbuch kann man mit Hilfe aktueller Materialien, z.B. aus dem Internet erneuern und aktualisieren (Tscherner, Funk, Koenig, 2000: 25).

Der Didaktiker Hans Jürgen Krumm (Krumm, 1999:122) hat die Vorteile und Nachteile der klassischen Lehrbücher und der elektronischen Medien analysiert:

**Vorteile***klassisches Lehrbuch*

Konzentration und Auswahl  
veröffentlicht, Qualitätskontrolle  
Unterstützung für Lehrer  
erwünschte Lenkung des Lernprozesses  
klare Progression

**Nachteile***klassisches Lehrbuch*

starre inhaltliche Festlegung  
keine Aktualität  
zu starke Lenkung  
keine Interaktivität  
keine Lernerautonomie

**Vorteile***elektronische Medien*

Materialreichtum  
absolute Aktualität möglich  
hohe inhaltliche Flexibilität  
adaptiv, Recherchen möglich

**Nachteile***elektronische Medien*

Überangebot, Zufallsprinzip  
keine Qualitätskontrolle  
Interaktivität nur simuliert  
zu viel Englisch  
Lehrerausbildung hält nicht Schritt.

Wenn man die Gedanken von H.J. Krumm analysiert, dann kann man feststellen, dass es ein ideales Lernmaterial nicht gibt. Jedes hat seine Vorteile und Nachteile. Man muss die Entscheidung treffen: entweder sprachlich korrekter Gebrauch, System und methodische Ausarbeitung, aber keine Aktualität oder aktuelle Materialien, die oft chaotisch sind und keiner Qualitätskontrolle unterliegen.

## 4 Lehren und Lernen von Fremdsprachen an der Universität Lettlands. Ein kurzer Rückblick

Um zu verfolgen, wie das Fremdsprachenlehrer und – lernen früher an der Universität Lettlands geschah, wurden die Materialien aus dem Staatlichen Archiv Lettlands analysiert. Das waren die Sitzungsprotokolle des Fremdsprachenlehrstuhls und die Sitzungsprotokolle mehrerer Lehrstühle der Fremdsprachenfakultät. Das waren Bestand 1340 Universität Lettlands, Akzession Nr. 24 Fremdsprachenlehrstuhl, Akzession Nr. 36 Fremdsprachenfakultät.

Die betrachtete Zeitperiode war von 1944 bis 1996, weil es nach dem Jahr 1996 keine Unterlagen mehr in Staatlichen Archiv gab.

In dieser Zeitperiode waren zwei Institutionen für das Fremdsprachenlernen und –lehren verantwortlich:

1. Der Fremdsprachenlehrstuhl, der 1961 gegründet wurde und
2. Die Fremdsprachenfakultät, die 1965 gegründet wurde (SAL, B. 1340).

Der Fremdsprachenlehrstuhl unterrichtete Studenten verschiedener Fachrichtungen in Fremdsprachen, die Fremdsprachenfakultät arbeitete mit den künftigen Linguisten, damals Übersetzer/Dolmetscher und Lehrer. Damals erhielten die Absolventen dieser Fakultät ein Diplom mit der Berufsbezeichnung Lehrer und Übersetzer. Das bedeutete, dass man Lehrwerke in Fremdsprachen für Studenten unterschiedlicher Fachrichtungen brauchte. Die meisten Lehrwerke kamen aus Russland, sie waren von russischen Autoren verfasst. Die Erklärungen waren auch auf Russisch. Ein besonderes Problem bildeten die Lehrwerke für bestimmte Fachrichtungen, z.B. Deutschbuch für Geographiestudenten. Mit viel Mühe wurde ein Buch gefunden, dass 1967 in der DDR herausgegeben war, „Grundzüge der allgemeinen physischen Geographie“. Es wurde in den Materialien aus dem Archiv mehrmals betont, dass verantwortlich für die Lehrbücher das ganze Kollektiv ist (damals wurde oft dieses heutzutage nicht mehr aktuelles Wort gebraucht) (SAL, B. 1340, A. 24, Akte 4). Da es ein so großer Mangel an den Lehrmaterialien herrschte, mussten die Hochschullehrer selbst Lehrbücher und methodische Ausarbeitungen schreiben. Das haben die folgenden Lehrer am Fremdsprachenlehrstuhl gemacht:

Nikolajs Liepiņš „Vingrinājumi vācu valodas gramatikā“ [„Übungen in der deutschen Grammatik“].

Jānis Rudzītis „Vācu valoda reflektantiem” [„Deutsch für Reflektanten”]  
Jānis Rudzītis, Pāvils Zicāns, Vilma Zicāne „Deutsch für Fern- und  
Abendstudenten”.

Lilija Popika, Anita Lapsa „Deutsche Lesetexte”.  
Lilija Popika, Anita Lapsa „Deutsch für humanitäre Fakultäten” (SAL,  
B. 1340, A. 24, Akten 51 und 52).

Es wurde wieder mehrmals betont, dass diese Lehrmaterialien die Errungenschaften der sowjetischen Wissenschaft widerspiegeln sollen. Es wurde auch eine Umfrage unter den Studenten des 5. Studienjahres (letzten) durchgeführt, wie sie ihre Fremdsprachenlehrbücher beurteilen. Die Fragen waren folgend:

1. Welche Lehrbücher verwendet man im Fremdsprachenunterricht?
2. War es interessant, mit diesen Lehrbüchern zu arbeiten?
3. Wenn Sie mit den Lehrbüchern nicht zufrieden waren, das geschah, weil
  - a) die Texte zu kompliziert waren,
  - b) nicht genügend Informationen hatten,
  - c) uninteressant waren,
  - d) der Fachrichtung nicht entsprechend waren,
  - e) ich weiß nicht, ich habe darüber nicht nachgedacht,
  - f) .....

Eine ausführliche Analyse dieser Umfrage ist in den Protokollen nicht zu finden. Aber als größtes Problem wurden uninteressante, komplizierte, nicht aktuelle Texte genannt (SAL, B. 1340, A. 24, Akte 52).

Auch die Lehrkräfte der Fremdsprachenfakultät haben an den Lehrwerken und didaktischen Materialien heftig gearbeitet.

Silvija Pužule, Maija Tiltiņa „Rollenspiele”.

Antoņina Osipova „Mācību līdzeklis vācu valodā klausītājiem ar priekšzināšanām” [„Lehrmittel in Deutsch für Fortgeschrittene”].

Irmgarde Goldberga, Mudīte Smiltena „Schon gewusst” (SAL, B. 1340,  
A. 36, Akten 257, 258 ).

In den 90-er Jahren änderte sich die Situation rasch (SAL, B. 1340,  
A. 36, Akte 301). Man bekam die ersten Lehrbücher aus dem Westen (aus Deutschland), es wurden auch die ersten Computer geschenkt und das Sprachzentrum wurde an der Fremdsprachenfakultät gegründet. In den Sitzungsprotokollen wurden solche Lehrwerke wie „Themen”, „Stufen”, „Aufbaukurs Deutsch” und andere erwähnt. Es wurde auch empfohlen, mit dem Videosprachkurs „Alles Gute” zu arbeiten (SAL, B. 1340, A. 36, Akte 318). Mehr über die Geschichte des Fremdsprachenlernens und -lehrens wurde in dem Artikel der Autorin „Zur Widerspiegelung der Lernerautonomie und Lehrmaterialien im historischen Kontext (Universität Lettlands 1944-1996)” erzählt.

## 5 Die aktuelle Situation an der Universität Lettlands

Die heutige Situation mit den Lehrwerken an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Lettlands könnte man mit der Bezeichnung „Die Qual der Wahl“ charakterisieren. In den Buchhandlungen gibt es zwar viele Deutschlehrwerke, die attraktives Layout haben, aber wenn man nach einem Lehrwerk für Studierende sucht, dann bemerkt man schnell, dass die Auswahl eigentlich sehr gering ist. Die Mehrheit vom Angebot bilden die Lehrwerke für Schüler und Anfänger, das Angebot für fortgeschrittene erwachsene Lerner ist sehr eingeschränkt. Auch die Frage über den Preis ist kaum zu vernachlässigen, weil die Lehrer und die Studierenden diesen Preis selbst bezahlen müssen. Laut Regeln der Universität Lettlands müssen alle Kursbeschreibungen nur auf solchen Büchern basieren, die in genügender Zahl von der Universitätsbibliothek auszuleihen sind. Das bedeutet, dass man im Fremdsprachenunterricht keine aktuellen Lehrwerke verwenden kann, weil die neuesten Lehrwerke nur in einem Exemplar vorhanden sind, aber von den alten Lehrwerke nur das Deutschlehrwerk von H. Aufderstraße u.a. „Themen aktuell“ zu finden ist, nach dem schon mit kleinen Änderungen mehrere Generationen Deutsch gelernt haben.

## 6 Studentenumfrage und die Analyse der Ergebnisse

Masuhara hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Auswahl von einem Lehrwerk von den Bedürfnissen des Lerners, von den Bedürfnissen des Lehrers und von den Bedürfnissen der Verwaltung abhängig ist (Masuhara, 1998: 240). In diesem Artikel wird die Autorin näher auf die Lernerbedürfnisse eingehen. Um zu verstehen, welche Bedürfnisse die Studierenden selbst haben, wurde die Befragung an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Lettlands durchgeführt. Die Meinung von Lernern selbst ist sehr wichtig, weil Tomlinson betont, dass viele Materialien zum Fremdsprachenlernen eher Lehrmaterialien als Lernmaterialien sind, sie sind zum Lehren und nicht zum Lernen konzipiert und die Lerner wenig Einfluss auf die Lehrwerkauswahl haben (Tomlinson, 2008: 3). Diese Befragung wurde zweimal durchgeführt. Das erste Mal im Jahr 2012 und das zweite Mal im Jahr 2013. An dieser Befragung nahmen 53 Studierende (Jahr 2012) und 65 Studierende (Jahr 2013) teil. Die Gruppen an der Fakultät, wo man Fremdsprachen unterrichtet, sind sehr klein, deshalb ist auch die befragte Studentenzahl ziemlich gering. Für die Befragung wurde die Methode der unbeendeten Sätze ausgewählt. Die Studierenden bekamen Blätter mit 4 Satzanfängen, die sie frei beenden konnten. Diese Methode hat solche Vorteile, dass man offene Antworten bekommen kann.

Solche Satzanfänge wurden angeboten:

Bitte beenden sie die Sätze:

1. Ein gutes Fremdsprachenlehrwerk ist meiner Meinung nach...

2. Man braucht unbedingt ein Lehrwerk zum Fremdsprachenlernen und das kann nicht durch authentische Materialien ersetzt werden, weil...
3. Ein Fremdsprachenlehrwerk ist nicht immer notwendig zum Fremdsprachenlernen und kann durch authentische Materialien ersetzt werden, weil ...
4. Ein Fremdsprachenlehrwerk, das die Lernerautonomie der Studierenden fördern könnte, sollte so sein....

Die Ergebnisse sind wie folgt:

*Tabelle Ergebnisse der Studentenbefragung*

	Jahr 2012 (53 Befragte) (Bišofa 2012: 254)	Jahr 2013 (65 Befragte)
Nur für das Lehrwerk	30	29
Beides	16	29
Nur authentische Materialien	7	7

Die Ergebnisse aus den zwei Jahren sind überraschend ähnlich. Nur die Zahl derjenigen, die sich für beide Arten von Materialien entschieden haben, hat zugenommen. Der Meinung der Autorin nach ist das reiner Zufall, es wäre aber interessant zu sehen, wie die Ergebnisse bei einer dritten Befragung ein Jahr später sein könnten. Aus dieser Befragung kann man auch Ideen sammeln, welche Lehrwerke die Studierenden bevorzugen und was man bei der Auswahl von Lehr- und Lernmaterialien beachten müsste:

1. Klar, einfach geschrieben, mit vielen Erklärungen und Übersetzungen.
2. Mit guten und anschaulichen Beispielen.
3. Dem Zeitalter und dem Alter der Studierenden entsprechend.
4. Mit interessanten Bildern, farbig, mit vielen visuellen Materialien.
5. Mit Hinweisen und Links, wo man zusätzliche Information suchen und finden kann.
6. Nach jeder Lektion sollte ein Wiederholungsteil mit Tests sein.
7. Mit Humor, Comics, Kreuzworträtseln, Lösungsschlüsseln, CDs u.s.w.
8. Ein Lehrwerk, mit dem man ohne Lehrerhilfe lernen kann.
9. Ein Lehrwerk ohne Fehler.
10. Ein Lehrwerk mit großen Buchstaben.
11. In dem Lehrwerk müssten die Studierenden mit „Du“ angeredet werden.
12. In dem Lehrwerk sollte die Information gut systematisiert sein.
13. Ein zweisprachiges Lehrwerk (Zielsprache und Muttersprache).

Aus der Lehrersicht sind manche Antworten erstaunlich, z.B. der Akzent auf so viel Visualisierung, große Buchstaben oder der Wunsch vieler Studierender nach einem zweisprachigen Lehrwerk. Aber das könnten auch die Faktoren sein, die das Behalten des neuen Stoffes erleichtern

können. Interessant ist die Bemerkung über die Fehler im Lehrwerk. Vielleicht ist diese Antwort mit schlechter Erfahrung von Studierenden zu erklären. Zusammenfassend könnte man sagen: die Studierenden brauchen Fremdsprachenlehrwerke, die ein angenehmes Layout haben, systematisierte Informationen anbieten und spannende Inhalte haben.

## 7 Prinzipien der Auswahl von Lehrwerken und die Methodik der Arbeit mit den Lehrwerken

Bei der Auswahl von Deutschlehrwerken hält sich die Autorin dieses Artikels an 2 Hauptprinzipien:

1. Das Prinzip der Eigenverantwortung und der freien Auswahl – die Studierenden wählen selbst ein passendes Lehrwerk aus. Die Freiheit der Auswahl haben auch A.B. Fenner und D. Newby als eine der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen der Lernerautonomie erwähnt (Fenner and Newby, 2000:80).
2. Die Lehrerin bietet solche Lehrwerke an, die Einsicht in Strategien und Techniken geben, entdeckendes und autonomes Lernen fördern.

Bei der Arbeit mit den ausgewählten Lehrwerken richtet sich die Autorin nach folgender Methodik:

1. Angenehme Atmosphäre im Klassenraum.
2. Einführung in Lernen lernen: Strategien, Techniken, Lernstile.
3. Möglichst viel Verantwortung wird an Studierende selbst gegeben: sie bereiten selbst Präsentationen und Übungen für Kommilitonen vor, sie übernehmen manchmal die Lehrerrolle (Lernen durch Lehren).

## Schlussfolgerungen

Man kann schlussfolgern:

1. Es wird viel im Fremdsprachenunterricht darüber diskutiert, ob man ein Fremdsprachenlehrwerk braucht oder nicht. Die Argumente für ein klassisches Lehrbuch sind: klare Progression, systematisch und strukturiert, sowohl theoretische Information, als auch praktische Aufgaben. Nachteile des klassischen Lehrwerkes sind starrer, fixierter Inhalt, keine Aktualität und Interaktivität.
2. Man kann behaupten, dass ein Fremdsprachenlehrwerk an seiner Aktualität kaum verliert, es bekommt die Rolle eines Ankermediums, das mit vielen anderen aktuellen Materialien ergänzt werden kann.
3. In der Zeitperiode 1961-1996 bekam man die meisten Fremdsprachenlehrbücher aus Russland. Ein großer Teil von Lehrbüchern wurde von den Lehrkräften der Universität Lettlands konzipiert. In den 90-er Jahren bekam man die ersten Lehrwerke aus Deutschland.

4. Die Ergebnisse der Studentenbefragung zeugen davon, dass die Mehrzahl der Studierenden ein Lehrwerk brauchen.
5. Bei der Auswahl von Lehrwerken ist das Prinzip der Eigenverantwortung und der freien Auswahl von großer Bedeutung.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

### Summary

The teaching and learning materials can be very different. One of the most popular teaching aids in language teaching and learning is the textbook with other supplementary materials. In the Soviet time and in the first years of the independent Latvia (1944-1996), the books which were used for learning at the University of Latvia were published either in Russia or written by the teachers of the University of Latvia. After gaining independence, the University has received the textbooks and computers from Germany, which were not always the best choice for the local students. The results of the surveys about the different teaching aids demonstrate that most students prefer a traditional textbook. The students consider that a good textbook should be structured with keys, CDs, links and tips how to learn independently.

**Key words:** German as a Foreign Language, Textbooks, Learning Autonomy, Learning and Teaching of Languages, University of Latvia

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# „SCENES AND FRAMES“ – THEORIE ALS FÖRDERNDES INSTRUMENT BEI DER ÜBERSETZUNG UND DEM FREMDSPRACHENERWERB

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**Abstract.** Die Rolle der psycholinguistischen Theorien in der lettischen Übersetzungswissenschaft ist noch wenig ermittelt worden. Die heutige Translatologie ist jedoch mit der kognitiven Linguistik und Psycholinguistik eng verbunden. Welche Einsatzmöglichkeiten der *Scenes and frames* – Theorie hat man in der Arbeit des Übersetzers? Wie wird das Wort im Übersetzungsprozess verstanden und wie werden die traditionellen Grenzen der Semantik verlassen? Wie kann man diese noch relativ neue psycholinguistische Theorie im Übersetzen und Fremdsprachenerwerb einsetzen? Das Verstehen von metaphorischen Redewendungen ist sowohl mit der Arbeit des Übersetzers/Dolmetschers als auch mit dem Fremdsprachenerwerb verbunden. Die „*Szenes and frames*“-Theorie bietet neue Möglichkeiten für die bewusste Visualisierung von sprachlichen Szenen des Ausgangstextes und ihre Umsetzung in einer neuen Form (Rahmen) des Zieltextes. Kenntnisse über die *Scenes and frames* – Theorie ermöglichen kreative Lösungen bewusst zu finden. Mit dem angemeldeten Thema wird für die Änderung der traditionellen Einstellung in Bezug auf die „vollständige Entsprechung dem Original“ und wörtliche Übersetzung beim Fremdsprachenerwerb plädiert.

**Schlüsselwörter:** *Scenes and Frames* – theorie, Translatologie, DaF

## Einleitung: Literatur, Lesen und „Szenen im Kopf“

Es wird selten daran gedacht, dass sehr viele der lebendigen „Szenen“, die beim Lesen in Gedanken der Leser einander ablösen, dank einer Übersetzerin/eines Übersetzers entstanden sind. Die große und internationale Literaturwelt ist jedoch den ÜbersetzerInnen zu verdanken, da sie aus und über Übersetzungen entstanden ist. Für die Einführung in das Thema wurden einige übersetzte Zitate des mexikanischen Nobelpreisträgers Octavio Paz aus seinen *Translation of Literature and Letters* gewählt:

...the language that enables us to communicate with one another also encloses us in an invisible web of sounds and meanings, so that each nation is imprisoned by its language, a language further fragmented by historical eras, by social classes, by generations. (O. Paz<sup>1</sup>, 154)

Die Kunst überlebt die Gesellschaften, von denen sie geschaffen wird. [...] Unser Verständnis ist nicht illusorisch: es ist mehrdeutig. Diese Mehrdeutigkeit taucht bei allen unseren Betrachtungen der Werke anderer Kulturen auf und selbst angesichts der Werke unserer eigenen Vergangenheit. Wir [Mexikaner] sind weder Griechen noch Chinesen noch Araber; auch können wir nicht sagen, dass wir die romanische oder die byzantinische Skulptur völlig verstehen. Wir sind dazu verurteilt, zu übersetzen. (O. Paz<sup>2</sup>)

Šī pasaule ir tekstu kaudze, kur katrs teksts atšķirīgs no iepriekšējā - tulkojumi no tulkojumiem, no tulkojumiem. Katrs teksts ir vienreizīgs, bet tajā pašā laikā tas ir cita teksta tulkojums. Neviens teksts nevar būt pilnīgi oriģināls, jo valoda pati savā dziļākajā būtībā jau ir tulkojums - vispirms jau no bezvārdu pasaules. Turklat katra zīme, katrs teikums ir tulkojums no kādas citas zīmes, cita teikuma. (O. Paz<sup>3</sup>, Klappentext)

## 1. Die literarische Übersetzung: Was bedeutet das?

„Der Übersetzer ist in erster Linie Leser. Der Text eines Werks wird im Kulturmilieu des Lesers realisiert [...].“ (J. Levy: 1969, 37.) Alle Übersetzer sind Leser, nicht alle Leser werden Übersetzer, jedoch initiiert die bezaubernde Gewalt des bildhaften literarischen Textes, die Fremdsprachenkenntnisse und der Wunsch den Reiz der Literatur an andere weiter zu vermitteln, den Leser zu übersetzen. Das Interesse am Übersetzen nimmt ständig zu. Der Translatologe und Hochschulprofessor Rainer Kohlmayer bestätigt dies mit dem Hinweis darauf, dass: „In Deutschland ist das literarische Übersetzen eine beliebte Nebenbeschäftigung von gebildeten Akademikern, wie unter anderem durch die soziologische Untersuchung von Cornelia Lauber belegt wird. Mit Literaturübersetzen - also vor allem Kinderbuch-, Literatur-, Theater- und Film-Übersetzung - wird insgesamt eine Menge Geld verdient. Die Frankfurter Buchmesse, die Theater-, Film- und Fernsehprogramme belegen das von Jahr zu Jahr auf unübersehbare Weise. Irgendjemand muss schließlich aus den rund 4000 literarischen Neuübersetzungen pro Jahr, aus den rund 1000 ausländischen Theaterstücken, die jährlich auf Deutschlands professionellen 800 Bühnen gespielt werden, aus den vielen Filmsynchronisationen und Fernsehuntermittelungen usw. Profit schlagen, von den Tausenden von Sachbuchübersetzungen ganz zu schweigen“ ([http://www.rainer-kohlmayer.de/downloads/files/stimme\\_im\\_text.pdf](http://www.rainer-kohlmayer.de/downloads/files/stimme_im_text.pdf)).

Was ist das literarische Übersetzen? Was ist das ganz Besondere dabei?

1. Wie versteht der Übersetzer/Dolmetscher den Ausgangstext?
2. Wie übersetzt er den Text aus der Ausgangssprache in die Zielsprache? Welche Wissenssysteme werden für diese Tätigkeit aktiviert und was für ein Entwicklungsstand ist für ein erfolgreiches Ausführen der Translation erforderlich?
3. Wie produziert der Übersetzer den Zieltext? (vgl. L. Zybatow: 2006, 19) Diese und derartige Fragen haben früher vor allem Schriftsteller,

Philosophen (darunter: J. W. Goethe, W. Humboldt, F. Schleiermacher, Voltaire u.a.) gestellt, heutzutage beschäftigt sich damit die Translatologie. Es wird noch immer nach Antworten gesucht.

Zum geflügelten Wort ist die von Martin Luther („Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen“) und Christiane Nord stammende Übersetzungsmaxime „So treu wie möglich und so frei wie nötig“ geworden. Die Entscheidung darüber, wie die metaphorische Visualisierung des Ausgangstextes in der Zielsprache zu vermitteln ist, trifft der erste Leser – der Übersetzer. Es ist seine Verantwortung und sein Vorstellungsvermögen, wie akzeptabel und einprägsam die Beschreibung seiner Visualisierungen dem Leser vorkommt.

„Die Konkretisation durch den Leser ist im gleichen Sinn historisch bedingt wie die Konzeption des Autors. Der Leser begreift das Kunstwerk aus seiner Zeit heraus. Besondere Intensität gewinnen für ihn die Werte, die ihm ideell und ästhetisch nahestehen. Und deshalb, weil die Konzeption des Übersetzers historisch bedingt ist, besteht ein Zusammenhang zwischen der Übersetzung und der gesamten kulturellen Situation seines Landes.“ (J. Levy: 1969, 38.) Der Übersetzer muss auch die historische Bedingtheit des Zeitalters verstehen können, in dem der Autor des Ausgangstextes (AT) gelebt und geschrieben hat. Er muss die Konzeption eines fremden Zeitalters seinem Leser in seiner Übersetzung verständlich darstellen und in derselben Zeit „so treu wie möglich“ bleiben. Wie? Er muss kreativ sein. „Kreativität“ und „kreativ“ sind heutzutage Schlüsselworte in allen Bereichen.

## 2. Zum Begriff der Kreativität und Bildhaftigkeit im Kontext der Übersetzung

Trotz dieser Popularität gehört die Kreativität genauso wie die Intelligenz zu Begriffen eines sehr hohen Abstraktionsgrades und ihre Auswertung und Vermessung sind kompliziert. Der Kreativitätsbegriff wird aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven betrachtet und die Kreativitätsforschung ist vor allem mit Namen interdisziplinär forschender Wissenschaftler verbunden. Im Rahmen meines Beitrags erwähne ich nur einige Namen, vor allem die, die m. E. zu einer gewissen Erläuterung des kreativen translatologischen Denkens bzw. Verstehens und Handelns führen:

### Kreativität als Denkprozess/Kognition

- 1934 Lew Wygotsky „Denken und Sprechen“

*Denken in Begriffen, Bedeutung der „inneren Sprache“ für Schaffen und Bildung*

- 1967,.. 1975,.. Joy Paul Guilford

*Denken; Antonym: konvergentes Denken*

- 1967,.. 1973,.. Eduard de Bono

*Gedankensprünge, Laterales Denken (vom lateinischen *latus* für „Seite“) – nichtlineares Denken – „Querdenken“*

Antonym: *vertikales* oder *lineares* Denken

- 1980-... **Alane J. Starko**

Typologie von Kreativitätstheorien, *die Bedeutung der Visualisierung, des metaphorischen Denkens*

So veröffentlicht z.B. Alane J. Starko in seinem Buch „Creativity in the Classroom“ eine Typologie von Kreativitätstheorien, wobei er auf die Bedeutung der Visualisierung, des metaphorischen Denkens hinweist. Edward de Bono gilt heute zu einem der populärsten Lehrer des kreativen Denkens. Er hat eine Vielzahl von Kreativitätstechniken entwickelt, mit dem Ziel sich aus traditionellen Denkmustern, die für das vertikale oder lineare Denken typisch sind, zu lösen und neue Ideen zu finden. 1967 hat er den Begriff *laterales Denken* (vom Lateinischen *latus* für „Seite“) eingeführt, gebraucht wird auch der Begriff *nichtlineares Denken*. Das Antonym lautet *vertikales* oder *lineares* Denken. Edward de Bono hat außerdem den Begriff *paralleles Denken* verwendet und damit die Fähigkeit bezeichnet, dass man ein beliebiges Thema aus unterschiedlichen Denk- und Wahrnehmungsperspektiven betrachten kann. Bis 2012 hat Edward de Bono 86 Bücher veröffentlicht, die in über 40 Sprachen, darunter auch ins Lettische, übersetzt worden sind. Das Konzept von de Bono ist etwa in derselben Zeit wie das von Joy Paul Guilford entstanden. Beide sind sehr verwandt. Guilford verwendete an Stelle von *lateralem Denken* den Terminus *divergentes Denken* bzw. anstelle von *vertikalem Denken* den Terminus *konvergentes Denken*.

Darüber, dass unser Denken mit der Wahrnehmung, deren Bearbeitung, Speicherung und mit der Sprache verbunden ist, äußerte sich schon 1934 Lew Vygotsky in seinem Werk „Denken und Sprechen“. Er weist darauf hin, dass wir in Begriffen und nicht in konkreten Worten oder Wortverbindungen denken, wobei die Begriffe im Denkprozess von einer „inneren Sprache“ (L. Vigotskis: 2002, 308 ff, 314ff, 316ff) umformuliert/übersetzt werden. Diese Denkweise erlaubt die gespeicherten Wahrnehmungen zu analysieren und zu kombinieren, um zu neuen Erkenntnissen zu kommen. Dies sei für die Weiterentwicklung des Denkens und die Weiterbildung des Menschen von zentraler Bedeutung. Es lassen sich deutliche Parallelen zwischen den damaligen Ideen Wygotsky's und den heutigen Erkenntnissen der Kreativitätsforschung sowie der *Scenes-and-frames-Semantik* ziehen. In den 80-er Jahren versucht der Übersetzungswissenschaftler Paul Kußmaul bei der Analyse des Übersetzungsprozesses zu beweisen, dass Übersetzer in ihrem Alltag ständig damit konfrontiert werden, dass die Bedeutung des Wortes „beweglich“ und „momentan“, nicht aber statisch und eindeutig ist und dass sie erst beim Lesen und im Übersetzungsprozess zu erschließen und zu bestimmen ist (vgl. P. Kußmaul 2007). In seiner interdisziplinären Analyse des Übersetzungsprozesses („Kreatives Übersetzen“ (2000) und „Verstehen und Übersetzen“ (2007)) beweist Kußmaul, dass der Übersetzungsprozess vom Problemösen und damit auch vom kreativen Denken nicht trennbar ist. Er übernimmt die Einteilung des kreativen Denkens von de Bono

und erläutert das Entstehen einer kreativen Übersetzungslösung (vor allem bei der Übersetzung metaphorischer Redewendungen) im Prozess des Übersetzens auf der Basis seines Vierphasen-Modells

4 Phasen des Kreativitätsprozesses :

1. Vorbereitung/Präparation
2. Inkubation
3. Illumination/Erleuchtung
4. Evaluation/Überprüfung

(Das von mir dargestellte Modell ist keine direkte Übernahme von Paul Kußmaul/de Bono, sondern ist mit synonymisch verwendeten Bezeichnungen der Phasen vervollständigt.)

In der Vorbereitungs- oder Präparationsphase wird nach der Formulierung in der ZS gesucht. Beide Denkweisen vervollständigen einander. Eine der Hauptvoraussetzungen für kreatives Übersetzen laut Kußmaul ist das laterale Denken, welches hauptsächlich in der Inkubations- und Illuminationsphase stattfindet. Beim lateralnen Denken muss man das Übersetzungsproblem/lösen aus mehreren Perspektiven betrachten. Im Gegensatz zum vertikalen Denken, das linear verläuft und auf eingeübten Mustern beruht, ist das laterale Denken mit dem Brainstorming vergleichbar: Details können intuitiv erfasst werden, Assoziationen werden akkumuliert, nicht jedes Zwischenergebnis muss richtig sein, Ja/Nein-Entscheidungen (vertikales Denken) werden vermieden.

Ein neuer Ansatzpunkt eröffnet also neue Perspektiven auf ein bestimmtes Problem. Kußmaul veranschaulicht diesen Perspektivenwechsel mit Kippfiguren. Ein besonders einprägsames Bild davon gibt uns die Kunst von Victor Vasarely (<http://www.vasarely.com>) u.a. (z.B. Lillibeths Kramkiste. Optische Täuschungen <http://lillibeth2.wordpress.com/category/optische-tauschungen>). Die folgenden Beispiele dienen als Illustration zur Relativität und Flexibilitätsmöglichkeiten unserer Wahrnehmung.

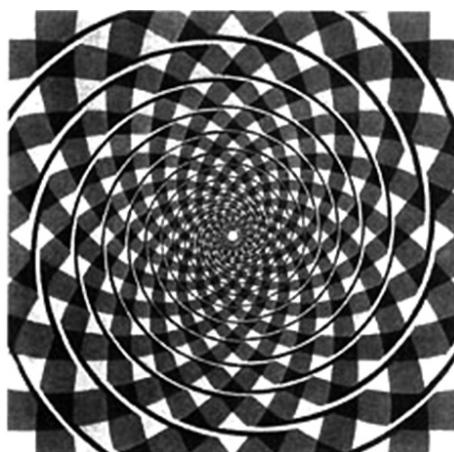


Abb. 1 Kreise oder eine Spirale?

### 3. *Scenes and Frames* als bildhafte Begleiter in Denk/Überstezungsprozessen

Genauso wie bei alltäglichen visuellen Wahrnehmungen ist der Perspektivenwechsel auch in der Sprachmittlung möglich und nötig.

Für die Beschreibung des im Gedächtnis gespeicherten Wissens dienen heutzutage für Übersetzer Modelle der Psycholinguistik, die die „bewegliche“ und „momentane“ Bedeutung des Wortes beweisen. 1973 leitet die Kognitionspsychologin Eleanor Rosch mit ihrer Prototypentheorie den Wechsel im Bereich der lexikalischen Semantik ein. Sie stellt die Hypothese auf, dass nicht die Sprache unsere Wahrnehmung der Welt strukturiert, sondern, dass sprachliche Kategorisierungen allgemein gültigen Wahrnehmungsprinzipien folgen. Das sprachlich kategoriale Denken wird aber von Erfahrungen des konkreten Menschen (Menschengruppe, Volkes...) bestimmt. So gibt es einen mehr typischen Vertreter –Prototyp, für einen Begriff (Spatz ist ein mehr „typischer“ Vogel als Pinguin) d.h. lexikalische Kategorien bzw. Begriffe haben oft unscharfe Grenzen.

Eine sehr ähnliche Theorie nur mit anderen Begriffen (ähnlich wie de Bono und Guilford betr. das kreative Denken) fast zu derselben Zeit (1975) entwickelt der Philosoph Hilary Putnam. Er spricht vom Stereotyp anstatt von Prototyp. Die Weiterentwicklung der Prototypensemantik ist die *Scenes-and frames* Semantik von Charles Fillmore: die „Szene“ ist die Vorstellung aufgrund von Wahrnehmungen, bei *frame* handelt es sich um den Ausdruck, um die sprachliche Kodierung für diese *scene*. Mentale *scenes* und sprachliche *frames* aktivieren einander wechselseitig, bzw. eine sprachliche Form ruft Assoziationen hervor, diese wiederum aktivieren andere sprachliche Formen bzw. lösen weitere Assoziationen aus. Sowohl die Szenen, als auch der Rahmen hängen vom kulturspezifischen Vorwissen und von den früheren Erfahrungen des Rezipienten ab.

Paul Kußmaul integriert die Erkenntnisse dieser psycholinguistischen Verstehenstheorien in die Übersetzungswissenschaft. In seinen Werken: „Kreatives Übersetzen“ (2000) und „Verstehen und Übersetzen“ (2007) stellt er die Übersetzung als einen kreativen Prozess dar, der in derselben Zeit kontrollierbar ist: „Einer Übersetzung soll bei aller Subjektivität des Verstehensprozesses eine plausible Interpretation des AT zugrunde liegen. Plausibel ist eine Interpretation dann, wenn sie Kernvorstellungen der zu übersetzenden Begriffe berücksichtigt. Der Grad der Genauigkeit einer Übersetzung ist abhängig von diesen Kernvorstellungen“ (Kußmaul: 2007:167). Das Problemlösen und damit auch kreative Denkprozesse sind Bestandteile des Übersetzens, das das Verstehen und Neuformulieren von Gedanken, also einen sprachlichen Prozess, darstellt.

Eine weitere Betrachtung der schöneistigen Literatur im Kontext des Übersetzens oder das Übersetzen von schöneistiger Literatur lässt weitere Schlüsse über die *Scenes and frames* Semantik und Literatur ziehen.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Kreativität, emotionalen, bzw. metaphorischen Assoziationen, deren Speicherung und Bearbeitung im Gedächtnis stattfindet, wird von den meisten Kreativitätsforschern erwähnt. Die Metapher und der Metaphorisierungsprozess ist ein untrennbarer Bestandteil der Sprache und betrifft daher jede Begegnung mit der Literatur in welcher Form auch immer. Bildhaftigkeit bzw. Metaphorik sind Strukturelemente literarischer Texte und damit auch eine Quelle für Assoziationen und Förderung des kreativen Denkens.

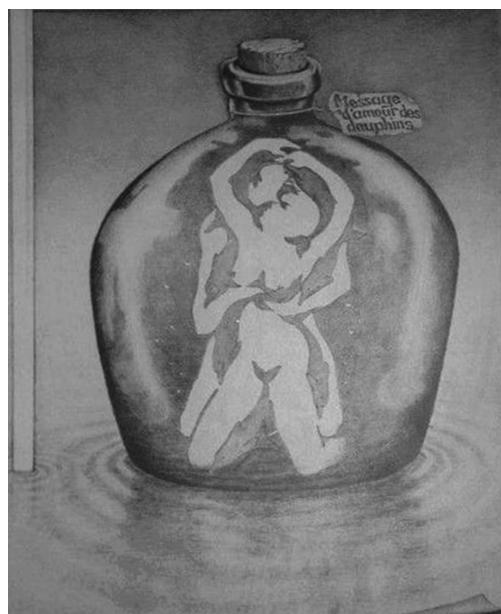


Abb. 2

Bei Verstehensprozessen entstehen mentale Repräsentationen. Beim Übersetzen sind diese Repräsentationen der Ausgangspunkt für Neuformulierungen. „*Fehlende Wörter*“ sind ein Scheinproblem. Wir können die entsprechenden Inhalte immer ausdrücken. Der Weg dazu, und das ist mir wichtig, sind szenische Vorstellungen.“ resümiert P. Kußmaul (2007: 36). De Bono (z. B. „*Think! Before It's Too Late*“ u.a.) hat bewiesen, dass die Technik des lateralen Denkens geübt und im Rahmen eines kreativen Prozesses gezielt eingesetzt werden kann. Dies heißt, dass auch Übersetzungsprozesse zu dieser Kategorie gehören, was wiederum die obenerwähnten Studien von P. Kußmaul beweisen. Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass die folgenden Erkenntnisse sowohl den Übersetzungs- als auch Lern- (z.B. Fremdsprachenerwerbsprozessen anhand von literarischen Texten) Prozesse betreffen:

- Visuelle Vorstellungen sind mit dem Ausgangspunkt für neue Ideen bzw. das kreative Denken ist mit dem bildhaften Denken verbunden.

- Insbesondere mit Hilfe von Metaphern, deren Verstehen und Umformulieren somit eine Denktechnik anbieten, können Probleme gelöst, Neues gelernt und Zusammenhänge verstanden werden.
- *Die Scenes and Frames* – Theorie begründet das Verstehen und/oder Übersetzen und ist daher besonders für die Analyse der Sprache der schöngestigten Literatur geeignet.

Mit diesem Bild ([http://www.wiki.csoft.at/index.php/Optische\\_T%C3%A4uschungen](http://www.wiki.csoft.at/index.php/Optische_T%C3%A4uschungen)) wird versucht eine visuelle Zusammenfassung für die bis jetzt erwähnten Verstehens-, Kreativitäts- und Übersetzungstheorien anzubieten.

Laut wissenschaftlicher Belege sehen Kinder neun Delfine, nicht aber das Liebespaar, da ihr Gedächtnis derartige Assoziationen nicht gespeichert hat. „Verstehen ist ein Zusammenspiel zwischen dem, was als geschriebener Text (oder als gesprochenes Wort) auf uns zukommt, und dem, was wir über das Thema bereits wissen, oder um es kurz und bündig mit Hans Höning zu sagen: „Wir verstehen etwas, indem wir es in bereits vorhandene Wissensbestände integrieren“ (Kußmaul, 2007: 29).

## Schlussfolgerungen

Die folgenden Erkenntnisse über das kreative Problemlösen sind auch auf Übersetzungsprozesse im Allgemeinen übertragbar:

- Kreatives Problemlösen = „Hervorbringen eines *neuen, individuell* oder *gesellschaftlich nützlichen* Produkts, das *nicht durch* Anwendung von *Routineverfahren* zu erzeugen ist“. (vgl. Funke: 2003)
- Kreatives Problemlösen ist ein Sonderfall des allgemeinen Problemlösens. Es nimmt zu an Bedeutung vor allem in Situationen, in denen traditionelle Denk- und Vorstellungsweisen nicht effizient sind; ebenso wie der Vorgang des allgemeinen Problemlösens, stellt sich auch ein kreativer Prozess ein.
- Eine klare Trennung zwischen allgemeinem und kreativem Problemlösen ist nicht eindeutig zu definieren.
- Der Rolle der psycholinguistischen Verstehenstheorien wird in Lettland noch wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Die internationale Translatologie ist jedoch mit der kognitiven Linguistik und der Psycholinguistik eng verbunden.
- Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist nicht statisch, sondern beweglich und momentan, nicht nur kontext-, sondern auch wissens- und verstehensbedingt.
- Bei der Übersetzung von expressiven Texten muss der Übersetzer die „Szenen“ des AT dekodieren und ihre Botschaft in die ZS so umformulieren, dass der Leser die Botschaft des AT beim Lesen des ZT über den zielsprachigen *frame* erhält, wobei dieser genauso bildhafte, ZS-geprägte „Szenen im Kopf“ des Lesers herauslöst.

Die *Scenes and frames*-Theorie ist gleichzeitig eine Quelle für folgende Erkenntnisse:

- Sowohl beim Lesen, als auch Übersetzen und Spracherwerb begegnen wir bildhaften, metaphorischen Ausdrücken, von denen unser Denken geprägt wird.
- Lesen/Übersetzen schöngestiger Literatur fördert Assoziationen und damit das kreative Denken.
- Lesen und Übersetzen (vor allem) von literarischen Texten fördert die Kreativität des Lesers/Übersetzers.
- Die Verwendung von Erkenntnissen der *Scenes and frames-Theorie* erlaubt einen holistischen Ansatz sowohl bei der Übersetzung/Sprachmittlung als auch Übersetzungskritik im Bereich der schöngestigen Literatur.

Hiermit wurde für die Übersetzung (vor allem der schöngestigen Literatur) als Instrument zur Förderung des kreativen Denkens und der (Fremd) Sprachenerwerbsprozesse plädiert. Es ist gleichzeitig auch darauf hinzuweisen, dass es nicht um eine „rein“ linguistische, sondern kognitiv-holistische Herangehensweise sowohl bei Übersetzungs- als auch Fremdsprachenerwerbsprozessen geht (bewusste Sensibilisierung für die Ziel- und Ausgangssprache).

Europa ist ein Übersetzungsprodukt, wie auch die verschiedenen Regionalkulturen Europas Übersetzungsprodukte sind. [...] Historisch gesehen nähren sich die europäischen nationalen Kulturen parasitär – bzw. intertextuell oder interkulturell - von den übersetzten Fremdkulturen. Praktisch alles Eigene war einmal ein Fremdes. Fast jede kulturelle Ursprünglichkeit ist eine Nachahmung. [...] Man könnte sogar noch weitergehen und sagen: Jede gute literarische Übersetzung ist die Wiedergeburt eines Schriftstellers. (Kohlmayer, 2003)

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## „SCENES AND FRAMES” THEORY AS THE INSTRUMENT OF TRANSLATION AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

### Summary

The role of psycholinguistic theory in Latvian translation science so far has been little studied, while today translatology is closely related to cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics. What are the possibilities of Scenes and Frames theory in translator's work? How are words understood and how semantic boundaries exceeded during the translation process? How can this relatively new linguistic theory be used in translation and language learning? Both -the translator/interpreter and a person who acquires a foreign language

while based on their existing knowledge and text processing visualize different scenes associated with the text content. Even before translation theories, translators transformed their associations from the source text to the target language. Thus successful literary translations were created. Scenes and frames ‘worked’ unconsciously. Metaphor understanding and expression-based learning thus involve both translator’s/ interpreter’s work and foreign language learning. Psycholinguistic theory, for which an official Latvian name does not yet exist, offers new perspectives of seeing imaginary scenes created by the different language texts, which can be visualized and transformed by another word frame. Based on Kußmaul, Fillmore, de Bono ideas, conclusions are made that the knowledge of *Scenes and Frames* theory can be deliberately used while searching for creative solutions for translation; whereas translating and interpreting aspects can be integrated into the language learning process. Applied theme is the suggestion to change the traditional attitude towards translation, invoking "absolute conformity with the original," as well as "literal" word and sentence translation in foreign language learning.

**Key words:** *Scenes and Frames* – theorie, translatology, DaF

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# EL PAPEL DEL ALUMNO Y DEL PROFESOR EN LA ENSEÑANZA-APRENDIZAJE DE ESPAÑOL COMO LENGUA EXTRANJERA

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**Resumen.** El presente artículo tiene como objetivo determinar qué funciones se atribuyen en la actualidad a alumnos y profesores en las aulas de ELE. En la primera parte se realiza una aproximación teórica tomando como punto de partida la aparición del enfoque comunicativo, que evidencia el protagonismo y la autonomía del aprendiz, así como la necesidad de convertir al profesor en un facilitador del proceso de adquisición de la lengua (Breen y Candlin, 1980; Richards, 2006; Martín Peris 2009). A continuación se presenta el aprendizaje por tareas como una propuesta metodológica afín a la evolución y transformación del papel desempeñado por alumnos y profesores en las últimas décadas (Zanón, 1990, 1999; Estaíre, 1990, 2011), y se analizan los principales documentos institucionales que hoy en día rigen la enseñanza de ELE: el *Plan curricular del Instituto Cervantes. Niveles de referencia* (2006) y *Las competencias clave del profesorado de segundas lenguas y lenguas extranjeras* (2012). En la segunda parte del artículo, de carácter práctico, se describen y comparan las experiencias didácticas llevadas a cabo con dos grupos de estudiantes de ELE en Letonia asignando papeles diferentes al profesor y a los alumnos. Las conclusiones (basadas en el análisis de los resultados de sus exámenes), legitiman el enfoque por tareas como un marco adecuado para que los discentes, guiados por el profesor, construyan por sí mismos su propio aprendizaje, logren una mayor asimilación de los contenidos teóricos y obtengan una capacitación más auténtica a la hora de transferir lo aprendido a situaciones comunicativas reales.

**Palabras clave:** ELE, papel del alumno, papel del profesor, enfoque comunicativo, aprendizaje mediante tareas

## Introducción

En una sociedad global como la nuestra, donde las nuevas tecnologías han modificado la percepción que el individuo tiene tanto de sí mismo como de los demás, parece inevitable que se cuestione la validez de la estructura sobre la que tradicionalmente se ha sustentado el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. En consecuencia, los papeles que alumnos y profesores desempeñan hoy en día en las aulas deberían diferir de los que el peso de la tradición les había asignado,

puesto que existen nuevas demandas a las que no se puede responder con viejas fórmulas.

En el caso de la enseñanza de idiomas y en concreto del español como lengua extranjera, en las últimas cuatro décadas se han producido cambios profundos que han derivado en una nueva concepción del hecho de aprender y de enseñar. Gracias a estas transformaciones, hoy en día un alumno puede aprender *con* y *de* sus compañeros, y un profesor puede adaptar cada una de sus clases a las necesidades específicas de su grupo, con independencia de los dictados de programas y evaluaciones.

El presente artículo presenta una investigación en torno al papel desempeñado por profesores y alumnos en las aulas de ELE desde la aparición del enfoque comunicativo hasta la actualidad. Junto a la reflexión teórica, incluye el estudio comparado de dos experiencias didácticas llevadas a cabo con estudiantes de español en Letonia partiendo de diferentes concepciones del binomio profesor-alumno.

## 1 Antecedentes y estado actual del tema

### 1.1 El cambio de paradigma: alumno y profesor ante la enseñanza comunicativa de la lengua

La propia evolución de las teorías curriculares y la aparición en los años 70 del enfoque comunicativo, modificaron profundamente la concepción de la enseñanza de segundas lenguas y lenguas extranjeras. En contraposición a los currículos centrados en el producto surgieron los currículos orientados al proceso, donde los objetivos, el contenido, la metodología y la evaluación no se presentan en un sistema jerárquico de fases, sino interrelacionados y en un proceso constante de adaptación a las necesidades del aula. Por otro lado, ya desde los inicios del método comunicativo, la nueva tipología de actividades propuestas evidenció la modificación de los papeles otorgados por un sistema tradicional de enseñanza de idiomas a profesores y alumnos, en tanto que:

Los aprendices ahora tenían que participar en actividades de aula basadas en un enfoque cooperativo del aprendizaje en vez de individualista. Los estudiantes tenían que familiarizarse con escuchar a sus compañeros mientras realizaban tareas en grupo o en parejas, en vez de depender del modelo del profesor. Se esperaba que tuvieran un mayor grado de responsabilidad en su propio aprendizaje. Y los profesores debían asumir el papel de facilitador y de monitor. (Richards, 2006: 5)

A medida que el método comunicativo fue consolidándose y evolucionando, sus teóricos perfilaron los rasgos de los dos protagonistas del

proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. Así, Breen y Candlin (1980) afirmaban respecto al alumno:

Con una metodología comunicativa, el papel del aprendiente como negociador –entre él mismo, el proceso de aprendizaje y el objeto de aprendizaje– emerge e interacciona con el papel de negociador conjunto dentro del grupo y en el marco de los procedimientos y actividades de clase que el grupo emprende. La implicación del aprendiente es la de aportar tanto como recibe y por lo tanto aprender de una forma independiente. El aprendiente puede lograr interdependencia al reconocer la responsabilidad de su propio aprendizaje y al compartir esta responsabilidad con otros aprendientes y con el profesorado.

El caso de la enseñanza-aprendizaje de español como lengua extranjera, que constituye el marco del presente artículo, no es una excepción. Así lo confirma Martín Peris (2009: 178) cuando establece las siguientes actuaciones que se esperan del aprendiente de idiomas en las aulas de español:

- toma decisiones sobre objetivos, contenidos y procedimientos,
- las negocia con otros miembros del grupo,
- las evalúa,
- planifica su trabajo y selecciona recursos,
- observa, analiza y corrige su producción lingüística,
- observa fenómenos lingüísticos, elabora hipótesis, genera reglas y las verifica,
- conoce su perfil de aprendizaje y aplica estrategias de comunicación y de aprendizaje, las contrasta y corrige.

La enseñanza centrada en el alumno, como consecuencia de todo lo visto hasta ahora, supone también un cambio en las funciones del profesor. Así, en un enfoque comunicativo y siguiendo a Breen y Candlin (1980), el profesor desempeña tres papeles:

El primero consiste en facilitar el proceso comunicativo entre todos los participantes en la clase, y entre estos participantes y las diversas actividades y textos. El segundo consiste en actuar como un participante interdependiente dentro del grupo de enseñanza-aprendizaje. [...] Estos roles implican un conjunto de papeles secundarios para el profesor: en primer lugar, como organizador de recursos y como un recurso en sí mismo. En segundo lugar, como guía de los procedimientos y actividades de la clase. [...] Un tercer papel del profesor es el de investigador y aprendiente –con muchas posibles contribuciones en lo que respecta a las capacidades y al conocimiento apropiados, a la experiencia real y observada de la naturaleza del aprendizaje, y a las aptitudes organizativas–.

En la misma línea, pero centrándose en la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera, Martín Peris (2009: 179) define al profesor como:

- a) Negociador:
  - De objetivos
  - De procedimientos
- b) Recurso a disposición de los alumnos:
  - Selecciona y propone actividades
  - Organiza y coordina las mismas
  - Asesora y atiende consultas
  - Transmite información
- c) Investigador:
  - De las necesidades de los alumnos:
    - Necesidades comunicativas
    - Necesidades de aprendizaje
  - De la dinámica del grupo
  - De lo que sucede en su clase.

Se observa, por tanto, que a lo largo del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje hay fases en las que alumnos y profesores comparten algunos de los papeles que tradicionalmente habían sido asignados a una u otra de las partes implicadas, lo que les permite tomar una conciencia más plena de estar llevando a cabo una actividad conjunta con unos objetivos comunes. Por otro lado, concebir el enseñar como ayudar a aprender confiere una dimensión afectiva al proceso que puede potenciar la motivación de los alumnos y la eficacia de su aprendizaje (Arnold, 2000).

## 1.2 El enfoque por tareas y la superación de la dicotomía enseñar vs. aprender

A la luz de todas estas consideraciones, es el enfoque por tareas el que parece susceptible de poder proporcionar el entorno más adecuado a los nuevos retos y necesidades planteados a profesores y alumnos. Dicho enfoque permite superar la dicotomía enseñar vs. aprender, en tanto que brinda la posibilidad de que profesores y alumnos sean parte de un mismo equipo que trabaja de forma conjunta para alcanzar unos objetivos comunes.

El enfoque por tareas surgió a finales de los años 80 en el ámbito anglosajón como evolución de los enfoques comunicativos, teniendo en cuenta, entre otras, las nuevas aportaciones de la psicolingüística. Fue en los años 90 cuando se introdujo en el campo de la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera, y desde entonces no ha perdido su vigencia (Zanón, 1990, 1999; Estaíre, 1990, 2009, 2011)

El objetivo de este enfoque es fomentar el aprendizaje mediante el uso real de la lengua, y para ello propone construir las secuencias didácticas a partir de

tareas que el alumno debe realizar utilizando la lengua meta, tanto de forma individual como interactuando con sus compañeros. De obligada mención son las definiciones de tarea ofrecidas por Long, Candlin o Nunan:

[...] cualquier actividad realizada por uno mismo o para los demás, libremente o con algún interés, [...] llenar un impreso, comprar unos zapatos, hacer una reserva de avión [...] En otras palabras, por tareas entendemos todo aquello que solemos hacer en nuestra vida cotidiana, en el trabajo, para divertirnos y entre una y otra cosa. (Long, 1985: 89. Citado por Zanón, 1990)

Una actividad perteneciente a un conjunto de actividades distinguibles entre sí, secuenciales, capaces de plantear problemas y que involucran a aprendices y profesores en una labor conjunta de selección, a partir de una gran variedad de procedimientos cognitivos y comunicativos aplicados a un conocimiento, existente o nuevo, y de la exploración y búsqueda colectiva de fines predeterminados o emergentes dentro de un medio social. (Candlin, 1990)

[...] una parte del trabajo de clase que involucra a los aprendices en el acto de comprender, manipular, producir o interactuar en la lengua meta [...] cuya intención es transmitir significado más que operar sobre la forma. (Nunan, 2004: 4)

Las tres definiciones coinciden en señalar que aprender mediante tareas permite trabajar la competencia comunicativa del alumno teniendo en cuenta aspectos lingüísticos, pragmáticos, sociolingüísticos y estratégicos, al recrear situaciones comunicativas que tienen lugar en la vida real. Además, en su definición Candlin establece un vínculo indisoluble entre tarea (como una secuencia del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje), profesor y alumno (como colaboradores que trabajan codo con codo en la gestión de la misma). Por otro lado, la referencia de Nunan a las tareas como ‘una parte del trabajo de clase’, permite introducir el concepto de flexibilidad, dado que pueden convertirse en el eje vertebrador de la programación del aula o ser introducidas puntualmente como complemento a otras formas de trabajo.

### 1.3 La visión del Instituto Cervantes a través de sus principales publicaciones

Cabe preguntarse cuál ha sido la postura institucional respecto a los nuevos retos planteados a profesores y aprendientes de español como lengua extranjera en las últimas décadas. Con el objetivo de hallar la respuesta, en este artículo se analizarán el *Plan Curricular del Instituto Cervantes. Niveles de referencia* (2006) y uno de los documentos más recientes publicados por dicho centro: las *Competencias básicas del profesorado de lenguas segundas y extranjeras* (2012).

Antes de comenzar, convendría tener en cuenta la postura del Consejo de Europa respecto al tema abordado. Cuando García Santa-Cecilia (2002) sintetiza las que considera principales aportaciones del *Marco común europeo de referencia para las lenguas* (2001), incluye los siguientes aspectos que conciernen a la dimensión del alumno y del profesor:

- [...] Énfasis en la idea del papel protagonista que corresponde al alumno con respecto a su propio aprendizaje. [...]
- Diversificación de la función del profesor, que ya no es solo un modelo de actuación lingüística [...] sino también un mediador que asume la tarea de crear las condiciones adecuadas para favorecer las características y potencialidades de los alumnos [...]
- Interés por las variables individuales de los alumnos y, en particular, por la dimensión afectiva en la enseñanza de lenguas y su papel en el aprendizaje [...]
- Búsqueda del equilibrio entre la dimensión lingüística y la pedagógica, y énfasis en el currículo como el nexo de unión entre la teoría y la práctica de la enseñanza y el ámbito en el que se adoptan decisiones compartidas por quienes participan en el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje. [...]

La publicación del *Marco común europeo de referencia para las lenguas* y los avances producidos en las investigaciones en el área de didáctica de lenguas fueron los dos principales impulsos para que el Instituto Cervantes decidiera actualizar su Plan curricular de 1994. Así, en 2006 vio la luz el *Plan curricular del Instituto Cervantes. Niveles de referencia para el español*, un material que proporciona a los profesionales del ámbito de la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera orientaciones sobre la enseñanza, el aprendizaje y la evaluación. Esta publicación, pionera no solo en el contexto del español sino también en el de otras lenguas europeas, fue fruto de un análisis de la lengua desde el punto de vista comunicativo, partiendo de los descriptores de los seis niveles comunes que había fijado el Marco Común Europeo, sin olvidar los principios que desde los años 70 había establecido el *Nivel umbral* en sus diversas actualizaciones.

El *Plan curricular del Instituto Cervantes* y sus *Niveles de referencia para el español* consideran que el alumno debe ser el centro del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, y le otorgan tres papeles fundamentales:

- El alumno como *agente social*, que ha de conocer los elementos que constituyen el sistema de la lengua y ser capaz de desenvolverse en las situaciones habituales de comunicación que se dan en la interacción social.
- El alumno como *hablante intercultural*, que ha de ser capaz de identificar los aspectos relevantes de la nueva cultura a la que accede a través del español y establecer puentes entre la cultura de origen y la de los países hispanohablantes.

- El alumno como *aprendiente autónomo*, que ha de hacerse gradualmente responsable de su propio proceso de aprendizaje, con autonomía suficiente para continuar avanzando en su conocimiento del español más allá del propio currículo, en un proceso que pueda prolongarse a lo largo de toda la vida. (Instituto Cervantes, 2006)

La presencia de estas tres dimensiones complementarias e interdependientes en los niveles de referencia supone un salto importante frente al Plan Curricular de los 90, que, si bien ya incluía la dimensión de *agente social* del alumno, apenas mencionaba las otras dos. En la versión de 2006, la dimensión de *hablante intercultural* y *aprendiente autónomo* adquieren peso y entidad, pues se presentan ampliamente desarrolladas en las listas de objetivos generales y de contenidos.

Respecto a la figura del profesor, es obligado mencionar que en octubre de 2012 la Dirección Académica del Instituto Cervantes publicó *Las competencias clave del profesorado de lenguas segundas y extranjeras*. Como el propio documento declara en su prefacio:

Lejos de tratarse de una lista exhaustiva y cerrada, se recogen las ocho competencias del profesorado que el Instituto Cervantes, a partir de las creencias de los miembros de la institución y tomando en consideración investigaciones recientes en este campo, ha identificado como claves en este momento. (Instituto Cervantes, 2012: 7)

Por otra parte, si bien ha sido elaborado *por* y *para* el Instituto Cervantes:

[...] este documento puede ser también referente general para la enseñanza de lenguas segundas y extranjeras para otras instituciones y centros de enseñanza a la hora de definir las competencias del profesor en cada contexto, así como para enfocar la formación, el desarrollo profesional y, en definitiva, mejorar la enseñanza de lenguas. (Instituto Cervantes, 2012: 7)

Las ocho competencias establecidas son las siguientes:

- a) Organizar situaciones de aprendizaje
- b) Evaluar el aprendizaje y la actuación del alumno
- c) Implicar a los alumnos en el control de su propio aprendizaje
- d) Facilitar la comunicación intercultural
- e) Desarrollarse profesionalmente como profesor de la institución
- f) Gestionar sentimientos y emociones en el desempeño de su trabajo
- g) Participar activamente en la institución
- h) Servirse de las TIC para el desempeño de su trabajo (Instituto Cervantes, 2012: 11)

Dichas competencias ponen de manifiesto el alto grado de profesionalización exigido hoy en día al profesor de español como lengua extranjera, el gran número de facetas interdependientes que debe poseer

y potenciar en su desarrollo profesional, y la enorme responsabilidad que comparte con el alumno en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. De las ocho, son las tres primeras las que interrelacionan de manera más directa a alumno y profesor, e inciden en algunos de los aspectos clave del nuevo papel que se les otorga. Así, para *organizar situaciones de aprendizaje* (primera competencia), el profesor debe partir de un diagnóstico de las necesidades de los alumnos y promover que estos no solo usen la lengua, sino que reflexionen sobre ella. Por otro lado, a la hora *evaluar el aprendizaje* (segunda competencia), el profesor debe implicar al propio alumno, y fomentar que sea consciente tanto de sus logros como de sus carencias a través de la autoevaluación. Por último, para que el profesor pueda *implicar a los alumnos en su propio aprendizaje* (tercera competencia) debe poner a su disposición materiales y herramientas de diferente naturaleza, orientarles en su uso, y, en el caso de las TIC, ser capaz incluso de ceder su papel docente a los entornos virtuales de aprendizaje. Asimismo deberá motivar a los alumnos para que se conviertan no solo en sus propios profesores, sino también en los de sus compañeros, compartiendo aquellos recursos que les hayan resultado más útiles.

## 2 Estudio comparado de dos experiencias didácticas en las aulas de ELE en Letonia

La siguiente investigación fue realizada a partir del trabajo con dos grupos de estudiantes de español como lengua extranjera en Letonia en el curso académico 2012-2013. Ambos grupos estaban formados por estudiantes letones de nivel A2. Uno de ellos (grupo 1), se inscribía en el marco de la enseñanza reglada (estudios universitarios de grado) y el otro (grupo 2) en el de la enseñanza no reglada (centro privado dedicado a la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera). En ambos casos se destinaron cuatro sesiones de 90 minutos al contenido temático del programa (el imperativo afirmativo), pero solo con el grupo 2 se aplicó en cada una de las sesiones la metodología del enfoque por tareas.

El objetivo último del estudio era comprobar si una metodología conservadora en cuanto al papel otorgado tradicionalmente a profesores y alumnos garantizaba resultados más eficaces desde el punto de vista de la adquisición de la gramática, pues es precisamente en este aspecto en el que se apoyan algunos profesionales de Letonia para invalidar nuevas propuestas metodológicas.

### 2.1 Experiencia didáctica con el grupo 1: el profesor frente al alumno

Los participantes fueron un grupo formado por 12 alumnos con los que se utilizó la metodología más extendida en los entornos de enseñanza reglada en

Letonia: explicación teórica por parte del profesor, ejercicios gramaticales (en su mayoría de huecos), lectura y, eventualmente, producción de textos.

La presentación de los contenidos respondió a la siguiente secuencia temporal:

- a) Primera sesión. El profesor explicó en la pizarra la formación del imperativo afirmativo de los verbos regulares. Practicaron inicialmente escribiendo todas las formas imperativas de verbos propuestos por el profesor y después rellenando frases con verbos en infinitivo que debían ser transformados en imperativo. Cuando los alumnos empezaron a coger cierta soltura se les explicó la estructura con los verbos reflexivos. Como deberes recibieron más ejercicios gramaticales.
- b) Segunda sesión. El profesor explicó la formación del imperativo de los verbos con irregularidades vocálicas y de los verbos completamente irregulares. Los alumnos recibieron varios textos en los que debían identificar dichas formas. Practicaron con ejercicios gramaticales.
- c) Tercera sesión. El profesor explicó la posición de los pronombres de objeto directo e indirecto con las formas de imperativo. Practicaron con ejercicios que contenían todas las formas de imperativo regulares e irregulares y añadían las construcciones mencionadas.
- d) Cuarta sesión. Se propuso a los alumnos una actividad práctica. Por parejas, debían recrear varias situaciones en las que uno de ellos tenía un problema y el otro le daba algunos consejos. Se les advirtió que, para que la actividad resultara más interesante, debían incluir no solo consejos convencionales, sino alguno extravagante. Durante la realización de la práctica, el profesor constató que los alumnos no trabajaban con naturalidad, sino que recurrían de forma casi automática a los esquemas gramaticales de sus cuadernos para construir los imperativos de cada frase. En cualquier caso la actividad les resultó motivadora y recrearon situaciones muy creativas. Cuando en la última parte de la clase el profesor ofreció tarjetas con problemas y propuso improvisar consejos de forma oral, comprobó que eran muy pocos los estudiantes que podían ofrecer respuestas con imperativos correctos sin mirar sus apuntes. En algunos casos algunos estudiantes evidenciaron bastante estrés.

## 2.2 Experiencia didáctica con el grupo 2: el alumno con el profesor

Los participantes fueron un grupo formado por 8 alumnos con los que se aplicó la metodología del aprendizaje por tareas: uso de la lengua como medio para conseguir un objetivo en situaciones reales de comunicación (tareas posibilitadoras y tarea final). Se emplearon materiales auténticos, se fomentó la gramática deductiva, y la corrección de las producciones de los alumnos fue cooperativa.

La secuenciación fue la siguiente:

- a) Primera sesión. Como introducción a la nueva unidad didáctica el profesor mostró varias diapositivas con eslóganes publicitarios construidos con estructuras imperativas. Tras comprobar que los alumnos comprendían el significado de cada una, desveló que en las próximas cuatro sesiones iban a aprender a construir estructuras similares, porque el grupo tendría como objetivo crear una campaña publicitaria para el producto que ellos mismo eligieran. Tras una lluvia de ideas acordaron que la tarea final sería la realización de una campaña publicitaria para dar a conocer el centro en el que estudian español y los servicios que ofrece.

En la primera parte de la clase los estudiantes recibieron una serie de textos breves (recetas de cocina, anuncios publicitarios, textos literarios) en los que el tiempo verbal más empleado era el imperativo. Debían identificarlos en el texto y hacer una lista con ellos clasificándolos en tres columnas dependiendo de la conjugación a la que pertenecían (debían escribir al lado el infinitivo), con una columna extra para aquellos verbos que les parecieran irregulares.

En la segunda parte de la clase trabajaron en pequeños grupos a partir de la lista obtenida para intentar deducir la regla de formación del imperativo afirmativo en español. Los grupos pusieron en común sus hipótesis y las confirmaron con ayuda del profesor. Como tarea para realizar en casa de forma individual recibieron nuevos textos de las mismas características, pero de los que habían desaparecido las formas verbales. Tenían que pensar en uno o varios verbos posibles y escribirlos en imperativo. También se les sugirió que accedieran al aula virtual de español del Instituto Cervantes (AVE) y realizaran la actividad 17 del nivel A2, dedicada al tema objeto de estudio.

- b) Segunda sesión. En la primera parte de la clase se leyeron las versiones que cada estudiante había propuesto para cada texto, en ocasiones muy originales y divertidas, y se corrigieron de forma cooperativa.

En la segunda parte el profesor proyectó imágenes o pequeños vídeos que debían ser un *input* para que los alumnos generaran órdenes usando las formas de imperativo. Por ejemplo, en una de ellas podían ver a una persona que había salido del baño dejando el grifo abierto y la luz encendida. La reacción que provocaba era: “¡vuelve!”, “¡cierra el grifo!”, “¡apaga la luz!”.

A partir de algunas frases generadas por los estudiantes en las que aparecían verbos reflexivos y construcciones con objeto directo e indirecto, la clase pudo deducir la fórmula con ayuda del profesor.

- c) Tercera sesión. En la primera parte de la clase los alumnos trabajaron en grupos en la producción de sus propios textos en imperativo para transmitir consejos. Partían de diferentes comienzos de frases que les proporcionaban las tarjetas que el profesor había preparado en una caja: “si quieras estar en forma...”, “si quieras aprender español de forma rápida y eficaz...”, “si quieras ser un perfecto mañequillo...”, etc.

En la segunda parte cada alumno trabajaba de forma individual: debía crear tres tarjetas en la línea de las ofrecidas por el profesor. Todas las tarjetas se introducían en la caja y al salir cada una demandaba varios consejos. Los alumnos estaban en círculo, improvisaban oralmente y si llegado su turno no eran capaces de dar un consejo en imperativo debían abandonarlo. La actividad terminaba cuando, tras varias rondas, solo quedaba una persona vencedora.

- d) Cuarta sesión. Realización de la tarea final: creación de una campaña de publicidad para el centro donde estudian español, según lo acordado en la primera sesión por el conjunto de alumnos. Cada equipo debía presentar varios diseños pensando en los diferentes perfiles de los estudiantes potenciales. El único requisito es que la publicidad fuera verbal (solo a posteriori se podían añadir algunas imágenes) y que incluyera imperativos. El profesor iba pasando por los grupos, solucionaba sus dudas, hacía preguntas sobre los borradores en los que trabajaban los estudiantes, ofrecía algún consejo (utilizando, en la medida de lo posible el imperativo: ‘desarrollad un poco más esta idea’, ‘pensad en vuestros propios gustos’, ‘includ algún mensaje para los más jóvenes’, etc.). Los resultados fueron muy variados e interesantes: todos los equipos crearon carteles y folletos, que fueron expuestos en la clase, y uno de ellos incluyó un guión para un anuncio televisivo con actores.

### 2.3 Resultados y discusión

Un mes después de la realización de la experiencia didáctica descrita, los alumnos de ambos grupos se enfrentaron a un examen sobre varios contenidos del programa. Las pruebas eran diferentes, a excepción de las actividades propuestas para evaluar sus conocimientos sobre el imperativo. En ambos casos se eligió el mismo ejercicio gramatical con huecos (similar a aquellos con los que estaba familiarizado el grupo 1, y con los que el grupo 2 no había trabajado) y la misma serie de imágenes (sin ninguna palabra) a partir de las que debían generar varios consejos en imperativo.

En el caso del ejercicio gramatical ambos grupos consiguieron resultados muy similares, con una media de 85% de aciertos, sin embargo en la segunda actividad de los 12 integrantes del grupo 1 dejaron varias casillas en blanco 4 personas, y solo 6 fueron capaces de ofrecer más de 2 consejos para cada imagen. En el caso del grupo 2, de los 8 componentes ninguno dejó casillas en blanco, y todos ellos generaron para cada imagen un mínimo de 3 consejos en imperativo, con frases interrelacionadas y en general bastante creativas.

Los resultados evidencian que separar la teoría y la práctica, así como hacer de esta algo artificial y descontextualizado no genera un aprendizaje significativo. Un reparto tradicional de los papeles asignados a profesores y alumnos limita el potencial de adquisición de los aprendices y el desarrollo de sus habilidades comunicativas.

El aprendizaje por tareas permite asimilar contenidos y funciones gramaticales con una mayor eficacia, puesto que confiere a los conocimientos un carácter duradero y facilita para su transferencia a situaciones comunicativas auténticas. Cuando el docente es capaz de ceder su protagonismo en el aula para convertirse en organizador, guía y copartícipe, el alumno asume una mayor responsabilidad: puesto que el conocimiento no será automáticamente transferido, tendrá que construirlo junto a otros miembros del grupo con ayuda del profesor.

## Conclusiones

Desde la consolidación del enfoque comunicativo, aprender una lengua no significa acumular conocimientos lingüísticos, sino generar estrategias de aprendizaje que capaciten para llevar a cabo una interacción social en la lengua meta.

En la actualidad, los currículos centrados en el alumno y orientados a los procesos otorgan un papel diferente tanto al alumno como al profesor. Los alumnos deben tomar decisiones sobre objetivos, contenidos y metodología, que ya no recaen directamente sobre el centro donde se cursan los estudios. El profesor asume la compleja tarea de desarrollar y articular el currículo analizando en todo momento las necesidades del alumnado.

En el marco del español como lengua extranjera el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje está claramente centrado en los aprendices, y, con independencia de la metodología aplicada, se espera que alumnos y profesores desempeñen nuevos papeles interrelacionados y complementarios. El Instituto Cervantes en su Plan Curricular (*Niveles de referencia para el español*) otorga al alumno una triple dimensión: agente social, hablante intercultural y aprendiente autónomo. En el ámbito del profesorado, desde dicha institución se reclama una mejora de la competencia docente a través de la reflexión continua sobre la labor a desempeñar.

El trabajo en el aula mediante tareas satisface la necesidad de adaptación al contexto de aprendizaje que exige la enseñanza de lenguas en la actualidad (preguntarse por qué y para qué se estudia la lengua meta). Por otra parte, las tareas convierten tanto a alumnos como profesores en organizadores y gestores del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. De este modo, el profesor se define como un profesional cuya labor principal es guiar a alumnos que gozan de autonomía. La responsabilidad otorgada a los aprendices incrementa su motivación y favorece la cooperación entre iguales.

El principal reto es, sin duda, revisar las propias creencias de profesores y alumnos, pues estas son, en muchos de los casos, las que imposibilitan que asuman los nuevos papeles que se les reclaman, e impiden que apuesten por el eclecticismo metodológico al que tiende la concepción del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje de español como lengua extranjera en la actualidad.

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## THE ROLE OF STUDENT AND TEACHER IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING-LEARNING SPANISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

### Summary

The aim of the present paper is to determine the functions assumed by pupils and teachers in the classroom of SFL. In the first part, a theoretical approach is carried out starting from the emergence of communicative approach, which shows learner's prominent role and autonomy, as well as the need to turn the teacher into a facilitator for the language acquisition process (Breen and Candlin, 1980; Richards, 2006; Martín Peris 2009). Next, the task-based learning is presented as a methodological proposal in accordance with the evolution and transformation of the roles played by students and teachers in the last decades (Zanón, 1990, 1999; Estaire, 1990, 2011). Afterwards the main institutional documents governing the teaching of SFL nowadays are analyzed: *Instituto Cervantes' Curriculum. Reference Levels* (2006) and *Key Competences for Second and Foreign Languages Teachers* (2012). In the second part of the paper, containing an empirical study, the didactic experiments carried out with two groups of students of SFL in Latvia are described and compared. In every group, teacher and learners were assigned different roles. The conclusions (drawn from the analysis of their exams results) legitimize task-based learning as an appropriate framework for learners to build their own learning guided by the teacher, to get a higher assimilation of theoretical contents, and to achieve a more authentic competence by transferring knowledge to real-life communication situations.

**Key words:** SFL, learner's role, teacher's role, communicative approach, task-based learning

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# TEORÍA Y PRÁCTICA DE LA LECTURA EXTENSIVA

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**Resumen.** La lectura extensiva constituye una de las herramientas habituales en el aprendizaje de primeras y segundas lenguas. Se lleva a cabo mediante una gran cantidad de lectura durante la que el alumno se ve enfrentado a estructuras gramaticales y léxicas que le permiten asentar la gramática y el léxico ya estudiados. Si bien el mecanismo es comúnmente aceptado como verdadero, su importancia en el aprendizaje de idiomas se encuentra en disputa. La lectura extensiva contrasta con la lectura intensiva, que es una lectura lenta, cuidadosa, de una pequeña cantidad de texto difícil durante la que el estudiante está más centrado en el lenguaje que en el texto. La lectura intensiva constituye, sin embargo, el enfoque más común y frecuente entre los profesores de segundas lenguas. Este artículo pretende revisar las últimas teorías entorno a la lectura extensiva formuladas por especialistas en la materia. Mediante el análisis de los estudios actuales en neurociencias, y ello desde una perspectiva multidisciplinar, el presente artículo no solo apoya la opinión sobre la indiscutible eficacia de un programa adecuado de lectura extensiva, sino que sostiene que constituye el pilar fundamental de cualquier curso de lenguas extranjeras.

**Palabras clave:** texto, lectura, intensiva, extensiva, ELE, neurociencias

## Introducción

El presente artículo se apoya en la lectura y análisis de la obra de investigadores que en distintos campos científicos (psicología, neurología, pedagogía, lingüística aplicada) se han interrogado sobre el sistema cognitivo humano y su capacidad de aprendizaje. Por lo tanto no se apoya en un solo constructo teórico, lo que de ninguna manera podría llevarnos lejos, sino que su perspectiva es interdisciplinaria, pues los procesos mentales únicamente podemos pretender agotarlos a través de su asedio por medio de diferentes armas del ejército de la ciencia.

Constituye, pues, un fenómeno recurrente, al que, con cierta desesperación, el profesor de segundas lenguas ha de enfrentarse en cada curso, que buena parte de los estudiantes presentan serios problemas para recordar la gramática y el vocabulario que supuestamente deberían ya conocer, lo que se manifiesta no solo en las evaluaciones a las que se les somete (las cuales, en cualquier

caso, apenas proporcionan una medición sesgada de sus capacidades y conocimientos) sino también, y lo que es más importante, en el pobre uso que hacen de la lengua objeto de su aprendizaje. Así no resulta extraño que estudiantes universitarios (y digo universitarios por constituir este grupo la principal referencia para el presente artículo), al cabo de un primer curso de entre tres y cinco horas semanales repartidas a lo largo de un periodo de nueve meses no alcancen apenas el nivel de un A1, y que tras cuatro años apenas sepan comunicar con efectividad, tanto de manera oral como escrita, ideas relativamente elaboradas, o entender textos de mediana dificultad, y eso en los mejores casos. ¿Cuál es la causa de este problema y cómo resolverlo?

## Hipótesis

Comencemos por lo más elemental: el sistema cognitivo humano y, en concreto, la memoria. En su obra de 1885, *La memoria: una contribución a la psicología experimental* (Ebbinghaus, 1913) Hermann Ebbinghaus elaboró la hipótesis de la naturaleza exponencial del olvido. Experimentando consigo mismo, Ebbinghaus estudió la memorización de sílabas sin sentido, como 'WID' o 'ZOF', durante distintos intervalos de tiempo, para concluir que la retentiva pierde fuerza de manera exponencial, dependiendo de distintos factores como la dificultad de la materia (por ejemplo si es absurda o tiene sentido), su representación (qué reglas mnemotécnicas se han empleado, si es que se ha empleado alguna) y factores fisiológicos como el estrés o el sueño, todo ello de acuerdo a una fórmula matemática cuya representación es la conocida como *curva del olvido* (Figura):

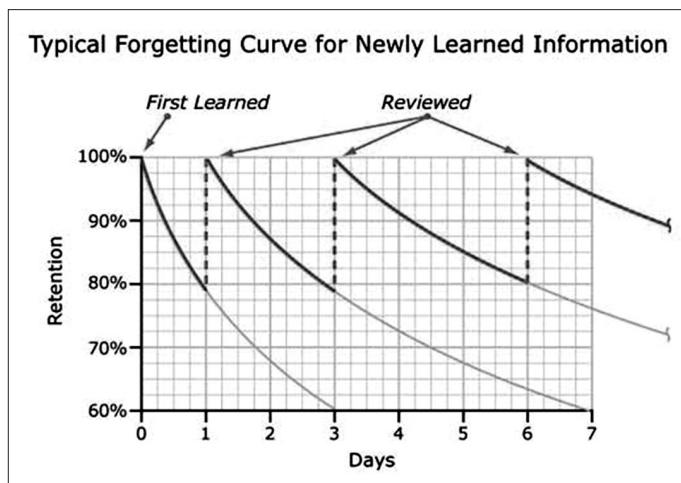


Figura Curva del olvido

Toda información nueva, salvo la que tiene un carácter traumático, que en el diagrama presentaría una curva casi plana, pues el cerebro tiende a revivir este tipo de experiencias una y otra vez, tiende a olvidarse con el tiempo salvo que se utilicen técnicas mnemotécnicas o se revise periódicamente. Por ejemplo, el primer día en un curso de L2 recordaremos el 100% de toda la información que nuestro cerebro haya procesado. Al día siguiente, si no hemos repasado la materia, habremos olvidado entre el 50 y el 80% de lo que habíamos aprendido. Tres días después prácticamente no recordaremos nada. Esto sucede porque nuestro cerebro está continuamente almacenado información, desde información escolar hasta fragmentos de conversación escuchados en el autobús o dónde hemos dejado las llaves de casa. Alguna de esta información es relevante y la recordaremos durante un largo tiempo; otra, en cambio, no lo es, y la olvidaremos rápidamente.

Actualmente contamos con dos modelos que describen la estructura de la memoria, ambos no exentos de controversia, pero de reconocida influencia. En el modelo de Atkinson y Shiffrin (1968) la estructura de la memoria se dividiría en tres componentes:

1. Memoria sensorial.
2. Memoria a corto plazo.
3. Memoria a largo plazo.

A grandes rasgos, la memoria sensorial sería la encargada, durante fracciones de segundo, de registrar los estímulos externos. La memoria a corto plazo almacenaría información durante un tiempo limitado, no más de 20 segundos, que para su conservación requeriría de repaso. La memoria a largo plazo, en fin, almacenaría esta información en estado desactivado hasta que la memoria a corto plazo la requiriera.

El modelo de Craik y Lokhart (1972), por otro lado, se centra en las modalidades de procesamiento y no en el estudio de las hipotéticas estructuras de la memoria. En este modelo, cuanto más profundo sea el procesamiento de la información, más fácil será su recuerdo, por lo que para un correcto aprendizaje el material debe tratarse de forma profunda y significativa. Para lograr este resultado, los autores proponen dos formas de repaso:

- un repaso de mantenimiento, mediante el que la información se recicla automáticamente (por ejemplo, memorizar listas de palabras o formas verbales),
- y otro de elaboración, que implica un procesamiento activo de la información nueva durante el que se crean vínculos con la información más antigua y en el que se ponen en juego mecanismos cognitivos analíticos, deductivos y reflexivos de mayor calado.

Con estos modelos en mente, resurge la cuestión que formulábamos al comienzo sobre cómo mejorar el rendimiento de estudiantes de L2 que no realizan su aprendizaje en inmersión (es decir, que no viven en el país cuya

lengua estudian) y para los que, prácticamente, su principal y, en muchos casos, único contacto con ella es el aula.

Por regla general el estudiante prototípico universitario asiste una, dos o tres veces a la semana a su curso de L2, más o menos motivado (a veces mucho, a veces poco o nada), en el que se enfrenta a cierto contenido gramatical, léxico y/o pragmático de manera más o menos comunicativa, y durante el que tiene acceso a una cierta cantidad de input en la L2 de buena calidad (el profesor y el material textual y audiovisual de que se disponga) y a otra cantidad de input de mala calidad (sus propios compañeros), a las que sumaremos su propio output (si este se produce) y el trabajo o los ejercicios que tenga que realizar en casa. En total, a la semana, el estudiante de L2 se habrá enfrentado a una cantidad tan insignificante de input y habrá producido una tan mínima de output que, salvo por propia iniciativa, no extrañará que su aprendizaje no satisfaga las condiciones ya enunciadas anteriormente sobre la retención memorística a largo plazo.

Los libros de texto no repasan sus propios contenidos de manera apropiada siguiendo la periodicidad establecida en la *curva del olvido* de Ebbinghaus, ni todos los profesores están al corriente de ello ni todos los estudiantes han sido adiestrados en las técnicas mnemotécnicas que les permitirían progresar en su aprendizaje con paso sólido (en muchos casos un mal estudiante de L2 es el fruto de una mala gestión mnemotécnica). Como resultado, tras varios años de enseñanza reglada, un alto porcentaje del alumnado no será capaz de seguir un informativo televisivo, leer una novela de dificultad media o ver una película sin subtítulos. No obstante no es el propósito de este artículo profundizar en la gestión de la memoria y sus técnicas, que constituirían el tipo de repaso que Craik y Lokhart denominan de mantenimiento, sino hacerlo en el de elaboración, por ser este mucho más complejo que el anterior, con un alto grado de imbricación entre diferentes capacidades cognitivas, y el que en realidad se pone en juego en el aprendizaje natural de una lengua.

¿Cómo aprende un niño a hablar? ¿Qué gramática estudia? ¿Cuántas técnicas mnemotécnicas emplea para la memorización del vocabulario? ¿A qué tediosas sesiones de estudio ha de someterse? ¿Qué exámenes ha de pasar? No cabe sino reconocer que la respuesta a la primera pregunta opera por negación de las restantes, pues es la cantidad de input y de output la que posibilitan que un niño aprenda una lengua, o varias, de manera sobresaliente, perfecta, lo que raramente volverá a repetirse en la edad adulta.

Noam Chomsky postuló a finales de los 60 (Chomsky, 1970) el concepto de *Dispositivo de Aprendizaje del Lenguaje* (DAL) que, dentro de la teoría innatista en que se desarrollan los planteamientos psicolingüísticos del autor, vendría a ser una especie de dispositivo computacional innato al ser humano y capaz de albergar una gramática universal (es decir, las reglas de la estructura profunda que conforman de igual manera todas las lenguas de la humanidad y que permiten la producción de un número infinito de oraciones con estructura

superficial distinta: de ahí la variedad de las lenguas humanas). El cerebro del niño se limita a recoger todo el input que recibe y a procesarlo conforme a la gramática universal con la que ha nacido, extrayendo de manera automática y subconsciente las reglas de la lengua o lenguas a las que se ve expuesto. Le basta para ello con que la cantidad de input sea grande, aunque la calidad no sea la adecuada (con lo que Chomsky, valga el apunte, trata de dar respuesta al problema platónico de *¿cómo sabemos tanto a partir de tan pocos datos?*).

En 1967 Lenneberg (1975) postuló la hipótesis del periodo crítico, según la cual la capacidad para aprender una lengua merma a partir de la pubertad, y esto porque el cerebro pierde plasticidad. Las causas son fisiológicas: modificaciones en la composición química de la corteza cerebral, en la substancia blanca, en la neurodensidad, en la frecuencia de las ondas cerebrales, y en especial, la lateralización cerebral, mediante la que cada hemisferio del cerebro tiende a especializarse en unas determinadas funciones (el procesamiento del lenguaje se produce principalmente en el izquierdo, aunque la entonación, por ejemplo, reside en el derecho).

Estudios posteriores, realizados mediante resonancias magnéticas (Kim et al., 1997) han corroborado en parte la hipótesis de Lenneberg, demostrando que en sujetos que aprenden en la infancia dos lenguas, estas ocupan el mismo espacio (el área de Broca, en el lóbulo frontal), mientras que si, con posterioridad, aprenden una tercera, esta ocupa un espacio distinto al de las primeras. No obstante sería erróneo culpar en exclusiva a la fisiología del cierre del Dispositivo de Aprendizaje del Lenguaje y, por lo tanto, de las dificultades que el adulto experimenta en el aprendizaje de una nueva lengua. Muchos otros factores, como la motivación, la cantidad y calidad del input, el tiempo que se le dedique a la L2, las interferencias ocasionadas por la L1, el temor a equivocarse o la falsa creencia de que un adulto no es capaz de aprender una lengua pueden ejercer una presión negativa tal que, efectivamente, el aprendizaje se convierta en una aventura difícil, o incluso imposible, de arrostrar.

## Desarrollo

¿Cómo hacer un niño del adulto que aprende una segunda lengua? ¿Cómo procurar que se vea sumergido, con mayor frecuencia de la habitual y también con mayor profundidad, en un medio cercano a la inmersión que le permita actualizar de manera continua el input que ha recibido en clase o que él mismo se ha procurado? ¿Cómo, en definitiva, salvar la brecha, a veces abismal, que separa el fracaso del éxito? No está la respuesta, por supuesto, en una técnica milagrosa, sino en la articulación de varias, todas funcionando como un solo mecanismo, las que obrarán el prodigo o, por mejor decir, devolverán el aprendizaje a su cauce natural. De entre ellas, la piedra basal, que en absoluto supone novedad alguna, pero cuyo estudio y práctica sí parecen bastante desatendidos por la comunidad educativa española o en español, no en cambio

por la anglosajona, constituye la lectura y la audición extensivas, de las que en el presente artículo nos ocuparemos tan solo de la primera.

Dos son los tipos de lectura que pueden llevarse a cabo en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera: uno, el intesivo, otro, el ya mencionado extensivo. La lectura intensiva consiste en leer, de manera lenta y cuidadosa, con atención a la lengua antes que al contenido, una cantidad limitada de texto de cierta dificultad: esta forma de lectura es la que normalmente se practica en el aula de idiomas y la que asumen, por su propia naturaleza, los manuales al uso. La lectura extensiva, en cambio, consiste en leer grandes cantidades de texto, de un nivel de dificultad ligeramente inferior o superior al del estudiante, de manera autónoma, con atención al contenido más que a la lengua, y una actitud de disfrute.

De acuerdo con la *Hipótesis de la Adquisición-Aprendizaje* (Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis) formulada por Krashen ya desde finales de los años 70 (Krashen, 1988), existirían dos sistemas de apropiación de una segunda lengua entre los adultos: por un lado un sistema de adquisición, el equivalente a cómo un niño interactúa con su L1, y que se desarrollaría mediante procesos subconscientes fruto de la interacción significativa del aprendiente con la L2; por otro, un sistema de aprendizaje fruto de la instrucción que tendría como resultado el conocimiento superficial de la lengua, esto es, de su estructura gramatical. De los dos, el menos importante para Krashen es el segundo.

Las críticas a la *Hipótesis de la Adquisición-Aprendizaje* han sido, a lo largo de los años, numerosas y virulentas, tanto como la numantina defensa que Krashen se ha propuesto de ella. Así, por ejemplo, Barry McLaughlin (1987) argumenta que en alemán la frase '*Ich habe nicht das Kind gesehen*' / 'No he visto al niño' es incorrecta, y eso lo sabe basándose en la intuición, pero también lo sabe basándose en las reglas de la gramática alemana. En la misma línea Kevin R. Gregg (Gregg, 1984) expone su propio caso como estudiante de japonés cuando conscientemente memorizó la conjugación de los verbos y este conocimiento acabó convirtiéndose en conocimiento inconsciente, esto es, adquirido.

Basándonos, sin embargo, en los datos que tenemos sobre el funcionamiento de la memoria y en el modelo de Craik y Lokhart, con su distinción procedural entre repaso de mantenimiento y repaso de elaboración, tanto los argumentos de Krashen como los de sus críticos presentarían una permeabilidad mayor de la que hasta el momento ambos han reconocido: la adquisición, que se corresponde con el tipo de repaso de elaboración, es decir, el que conduce a la retención de la información en el almacén a largo plazo del cerebro y que además, si se me permite la pируeta, sería motor del *Dispositivo de Adquisición del Lenguaje* propuesto por Chomsky que, recordemos, es innato, universal y responsable de la adquisición del lenguaje por parte del niño, habría de considerarse, tal como propone Krashen (1988), como el mecanismo fundamental, más complejo, más completo, y por ello mismo, más natural,

para la apropiación de una segunda lengua, lo que, sin embargo, no invalidaría el hecho incuestionable de que en los adultos tanto la fisiología cerebral como la de los órganos fonadores ha sufrido desde la infancia un proceso de especialización que, junto a los prejuicios psicológicos, sociales y otras dificultades añadidas como la falta de tiempo o el no encontrarse en inmersión, limita y problematiza el funcionamiento del mecanismo de la adquisición tal como lo entiende Krashen, dejando, de esta manera, espacio para trabajar con el repaso de mantenimiento o, en los términos de Krashen, para aprender: tarea si más simple y superficial, también necesariamente complementaria.

En este marco la hipótesis de la construcción de habilidades (Skill-Building Hypothesis), según la cual solo tras el aprendizaje de la gramática, el vocabulario y la ortografía estas ‘habilidades’ pueden usarse en situaciones reales, pierde la efectividad que tradicionalmente se le ha adjudicado. Como argumenta Krashen (2004) habilidades como la competencia gramatical, léxica u ortográfica son demasiado complejas para ser aprendidas de manera consciente; los estudios apuntan a que el aprendizaje de la gramática realiza una contribución mínima al desarrollo de la competencia. Así, numerosos casos muestran que es posible alcanzar un alto nivel de competencia sin pasar por el mecanismo de la construcción de habilidades, pero no al contrario. En mi propia experiencia trabajando en España con inmigrantes subsaharianos, el nivel de español que alcanzaban estas personas en unos meses, sin instrucción de por medio, equivaldría al nivel ganado, tras varios años de instrucción formal, por estudiantes universitarios dedicados. Otros informantes, como el caso de L. R, que presenta un nivel muy alto de competencia en español (C2), me cuentan cómo, básicamente, ese nivel lo han alcanzado mediante la interacción con otros hablantes y no por el estudio de la gramática (efectivamente esta estudiante nunca ha cursado estudios formales de español).

La importancia del input, de que recibir una gran cantidad de estímulos orales y escritos con los que interactuar resulta crucial para alcanzar una alta competencia en L2, queda pues, salvo que posteriores estudios la desmientan, aunque intuyo que no lo han de hacer, demostrada. Cuando para lograr esto la inmersión no es posible, la única forma efectiva de hacerlo es, como ya señalamos, mediante la lectura y la audición extensivas. A este respecto escribe Christine Nuttall:

The best way to improve your knowledge of a foreign language is to go and live among its speakers. The next best way is read extensively in it. (Nuttall, 1982: 168)

Sorprendentemente, a pesar de los enormes beneficios de la lectura extensiva, buena parte de los centros de idiomas, sea cual sea su naturaleza, en España o en otras latitudes, carecen de programas adecuados o no cuentan con ninguno.

El mecanismo fundamental para entender estos beneficios es simple: de ninguna otra manera, en un medio de no inmersión, que mediante la lectura extensiva, se satisfacen las condiciones necesarias para crear una memoria a largo plazo que produzca un nivel alto de competencia del que, a su vez, pueda nutrirse el proceso de actuación. Ni en el aula, donde el aprendiente, que comparte espacio y tiempo con otros como él, recibe una cantidad suficiente de input, ni normalmente fuera de ella su interacción con la L2 va a ser mayor que al ejercitarse la lectura extensiva. Todas aquellas estructuras morfológicas y sintácticas, todo el vocabulario y la ortografía que haya visto a lo largo del curso o en anteriores cursos, y que por lo general adolecen de falta de revisión periódica, reaparecerán, y lo harán en contexto y no de forma aislada, reactivando el recuerdo dormido y forzando al aprendiente a crear estrategias de comprensión mediante las que llenar los huecos en su conocimiento del idioma (es frecuente que los estudiantes se enfrenten a la lectura extensiva con la mala práctica de buscar en un diccionario cada palabra y expresión que no entiendan).

Las siguientes ventajas se han propuesto para la lectura extensiva (Yu, 1993):

1. Un mayor conocimiento del mundo.
2. Una adquisición mejorada del lenguaje en áreas tales como la gramática, el vocabulario y la estructura del texto.
3. Mejora de la lectura y la escritura.
4. Mayor disfrute de la lectura.
5. Mayor posibilidad de desarrollar un hábito de lectura.
6. La oportunidad para individualizar la instrucción. (Nolasco y Arthur, 1988)

De acuerdo con la *Hipótesis del Filtro Afectivo* (Affective Filter Hypothesis) formulada también por Krashen, pero basada en los resultados de la psicología experimental, algunas variables psicológicas como la motivación, la confianza en uno mismo y la ansiedad juegan un papel importante en el aprendizaje de segundas lenguas. Una baja autoestima, una débil motivación o una fuerte ansiedad contribuyen a elevar el filtro afectivo, lo que provoca un bloqueo mental. El aula de idiomas, sobre todo en el interior de instituciones educativas que miden la competencia lingüística del estudiante y la premian o castigan con una nota, constituye, pese a los esfuerzos de muchos profesores por relajar la tensión, un lugar donde el bloqueo mental suele ser común. En la lectura extensiva, sobre todo si se trata de lectura libre, el filtro afectivo desaparece por completo y, por consiguiente, los resultados, como se muestra en distintos trabajos científicos, son más que positivos.

Dos clases de estudios se han venido realizando en las últimas décadas: unos, la mayoría, dedicados a analizar los efectos de la lectura extensiva sobre la

L1 en niños y adolescentes; otros, más minoritarios, aunque en incremento, que analizan los efectos de la lectura extensiva sobre aprendientes adultos de L2.

Entre los primeros, el estudio de Nagy, Herman y Anderson (1985) investigaba si los estudiantes adquieren un conocimiento mensurable de palabras desconocidas mientras leen un texto natural. Los sujetos fueron 57 estudiantes de octavo curso con capacidad de lectura media y superior a la media. Se les hizo una entrevista individual y una prueba de selección múltiple. Los resultados sugieren que una cantidad moderada de lectura da lugar a aumentos sustanciales de vocabulario. Otro estudio (Ozburn, 1995) de 60 estudiantes de noveno curso en clases de recuperación produjo resultados similares. Los estudiantes leían un libro que ellos mismos habían elegido durante los primeros 10-15 minutos de cada clase de 55 minutos. También revisaban los libros con el profesor y se les animaba a leer en casa. La prueba de Gates MacGinitie de lectura se les administró antes del estudio y 9 meses más tarde. Los resultados muestran que todos los estudiantes habían mejorado en su nivel de lectura. Los investigadores afirman que los hallazgos indican que la lectura es la forma más eficaz de producir, a gran escala, el desarrollo del vocabulario, y que el aprendizaje incidental durante la lectura libre es el principal modo de adquisición de vocabulario durante los años escolares.

Entre los segundos, por ejemplo, el estudio de Pilgreen y Krashen (1993), en el que 125 estudiantes de secundaria de inglés como segunda lengua participaron en un programa de lectura extensiva de 12 a 15 minutos al día y se les animó a continuar la leyendo en casa. Los resultados indican que los estudiantes disfrutaron claramente de la lectura e hicieron progresos en la Prueba Stanford de Diagnóstico de comprensión lectora. A pesar de la falta de grupo de control en este estudio, los resultados son sugerentes

Estudios más recientes, como los de Sweet Valley (Cho y Krashen, 1994) muestran que tras suministrar novelas juveniles de la serie Sweet Valley a muchachas adolescentes de origen inmigrante que llevaban viviendo en los Estados Unidos ya varios años, pero cuyo nivel de inglés se había estancado, este mostró una mejora inusitada.

## Conclusiones

A pesar de que no siempre los resultados han sido concluyentes, y de las críticas por parte de otros estudiosos, como Cobb (2007), quien analizó la frecuencia de aparición del vocabulario más frecuente encontrando que, tras dos años de lectura y unas 170000 palabras, su media de aparición resultaba insuficiente para provocar un aumento significativo de la retención de vocabulario, a lo que McQuillan y Krashen (2008) respondieron que la cantidad de palabras leídas en dos años puede ser muy superior, llegando al millón, sí parece cierto que la lectura extensiva necesita de un periodo de tiempo superior a los seis meses para resultar efectiva, por lo que la creación

de programas adecuados de lectura extensiva necesita tanto de la involucración del profesorado y del alumnado, como de las autoridades escolares.

Las principales características de un programa exitoso de lectura extensiva, tal como las recoge Renandya et al. (1999), son:

1. Los estudiantes leen una gran cantidad de material impreso.
2. Los estudiantes eligen lo que quieren leer.
3. Los estudiantes leen una variedad de materiales de distintos temas y géneros;
4. El material de los alumnos está a su nivel de comprensión.
5. Los estudiantes participan en actividades de lectura posteriormente.
6. Los profesores leen con sus alumnos, lo que sirve como modelo de buen lector.
7. Los profesores y los estudiantes realizan un seguimiento de su progreso.
8. Los profesores proveen ayuda y orientación cuando sea necesario.

Los puntos 1, 3, 6, 7 y 8 no merecen mayor comentario, puesto que o ya los hemos discutido o caen por su propio peso.

El punto 2, la libre elección del material de lectura por parte de los estudiantes, presenta varios problemas. Uno, material, pues no todas las instituciones y centros de idiomas cuentan con una buena biblioteca, lo que es todavía más cierto en países con problemas económicos graves; otro, crítico, que queda aclarado desde el punto de vista de la *Hipótesis del Filtro Afectivo* de Krashen.

Respecto al punto 4, que trata sobre el nivel de dificultad de las lecturas, si estas son demasiado fáciles, no pueden contribuir a la mejora del vocabulario y de las estructuras gramaticales, y si son demasiado difíciles, solo pueden provocar frustración, con lo que se incumplen los objetivos de la lectura extensiva. El tipo de lecturas sugeridas para estudiantes de primeros niveles son las graduadas, es decir, aquellas novelitas que han sido escritas especialmente para aprendientes de L2 conforme a distintos niveles de dificultad por especialistas en educación. Varias editoriales españolas cuentan con series de lecturas graduadas.

El punto 5, qué actividades realizar tras la lectura o si realizar alguna, es todavía bastante discutido en la literatura sobre adquisición de segundas lenguas. Mason (2004) investigó si la imposición de tareas escritas adicionales en un programa de lectura extensiva aumentaría la eficacia en el desarrollo de la precisión gramatical. Los participantes fueron estudiantes universitarias japonesas de inglés, que realizaban un programa de lectura extensiva, divididas en tres grupos. Uno de ellos escribía resúmenes en japonés, el segundo lo hacía en inglés y el tercero también en inglés, pero recibiendo correcciones y teniendo que reescribir sus resúmenes. Todos los participantes leyeron alrededor de 500000 palabras durante un periodo de tres semestres. Los resultados revelaron que los tres grupos mejoraron significativamente, y no hubo diferencias estadísticamente significativas entre los grupos en las tres pruebas. La

conclusión fue que el trabajo suplementario de escritura no se había traducido en una mayor precisión y que resultaba ineficiente. No obstante, a pesar de estos resultados y de la adhesión a ellos de autores como Krashen, parece que la práctica generalizada de la mayoría de profesores que han implantado programas de lectura extensiva en sus clases es la de demandar a sus estudiantes la realización de diversas tareas: responder a cuestionarios, llevar un diario, escribir resúmenes o participar en diversas actividades comunicativas en torno a sus lecturas semanales que impliquen a sus compañeros de clase.

En definitiva, y para concluir, no existe razón alguna para que un centro de idiomas no cuente con un programa de lectura extensiva. Las ventajas son obvias y los inconvenientes pocos, y en cualquier caso, en la era de internet, desdefinables.

Un procedimiento estándar a seguir, uno de tantos, en realidad, mediante los que incluir en el currículo escolar un programa de lectura extensiva, debería seguir los siguientes pasos:

Primero: La creación de una biblioteca de relativa amplitud con la variedad más amplia de textos adaptados a los diferentes niveles del marco de Referencia Europeo para el aprendizaje de segundas lenguas, al menos hasta un B2, puesto que a partir de un C1 el aprendiente cuenta ya con los suficientes recursos lingüísticos como para acceder directamente a obras originales (sería aconsejable que bajo la supervisión de un docente). Si la institución no cuenta con los suficientes recursos económicos para procurarse esta biblioteca, Internet proporciona acceso a prensa digital, blogs y webs que de alguna manera pueden sustituir a la literatura escrita.

Segundo: La comunicación a los estudiantes por parte del docente de la existencia de esta biblioteca. Si la biblioteca es amplia, se les animará a visitarla y seleccionar alguna lectura. Si no lo es, el docente debería permitirse el uso de fotocopias de dos o tres textos distintos que distribuirá periódicamente entre los miembros de un grupo, de manera que al mismo tiempo, en ese grupo, los estudiantes estén leyendo libros distintos.

Tercero: Puesto que la lectura debe resultar una actividad placentera, no se aconseja el uso de pruebas evaluativas. No obstante, el docente puede proponer actividades que le permitan llevar un control de los progresos de sus estudiantes. Una actividad interesante podría ser la de fomentar entre ellos la escritura de un diario en el que plasmen tanto las dificultades que el texto les va planteando como aquello que la obra les inspira (si les entretiene o les resulta interesante; si la recomendarían; con qué personaje(s) se sienten más identificados o con cuáles no, etc.) Estos diarios, que pueden formar parte del portfolio personal de cada estudiante, podrían utilizarse asimismo en clase para generar debate o realizar tareas derivadas, como, por ejemplo, la teatralización en grupo de escenas significativas de la obra en cuestión.

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## THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE EXTENSIVE READING

### Summary

Extensive reading is one of the usual tools in language learning, including learning foreign languages, and is carried out by a lot of reading during which the student is confronted with grammatical and lexical structures that allow to settle, according to their level, grammar and vocabulary already studied. Although the mechanism is commonly accepted as true, its importance in language learning is in dispute. Extensive reading contrasts with intensive reading, a slow, careful reading of a small amount of difficult texts during which the student is more focused on the language. The intensive reading is, however, the most common approach among second language teachers.

This article reviews the latest theories on extensive reading developed by specialists in the field and analyzes the discussion these authors have developed around its efficacy. By analyzing current studies in neuroscience (not always well used, if used, in the current literature on second language learning), this article not only supports the undisputed effectiveness of an appropriate program of extensive reading, but argues, from an interdisciplinary point of view, that this one, along with extensive listening, constitutes and should constitute the foundation of any foreign language course.

**Key words:** text, reading, intensive, extensive, TFL, neuroscience

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# LA TRADUCCIÓN DE LOS NOMBRES PROPIOS LETONES AL ESPAÑOL

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**Resumen.** El trabajo está dedicado a un tema de actualidad en el campo de traductología: a la traducción de los nombres propios, especialmente de antropónimos y topónimos. La traducción de los nombres propios letones al español es un gran reto para los traductores y lingüistas. Eso se debe, principalmente, a dos razones: por un lado, la metodología de la traducción de los nombres propios extranjeros al español ha cambiado a lo largo de los siglos, por otro lado, la presencia de trabajos traducidos del letón al español es escasa, lo que significa que desde el punto de vista de los lingüistas, el tema no ha sido analizado. En el artículo se contrastan los enfoques científicos de diferentes lingüistas sobre el tema de la traducibilidad/intraducibilidad de los nombres propios y se analiza el estado actual respecto a la traducción de los antropónimos y topónimos letones al español. La ausencia de fuentes lexicográficas bilingües español/letón/español que incluyan registros actualizados de topónimos y antropónimos letones causa muchas dificultades a la hora de traducir. Se concluye que para la traducción adecuada de nombres propios deben tomarse en cuenta tres aspectos: la tradición, las tendencias actuales y la sonoridad del nombre en la lengua terminal.

**Palabras clave:** nombre propio, traducibilidad, topónimo, antropónimo, transferir, identificar

## Introducción

En actualidad, debido a amplios contactos internacionales, los nombres propios extranjeros constituyen una parte importante del vocabulario en cada lengua. Hoy en día es difícil de imaginar a un especialista de cualquier campo que no utilice en su lenguaje nombres propios de lenguas extranjeras. Al mismo tiempo, el filólogo y traductólogo español Virgilio Moya advierte:

[...] la mayoría de los errores, al menos entre traductores no profesionales, está asociada con la traducción de nombres propios, lo que añade más importancia al asunto escogido [...]. (Moya, 2000: 11)

El presente estudio es una introducción a un tema muy amplio e interesante de la traducción de los nombres propios letones a otras lenguas, y en particular

al español. Se centra sobre todo en la traducción de los antropónimos y topónimos letones.

Debido a su carácter transcultural y transnacional los nombres propios cruzan las fronteras y pueden coexistir al mismo tiempo en diferentes lenguas adaptándose en mayor o menor medida a la fonología y morfología de cada lengua. Esto es especialmente así cuando se trata de antropónimos y topónimos. Podemos hablar de las versiones española, italiana, rusa, alemana etc. de muchos antropónimos, por ejemplo: *Andrés*, en español, *Andris*, en letón, *André*, en francés, *Андреј* en ruso, *Andrew*, en inglés, *Andrea*, en italiano etc. Cambiando de lengua, los nombres propios se convierten en los puntos de referencia de la comunicación intercultural. Esto ha dado lugar a la idea de que los nombres propios no requieren una atención especial en el estudio de una lengua extranjera. Pero debemos tomar en cuenta que en su lengua original tienen unas características únicas en la forma y la etimología, diferentes connotaciones, numerosas conexiones con otras unidades y categorías lingüísticas. Cuando el nombre pasa a otro idioma, la mayoría de estas propiedades pueden perderse. Con lo cual, transferir el nombre a otro idioma no sólo puede aliviar, sino lo contrario, complicar el proceso de la comunicación.

## Aproximación teórica

Los lingüistas españoles han discutido durante siglos sobre la traducibilidad o intraducibilidad de los nombres propios. Destacan los trabajos de Vives (1996), Valentín García Yebra (1989), Santoyo (1987) y Cartagena (1992). Cabe mencionar que la mayoría de ellos *grosso modo* coinciden en que los nombres propios no se traducen, sobre todo los antropónimos y los topónimos:

Los nombres propios de persona o de lugar deben pasar íntegros de una lengua a otra, sin cambio que intente reproducir su sentido etimológico; así que no traducirá Aristóteles como *Óptimo fin*, Platón como *Ancho* o Israel como *Suplantador*. (Vives, 1996: 137)

A las mismas conclusiones ha llegado el destacado traductólogo inglés Peter Newmark, cuyos trabajos están traducidos a varias lenguas extranjeras incluyendo al español:

En teoría, los nombres pertenecientes a personas u objetos únicos se encuentran ‘fuera’ de las lenguas, pertenecen si acaso, a la enciclopedia y no al diccionario, no tienen significado o connotación, como ya defendiera Mill, son, por tanto, intraducibles y no deben ser traducidos. (Newmark, 1988: 70)

Una gran aportación científica al área de la lengua española ha sido el trabajo monográfico del traductólogo español Virgilio Moya, titulado

*Traducción de los nombres propios*, donde el autor recoge toda la experiencia que ha tenido lugar en España a lo largo de los siglos respecto a la traducción de los nombres propios, desde la época de Quevedo hasta hoy en día. Siempre ha sido una cuestión discutible y compleja. El autor del libro reconoce:

Tras largos años de estudios, los lingüistas no han podido dar siempre con normas claras y precisas, pero sí que podemos hablar de estrategias o procedimientos de traducción de nombres propios, de tendencias traslatorias más o menos marcadas. (Moya, 2000: 10)

Se presta especial atención a la importancia del oficio de traductor en un mundo globalizado, dado que su creatividad y profesionalidad depende de si la interacción entre los representantes de diferentes culturas lleva a una comunicación eficaz:

La traducción, aparte de una técnica, es el arte de solucionar problemas, de dar con la mejor opción en un momento dado, y en ocasiones, sin el tiempo conveniente para hacerlo. No es por tanto, nuestra intención imponer soluciones, en principio porque cada texto es único. (Moya, 2000: 10)

La Real Academia Española (RAE) en su última edición de la *Ortografía de la lengua española* (2010) dedica varios apartados a la ortografía de los nombres propios extranjeros, sus características y clasificación, se analizan los grupos de antropónimos y topónimos. Los académicos asumen la actualidad del tema y subrayan la importancia de la unidad ortográfica para la reproducción de los nombres propios extranjeros en español.

De allí surge la pregunta: ¿Cómo podemos explicar la falta de cohesión y unidad en el tema de la traducción de los nombres propios hoy en día? Las supuestas respuestas a la pregunta se basan, sobre todo, en la diversidad de aproximaciones teóricas a diferentes conceptos y a las estrategias relacionadas con el proceso de traducción.

La complejidad del asunto ya se arraiga en las diferentes interpretaciones del concepto *traducir*. La mayoría de los defensores de la intraducibilidad de los nombres propios, coinciden en la opinión de que estos carecen de su propio significado. Y si la palabra carece de significado es imposible transmitir en otra lengua su semántica, con lo cual no podemos hablar de la traducción de nombres propios, por lo menos de antropónimos y topónimos. Resumiendo, los partidarios de este punto de vista no reconocen la transferencia como una técnica de traducción. Moya tiene una visión diferente respecto al significado del nombre propio y su trasferencia a otra lengua:

Los traductólogos coinciden por lo general en la traducibilidad de algunos nombres propios, pero casi nunca se admite la traducibilidad de antropónimos y topónimos transferidos porque parten del supuesto de que la transferencia

no es una forma de traducción. En cambio, al asumir, como asumimos, que cuando se transfiere de alguna manera se traduce, nosotros defendemos que son traducibles. (Moya, 2000: 29)

¿Llevan alguna información semántica nombres propios tales como *Pedro, María, González, Martínez, Riga, Londres, Madrid*, etc? Coinciendo con la opinión de los expertos anteriores en que la mayoría de los antropónimos y los topónimos no tienen su significado propio a excepción de los nombres propios transparentes como *Montenegro, Cabo Verde o Plaza Roja* etc, Moya afirma que los nombres propios:

[...] gozan parcialmente de significado para los hablantes de una comunidad lingüística, dadas las convenciones existentes en torno a sus nombres propios. Lo que quiere decir que los nombres propios hasta los más opacos (o sea los que no transparentan ningún contenido informativo) aportan elementos métalingüísticos, étnicos, poéticos y humorísticos. Juan, por ejemplo, es una secuencia fónica típica del ámbito lingüístico español, que puede ser nombre de pila o de apellido y que en el primer caso es masculino. Se puede decir, por tanto, que connotan la especificidad del mapa cultural o geográfico [...]. (Moya, 2000: 32)

En la lengua letona existe el nombre de pila *Jānis* que corresponde según su etimología a la variante española *Juan*. ¿Deberíamos traducirlo por *Juan* o transferir a la lengua española como *Jānis*? Defendemos la segunda opción porque el nombre *Jānis* aporta también información étnica sobre el titular del nombre y ayuda de esta forma a identificar mejor su idiosincrasia cultural y lingüística.

Si consultamos la definición del concepto *traducir* que nos da el diccionario *on-line* de RAE, debemos reconocer la posición de Moya porque la definición del término *expresar en una lengua lo que está escrito o se ha expresado antes en otra*, siguen otras definiciones como *convertir, mudar, trocar y explicar, interpretar*. La segunda definición defiende la posición de V. Moya, o sea *mudar* o *trocar* de lugar de una lengua a otra.

Además él habla de las contradicciones que tienen los que no reconocen la trasferencia como una técnica traductológica. Porque Vives tras afirmar que los nombres propios deben pasar íntegros de una lengua a otra, allí mismo más abajo reconoce:

[...] la mejor técnica de trasladar estos nombre es la adaptación, lo que no deja de ser una traducción [...]. (Moya, 2000: 26)

Si consultamos la definición del nombre propio en el diccionario de RAE, vemos que la función identificadora predomina sobre la función nominalizadora como la principal y casi la única del nombre propio:

El que, sin tener rasgos semánticos inherentes, se aplica a seres animados o inanimados para designarlos; p. ej., *Antonio, Toledo*. (RAE, 2001)

El nombre propio no representa la clase de objetos sino que marca la individualidad de la persona o del objeto. Transmitir esta individualidad para que el nombre propio sea identificado en la lengua de la cultura meta de forma equivalente a la de la cultura de origen es el principal objetivo y la mayor dificultad de cada traductor. Como herramientas principales de la traducción de los nombres propios Moya (2000: 12) presenta diferentes técnicas translatorias:

- 1) transferencia (*John Major*: John Major);
- 2) traducción literal (*The War-lord*: El señor de la guerra);
- 3) traducción parcial (*New York*: Nueva York);
- 4) traducción reconocida (*Iron Curtain*: telón de acero);
- 5) traducción libre (*The Real McCoy*: Extremadamente peligrosa);
- 6) naturalización (*London*: Londres);
- 7) sustitución (*Madison Avenue language*: lenguaje de la publicidad).

En el presente trabajo aceptamos la posición de Moya y entendemos *traducir un nombre propio* en el sentido de trasladarlo o cambiar de lugar, de un lugar textual letón, por ejemplo, a otro lugar textual español.

## Nombres propios y la comunicación intercultural

La incorporación de los nombres propios extranjeros en cada lengua, al igual que de otros extranjerismos, se debe al contacto con diferentes lenguas y culturas. A lo largo de su historia, el castellano ha acumulado muchos préstamos de lenguas románicas y germánicas, así como existe una tradición de adaptar los nombres propios del alfabeto cirílico (Newmark, 2006: 290). Pero, de todos modos, muchos lingüistas se quejan de que todavía no ha sido elaborado el sistema estandarizado de transliteración de los nombres propios del cirílico u otras lenguas de alfabeto no latino, a excepto del sistema pinyin, elaborado para la romanización de los ideogramas chinos (Newmark, 2006: 289).

Históricamente los pueblos español y letón no han tenido contactos estrechos y duraderos, con lo cual en la lengua española no existe tradición respecto a las versiones españolas de los nombres propios letones. Desde finales del siglo XX, debido a los cambios políticos que han vivido los países del Este de Europa, Letonia ha recuperado su independencia como estado y gracias a la participación en diferentes instituciones internacionales y ampliación de relaciones culturales y comerciales, ha intensificado sus contactos con los países europeos y con España en concreto. Esto ha causado el incremento del intercambio informativo y cultural entre los dos países. Si la cultura española

es conocida ampliamente y los nombres de muchos representantes no necesitan comentarios adicionales, la cultura letona ha sido una gran incógnita para muchos europeos hasta hace poco. Los nombres de *Jānis Rainis*, *Krišjanis Barons*, *Emils Dārziņš* y *Jānis Rozentāls* eran y siguen siendo desconocidos para muchos españoles. Los nombres de *Vija Artmane* y *Māris Liepa* se asocian, probablemente, con la cultura del periodo soviético. Hoy en día para muchos españoles el nombre de Letonia se identifica con el mar Báltico, la crisis económica, el festival de Eurovisión de 2003 y el nombre del tenista *Ernests Gulbis* que se enfrentó en varios partidos a Rafael Nadal. Además, con frecuencia, se confunde el nombre de Letonia con el nombre de Lituania, el último, debido a los excelentes jugadores de baloncesto, como *Arvidas Sabonis*, es más conocido que el de Letonia. Es obvio que el papel de los nombres propios es muy importante para la identificación de cualquier país (Lodares, 2005: 209).

Con el fin de estudiar cuál es la situación de la transferencia de los nombres propios letones a la lengua española, han sido analizadas cuatro diferentes guías turísticas sobre Riga que han sido traducidas del letón al español por diferentes traductores, tanto de origen letón como de origen español:

*Riga. Una ciudad a orillas del Milenio.* Edición estonia del año 2013. Traducción de Domenico Cianci;

*Riga. Art Nouveau.* Edición letona del año 2007. Traducción de Guna Pigita;

*Mikhail Eisenshtein. Maestro del Art Nouveau de Riga.* Edición letona del año 2012. Traducción de Bárbara Quilez;

*Riga.* Edición preparada por el Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Riga, edición de 2009 traductores Karina Akisina y Alberto Torres Fernández.

También han sido consultadas varias páginas en Internet, sobre todo las que ofrecen la información sobre historia y cultura del país. Han sido seleccionadas la página del Instituto Letón ([www.li.lv](http://www.li.lv)) y la de wikipedia ([www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Letonia](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Letonia)). Ya a primera vista, en los textos se nota la ausencia de la unidad ortográfica respecto a la traducción de los nombres propios. Como ejemplo podríamos citar las variantes de la traducción de los nombres de las antiguas tribus que poblaban el territorio actual letón antes de la invasión de templarios alemanes:

<i>versión en letón</i>	<i>traducción</i>
<i>līvi/lībieši</i>	lībieši, lyvis (tribus finougrias), livos, livonios
<i>latgalī</i>	latgalianos, lantgalos, latgalos
<i>sēļi</i>	selonianos, selos
<i>kurši</i>	kurši, curonios, kursos
<i>zemgalī</i>	semigalianos, semigalios, zemgalos

Los ejemplos de *lībieši*, *kurši* nos dicen que el traductor es partidario de la transferencia como técnica traslatoria, mientras que otros ejemplos como *curonios*, *semigalianos latgalianos* demuestran que el traductor da preferencia a la adaptación o naturalización, incluso en la misma edición pueden aparecer los dobletes, como, por ejemplo, *latgalianos/latgalos*, *semigalianos/semigalios*. La variante de *lyvis* se ha formado bajo la influencia de la ortografía inglesa. La versión de *livonios* podríamos caracterizar como la menos adecuada porque se asocia con la Orden de Livonia cuyos habitantes no eran solo *livos* sino también otros pueblos. También en una de las versiones, el traductor añade la explicación del nombre propio *lyvis (tribus finougria)*.

Los nombres de personas y los topónimos son los más frecuentes y por eso han sido objeto de análisis más detallado.

## Traducción de antropónimos: entre la tradición y la modernidad

En España los procedimientos traslatorios de los antropónimos han vivido a lo largo de los siglos cambios radicales. En el siglo XVIII la mayoría de los nombres de personas se españolizaban (Moya, 2000: 36). Esta tradición se ha conservado prácticamente hasta el siglo XX: *José Verdi*, *Claudio Debussy*, *Godofredo Chaucer*, *Carlos Dickens*, *José Stalin*. La historia conoce varios casos cuando se españolizaban los apellidos, pero son mucho más escasos. Por ejemplo, Moya menciona el caso de la españolianización del apellido inglés *More* que se transformó en *Moro* en la versión española. Como en la traducción no hay normas absolutas, paralelamente a lo largo de los siglos junto con las versiones traducidas coexistían las versiones originales: *George Berkeley*, *Francis Bacon*, *Johann Straus* etc. A finales del siglo XX y principios del siglo XXI se han consolidado, en gran medida, las siguientes prácticas traslatorias:

[...] hoy en día lo convencional es que los antropónimos modernos se transfieran o se dejen como están en la lengua original con la excepción de los que se señalan a continuación y que sufren alguna trasformación al pasar del inglés al español:

1. Se adaptan los nombres de personas de gran relevancia histórica o cultural: *San Jerónimo*, Salomón, Federico Barroso, Juan Pablo II.
2. Los nombres propios de la realeza se adaptaban tradicionalmente en la cultura española: *Federico* de Dinamarca, los príncipes de Gran Bretaña *Guillermo* y *Enrique*.
3. Los nombres escritos originariamente en diferente alfabeto (chino, árabe, cirílico) se transfieren del inglés según las reglas fonéticas del español: *Gorbachov*. Incluso se adaptan algunos nombres de políticos israelíes relevantes: *Simón Peres*, *Ariel Sharón*. (Moya, 2000: 39)

A la importancia de la coherencia en la traducción de los antropónimos y topónimos también se dedica un amplio apartado en la última edición de la *Ortografía de la lengua española* (2010):

Aunque en el ámbito de los nombres propios (antropónimos y topónimos) es frecuente el uso de grafías originarias no adaptadas o —si los nombres provienen de lenguas que emplean otro alfabeto u otro sistema de escritura, como el árabe, el hebreo o el chino— de transliteraciones de las grafías originarias al alfabeto latino, sin adaptaciones ulteriores, en el caso de los topónimos mayores, como son los nombres de países, es conveniente usar grafías plenamente adaptadas a la ortografía del español. Por ello, aplicando la misma norma que para los nombres comunes, se recomienda emplear con preferencia las grafías *Catar* e *Irak* para los nombres de esos dos países árabes, mejor que *Qatar* e *Iraq*, transcripciones de los originales árabes que presentan un uso de la *q* ajeno al sistema ortográfico del español. (RAE, 2010)

En este contexto es conveniente mencionar otra fuente importante como es el *Libro de Estilo de ABC* (2001) que incluye el apartado *Nombres propios y topónimos en otras lenguas*, en el cual se estipulan los siguientes procedimientos:

- a) debe respetarse la grafía en la lengua original de los nombres de personas de otras lenguas con alfabeto latino: Margaret Thatcher;
- b) se traducen los nombres de papas, miembros de familias reales y de ciertos personajes históricos y de ficción castellanizados por el uso: el papa Pablo VI, la reina Isabel-;
- c) [...] cuando proceden de lenguas con alfabeto no latino y sin tradición escrita, hay que adaptarlos a la grafía y fonética castellanas (y poner la tilde cuando corresponda), evitando grafía extrañas, de lenguas intermedias: Saíd Auita (no “Said Aouita” de francés) [...]. (RAE, 2001: 13)

La misma posición mantiene Newmark:

Cuando los nombres de pila y apellidos de la gente no tienen connotaciones en el texto, se suelen transferir, con lo cual se mantiene su nacionalidad. (Newmark, 2006: 289)

¿Cómo podríamos caracterizar los antropónimos letones y cuál de las técnicas deberíamos aplicar? Como Letonia es un país multiétnico y multicultural, una gran parte de sus atropónimos, sobre todo en el contexto histórico, son extranjerismos provenientes del alemán, ruso, polaco y otras lenguas. A este hecho ha de sumarse que el letón es una lengua joven y su ortografía empezó a consolidarse a principios del siglo XX (Jerjomenko, 2010) Por eso, podemos constatar que una gran parte de apellidos en el letón moderno son de origen extranjero, sobre todo alemán, ruso, polaco, pero

adaptados a la grafía y fonética letonas. Además la mayoría tiene oposición por género: *Baumanis/Baumane, Šenbergs/Šenberga, Rozenbergs/Rozenberga, Ivanovs/Ianova, Kirilenkovs/Kirilenkova, Gorbačovs /Gorbačova, Dombrovskis/Dombrovska, Lisbovskis/Lisbovska*. Los apellidos más típicos letones son: *Mūrnieks/Mūrniece, Krēslījs/Krēslīja, Lūsis/Lūsēna*. Algunos tienen la grafía común para los dos géneros: *Liepa, Puķite, Maurīte, Boiko, Gras*. Tanto apellidos como nombres de pila tienen grafías originarias específicas designadas para transmitir los sonidos palatales como [ň] y [ļ], vocales largas como [ā], [ū] y consonantes fricativas como [š] y [ž].

Respecto a los antropónimos modernos letones, es recomendable transferirlos al español con su grafía específica letona:

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Pero la práctica común que enfrentamos es transferirlos al español sin tildes. También en los diplomas DELE recibidos del Instituto Cervantes los nombres de personas se transfieren sin tildes:

*Evita Krumina, Egils Mazurs, Marina Goracova, Ella Meirane, Krisjanis Ravietis, Julija Kauhova, Liga Petersone, Edgars Ravietis, Harijs Berzins, Martins Cigurs*

En las fuentes que han sido objeto de nuestro análisis se constata una gran falta de la unanimidad respecto a la traducción de los nombres de personas. Han sido encontradas tres versiones diferentes del nombre del famoso arquitecto ruso de origen hebreo: *Mihail Eisenshtein, Mijail Eisenštein, Mikhail Eisenstein*. El primero y el último ejemplos se han formado copiando las versiones del nombre en inglés y en alemán. En ninguna de las fuentes aparece la variante adaptada a la fonética española y la que sería la más recomendada, *Mijaíl Eizenstein*. La dificultad consiste en que el nombre de pila es ruso y el apellido es de origen hebreo-alemán. Además, el nombre completo proviene de la fuente letona y en letón se escribe como *Mihaīls Eizenšteins*.

Es conveniente comentar que en letón a la hora de traducir todos los nombres propios extranjeros se naturalizan y se adaptan al sistema fonético y grammatical de la lengua letona. Esto les permite ser declinados: *Juan Carlos* se traduce como *Huanss Karloss* y la forma declinada en dativo será *Huanam Karlosam*.

Por lo que se refiere a la traducción de los nombres de las personas relevantes para la historia del país, se observa una gran falta de coherencia y unanimidad. Podría servir de ejemplo *Albert*, el nombre del obispo alemán considerado fundador de la ciudad de Riga. En las ediciones arriba

mencionadas de las guías turísticas se encuentran las siguientes variantes de la traducción de Albert: *Obispo Alberto*, *Obispo Alberts*, *Obispo Albert*. El primer ejemplo está españolizado, el segundo letonizado y solo el último, que es la versión alemana, es el más equivalente. El contexto histórico en este caso debería ser primordial para el traductor y como se sabe que en el siglo XIII todavía no existía ni Letonia como estado o nación, ni la lengua letona, el traductor debería quedarse con la versión de Albert.

Respecto a los nombres de príncipes y zares rusos también se observa un panorama parecido, influenciado además por la adaptación de estos nombres al inglés: zar ruso *Alejandro/Aleksandr/Aleksandrs/Alexandr*; zar ruso *Mijail/Mihail/Mikhail/Mikhail*. Si seguimos las recomendaciones de los lingüistas españoles, las variantes recomendadas serían las de *Alejandro y Mijaíl*. También son adaptados al español e incluso algunos traducidos parcialmente del ruso al español, los nombres de otros zares y zarinas: *Catalina I, Pedro el Grande y Carlos XII* (rey sueco) etc.

Siempre es un reto para los traductores la traducción de los nombres de personajes históricos que provienen de las leyendas o crónicas. Si resultan transparentes, el problema disminuye pero, ¿qué hacer con los nombres de la literatura que tienen connotaciones? Este caso lo comenta Newmark:

Los nombres de personajes de comedias, alegorías, cuentos de hadas y de algunos cuentos infantiles se traducen, a no ser que en algunos cuentos populares, la nacionalidad sea importante. (Newmark, 2006: 290)

A veces los traductores llegan a una variante completamente diferente a la variante gráfica y fónica en la lengua original. Newmark da un ejemplo cuando el traductor utilizando un método de varias transformaciones semántico-fónicas ha traducido el apellido de *Navatov* (personaje de una novela de Tolstoy) como *Alarmov*. (Newmark, 2006: 290). Se podría comentar la traducción de *Lačplesis* al español. Es un personaje épico que simboliza fuerza y heroismo. Haciendo la traducción literal de los componentes semánticos de la palabra tenemos *el hombre que mata osos*. ¿Deberíamos dejarlo así? Para cualquier representante de otra cultura esta variante no transmite el simbolismo que tiene este personaje en nuestra cultura. En este caso lo mas conveniente sería crear algún nombre nuevo que se basará en asociaciones fonéticas o semánticas para el lector en la lengua terminal. Como no hemos dado con ninguna variante parecida, recomendamos transferirlo adaptándolo a la fonética española y añadiendo la explicación: *Lachplesis* (héroe nacional, personaje épico). Pero aquí ya entramos en el terreno muy amplio que está relacionado con la traducción literaria y que merece ser objeto de atención en otro estudio.

## Traducción de topónimos: entre geografía y política

Los nombres de lugar extranjeros se suelen transferir al español. Pero en la lengua española también existen ya nombres incorporados y con mucha tradición que son versiones adaptadas como *Moscú*, *Londres*, *Múnich*, *Bucarest*; otros incluso traducidos como *Cape Tawn*: Ciudad del Cabo. Antes en la lengua española la traducción de los nombres de lugares era muy común. Encontramos, incluso, la traducción del museo de *El Louvre* al español, *La Lobera*. El ilustre académico Valentín García Yebra era gran defensor de la adaptación de los nombres de lugar, aunque en la modernidad predomina la tendencia hacia la transferencia de los nombres originales, a pesar de que estos puedan tener formas castellanizadas. Tal situación lleva a la coexistencia de dobletes (Moya, 2000: 14):

*Hesse/Hessen, Dresde/Dresden, Francfort/Frankfurt, Botsuana/Botswana.*

Tras analizar las fuentes informativas a nuestra disposición, vemos que en su mayoría los topónimos letones se transfieren: *Liepaja*, *Madona*, *Tukums*, etc. Igual como en el caso de los antropónimos, las ediciones en español no suelen respetar los diacríticos: *Ikskile* (en letón, *Ikšķile*), *Cesis* (en letón *Cēsis*), contradiciendo así las indicaciones de la Real Academia de la Lengua que dice que se deben respetar tanto los diacríticos como la acentuación original de los topónimos extranjeros que se incorporen al español por mera transferencia del endónimo: *Düsseldorf* (RAE: 2010). Una lista de ciudades letonas está incluida en el diccionario ESPASA, aunque debemos reconocer que carecemos de las fuentes lexicográficas que tengan incluidos los registros bilingües de topónimos. Como consecuencia de esta situación podemos observar que muchos traductores bajo la influencia del inglés y el deseo de trasmitir la forma fonética en original incluyen en sus trabajos los topónimos adaptados, pero más con grafía inglesa: *Gauja* en lugar de *Gauja*, *Ikschile* en lugar de *Ikšķile*, etc.

Los procedimientos de adaptación de los nombres propios han sido tratados en trabajos de varios lingüistas. Podemos citar el *Libro de estilo de ABC* que incluye también recomendaciones prácticas:

Cuando procede de una lengua sin alfabeto latino o sin tradición escrita, se adapta su grafía y su pronunciación al español, poniendo el acento donde corresponda: Abiyán, Kíev, Isfahán.

Muchos topónimos llegan transcritos a través de lenguas intermedias, sobre todo de inglés, con grupos consonánticos y vocálicos inexistentes en español. Ofrecemos las siguientes normas- guías para adaptarlos prestadas del libro de Cf. J. Martínez de Sousa:

-*h*- desaparece: Thailandia > Tailandia,  
frances *ou* > *u*: Louisiana > Luisiana

francés/inglés *kh* > *j*: Khartum > Jartúm

francés *dj* > *y*: Tadzhikistan > Tayikistán

inglés *ph* > *f*: Philadelphia > Filadelfia

*ç* > *z*: Acores > Azores

-*y*- > *i*: Kenya > Kenia

*tch* > *ch*: Tchad > Chad

*w* > *u* (no siempre): Botswana > Botsuana

letras dobles se simplifican: Mississippi > Misisipí (ABC, 2001)

También vamos a citar la *Nueva ortografía de la lengua española* (2010):

Los exónimos españoles, ya sean formas tradicionales o nuevas adaptaciones de topónimos extranjeros, deben someterse a las normas de acentuación gráfica de nuestra lengua (RAE, 2010).

En las guías turísticas y las páginas informativas de internet muchas veces damos con la traducción añadida de los topónimos transparentes: *Kalēju iela* (La calle de forjadores) etc. La mayoría de los monumentos históricos se traducen: *La Torre de la Pólvora*, *La Casa de las Cabezas Negras* etc.

Respecto a eso me gustaría citar las recomendaciones de Newmark:

Deben distinguir entre lo que es un topónimo cuando forma parte de unas señas o dirección que se transfiere y lo que es cuando integra el escenario cultural de un folleto publicitario, en cuyo caso se pueden traducir clasificadores del tipo *río*, *montaña*, *meseta*. (Newmark, 2006: 291)

Una característica típica de la lengua letona es que los nombres clasificadores como *isla* (*sala*) y *montaña* (*kalns*) forman parte del nombre propio: *Bastejkalns*, *Gaizinkalns*, *Andrejsala*, *Kipsala* etc. En tales situaciones, cuando sea necesario, de todas formas delante del nombre propio se recomienda utilizar el nombre clasificador: la montaña *Gaizinkalns*, la isla *Zakusala*. Tampoco siempre cuando se dice que es montaña, lo es, porque se han conservado muchos nombres históricos y el traductor podría introducir aclaraciones como, por ejemplo: la colina *Bastejkalns*. En este contexto Newmark recomienda:

[...] consultar los atlas o diccionarios geográficos más recientes, y, si fuera necesario, con las embajadas del país en cuestión. Deben, por otra parte respetar los deseos de un pueblo de escoger sus propios nombres para sus características geográficas [...]. (Newmark, 2006: 291)

Moya también en su obra menciona que debemos prestar atención al aspecto político. O sea, lo que antes era *Leningrado* ahora es *San Petersburgo* y lo que antes era *Alto Volta* ahora se llama *Burkina Fasó*. En Letonia los nombres de las calles han vivido las trasformaciones con el cambio de régimenes

políticos. Por ejemplo, la calle de la Libertad (*Brīvības iela*) ha cambiado varias veces su nombre: desde la *Calle de Alejandro* hasta la *Calle de la Libertad* pasando por la *Calle de Hitler* y la *Calle de Lenin*. También el nombre del río *Daugava* podemos encontrar en dos variantes. En el territorio de Letonia siempre se llamaba *Daugava* pero como antes tenía el nombre oficial *del Dvina Occidental*, porque es la continuación del trayecto del río *Dvina*, en muchos mapas geográficos publicados en el extranjero sigue con este topónimo. Políticamente correcto es poner en todas las fuentes el nombre del *Daugava* para el trayecto del río en el territorio de Letonia.

Para finalizar con la traducción de topónimos, consideramos importante hablar de tal factor como la sonoridad del nombre propio. A veces, transfiriendo el nombre de una lengua a otra, perdemos una parte de información gráfica y la nueva variante puede producir efectos poco sonoros o malsonantes. Con este problema nos hemos encontrado traduciendo el indicador de la calle que lleva el nombre del famoso escritor letón *Aleksndrs Čaks: Aleksandra Čaka iela*. En español sería *C/Aleksandra Caka*, lo que suena poco agradable.

Encontrar una solución a este caso concreto no es fácil, ya que nadie va a cambiar la grafía letona en los indicadores de las calles y por ello no faltarán turistas que pronunciarán de forma incorrecta el apellido del escritor. Pero en los mapas, así como en la información turística en internet y en otras ediciones en la lengua española, la grafía letona del apellido podría ser substituida con la grafía que se adapta a la versión fonética en original, o sea *Chaka*.

## Conclusiones

La traducción, como la lengua, se halla siempre dentro del contexto cultural y político. Los nombres propios en cada lengua forman conceptos que reflejan la visión sobre el objeto desde el punto de vista de una cultura concreta.

Debido a la aplicación de varias tradiciones de transcripción y transliteración en otras lenguas, coexisten varias versiones o dobletes de los nombres propios tanto en la lengua española, como en la lengua letona.

El papel del traductor es muy importante para la comunicación cultural porque puede ayudar a crear la imagen del país.

Los procedimientos traslatorios evolucionan con el tiempo. Si antes en la lengua española se traducían la mayoría de los nombre de pila y topónimos, ahora se da preferencia a su transferencia de la lengua original.

Los nombres propios de alfabetos no latinos suelen llegar ya adaptados en otras lenguas, sobre todo en inglés, lo cual también explica la existencia de dobletes de un nombre.

La ausencia de fuentes lexicográficas bilingües español/letón/español que incluyan los registros actualizados de topónimos y antropónimos letones explica, parcialmente, la falta de la unidad ortográfica en las variantes de antropónimos y topónimos extranjeros puestos en español.

Para la traducción adecuada de nombres propios deben tomarse en cuenta tres aspectos: la tradición, las tendencias actuales y la sonoridad.

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## TRANSLATION OF PROPER NAMES FROM LATVIAN TO SPANISH

### Summary

The article is dedicated to a topical issue in the field of translation studies: the translation of proper names, in particular anthroponyms and toponyms. The translation of proper names from Latvian to Spanish poses a serious challenge for translators and linguists mainly due to two reasons: firstly, the methodology for translating foreign names into Spanish has changed over time, secondly, translations from Latvian into Spanish are scarce, which means that from the point of linguists, the issue has not been tested in practice. The article presents a comparative analysis of approaches proposed by different Spanish linguists

concerning the issue of translatability/untranslatability of proper names as well as an overview on the current situation in the practice of translating Latvian toponyms and anthroponyms into Spanish. The lack of Spanish/Latvian/Spanish bilingual lexicographical sources and updated records of Latvian toponyms and anthroponyms complicates the translation process. An important issue that needs to be resolved is the identification of aspects that should be taken into consideration in the translation of proper names – whether it is the tradition, the current prevailing trend or the euphonic quality of the name.

**Key words:** proper names, translatability, anthroponyms, toponyms, transfer, identify

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# ANÁLISIS CONTRASTIVO DE LA SEMÁNTICA DE LAS UNIDADES FRASEOLÓGICAS EMOTIVAS EN ESPAÑOL, RUSO Y LETÓN

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**Resumen.** En las últimas décadas se viene detectando el aumento del interés en la fraseología comparada, ya que las expresiones idiomáticas son perlas del idioma en cuyo dominio se fundamenta la comunicación efectiva con nativos. Conocer y, sobre todo, utilizar las unidades fraseológicas (UFS) significa que uno ha alcanzado el nivel más alto de expresión lingüística en una lengua extranjera. A lo largo del presente trabajo nos proponemos reflexionar sobre el tratamiento de la UFS en tres lenguas: español, ruso y letón, situando nuestra investigación en el campo de la fraseología comparada, haciendo el análisis contrastivo de la semántica de las expresiones fraseológicas emotivo-emocionales que día a día nos encontramos en la calle, radio, prensa y televisión.

**Palabras clave:** unidad fraseológica, fraseología comparada, fraseología letona, fraseología rusa, fraseología española, traducción de fraseologismos, fraseología emotiva

## Introducción

Las unidades fraseológicas (fraseologismos, locuciones, giros idiomáticos, dichos, expresiones idiomáticas, frases hechas etc.) provocan un vivo interés entre los investigadores ya desde los principios del siglo XX. La situación actual en el campo de la fraseología europea está multifacéticamente investigada en el trabajo de Gloria Corpas Pastor *Corrientes actuales de la investigación de la fraseología en Europa*, donde se analizan prácticamente todas las actividades en el campo de la fraseología: publicaciones científicas, tesis doctorales, estudios teóricos, monografías, coloquios, seminarios y congresos. Y según dice en el trabajo mencionado:

[...] no es casualidad, que en los últimos años se estén celebrando un sin fin de eventos científicos sobre fraseología ni que el número de trabajos publicados sobre este tema aumenta en progresión geométrica [...] (Corpas Pastor, 2001: 25).

Representada en todos los idiomas sin excepción, la fraseología tiene un carácter único en cada uno de estos. En las últimas décadas se viene detectando

un aumento del interés en la fraseología comparada (o contrastiva) que está directamente relacionada con el problema de la traducción de las unidades fraseológicas. Al estudio de este problema se han dedicado muchos científicos lingüistas y traductores, y en la traductología moderna es uno de los campos que mayores dificultades presenta en el momento de traducir una UF. Existen diferentes recomendaciones y se han elaborado diferentes modos de una transmisión óptima de los fraseologismos, pero al mismo tiempo todos los investigadores de este problema son unánimes en cuanto a la afirmación de que además de conocer muy bien la fraseología de la lengua-origen y lengua-meta y atenerse al principio fundamental de traducir una unidad fraseológica por unidad fraseológica, el traductor tiene que tomar en consideración también las numerosas condiciones y factores en el proceso del trabajo con el texto. Entre ellos podemos citar los siguientes:

- la semántica de la unidad fraseológica
- su función estilística
- el contexto
- su matiz
- la compatibilidad léxica
- su forma interior, y otros.

## Estado actual del tema

La traducción por sí misma puede ser considerada como una de las formas más complicadas de la comunicación. Pero las unidades fraseológicas, debido a que en ellas se manifiestan y se reflejan las especificidades del pensamiento y de la concepción del mundo de un pueblo determinado, se reflejan las tradiciones, los hábitos, las creencias etc. etc., estas UF representan de por sí unos microtextos, lo que hace su traducción mucho más complicada aún. Últimamente ha crecido considerablemente el interés por el análisis del problema de la traducción de las unidades fraseológicas desde el punto de vista de la estilística, linguoculturología, psicolingüística y de otras disciplinas lingüísticas. En el plan contrastivo este problema plantea las mayores dificultades y al mismo tiempo es relativamente poco investigado.

A lo largo de este estudio nos proponemos reflexionar sobre el tratamiento de las UF en tres lenguas – español, ruso, letón – situando, pues, nuestra investigación en los campos de la lexicografía teórica y la fraseología comparada. El tema despertó nuestro interés, sobre todo, por ser un estudio comparativo, pero también porque sentíamos que la fraseología comparada era una de las parcelas de la lengua letona que menos dominábamos desde el punto de vista práctico. Y si nadie va a discutir el hecho de que hay muchos estudios y diccionarios fraseológicos bilingües español-ruso y ruso-español, tenemos que reconocer que en el acercamiento inicial a los estudios que ya se han hecho, pronto descubrimos que la fraseología comparada española-letona es un campo

poco investigado, es, mejor dicho, una página en blanco, que es, sin duda, una situación incómoda para un filólogo. Y como últimamente los estudios de la lengua española en Letonia gozan de gran éxito, lógicamente la comparación interlingüística se hace inevitable.

En la semántica existen dos grandes grupos de factores que determinan el significado: los primeros en su sentido más amplio pueden ser nombrados nominativos, los segundos – pragmáticos. El aspecto nominativo de la semántica de las unidades lingüísticas está multifacéticamente investigado, lo que se refleja en los múltiples trabajos de los lingüistas. El aspecto pragmático, a su vez, tiene muchas páginas en blanco que exigen un análisis fundamental. El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar este aspecto pragmático de la semántica a partir de la fraseología española-rusa-letona que expresa la evaluación emocional tanto positiva, como negativa.

No es una tarea fácil elaborar una definición de lo que se entiende por *emoción*. Formularemos aquí una definición de trabajo considerando que las emociones son, según lo plantea A. Torrent-Lenzen:

[...] estados anímicos (es decir, no corporales, aunque con gran influencia sobre el cuerpo), intrínsecos en todo momento a la naturaleza humana, que se van alterando...como reacción ante el entorno (buen o mal tiempo, dolor o bienestar, personas o cosas que intervienen en nuestras vidas, éxitos o fracasos experimentados, etc.), por lo que su duración se caracteriza por la brevedad (relativa, por supuesto) [...] (Torrent-Lenzen, 2008: 2).

Vale decir que el número de las emociones fundamentales no está definitivamente determinado en la psicología ni en la fisiología. Los psicólogos cuentan con más de 500 emociones diferentes, que pueden ser expresadas de una manera verbal o no verbal. Cada una de las emociones posee el signo emotivo, o sea que pertenece a uno de tres grupos de emociones: positivas, negativas o ambivalentes.

Y pasando directamente al análisis comparativo de las unidades fraseológicas emotivas vamos a destacar que la esencia de la motivación semántica consiste en hacer la comparación de dos objetos basada en un rasgo común, este último en este caso se manifiesta de una manera mediatizada, a través de una imagen-símbolo existente en la conciencia lingüística de los portadores de una lengua dada. Vale decir que la expresividad puede surgir, por ejemplo, a partir de una transmisión metafórica, unas características asociativas, como:

**(en español)**  
*chuparse los dedos*

**(en ruso)**  
*– пальчики облизеиъ*

**(en letón)**  
*– mēli var norīt;  
siekālas mutē saskrien/satek*

En adelante vamos a seguir el mismo orden de las lenguas en los ejemplos. En este primer ejemplo vemos una equivalencia total (ET) en las lenguas española y rusa, mientras que en letón la misma idea se expresa con ayuda de otras unidades fraseológicas – *es para tragarse la lengua y llenársele (a uno) la boca de la saliva*.

(en español)	(en ruso)	(en letón)
<i>tocón podrido</i> (persona vieja)	– <i>пень трухлявый</i>	– <i>vecs krakis</i>
<i>en el propio jugo</i>	– <i>в самом соку</i>	– <i>pašā spēku briedumā; pašos spēka gados</i>
<i>(en la plenitud de la vida)</i> <i>jugar sucio</i>	<i>(в расцвете лет/сил)</i> – <i>играть “грязно”</i>	– <i>spēlēt “netīri”, mānīt; maldināt</i>
<i>(engañar, fraudar)</i>	(обманывать, поступать нечестно)	

Puede estar basada también en una forma exótica, inusual de los componentes:

(en español)	(en ruso)	(en letón)
<i>decir galimatías</i> (absurdos)	– <i>нести ахинею, околесицу, галиматью</i>	– <i>runāt blēķas, muļķības</i>
<i>bobo de Coria,</i> <i>tono de capirote</i> (una persona estúpida, extremadamente tonto)	– <i>балбес/балбешка стоеросовая (taco de dimensiones inmensas)</i>	– <i>stulbeņu stulbenis, nelga starp nelgām</i>
<i>ni fu, ni fa</i> (ni uno ni otro, mediocre)	– <i>ни то, ни сё</i>	– <i>ne šis, ne tas</i>

Existe también una clasificación relativamente nueva de las unidades fraseológicas basada en la pertenencia de las mismas a los determinados grupos léxico-temáticos. Vamos a ver algunos ejemplos.

Grupos léxico-temáticos con la valoración meliorativa:

1. *Lo celeste, divino* (lo relacionado con el cielo, Dios, ángeles, paraíso):

*estar en el cielo/estar en séptimo cielo* – быть на седьмом небе (estar en el séptimo cielo) – *būt/justies, kā (septītajās) debesīs*. Una equivalencia total en español, ruso y letón.

*más pura que el ave del paraíso* (no hay equivalente en las lenguas rusa y letona) – целомудренная; чистая, как голубка (pura como una palomita) – *tīra, nevainoama*

*tener uno (mucho) ángel* (no hay equivalente en las lenguas rusa ni letona) – быть обаятельным, обладать даром нравиться – *būt simpātiskam*

*como un serafín* – просто ангел, ангелочек; как картинка (чаще о детях), más a menudo se usa hablando de los niños, – *kā engēlītis*

*bajado/venido del cielo* (no hay equivalente) – прекрасный, чудесный, безупречный (maravilloso, impecable) – *brīnišķīgs, pasakains*

*hacer (una cosa) como los ángeles* (no hay equivalente) – делать что-либо очень хорошо – *darīt kaut-ko ļoti labi*

*mano de santo* (no hay equivalente) – рука святого, восхитительный, очень хороший (о средстве) – *lielisks (par instrumentu, veidu)*

No es difícil notar que casi todas las locuciones citadas tienen el mismo matiz: admiración.

2. El segundo grupo léxico-temático (con el mismo matiz – admiración) – *luz, brillo, brillantez* (lo relacionado con la luz, iluminación, estrellas, perlas):

*la estrella que guía* – путеводная звезда – *ceļa rādītāja zvaigzne; ceļa zvaigzne; ceļvede zvaigzne*. Una equivalencia total en tres lenguas.

*ser (una) estrella* – звезда первой величины – *pirmā lieluma zvaigzne*

*bonito como una estrella* (no hay equivalente) – очень красивый, восхитительный – *ļoti skaists; skaistulis/skaistule*

*tener buena estrella* – быть счастливым, везучим; родиться под счастливой звездой – *piedzimt zem laimīgas zvaigznes* (nacer bajo una estrella feliz)

‘*de perlas*’ (no hay equivalente) – букв. ‘из жемчужины’ – отлично, превосходно, очень кстати – *lieliski; brīnišķīgi*

*ser una lumbrera* – быть светилом (об очень умном человеке) – *zvaigzne (par ļoti gudru cilvēku)*, en ruso y letón se dice esto sobre una persona muy inteligente

En estos ejemplos podemos notar que el componente *luz* se interpreta también como la característica y capacidades mentales e intelectuales.

3. El tercer grupo léxico-temático que vamos a destacar está relacionado con *lo dulce*:

*hacer de algo un caramelo* – сделать (из чего-либо) конфетку – *padarīt konfekti (no kaut-kā)*

*la luna de miel* – медовый месяц – *medus mēness*. Equivalencia total en las tres lenguas.

*azúcar y canela* (no hay equivalente) – ‘сахар и корица’, объедение; пальчики оближешь

*como de mazapán* (no hay equivalente) – мягкий; ласковый; нежный – *maigs, miļš*

*más sabroso que la miel/dulce como la miel* – сладостный, восхитительный; сладкий, как мед/патока – *salds, kā medus* (dulce como la miel)

Según vemos de estos ejemplos el matiz emocional de las expresiones dadas es sumamente positivo.

Puede ser destacado un grupo léxico-temático más, cuyos componentes están relacionados con *la maravilla, hechizo, magia*:

*es un mago* – маг и волшебник – *burvis* (la persona que sabe hacerlo todo fácil y muy bien)

*la octava maravilla del mundo* – восьмое чудо света – *astotais pasaules brīnumi*. Aquí tenemos una equivalencia total en las tres lenguas, expresión que habla de algo muy bonito, admirable.

*hacer milagros* (con una cosa) – творить чудеса – *taisīt/darīt brīnumus* (conseguir muy buenos resultados en algo) – equivalencia total

*a maravillas/a las mil maravillas* – чудесно, замечательно, превосходно, восхитительно – *brīnišķīgi, lieliski*

Es fácil notar que en todos los grupos citados el matiz emocional es positivo.

Con el matiz emocional negativo puede ser mencionado el grupo léxico-temático relacionado con el *vacío*:

*irse de vacío* – (уйти пустым) уйти не солоно хлебавши – *aiziet/palikt tukšā dar en vacío* – (не попасть в цель) потерпеть неудачу – *neatrāpīt; neveikties, ciest neveiksni*

*cabeza hueca* – пустая голова; глупец – *tukša galva; mulķis*

Otros grupos de unidades fraseológicas relacionadas con el campo semántico de los sentimientos/emociones:

las unidades que expresan *tristeza, pena, dolor, sufrimiento* (el matiz peyorativo):

*andar/estar con el alma en pena/en vilo; andar/ir como alma en pena* – быть не в духе; душа саднит; на душе тяжело – *būt nelabā/ sliktā omā; smagi/grūti ap sirdi*

*andar/estar hecho polvo* – как выжатый лимон – *kā izspiests citrons* – equivalencia total en ruso y letón (como un limón exprimido).

*caérsele a alguien el alma a los pies/al suelo* – сердце упало; падать духом – *zaudēt dūšu*

*rompérsele a alguien el alma* – душа/сердце разрывается; разбить сердце – *sirds vai pušu plēst; sirds vai lūst; lauzt kādam sirdi.* Una equivalencia total en tres lenguas

*derramar/llorar lágrimas de cocodrilo* – проливать/лить крокодиловы слезы – *liet krokodiļa asaras.* Una equivalencia total en tres lenguas (ET).

*deshacerse en lágrimas* – разразиться рыданиями/слезами; удариться в слезы – *sāk liet asaras; sāk raudāt gaužām asarām*

*tener una losa sobre el corazón* – камень на сердце – *smagi ap sirdi; kā akmens guļ uz sirds* (ET)

*llorar a lágrima suelta/viva* – рыдать навзрыд - *liet karstas/gaužas asaras; mirkt asarās*

*llorar con lágrimas de sangre* – плакать кровавыми слезами; горькие слезы – *liet asins asaras*

*pasar la pena negra* – переживать черные дни; настали черные дни – *bēdu dienas (nebaltas dienas) pieredzēt; sūru dienas pieredzēt.* Eqivalencia total en ruso y letón.

Las unidades fraseológicas que expresan *miedo, angustia o preocupación*:

*hacersele (a alguien), ponérsele/tener un nudo en la garganta/en el estómago* – комок в горле; живот от страха свело – *kā kamols kaklā iespriedās; rīkle aizķēaudzās* (ET)

*no tener/no quedarle (a uno) sangre en las venas* – кровь в жилах стынет/холодеет/леденеет – *asinis dzīslās stingst (kādam)* – se le hiela la sangre (a alguien)

*temblar como una hoja* – дрожит, как (осиновый) лист – *dreb/trīc kā apšu lapa.* Equivalencia total en ruso y letón: temblar como una hoja de álamo temblón

*dejar a alguien pegado a la pared* – приспереть/прижать к стенке (кого-либо) – *piespiest kādu pie sienas; iedzīt kādu sprukās* (ET)

*salir con el rabo entre las piernas/encoger el rabo* – поджать хвост (encoger el rabo) – *nolaist asti; iemiegst asti kājstarpī*

*huir como alma que lleva el diablo* – (бежать) как черт от ладана – *bēgt kā velnam no krusta/no uguns.* (Huir) como el diablo huye del incienso/de la cruz/del fuego. Equivalencia total en ruso y letón.

*estar en ascuas* – (сидеть) как на иголках – *Sēdēt kā uz adatām.* Estar como sobre agujas;

*quedarse más muerto que vivo* – чуть не умер от страха; душа ушла в пятки – *dūša papežos.* En ruso y letón: estar con el alma en los tacones.

*ponérsele los pelos de punta a alguien* – волосы дыбом становятся – *mati cēlās stāvus* (ET)

Hay un grupo grande de unidades fraseológicas que expresan *molestia, fastidio, pesadez, aburrimiento, enfado o rabia*:

*aburrirse como una seta/una ostra/un hongo* – умирать от скуки – *beigties vai nost aiz garlaicibas*. Una equivalencia en ruso y letón – *morirse del aburrimiento*

*pegarse/agarrarse como una lapa* – прилип, как банный лист – *pielipis kā dadzis/kā liepu lapa*

*estar hasta allá/allí/arriba/el coco/la punta/la coronilla/las narices/el gorro* – сыт по горло; все достало до чертиков – *līdz kaklam; ir atēdies (kaut kā); (kādam) apnicis līdz riebumam (kaut kas, kāds)* – ET.

## Conclusiones

Según podemos ver de los ejemplos analizados los fraseologismos letones tienen una semejanza muy grande con los fraseologismos rusos, ya que con esta lengua tenemos las antiguas y profundas relaciones culturales, las que han dejado su huella en la lengua también. En la aparición de los fraseologismos letones y rusos han jugado su papel tanto los factores exteriores como interiores: el dominio extranjero, mitología, clima, religión, agricultura etc. En las lenguas letona y rusa hay muchos fraseologismos en los cuales están reflejadas las observaciones de los hombres, su experiencia, sus valoraciones y observaciones, su actitud emocional hacia diferentes fenómenos, hay muchas expresiones similares donde en forma metafórica y alegórica se compara el hombre y su actividad con diferentes animales y fenómenos naturales, con el dios o con el diablo. La mayor parte de los fraseologismos analizados tienen diferencias en el plano semántico y etimológico, un gran número de ellos no tienen equivalentes totales en otra lengua, y aunque hemos constatado mucha más semejanza entre las unidades fraseológicas letonas y rusas que entre las españolas y letonas o españolas y rusas, tenemos que reconocer que el potencial metafórico y figurado de los fraseologismos rusos en comparación con el letón es más amplio. El análisis semántico y etimológico de las unidades fraseológicas demuestra que en los fraseologismos rusos hay más imágenes abstractas en comparación con los letones, que son en su mayoría más exactos y precisos.

Por supuesto, el presente artículo no pretende ni mucho menos analizar todas las unidades fraseológicas relacionadas con la expresión de las emociones (lo que resulta imposible, además, dentro del marco de un artículo). Sin embargo las unidades analizadas nos permiten llegar a una conclusión más: hay más fraseologismos de carácter negativo que de carácter positivo, lo que resaltan en sus trabajos varios investigadores de esta área de la fraseología. Podemos citar, entre otros, a Aina Torrent-Lenzen, que escribe exactamente lo siguiente: 'En general, hay más unidades fraseológicas para expresar emociones

de carácter negativo (enfado, ira, etc.) que de carácter positivo (alegría, esperanza, etc.)' (Torrent-Lenzen, 2008: 6).

Según dicen Luque Durán J. y Manjón F. en su trabajo *Claves culturales del diseño de las lenguas: fundamentos de tipología fraseológica* 'gran parte de la fraseología con la que día a día nos encontramos en la calle, radio, prensa, televisión, etc. se halla en un terreno intermedio entre lo fijo y cambiante, lo generalizado y lo particular, lo universalmente aceptado y lo personal'. Y para terminar nos permitimos poner una observación muy precisa de los autores mencionados (J. Luque Durán y F. J. Manjón) expuesta en el trabajo citado con la cual estamos totalmente de acuerdo, y que dice que:

[...] para el lingüista, aceptar estos hechos supone orientar su trabajo hacia una visión más amplia, que incluya, no solamente factores culturales o ideológicos, sino también contrastes entre muchas lenguas. Para el traductólogo significa que debe de adquirir una competencia que va más allá de los conocimientos que gramáticas y diccionarios nos pueden ofrecer [...].

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## CONTRASTIVE SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF EMOTION-RELATED PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS

### Summary

In the last decades an increased interest in comparative phraseology has been detected. The use of the phraseological units (UFS) in the discourse proves that the person has reached the highest level of linguistic expression in a foreign language, which is essentially important to successful communication with the native speakers. In the present paper we concentrate the analysis on the treatment of UFS in three languages: Spanish, Russian and Latvian, placing our research in the field of comparative phraseology, making the contrastive analysis of the semantics of the emotive-emotional idiomatic expressions that day by day we meet in the street, radio, press and television. The analyzed material allows us to conclude: in tree languages there are more idioms with negative semantic than with a positive one. Similar conclusions have also been drawn by different researchers in the field of phraseology working with other languages.

**Key words:** phraseological unit, compared phraseology, Latvian phraseology, Russian phraseology, Spanish phraseology, translation of idioms, emotive phraseology

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Language for International Communication:  
Linking Interdisciplinary Perspectives, 2014

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