

Proceedings of the 7th International Free Linguistics Conference

Hong Kong, September 2013

Edited by:

Elaine Espindola &
Abhishek Kumar Kashyap

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7th International Free Linguistics Conference

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Statement on Review Process

All papers included in this volume went through a two-stage single-blind review process (single blind in that sense that the reviewers knew the respective author but the author did not know who the reviewer was). First, each abstract submitted to FLC2013 was single-blind peer reviewed. The authors whose abstract was accepted were then invited to submit a full paper for consideration to be included in this volume. The full papers were then single-blind reviewed and the authors, on a positive recommendation by reviewer, were asked to revise the paper according to the reviewer's comments. The lists of the reviewers of full papers are given below.

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Table of Contents

Statement on Review Process	v
Acknowledgement	vii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Authors	xi
Preface	xiii
English Language Teaching in Indian Madrasas: Accommodation or Complicity? <i>Pritha Chandra</i>	1
Connecting Language Acquisition with Music Acquisition: Clues for Language Evolution in Music <i>Kathryn Davies</i>	7
The Drama Queen's English: Aspects of Filipino Sociocultural Identity in the Subtitles of a Philippine Telenovela <i>Ana Marie Alfelor-De Jesus</i>	13
Identity Representation in Facebook through Language Functions and Language Codes Used by Users <i>Mee Jay Agustin Domingo</i>	20
A Pedagogical Approach to Cultivating Critical Thinking Competence of Non-English Majors in the Context of CBI Academic English Teaching <i>Du Jiemin</i>	25
Resultative Constructions in English and Chinese <i>IW Ronald Fong</i>	32
"I pronounce the accused guilty": Politeness inside the first Impeachment court in the Philippines <i>Lemuel R. Fontillas</i>	40
Enhancement of Learners' Communicative Competence through Teaching of Poetry <i>Shilpagauri Prasad Ganpule</i>	47
A Qualitative Approach to Analysis of Lexical Developments in Writing Using Psycholinguistic Word Attributes <i>Takumi Ishii</i>	53
Official Linguistics vs. Linguistics 2.0: Challenges and Opportunities <i>Viacheslav B. Kashkin</i>	60
Whole Object Assumption and Mutual Exclusivity Assumption in 3-4-Year-Old Cebuano Preschoolers: A Qualitative Analysis <i>Daylinda Luz R. Laput</i>	67
A Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency: An Introduction <i>Ahmar Mahboob and Lydia R. Dutcher</i>	74
Cannabis Farms and Factories: A corpus investigation into the ideological implications of UK news reports <i>Jamie McKeown</i>	82
Projection of citations in the reflexive writing of professionalizing teacher-training reports <i>Livia Melo and Elaine Espindola</i>	90

Inclusive and exclusive pronouns across sections of the research article <i>Mónica Chávez Muñoz</i>	96
Manner/Result Complementarity Revisited: A Case Study of Japanese Manner-of-Motion Verbs in Narrative Contexts <i>Shotaro Namiki</i>	102
Conceptual Code-Switching and Teacher Training <i>Philip Peckson</i>	109
A tale of two cities: Investigating teachers and students' beliefs on grammar pedagogy in English language teaching <i>Eleni Petraki and Maya Gunawardena</i>	116
The Attitude of Meaning Expression in Giving Advice on Love: The Appraisal Theory Perspective <i>Pinanong Champa-Ngeon and Itsarate Dolphen</i>	123
A Lexicographical Minefield: Treatment of Nonstandard <i>Like</i> in Dictionaries <i>Alia Pugh and Raphael Salkie</i>	131
Language as a political construct <i>Kanavillil Rajagopalan</i>	137
In-Service Language Teachers' Development from the Perspective of Localization <i>Masaki Seo</i>	143
Gender Differences in Narrative Writing of Indonesian University Students <i>Nina Setyaningsih and Valentina Widya Suryaningtyas</i>	149
Reconceptualizing China English: an investigation of model argumentative texts by Chinese ELT teachers <i>Shi Yongming</i>	155
Representations of Brazilian Schoolteachers in Pre-Service Teachers' Reports <i>Wagner Rodrigues Silva and Elaine Espindola</i>	162
<i>He deserved to die by a woman's hand!:</i> masculine and feminine traits of female <i>kung-fu</i> practitioners in films <i>Cherise Teo Shi Ling and Mie Hiramoto</i>	168
Problems in Understanding Spanish Tenses among Malaysian Chinese Students: A Case Study <i>Edison Mejia Vasquez</i>	175
Comparing the Structure and Mappings of WAR Metaphor in English and Chinese Business Media Discourse <i>Xian Zhong</i>	182

List of Authors

Ahmar Mahboob	74
Alia Pugh and Raphael Salkie	131
Ana Marie Alfelor-De Jesus	13
Cherise Teo Shi Ling	168
Daylinda Luz R. Laput	67
Du Jiemin	25
Edison Mejia Vasquez	175
Elaine Espindola	90, 162
Eleni Petraki	116
Itsarate Dolphen	123
IW Ronald Fong	32
Jamie McKeown	82
Kanavillil Rajagopalan	137
Kathryn Davies	7
Lemuel R. Fontillas	40
Livia Melo	90
Lydia R. Dutcher	74
Masaki Seo	143
Maya Gunawardena	116
Mee Jay Agustin Domingo	20
Mie Hiramoto	168
Mónica Chávez Muñoz	96
Nina Setyaningsih	149
Philip Peckson	109
Pinanong Champa-Ngeon	123
Pritha Chandra	1
Shi Yongming	155
Shilpagauri Prasad Ganpule	47
Shotaro Namiki	102
Takumi Ishii	53
Valentina Widya Suryaningtyas	149
Viacheslav B. Kashkin	60
Wagner Rodrigues Silva	162
Xian Zhong	182

Preface

We are very pleased and proud to present the Proceedings of 7th International Free Linguistics Conference (FLC2013) that was held in The Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU), Hong Kong during 27–28 September 2013. Free Linguistics conference series was conceived as an idea to provide researchers, especially graduate students and early-career researchers of Linguistics and English Language Teaching with a widely accessible forum to discuss current issues in language studies and to promote scholarly dialogue in the field. In keeping with the original purpose of the series, FLC2013 was highly successful in that the conference received support and participation of researchers from across the world. The keynote speakers included as eminent scholars as Prof. Douglas Biber (Northern Arizona University, USA), Prof. Ruqaiya Hasan (Macquarie University, Australia), Prof. Martin Haspelmath (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Germany), Prof. John Bateman (University of Bremen, Germany), and Dr. Ahmar Mahboob (University of Sydney, Australia). The participants from about 15 countries (including Hong Kong SAR, USA, UK, Australia, Brazil, India, Philippines, mainland China, Malaysia, Russia, Taiwan, Japan, among others) presented papers on a wide range of topics and engaged in lively discussions.

Since its conception in 2008 FLC2013 was the first conference of the series to be held outside Australia. Consistent with previous Free Linguistics Conferences FLC2013 focused on “freedom” as a primary distinguishing feature — freedom from the rigid divisions of linguistic sub-disciplines, freedom from an established norm of setting conference themes, and freedom from paying registration fee. The freedom from paying registration fee was made possible by the generous sponsor of the conference — the Department of English of PolyU. As a consequence of the “freedom”, FLC2013 received remarkable attention and support from local and international researchers from different theoretical persuasions. We received about 164 individual abstracts and 5 proposals for colloquia. All the abstracts and colloquia proposals were reviewed by experts and after the review process five colloquia proposals and 81 abstracts were accepted for oral presentation and about 10 abstracts for poster presentation. The papers included in this proceedings come from those presented in the conference. All the papers were blind-reviewed and revised by the respective authors based on the reviewer’s comments.

We would like to thank the authors for their contribution and reviewers for their comments and helpful suggestions that helped the respective authors revise their paper. One person who deserves special thanks here is Prof. Christian Matthiessen for his consistent support in all respects— administrative guidance, advices on different organizational aspects, and most significantly, ensuring funds as the Head of the Department of English at PolyU, which made the organization of FLC2013 possible.

Elane Espindola
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October 2014

1

English Language Teaching in Indian Madrasas: Accommodation or Complicity?

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Abstract

'Madrasas' (traditional Islamic schools) have received widespread attention in recent years for their alleged religious teachings and anti-American hegemonic sentiments. The Regional English Language Office of the US Embassy in New Delhi, along with other organizations, has therefore been actively organizing workshops for bringing scientific pedagogical approaches (with an emphasis on English) to madrasas. The goal is to bring their students to the mainstream. The paper analyzes the incorporation of English-language teaching (ELT) into Indian madrasas, as a project to counter the increasing alienation and radicalization of India's Muslim youth. It contests the key presupposition immanent in this attempt that such incorporation through formal institutions like schools and ELT counter the larger socio-political process of alienation. The paper further seeks to demonstrate that socio—political segmentation is internalized in India's multi-linguistic social setting in the form of language hierarchy, and these institutional measures do not just reproduce but intensify it.

1 Madrasas and Education

'Madrasa' is an Arabic word implying 'a place of learning' with no religious connotation, and is used as a generic term for 'Muslim schools' in India¹. These institutions date back to a time when secular education and religious education were not isolated from each other. As Ara (2004: 35) writes, disciplines as diverse as philosophy, prosody, grammar, mathematics, logic, history, and geography formed an integral part of madrasa curriculum, alongside different branches of religious teachings ('tafsir', 'hadith', 'fiqh' among others). Medicine such as Tibb-e-Unani (a discipline of alternative medicine) was taught as a specialized subject, as were martial arts, chivalry and statesmanship. As a result, neither Hindus nor Muslims hesitated from sending their children to madrasas. Madrasas had students from both rich and poorer sections of the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Today, the situation is different. Madrasas are targeted by only poor Muslims, with their elites choosing private English-medium institutions for their wards. The India 2001 population census puts the Muslim population at about 140 million and with a majority of them poor, madrasas must cater to quite a substantial number. Unsurprisingly, the number of operating madrasas now stand somewhere around thirty to forty thousand².

¹ Blanchard (2007) notes that the word "madrasa" has two meanings, the primary and common meaning being "school". It also has a secondary meaning, which is "a place of education in Islamic subjects". Thanks to a reviewer for leading me to this important work.

² The exact number of madrasas operating in the country remains unclear, with different scholars providing different numbers (see Ara 2004 and Metcalf 2007).

The madrasa curriculum is geared more towards providing elementary education to Muslim children, with focus on learning Urdu, Persian and Arabic. Hindi may or may not be included, depending on the curriculum of a particular state. Students are also encouraged to learn advanced levels of Islamic subjects. There are two primary goals of madrasa education. The first, which is also true of Indian schooling and education in general, is to impart practical and occupational skills to the students that allow them to place themselves favorably in the job market. The second goal, and one that is specific to madrasa education, is to "secure a distinctive cultural identity against the "Hindu" identity evident in public life and government schools." (Metcalf 2007:8)

It is this second quest that has placed madrasas in the heart of the debate. The Muslim community in India and in the world at large, especially after the 9/11 incidents live in an atmosphere of distrust and fear. All their institutions, especially madrasas are seen with suspicion, where Muslim youth are supposedly fed premodern obscurantist thoughts and ideas which radicalize them against the hegemony of the West with its modernist and 'scientific' ethos. Young beard-sporting madrasa students with skull caps are often easy targets for the hegemonic powers to label as terrorists and prove to the world that the community at large has a hidden 'subversive' agenda.

In an attempt to 'accommodate' the Muslim youth into the system (in other words, to de-radicalize them), the authorities have started approaching the madrasas with suggestions of curricula changes. In recent days, the Regional English Language Office of the US Embassy in New Delhi has been actively involved with organizations like Delhi-based Taraqqi-i-Foundation among others, in holding workshops for bringing scientific pedagogical approaches (with an emphasis on English) to madrasas. The expectation is that with the focus shifting from religious texts and Urdu, Persian and Arabic, to 'scientific' texts and English, madrasas will be able to impart a broader perspective to their students and also make them more eligible for the job market (see reports by Siasat.com, 2nd April 2013 and The Hindu, 3rd April 2013).

The underlying assumption of all such attempts is that formal institutions and measures like ELT can be used to establish 'consent' among a 'non-confirming' group of people. This stand is problematic. I will argue in this paper that the alienation of communities is a reflection of socio-political processes, and cannot be eliminated simply by educating its members in the hegemonic language and culture. 'Accommodation' in the existing world system does not imply the full representation of their ideas and desires, thus leaving out enough space for more discontent. In the Indian context, there are multiple factors that fuel such uneasiness within the system, one of the most effective being the prevalent language hierarchy. Imparting different status to languages helps keep the already marginalized at the fringes of society, making efforts to 'uplift' them look quite dubious and superfluous.

2 The Urdu debate

The isolation of Muslims in India has a long history, starting during the pre-Independence era, with the British rulers' brutal destruction of their significance in India's traditional politics and urban public sphere especially after the First War of Independence in 1857. As noted in Chandra (2002: 118), the dual notions of 'modernity' – brought in by the British – and 'ethnicity' helped create a class of educated people and 'Salariat' (a group of salaried persons as different from wage

earners) demanding a share in the available resources of the country at that time. This class found its representation in the Indian National Congress. However, gradually among the Muslims too emerged a Salariat, who were represented by the All-India Muslim League. These two groups had similar interests and one could not be distinguished from the other for being more 'secular'; the Muslim League members of the time, contra popular belief, did not entertain any religious, fundamentalist ideas³.

These two groups, with similar interests would have found a common platform, had not the National Congress leadership of the time instead opted for alliance with the traditional Islamist leadership during the Khilafat, which significantly marginalized the modernist aspirations among the Muslims. This established an assured space for communal politics in India. Communalization was further perpetuated by the language issue. Urdu/Hindi or Hindustani, till then considered to be one language, was now given two labels with two purposes. Hindi, written in the Devanagari script and with Sanskrit lexical borrowings, became the lingua franca of the Hindus while Urdu, written in the Nastaliq script and with more Persian words, came to represent the minority Muslim Community.

Not only were they separated, conscious efforts – in both pre and post Independence era – were also made to rank Hindi and Urdu differently. While the former received the status of an official language and was given due prestige and support, the other was relegated to a minority language, representing a populace, most of whose members did not speak it as a first language. Religion was their primary connection to Urdu; being Muslims guaranteed that they were Urdu speakers. This maneuver on the part of the leadership still reflects in the existing language policy of the country: while Urdu is given an official state language status in Kashmir where the majority speaks Kashmiri, it is not recognized in Uttar Pradesh where many speak varieties of the language. Furthermore, Urdu, along with the Nastaliq script was never included as a compulsory subject in the school curricula of state and national-level education boards. While Hindi and English was deemed essential for all students in the country, there was no mention of the sister language with its rich and secular literary heritage. The only places where the language could develop were in the streets and the madrasas. Its forced linkages with religion started taking roots (see Shackle and Snell 1990 and Rai 2001 for more detailed expositions on the Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani debate).

The language situation in India is complex. English, though an associate official language, has more prestige than Hindi, which in turn, has more power than Urdu. Bringing scientific pedagogy to minorities therefore to most, implies teaching English Language classes. Learning English would give members of these communities the opportunity to interact with other sections of the society and also aim for jobs that are otherwise unachievable with knowledge of their own languages and cultures.

However, it is highly questionable whether the apparatuses used to keep alive the status quo can really bring about equal opportunities to the same people that they are used to oppress. Can English language learning/teaching in madrasas bridge the gap between the Muslim community and the rest of the society in general and in particular, between the Muslim masses and the Muslim elites, and if so, to what extent?

³ Sarkar (1993) and Markovits (2004) have further details of the pre-independence politics of the All-India Muslim League.

3 Consent via ELT?

Thomas Macaulay, in his *Minute* on Indian Education of February 1835, sought to create a class of English-speaking Indians, "who may be interpreters between us [the British] and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." 'Anglicization' of Indians apparently also amounted to uplifting their multiple 'mother tongues', which otherwise were 'unsuitable' for higher and scientific education. Through English, the learners could enrich their own languages and espouse European cultural, literary and scientific ideas.

ELT practices in present-day India, specifically in the context of the madrasas, continue with the same underlying logic. English and its accompanying cultural baggage once imparted to Muslim students, will lead them to the mainstream, away from their own languages and cultures, which are deemed as 'unscientific' and 'regressive'. They will presumably be less inclined towards religious fundamentalism and counter-hegemonic practices, thus paving the way for their easy 'accommodation' into the system, not via 'coercion' but by their own 'consent' or 'complicity'.

The word 'hegemony', in the way Gramsci elaborated in his *Prison Notebooks* (1929-35), incorporates not just domination, but the active role played by the subordinate people in the operation of power. A hegemonic bloc tries to provide representations to subaltern voices, in the process 'accommodating' them into the system. This feat is possible with the 'consent' or 'complicity' of the dominated, organized through civil society and its social, cultural and political institutions (also see Woolard 1985). A ruling power that provides basic amenities to its masses, in the form of adequate employment, health-care and child-care, easily gets them to 'consent' to its existence overlooking its problems and oppressive measures. The delusion of living in a democracy and thus having some control over its function looms large in such societies. "What uniquely distinguishes the political forms of such societies is that people are supposed to believe that they govern themselves" (Eagleton 1991: 112).

ELT promises members of the minority group better options in their lives. Their 'consent' therefore seems inevitable; they live with the illusion of finding adequate representation in the system. The situation is however far too complex. English brings with it new problems that widen the gap between varied sections of the society, creating new avenues of discontent.

One such problem relates to employment. Students coming out from madrasas generally get incorporated into the very system that produces them. Most of them, who come from poor families, get employment in the schools and religious institutions of the community. "They easily get small jobs as muazzins and imams in mosques or as mudarris (teachers) in small madrasas or maktabas". (Ara 2004: 37). With knowledge of English, and less of their own languages and religious texts, these job options may not appear lucrative to many, who may instead choose technical and vocational jobs as hardware engineers, mechanics, call center employees etc. These jobs involve skilled and semi-skilled workers in the low/middle income ranges and can often be obtained after graduating from school. In fact, the National Vocational Educational Qualification Framework (NVEQF) proposed by the All India Council for Technical Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, aims to include vocational training as part of the school curricula, helping many school graduates (and even drop-outs) to find a suitable source of employment soon after their senior secondary education. This framework builds on the premise that most

students will not be able to secure a seat in a higher education institute by the year 2020, and hence must be prepared to seek alternative employment opportunities elsewhere (as reported in Hindustan Times, 7th February 2012).

The distinction between formal (higher) education and vocational training perpetuates an already existing division in the society: a large class of workers vis-a-vis a handful of educated elites who have unquestionably more control over the system. Muslim youth, along with many more from other communities, are more likely to be part of this larger class who appear to have given in their 'consent' by availing the opportunities in the system. However, class segmentation and unequal distribution of privileges does not serve as an effective tool for continuous support from the under-represented populace, who are then bound to seek for alternative (sometimes religious) identities to counter the practices of the hegemonic bloc.

The second problem is a linguistic one. It is a commonplace perception that schools catering to the poor of the country (including government-aided schools and madrasas) along with inadequate infrastructures, also fail to train their students in communication (English-speaking) skills. They are thought to be not as well-versed in the language as their peers in private schools; this impedes their chances of success in the real world. Therefore though the English-speaking populace within the country seems apparently large, there is a clear demarcation between those who can speak it with a native-like fluency and those who cannot. While there are 'better', 'purer', 'grammatical' varieties of Indian English, there are also 'ungrammatical', 'poorer' aberrations of the language which are looked down upon. For non-fluent speakers, who may enter into universities and technical colleges, a different curriculum with more emphasis on English is often enforced in the initial years to improve their communication skills, setting the stage for more discrimination.

ELT in madrasas will only enhance this differentiation. By concentrating only on grammatical features and technical aspects of the language that help communication in certain specified contexts (telephonic conversations selling a product, convincing a prospective buyer etc.), the learners are deprived of its complete knowledge, literary and cultural heritage and the ability to use it for their own creative or critical thinking. Additionally, the tag of being 'ungrammatical/poor English' that the society accords to their varieties will inevitably increase the existing gap and lead to further discontent.

4 Conclusion

We have seen that sections of the society are often isolated through various socio-political maneuvers. Job/labor market segmentation and linguistic differences help sustain this seclusion, first by disallowing the members of such communities from gaining adequate say in the functioning of the system and secondly, by ranking their linguistic and cultural knowledge low in comparison to the hegemonic language and culture. The situation of the Muslim masses in India is very similar. While a handful of elites from the community merge with the hegemonic bloc and easily imbibe their language and ethos, the majority are left behind trying to secure an alternative identity for themselves. Changes in the school/madrasa curriculum, along with emphasis on English, do little to change this situation, since even with these measures, the differentiation remains. What the system demands from them is consent for its existence, without guaranteeing full representation. Therefore,

neither their complete accommodation nor their full consent is possible via institutional and educational measures.

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2

Connecting Language Acquisition with Music Acquisition: Clues for Language Evolution in Music

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Abstract

Within linguistics and developmental psychology, investigations into language acquisition are well underway. Recently, researchers have developed new approaches to study language acquisition for which cultural cognition plays a key role (Tomasello, 1999; Tomasello et al., 2005). Moreover there are three other learning mechanisms that play an important part of language acquisition: entrenchment and competition, schematization, and distributional learning, i.e. learning through statistical properties in language (Tomasello, 2003). Music has similar properties to language (e.g. use of the vocal track, auditory processing) and is an equally important component of human culture. This paper examines several studies which indicate parallel use of learning mechanisms for the acquisition of language and music. Thus far, studies have shown joint attention and shared intentionality as well as distributional learning are also two important learning mechanisms for music. By studying music acquisition with methods from linguistics, further evidence can be gathered on the relationship between the process of music acquisition and language acquisition. Music research can potentially offer new insights for language and cultural cognition studies.

1 Introduction

Somehow, and remarkably, humans have evolved to have language. Yet, how humans have all come to have language is a polarized debate about whether language has come from a biologically evolved genetic linguistic ability or powerful learning mechanisms. At the center of this debate has been language acquisition. To understand where language came from, it is helpful to look at how it develops through ontogeny and thereby observe which mechanisms, skills, and so on are necessary and enabled for the process of language. Moreover, with a more precise understanding of the processes which produce and comprehend language on an individual basis, we can then begin to understand the phylogeny of the processes which operate on language.

In seeking answers to the evolution of language and language acquisition, however, music could provide a missing piece of the puzzle. Throughout this debate, particularly in the last half of the twentieth century, music has largely been ignored in key works on language evolution (Bickerton, 1990; Christiansen and Kirby, 2003; Pinker, 1994; cf. Mithen, 2005 for an overview). Nevertheless, there has been growing recognition of music recently (e.g. Pinker and Jackendoff, 2005; Fitch, Hauser, Chomsky, 2005; Mithen, 2005; Burling, 2007) and new publications linking music to language (e.g. Patel, 2008; Rebuschat, Rohrmeier, Hawkins, & Cross, 2011). This paper outlines several studies on music acquisition that provides evidence that music is acquired in a similar manner to language. Furthermore, if research can demonstrate that music is also acquired through the same powerful learning mechanisms used for language, then this would be strong evidence that language is

learned through powerful imitative learning abilities and not a hard-wired cognitive mechanism for language.

Like language, music – i.e. basic song or use of instruments and rhythm – is present in every known culture past and present and music forms are unique to different social groups (Miller, 2000). As far as research shows, every known culture has at least song and also has some form of instruments or percussion (Nettl, 2000). Like language, music is present with and aids social interactions and rituals. Moreover, all humans have some basic sense of musicality, that is perception and performance, and cases of musical ineptness, such as amusia, are actually rare (Trehub, 2005). Furthermore, music is like language in that it frequently uses the human vocal tract for sound production, relies on set parameters from which patterns are used, is transmitted audibly, and relies on temporal organization (Lehrdahl and Jackendoff, 1983).

2 Learning Theories

In the 1950s Noam Chomsky (1957, 1965) began to outline a new approach to analyzing languages, namely generative grammar, and he thereby drew conclusions that language is simply too complex to be acquired in such masterful ways as young children demonstrate within a matter of years. He concluded, then, that a certain core of language must be innate, namely universal grammar. More recently, however, new approaches to language acquisition have been developed, through which cultural cognition plays a key role (cf. Tomasello, 1999). The underlying idea is that language is not the result of one specialized, evolved cognitive faculty, but rather it—as well as other elements of human culture, such as social organization, symbols, tools—is a result of a cognitive faculty that has biologically evolved for cultural cognition. The essence of this cognitive faculty is the ability to understand intentions and have a motivation to share intentions with others, from which language is derived (Tomasello et al., 2005).

In accordance with this description of infant social cognition development Tomasello (2003) outlines four primary mechanisms children use to acquire language: intention-reading, schematization and analogy, entrenchment and competition, and finally, functionally based distributional analysis. The most important mechanism, however, is intention-reading, which is ultimately the root of the other learning mechanisms. For example, in contrast to animal communicative signals, which are sign-based, not symbolic, human communicative symbols aim to direct or change the attention of others. It is important to note, too, that these theories developed by Tomasello largely rely on Construction Grammar, which demonstrates how language functions in true, every-day language (cf. Croft, 2001; Goldberg, 2003)⁴. So far, there is emerging evidence that music also uses intention reading and distributional analysis (Kirschner and Tomasello, 2009; Saffran et al., 1996; Pelucchi et al., 2009). Therefore, the following first outlines research on

⁴ Unlike generative grammar, which analyzes a form independent of its semantic meaning or function, construction grammar seeks to analyze linguistic structures in terms of their function, i.e. a usage-based approach. Advocates of construction grammar argue that it is actually form that carries meaning—not a mental collection of lexical meanings—and it is the pairing of a form with a particular function that makes linguistic communication possible (Goldberg, 2003; Croft, 2001). Essentially, constructions are conventionalized patterns of linguistic symbols.

intention-reading and distributional analysis and respectively offers a comparison with current music research on these topics.

2.1 Intention-reading

Given the evidence that language is prefabricated and made up of holistic linguistic phrases and usage as outlined by construction grammar, children then have the ability to imitate the way they observe adults using language and thereby build their own linguistic abilities (Tomasello, 2003). Not surprisingly, as infants begin to solidly acquire joint attention with adults, particularly their mothers, around the age of 9-12 months, they also begin to acquire and exhibit linguistic knowledge (Tomasello, 1999: 61-63). Additionally, before children begin to use linguistic communication, they already communicate with gestures and vocally, for example by pointing declaratively or imperatively (Tomasello et al., 2005: 683). Moreover, their developing linguistic ability is aided not only by joint attention, but the understanding of communicative intentions (i.e. "how are you trying to direct my attention"), and thereby role reversal imitation (Tomasello, 2003: 25-28). As with learning to use a tool or a particular manner in which to perform a task, a child gains a sense of symbols as means which others have found useful to communicate. Moreover, as children understand the communicative intentions underlying an utterance, they are then able to categorize these elements, and ultimately they are able to understand new utterances and find patterns. Additionally, they develop an ability to recognize intentional action versus accidental action and thereby earnestly try to imitate intentional action.

Once children have acquired these initial intention reading skills they are then able to develop shared intentionality. According to Bratman (1992) the difference in sharing intentions requires that the participants must recognize and respond to one another, acknowledge the common goal, and most importantly, they must then coordinate their plan of action (i.e. who does what). Moreover, unlike individual intentions, shared intentions require that an individual want the other to participate and vice versa, thus creating a common shared commitment or motivation, which, as Tomasello et al. (2005: 680) states, come "in the form of a shared goal – each interactant has goals with respect to the other's goals."

Music's very nature is social and requires cooperative behavior and intention-reading between those involved. As Cross (2008: 150) says, music is "a framework for social and intentional action." All over the world it is usually performed in groups and is a highly interactive experience, often involving bodily movements, such as dance (Trehub, 2005: 4; Cross, 2008). Livingstone and Thompson (2009) claim that music is an outcome, like other types of arts, of affective engagement, which is the "degree of emotional connectedness between two or more individuals for the exchange of affective state used in the construction of mental models of conspecific emotion" (2009: 85). Nevertheless, scholars have noted that there is a need for more research showing how joint music-making activities work at a cognitive level (Koelsh and Siebel, 2005: 583).

Rhythmic entrainment – when two autonomous rhythmic processes interact to synchronize their beat – is perhaps the best evidence for affective engagement. A study by Kirschner and Tomasello (2009: 311) is the first study to correlate rhythmic entrainment to shared intentionality with young children. Their study aimed to show evidence that a social context will assist a child's ability to synchronize body movements to beat in time with an external beat. In their study, they tested three groups of children (aged 2.5, 3.5, and 4.5 years old) in three

different conditions for their ability to beat on a drum in syncopation at 150 beats/minute and at 100 beats/minute. In the first condition, children had to synchronize with a recording of a beat coming from a speaker (acoustic condition); in the second, they had to synchronize with a drumming machine (audio-visual condition); and in the third, they had to synchronize with an adult also beating on an identical drum (social condition). Importantly, the children were not instructed to drum in synchrony or told how to drum, but merely asked to participate in a drumming game in a playful surrounding, thus the study aimed to evaluate what the children would spontaneously do. A key difference with the social context condition was that the experimenter faced the child and looked at them, smiling.

Kirschner and Tomasello (2009) found that children across all ages synchronized better in the social-context condition than in the drumming machine and speaker conditions. This study demonstrates that rhythmic entrainment is a means for humans to establish joint attention and share intentionality; or, vice versa, that shared intentionality makes rhythmic entrainment possible. In order to synchronize movements, together, the children had to coordinate their perceptual input, and thereby attend to the same things and actions as the adult. Moreover, Kirschner and Tomasello's study demonstrates that humans have a spontaneous willingness and desire to share internationalities with others from an early age, and specifically a "desire to move in synchrony" (Kirschner and Tomasello, 2009: 312). In essence, the children somehow knew, when asked to participate in a drumming game, to try to beat in synchrony when participating with another human being. As Kirschner and Tomasello (2009: 312-313) note, this study provides a framework from which further investigation can take place.

2.2 Distributional learning

Research has shown that children have powerful statistical learning abilities, that is distributional analysis, and this ability is aided by the highly patternized, prefabricated nature of most language (cf. Redington et al., 1998; Tomasello, 2003). While this learning mechanism is particularly useful for learning paradigmatic categories later in ontogeny, pre-linguistic children must first make sense of the phonological sequences they hear in spoken language. To do so, they must learn where there are word boundaries from sequences of sound.

Studies by Saffran et al. (1996) and Pelucchi et al. (2009) set out to understand how 8-month-olds segment fluent lines of speech sounds into understandable entities, that is words. They found that infants were able to distinguish the high probability syllable combinations that formed "words" from the low probability syllable combinations in fabricated or foreign-language sequences after only two minutes of exposure.

With a study parallel to that by Saffran et al. (1996), Saffran et al. (1999) set out to determine whether this phonetic statistical learning ability was limited to only linguistic input (i.e. domain-specific) or if this ability could also be used for tone sequences. They created continuous tone streams of segmented "tone words," which had the same statistical structure as the artificial words of their previous study, so they could directly compare the statistical learning abilities of both phonemes and tone sequences. They assigned a specific tone to each of the 11 syllables they had used in Saffran et al. (1996). Thereby, they created six combinations of tones, "tone words," following the combinations of syllables they had used to make up their artificial tone words in their previous study. They then created two sets of streams (Language One and Language Two), which used different tone assignments for the

syllables, but which had the same statistical structure and consisted of four tone words. Moreover, they created tone part-words, by taking the final tone from one word, and joining it with the two first tones of another word.

As with Saffran et al. (1996), they exposed the infants to a short continuous stream of tone sequences to familiarize them with it. They then began the trial phase, in which they presented the individual infants with six tone words and six tone part-words. Likewise, they tested to see if the infants could distinguish the tone part-words from the tone words purely from the statistical transitional probabilities. They found that there was no difference in the infants' abilities to recognize the low transitional probabilities with linguistic syllables or musical tones. Thus, this study indicates that this statistical learning ability used to segment spoken language is not domain-specific for language and can also be used for other forms of sound sequences.

3 Conclusion

These studies on intention-reading and distributional learning with both language and music indicate that there are common learning mechanisms for language and music. Moreover, this evidence helps support new learning theories about the emergence of language in human evolution. While this research is only in its beginning stages, it is an important indication of the potential of conformity within the fields of research on language and music.

At present, empirical research for basic music acquisition is still in its infancy and there is not an equally rigorous and widely accepted means to computationally analyze music, as there is with corpus research within linguistics. With further advancements in research methods for music, other aspects of music acquisition could also be studied, such as schematization and entrenchment. There is also a need, too, for further research on music and intentionality and distributional learning across cultures. Finally, future research, which I intend to carry out, should investigate whether music a cognitive preparation to develop these learning mechanisms and if music prepares children for more complex, symbolic communication. If so, it would add evidence to the argument that music is an ontogenetic and phylogenic precursor to human's more advance communication: language.

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3

The Drama Queen's English: Aspects of Filipino Sociocultural Identity in the Subtitles of a Philippine Telenovela

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Abstract

Premised on the assumption that subtitles in translated audio-visual work, particularly telenovelas, are an agent for cultural identity construction and a powerful mode of intercultural communication, this paper compares and describes the Tagalog dialogue and the English subtitles of the Philippine telenovela *Tayong Dalawa* (*The Two of Us*) to answer the question: "How do certain word choices and gaps in the English subtitles of Philippine telenovelas result in the retention, downplaying, or erasure of the cultural values that help define the Filipino sociocultural identity?"

The first six episodes of the telenovela were screened for Tagalog vocatives, pronouns, and enclitics that highlight collectivism, politeness, and family-orientedness—dominant Filipino values that are vital aspects of Filipino sociocultural identity. The procedures used in translating these lexical items into English were identified using Newmark's (1988) typology of translation procedures. The word pairs were then analyzed for cultural equivalence using Cruse's concepts of expressive and stylistic meanings. Results show that certain word choices entailed by the translation procedures of compensation, functional equivalent, cultural equivalent, synonymy, and literal translation may either effect or diminish sociocultural equivalence between the Tagalog dialogue and the English subtitles of the telenovela.

1 Introduction

Tufte's (2004) research on telenovela consumption in Latin America shows that the process of identification with the world of telenovelas "leads to a mingling of reality and fiction," and therein lies the power of the telenovela as a mode of intercultural communication. It is easy to see how one who is fully aware of watching fiction can make culture judgments and assumptions about an entire nation based on the world depicted in a foreign telenovela and later on use that knowledge to inform and negotiate real-life interactions.

Latin American telenovelas trace their influence to the US radio soap operas of the 1930s, locally formatted as *radionovelas* in Cuba in the 1940s and later on adapted for television as *telenovelas* in the 1950s (Havens, 2005). The 1960s saw the beginning of the global reign of Latin American telenovelas, permeating even American culture with a success that "is often celebrated as an example of reverse cultural imperialism" (Martinez in Stavans 2010). The "Asianovelas" eventually followed suit, led by Korea in the global phenomenon called *Hallyu* or 'Korean wave,' beginning in 2001 (Roll, 2006).

For the past fifteen years, the Philippines has been making its own wave in the international television scene. In 2010, a Philippine telenovela called *Pangako Sa'yo* (*The Promise*) was the second most-watched among local and foreign programs in the 1.3 billion-strong population of China (Quintos 2010). *Pangako Sa'yo* opened the doors of international audiences to other Philippine soap operas, some of which

have even won or earned nominations in international awards, including the prestigious International Emmys. By 2010, TV network ABS-CBN alone had exported about 50 series to “15 countries in Asia, 5 countries in Europe, 12 in French-speaking African countries, 20 English-speaking African countries, and 5 Portuguese-African countries”(Pagsolingan, 2010). These have been dubbed and/or subtitled in English, Russian, French, Turkish, Mandarin, Khmer, Vietnamese, Bahasa Melayu, and Romanian.

With these “cultural ambassadors” making the rounds of international television, one wonders: How Filipino is this dubbed and subtitled culture that the rest of the telenovela-viewing world sees? Do these locally-adapted telenovelas paint a realistic picture of the Filipino sociocultural identity, or do they distort it?

2 Cultural identity in the language of telenovelas

As audiovisual texts, telenovelas are *multimodal*—employing a range of “meaning-making modes” or semiotic resources that together form the basis for their production and interpretation (Baldry and Thibault 2006). These modes refer to image, music, color, perspective, and language. As the only major meaning-making mode that the foreign telenovela viewer consumes in a modified form, the language of dubbed and subtitled telenovelas should be of primary interest to those who are concerned with intercultural communication and national identity construction.

Language not only defines and expresses culture but also transmits it (Sapir in Swiggers 2008). By using a language, one performs an act of identity construction (Goffman 1963; Fishman 1972; Tupas 2007). Indeed, LePage calls each utterance an *act of identity* that follows linguistic rules that people create “to resemble those of the groups with which they wish to identify”(in Downes 1998). Our individual and group identities are thus crystallized in our language choices, which are a product of the conscious desire to be perceived as a member of a group.

Another aspect of national sociocultural identity that is reflected in telenovelas is value system, which “arises from our culture or way of life”(Gorospe 1994). Chiro even refers to cultural values as “the glue of national identity” (2007). Along with other manifestations and expressions of culture, values are also reflected in language (De Mooij 2009, Holzman 1983, Madan et al. 1999). Gorospe (1994) explains that Filipino values become distinct from certain universal values in the way that their elements are “ranked, combined or emphasized,” thus acquiring a Filipino slant. From this ranking of values, we can thus speak of dominant Filipino values. Many of these values are oriented towards maintaining close and harmonious familial and community relationships. This may be explained by Francis Hsu’s Chinese concept of the person/self (1971), which is essentially collectivistic and considers intimate relationships as an inseparable part of the self. He compares this concept of the self to the individualistic self-concept of Westerners’ and attributes to the discrepancy the differences in the communication styles and linguistic behavior between Asians and Americans.

3 Politeness, family-orientedness, and collectivism in the Tagalog lexicon

In this study, we look at three dominant Filipino values that are heavily manifested in the Tagalog lexicon: politeness, family-orientedness, and collectivism.

Tagalog users express politeness using the enclitics *po* and *ho*, as well as *opo* and *oho* for 'yes.' They are roughly equivalent to *sir* or *ma'am* in terms of pragmatic function (Ramos and Cena 1990). The second person plurals *kayo* 'you' and *ninyo* 'your', as well as the third-person plural *silá*, *nila*, and *kanila* ('they,' 'their,' and 'theirs,' respectively) are used instead of their singular counterparts to show politeness to an elder or superior. A common linguistic practice across cultures, Brown and Gilman (1960) called this the T-V distinction, referring to the use of the French second person pronouns *tous* (singular) and *vous* (plural) to refer to a singular addressee in informal and formal contexts, respectively.

Kinship terms used as vocatives not only express politeness but also affirm both the caller and the addressee's place in the family hierarchy, as well as the responsibilities associated with the role. They thus reflect family-orientedness. When used to address strangers and fictive kin (Wagner 1995), these terms elicit sociocultural behaviors similar to those expected of family, thereby redefining the relationship of the interactants. This is also true in the use of the terms *ninong* (masculine) and *ninang* (feminine) to refer to one's baptismal or wedding godparents, as well as the use of *kumpare* (masculine) and *kumare* (feminine) by the parents and godparents of a child to refer to one another. Used this way, these vocatives draw society unto the self and reflect the importance placed on collectivism.

Collectivism is likewise manifested in the use of the pronouns *natin* (inclusive 'we' or 'our'), and *tayo* (inclusive 'we' or 'us') to refer to personal concerns, aspirations, opinions, or even property, thereby temporarily sharing ownership of these concepts with the addressee, if only to maintain harmony and forge good will during the conversation. This linguistic practice coincides with notions of communal property ownership that Leake and Black (2005) attribute to collectivistic values.

4 The Problem

Among all translation forms, subtitles are perhaps the most constrained, what with time and space limitations, as well as the constraints brought about by the shift from spoken to written language. Moreover, De Mooij (2009) claims that "culture-specific values can be found by looking at the important cultural concepts that appear to be untranslatable into any other language, or only translatable into the languages of similar cultures." For this reason, it should be worthwhile to ask: *How do certain word choices and gaps in the English subtitles of the Philippine telenovela result in the retention, downplaying, or erasure of the cultural values that help define the Filipino sociocultural identity?*

5 Methodology

To answer this question, this study looks at the original and subtitled dialogues from 6 episodes of *Tayong Dalawa* (*The Two of Us*), a family drama series that aired in the Philippines in 2009. This telenovela was because (1) its large cast of characters represents a cross-section of Philippine society, offering a wide range of discourse settings for study purposes, and (2) at 178 episodes, it is the longest telenovela that has been both subtitled and dubbed for international release in the last five years, making it a rich source of contemporary data.

The telenovela was screened for Tagalog vocatives, pronouns, and enclitics that highlight the dominant Filipino values of collectivism, politeness, and family-

orientedness. The procedures used in translating these lexical items into English were identified using Newmark's (1988) typology of translation procedures. The word pairs were then analyzed for cultural equivalence using Cruse's concepts of expressive and stylistic meanings (1986). The expressive meaning of a word refers to the speaker's emotions and attitudes that the word evokes; stylistic meaning, on the other hand, refers to its dialect or register. This study focuses on register, particularly as a function of tenor of discourse, or the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

6 Data presentation and analysis

A total of 16 dialogue lines containing lexical items that show at least one of the three Filipino values were collected from the content analysis of the text. Five of Newmark's (1988) typology of translation procedures were found to either effect or diminish sociocultural equivalence between the Tagalog lexical items in the dialogue and their English subtitles. These are (1) literal translation, or using word-for-word translation, (2) cultural equivalent, or replacing a cultural word in the SL with a TL word, (3) functional equivalent, or using a culture-neutral word, (4) synonymy, or using a "near TL equivalent," sacrificing accuracy, and (5) compensation, or compensating the loss of meaning in one part of a sentence by providing it in another part.

6.1 Collectivism

Functional and cultural equivalents serve to retain collectivism in the subtitles. *Pare*, contracted as *p're*, is given the cultural equivalent *buddy*. This retains the value of collectivism because, like *p're*, Americans use *buddy* as an affectionate term for a close male friend. In fact, *buddy* might even be said to heighten the value as it is also frequently used among Americans with a younger family member, such as one's son. Meanwhile, two instances of *mare*—typically used with very close friends or those with whom one maintains a religious/fictive kinship—are replaced with *friend*, which conveys the same expressive meaning of but downplays the collectivism found in the stylistic meaning of *mare*. One instance of *kumare* is not translated and the value is erased, as there is no literal, cultural, or functional equivalent in English that suggests the same religious or fictive kin relationship in its stylistic meaning.

6.2 Politeness

In four out of six instances, politeness is erased in the subtitles that lack translations for the the polite enclitics *po* and *ho* in the Tagalog dialogue. This was expected, as these enclitics lack English equivalents. Compensation, however, retains the cultural value and pragmatic force of the said enclitic particles in two lines that use *ma'am* as a substitute. An American speaker, particularly a southerner, would indeed commonly use *sir* or *ma'am* generally to convey deference to someone older or of a higher status (Gramley and Pätzold, 2004). Finally, a literal translation of the plural pronouns *n'yo* 'your' and *kayo* 'you' originally used as politeness markers in two occurrences results in cultural loss in the subtitles.

6.3 Family-orientedness

Family-orientedness is retained in the subtitles using compensation and synonymy, albeit with some cultural loss. In one line, *kuya* is translated as *bro* using synonymy.

When used with an older male sibling, *kuya* has an expressive meaning of affection and possesses a register that incorporates deference in its stylistic meaning, therefore reinforcing the dynamics of Filipino family hierarchy and family-orientedness. It is this component of stylistic meaning that is absent in *bro*, which may be used with male friends and family members in an American setting, whether older or not. For the word *ninang*, a cultural equivalent—*auntie*—serves to retain the value of family-orientedness. In the absence of a direct translation, *auntie* retains some of the cultural expectations associated with being a godparent, such as closeness and a sense of responsibility towards the godchild. More importantly, though, *auntie* is the term of address commonly used for a female godparent in American culture.

A literal translation of the word *lola* ‘grandmother’ retains family-orientedness in the subtitles, whereas a functional equivalent of *anak* ‘child’—the endearment term *dear*—results in the downplaying of the value. Although *dear* retains much of the expressive meaning of *anak*, the tenor of discourse that *dear* applies to is not exclusive to parent and child, as it is for *anak*. Meanwhile, family-orientedness is completely erased in subtitle where *anak* is replaced with the character’s name—a functional equivalent. This word choice has an important sociocultural implication. To Filipinos, *anak* is a term of endearment. Often, it indicates that all is well in the relationship. When a parent who usually calls her child *anak* suddenly calls her by name, the interaction acquires a certain degree of formality and/or tension, much like it does in an American family setting. In the telenovela, the character Elizabeth frequently calls her daughter, Ingrid, *anak*. In this particular scene, Elizabeth brings up a sensitive family business matter with Ingrid, and although business talk might warrant formality, the fact that the writer of the original Tagalog dialogue chose to use *anak* could be seen as the writer’s intention to maintain affection between the two characters in a potentially awkward conversation. Filipinos, after all, are family-oriented even in the conduct of business. By using the name *Yngrid* in the subtitles instead of an equivalent term—or, at the very least, a term of endearment—this dimension of Filipino sociocultural identity is lost on the foreign viewer.

7 Conclusion

The results show that although some translation methods allow for cultural equivalence between the Tagalog dialogue of Philippine telenovelas and their English subtitles in terms of the Filipino values of politeness, family-orientedness, and collectivism, the erasure and downplaying of these values are inevitable in the absence of matching expressive and stylistic meanings in the English lexicon. Some aspects of Filipino sociocultural identity are inevitably hidden or downplayed.

This study is meant to bring—not only to media practitioners, but also to all Filipino users of English—an awareness of language choices that preserve, distort, or abandon the cultural implications that attend everyday Filipino conversations and help define the Filipino sociocultural identity. It also aims to inspire critical thinking among consumers of subtitled and dubbed foreign audio-visual work in whatever language, encouraging further research into the source culture and, ultimately, promoting cultural sensitivity and sociocultural competence towards meaningful cultural exchanges.

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4

Identity Representation in Facebook through Language Functions and Language Codes Used by Users

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Abstract

Inspired by the notion that language constitutes a means of asserting one's identity and the unique character of a social group (Dieckhoff 2004), this study aimed to provide another perspective on identity projection on Facebook (FB) Webpage through a thorough investigation of the language functions (LF) and language codes (LC) used by the respondents in the context of computer mediated communication. The data were purposely collected from 20 faculty members of the College of Arts and Sciences in Philippines and a qualitative analysis was carried out to highlight the identities projected by the respondents. Using Holmes' (2001) taxonomy on LF, it was found that teachers use the language in the following order: referential, poetic, expressive, directive, phatic. Interestingly, the metalinguistic function was not observed. As regards LC, respondents use English, mixed language, Filipino and Ilocano. In terms of LF, the sense of openness, creativity, bossiness, socialness and religiosity were surmised from the FB posts of the respondents. Meanwhile, as to LC, the respondents were noted to be well-versed in the English language, could adapt to situation and have the heart for their native and/or national language.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Social networking was developed in the early 1990's. It is an online service that focuses on building social networks or social relations among people who share interests and/or activities. It is a communication platform which essentially consists of a representation of each user (often a profile), his/her social links, and a variety of additional services (Nacino 2011).

In this generation, Facebook.com, a very popular networking site and one of the most visited websites on the internet, has an important role in communication. Through Facebook, people can connect with friends, make new friends and engage in discussion groups. Users can also post "status messages," upload and share pictures and videos, play games and subscribe to pages of people or groups they like or causes they support.

Since Facebook is a social medium, a person's Facebook profiles, unless they have strict privacy settings, can be viewed by other users. Through a user's language code and the functions that the posts could convey, other users could derive insights as to the personality or identity of the user. Thus, self-representation becomes extremely important.

1.2 Research Questions

This research aimed to answer the following questions: 1) What are the functions of language as reflected in the teachers' FB posts?; 2) What are the languages used in

expressing these functions?; and 3) How do these data help in the identity representation of the users on FB?

2 Review of Literature

2.1 Facebook as a Communication Tool

Facebook is a social network website that provides an extensive number of features for its users to socialize and share information about themselves. Users can sign up on the website with a valid e-mail address and create a profile page, allowing them to keep updated with friends' social activities, upload photos, share links and videos and connect with people.

One of the main features is the News Feed where users can publish status updates and share them with users in their network. The status updates posted on users' profiles pages will then be made available for viewing by people in a user's network. After a post has been made, users can "like," "share," or comment on the post. Thus, Facebook has become the leading social network platform on the Internet and a vital communication tool globally.

2.2 Holmes' Language Functions

Holmes' (2011) presented six functions of language: 1) expressive (it expresses the speaker's feeling such happy or sad; 2) directive (it is used to get someone to do something); 3) referential (it is used to provide information); 4) metalinguistic (it is used to comment on language itself; 5) poetic (it focuses on aesthetic features of language as poem, e.g. an ear-catching motto, and rhyme); and 6) phatic (it expresses solidarity and empathy with others).

2.3 Language and Identity

Language is one of the blueprints of the identity of a person. This is because, it is crucial to communication and different modes of language use have an influence on, for example, the representation of identities (Itkonen 2009). The work of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1963) has been influential in showing that the self is constructed entirely through discourse, making one's language choices of paramount importance to his/her identity construction. In Guaman's (2012) study, he concluded that Facebook users create their social identity through pictures, posts, and comments which illustrate the way they want other members to see them regarding their own representation. Furthermore, when someone uses a language, one could automatically make judgments as to the gender, social status, educational level, culture, place of origin, age (Spolsky 1999) citizenship and nationality of the person (Adegoke 2011).

The term identity may be broad for it could refer to self-identity or social identity. Barker (2003) made a distinction of the two. He said that self-identity indicates someone's views to himself while social identity stands for the perception of others as to the identity of a person.

Social identity, the focus of this study is understood as the way language users portray themselves as real people through interactions through chats or posts. Also, it allows them to represent and negotiate their social presence with other participants in a virtual community (Guaman 2012), that is 'the ability to portray oneself as a real person' and to perceive the same in the other members of the group (Palloff and Pratt 2007).

3 Methodology

Twenty faculty members from the Mariano Marcos State University (MMSU), College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) were purposely chosen to be a part of this study. The respondents were chosen because they were identified to be active users of FB.

The writer used the printed text of the respondents' updated Facebook status as primary data. In analyzing research data, the researcher used the following data analysis methods: 1) reading and understanding updated statuses in FB that have been selected as the research sample; b) taking note of updated statuses; c) categorizing the LFs that manifest in the updated statuses; d) determining the LCs used by users; and e) identifying identity representation in FB. Percentages were computed and a frequency count was employed in this research study.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Functions of Language in FB Posts

The referential (45%) function (see 1) is the most evident in the FB posts of the respondents. This implies that the respondents inform the public on their latest whereabouts and give general information about their wishes, ideas and opinions when they are on FB. This corroborates with the idea that new communication technologies allow the airing of personal concerns to a public sphere (Nacino 2011), thus making the said LF the most obvious purpose of language (Jakobson 1960).

(1) *You are still young if you haven't been: 1) busy; 2) busy; and 3) busy.*

Next to referential function is poetic (20%). This implies that the respondents are creative enough in expressing their ideas in various themes (see 2).

(2) *My good side prays, "God, make Juan go away..."
My bad side says, "yahoo, Juan's on its way!"*

Expressive function (17%), on the other hand, is next which implies that the respondents are quite open in expressing their emotions in public (see 3).

(3) *Misses my boyfriend so much! See you tomorrow in church:-)*

Close to the expressive function is the directive function (16%) which is used when one wants to influence the behaviour of others (see 4). This manifests the utility of Facebook in the realization of a certain intention such as the one below:

(4) *Be patient!*

Lastly, phatic function only comprises 2% of the total samples of status updates. This means that the respondents seldom post expression of solidarity and empathy (see 5).

(5) *I understand. It shall pass. I am just a text away.*

Surprisingly, this function is not that common to FB posts. This may be attributed to the fact that the Facebook has other features (free call, private messages, use of the chatbox, etc.) that could be used by the users.

4.2 Language Codes Used in FB Posts

Sixty three percent of the respondents use the English language. This result is not that surprising since the respondents are all professionals. This implies that their facility in the English language is carried over even outside their language classroom, in this case, in the social networking site. Moreover, the result supports the finding that English is by far the most frequently used language, other than respondents' own, when going online (Flash Eurobarometer 2011).

The respondents also use a mixed language (27%): Ilocano-English, English-Filipino-Ilocano, English – Filipino, and Ilocano – Filipino. The emergence of code-switching pattern in their FB posts may be attributed to the fact that the respondents are genuine bilinguals. According to Gumperz (1982), code switching is a norm among bilinguals and often occurs even though the speaker or the writer does not intend to do so.

The data gathered show that though the respondents are considered to be educated, their love for their first (5%) and national languages (5%) is still intact as reflected by the usage of such in their status updates. The use of said codes is reflective of the ongoing language politics in the country.

4.3 Identity representation in Facebook

4.3.1 *On language function.*

Based on the data, these three distinct identities of the users are inferred: openness (referential and expressive), creativity (poetic), bossy (directive), warm (phatic) and dependent (expressive). Respondents love to disclose (openness) some of their activities, accomplishments and practically, a slice of their experiences. In this context, FB is used as the respondents' personal journal and as an extension of their real world. In addition, the respondents are indeed *creative* and have the ability to express their intentions in an artistic way. It is interesting to note that teachers, through their Facebook accounts manifest a bossy-like character (bossy). This means that teachers do posts their commands/instructions in their accounts, though minimal. Furthermore, Facebook users also communicate their socialness (warm) by performing social tasks such as opening, maintaining and closing a communication channel. Lastly, the respondents are perceived to be *God-fearing*. Their posts suggest that the users indeed believe in God. Filipinos are known to be religious people, and they belong to various religious groups.

4.3.2 *On the use of language code*

From the data on the language code, it can be gleaned that the respondents are well-versed in the English language. This is not surprising since English is an official language in the Philippines, and many Filipinos use English as a second language. In fact, it is used in education, in business and in various affairs of the state. Thus, Filipinos, especially professionals, are expected to have some proficiency in the language. After all, the view of English as the language of the educated still persists in the country.

Moreover, the teachers are perceived to be *adaptable to various situations*. It can be inferred that respondents code mix so that they could blend in the culture and the nature of the FB users. Using the mixed language, teachers could identify themselves not as professionals but as a common individual. Thus, this gives them more chances to have 'friends' or to engage casual conversations with anybody, not just to professionals like them.

Lastly, the respondents, despite their proficiency in English, still use their national and/or mother tongue in posting their updates in their FB accounts. This shows that they *value said languages* and somehow, it speaks of their attitude of being proud of their identity as Filipinos/Ilocanos.

5 Conclusions

After analyzing the data gathered, it can be inferred that teachers, through their Facebook posts communicate a certain social identity which is rooted on their culture. The sense of openness, creativity, bossy, socialness, being dependent as well as the respondents' facility of the English language, their ability to adapt to situation and being patriotic are indeed a native of Filipino culture and/or identity.

Since only 20 faculty members who regularly update their posts were considered in this study, the findings of this paper may have low external validity and cannot be used to represent the whole population of MMSU faculty. However, this study

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5

A Pedagogical Approach to Cultivating Critical Thinking Competence of Non-English Majors in the Context of CBI Academic English Teaching

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Abstract

By combining specific subject content with instructional objectives of a language, CBI (Content-based Instruction) targets the language as a vehicle for acquiring subject knowledge. In the context of CBI, this study applies PBL (Project-based Learning) mode to academic English teaching for a period of one semester in the assumption that their critical thinking competence will be cultivated effectively. The questionnaire and interview show that the CBI mode is effective in cultivating learners' ability for raising questions as well as searching for, processing, and exchanging information. In terms of cultivating ability for analyzing, handling, and solving problems, it's a rewarding experience as well. However, in aspect of cultivating creative ability and innovative thinking, the results are less desirable.

1 CBI teaching and critical thinking competence

Content-Based Instruction (CBI) is a language teaching method which is supposed to combine language teaching and subject content teaching together. The focus of this method is to transfer teaching from language learning itself to language acquisition through learning subject knowledge (Brinton 1989; Krueger 1993; Met 1991). By integrating training language skills into learning subject content, CBI eliminates the artificial division of language learning and subject learning with language as a medium of subject content learning, and content as a foundation of language learning in a way to help learners acquire language skills in the process of learning subject content so as to gain language competence (Stryker et al. 1997).

Mainly based on research findings of second language acquisition theory, cognitive learning theory, cooperative learning theory, and motivation theory, CBI is equipped with a solid theoretical foundation, and it proves to be workable and effective (Kasper 2000). Stryker (Stryker and Leaver 1997) believes that an ideal condition for foreign language learning will come into being when language teaching and subject teaching go hand in hand with language as a medium for learning subject knowledge. The reason lies in that when students focus on the content with the target language as a tool to explore the knowledge in a way similar to their mother tongue acquisition, they are most efficient. Firstly, focusing on the contents can help to minimize anxiety; Secondly, learning contents has greatly increased the amount of comprehensible input; Thirdly, it has greatly aroused the students' interest and enthusiasm in learning, because real and extensive exchanges among students on subject content or a topic of interest can greatly promote second language acquisition; Fourthly, the high level of academic cognitive activities are conducive to the improvement of language proficiency (Cai Ji-gang 2011:35-36).

In the past two decades, critical thinking education has been highly concerned around the world because the cultivation of critical thinking can not only improve learners' ability to analyze and solve problems, but also can improve their ability to innovate (Ennis 1985; Siegel 1988; Paul 1991; Fisher 2001). Ennis (1985) believes that critical thinking is a process of making the independent judgment for the authenticity, accuracy, nature and value of the knowledge learned so as to make reasonable decisions as to which attitude and behavior to take. According to Halpern, critical thinking is "the kind of thinking involved in solving problems, formulating inferences, calculating likelihoods, and making decisions"(1989:5). Fisher (2001) describes the critical thinking as a positive process of thinking independently, raising questions, and reaching logical conclusions on relevant information. Although there exist some slight differences between different definitions, it can be seen clearly that researchers attribute some cognitive skills, such as raising questions, identifying central issue, making judgment and solving problem to critical thinking. This paper holds that critical thinking competence should include the following several aspects:

- 1) Have the ability to raise questions on the grounds of acquiring comprehensive input. Critical thinking comes from reflection, by which, learners ask questions, and then ponder on them.
- 2) Have the ability to find, collect, sort, extract the relevant information based on research topic, and to make rational judgments.
- 3) Have the ability to solve the problems and reach a conclusion on the basis of the judgment on information.

2 The ways to cultivate critical thinking

In September 2012, the discipline-based academic English teaching was carried out among freshmen in China University of Political Science and Law for the first time. With *Legal English* (which is not a de facto Legal English) compiled by teachers in the university as the course book, the course aims to provide a cornerstone for them to move into further legal English study in their second or third year in the university by involving them into some hot topics related to law in daily life, in the hope to enhance their self-learning ability, and enable them to have a better understanding about the relevant legal system, and to improve their ability to read the texts of the law by learning the basic legal vocabulary and the language features of legal English, so that in the future they can skillfully use English to do legal research. The PBL (Project-based Learning) mode in the context of CBI was employed in the hope to develop students' critical thinking competence in the following ways:

1. Teaching materials are compiled in a way to provide students with opportunities to think broadly

As a discipline-based CBI English textbook, for the same topic, the texts adopted are of different or even contrary views which can provide students with the opportunities to think about, compare and comment on different academic perspectives. When teaching the texts, the teacher made comments in response to the different structures of articles, opinions and the background information, and gave students the opportunities to have comparison and evaluation on articles from different angles.

2. Heuristic teaching helps students broaden their thinking

Critical thinking can be cultivated systematically and the most effective way to improve students' ability to think critically is appropriate teaching methods involved. According to Sumner, "The critical faculty is the product of education and training. It is a mental habit and power...A teacher of any subject who insists on accuracy and rational control of all processes and methods, and who holds everything open to unlimited verification and revision, is cultivating that method as a habit in the pupils" (Sumner 2007:632-633). On the topics of learning, the teacher guided students to analyze and explore the reasons behind the phenomenon from different angles, for example, individual differences, different social backgrounds, the characteristics of different populations of the times, and the human nature etc. So they not only learn to look at an issue from different angles, but also learn the social skill of empathy.

3. PBL mode helps students learn the skills of raising questions, pondering on questions and solving problems.

PBL teaching mode is a method which emphasizes on students' independent inquiry, namely, under the guidance of teachers, students select project or topic for research, and take initiative to collect information, analyze information, acquire knowledge, apply knowledge, and solve problems. It highlights the process of inquiry and problem-solving, focusing on cultivating students' ability. Take the PBL-based PPT presentation as an example, which was divided into three phases in teaching: pre-project phrase, mid-project phase, and the post-project phrase (see Table 1).

Table 1: PBL mode for PPT presentation

pre-project phrase	The teacher introduced the PBL mode and the criteria for project assessment → The teacher introduced the project → Students planned for and submitted proposals for projects → The teacher commented on students' proposals for their projects and offered suggestions → Students modified their proposals.
mid-project phase	Students worked on their research projects → They completed the projects
post-project phrase	Students demonstrated the achievements of their projects in the form of PPT presentation → The project team answered questions from students and teacher → The teacher and rest of students assessed the presentation.

In PBL mode, students formed groups voluntarily according to research topics chosen. For example, in the unit of Domestic Violence, the four groups which were responsible for this unit submitted their sub-topics and outlines respectively after previewing texts, searching for information on the net. Communicating with the teacher, finally the four groups decided on their sub-topics as followings:

1. Can men and women be truly equal?
2. Why do women tend to keep silent after being abused by their husbands?
3. Cold violence: a domestic violence we can never turn a blind eye to
4. To what extent should Confucian thinking and patriarchy society be blamed for domestic violence in China?

The PBL mode enabled the acquisition to happen in a complex and meaningful context, by allowing students to form cooperative groups to solve problems,

indirectly learn subject knowledge behind the questions so as to develop their problem-solving and self-learning ability. Take the previously mentioned Domestic Violence as an example, in order to complete their subprojects, students searched for, and cited a lot of information, such as marital laws home and abroad, anti-domestic violence laws abroad. In the course of the study, they presented many questions, such as "Why China's anti-domestic violence law fails to come into being?", "Under the current legal system, do men still enjoy the advantages in household?" etc. Therefore, PBL helps students develop their critical thinking and analytical ability.

3 The survey and interviews conducted

In January 2013, after a semester of academic English teaching, a survey was conducted in the form of a questionnaire to part of non-English majors from China University of Political Science and Law enrolled in 2012 concerning the issue of cultivating students' critical thinking in the context of CBI academic English teaching. Eventually 87 students' data were collected for further analysis.

Among the questionnaires collected, 83% of the respondents held that the course posed a challenge to them to a certain degree. It can be seen clearly that it is still a tough process for most students to transfer from general English learning in middle school to academic English learning in university as a result of a sudden increase in the academic vocabulary as well as appearance of long and abstruse academic articles. About 72% of students believed that this mode is conducive to arousing their enthusiasm of learning, while 82% of them admitted the mode was helpful in extending knowledge of relevant topics and increasing information. As to the question of whether this mode of teaching contributed to the development of critical thinking, 83% of the students gave a positive response. For the development of students' critical thinking skills, please see Table 2.

Table 2 Critical Thinking Development Evaluation

development \ degree of improvement	greatly	moderately	Not much
The habit of thinking	42%	46%	12%
The ability to query	37%	40%	23%
inquisitiveness	38%	44%	18%
Respect for and tolerance of different opinions	40%	43%	17%
The confidence of truth-seeking	35%	45%	20%
The ability to raise questions	40%	47%	13%
The ability to search for information	33%	43%	24%
The ability to process, edit, communicate information	36%	47%	17%
The ability to analyze, handle, solve problems	38%	50%	12%
The ability to create and innovate	15%	22%	63%

In the questionnaire, students commented on the activities which were conducive to the development of critical thinking (see Table 3).

Table 3. The activities contributing to development of critical thinking

Activities/degree of effectiveness	greatly	moderately	Not much
Reading texts with contrary or different opinions	40%	45%	15%
Reading with questions on the mind	30%	42%	28%
comparing arguments, grounds, argumentation of different articles	42%	44%	14%
Class discussion	45%	44%	11%
Preparing for PPT presentation	50%	37%	13%
Preparing for term paper	42%	46%	12%
Completing the writing exercises of each unit	8%	21%	71%
Completing the exercises in the textbook	4%	8%	88%
Giving priority to formative assessment	51%	38%	11%

Based on students' final scores for the first semester, three students from different score levels were selected for interview at the end of the first semester. The interview questions were as followings: (1) How do you like this course? (2) What are your opinions about academic English teaching in the context of CBI? (3) In terms of developing critical thinking competence, are your efforts rewarded? To what extent?

Although I still need to spend a lot of time looking up the words, but I have been accustomed to the learning style. I like reading articles with controversial views, and I'm especially in the in-depth class discussions, because I can not only learn some legal vocabulary and expressions, but also broaden my thinking...In terms of cultivating critical thinking, I guess it's a rewarding one, because I have learnt to look at an issue from different angles instead of being right or wrong (from a male whose grade is A).

The texts are hard for me. I like the class discussion, and PPT presentations, as getting the views from others can broaden our horizons. As far as critical thinking is concerned, I guess there is improvement to a certain extent. Frankly speaking, this course provides us with so big amount of information, and it's really hard for us to gain nothing. However, sometimes facing tons of materials collected, I feel disoriented because people have different arguments and it's by no means an easy thing to have a completely different point of view (from a female whose grade is B).

I think the texts are too difficult, and not to mention tons of new words...The course learning is so stressful that it's really hard for me to keep up with it, let alone have time to ponder on a topic. As far as critical thinking is concerned, I guess there is improvement. Because the texts always provide us with different views, they help broaden our horizon (from a male whose grade is C-).

Questionnaire and interviews show that most students found the course challenging, but as for the cultivation of critical thinking in the context of CBI, most of them provided a positive feedback. After a year's learning, the majority of students believed the learning experience helped them develop a habit of thinking and a strong thirst for knowledge. Compared with the past, they are better equipped with the spirit of questioning, and have gradually learned to respect and tolerate different opinions. The confidence of upholding the truth and justice also arises spontaneously. Meanwhile, the students gain a lot in respect of raising questions, searching for information, processing information, and communicating information. The cultivation of students' ability to analyze, handle, and solve problems has also been rewarding. But when asked whether there was improvement in respect of innovative thinking, only 37% of the students gave a positive response. The reason, the writer believes, lies in the fact that students' creative and innovative thinking

remains to be the tidemark of the critical thinking, which relies on students' solid and profound professional knowledge. As freshmen, they still have a long way to go either in terms of accumulation of professional knowledge or humanitarian sentiments, as a result, it's really hard for them to expect a significant improvement in respect of innovative thinking in a short term. However, mostly students were happy with the teaching activities in the context of CBI which were conducive to development of critical thinking except for the language exercises and writing tasks in the textbook (with approval ratings of 12% and 29% respectively). It's not difficult to find that most exercises in the book mainly aim to provide practices on word, phrase, or sentence level, and the writing tasks assigned for each unit mostly are based on writing skills training, both of which focus on language forms. Focusing on forms is believed to be conducive to grammar learning by drawing learners' separate attention to grammar instructions and practices (DeKeyser 1998). However, there exist some doubts as to whether they contribute to the cultivation of students' critical thinking.

4 Conclusion

Although it proves to be an effective exploration in respect of developing students' critical thinking ability, with the progress of the course, some problems arising from the process cannot be ignored:

1. The differences in students' English proficiency may affect results. According to Dochy et al (2003), the knowledge and skills acquired by students with different proficiency level in research-oriented learning vary greatly. Due to the difficulty of this course, some students with lower level of English proficiency find it a hard time to keep up with the flow of the course, let alone find more time and energy to ponder on or explore the issues. Only when students feel that they are capable of taking this task, which is a goal worthy of their efforts, can their enthusiasm and creativity be aroused. Therefore, it is recommended to have graded English teaching in accordance with the students' English proficiency.
2. Exercises in textbook should be designed in a way to help cultivate students' Thinking. The design of the exercises should follow the principle of constructivism theory to reduce the mechanical repetition. Instead, some task-based activities should be introduced to avoid the embarrassing cold shoulder, so as to facilitate students to develop thinking.

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6

Resultative Constructions in English and Chinese

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Abstract

This paper investigates the interaction between verbal and constructional properties of the resultative constructions in English and Chinese. The choice of this structure brings out the important interface between syntax and semantics. The resultative in both English and Chinese is argued to be a construction larger than a single compound, and this is more controversial in Chinese because almost all linguists will treat the resultative such as *da si* 'hit die' as a compound. In particular, the construction is treated as subordination implied by the Deranking Hierarchy (Cristofaro 2003) and a mini-construction in the sense of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, Boas 2004). Simultaneously, the resultative is taken to be a highly transitive structure (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Cheng and Huang 1994). Finally, we will argue along Fauconnier's (1997: 173) observation that 'grammatical constructions are blends, which are entrenched but evolve diachronically', which seems to be the case of the resultative construction in Chinese.

1 English and Chinese resultatives

The resultative construction has been one of the most studied topics in linguistics recently (eg Boas 2003; Carrier and Randall 1992; Goldberg 1991, 1995, 2005; Cheng and Huang 1994; Huang 2010; Jackendoff and Goldberg 2004; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Li 1990, 1995; Shi 2002; Shi C 2008; Shibagaki 2013; Wechsler 1997, 2001). This paper will argue for a constructional approach, particularly taking the Chinese resultative as a construction; and then it will examine the construction's meaning within the notion of grammatical blending.

It has been assumed that the resultative construction in English is different from that in Chinese in that the latter is often considered to be a verb compound, while the former is more like a clausal construction – in fact, it typically contains a single clause (Goldberg 1995). On the one hand, the resultative construction can be analysed as binary branching (eg Hoekstra 1988) or tertiary branching (eg Carrier and Randall 1992; Jackendoff 1990, 2002), for instance:

- (1) *John watered [the tulips flat].*
- (2) *John watered [the tulips] [flat].*

Furthermore, there is another class of resultatives that contains an argument not subcategorised for by the predicate, for example:

- (3) *John cooked the pot black.*

While John cooked the food is fine, #John cooked the pot is anomalous.

There are different types of resultatives eg transitive or unaccusative. What is interesting is that some resultatives license the predicate that does not subcategorise for an argument, ie they are intransitive. The example below consists of a traditional intransitive verb *run*, which is followed by an NP and an AP.

- (4) *John ran the Nikes threadbare.*

One way to solve this is to claim that there are two lexemes of *run*, one transitive and the other intransitive. Another more plausible solution is to suggest, along the spirit of Construction Grammar (eg Fillmore *et al* 1988, Goldberg 1997, Lakoff 1987), that the extra arguments are provided by the resultative construction itself, whose argument roles are fused with the participant roles of the verbs. In the case of *run*, the Agent role aligns with the runner; while the construction assigns a Patient role to *the Nikes*. The advantage of this approach is that we can allow intransitive verbs to have arguments following them. The question to ask is how the constructions obtain the argument roles, while some are not subcategorised by the predicate. A non-constructional approach may answer this question by assuming the Direct Object Restriction (eg Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995) that the English resultative requires an object; while the Chinese data lead us to the constructional approach.

There are different types of the resultative in Chinese, which can be conveniently grouped by their transitivity. For example, *John chi bao le* 'John eat full Aspect' (*John ate and he became full*) is said to be intransitive in which both verbs don't take a complement or object. The transitive type can include examples such as *John da si le Mary* 'John hit-die-aspect Mary' (*John hit Mary to death*). The intransitive type is more interesting because it can allow both verbs to be intransitive but there is a complement after them, for instance:

- (5) *John ku shi le zhentou.*
John cry wet ASP pillow
'John cried and made the pillow wet.'

Both predicates *ku* and *shi* are, by traditional standards, intransitive verbs, as shown in the **John ku le zhentou* and **John shi le zhentou*. On the other hand, if we follow Bolinger (1971), English also allows a similar structure, albeit less productive.

- (6) *John cut short the speech.*

Being less productive means that examples such as (8) will be considered as exceptional, which cannot be interpreted in a framework that favours the analysis of the core language (eg Chomsky 1986, 1995). However, the different word orders of the two prototypical resultative constructions in the languages reflect the iconicity principle that forces us to interpret them differently (cf Haiman 1985, Givon 1990).

- (7) *John watered the tulips flat.*

- (8) *John ku shi le zhentou.*

The position of the post-verbal NP in English comes between the verb and the result AP complement indicating the result, while the Chinese correspondent NP occurs after the result complement, if there is one.

2 Subordination and Events

Following Huddleston (1974, 1976), Palmer (1973, 1990) and Huddleston and Pullum *et al* (2002) we propose a 'catenative analysis' for the verb in the Chinese resultative. A catenative is a verb that takes another verb as its complement, and there is no limit on the number of verbs that a catenative can take. Palmer (1973) refers to this construction as a 'complex phrase', which involves subordination.

What this analysis suggests is that the catenative complement is a clausal complement, rather than simply a verb or verb phrase. The different resultative constructions in Chinese might be analysed in the same fashion, which does not mean that they do not have any semantic or pragmatic differences, with (14) emphasising the extent that the vase was broken.

(9) *Ta da po le huaping.*
he hit-break-aspect vase
'He broke the vase.'

(10) *Ta da dao huaping po le.*
he hit arrive vase break aspect
'He hit the vase to the extent that it broke.'

The items *po le huaping* and *dao huaping po le* are the clausal complements of *da*. The plausibility of this analysis comes from the cognitive-functional definition of subordination. According to Cristofaro (2003: 2), subordination can be seen as:

a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event).

This way of viewing subordination can allow us to capture the relation between the verb and its complement in the Chinese resultative construction. In the above examples, it makes sense to say that breaking the vase depends on hitting it. Goldberg (1998: 42) defines events as such: "Two events *e*1 and *e*2 are distinct subevents of an event *E* designated by a verb *V*, iff $E \rightarrow e_1 \& e_2$ is not completely within the temporal extent of *e*2". Goldberg (1988: 42) gives the example of *saute*, which designates one event 'since the two aspects of heating and stirring overlap temporally such that the stirring is completely within the temporal duration of the heating'.

Structurally, the above examples show similarities and the separation of *da* and *po* by *dao huaping* in *Ta da [dao huaping] po le* suggests further that *da po* has a flexible structure; their combination is macro-managed by the resultative construction. Functionally, the event *da* 'is not completely within the temporal extent' of the event *po*. However, some resultative constructions in Chinese may not show the same temporal control. The temporal scheme for English resultatives involves the action and then the change of state (Goldberg 1995). Different from English resultatives, Chinese resultatives are not strictly restricted to this temporal constraint. Many of them allow the result to be later than the time of the action, given appropriate context eg *John da si le Peter*, which shows a complex-event structure.

3 Deranking and mini-construction

Recognising that the Chinese resultative is a subordinate structure has further typological consequences and advantages. For example, we have already seen the structure as representing two states of affairs in terms of event structure. The phenomenon of deranking, which has been found in many different languages, can also be expressed in the resultative construction. Cristofaro (2003) examines over eighty languages about such a phenomenon and discovers an implicational

hierarchy about the relationship between complement clauses and adverbial clauses:

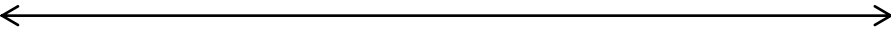
The Hierarchy of Subordinate Clause Deranking (my modification)

modal, phasal < *result* < purpose < manipulative, desiderative < perception < before < after, when < reason, reality conditional < knowledge, propositional attitude < utterance

This scale measures the degree of semantic integration, which shows connections between two states of affairs. Two states of affairs are seen as one single tight event by modals and phasals, while manipulatives and desideratives can denote events that are dependent upon another (Croft 2002: 218). The ranking above should also include the category of “result” – perhaps before manipulative – many of which express purposes that are parallel to emphasising the outcome of an event (Boas 2003) similar to resultatives. Thus, resultatives are high on the scale and Chinese resultatives appear to be more semantically integrated than the English counterparts. Modifying the hierarchy, we suggest that resultatives are between phasal and purpose.

If the resultative construction such as *John chi bao le fan* can be decomposed into two clauses such as *John chi le fan* and *John bao le*, the two clauses express two states of affairs or propositions independently: E(x, y) and F(x), and can be represented as two (mini-)constructions (Boas 2003). Instead of combining *chi* and *bao* as a single compound, the item *bao* “projects” into a mini-construction and *chi* another one before they fuse into the resultative construction. (The two constructions can be seen as instances of the intransitive construction.) The fact that *chi* and *bao* merge into one single whole echoes the observation by Cheng and Huang (1994: 191) that “all resultatives are causative by nature” – the causative-resultative pattern. Thus, it’s the entire construction that is transitive in the traditional sense.

This is in consistency with the Constructional models that different semantics may drive different structures:

Chinese: Resultative verb	(<i>Shi</i>) Causative-resultative	Others
<i>Ku shi, qi lei</i>	<i>shi zhentou shi le</i>	<i>ba zhentou xi le</i>
		
English:	<i>John shouted himself hoarse</i>	<i>John caused the pillow to become wet</i>

This scale can also be seen as a transitivity scale (after Hopper & Thompson 1980). In Chinese the resultative, the *Shi*-causative-resultative construction and the *Ba*-construction can all express the idea of cause and result/effect, hence highly transitive; and on this continuum English exhibits a similar kind of phenomenon having the resultative construction at one end and the transitive construction – using *cause* – at the other end. If there are more constructions in Chinese that can show similar meanings, it may, from Haiman’s (1985) point of view, be claimed that Chinese is more maximally expressive in terms of communicative functions.

4 Argument Realisation and Grammatical Blending

In the example *John ku shi le zhentou*, the pre-verbal NP is a human Agent, so it is volitional, perceptual and able to cause something to happen. And the Patient involves a change of state, is causally affected and stationary. Hence, the pillow

zhentou undergoes a change from being dry to being wet, and the reason for this is that the Agent cried.

In other words, the more proto-agent properties (Dowty 1991) an argument has the more likely that it is an Agent, potentially aligned with the ‘subject’. The proto-patient should also possess sufficient patient properties. The ‘subject’ and ‘object’ positions are filled and they express prominence of the roles (Goldberg 2006: 185). Agent and Patient are both prominent. If the sentence is rewritten as ‘That the man cried caused the pillow to become wet’, the cause is overtly expressed. In the original sentence the causing event is implicit inside the construction.

Another aspect of the construction *John ku shi le zhentou* is that the referents (the arguments of the predicates) are overtly expressed. The sentence **John ku shi le* does not work if the patient argument is missing, because according to the Argument Realisation Principle (cf Goldberg 2005, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995), there must be an argument for *shi* to identify the subevent in the event structure. In other words, the Argument Realisation Principle further reinforces the transitivity nature of the resultative construction, which typically involves an affected party.

Nevertheless, if we adopt this Principle crosslinguistically, as in Chinese, it will have to be reformulated as follows: “There is *at least* one argument XP for the whole event (including subevents) in the event structure template”⁵. This will cover cases where there is only one argument which is concerned with two subevents – the whole resultative event such as *chi bao* that only requires an overt argument. The verbs *chi* and *bao* are only predicated of the same argument as in *John chi bao le* (‘John ate and became full’). The relevant Subevent Identification Condition, however, can be observed in both English and Chinese, which states (Goldberg 2005: 18, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 112) that “[e]ach subevent in an event structure template must be identified by a lexical predicate”. In the *chi bao* case, the subevents are identified by two lexical predicates. However, if the Patient argument is not emphasised or not in the focal position – ‘low discourse prominence’ (Goldberg 2006: 196), it can be omitted.

Apart from the discourse factor, the Subevent Identification Condition also suggests that the predicates expressing the subevents have to be very close (in terms of time or in causal relation). The Chinese resultative construction contains together the two verbs expressing the subevents, which are inside the resultative event. The first subevent is a cause and the second is a result or effect, which reflects the natural order of the events in the real world. This order expresses the nature of iconicity that items that are close together in terms of function or cognition are arranged closely together (Givón 1990). The order of *ku shi* demonstrates this: first the cause, then the result; besides, the two verbs are so tight that they do not allow any intervention (except *bu* ‘not’), for instance, **ku feichang shi* (‘cry very much wet’). The *bu*-insertion is another structural piece of evidence that the Chinese resultative should be treated as a construction rather than a single compound. Thus, the verbs in the resultative form a complex construction, syntactically and semantically integrated.

This integration demonstrates the iconic motivation in the Chinese resultative construction, whose iconicity principle is connected to the conceptual space or semantic map model as ‘The universals of language are found in conceptual

⁵ In fact, in Chinese if the discourse allows, the arguments can all be dropped eg A: *Ni xing bu xing?* (Can you do that?) B: *Xing* (Can).

structure and in the mapping of conceptual function onto grammatical form' (Croft 2001: 105).

In this line of reasoning, we find the concept of grammatical blending (Fauconnier 1994, 1997) relevant to the discussion of the Chinese resultative construction. Following construction grammarians such as Goldberg (1995), a resultative can be seen as a metaphorical extension of the Caused Motion Construction – 'A causes B to move to C by doing D'. However, to adopt it, we will need to modify the schema. The following schema is our modified version for the Chinese resultative (Figure 1 below, a modified version of Fauconnier 1997: 173). Here, we replace Fauconnier's 'Move' with 'Change to' to denote the change of state in the resultative structure. Since the order of the result phrase and the Patient argument is different, as is reflected in the above diagram – C changes to B. This kind of grammatical blending echoes Croft's claim that there is 'mapping of conceptual function onto grammatical form'.

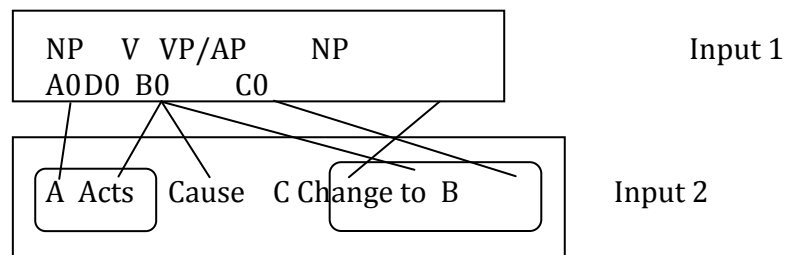
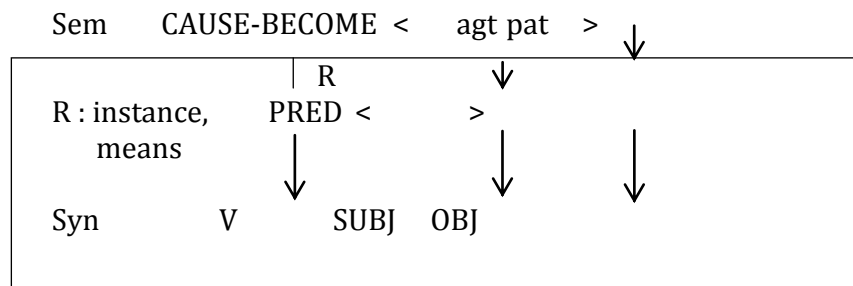


Figure 1

In order to translate the grammatical blending model above to the Construction Grammar (eg Goldberg 1995) model, we suggest the following:



It is the over-arching semantic structure of the resultative construction that produces the *ku shi* construction while both the verbs do not license a Patient argument when they are used in isolation. The following diagram shows this in a three-dimensional model, which attempts to emphasise the power of the construction, which recognises the English and Chinese resultatives as true constructions. Further, it matches one of the original definitions of construction – a pairing of form and meaning. (Goldberg 1995: 4). Although Goldberg may not have meant this to apply to different languages, this definition captures the idiosyncrasies of the resultative constructions typologically.

5 Conclusion

Using a constructional approach to resultatives can allow for the “integration of event-frame information in terms of (mini-)constructions” (Boas 2003: 318). This integration in fact shows strong properties of transitivity, which is so strong that even single intransitive verbs entering into this construction can have arguments provided by the construction such as *John ku shi le zhentou* (‘John cried and made the pillow wet’), in which both predicates are traditionally intransitive. Similar to the resultative construction in English, the Chinese resultative is highly transitive, in syntax or semantics. We showed that the resultative is a case of grammatical blending, which is “entrenched but evolve diachronically” (Fauconnier 1997: 173). Over time, the structure changed (Shi 2002, Liang 2006), which is followed by the “linguistic pressure to represent complex integrations of events by making maximum use of existing grammatical constructions” (Fauconnier 1997: 173).

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7

“I pronounce the accused guilty”: Politeness inside the first Impeachment court in the Philippines

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Abstract

This study analysed the verdict-speeches of the 23 Senator Judges. The study analyzed if there was politeness in giving the verdict whether guilty or not and if the accused was rightfully addressed and complimented. The questions answered that led to conclusions were: 1) What are the profiles of the senator judges in terms of gender and academic upbringing? 2) What are the address and compliment markers used by the senator judges to signify politeness in delivering their speeches before giving their final verdict to the accused?, and 3) Do these politeness markers align to the final verdict given by a particular senator judge? This study adopted the frameworks by Fasold (1990) and Herberts' (1997) on studies inside the courtroom setting to see how address can be a politeness marker inside a courtroom. The findings revealed that despite the final verdict was guilty, the senator judges would still present their verdict as light as possible and be polite to all and compliments were used as a springboard.

1 Introduction

The study then would like to look on how the senator-judges which some of them are not lawyers and have no experience in giving a verdict to a sensitive and very controversial case also on how politeness can still be displayed despite the pressures, technicalities and procedures inside a court room. The present study will be guided by the following research questions: 1) What are the profiles of the senator judges in terms of gender and academic upbringing? 2) What are the address and compliment markers used by the senator judges to signify politeness in delivering their speeches before giving their final verdict to the accused?, and 3) Do these politeness markers align to the final verdict given by a particular senator judge? The data that was analysed came from the Supreme Courts' official web-gazette.

2 Methodology

After the data was gathered online, I would be doing the required analysis by identifying in the transcript where the politeness markers are. In looking for the profile of the senator-judges, the internet could be a shrewd source of it, since all of them have their own personal websites which is up-to-date and they maintain for political reasons. Fasold (1990) used questionnaires to determine how one will address a person he is conversing with. These patterns were found in his study, MN - multiple names, found among the intimately well acquainted; names of food and small animals seem to be especially popular; FN - first name, used among friends or acquaintances; TLN - title plus last name, used to address those higher in rank or older; LN - last name, a less formal address used by superiors or coworkers to show either; T - title, used especially in the military, less formal than TLN; TT - title plus title, used in very formal settings or with people of very high rank. The current study

looked for new patterns inside the courtroom settings and analysed how these address markers can be a politeness marker inside a courtroom. Considering the status of the speaker (the role he is performing in the trial) and for whom his speech is addressed to, these markers were used to signify respect in the conversation thereby marking politeness in the conversation in the study. In the present work, these politeness markers and even new patterns will be identified and be analysed and if there is respect to whom they are addressing their speeches considering for whom the utterance is addressed and the profile of who is delivering the speech considering power/authority.

Another way to analyse the data is using the framework of Herbert (1997) in his study another way of showing politeness is through the compliments given by a speaker to an addressee. Most of the non-adjectival compliments depended on semantically positive verbs, for example like, love, enjoy, admire. In the present study the framework will be applied analysing the compliments given by the senator judges in their speeches before giving their verdict hence would make their decision lighter to be accepted. These markers will then be analysed meticulously to see if the verdict given by a particular senator judge is equal to the politeness of the speech given. An example would be the line given by one of the senator judge, *"Still, the chief justice **sufficiently addressed** the accusations against him with regard to the filing of his SALN and the disclosure of his real properties and peso deposits."* The statement given is positive through the use of the semantically positive phrase "sufficiently addressed" in the sense that the speaker expresses his appreciation to the accused thereby giving a compliment to the actions of the Chief Justice. This then would be analysed as polite. These analyses of the addresses used and compliments would then lead to a conclusion of how politeness can be seen in giving a verdict inside a courtroom.

3 Results and Discussion

There are 24 senators of the Philippines as the constitution of the Philippines requires. In the case of this impeachment trial there are only 23 who voted as explained in the earlier part of this paper. The final vote on the verdict of these senator judges is a 20-3 giving guilty as the majority vote. Among the 23 senator judges, three are female and the remaining twenty belong to the male gender. There are two male and a female senator judge who voted for the acquittal of the accused. The best way to describe the Philippine senate's academic achievement is that it has a "hetero-academic" membership group. It is then very interesting to see the speeches of these senator judges who have different academic backgrounds in giving a humanitarian yet significant verdict. The Senator Judges' real names were replaced by Senator Judge A to W to give confidentiality of the identities.

The first speech that I analyzed was from Senator A. Majority of his speech is in the Filipino language and there are only a few lines which are delivered in English. He is one of those senator judges who can be considered as learned but not as a lawyer. He voted for guilty and in the analysis of his speech it can be seen that he only used two types of address to the accused, these are "Ginoong Corona" and "Chief Justice". These markers can be considered as his polite way of addressing the defendant but in the context of giving his verdict, which eventually is guilty, signifies that there is respect to him as a person but not so much as a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The address "Ginoong Corona" is translated as "Mister Corona" in English is a Common Title and Last Name (CTLN). This pattern though it indicates

politeness is a common address given to an ordinary person. Another pattern is the use of the accused' title alone (T), as "the chief justice", this is the generic term for him since this is the position he is occupying. The use of this address patterns in the speech gives a polite way but indirectly showing distance of the speaker to the accused. There are polite address markers which shows nearness to the recipient but the speaker here displays his verdict as formal and firm by also not showing any compliment to the efforts of the accused in defending himself. The senator-judge, based on his analysis of the case gave a guilty verdict to the accused. As seen on his speech/explanation he tries to be as formal, polite and educated as he can in doing such.

Next is Senator Judge B. His speech is addressed to the presiding officer hence the main topic in his explanation is the accused. Senator Judge B made use of several addresses for the accused and made one for the presiding officer. For the presiding officer he made use of Mister President, referring to the senate president. For the accused, Chief Justice Renato Corona and several times as Justice Corona were used. The address Chief Justice Renato Corona bears the Full Title and Full Name (FTFN) of the accused. In the speech, this address was only used once by the speaker and is found at the introductory part of the speech. The preceding part of the speech used Justice Corona as to identify the defendant. This address forms the pattern as Partial Title and Last Name (PTLN), partial in the sense that he is the Chief Justice meaning he is one of the Justices of the Supreme Court but this time he is more address as a Justice only. There is no trace of compliment in the speech of this senator for the accused. The use of the said addresses by this senator judge show levelling of his verdict as guilty he also made use of the FTFN in the beginning of the speech as a marker of identifying who the accused was. The repetitive use of PTLN indicates that his verdict could be something that will degrade the position of the accused.

Senator Judge C only used one address for the presiding officer and another for the accused. Similarly, Mister President is used for the presiding officer but for the accused, chief justice then was used. This is contradicting to his verdict, he is one of three senator judges who acquitted the accused from this case. Analysing his speech there is no compliment given at all but the same as the other speeches, there were a lot of explanation from the point of view of law makers but he finds the case of removing the chief justice in power by just an error in presenting his SALN as something weak. Senator Judge C, is a lawyer by profession and so as his speech is presented it is noticeable that he would acquit the chief justice. The speech of the Senate Judge D is like a summary of the entire impeachment proceedings.

Being the senior in senate and the head of the Philippine Senate, Senator Judge D gave his speech in full formality and politeness. He is considered as one of the high profiled lawyers in the group. He voted for the conviction of the accused, what is interesting in his speech is how he used the address for the respondent. There are two types of patterns used and there are no compliment markers in his entire speech. The first address marker is the title only as chief justice in addressing the accused. This is an indirect address to show the politeness in the errors of actions of the accused. There is politeness here by being indirect, what the speaker is saying is the chief justice committed an error but this is a face saving technique, instead of having the name and the title of the suspect, the title was used as a generic address for him. The second address used by the Senator Judge D is the use of Full Title with Agency and Full Name (FTA FN). This is seen in the transcript as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Renato C. Corona.

Senator Judge E' speech also declared a guilty verdict for the accused. He is one of those senators whose background is from "rags to riches", a learned individual

though not in the field of law but on business. He made use of the following addresses in his speech to address the defendant: the Chief Justice, Chief Justice Corona, CJ Corona. The use of Chief Justice and Chief Justice Corona as an address is already been discussed in the earlier part of this paper which gives a pattern of Title only (T) and Title and Last Name (TLN), respectively. Interestingly, it was only Senator Judge E who made use of this address, CJ Corona which can have the pattern, Title in Acronym and Last Name (TALN). The use of this pattern is oftentimes accompanied by compliments of the senator pertaining to the character of the accused. Despite the vote given by Senator Judge E, there is a part of him saying that the Chief Justice is a good man but his error in his actions in declaring his Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Net-worth (SALN) gives him the grounds for impeachment or removal in office. The use of "CJ Corona" as an address in the speech signifies a lighter output and a compliment. The speech of Senator Judge E is more polite than the other speeches despite the guilty verdict.

The next speech that was analyzed was from Senator Judge F. Immediately in the opening of his speech, he declared his verdict as guilty. Being a military in background, Senator Judge F is considered as those one who has a militant mind among his comrades in senate. His explanation is actually shorter compared with other speakers, despite this, common address were used by this senator similar to what has been discussed. There were the appearances of Chief Justice (T) and Chief Justice Renato Corona (FTFN). There was no occurrence of any compliment in the speech, having an aggressive background he would be the most likely to be the last to compliment the chief justice. The shortest among the verdict speeches could be what Senator Judge G has prepared. Each senator judge was given a maximum time of two minutes to explain why s/he has arrived in such a verdict.

Senator Judge G, did not even address the accused nor give compliments to him. Instead, the speech was directed to the Senate President, as he addressed as Mr. President (TLN), where he is presenting his explanations of his verdict for the accused. He voted for guilty, based on his conscience. The speech of Senator Judge H only uses the patterns of Full Title and Full Name (FTFN).

Senator Judge H, again is one of those who does not belong to the lawyers' group in the senate. He did not gave any compliment to the accused and based his decision from a quote of a president in the United States, from there on a parallel decision was created making the accused, guilty of the charge being thrown to him.

Senator Judge I is one of those senators who is learned/educated. His speech addresses the accused as an ordinary person, bearing the address pattern of Common Title and Last Name (CTLN). He did not gave any compliment marker but instead explained thoroughly why his verdict is guilty based on facts from what he has heard inside the impeachment court.

The speech of Senator Judge J, gives another unique address to the accused. He used the "respondent Corona", "Punong Mahistrado" and "Chief Justice Renato Corona" for his address to the defendant. The use of respondent Corona is something that can only be seen in his speech, no other senator judge used this address to the defendant. This address can be categorized or have the pattern Adjective and Last Name (ALN). The remaining two other address used by Senator Judge J is "Punong Mahistrado" which is the direct Filipino equivalent of the English term Chief Justice which is labelled in this study as Title (T) and the Chief Justice Renato C. Corona is FTFN. Overall in this speech there are no complimentary markers located but regardless of these markers, the speech is polite through the use of the proper address markers and detailed explanation of the reason why the speaker voted for guilty.

Senator Judge K is another of the three senator judge who acquitted the Chief Justice from this trial. Senator Judge K, being one of the learned law practitioner saw the need to acquit the accused based on his conscience and seeing through the history of the country both in the past and in the upcoming years. Senator Judge K did not give or used any compliment marker in his speech for the Chief Justice but just addressed the accused through his title as the “Chief Justice” and then later on before giving his final verdict just use “The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.” This marker is an indirect address to the accused without giving a specific name, since the main penalty of the accused if proven guilty is the removal from his office, it is then that the senator used this address to emphasize that his vote to acquit the accused be retain in that position in that agency.

Senator Judge L also gave a guilty verdict to the accused. She is one of the female senators who voted guilty for the Chief Justice. Her speech is more on explaining the reason behind her verdict to the accused. She did not address the Chief Justice in her speech but channelled most of her explanation to the senate president whom she addressed and all members of the senate as Mister President. There is no compliment marker used in the entire speech but because of the formality of the occasion and the address of her speech, there is generally politeness.

Next speech is from Senator Judge M who explicitly says that he is unlearned when it comes to the judicial proceedings since he does not have proper schooling. He then would be voting based on conscience and what he understands of the case. He gives polite markers by giving compliments of praise to those he heard speaking. Those statements explicitly showed compliments being given by the speaker. Most of the address used by Senator Judge M to the accused is TLN. With all respect Senator Judge M displayed politeness in his speech by presenting who he is by showing the distance of his academic upbringing compared with his colleagues. Despite the politeness in his speech, he voted guilty.

Senator Judge N is one of those in the senate having a militant mind, a background of a police inspector, he has the capacity to detect who is lying or not but at the same time has tendency to be less polite because of having that mind-set of a vigilant. In his entire speech there was no trace of any compliment marker but he made used of an address that was used by his comrades to address the accused as Chief Justice Renato Corona. This address is a polite way of identifying the respondent. The speech of Senator Judge N overall is polite despite the guilty verdict.

Next is Senator Judge O’s verdict. Similar to Senator Judge N and Senator Judge F, Senator Judge O also has that military mind. He is the senior among the three military minds in the Philippine senate. He voted for guilty against the Chief Justice. There are no compliment markers also similar to the other two military-minded senators. He addressed the accused through his title but later on addressed the accused as “Mr. Chief Justice” this pattern can be called as Common Title and Title (CTT). This was formulated to show politeness by identifying the recipient without mentioning the real name of the person.

The next speech was given by Senator Judge P. He is one of the learned/educated member of the senate as can be reflected in the profile. He voted for guilty unlike Senator Judge C who made use of the same address marker as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court with the pattern Title and Agency (TA).

The speech of Senator Judge Q is another guilty verdict with a comparison from their past experience in the judicial system. He was comparing the case of his father, former President of the Philippines who was also a subject of the impeachment court years ago before the present trial. Senator Judge Q belongs to the not so learned/educated group of the senate. Oftentimes he would addressed the accused

using his title only as Chief Justice. He voted for guilty against the Chief Justice but the proper politeness was given to the accused.

The next speech was given by Senator Judge R. He is considered as one of the young and educated senators. He voted for the conviction of the accused but despite his verdict, he gave a compliment to Chief Justice for being brave and transparent in opening his bank accounts to the public. Senator Judge R made use of the same addressed markers as used by majority of the speakers, the use Title only and Title and Last Name. His speech despite a guilty verdict denotes politeness.

Senator Judge S is the senator who has highest academic upbringing. She can be considered as above average from the other Philippine senators. She also has the longest speech, exceeding also the two-minute period set by the court. Despite the long "lecture" of the senator on policies and practices of law, she never gave a compliment to the accused but with all the discourse she rendered she acquits the defendant from his case. She even made use of an indefinite adjective to refer to the accused. The use of an indefinite adjective is a politeness marker as to being indirect.

Senator Judge T is one of the premier senators of the Philippines and is considered as one of the top lawyers. He voted for guilty. Despite the less use of address in his speech pertaining to the accused, he just made use of the common TLN pattern. Overall, despite that there was no compliment marker, his speech is polite and just explained his reason for the verdict given.

Senator Judge U is the last female senator who gave her speech to the accused. She pronounced a guilty verdict and while explaining she addresses the accused with his title as Chief Justice, she was polite though she only used this marker two to three times only during her speech. She explained more in the point of view of a lawyer practicing her profession.

Senator Judge V, explained his guilty verdict by addressing the accused in two ways one was Acronym with Last Name (ALN) and the other as Title and Last Name (TLN). The explanation of the lawyer senator judge was based on facts and figures making his explanation no compliments but was very polite.

Lastly, Senator Judge W gave his verdict. He also pronounced the Chief Justice as guilty from the accusations being thrown to him. He gave a compliment to the accused by lifting his achievement from being an ordinary law practitioner to becoming the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This compliment given by Senator Judge W became his springboard to give his final verdict as guilty to the accused. He used the common addressed Title only and Title and Last Name in referring to the accused. Politeness was seen all throughout the speech of Senator Judge W.

4 Conclusion

Overall, despite the final verdict of the majority is guilty for the Chief Justice. It was observed that the senator judges would still try to present their verdict as light as possible and be polite both to the audience and the accused. Despite the differences in gender and academic upbringing of the senator judges it was found out that they will still be civil since they are inside the courtroom. With regards to how they addressed the accused it was found out that there are new patterns that may just likely to appear in the high profile context only such as the impeachment trial, the use of the pattern Full Title in Agency and Full Name (FTA FN) of the addressee is something exclusively as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Renato C. Corona or

President of the Republic of the Philippines Benigno S. Aquino, III. Other addresses found in this study were common to the use in an ordinary setting.

Compliments on the other hand may be used to show politeness, it can lighten the not so good news. In this study it was seen that compliments can be used as a springboard to come up with the point of what the speaker needs to point out. This is different from being sarcastic since in sarcasm there is a direct attack on the comparison between the positive and negative aspect of the proposition. More so the objective of sarcastic utterances is to pull down the addressee hence in giving compliments as a springboard is more of a stepping stone to deliver the bad news. In a discourse level, this study would like to conclude that politeness can be seen in a speech. This is proven in the present study that speeches even if it is meant to convict a person of a crime he has committed or to show the errors in his action there can still be politeness through how the accused can be rightfully addressed and be complimented for his efforts. Politeness is often presented to language learners implicitly, basically as things they should or should not say and do when interacting in English or any language like the Filipino.

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8

Enhancement of Learners' Communicative Competence through Teaching of Poetry

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Abstract

In an ESL teaching programme the primary duty of the teacher is to enable students to enrich their communicative competence. The incorporation of poetry in language teaching programmes proves to be expedient for learners to develop their communicative competence. Teaching of poetry not only augments learners' communicative competence but also helps them to master the target language. Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" is selected for the case study and thirty students of tertiary level were taught the poem through task based activities. In selecting the task based activities, Yule's (2008) concept of communicative competence and its three components, namely, grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence are taken into consideration. Thus the present paper makes an attempt to explicate how the teaching of poetry in the ESL context leads to the enhancement of learners' communicative competence.

1 Introduction

In an ESL language teaching programme it is the prime duty of the teacher to facilitate learners to master the target language. The amalgamation of literature in language teaching programmes proves to be beneficial for learners to improve their language proficiency. The teacher can play a key role in the development of learners' language proficiency by teaching them poetry. While teaching poetry the teacher can conduct a wide range of interesting task based activities and assist learners to master the target language. Teaching of poetry not only enriches learners' communicative competence but also helps them to master the target language. In the present paper the design and selection of the task based activities are done within the purview of Yule's (2008) concept of communicative competence and its three components, namely, grammatical competence, sociological competence and strategic competence.

2 Communicative competence

Developing language proficiency of learners means developing learners' communicative competence. The term 'communicative competence' was coined and developed by the American linguist Dell Hymes in the 1970s. Hymes was disappointed by the narrow concern of many linguists with internal linguistic structure, at the cost of communication. With the introduction of this novel concept Hymes strove to emphasize the significance of appropriateness of language use (Trask, 2004:42). According to Canale and Swain (1980) communicative competence "...refer to relationship and interaction between grammatical competence, or knowledge of the rules of grammar, and sociolinguistic competence,

or the knowledge of the rules of language use" (p.6) While discussing Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale's (1983) ideas about communicative competence Bagarić (2007: 94) notes that they consider communicative competence as a synthesis of an underlying system of knowledge and skill needed for communication. He further states that in their concept of communicative competence, knowledge refers to the (conscious or unconscious) knowledge of an individual about language and about other aspects of language use. Trask (2004) defines communicative competence as "...the ability to use language appropriately in social situations" (p. 41). Yule (2008) describes communicative competence as "...the general ability to use language accurately, appropriately, and flexibly" (p.169). McArthur (1998) states that communicative competence is "...a term in SOCIOLINGUISTICS for a speaker's underlying knowledge of the rules of GRAMMAR (understood in its widest sense to include phonology, orthography, syntax, lexicon, and semantics) and rules for their use in socially appropriate circumstances" (p. 138). In brief, while defining the concept of communicative competence Trask (2004), Yule (2008) and McArthur (1998) reiterate Hymes' emphasis on the appropriateness of language use in social situations. The theoretical framework/model which was proposed by Canale and Swain (1980, 1981) had initially three main components, i.e. fields of knowledge and skills: grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic competence. Canale (1983) introduced the fourth component discourse competence. (Bagarić, 2007: 97). However, in the present paper only the first three components are focused. Yule's (2008) interpretation is taken into consideration.

3 Yule's concept of communicative competence

Yule (2008) talks about the accuracy, appropriateness and flexibility of language use while elaborating the concept of communicative competence. He states that the term communicative competence comprises three components, namely, grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence. He notes that grammatical competence involves the accurate use of words and structures. But he argues that grammatical competence alone cannot grant the learner the ability to construe or generate L2 expressions appropriately.

In order to overcome this inadequacy he proposes that learners should acquire the second component, sociolinguistic competence. Sociolinguistic competence means the ability of the learner to use appropriate language according to the demand of the situation and the social context. He states that sociolinguistic competence facilitates the learner to know when to say 'Can I have some water?' versus 'Give me some water!' as per the social context. Strategic competence is the third component of communicative competence. Yule (2008: 169-70) defines it as "the ability to organize a message effectively and to compensate, via strategies, for any difficulties ... It is the ability to overcome potential communication problems in interaction"

He further states that in L2 use learners inevitably experience moments when there is a gap between communicative intent and their ability to express that intent. Some learners just stop talking (bad idea), whereas others try to express themselves using a communicative strategy (good idea). If the learner wants to refer to a word from L1 and does not know the parallel word in English, then he uses a communicative strategy by explaining that word with the help of English words he already knows. In this situation the learner uses his strategic competence, a key element according to Yule (2008) in communicative success. While designing the

task based activities Yule's concept of communicative competence is taken into consideration.

4 Teaching of poetry in an ESL classroom

Teaching of poetry can play a significant role in the enhancement of learners' communicative competence in an ESL classroom. Gurav (2005: 46) emphasizes the importance of teaching of poetry in the learning of English as a second or foreign language, when he asserts that teaching of poetry brings variety in teaching and assists to create and develop learners' interest in learning English as a foreign language. Gurav (2005) further states, "Poetry...strengthens and enhances the interest, passions and feelings of the pupils. Teaching of poetry is quite essential...as it arouses and develops the interest in learning the English language" (p. 46). In brief, poetry as a genre of literature has a charismatic power of attracting learners' attention and arousing their curiosity to learn the new language.

4.1 The language of poetry and ESL classroom

The language used in poetry is different from the language used in daily communication. Poetry has been characterized as deviating from the norms of language (Widdowson, 1984:146). It has been argued that poetry frequently breaks the 'rules' of language, but by so doing it communicates with us in a fresh, original way (Lazar, 2009: 99). Aslam (2009: 148) states,

The language that poetry uses is not the same as we normally use in day-to-day communication. This language does not have the same structure as the language of prose. Poetry is 'recreating language'. The poet deliberately uses words in a way that ordinary speakers of the language cannot. His words carry more meaning or multiple meanings than we could normally think of in real-life communication. If it is so, then can the teaching of poetry facilitate the development of the learners' language proficiency? The question can be answered in the following way. While teaching poetry the teacher helps the learners not only to appreciate and understand the poem but also to unravel different layers of meanings hiding beneath the actual lines of the poem. It assists the learners to experience the emotional, cultural and moral appeal of the poem. Any language can be mastered only when the emotional and cultural aspects of the language are felt by the learners. By teaching poetry in an ESL classroom the learners are given the authentic experience of the emotional aspect and cultural context of the target language. Aslam (2009) states that teaching of poetry acts as " ...a powerful tool in stimulating learning while acquiring a second language because the learners become intellectually, emotionally, and physically involved in the target language within the framework of the new culture" (p. 148). Thus the teaching of poetry can definitely assist in the enhancement of the learners' language proficiency.

4.2 The Case Study: Teaching of "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening"

Thirty learners of tertiary level from Akurdi, India was the target population of random sampling. The learners were from the undergraduate English Special class. The text selected was Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening". In the pre teaching activities the information regarding the poet and the poem was given. During teaching the poem was read aloud once. After the first reading the

meanings of difficult words were written on the board and then line wise explanation of the poem was done. The various figures of speech used were discussed at length. The video clip of the recitation of the poem by Robert Frost was screened and the pictures depicting the poem were shown to the students. The Mp3 of the poem was also played. After the completion of the actual teaching various task based activities were used as post teaching activities. It was observed that the task based activities made the teaching learning situation an interesting and enriching experience for both the teacher and learners.

4.2.1 *The varied task based activities based on Yule's concept of communicative competence*

Different task based activities were used as post teaching activities. The task based activities were based on Yule's (2008) concept of communicative competence. They focused on the development of learners' grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence. It was observed that the learners were very much enthusiastic in solving the wide-ranging tasks given to them. The following task based activities were used for enhancing learners' communicative competence and developing their language proficiency:

1. Task based activities focusing on the development of grammatical competence:

The learners were given printed sheets with the following questions on them. They were asked to write the appropriate answers. The answers were cross checked by learners.

- i) Give synonyms: a) woods b) village c) stop d) queer e) mistake f) sweep g) dark h) promise
- ii) Give antonyms: a) known b) to stop c) easy d) to go e) dark f) give
- iii) Give plural forms of the following words: a) village b) horse c) farmhouse d) bell e) mistake f) promise g) house
- iv) Use the expressions in your own sentences: a) to watch b) to fill up c) to think d) to keep a promise e) to stop
- v) Give nouns: a) think b) shake
- vi) Fill in the blanks by choosing the appropriate adjectives from the poem:
a) ----- evening
b) ----- flake
c) ----- lake
d) The ----- evening
- vii) Fill in the blanks with appropriate prepositions without looking at the text:
a) His house is --- the village.
b) He will not see me stopping here ---- watch his woods fill up ---- snow.
c) My little horse must think it queer---- stop without a farmhouse near.
d) The only other sound's the sweep --- easy wind and downy flake.
e) I have promises ---- keep and miles ---- go before I sleep.
- viii) Make sentences by using the following conjuncts: a) and b) though c) but
- ix) Match the following adjectives with the nouns.
Nouns: woods, lake, evening, horse, wind, flake
Adjectives: little, lovely, easy, darkest, downy, deep, frozen, dark

2. Task based activities focusing on the development of sociolinguistic competence:

The teacher conducted the following activities in the class and the students were asked to give their own opinions about the poem. The personal response questions proved to be very significant as the learners used their imagination and came up with their own interpretations. The brain storming session proved to be beneficial to the learners as it definitely enriched their sociolinguistic competence.

- i) The poem has a specific time and location and mood. The discussion was encouraged. The students came up with their own imaginative answers.
- ii) The copies of pictures depicting the poem were given out to the learners and were asked to observe the pictures and comment on them.
- iii) The class was divided into four groups and each group was asked to make a list of promises that the speaker of the poem wanted to keep.
- iv) The learners were asked for their opinion on the poem.
- v) The learners were asked to answer the questions: What would you do if you were placed in the position of the speaker of the poem? Would you stop or continue your journey?
- vi) They were asked to write a critical appreciation of the poem paying specific attention to theme, language, structure and form.

3. Task based activities focusing on the development of strategic competence:

- i) The learners were asked to make a list of difficult words and to explain them in English by using their imagination. The words the learners enlisted were: the downy flake, queer and sweep
- ii) The learners were asked to give the parallel expressions of the given words in their mother tongue. a)queer b)downy flake c)harness
- iii) They were asked to explain the theme of the poem in English.
- iv) They were asked to complete the poem using the words given below.(See Lazar, 1993:110)
(Queer, lake, darkest, stop, shake, downy, woods, though, snow, only, lovely, keep miles)
Whose _____ these are I think I know.
His house is in the village _____;
He will not see me stopping here
To watch his woods fill up with _____.
My little horse must think it _____
To _____ without a farmhouse near
Between the woods and frozen _____
The _____ evening of the year.
He gives his harness bells a _____
To ask if there is some mistake.
The _____ other sound's the sweep
Of easy wind and _____ flake.
The woods are _____, dark, and deep.
But I have promises to _____,
And _____ to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.
- v) They were given the jumbled version of the poem and asked to put it together again. (See Lazar, 1993:130)

- vi) They were given a series of statements about the possible underlying meanings of the poem, and they decided which ones are true or false. (See Lazar, 1993:130)
- vii) They were asked to rewrite the poem as a prose passage. (See Lazar, 1993:131)

The task-based activities listed above surely facilitated the development of learners' communicative competence and assisted them to master the target language.

5 Conclusion

Thus the present paper elaborated how the teaching of Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" enriched learners' communicative competence. The paper also presented the varied task based activities that were used to assist learners to master the target language. The task based activities were based on Yule's (2008) concept of communicative competence. These activities focused on the development of learners' grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic competence which resulted in the enrichment of learners' communicative competence. The activities not only facilitated learners to understand and derive pleasure from the given poem but also enabled them to appreciate the beauty of language and the theme of the poem. Thus through the teaching of poetry the teacher can definitely develop learners' communicative competence and facilitate the enhancement of their language proficiency.

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9

A Qualitative Approach to Analysis of Lexical Developments in Writing Using Psycholinguistic Word Attributes

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Abstract

The current study examines the usefulness of a qualitative approach to measuring lexical developments in writing using four types of psycholinguistic word attributes from the Medical Research Council Psycholinguistic Database (MRC Database): (a) familiarity, (b) concreteness, (c) imageability, and (d) meaningfulness. No traditional approaches for measuring lexical developments of second language (L2) learners' output have addressed the qualitative aspects of productive vocabulary, so a qualitative approach using psycholinguistic word attributes has recently been proposed. Its usefulness, however, has not yet been thoroughly investigated. In the current study, corpus-based and experimental analyses were used to explore psycholinguistic-attribute measures by investigating (a) whether such measures can distinguish English native speakers and L2 learners with different proficiency levels and vocabulary sizes, and (b) how they relate to the existing measures of lexical developments. The results supported their usefulness and suggested some directions for further research.

1 Introduction

In research on second language acquisition, productive vocabulary (i.e., how learners use their vocabulary in writing and speaking) has been an under-researched topic (Daller et al. 2007; Nation and Webb 2011; Schmitt 2010). Nation (2007) and Read (2000), however, underline the importance of examining learners' vocabulary use in production to attain a comprehensive understanding of vocabulary knowledge of L2 learners. Skehan (2009) also emphasizes the necessity of adopting vocabulary use as a measure of learners' L2 performance. The generally accepted term for productive vocabulary use is *lexical richness*. This can be defined as "the diversity and the rarity of vocabulary used in speech or writing" (Tidball and Treffers-Daller 2007: 134), and its measurement can provide a good indication of learners' output quality, proficiency, and lexical developments in their language production (Malvern et al. 2004; Meara and Bell 2001; Nation and Webb 2011).

Thus far, such lexical developments have been analyzed by (a) a type-token-based approach, and (b) a frequency-based approach. The former approach involves quantifying learners' output by calculating its lexical diversity. The premise of this approach is that greater lexical diversity reflects more proficient, richer lexicons. Typical measures in this approach are exemplified by the type-token ratio (TTR), the mean segmental TTR, the Guiraud index, D (Malvern et al. 2004), and the measure of textual lexical diversity (McCarthy and Jarvis 2010). The latter approach involves classifying learners' output by making reference to a specific word frequency list. The idea behind this approach is that more lexically proficient learners can produce more infrequent, difficult words in their output because word frequency is one of the most influential factors in vocabulary acquisition (Nation and Beglar 2007).

Frequency-based measures also have some variations, including the Lexical Frequency Profile (Laufer and Nation 1995), Beyond 2,000 (Laufer 1995), P_Lex (Meara and Bell 2001), and V_size (Meara and Miralpeix 2007).

Despite their advantages, neither of the above-mentioned approaches concerns the qualitative aspects of productive vocabulary, which comprise a decisive dimension of vocabulary knowledge (Anderson and Freebody 1981; Haastrup and Henriksen 2000; Nation 2001; Richards 1976) and significantly affect L2 word difficulty, processing, learning, and retention (Crossley et al. 2010, 2011; de Groot and van Hell 2005; Ellis and Beaton 1993; Salsbury et al. 2011; Yokokawa 2006). To address these issues, a novel approach is to analyze learners' output using indices of psycholinguistic word attributes, which are closely connected with the qualitative aspects of learners' productive vocabulary knowledge (Crossley et al., 2010, 2011; Salsbury et al., 2011). Recently, a few studies (Crossley et al. 2010, 2011; Kusanagi 2013; Salsbury et al. 2011) have used this approach and investigated its usefulness. The usefulness, nevertheless, needs further examination, owing to (a) the limited amount of data analyzed, and (b) the unclear relationship between psycholinguistic-attribute measures and the existing measures of learners' lexical developments. The current study, therefore, aims to examine the usefulness of psycholinguistic word attributes to measure lexical developments in writing.

2 The current study

2.1 Purpose and research questions

The main purpose of the current study is to investigate the usefulness of psycholinguistic word attributes for measuring L2 learners' lexical developments in writing, in line with Crossley et al. (2010, 2011), Kusanagi (2013), and Salsbury et al. (2011). I conducted two types of analyses—a corpus-based one and an experimental one—to answer the following five research questions (RQs):

1. Do psycholinguistic-attribute measures distinguish English native speakers and Japanese learners of English as a foreign language (EFL)?
2. Do psycholinguistic-attribute measures distinguish Japanese EFL learners with different proficiency levels?
3. How do psycholinguistic-attribute measures relate to type-token-based measures, frequency-based measures, and proficiency levels?
4. Do psycholinguistic-attribute measures distinguish Japanese EFL learners with different vocabulary sizes?
5. How do psycholinguistic-attribute measures relate to type-token-based measures, frequency-based measures, and vocabulary sizes?

2.2 Psycholinguistic-attribute measures of lexical developments

Following Crossley et al. (2010, 2011), Kusanagi (2013), and Salsbury et al. (2011), I chose the following four types of psycholinguistic attributes as measures of lexical developments:

1. Familiarity (FAM), how familiar a word is;
2. Concreteness (CON), how concrete or abstract a word is;
3. Imageability (IMG), how strongly a word provokes a mental image; and

4. Meaningfulness (MNG), how many other words a word is associated with.

The reason for the selection of these psycholinguistic word attributes was that they all relate to (a) word difficulty; (b) L2 vocabulary processing, learning, and retention; and (c) proficiency in a huge number of studies with various tasks (for reviews, see Crossley et al., 2010, 2011; de Groot & van Hell, 2005; Ellis & Beaton, 1993; Salsbury et al., 2011; Yokokawa, 2006). Words with high FAM, CON, IMG, or MNG can be acquired more easily than words with low FAM, CON, IMG, or MNG. In other words, these attributes are shown to be good pointers to learners' proficiency.

These measures were calculated using Coh-metrix, or "an automated tool that provides linguistic indices for text and discourse" (McNamara and Graesser 2011: 188), based on the MRC Database (Wilson 1988). The MRC Database is one of the largest and most widely used psycholinguistic databases, including 150,837 words with up to 26 linguistic and psycholinguistic attribute scores for each. The MRC Database contains stable scores of FAM, CON, IMG, and MNG for 4,912 lemmas (i.e., the basic forms of words), 4,285 lemmas, 4,817 lemmas, and 2,619 lemmas, respectively, with eight conjugated forms of *be*. These scores were derived from Gilhooly and Logie (1980), Paivio et al. (1968), and/or Toglia and Battig (1978). The purpose of these original studies was to collect extensive data on the psycholinguistic attributes of stimulus words for linguistic and psycholinguistic experiments, where native English-speaking undergraduates were instructed to judge each stimulus word based on FAM, CON, IMG, and/or MNG using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 7 (*the highest*) to 1 (*the lowest*).

2.3 Overview of corpus-based analysis

To answer RQs 1, 2, and 3, I started with a corpus-based analysis. The corpus used in this analysis was the International Corpus Network of Asian Learners of English (ICNALE), or "a collection of 1.3 million words of [controlled two-topic⁶] essays written by 2,600 university students in 10 Asian countries and areas plus 200 English native speakers" (Ishikawa 2013: 94). From the ICNALE, 144 essays of each topic were randomly selected, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Selection of each topic of 144 essays

Essay writers	CEFR levels	TOEIC scores	<i>n</i>
		<i>M (SD)</i>	
English native speakers (NSs)	—	—	72
Japanese EFL learners (J-EFLs)	B2+	837.35 (53.01)	18
	B1_2	710.59 (36.52)	18
	B1_1	616.47 (32.34)	18
	A2	469.71 (48.40)	18

Note. In all the groups, the assumptions of normality and homogeneity were valid.

To answer RQ1, independent-measures *t*-tests were carried out for each topic of essays written by the NSs and the J-EFLs. The results indicated significant

⁶ The two essay topics are as follows: (a) "Is it important for college students to have a part-time job?" and (b) "Should smoking be completely banned at all the restaurants in the country?"

differences for all the measures in both topics of essays (FAM: $t(121) = 10.96, p < .001, r = .71$; CON: $t(142) = 5.18, p < .001, r = .40$; IMG: $t(142) = 4.87, p < .001, r = .38$; MNG: $t(142) = 5.63, p < .001, r = .43$ in Topic [a]; FAM: $t(112) = 5.13, p < .001, r = .44$; CON: $t(142) = 5.75, p < .001, r = .44$; IMG: $t(142) = 5.72, p < .001, r = .43$; MNG: $t(142) = 6.21, p < .001, r = .46$ in Topic [b]), showing that psycholinguistic-attribute measures distinguished the NSs and the J-EFLs.

To answer RQ2, one-way independent-measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were employed for each topic of essays written by the four groups of J-EFLs with different proficiency levels. In the results, no significant differences with very small effect sizes were found. In other words, psycholinguistic-attribute measures made no distinction among the groups of J-EFLs with different proficiency levels.

To answer RQ3, Pearson's correlation coefficient analyses were used. Overall, psycholinguistic-attribute measures had non-significant or weak correlations. There were, nevertheless, weak to moderate correlations between FAM and type-token-based measures in both topics, and between FAM and frequency-based measures in Topic (a). Interestingly, CON and IMG had the same correlation tendency in both topics although they only weakly correlated with frequency-based measures.

2.4 Overview of experimental analysis

In addition to the corpus-based analysis, I carried out an experimental analysis to answer RQs 4 and 5. Although essay writers in the ICNALE sat the Vocabulary Size Test (VST; Nation and Beglar 2007), it was the short version with a maximum score of only 50 (Ishikawa, 2013). To more closely examine the relationship between psycholinguistic-attribute measures and vocabulary size, I used the full version of the VST in this analysis.

A total of 70 first-year undergraduates participated in the experiment. Based on their placement test scores, 34 were in an advanced general English class whereas the other 36 were in an intermediate general English class. All of them were instructed to take the 14,000 version of the VST and then write an argumentative essay. For the essay topic in this experiment, Topic (a) in the ICNALE was selected, with other writing conditions following the ICNALE. In the analysis, the participants in each class were classified according to their vocabulary sizes, as displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Group classification based on vocabulary sizes in each class

Class	5,000 or less	6,000 or less	7,000 or less	8,000 or less	Over 8,000
Advanced	—	8	8	10	8
Intermediate	5	5	11	11	4

To answer RQ4, essays written by the four or five groups of participants with different vocabulary sizes were compared using the Kruskal-Wallis tests. The reason for using the Kruskal-Wallis tests was attributed to small and different sample sizes in all the groups, and to restrictions on such sample sizes. In consequence, no significant differences were detected, which revealed that psycholinguistic-attribute measures did not distinguish the participant groups with different vocabulary sizes.

To answer RQ5, Pearson's correlation coefficient analyses were conducted. As the results demonstrated, FAM correlated weakly with Guiraud in both classes, and moderately with P_Lex in the advanced class. There were also weak to moderate

correlations among V_Size and the other three psycholinguistic-attribute measures in both classes.

3 General discussion and conclusion

Regarding RQs 1, 2, and 4, the results of the current study showed that psycholinguistic-attribute measures distinguished between NSs and J-EFLs, but not between groups of J-EFLs with different proficiency levels or vocabulary sizes. These findings corroborate Kusanagi (2013), but would differ from Salisbury et al. (2011) in that psycholinguistic-attribute measures allowed no distinction between non-native English learners. This suggests two directions for further research: (a) using a longitudinal research design and (b) including more participants with a wider variety of different proficiency levels or vocabulary sizes.

Concerning RQs 3 and 5, the results of the current study demonstrated that:

- Generally, psycholinguistic-attribute measures had non-significant or weak correlations with the existing measures. They, however, tended to moderately correlate with type-token-based measures and frequency-based measures, but not with overall proficiency scores or vocabulary sizes.
- Of all the psycholinguistic-attribute measures, only FAM had weak to moderate correlations with type-token-based measures. Moreover, CON and IMG shared similar correlation tendencies.

Based on the first finding, it is possible to formulate two seemingly conflicting hypotheses. First, psycholinguistic-attribute measures can function as a combination of type-token-based measures and frequency-based measures, and thus assess both the diversity and the rarity of productive vocabulary. Second, it is acknowledged that the correlations of psycholinguistic-attribute measures with type-token-based measures and frequency-based measures were only weak to moderate, so psycholinguistic-attribute measures assess rather different aspects of lexical developments. Further research, therefore, is required to examine which hypothesis is more plausible, but what is significant in these hypotheses is that supporting either of them substantially contributes to investigating the usefulness of psycholinguistic-attribute measures and even developing lexical development measurement. Furthermore, the second finding suggests that there are qualitative differences and similarities in psycholinguistic-attribute measures. FAM seems to qualitatively differ from the other three psycholinguistic-attribute measures, and CON and IMG possibly measure similar aspects, or the same aspect, of lexical developments. Further research, thus, should be conducted to examine how psycholinguistic-attribute measures interrelate.

The aim of the current study was to examine the usefulness of psycholinguistic word attributes to measure lexical developments of productive vocabulary in writing. Despite the above-mentioned suggestions for further research, the current study has shed more light on psycholinguistic-attribute measures and indicated their usefulness. In conclusion, it is reasonable to judge that psycholinguistic-attribute measures have the potential for offering illuminating insights into measuring lexical developments. At the same time, they need further examination because their usefulness has not been fully developed yet.

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10

Official Linguistics vs. Linguistics 2.0: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract

Talking *about* language is not only for professional linguists, ordinary language users were the first to make generalizations about language. “Naïve” and scientific concepts co-exist and interact both in the public and in the individual mind, in history and in the present. The range of naïve views of language embraces language learners’ beliefs, amateur translation techniques, public attitudes to language, folk and amateur linguistics, etc. Does it usher in the era of a “Linguistics 2.0” where the content is created by users, not by experts? Previous research, based upon discourse analysis of “narrativized” personal experience with language, resulted in a model of everyday language philosophy as a basis for naïve linguistic theories and technologies of learning and translation. Now we focus on comparing learners’ beliefs, history of linguistic ideas and today’s folk linguistics, drawing on learners’ networks and blogs, popular science forums, amateur linguistic publications, etc. Metalinguistic awareness of both language learners and amateur linguists concentrates around similar focal points or epistemological invariables: words as primary quasi-material units and language as a collection of words; cumulative learning and linear translation strategies; opposition of native/non-native as natural/unnatural, divine/mundane, simple/complex, etc.; historical priority of native language and some others.

1 ‘Official’ and ‘naïve’ linguistics

Thinking, talking or writing *about* language is not a field solely occupied by professional linguists. Ordinary language users or “lay” people (Bolinger 1980) pioneered generalizations about language, translation and learning techniques. With the rise of scientific language research, “lay” linguistics did not disappear. Scientific and everyday concepts go parallel and interact both in the public and in the individual mind (Vygotsky 2006: 920). Nowadays the range of non-scientific ideas about language embraces language learners’ beliefs (Wenden 1998, et al.), amateur translation techniques, attitude of customers to translation and translators, folk and amateur linguistics, public attitudes to language and linguists, etc. Whereas learners’ beliefs are usually implicit and relatively “harmless”, outwardly expressed amateur linguistic theories very often challenge professional language sciences.

There has always been a clash between “the wisdom of crowds” and the socially accepted official science. Lately, though, the domain of internet technologies suggested the idea of “Web 2.0” that could “harness collective intelligence” (O’Reilly 2005). This buzzword has given birth to lots of “Anything 2.0”. Are we now witnessing the appearance of a “Linguistics 2.0” when the content is created by users, not by experts?

2 Language learning mythology

The previous stage of research was based upon internal observation, questionnaires, interviews and self-reports collected from language learners and teachers. It applied discourse analysis to “narrativized” (cf. Kalaja 2008) personal experience with language, learning, translation, etc. The result was a model of everyday language philosophy as a basis for naïve linguistic theories and naïve linguistic technologies, correlated as *know-that* vs. *know-how*. Naïve linguistic technologies of language learning and translation, as well as learners’ beliefs appeared to be quite opposite to what is usually said by official linguistics about language.

Questionnaires and interviews as resources later were complemented with internet communication, quantitatively comparable to large corpora and technically easily searchable. The major target was meta-cognitively oriented internet communication: language learners’ networks and blogs, translation blogs, popular science forums, etc.

By meta-cognition (meta-communication, meta-linguistics) we understand thinking about thinking, talking about talking, i.e. any instance of self-reflection or reflection about the mechanism and tools of reflection, and “cognitive monitoring” (Flavell 1976). Most of meta-cognitive activity is implicit and has to be revealed in experiment and analysis when the respondent shows his attitude to language etc. through his (usually verbal) response. Some part of our corpus consisted of utterances taken from unconditioned speech related to language. There are also bigger “text blocks”, namely, published “theories” of amateur linguists, TV shows and newspaper articles, etc. that have to be considered separately, since their ideas about language are quite explicit.

Naïve language users consider language as a container of physical entities, or words; words as containers of meanings, etc. The basic *reification* (Bachelard 1985, also: *chosisme*) metaphor leads to further cornerstones of naïve linguistics: words are inseparable from things; foreign words are *strange names for usual things*; there are *many meanings in a foreign word*, but *only one or two in the native one*, the native tongue is more *logical, correct, beautiful, or true-to-life* etc. Naïve learning technology cherishes the idea of *memorizing a dictionary by heart*, accepting a purely cumulative approach to language learning. Amateur translation and public attitude to translation equal the activity of a translator to a simple *substitution of words*. Italicized phrases above are taken from our corpora of questionnaires and interviews with language learners (Kashkin 2007, 2009).

3 From ‘naïve’ to ‘scientific’ in history

A further logical step was to compare the system of naïve theories of language (predominantly individual) to linguistic ideas in their historical development (Kashkin 2011), and further to focus on the contemporary ideas of folk linguistics (Polinichenko 2011), or amateur linguistics (Zaliznyak 2010) in a case study of several publications produced by amateur linguists.

The basic reification metaphor treating words as things is naturally present in the early linguistic ideas. It comes hand in hand with the epistemological opposition known in biology and psychology as *nature* vs. *nurture*, laying responsibility for the appearance of phenomena either on God (nature) or on human will. In proto-linguistics it is represented in the *physei* vs. *thesei* dispute, which reflects the cardinal linguo-semiotic problem of correlating signs and things, as well as the epistemological issue of cognition and the outer world. There is no single solution

for the ancient thinkers. The *physei* party related the sounds-letters to the physical qualities of things signified by words written with these letters: e.g. the Greek *lambda* was *liquid* and words with this letter denoted liquid substances, some other letters were *solid*, etc. The *thesei* party stood for total arbitrariness of signs and social convention.

Being “close to nature” logically triggers the equation *natural* = *genuine*, *true*, *trustworthy*, *correct*, *perfect*. Many epistemological and religious traditions were based on the search for “*la lingua perfetta*” (Eco 1993). God the Creator was also treated as the primordial name-giver, or *onomatheton*. Thus, in the Bible, God gives names to the primary things (*light*, *earth*, *sky*, etc.) while animals are brought to Adam to be named. This introduces the opposition of the divine and the mundane, implemented also by the proto-scientific analysis of linguistic data. Before the dawn of comparative linguistics Hebrew as the divine language of the Christian world was considered “*omnium princeps et parens*” to all languages (Bibliander 1548).

Analysis of contemporary attitudes towards foreign languages also shows that foreign words are conceived as a distortion, as *strange names for usual things*. The native language is, on the contrary, *most correct*, *most natural*, *genuine* and *rich*. Beginners in learning a foreign language are thus trying to cope with the cognitive shock they experience while being exposed to a new way of classifying the world. It was also found that the genuineness myth is applied to a first or a preferable foreign language, even to its variant. Thus, one of the arguments against or for learning American instead of British English quotes the idea that the latter is more *genuine*, and consequently, *correct*. And it is not the attitude of native speakers, but that of Russian learners of English that is quoted here.

The technological side of the reification metaphor can also be found in the “word-for-word” translation principle. Following Cicero, St. Jerome and many others, contemporary translation technique does not approve of linear or word-for-word translation. In translation pedagogy, it is one of the cornerstones, since it is “natural” for a beginner to substitute words for words instead of interpreting the meanings. The development of an individual seems to follow the same stages, as the development of the humankind, and this is also seen in “growing” from the naïve substitution to the interpretation principle, both in the history of translation, and in the individual training history of a translator-to-be. This shift was also displayed in a longitudinal study of attitudes towards translation in first and last year students of translation department (Kashkin 2011).

4 Amateur linguistics: challenges

Language users’ mythology is usually non-conscious and rarely expressed outwardly. While the “tacit knowledge” (Polanyi 1983) of folk linguists, i.e. language users and learners can be both a challenge and an opportunity for teachers, educationists and “enlighteners”, or a potential to be developed and coached, amateur linguistics, at some historical stages especially, looks less friendly and cooperative. Some amateur linguists have become very daring and even aggressive of late, especially in Russia, where their ideas are widely spread by media. It looks like the dead end of Linguistics 2.0, which also recycles unconsciously the basic mythologemes of naïve linguistics of the previous ages.

The reifying metaphor is extremely abundant in amateur linguistics, usually paired with the cardinal task of seeking the *true nature* of words. Emphasis on history in the public image of science has become quite clear at the socially significant turning point in Russia nowadays. Amateur linguists mainly confine their

exploring interest to etymology and dictionaries, just like their predecessors in the 17th or 18th century, or earlier. Folk etymology today, though, prefers not to rely upon outward analogies (*etruski* = *khitrushki*, i.e. *Etruscans* are called so because they were *cunning* = *khitryje*, in a folk etymological equation by the Russian writer and poet of the 18th century Trediakovsky), but goes further, to imitate scientific linguistics, at least outwardly.

One of our cases is a publication by a young PR specialist about the origins of the name of the city of Voronezh. In a very superficial manner *Voronezh*, through Indo-European *var* unexpectedly becomes related to *Verona*, *Bari*, *Brno*, *Lord Byron*, *Jules Vernes*, *orangutan* and many other names and places. The author, like his ancient predecessors, risks again going down to letters to explain the meaning: Voronezh starts with a *vedi* (Old Slavonic name for the letter *v* and the verb 'to know') which "*explains why there are thousands of students in this city*". This publication borrows the form of a scientific article and contains a bibliography with works by Saussure, Humboldt, others classics and contemporaries.

Another case presents an amateur etymological analysis of the word *kazak* 'cossack' in a book written by a Cossack amateur historian about this assumed nation. Starting with a *fusei* principle that "*the name in every man denotes his character, inclinations and capabilities*", the author interprets every letter of the word *kazak*: *k* means endurance based on moral courage, perspicacity and secrecy; *a* is the symbol of beginning and denotes the desire to start something up and accomplish it; *z* stands for perimeter defense against the outer world, intuition and imagination. No source for such correlation is given. Similar argumentation and "research technique" could be found in Kabbalah.

Less offensive but also basically naïve are the ideas exploited by linguistic advertising. The overwhelming majority of courses advertising their "unique" method (cf. *unique selling proposition* in advertising text theory) dwell upon the number of words their method allows to learn in a unit of time. They know very well that for their customer *the more words you learn, the better you'll know the language* (questionnaire response). The reification metaphor leads to the cumulative principle in learning, limiting language to its lexicon. In medieval science human memory was also pictured as accumulation of physical objects, or imprints on a wax table.

Turning back to the Etruscans, several amateur researchers forwarded a theory that the Etruscans were actually Ancient Russians, basing primarily on the superficial similarity of *etruski* with *eto russkije* 'These are Russians'. V. Chudinov, a philosopher, A. Fomenko, a mathematician, and A. Dragunkin, a language teacher, and some others support this idea by equaling, e.g. *Perugia* (a town in Italy) and *Po-Russia*, or by compiling an Etruscan-Russian dictionary. These theories were published, among other places, in one of the most popular newspapers with a circulation of 500 000 copies. They are taken very seriously by the journalists as well as by the public opinion. The "*conservative official science*" is condemned as anti-Russian, and this idea is silently supported by the official propaganda exploiting the historically based defensive psychology widely spread in contemporary Russia.

The public image of linguistics is not simply less positive than that of the "hard sciences", in fact, it is distorted to total misrepresentation. Linguists are the people who *invent rules* and *supervise application of rules* (here and further we quote questionnaire responses and internet blogs). Linguists *invent alphabets and words* and *create language*. For most people, linguistics is a science of *how to write correctly*. Some respondents admit practical usage of linguistics in language learning or in *disclosing the mysteries of history*. At the same time, there are people who say *we should know better* how to write, to learn languages, etc. This position, especially

in matters concerning the origins of language, the historic primordially and the ingenuity of the native tongue, gains wide public support. Amateurs have access to print and other media, and their books are on the same shelves in bookshops and even libraries with the books written by professional linguists. In TV shows dedicated to language and history, professional scientists are very often “beaten” by amateurs and supporting journalists. The internet multiplies the opposition in favor of the “wisdom of crowds”, thus reproducing and enhancing the picture highlighted some years ago by Bolinger: “In language, there are no licensed practitioners, but the woods are full of midwives, herbalists, colonic irrigationists, bonesetters, and general-purpose witch doctors, some abysmally ignorant, others with a rich fund of practical knowledge...” (Bolinger 1980: 1).

If Linguistics 2.0 might look like a convenient metaphor, Translation 2.0 has already come into use. Social networks while expanding to other cultures and languages appeal to their users to translate the content of the pages, without asking professional translation and localization teams. The users suggest their own translations and the community votes for the best variant.

In translation blogs, there are complaints about customers who are reluctant to invite professional translators, *‘especially when one is translating into his/her native language’*. This is again due to the basic reification myth, as translation, according to it, is nothing else but pure substitution of words. Many customers refuse to pay if there are less (more) words in the translated text.

The challenge for translators is fortunately not so dangerous as from obscurantism, linguistics of “resentment”, “linguistique brute”, “logophiles” (Zaliznyak 2010; Seriot 2012) for linguistics and science in general. These amateurs make the public believe that official scientists “conceal the truth” because they are involved in global conspiracy.

5 Conclusion

Metalinguistic awareness of language learners, language scholars of previous centuries and contemporary amateur linguists concentrates around similar focal points or epistemological invariables: words as primary quasi-material units and language as a collection of words; cumulative strategy of learning and linear translation strategy; opposition of native/non-native as natural/unnatural, simple/complex; historical priority of native language; authority of the creator and of the written word, and some others (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. Domains of metalinguistic myth

language learners	history of linguistics	amateur linguistics	metalinguistic myth
cumulative learning	lexicon-centered	dictionaries	reification
natural native	fusei	word etymology	natural connection
monosemantic native	sacred languages	historical bias	primordially
teachers and dictionary	God and scholars	scientists and teachers	authority

The primary invariable is reification of immaterial entities noticed long ago by Bachelard (1934) and supported by evidence from various cognitive domains:

physics, mathematics, chemistry, history, etc. where knowledge is treated as a sum of “mental objects”, “simple, certain, handed down by authority” (Schommer & Walker 1995: 424). In official linguistics, too, “meaningful elements of linguistic behavior” (Jones 2007) are interpreted as material units (words, phonemes, language, etc.), but this issue should be considered separately.

The main thing about Linguistics 2.0, or everyday language theories, is that they exist, although generally disregarded by official linguistics. As M.A.K. Halliday writes, folk linguistics “may be wrong, but it is anything but naïve” (Halliday 2003: 93). The widely used term *naïve*, thus, has not to be misunderstood as something that is low-quality or too simplistic. On the contrary, language users do possess an elaborated system of ideas about language and languaging. They are very often implicit personal constructs or mindsets, and there is great sense in studying them, since these implicit ideas underlie individual technological moves in using a language or studying another language (Ryan and Mercer 2012). They also form the basis for national identity and social mythology. None the less important is the public image of science and linguistic professions, since it is the linguistically naïve customers who are supposed to pay for translations, the naïve government or financial authorities who are expected to support linguistic research and teaching at the universities, the public who reads translations, complains about misuse of language, or chooses either to become a linguist or to go into a more remunerative profession.

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11

Whole Object Assumption and Mutual Exclusivity Assumption in 3-4-Year-Old Cebuano Preschoolers: A Qualitative Analysis

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Abstract

The whole object assumption (WOA) and mutual exclusivity (ME) assumption proposed by Markman (1990) are constraints children use in word learning. This small-scale psycholinguistic study investigates the constraints function in 14 preschoolers at ages 3 and 4 using WOA and ME in deciphering part labels. Using quasi-experimental method, children identified objects and animals. Findings show that while WOA is still used by the participants ME overrides. Further findings reveal no evidence of the claim that older participants used ME better than the younger ones. However, gender seems to play an important role in the participants' performance for boys did much better than girls in the experiments. Thus, the result recommends further research on the relation between the two constraints on word learning (WOA and ME) and age and gender. However, this study found two limitations: the drawings and the questions used in the study may fail to fully reveal the children's ability since previous studies offer non-standard materials and procedure used in their experiments; and the study itself, is regarded as small-scale. Therefore, the research findings can hardly be generalized. Nevertheless, the research at least presents how the Cebuano speaking preschoolers learned new words via WOA and ME assumption.

1 Introduction

Children acquire words at a tremendous speed in spite of the difficulty of the tasks. Dromi (1987) documented a study on individual child's vocabulary acquisition, revealing an acquisition rate of 45 words per week (in Markman, 1990, p.57). The finding concurs with Carey's (1978) reported calculations that by age six, children have learned 19,000 to 14,000 words, roughly about nine words a day from about 18 months on. Various hypotheses have been presented, among which the most influential are the hypothesis proposed by Piaget *et al* (1964, 1966) and that by Markman *et al* (1990).

Inhelder and Piaget (1964) and Bruner, Olver, and Greenfield (1966) implicitly held some form of a model which traditionally explains how children form categories and acquire category terms. And this model is to assume a kind of general, all-purpose, inductive mechanism. This view about how categories are acquired contains many implicit assumptions about the nature of categories, about the way in which they are learned, and about how children's abilities to categorize change with development (in Markman, 1990, 57). These theories assume that concept learning begins by the learner encountering a positive exemplar of the category, from which the learner formulate a tentative hypothesis about what the criteria might be that define the category. But, reformulating hypotheses in the face of negative evidence is not a trivial problem and children up until six or seven have been shown to have great difficulty in dealing with all but the simplest kinds of hypotheses. In sum, even 6-year-olds have trouble solving these kinds of inductive

problems, yet 2-year-olds are very successfully solving the inductive problems involved in acquiring new terms (Markman, 1990, p. 58). These young children must, therefore, acquire terms in ways that do not require sophisticated, logical-deductive, hypothesis testing (Dromi, 1987; Markman and Wachtel 1988; Markman, 1990).

Since the hypothesis proposed by Piaget *et al* seems not working in explaining children's amazing achievement in word learning, Markman *et al* proposes another hypothesis, which assumes that children learn words via at least three constraints on word meaning: the whole-object assumption, the taxonomic assumption and the mutual exclusivity assumption.

A series of research, experimental or observational, has been conducted on the whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption among children of different ages. Xu, Cote, and Baker (2005) proposed that a rudimentary version of the mutual exclusivity constraint may be functional among 12-month-old infants. Markman, Wasow and Hansen (2003) carried out three experiments among 18-20-month-olds and found that lexical constraints enable babies to learn words even under non-optimal conditions --- when speakers are not clear and referents are not visible. Hansen and Markman (2009) made mutual exclusivity available to 2-year-olds and 3-year-olds by showing them familiar whole objects with novel parts and unavailable by showing unfamiliar whole objects with novel parts and found that both groups learned more part labels when mutual exclusivity was available. Charlotte (2009) tested the use of whole-part juxtaposition and mutual exclusivity in 3-4-year-old children with familiar and non-familiar objects. While most of the studies were conducted among English-speaking children, Go and Miraflores (2009) researched on effects of joint reference and mutual exclusivity on the application of whole-object assumption in Filipino 3-4-year-old preschoolers.

These studies provide evidence for the function of the whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption at different levels and among different age groups. However, it seems that the academic interest is insufficient in 3-4-year-old preschoolers in the non-metropolitan context in the Philippines. Besides, some of the studies aforementioned seem to be based on rather limited data. For example, there are 10 participants in Go and Miraflores' (2009) research and 4 in Charlotte (2009) study. Also, some of the findings in the research mentioned but not further studied the possible influence of gender in the use of the whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption (Go and Miraflores, 2009). This present study aims to fill this gap by answering the following research questions:

1. What primary function do 3 to 5 year old preschoolers employ in learning new words?
2. In what instances does the mutual exclusivity assumption override the whole object assumption?
3. How do preschool children differ in the overriding function of ME in terms of age and gender?

1.1 Theoretical framework

The three constraints children place on word meanings proposed by Markman (1990) serves as the theoretical framework of the study. The whole object assumption refers to children's expectation that a novel label is likely to mean the whole object and not to its parts, substance or other properties (Carey, 1988, Mervis, 1987, as cited in Markman 1990, p. 59). The *mutual exclusivity assumption* (Markman, 1990) or the *principle of contrast* (Clark, 1983) refers to the children's

expectation that a new term should refer to an object for which they do not have a label yet. The taxonomic assumption states that children regard novel labels as referring to objects of the same kind rather than to objects that are thematically related. The whole object assumption can be overridden by either taxonomic assumption or mutual exclusivity assumption under certain circumstances.

2 Methodology

2.1 Research Design

This study uses a quasi-experimental method to investigate children's use of whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption in naming and identifying objects and animals. This is in nature a small-scale investigation in children's use of whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption in deciphering part labels. The specific interest was the description of children's use of whole object assumption and mutual exclusivity assumption in deciphering novel parts of given objects.

2.2 Participants and setting

Participants of the study were 14 Cebuano speaking preschoolers with equal number in both age groups and genders. Of the 7 preschoolers at the age of three, 4 were boys and 3 were girls; of the 7 preschoolers at the age of four, 3 were boys and 4 were girls. Thus, the factors of age and gender were under control in the sampling of the participants. In order to ensure a comfortable environment for the participants, 13 out of the 14 data gathering cases were conducted in the house of these children, and the other 1 was carried out in a birthday party all in Dipolog City, province of Zamboanga del Norte, Philippines. A pilot testing of the materials and procedures was conducted with a child at the age of 3 who was not a participant of the study a week before the data gathering.

2.3 Instrument

Two sets of colorful drawings were used in the study. The first set of instrument is a drawing of an object with a mutually exclusive different part, to be specific, a table with one of the legs as a horse's leg. The second set of instrument consists of four drawings of animals with mutually exclusive different parts, one being a pig whose head has horns of a carabao, the other being a fish with a lizard's tail, another being a butterfly whose other wings are leaves and the last is an elephant with a beak attached instead of its long nose and a mouth (see Appendix A). The colors in the drawings are the familiar colors to the children, i.e. bright yellow, orange, purple, green, red, blue and black.

2.4 Procedure

At the onset of my fieldwork, a research assistant helped in my data gathering. I talked out to the parents regarding the intention and objectives of this study. Upon their permission, a video camera was set up to record and document the whole process of the data gathering. I also briefed each child about some instructions. I held up pictures while the RA recorded results. I played and bilingually conversed (Cebuano-English-Cebuano) with each child for familiarization. After becoming familiar with the child we led them to a corner in the house to "play the name game

using colored drawings” and subsequently conducted our WOA and ME assumption experiment.

To test my interest on the use of ME in determining parts of familiar and unfamiliar objects in children, I assigned each child to a specific condition. I tested whole-part juxtaposition and ME as a tool for part term and whole term meaning. To test this, I recreated tests from Markman and Wachtel (1988) in testing ME and from Saylor, Sabbagh, and Baldwin (2006, as cited in Agger, 2009) to decipher use of whole- part juxtaposition.

Children were asked to name the drawing being referred to. In the first condition where the instrument was the drawing of a table with one of the legs as a horse’s leg, the child was presented the drawing and asked to identify and name the novel part. The first question was ‘What is this?’ followed by the second question, ‘Is there anything strange or wrong with the table?’ Then I introduced an academic term of the strange part, which was unfamiliar to the child, and asked the child to point it out. To illustrate the undertaking, Extract 1 is shown below.

2.1 Extract 1: Q & A with Child 3

Lead Researcher (LR): Kaila ka ani? Unsa man ni? (*Do you know this one? What is this?*)

Child 3 (C3): Table

LR: Correct! Diri ka answer (*You answer here [pointing at the microphone of the video camera].*). Table.

C3: Table!

LR: Oh. Correct. What’s wrong with the table? Naay sayop sa table. Tudloa. (*There’s wrong with the table. Point it.*)

C3: Pagkaon man na diri sa table. (*It’s food in the table.*)

LR: Oh yes! Pagkaon ang ibutang. Tan-awa sa ang part sa table. Ang iyaang tiil, asa may sayop? (*Food is put. Look at the part of the table, which is wrong in its feet?*)

C3: Dara (*There*) [Pointed at the mistake.]

LR: Nganong sayop man na sya, ka kinsa man nang tiil? (*Why is this wrong? Whose foot is this?*)

C3: Sa horse man na! (*It’s of the horse’s.*)

LR: Correct! Sa horse man ni nga tiil. Sus, kaila jud ka noh. (*It’s the horse’s foot. You really know, right?*)

C3: O. (*Yes.*)

The above extract shows the actual conversation with a 3 year-old girl answering the first question about naming what was shown in the drawing. She exactly gave the right answer. As the questioning proceeded, the child added information about the “table” instead of giving her answer for the second question, which urged me to rephrase the question but without necessarily stopping her. One way of appreciating her answer was my affirmation in declarative form, “Oh, yes! Food is put.” Then, I directed her attention back to the “table” drawing and repeated “what’s wrong with the table?” She pointed at the wrong part “the leg” or “the foot” and told whose foot was it (“the horse’s”).

It is in the child’s naming the correct part (horse’s leg) where mutual exclusivity assumption was realized. Every correct answer of the respondent accounted for her ability whether s/he functioned in a mutually exclusive manner or identified the object in whole. Her elaboration at one point of the Q & A interview indulgently shows the child’s ability to expand meaning at the material shown to her, which this

study, specifically, excluded. So, I preferred not to indulge her, yet had appreciated her keen sense, in order to keep track with the specific concerns of my work.

3 Results and Discussion

In the study, each experiment with an instrument is taken as a condition. Thus, condition 1 refers to the experiment conducted with the drawing of the table with one of the legs as a horse's leg, condition 2 is the experiment using the picture of the pig whose head has horns of a carabao, condition 3 with the picture of the fish with a lizard's tail, condition 4 with the picture of the butterfly whose other wings are leaves, and condition 5 with the picture of the elephant with a beak attached instead of its long nose and a mouth. Take condition 1. As the experiment is carried out in the way described in the procedure, the expected 'correct' responses are that the child is able to name the whole object, point out the strange part in the object/animal, and point out the right part when the unfamiliar technical term is offered. It is worth mentioning that the criteria 'correct' and 'wrong' are used in a loose sense and only for the purpose of the study.

3.1 Performance in Condition 1

Condition 1 is the only experiment using the drawing of an object instead of an animal. The participants' performance in giving the 'correct' and 'wrong' responses is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Frequency of 'correct' and 'wrong' responses in condition 1 (Drawing: table)

Age	Boys				Girls				Total				Grand total	
	Correct		Wrong		Correct		Wrong		Correct		Wrong			
4	3	43%	1	14.5%	3	43%	0	0%	6	43%	1	7%	7	50%
3	2	29%	1	14.5%	3	43%	1	14%	5	36%	2	14%	7	50%
Total	5	71%	2	29.0%	6	86%	1	14%	11	79%	3	21%	14	100%

Table 1 shows the performance in the two age groups and two gender groups. First, it is striking that 'correct' responses are predominant in the table. Second, some differences are found when age and gender are taken into account. In the boy group, over 70 percent responses are 'correct', and over 85 percent responses are right in the girl group. In the group of age 4, 'wrong' responses are offered only by boys; in contrast, 'wrong' responses are equally produced by both boys and girls in the group of age 3. Thus, there seems no evidence of a difference in the performance between the gender groups. On the other hand, in the boy group, it seems that the 3-year-olds performed similarly to the 4-year-old, as in both groups there is only one participant who gave the 'wrong' responses; in the girl group, only one 'wrong' case is found in the 3-year-olds, and it seems that elder girls performed better than did the younger.

Referring to the participants' verbal performance in the quasi-experiment, results in Table 1 indicate that while whole object assumption still works in children's learning new words mutual exclusivity assumption has overridden the whole object assumption. On the one hand, when asking 'what is this' I only presented the picture to the participants without pointing at any particular part of the table. All the participants gave a direct answer 'it's a table'. Their view of taking

the table and the horse leg as a whole demonstrates the function of the whole object assumption. When the participants got a novel object (novel because of the strange combination of the table and the horse leg), they tend to take it as one thing instead of two things. If the whole object assumption did not work, the expected answer would be 'it's a table and a horse's leg'. Yet, the unanimous response to the first question verifies that taking things in separate parts is not the view the participants see the world. On the other hand, participants did know that the table and the horse leg were mutually exclusive since they realized that something is wrong or strange with the 'whole' object. When I gave them an unfamiliar technical term of the horse leg and ask them to point it out what the term referred to, their 'correct' responses verify that the participants were using the mutual exclusivity assumption to label the strange leg, since the legs of the table were familiar to them. Thus, the children's performance of taking the table as a whole and their word-learning process of the strange part present the function of the whole object assumption which is overridden by the mutual exclusivity assumption.

Besides, since Table 1 provides no evidence of a significant difference in the performance between the boy group and girl group, it seems that gender may not be a decisive factor in the participant's performance in condition 1. However, age may influence the performance, for elder girls performed better than did the younger.

Age

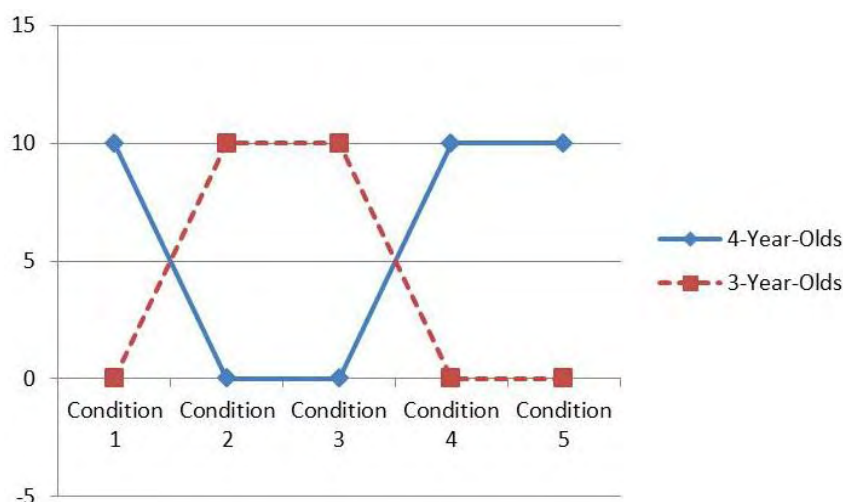


Chart 1. Performance of Age 3 and Age 4 Groups

Gender

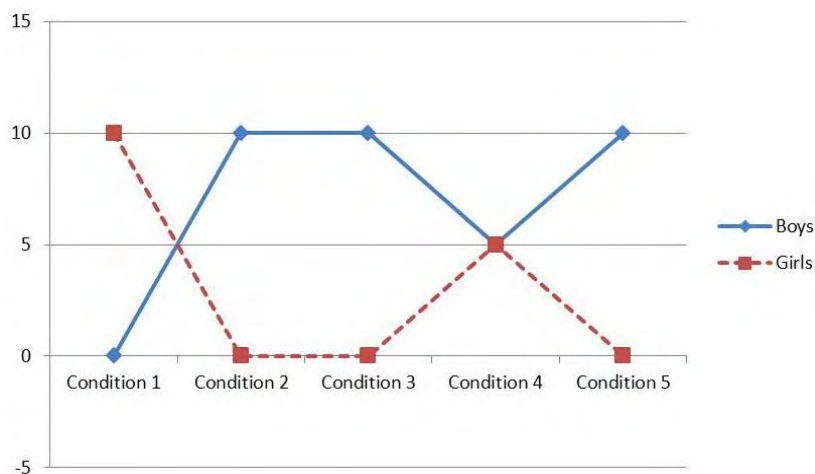


Chart 2. Performance of Boy and Girl Groups

4 Conclusion

The study investigated the function of WOA and ME assumption in 3-4-year-olds in Dipolog City, Philippines. Research findings show that while WOA is still used by the participants, it has been overridden by ME assumption while new labels are presented to the preschoolers at the age of 3 and 4. Further findings reveal no evidence of the claim that older participants used ME better than the younger ones. However, gender seems to play an important role in the participants' performance for boys did much better than girls in the experiments. Thus, the result recommends further future research on the relation between the two constraints on word learning (WOA and ME) and age and gender. However, this study found two limitations: the drawings and the questions used in the study may fail to fully reveal the children's ability since previous studies offer non-standard materials and procedure used in their experiments; and the study itself, is regarded as small-scale. Therefore, the research findings can hardly be generalized. Nevertheless, the research at least presents how the Cebuano speaking preschoolers learned new words via WOA and ME assumption. It is hoped that more research can be generated among the preschoolers in the environment which is quite different from metropolitan Philippine cities such as Manila.

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12

A Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency: An Introduction¹

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Abstract

Language proficiency is typically measured in relation to ‘standard’ Englishes, such as American or British English. However, in today’s globalized world, such a ‘standard’-based approach to language proficiency is an anachronism. With NNS-NNS and NNS-NS communication in English on the rise, we need models of language proficiency that can account for the varying patterns of language that emerge in these contexts. The Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP) described in this paper is one way of doing this. Drawing on concepts from language variation studies (World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca) and Systemic Functional Linguistics, DALP posits that being proficient in a language implies that we are sensitive to the setting of the communicative event, and have the ability to select, adapt, and use a range of linguistic resources that are appropriate in the context. This proficiency in language changes in a nonlinear fashion as our familiarity with diverse settings and contexts increases, and our repertoire of linguistic resources and strategies expands. In this paper, we show that the development of language proficiency is a process that occurs for all speakers, regardless of their linguistic background; therefore DALP is a model of language proficiency that is not based upon NS status but rather one’s ability to adapt to different contexts.

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we argue that monolingually oriented views of language proficiency are an anachronism in a world where multilingual contexts are the norm, even in countries that acknowledge only one official language (Garcia, 2009, p. 44; Mahboob, in press). We respond to this problem of conceptualizing language proficiency as a monolingually oriented static entity by introducing the Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP). The need for a model of language such as DALP is highlighted in the reviews of current models of language proficiency; for example, according to Widdowson (2003, in Leung & Lewkowicz, 2006), even a model such as Bachman’s (1990) useful multicompenential view of language is divided into static features which “cannot account for the dynamic interrelationships which are engaged in communication itself” (p. 214). We respond to this gap by offering an alternate conception of proficiency that is framed and exemplified by the use of Englishes in multilingual contexts. DALP, as developed in this chapter, resonates with Johnson’s (2008) “dialogically based philosophy of second language acquisition” (p. 271), in which language is viewed as “speech embedded in a variety of sociocultural contexts” (Johnson, 2003, p. 179).

To develop DALP, we draw upon work in language variation, including the areas of World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca, and language as a social semiotic

¹ For a more detailed discussion of DALP, see Mahboob & Dutcher (2013) & Mahboob & Dutcher (in press).

as described in the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) views language as a social semiotic system, where language is seen as a system of choices made by its users. Language is also viewed in this theory as being inextricably linked to context. As Halliday (1978) explains, "language as a social semiotic" means "interpreting language within a sociocultural context, in which the culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms - as an information system, if that terminology is preferred" (p. 2). SFL's view of language in context originates with the work of J.R. Firth (1935), who drew upon the work of Malinowski (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p. 16) to argue that context of situation consists of "the human participant or participants, what they say, and what is going on" and that each person "carries his [sic] culture and much of his social reality about with him [sic] wherever he [sic] goes" (p. 64). As Nelson (2011) explains, "Context [as described by Firth] may be determined more narrowly, as in differentiating different types of social situations, or more broadly, as in the usages of speakers who are from a particular culture and those who are not" (p. 4). Therefore utterances in a language - words, phrases, and sentences - do not occur in isolation but are the product of interactions that take place within a broader cultural setting (Johnson Gerson, 2008, p. 271). That is, language is a resource that is used to make meaning in a particular culture; at the same time, this culture creates the set of meaning-making potentials in a language (Painter, 1989, p. 19).

Hasan (2009) links context and linguistic proficiency by describing language use and communication as changing "along the context line, whereby during one and the same socio-historical age the content and structure of one verbal interaction will vary from another according to variation in the social context relevant to that interaction; this is what forms the basis for perceptions of degrees of appropriateness of behaviour in interactive practices" (p. 9). In other words, the success of communication is inextricably linked to the context in which it takes place, which includes the location and the people involved, among other factors. Accordingly, the model presented in this chapter defines context in terms of the two elements: use and users (Halliday, 1978, p. 35). Use of language includes the purpose of the communicative event and the location in which it takes place, while users of language refers to the key interlocutors in an event, including their relative status and power. Together, these variables have an effect upon the socio-cultural practices of a particular context.

Use of language has been examined extensively in genre theory, which is a branch of SFL that investigates the way language varies according to the purpose for which it is used and the ways users of a language learn how to effectively make meaning in these different contexts. As a whole, it examines the way certain valued ways of making meaning emerge in particular cultures, and the nature and meaning of these genres. A genre is defined as a "staged, goal-oriented social process", where staged means that genres unfold in a certain order with particular steps and goal-oriented means that they are incomplete if the stages are not finished; the term social refers to the fact that these genres take place within interactions (Martin & Rose, 2007, 2008; Martin, 2009). Genre is significant to this model because it means that a person's proficiency in one genre does not account for their whole proficiency in a language. For example, a person may be able to write a friendly thank-you note proficiently in a certain language but may not be able to write a business report in that same language. In order to do so, this person would need to learn the conventions of this new genre to use the linguistic code in this way.

According to Matthiessen (2009), "Language has evolved as a learnable system: Its adaptiveness and inherent variability make it easier to learn because we do not

have to learn it in one fell swoop; we learn it in a cumulative way, building up the complexity gradually from texts instantiating different registers" (p. 214). The model therefore accounts for an individual's varying proficiency in different genres and the way this proficiency changes over time as he or she learns to negotiate these genres successfully (Johnson Gerson, 2008, p. 275). One branch of SFL examines this ontogenetic development of language, a process which is defined by Matthiesson (2009) as "the learning of a personalized meaning potential" (p. 206) that happens throughout one's lifetime, "from birth, through infancy and childhood, and on through adolescence into adult life" (Halliday, 1993, p. 93). As Halliday (1975/2004) describes it, once a child "learns how to mean", he or she continues to develop language by making meanings in, or negotiating, more and different contexts over time (p. 55). Importantly, this process happens for all users of languages, regardless of which mother tongue is learnt initially. The model presented in this chapter uses the process of ontogenesis to account for a speaker's changing ability to communicate in a range of contexts over the course of his or her lifetime.

Language users are one domain of language variation studies, which investigate how people of different backgrounds, including age, social class, region, and educational level, among other factors, use language differently. In these studies, the use of the linguistic code is shown to change significantly in the hands or mouths of different users in the creation of complex and meaningful interactions. Furthermore, such studies have examined and critiqued the way power and status are attached to these different ways of using language. The way language changes according to its user is an important part of the contextual element of this model because one's understanding of the linguistic practices of his or her interlocutors impacts the ability to communicate with them. This aspect of language variation is also salient in work on English as Lingua Franca (ELF). ELF is defined by Seidlhofer (2011) as "Any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (p.7). Studies of ELF interaction have revealed the inherent variability of such contexts of use and do not view ELF as "a variety" but instead recognize "its diversity and interactive character" (Seidlhofer, 2007, in Schneider, 2012, p. 60). This adaptation of language for negotiating different communities and identities is seen as a process that is a part of the human experience of learning to make meaning in different contexts, a view which is compatible with the SFL concept of ontogenetic development described previously.

The Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP) is a model of proficiency that responds to the issues the studies in SFL and language variation raise. Because the appropriate choice of linguistic code changes lexically, syntactically and stylistically based on the context, depending on the use and users, the DALP model considers shared linguistic code and shared contextual knowledge as the two core dimensions of proficiency. These two elements are represented as intersecting clines; when this is done, four quadrants emerge which are considered as four different zones of proficiency. DALP is dynamic in the sense that any user's language proficiency can move from zone to zone in a non-linear fashion, depending on changes in the myriad variables within the context of the interaction and/or the linguistic code required (Larson-Freeman and Cameron, 2008, p. 2).

2 Dynamic approach to language proficiency

The DALP model consists of two core elements: shared linguistic code and shared contextual knowledge (Figure 1). Shared linguistic code is the user's control of the

myriad features of a given language such as mode of communication (written or spoken), syntax, lexicogrammar, morphology, phonology, discursive practices, and realization of politeness. Shared contextual knowledge is the familiarity with, and ability to successfully negotiate, the setting, purpose, socio-cultural practices, participants, and turn-taking organization of an event. These two elements are not viewed as absolutes in this model, but instead as continuums, so that the abilities of a person can be placed along a line of having relatively more or less proficiency in a certain area. In the model, these two clines intersect to form four *Zones of Proficiency* (Figure 2); a person's Zone of Proficiency can change in a non-linear fashion depending on his or her knowledge of the linguistic code and/or contextual features of a situation. Furthermore, it models the ontogenetic development of language for all individuals over time because a person's proficiency is shown to increase as he or she develops the ability to communicate at a high level of competence in a wider range of situations. This development is not based upon the person's adherence to an outside norm but rather their flexibility in negotiating communication in different contexts. Placing the basis of proficiency on communicative flexibility rather than solely on norm-adherence means that multilingualism is valued, as is the ability to negotiate different contexts within the same linguistic code.

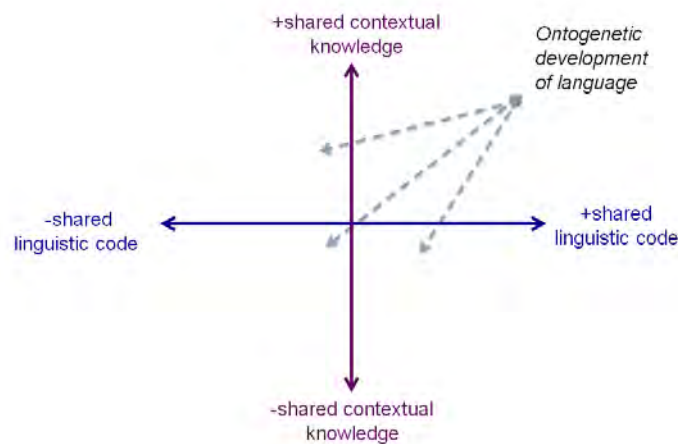


Figure 1: The Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP) Model

The following hypothetical examples will show how this model relates to the linguistic development of both native and non-native speakers of English. The purpose of these two examples is to show how both native and non-native speakers of English adapt to different contexts of language use in similar ways as they are exposed to different contexts and must adapt linguistically to communicate. They show how the core elements of proficiency, shared linguistic code and shared contextual knowledge, combine in different ways to create a more nuanced description of proficiency.

The first example that we will discuss here is that of Christine, an American who learns English by growing up in a home where it is spoken by her parents and extended family and becomes aware of a wider range of genres and written forms of English during primary school and high school. When she enters university in the USA, she is asked to write a literature review as an assignment. On her first attempt, she produces what her lecturer calls a summary rather than building an argument and does not receive a high mark for the assignment. In this situation, Christine has knowledge of the required linguistic code but is not able to deploy it appropriately

to achieve the requirements of this register until she finds a way to learn the competencies required to become proficient in this genre. Later in her university career, Christine decides to study abroad for a year in Australia. When she goes to the pub with her new Australian friends, she finds that she is unable to understand or participate in the jokes that make reference to local cultural experiences and jargon; in this situation, she also at times finds their utterances unintelligible and incomprehensible due to differences in dialect. However, in her university lectures she is able to draw upon shared contextual knowledge of registers that she has encountered in the past, which enable her to negotiate communication more readily. By the end of her year abroad, she is able to negotiate both the informal and academic settings much more effectively.

The second example is Zainab from Pakistan. She speaks Urdu at home and has learnt English formally throughout her schooling. She attends university in Pakistan, where she studies biology; for medical school, she decides to study in Singapore in an English-medium university. Because she studied British English in school, the conventions of spelling and pronunciation are familiar to her. However, her lecturers come from a range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, so in the beginning, she finds their accents and use of language difficult to understand. But by the end of her first semester, helped by her background in the field of biology, she is able to understand lectures in a range of varieties of English, such as Chinese and Singaporean Englishes. When she completes her degree, she moves to a small town in the United States to practice medicine at a hospital. In the hospital setting, she finds that it is at times difficult to make herself understood to the staff and patients; likewise, when topics other than medicine are discussed, she finds it difficult to make out what they want to say because of their use of cultural references with which she is not familiar. Over time, she is increasingly able to understand and be understood as both she and her colleagues and patients become more familiar with the other's dialect and cultural references.

As Christine and Zainab move through different contexts, their control of the linguistic code and familiarity with the context changes so that they also move through different Zones of Proficiency (Figure 2). The following sections will describe these four Zones through the introduction of metaphors that serve as archetypes of each quadrant.

Zainab and Christine are in the *Zone of Expertise* when they use Urdu and American English, respectively, to communicate about everyday matters in the home because in this context they are in full control of the linguistic code and the conventions of appropriate contextual use. This zone is represented by the metaphor of the *local*, who could be someone who was born in a particular city and is a native speaker of the local dialect, or could be someone who has migrated to a city from another place and who has lived there long enough to learn the conventions of the local culture and language use. Therefore the local archetype represents all persons who are able to negotiate communication in a wide range of familiar contexts in (a) certain language(s) as a result of their previous experience. The criteria for the Zone of Expertise is not what one's mother tongue is, but rather one's ability to negotiate contexts successfully through control of the linguistic code and the associated conventions. Therefore, after Zainab has adapted to the variety of English used in small-town USA, she is in the Zone of Expertise for this context even though she may not consider herself to be a native speaker.

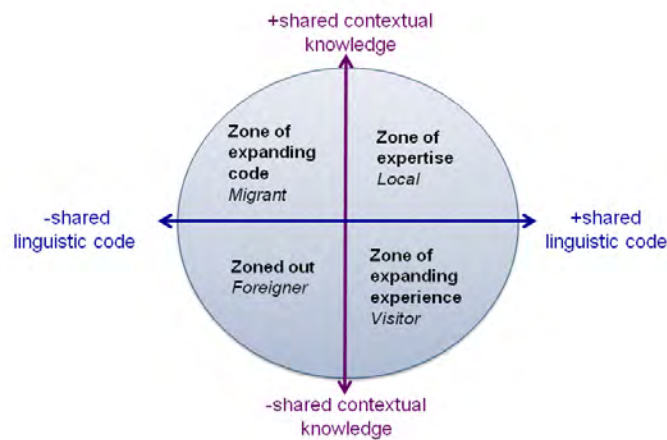


Figure 2: Zones and Metaphors of the DALP Model

When Christine moved to Australia and Zainab moved to the USA, the linguistic code was familiar but the context was not, particularly in informal settings where many unfamiliar cultural references were made. In these situations, they are considered to be in the *Zone of Expanding Experience*. In this zone, the user is familiar with the language that is being used in a particular context, but the context itself is unfamiliar. The metaphor used for this zone is a *visitor*, which represents someone who has linguistic knowledge but is unfamiliar with, or visiting, a new context. As a result, this person uses the linguistic code in a way that marks him or her as being new to this particular context. In order to move to the Zone of Expertise for this context, the user would need to learn how to use the language he or she already knows in a new way. To do this, he or she would need to expand his or her experience through some means of education (formal or not), but would not have to learn an entirely new linguistic code in order to do this. Both Christine and Zainab made this transition through a combination of asking direct questions and making inferences through other resources than language and slowly building up a broader repertoire over time.

When Zainab moved from Pakistan to Singapore to study medicine at an English-medium university, the context and subject matter were familiar but the linguistic code used by her lecturers was unfamiliar. Therefore she was in the *Zone of Expanding Code*. The metaphor used for this zone is *migrant* because it typifies the language user who must learn to operate in a new linguistic code in order to negotiate familiar contexts in a new community. The linguistic code could be unfamiliar because it is an entirely new language or variety for the user (e.g. Spanish versus Chinese, or Indian English versus Australian English), because the mode is unfamiliar (e.g. written or spoken), or because the appropriate register is unfamiliar (e.g. formal or informal). In this zone, the user has experience in this context but is not in control of the favoured or socially appropriate use of language for this context.

If either Christine or Zainab were to go on holiday to a new country where a completely unfamiliar linguistic code is used, they would be unfamiliar with both the contextual elements and the linguistic code of a situation. This is described in the DALP model as being *Zoned Out*. The metaphor for this zone is a *foreigner*, someone who has recently arrived to a new place where a different language is spoken and

new cultural contexts are being encountered regularly. This person has not yet learnt to negotiate the situation at hand and also does not have control of the linguistic code required. As the speaker becomes more familiar with either the contextual or linguistic elements, he or she moves toward the other Zones of Proficiency.

3 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented and described the Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP) model which views language proficiency as a non-static phenomenon that changes in a non-linear fashion as a person encounters different contextual settings. To do this, we argued that proficiency consists of two main dimensions, shared contextual knowledge and shared linguistic code, which operate as two intersecting continuums. These intersecting clines result in the emergence of four quadrants, or Zones of Proficiency. These include Zone of Expertise, where both contextual knowledge and the linguistic code are shared resources for communication, the Zone of Expanding Experience, where only the linguistic code is a shared resource, the Zone of Expanding Code, where only contextual knowledge is a shared resource, and Zoned Out, where neither of these resources are shared. Using this theoretical framework, we gave hypothetical and metaphorical examples of how speakers move through different Zones of Proficiency as they encounter different situations

Possible future research directions include the operationalizing of the model in different contexts by analyzing longitudinal data which shows how users move across the Zones over time. This would provide insights into how the model operates on both micro and macro levels, from the turn-taking level of interaction all the way up to the negotiation of different registers over time. The presentation of this model is a call for such research to be carried out which can support the development of a viable alternative to existing frameworks that reflects language use in an increasingly globalized, multicultural, multilingual world.

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13

Cannabis Farms and Factories: A corpus investigation into the ideological implications of UK news reports

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Abstract

According to the British Association of Chief Police officers (ACPO) 7,865 illegal cannabis cultivation sites were uncovered in the UK in 2012: a 15% year-on-year increase from 2011. Traditionally trafficked into the territory by drug cartels, internal production of the narcotic substance has soared in the past decade: increasing 150% since 2008 (ACPO report, 2012). In combining approaches associated with corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis this paper investigates the news reports of cannabis cultivation in the UK media between 2008 and 2013 with the primary objective of identifying the ideological implications of the two dominant modes of production: cannabis farms and cannabis factories. WordSmith 5.0 was used to identify lexico-semantic relations around keywords and facilitate an understanding of discursive representations present in the reports. Findings would suggest the presence of a worrisome reporting trend in which small-scale commercial production (Farm) is being demonized as a social ill in need of societal censorship whilst large-scale commercial production (Factory) seemingly escapes strong media condemnation. This could have major ramifications when considered in the context of modern political-economy in which one of the biggest dilemmas facing state-players is the way in which they will respond to the burgeoning 'new green economy' (Fine, 2012).

1 Growth of commercial cannabis cultivation

The explosive trend from importation to internal production of cannabis has partly been driven by an increase in both the availability of hydroponic technology as well as advances in seed germination that have resulted in the emergence of virulent cannabis strains capable of superior yields (Sznitman, 2005). Research by Hough et al (2003), conducted at the turn of the century, characterized cultivation activity as largely lacking in commercial focus and existing on a small scale basis with personal use as the dominant motivation for production. The recent commercialization of the activity seems to have provided cause for concern amongst governmental and legal authorities within the UK.

Currently there is great discrepancy over the definition of the terms farm and factory with numerous attempts by different parties to refine the concepts. Size remains the enduring factor that provides discrimination between the two modes of cultivation. The presence of 10-50 plants defines a cannabis farm whilst anything above 50 is generally regarded as a cannabis factory. According to home office statistics (2012) farming activity would appear to be the most prevalent in the UK with 89% of seizures involving 50 plants or less.

2 Ideology as a linguistic phenomenon

The freedom from theoretical dogma granted by conceptual pragmatism (Wodak and Meyer, 2001) was particularly helpful when consulting the literature on ideology: "The word 'ideology', one might say, is a text, woven of a whole tissue of

different conceptual strands; it is traced through by divergent histories, and it is probably more important to assess what is valuable or can be discarded in each of these lineages than to merge them forcibly into some Grand Global theory” (Eagleton, 1991). In the development of a working definition of ideology the contributions Guess (1981) and Fairclough (2002) were particularly helpful. Guess (1981) defines the pejorative form of ideology as a set of values and beliefs which can be viewed negatively or critically if they: uphold or perpetuate a dominative form of power; are motivated to breed an unjust social arrangement or distort social reality. The concept of pejorative ideology is very similar to that as given by Fairclough (2002) who defines ideology “a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations”.

Building on the pejorative definition of ideology, Eagleton (1991) outlines six characteristic functions ideologies often possess. In sum, ideologies are seen to be: unifying; action oriented; rationalising; legitimising; universalising; and naturalising. Ideologies are unifying in the sense that through a process of discursive negotiation they refine a set of values and beliefs into a coherent set of ideas. Ideologies are action oriented in that they should be able to at least inspire adherents with goals and motivations. Ideologies ultimately look to provide plausible justification for actions and arrangements which might otherwise receive criticism. In this sense ideologies can be regarded as having the function of rationalizing and legitimizing. Eagleton, claims the difference between rationalising and legitimising is really one of attitude, the former involving conscious persuasion the latter simply seeking tacit consent. Through the process of universalisation ideologies often make generalisations out of facts that are only true of a specific situation. In their most sophisticated form ideologies render their content as natural and self evident i.e. plain common sense.

3 Methodology

3.1 Data

Using the search term ‘Cannabis’, we gathered online news reports from 2008-2013 from the following British news agencies: The Guardian; The Times; The Telegraph; BBC; The Sun; and The Mirror. It was here that issue of cultivation was recognized as a major theme of the online news reports of this period. The learner corpus was composed of 1 million words and upon encountering the terms cannabis farm and cannabis factory and sensing a difference in the articles the research question ‘what are the ideological implications of the online news reports with regards to the two modes of production’ was formulated.

3.2 Approach

Initial investigations of the terms cannabis farm and cannabis factory were conducted at the sentential level; concordance analysis disclosed similar collocational and colligational propensities thus generating very little insight with regards to the ideological implications surrounding the two concepts. It was decided that shifting the level of analysis from the lexical-semantic level to the level of co-text would be most fruitful in achieving the objective of the research as this would allow for the examination of the general textual properties of the news reports within the corpus. This precipitated the need to split the original mother corpus into two separate sub-corpora using the terms ‘cannabis farm’ (C-Far corpus)

and ‘cannabis factory’ (C-Fact corpus). Each corpus contained approximately 100,000 words.

The measure of keyness suggested itself as a method of analysis for the fact that it would easily allow for the identification of the differences between the texts (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). Keyness enables the analyst to see which words are used significantly more frequently thus reflecting what the text is truly about (Scott and Tribble, 2006). In short, a word can be regarded as important in a corpus if it has a high keyness value.

In order to truly understand the differences of the two texts the tradition of using a third reference corpus was dispensed with. With the use of WordSmith 5.0. the keyword list in C-Far was generated by using C-Fact as the reference corpus, and vice versa. Keywords in the Farm corpus and the Factory corpus were identified, and the concordance lines of each keyword were read to investigate the word co-occurrences, semantic preference and semantic prosody. According to Sinclair (1991), collocations refer the word co-occurrences of a lexical item; semantic preference alludes to the semantic features shared by the collocations, and semantic prosody is the relation between words and lexical sets which refers to the speaker’s attitude. The top 10 keywords are discussed below.

4 Findings

4.1 C-Far

Victims and *Trafficking* are strong co-collocates of one another and express a theme which posits farming activity as contributing to global and social problems. *Victims* has a strong propensity to collocate with *trafficking* (37%), *children* (20%), *women* (15%) and *orphans* (8%). Rather startlingly the term *victims* is only used in the farm corpus to refer to a hypothetical class of victims. Trafficking has strong collocates to the R1 position with *human* and to the L1 position with *victims* and is used to discuss the problem of modern slavery.

Table 1: Top ten keywords of C-Far and C-Fact corpora

C-Far	C-Fact
Victims	Murder
Trafficking	Trial
Says	Garden
Rise	Happened
Growers	Jailed
Report	Justice
Or	Best
Number	Roof
Be	After
Children	Judge

The terms *Says* and *Report* are often used to cite external authorities such as the *local police or and NGO such as Crimestoppers*. Both terms are frequent co-collocates of one another to the L1 and R1 position and have a pronounced semantic preference of expressing organizational condemnation of cannabis farms (61%). As a result of news writers borrowing material from the published reports and press releases of various bodies a number of the top keywords in the C-Far corpus are

both strong collocates of *says* and *report* as well as being thematically related. *Rise* and *Number* collocate strongly with each other to express the epidemic scale of the problem and usually appear as a citation of an official authority e.g. an ACPO report or quote from local police. *Rise* has a strong semantic preference in terms of quantification of the number of farms detected in a given usually on a city, county or national basis. *Number* has strong collocates with *cannabis farm* (29.4%), *people* (14%) and *offences* (11%) and has a semantic preference for expressing the upward trend of offences. *Or* and *Be* whilst perhaps having the least lexical content as self contained units their collocations disclose a pronounced subtheme of civil education in that overt attempts are made to raise public awareness as to the potential signs of farm activity taking place in their locale and requests made for public cooperation. *Or* is used, as one would expect as a grammatical conjunction, in the enunciation of salient features (67.2%) of cannabis farms e.g. wiring, blackened windows, air vents, pungent smells. *Be* has strong collocates with modal verbs (91.2%) such as *could* and *may*, and tends to list identifiable features of farms.

Growers

4.2 C-Fact

Murder is the top keyword for the C-Fact corpus and has a semantic preference for its everyday meaning i.e. the act of homicide (88%). *Trial*, *Jail*, *Justice* and *Judge* reflect the factual-legal theme of the C-Fact corpus. *Trial* has strong collocates with units of time as measures in weeks e.g. four week trial; five week trial. *Jail* has strong collocates with units of time as measured in years and is used to detail the length of various sentences handed down. In 90% of cases *Justice* appears as part of the multiword lexeme 'pervert the course of justice' an additional charge defendants are often charged with. *Judge* is used as a noun to refer to the public officer of the court. The term strongly collocates to the R1 position with the article *the* and to the L1 position with the term *said*.

After and *Happened* reflect the general tendency to focus on the factual occurrences within the C-Fact corpus. *Happened* tends to appear within phrases about events occurring at cannabis factories such as fires. *After* tends to collocate with phrases relating the admission of charges by defendants and signs leading to detection such as explosions.

The term *Garden* in the C-Fact corpus is used in its everyday denotational sense i.e. a piece of land adjoining a residential property. No metaphoric or metonymic use of the term was identified. In 63% of cases the term has a semantic preference for expressing the clandestine nature of cannabis factories i.e. it looks like a large suburban house but really it is a fully functioning cannabis factory. 28% of cases relate to the surprisingly popular tendency of locating factory complexes in subterranean bunkers underneath gardens. *Garden* forms part of the strong theme found in the C-Fact corpus relating to the ingenious construction of cannabis factories.

Roof often refers to the detection of a cannabis factory and in a similar vein to the civil education theme found in the C-Far corpus is used to raise public awareness of potential signs of cannabis factories. Reader attention is drawn to the fact that a lack of snow residue on a roof can be a sign that cultivation activity is taking place. *Roof* also collocates frequently with *fire* in order to reference explosions and fire outbreaks occurring at cannabis factories. *Best* did not show any significant patterns or collocational propensities.

5 Discussion

Prima Facie consideration of the collocates of the global-social impact theme of the C-Far corpus would suggest that the abhorrent activity of slavery is taking place on the cannabis farms of Britain. Attempts were made to validate this claim by free searching the internet as well as trawling through the corpus in order to find actual instances of women, children and orphans working as slaves on cannabis farms. In the case of women we were unable to find any actual cases of female forced servitude occurring on UK cannabis farms and proffer the idea that perhaps the use of term is a collocational effect (Sinclair, 1991); indeed recourse to the British National Corpus confirms women and children as frequent co-collocates. In the case of children and orphans our corpus and internet search efforts suggest that a case involving two young adults trafficked from Vietnam, aged 16-18 at the time of the occurrence, and the case of a British 18 year old escapee from the care system may be the genesis of the association of the terms children and orphans with cannabis farming.

Through the ideological process of universalisation 3 cases in a possible 7,865 cultivation sites detected form the basis for the generalized association of farming activity with the deeply evocative global issue of human trafficking and slavery. In no sense would this research detract from the horrific nature of enforced bondage, but it seems fair to question the relevance of the use 'orphan' in the online news reports as the three victims identified were on the cusp of adulthood: two were actually legal adults at the time of the events. What is the purpose of the use of 'orphan' if not evocative? We would further proffer the submission that when used in headlines and subheadings the use of sensational terms such as children and orphans in this context would perhaps conjure Dickensian images of Tiny Tim type characters as opposed to the young-adults that were actually involved. Interestingly, the actual recorded cases of forced labour, identified, technically took place on cannabis factories (i.e. large scale cultivation sites) but through an apparent process of transference become a textual property of C-Far. The use of vulnerable social categories is an integral ingredient in the construction of atrocity propaganda to inspire outrage and action (Jacques, 1965) and the conceptualization of cannabis farms as the battleground for modern slavery is arguably used to legitimize a police crackdown on such activity and implore the public to aid the police in their efforts.

Asides from trafficking *Children* also has strong collocational patterns with legislation detailing news agency calls for legal reforms to reflect the slaves of cannabis farms. This content reflects the action orientation of the emerging anti-farm ideological consensus of online news reports. A minority of concordance lines concerning *Children* (7.6%) carry the semantic preference of motivation. These lines detail dream realization as the reason given by defendants as to why they involved themselves in cannabis farming activity which is usually claimed as a means to fund some kind of family pleasantries such as a trip to Disney Land. Dream realization is seemingly not treated as worthy of thematic expansion by journalists on any significant scale i.e. there is little exploration of the fact that economic hardship encountered by many seems to be driving a desperate pursuit of profit in prohibition. Perhaps condemnation of criminal activity is so ideologically embedded within the modern consciousness that journalists (and maybe audiences) are unable to question the legitimacy of a law which prohibits an activity that offers people a buffer from financial adversity.

Examination of the concordance lines relating to the organizational condemnation theme of C-Far discloses a marked unbalance in the kind of organisations granted exposure in the online news reports. Local police e.g. West-

Midlands Police, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the charity Crimestoppers are awarded the largest share of voice. Neither corpus contained contributions from organisations that express a positive stance towards cannabis cultivation such as CLEAR (Cannabis Law Reform party) or NORML (Pro-legalisation lobbyists) which suggests the presence of a clear bias in terms of the media access being granted by news organizations. Not only is it inequitable to grant media exposure to a narrow class of representative organizations but also particularly inexcusable for the inhibitive impact it has upon the development of an open, informed and progressive national debate furthermore such a bias normalizes a negative condemnatory framework.

The collocates of the civil education theme of the C-Far corpus and the facets of the global-social impact theme that have a hyperbolic effect (i.e. scale) clearly advocate an ideological position in which cannabis farming is conceived as a social evil in need of public censorship.

The factual-legal theme found in the C-Fact corpus can be directly contrasted with the largely hypothetical nature of the global-social impact of the C-Far corpus. For example when used in C-Fact corpus the term *murder* is used to denote actual instances of homicide, although it should be stated that only a handful of cases were identified as actually having occurred; the high keyness appears to be product of the media's thirst for sensationalist topics (Conboy, 2010). Worthy of note is the fact that the legal terms used so often in the C-Fact corpus are valid lexical options available for journalists writing about cannabis farms: trials still happen, jail sentences are given and criminal charges such as perverting the course of justice are brought against defendants and yet the legal focus is sacrificed in the C-Far corpus in favour of journalist discussion of global issues such as slavery. Also striking is the fact that discussion of offences in the factory corpus is rarely subject to the perspective of scale as it is in the C-Far corpus e.g. there is little discussion of the contribution factories make to crime rates or other such social problems. The C-Fact corpus would suggest that when compared to cannabis farms, cannabis factories largely escape hypercritical journalistic conjecture and dubious associations with global issues such as human trafficking.

When thematic expansion does take place within articles concerning cannabis factories this usually involves a focus on the ingenuity of construction efforts. Such a focus often provides readers with details of the size, production capabilities and domestic features found in cannabis factories such as kitchens equipped with modern conveniences, beds and fully functioning gyms. To some extent it is worth considering the extent to which the reports inadvertently praise cannabis factories by detailing their productivity and sound construction. Even when the reports detail explosions and fires at cannabis factories there is scant focus on the danger of such sites. This is in sharp contrast to C-Far where a concordance search demonstrated a tendency to present cannabis farms as inherently dangerous. Interestingly the concept of the *garden* in C-Fact is taken as a measure of suburban normality in that neighbours are often cited as being surprised by the presence of a cannabis factory in their street given how well kept the garden had been during the time of production. There is scant exploration of the idea that these activities seemingly have little impact, in terms of disturbance of everyday life, on communities. A small amount (less than 2%) of reports in the C-Fact corpus cite neighbours as complaining about the wreckage resulting from police raids and an expression of a preference for the presence of the cultivation activity despite this there is little expansion of such themes.

6 Conclusion

In the context of an economic hegemon that favours the concentration of industrial ownership and control, the media debate concerning cannabis cultivation largely fails to counterbalance such systemic bias. The thematic trends identified in the C-Far corpus would suggest the presence of an emerging anti-farm ideological media consensus. Whilst not completely without criticism the thematic trends identified in the C-Fact corpus would suggest a milder treatment of large-scale modes of production (see Rolles, 2009). A recent report by Pudney et al (2013) from the UK Institute for Social and Economic Research recommends the replication of the tobacco industry in the structuring of cannabis as a commercial sector i.e. control and profit given to a select few corporations. As stated at the outset, the practice of making cannabis cultivation the chicane of the few effectively obliterates the potential for mass economic opportunity furnished by alternative models of production. The future of the green economic revolution is based on the present willingness of researchers and other parties to challenge the potential lionisation of the opportunity. In exposing ideological assumptions seeping into part of the UK media debate it is hoped this paper contributes to such a task.

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14

Projection of citations in the reflexive writing of professionalizing teacher-training reports

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Abstract

In the present paper, we take Systemic Functional Linguistics to investigate the logical-semantic system of projection. This resource is realized via citations in pre-service teacher's reflexive professional writing. These texts are written by teachers in training in English, Portuguese and Letters subjects in a public university in Brazil. Projection is a lexicogrammatical resource that realizes what people say, present, think and feel. Through a qualitative approach we look into how pre-service teachers make use of projection in order to construe 'voices'. Partial results are suggestive of the use of projection to relate and suggest activities used or to be used in basic schools; support view points; and relate and architect ideas.

1 Introduction

In this paper, Systemic Functional Linguistics is taken as the theoretic-methodological resource for the investigation of projection that puts forward one own's voice and other people's voices. Projection is investigated in the realm of reflexive professional writing, also known as reports, produced by pre-service teachers when taking their practicum subject in English and Portuguese Language Teaching undergraduate courses in a Federal University in Brazil. In the data set under investigation, the focus of attention is given to all the sections that make use of literary and non-literary citations. By doing so, the aim can be placed at investigating the role projection plays in the 'transmission' of one own's thoughts/ideas as well other's.

These reports are written texts elaborated as pre-service teacher's final paper/assignment of their practicum subject. In these texts, writers, here named as pre-service teacher, expose, describe, narrate and argument about the activities experienced in the observation, planning and classroom management in basic education. This register, despite being produced in the formal institutional context of a university, is expressed through a more "renewed", more spontaneous and subjective kind of writing, namely, *reflexive professional writing*. These features found in this type of writing end up triggering and potentializing the practice of reflexive writing, which "escapes" from the conventional technical-scientific writing, once in this type of writing emotions, distress, tension, pressure and conflicts are expressed. The report writers are told to link the experiences lived in basic schools to the theoretical readings carried out during their undergraduate course. The evidence of academic and non-academic reading found in the reports happens explicitly and implicitly at times. In the present paper, we focus directly on the language that realizes the semioticization of appropriation of texts read (other's voices) by pre-service teachers, coming across through citation practices.

Reflexive professional writing of practicum reports is used in the context of teacher training so as to raise critical reflection around the actions related to the

practices and experiences lived during the practice of teaching. In this type of writing, social actors establish a dialogue with themselves, which is guided by academic knowledge aroused by references learned during their initial years of university life, or even coming from other social spheres. Differently from academic writing that is established as being critical, objective, impersonal and rigorous, *reflexive professional writing* of reports is characterized as being less rigorous, narrative, personal and intimate and which makes frequent reference to the author of the text, making allusion to his/her perceptions of facts, experiences and (re)signifying practices (Fiad and Silva, 2009).

2 Functional dispersion of the semantic system of projection

Projection is a logico-semantic system dispersed within lexico-grammar. The system of projection is realized at the clauses complex level and it organizes human experience in a continuous sequence of events. Projection is found in several text types, but it becomes more representative in scientific, journalistic and literary registers.

According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), in English, the system of projection is realized mainly by mental processes of cognition, mental processes of desideration and verbal processes of saying. Projection is used to frame what people say, present, think and feel through citation and reporting. In certain occasions, relational processes also function as resources for projecting ideas, thoughts or feelings. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014) state that there are three features that characterize and distinguish projected clauses from others, they are: the projection type (locution or idea), the type of projection (parataxis and hypotaxis) and the function of the utterance (projected proposition or proposal).

When looking into the metafunctions, and dealing with the ideational metafunction, projection is realized in the Transitivity system through mental process projecting ideas: what is thought; through verbal process projecting words: what is said – locution; and through relational processes, which is a much less frequent type of projection to occur. When dealing with the logical component, projection is realized through a logico-semantic system for organizing experience. Projection at the logical metafunction is found in clause complexes (parataxis and hypotaxis).

In the interpersonal metafunction, projection is realized through the Mood system in propositions (offer and demand of information) or proposal (offer or demand of goods and services) (Araújo, 2007). Projection can also be found in interpersonal metaphors as a semantic discursive device. Another resource of the interpersonal metafunction is in the case of engagement as a subsystem of Appraisal, such resource will be discussed later in the next section. And, in the textual metafunction, Theme and Information systems can contribute to identifying projection as for example when the use of modal adjuncts, double quotes, apostrophe, among many other markers (Thompson, 2014: 163-168). At the semantic level it can be retrieved from Cohesion, which links one message to the other via the use of ellipsis and referencing.

3 The semantic system of projection in Appraisal

Appraisal is a subsystem realized within the interpersonal metafunction. It is a system that enables speakers/writers to construe their points of view in respect to

the subject matter. According to Martin and Rose (2005, 2010) the appraisal system is realized through evaluations that are met in genres of beliefs, judgment, world experience, among other contextual and individual elements construed in spoken or written discourse.

This system is composed by three other subsystems, namely, attitude, graduation and engagement. The engagement subsystem refers to the linguistic devices through which speakers/writers introduce extra voices to a discourse. These devices are: modality: construes a semantic space in between yes and no; concession (adjusts expectations); and projection. Both the subsystem of graduation as well as engagement encompasses the notion of diglossia/heteroglossia, i.e., every discourse is formed by other discourses, or by many other voices (Martin and White, 2005). In this sense, every verbal interaction is dialogic as other people's voice/ideas are used in our own utterances, construed through the intertwining of several discourses. Therefore, when looking at the appraisal system for investigating projection, dialogism becomes the point of departure for the research.

4 Projection of citation in the reports of professional reflexive writing

In the following extract, taken from the data source of the present study, it becomes clear that in order to assure and base the claimed utterances, the report writer makes use of a direct quotation from scientific literature. Such quote allows us to verify another person's voice being acknowledged, this construal of meaning is realized through the use of a circumstance of angle - *de acordo com Francisco Borba* (*according to Francisco Borba*) – together with the wording underlined in the extract below. In this occurrence, the circumstance indicates point of view, that is, the writer makes use of a projection nominalizing the quotation by using a mental process of *thinking*. Such construal highlights the relevance and the value of the utterance as suggested by the writer. As a source of reference, the projection of thoughts, as construed in the example below, enable the writer to link/architect his/her ideas discussed in previous paragraphs with the ideas legitimized by the authoritative voice. The textual rebounding in order to textualize the quotation is another projection resource used to intensify the authoritative voice.

Passage 01¹:

A utilização do dicionário escolar como instrumento de ensino, pode ser (*may be*) uma forma inovadora de auxiliar o livro didático,. (...)

De acordo com Francisco Borba (2001, p. 148) (According to Francisco Borba),

O dicionário é a documentação mais importante que nós temos no léxico da língua portuguesa. É o repositório da língua como um todo, que documenta todos os tempos e a forma como o português chega até nós. Reflete (Reflects) a língua tal qual ela é, ao contrário da gramática, que explica (explains) como a língua deve ser.

¹ In order not to change the whole meaning of the passages, we have decided to translate the wordings/constructions that realize projection. These lexical constructions are translated in italics and in parenthesis for easier understanding.

Com isso vemos que (Based on this we can see that) há sim uma ligação entre o uso do dicionário em sala de aula e o ensino da gramática, pois um pode auxiliar o outro, (...) vida escolar.
(Participant 01, Practicum III, 2011.2 – LP – Report body).

In the authoritative voice direct quote above, the mental process *refletir* (*reflect*) and the verbal process *explicar* (*explain*) are two resources that construe meaning by not making use of a Subject, that is, these are two impersonal projected constructions. Therefore, both projections play the role of reporting as well as showing how *Borba* sees and comprehends the function of the dictionary and grammar.

After reproduction someone else's voice, the writer's voice in the utterance is once again observed in an explicit manner through the construction of another clause (*Com isso vemos que (Based on this we can see that) há sim uma ligação entre o uso do dicionário em sala de aula e o ensino da gramática*) by making use of the mental process of perception *vemos* (*we can see*). In this occurrence, when the mental process of perception is used for exposing one's understanding, that is, in this case *I understand Y*, or *I comprehend Y*, therefore, such projection is used for reporting. In Brazilian Portuguese, it is, thus, found that mental processes of perception are also realized for projecting ideas as done in this example.

Another occurrence worth discussing comes from the introduction section of one of the reports analyzed. In the occurrence below, the writer intertwines his/her voice with the indirect utterance coming from non-scientific literature. The writer makes use of the writing entitled *Pais Brilhantes professores Fascinantes* by Augusto Cury.

Passage 02:

Trabalhamos (*we work*) com uma técnica *sugerida por Augusto Cury* (*suggested by Augusto Cury*), em "Pais Brilhantes Professores Fascinantes", no capítulo cinco, sub. item quatro, página 129 onde ele chama de: A Escola Dos Nossos Sonhos (*he calls it: The School of Our Dreams*), que consiste na Exposição dialogada: a arte da pergunta. O objetivo desta técnica: (relational process *is* substituted by :) desenvolver a consciência crítica promovendo (...). (Participant 02, Practicum III, 2011.2 – LP – Introduction of the report).

In the passage above, the use of projection through the realization of circumstance of angle, which is construed by the use of a verbal process – *suggested by Augusto Cury* – signals the source of the verbiage. Such projection functions as a report and is proceeded by a material process – *we work* – in which the involved participant informs the source of a proposed working activity suggested by himself during his practicum lectures in the basic school. When making use of the above-mentioned circumstance, besides informing the proposed working activities, unconsciously the pre-service teacher exempts himself of the mistakes made during practicum as s/he uses an authoritative non-scientific voice to support his/her choice. By making use of the authoritative voice, who suggests the use of certain practice, the student is able to reduce the possibility of protest or even a negative evaluation.

Another type of projection found in the passage concerns the use of the relational process *is* which appears as an elliptical element in the clause complex presented above: *O objetivo desta técnica: [é] desenvolver a consciência crítica* (*The objective of*

this technique: [is] to develop critical consciousness). In this case, the projection also plays the role of reporting.

The verbal process *chama de* (*calls it:*) preceded by the participant *ele* (*he*) explicitly construes the projection of someone else's discourse revealing to a certain extent an alteration of the expressed voice in the utterance. In this case the projection once more plays the function of report.

5 Concluding remarks

Based on the discussion given in this paper that presents a Systemic Functional Linguistic view towards language, the data have shown that projection is a semantic system that is grammatically spread, that is, it is realized by more than one stratum of language. This system is simultaneously realized at the lexicogrammatical stratum by the ideational metafunction through Processes, Circumstance and Participants, and realized at the semantic stratum through the interpersonal metafunction construed by Appraisal and its subsystem of engagement. Projection also presents some incursions at the textual metafunction in what concerns the realization of the other two metafunctions. Therefore, there are no pre-established model for the realization of projection as far as Brazilian Portuguese is concerned, however, more data is needed in order to draw a final conclusion regarding the system of Projection, which may be construed at different grammatical ambience.

As for the data under investigation, Projection is found to be a common academic practice of reflexive professional writing in reports. Such resource of language enables the identification of authoritative voices of speakers/writers. These resources were used in the present data with the function of intensifying, strengthening and legitimating one's view point; relating and architecting ideas; offering and suggesting teaching methods; providing the information flow of the message; and, indicating academic knowledge that guides didactic strategies used in the practicum subjects. In reflexive professional writing, projection is accompanied by other lexicogrammatical choices, many of which characterize this type of writing as more pleasant, mainly due to indicating or suggesting the rights and obligations of teachers. This writing is, then, seen as a type of writing that contributes to the construction of the student's professional identity.

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15

Inclusive and exclusive pronouns across sections of the research article

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Abstract

Pronominal signals have been studied from different but not necessarily exclusive perspectives, from philosophical approaches to psychological ones. Although extensive research on the use of pronouns has been conducted in academic texts from a linguistic perspective, there seems to be limited studies about the distribution and frequency of inclusive and exclusive pronouns across the research article sections. This study reports the occurrence of inclusive and exclusive pronouns across sections of 30 research articles in the fields of linguistics, education and psychology. A word frequency in Wordsmith tools was first used. Each item was then classified into 1st and 2nd person pronouns (*I, you, we*) 3rd person pronouns (*the reader*) and other lexical items (*both*). The analysis of items indicates that the use of exclusive pronouns is higher than inclusive ones, and that the most common type of pronoun in both inclusive and exclusive uses is *we*. Also, the results show that the highest number of exclusive pronouns was found in the Methodology section.

1 Pronominal signals in the research article

Less is known about the distribution and frequency of pronominal signals across the research article (RA) sections. For instance, Martinez (2005) has concisely researched the distribution and frequency of pronominal signals across sections of Biology RAs in English written by native and non-native speakers. In her analysis, Martinez (2005) followed Swales' (1990) framework of RAs' rhetorical functions. According to Swales (1990), the RAs sections IMRD have different functions. The Introductory section of the RA emphasises the presence of the disciplinary community, and this is also where the author evaluates and addresses the expectations of the discourse community (Swales 1990: 140). The Methodology section states the research process. In the former section writers list the procedures done in the laboratory allowing in this way the replication of the method (Swales 1990: 121). However, the importance of the Method section lies mainly in its soundness and the writers' ability to convince the community about the means of their study and the final outcome (Lim 2006). Finally, the Results and Discussion are associated with a "cycle of inside-out direction". This cycle states the results themselves, places these within the established literature, and reviews their general significance to give closure to the study's significance (Swales 1990: 173). Following this argument, my initial predictions about the frequency and distribution of self-mentions¹ and addressee features in the IMRD sections of the RAs were as follows:

¹ Note that exclusive pronominal signals are labeled as self-mentions of the writer only, and inclusive pronominal signals as addressee features. The latter category includes both the features that signal the reader exclusively and features that signal writer and reader together.

1. Self-mentions occur more frequently than addressee features in **all** sections
2. The highest concentration of self-mentions occurs in the Methodology section, and the highest concentration of addressee features occurs in the Introduction.

2 Methodology

2.1 Data

The selection of RAs for this study was based on a series of principles that aimed to make the data as reliable as possible. The criteria for the selection of texts were as follows:

1. The selected RAs from each journal are empirical studies and include the following sections: introduction, methodology, results and discussion/conclusion (IMRD).
2. The RAs were all published between 2005 and 2007.
3. All the texts were written by native speakers or near native speakers of English.²
4. The articles have been published in leading journals of each discipline, according to the Impact Factor made by the Thompson Institute of Scientific Information.

A total of 30 RAs in linguistics, psychology and education, were collected for the analysis, resulting in a corpus of 278 052 words.

2.2 Approach for the analysis

2.2.1 Quantitative analysis

The first stage of the analysis was of a quantitative nature: the analysis of pronominal signals was performed using the lexical analysis software WordSmith Tools (Scott 2008). The selected texts were obtained in PDF format from the journals mentioned above, and then converted into plain text format. All footnotes, endnotes, reference lists, acknowledgements, quotations and citations were deleted to make a clean corpus.

The quantitative search of pronominal signals included what Thompson and Thetela (1995) have labeled *naming* in written text which includes: verb forms referring to 1st and 2nd person pronouns (*we, us, our, I, me, my, you, your*), verb forms referring to 3rd person pronouns (when the writers switch between referring to themselves and the name of the research group/institution they belong to) and other lexical items such as indefinite pronouns (e.g. *both, one, let's*).

Stirling and Huddleston (2002) also outline some of the secondary uses of 1st and 2nd person pronouns, including: authorial *we*, *we* for a single speaker, *we* for addressee or a third party and non-referential *you*. These include:

² It was not tested whether they were native speakers of English; however the fact that the articles have been published in high quality journals suggests that the writers had a high command of the language.

- a) Authorial *we*: Written works authored by a single person often use *we* as a means of involving the reader and/or avoiding the 1st person pronoun *I*. (E.g. *We have seen in Ch. 3 that his methodology has a number of drawbacks.*)
- b) *We* for single speaker: This can be interpreted with *us* referring to the speaker alone; as such it is a very colloquial form characteristic of the speech of children or intimates. (E.g. *Give us a lick of your ice-cream*)
- c) *We* for addressee or a third party (doctor and patient talk): This usage is generally found in contexts of illness or tuition; it runs the risk of being construed as patronising. (E.g. *How are we feeling this morning?*)
- d) Non referential *you*: This *you* does not refer to the addressee, but is used to talk about people in general. (E.g. *You can get fined for parking on the footpath*) (Stirling and Huddleston, 2002: 1467)

2.2.2 Qualitative analysis: categorisation of inclusive/exclusive pronouns

The procedure for the analysis of self-mentions and addressee features was made by targeting the pronominal signals section by section of the RA (IMRD). Once a signal was identified this was classified as either inclusive or exclusive. The analysis of items was qualitatively based on the intuition of the researcher and the detailed analysis of the item's cotext (Janey 2002).

3 Results

There were a total of 1589 pronominal signals in the corpus of RAs, of which 1301 were self-mentions and 288 instances referred to addressee features. Figure 1 shows the results in each of the categories in self-mentions and addressee features.

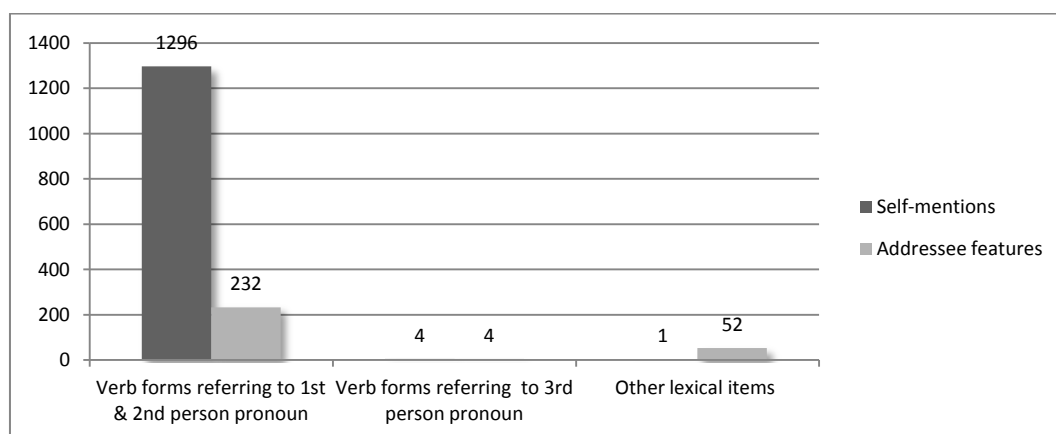


Fig. 1: Types of self-mentions and addressee features

Exclusive *we* and inclusive *we* were the most frequently used item to signal the presence of the writers and to show explicit awareness of the reader. As suggested by Pennycook (1994) there is both an assumption of authority and communality when using *we*. Figure 2 shows the frequency of self-mentions and addressee features across sections of the RAs.

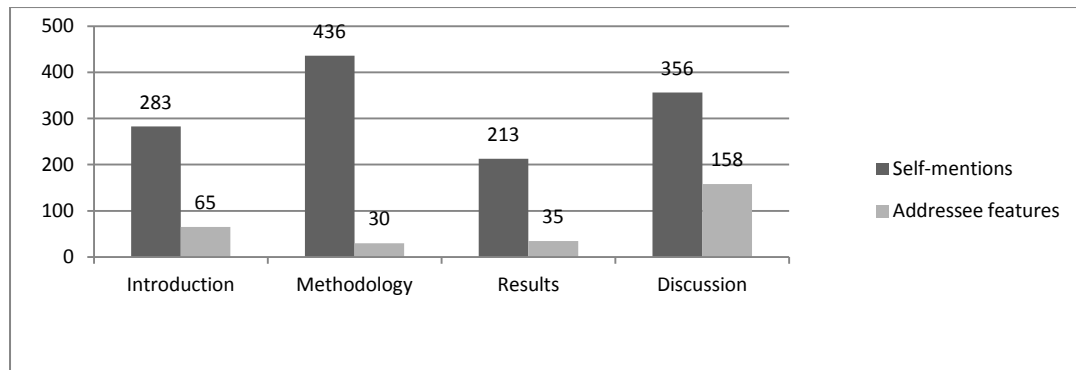


Fig. 2: Self-mentions and addressee features across sections

My first prediction is confirmed as self-mentions are more frequent than addressee features in all sections. My second prediction is partly confirmed as the highest number of self-mentions in the RAs was found in the Methodology section. The difference in the distribution of categories in the Methodology is particularly striking, as self-mentions are almost 15 times higher than addressee features. This can be explained according to the rhetorical function of the Methodology section, where the writers present themselves as performers of actions and the reader's role is mainly that of a spectator. Example 1 illustrates the use of self-mentions in the Methodology.

(1) Since we wanted to avoid having our statistics for OCR errors being heavily overloaded with errors caused by character encoding problems we did not add these patterns to the list... (LIE.RA1)

In this example (1) the writers exclusively refer to the actions carried out in the research process. As discussed earlier, self-mentions particularly occurring in the Methodology section aim to show and promote the writers' methodological rigour. In this way the novelty of their work and their results is assured. The Discussion section, on the other hand, shows a relatively more balanced distribution of categories, in which self-mentions are just over twice as frequent as addressee features. The high frequency of self-mentions in the Discussion coincides with Harwood's (2005) claims about the use of self-promotional pronouns at the close of the RA, in which writers underline "the groundbreaking aspects of their work" (Harwood 2005:1219).

As for addressee features, contrary to my initial belief, the highest concentration of items occurs in the Discussion section, followed by the Introduction, Results and Methodology. A possible explanation for the high occurrence of items in the Discussion section is that writers create a space that allows the interaction of other members of the discourse community, and thus a dialogic space for the construction of knowledge is created in this section, allowing the interpretation of results together with the reader.

(2) One can choose to downgrade, ignore, or pay little attention to a L2 speaker, but there might still be a basic underlying activity to comprehend accented speech that is shared by most people. The results of this study support such a view. (LIE.RA8)

In Example (2) the writer creates a space for a dialogic involvement with the reader, where the possibilities of the discourse community's practices are discussed. In this way, the writer pulls in the reader by creating shared possible opinions. The writers' aim in this utterance is to gain the reader's recognition of their groundbreaking results.

4 Discussion

There are interesting patterns observed across sections in terms of distribution of items. The observed pattern of high frequency of both self-mentions and addressee features in the Discussion section could be explained according to the particular rhetorical function of this section, where the authors of the text outline and discuss the results obtained, contextualise the findings within the overall discourse community, and close the article by both presenting themselves as novel contributors and members of a discourse community. As suggested by Bhatia (2004), genre analysis has now expanded to take account of the social dimension: genre is now envisaged as a strategic space for interaction among the members of a discourse community. This may be related to the high and general occurrence of the self-mentions in the data set.

The close analysis of the pronominal signals across sections has shed some light on the linguistic choices writers make in each section of the RA. The particular frequency, distribution and usage of pronominal signals in each section seem to be related to the rhetorical function of the section and to a specific move in each of them. In particular, the analysis of the functions of pronominal signals can provide insights into the move analysis of the Introduction and Discussion sections proposed by Swales (1981, 1990) and Hopkins and Dudley-Evans (1988) and Dudley-Evans (1994) respectively, and the linguistic choices writers make in them, which could promote a deeper understanding of the sections' rhetorical function.

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16

Manner/Result Complementarity Revisited: A Case Study of Japanese Manner-of-Motion Verbs in Narrative Contexts*

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Abstract

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) argue that cross-linguistically verbs fall into at least two classes, i.e. result verbs (e.g. *break*) and manner verbs (e.g. *walk*), and propose that no verb encodes manner and result simultaneously. This restriction is called manner/result complementarity. Some studies (Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2012, Husband to appear, among others) provide certain apparent counterexamples to their proposal: so-called manner-of-killing verbs (e.g. *guillotine*), manner-of-cooking verbs (e.g. *braise*), etc. This paper provides a new case where certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs do encode manner and result simultaneously in narrative contexts, and argues that encoding both manner and result in Japanese is licensed by the omniscient narrator's perspective.

1 Introduction

In this paper we will deal with the co-occurrence of Japanese manner-of-motion verbs with *ni*-phrases designating the goal of motion (henceforth goal *ni*-phrase), a new counterexample to manner/result complementarity proposed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991, 1995, to appear) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010). Although this lexicalization constraint seems to be accepted to a point, as a number of scholars point out (e.g. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2012), it is not without counterexamples. This paper will reveal the mechanism that makes it possible to use a manner-of-motion verb with a goal *ni*-phrase. The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 gives a brief sketch of manner/result complementarity. Section 3 presents a special case where certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs do encode manner and path (as a subtype of result) simultaneously in narrative contexts. I argue that packaging manner and path into a motion verb in Japanese is acceptable only when the motion event is described through the omniscient narrator's perspective. Finally, section 4 summarizes the paper and offers a conclusion.

2 A brief sketch of manner/result complementarity

Cross-linguistically, eventive verbs can be divided into at least two classes: manner verbs (e.g. *hammer*, *nibble*, *run*, *walk*, etc.) and result verbs (e.g. *break*, *melt*, *go*, *come*, etc.). Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) characterize each class as follows: manner

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verbs specify the manner of carrying out an action, and result verbs specify the resulting state of carrying out an action. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991, 1995, to appear) argue that manner and result verbs are found in complementary distribution, and propose a constraint on verbal root meaning, as shown in (1):

- (1) Manner/Result Complementarity: Manner and result meaning components are in complementary distribution: a verb lexicalizes only one.
(Levin and Rappaport Hovav to appear: 2)

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) propose that manner/result complementarity follows from how event structures are composed, focusing on the number and place of lexical semantic root (i.e., idiosyncratic component of verb meaning). A single lexical semantic root can either modify an underlying ACT predicate, as in (2a), or be an argument of an underlying BECOME, as in (2b), but not both.

- (2) a. manner verbs: [x ACT _{<ROOT>}]
b. result verbs: [[x ACT] CAUSE [y BECOME _{<ROOT>}]]

The point to be noticed here is that manner/result complementarity rests on negative evidence; it is the lack of verbs lexicalizing both manner and result. Thus, the validity of this hypothesis depends on the absence of counterexamples that encode manner and result.

3 Compatibility of a manner-of-motion verb and a goal phrase in Japanese narrative contexts

Now let us turn to certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts that can be taken to be a counterexample to manner/result complementarity. In this section, following Talmy (1991), we take “path” as a subtype of result.

3.1 Observation

In Japanese, a verb-framed language (Talmy 1991), motion verbs encoding a path (i.e. path verbs; *iku* ‘go’, *kuru* ‘come’, etc.) are compatible with a *ni*-phrase designating the goal of motion, while those encoding a manner of motion (i.e. manner-of-motion verbs; *aruku* ‘walk’, *hashiru* ‘run’, etc.) are not, as in (3).^{1, 2}

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples: ACC stands for accusative case marker, DAT for dative case marker, GEN for genitive case marker, NOM for nominative case marker, PAST for past morpheme, QUOT for quotative particle, TOP for topic marker.

² Although I will gloss *-ni* as the preposition ‘to’ in the following examples, the meaning of ‘to’ is not inherent to *-ni*. For instance, a *-ni* phrase can designate a location in existential, as exemplified in (i), where I gloss *-ni* as ‘at’, and it can also designate a cause, as in (ii), where I gloss *-ni* as ‘DAT’.

- (i) *Teeburu-no-ue-ni* *hon-ga* *aru.*
table-GEN-top-at book-NOM exist
‘There is a book on the table.’
- (ii) *Taro-wa* *Hanako-ni* *hon-o* *yom-ase-ta.*
Taro-TOP Hanako-at book-ACC read-cause-PAST
‘Taro made Hanako read a book.’

- (3) Taro-waeki-ni{it-ta/?*aru-ita/?*hash-itta}.
 Taro-TOP station-to {go-PAST/walk-PAST/run-PAST}.
 ‘Taro {went/walked/ran} to the station.’

Incidentally, a manner-of-motion verb can co-occur with a goal *ni*-phrase if the verb in the *-te* particle form (e.g. *arui-te* ‘by walking’) is used with a path verb (e.g. *eki-ni arui-te itta* ‘(I) went to the station by walking’). In this way, in Japanese the occurrence of a goal *ni*-phrase is licensed by a verb entailing a path.

With the example in (3) in mind, observe the attested examples in (4). As Namiki (2012) points out, certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs *are* compatible with a goal *ni*-phrase in narrative contexts, even without the aid of path verbs.

- (4) a. Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
 Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
 eki-niaru-ita.
 station-to walk-PAST
 ‘The two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.’
 (Y. Sou, Incoherent Earth)
- b. Kugatsu,SouSou-gun-to tataka-i, Bachou-wa yabure-te
 September,SouSou-army-wit fight-and, Bachou-TOP lose-and
 Kanchuu-ni hash-itta.
 Kanchuu-to run-PAST
 ‘In September, Bachou fought with and lost to the SouSou army, and he ran to Kanchuu.’
 (S. Chin, Shokatsukoumei)

The occurrence of the goal *ni*-phrase without a path verb in (4) clearly tells us that the verbs *aru-ita* ‘walked’ and *hash-itta* ‘ran’ encode not only manner but also result, because Japanese is classified into verb-framed languages in which path is encoded in the verb. Thus, the expressions in (4) can be taken to be a counterexample to manner/result complementarity.

3.2 Proposal

What is important here is that expressions like (4), in which a manner-of-motion verb co-occurs with a goal *ni*-phrase, are acceptable only when we construe the motion event through the omniscient narrator’s perspective.³ A question arising

The role of the *-ni*-marked participant is always determined by the verb, so *-ni* cannot be always glossed as ‘to’.

³ It is not surprising that omniscient narrator’s perspective can be related to the grammaticality. For instance, one might have a line like (ib) in a story, but not in a usual conversation.

(i) a. {Boku/*Mary}-wa kanashi-katta-(yo).
 {I/Mary}-TOP sad-PAST-(I-tell-you)
 ‘{I/Mary} was sad.’

b. Yama-dera-no kane-o ki-ite, Mary-wa kanashi-katta.
 mountain-temple-GEN bell-ACC hearing-by Mary-TOP sad-PAST
 ‘Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.’

c. Yama-dera-no kane-o ki-ite, Mary-wa kanashi-ga-tta.
 mountain-temple-GEN bell-ACC hearing-by Mary-TOP sad-PAST
 ‘Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.’

here is why the omniscient narrator's perspective has an effect on the grammaticality of the co-occurrence of a manner-of-motion verb with a goal *ni*-phrase; why can certain manner-of-motion verbs lexicalize result when the speaker perceives from the omniscient narrator's perspective?

To answer the question, I begin with the property of the omniscient narrator's perspective. The omniscient narrator can be thought of as "God". As Langacker (2000) mentions, without God, there is no such thing as a neutral, disembodied, or omniscient observer (this constraint will be called "observer's viewpoint constraint" for convenience); an observer's experience is determined by the observer's position with respect to the entity observed, whereas only God can be detached from such relationship between the observer's position and the entity observed.

Interestingly, Japanese is said to be highly subject to the observer's viewpoint constraint (cf. Kuno 1978; Matsumoto 2012, among others). This follows from the presence of a variety of Japanese deixis verbs which function as denoting observer's position with respect to the entity observed (e.g., auxiliary benefactive verbs like *-yaru* in *ka-tte-yaru* 'buying for someone (excluding the speaker)' and *-kureru* in *ka-tte-kureru* 'buying for the speaker'). As to motion expressions, Matsumoto (2012) points out that Japanese characteristically prefers encoding deixis to doing manner or result. In other words, in Japanese motion events are generally construed with reference to the orientation of a moving entity. This is briefly drawn in Figure 1, showing that in Japanese the observer's viewpoint is always placed either on the mover side or the goal side.

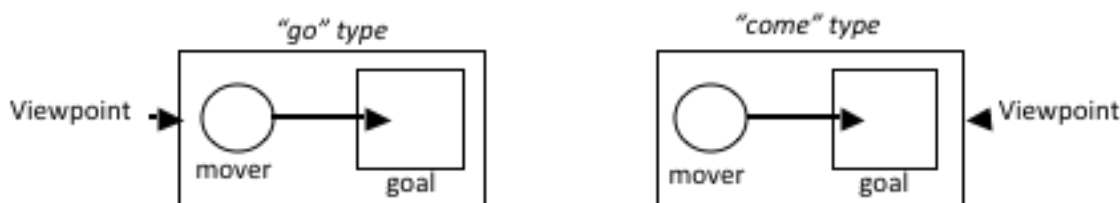


Figure 1

Recall here that the deictic verb like *iku* 'go' or *kuru* 'come' is not used in (4). The absence of the deictic verb in (4) leads us to conclude that the observer's viewpoint restriction is not imposed on the observer in (4). Based on Langacker's mention, we can safely say that the events in (4) are construed from the omniscient narrator's perspective.

Given this analysis, it will become possible to predict the effect of the omniscient narrator's perspective on the event construal. That is, the omniscient narrator's

PAST mountain-temple-GEN bell-ACC hearing-by Mary-TOP sad-behave-

'Lit. Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary looked sad.'

(Kuroda 1973:384, with slight modifications)

In Japanese a predicate formed by *ureshii* or *kanashii* 'be + happy/sad' (i.e. so-called internal subjective predicates) is compatible with first person (e.g. *boku* in (ia)), but it is incompatible with second and third person (e.g. *Mary* in (ia)). However, in a narrative story, third person may be the subject of internal subjective predicates, as shown in (ib). Given that if the speaker (= "I") is narrating the story from his (= "my") point of view, then the speaker must say (ic) where the verb *kanashigaru* is used to mark evidentiality, the acceptability of (ib) can be attributed to the omniscient narrator's perspective.

perspective suspects the observer's viewpoint constraint, and enables us to "objectively" construe a motion event. This is drawn in figure 2, showing that the viewpoint functions as "bird's-eye".

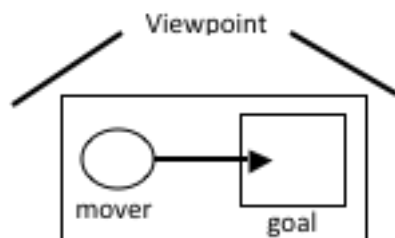


Figure 2

In the next subsection, I will illustrate the validity of our prediction about the function of the omniscient narrator's perspective.

3.3 Supporting Evidence

The suspension of the observer's viewpoint constraint is borne out by at least three pieces of linguistic evidence. First, as Kuroda (1973) observes, the expression that is uttered through the omniscient narrator's perspective cannot be used with any linguistic base related to the speaker-hearer interpersonal relationship and the formality of the expression. More specifically, an expression uttered from the omniscient narrator's perspective is incompatible with sentence-final particles like *yo* 'I tell you', as shown in (5).

- (5) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
 Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
 eki-niaru-ita-yo.
 station-to walk-PAST-I-tell-you
 'The two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'

This can be explained in the following manner: Japanese has expressions that Hirose (1995) calls "addressee-oriented expressions" (e.g. *yo* 'I tell you' and *ne* 'you know', or polite verbs *desu/masu*, etc.). Using these expressions means that the speaker presupposes the existence of an addressee, and that s/he pays attention to her/his socio-psychological relationship with the addressee. The omniscient narrator, however, need not pay any attention to the speaker-addressee interpersonal relationship, because s/he is the God, who can be detached from such interpersonal relationship.

A second piece of evidence comes from the grammaticality contrast between (4) and (6).

- (6) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
 Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
 eki-niaru-ita to watashi-wa omot-ta.
 station-to walk-PAST QUOT I-TOP think-PAST
 'I thought the two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'

In (6), the same motion expression as in (4a) is embedded in the complement of *omou* 'think'. The presence of *omou* in (6) indicates that the event of their walking to

the station is perceived through the thinker's perspective. From the grammatical contrast between (4) and (6), we can safely say that what makes the co-occurrence of manner-of-motion verbs with a goal *ni*-phrase possible is the perception from the omniscient narrator's viewpoint.

Lastly, the incompatibility of modal expressions with omniscient narrator's expressions provides a piece of evidence for our analysis that omniscient narrator's perspective is a trigger of objectification in Japanese. Witness the following example.

- (7) ?? Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
eki-niaru-ita-kamoshirenai.
station-to walk-PAST-may
'The two exiting the police box might walk to the station in silence.'

The sentence in (7) shows that the omniscient narrator's expression in (4) is incompatible with the modal verb *kamoshirenai* 'may'. This can follow if we assume that the motion event designated in (7) is objectively construed through the omniscient narrator's perspective; the modal verb expresses the degree of speaker's commitment to accepting the proposition as valid, which is conflict with the objective construal of an entity.

Thus far, I showed that the co-occurrence of manner-of-motion verbs with goal *ni*-phrases is licensed by the omniscient narrator's perspective, which suspects the observer's viewpoint constraint; by virtue of the suspension of the observer's viewpoint constraint, we can construe the process and result of motion event. Recall here that Japanese is classified into verb-framed languages, in which result is encoded by the verb. In addition, Japanese lacks elements like English preposition and particle (i.e. satellite). Therefore, in Japanese, when the construal of a motion event is objectified, result is to be encoded by the verb, which is the only way to encode it.

To sum up, Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts encode result as well as manner: in other words, these are real counterexamples to manner/result complementarity. Encoding both manner and result is permitted by the omniscient narrator's perspective, which suspects the observer's viewpoint constraint and leads us to construe the process and result of motion event.

4 Conclusion

In this paper we investigated the phenomenon that is taken to be a counterexample to manner/result complementarity proposed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010); certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts. We argued that they do encode both manner and path as a subtype of result simultaneously, and that what makes it possible to package manner and path together into the verb is (i) the omniscient narrator's perspective, which suspects the observer's viewpoint constraint, and (ii) the lack of elements except verbs in Japanese that encode result.

From the discussion in the last section, we can safely conclude that in Japanese manner and result cannot be packaged into one verbal root through a (normal) human perspective, to which manner/result complementarity applies, but they can, through the omniscient narrator's perspective, which motivates an exception to manner/result complementarity. I hope that this work contributes to a deeper understanding of the lexicalization constraint.

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17

Conceptual Code-Switching and Teacher Training

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Abstract

In this paper, I argue for a *conceptual* function of code-switch or borrowing, one that takes advantage of more precise lexical choices in an alternative language to assist in the efficient communication of a complex idea, such as those encountered in literary classics, to balanced bilinguals. I begin with Bernardo's (2005) and Borlongan's (2009) description of this function, and relate it to what Bautista (1999, 2004) calls 'communicative efficiency', which I expand to include the use of borrowed or code-switched hyponyms to designate phenomena which, in the base language, would usually be contained in a single word, and the use of borrowed or code-switched word(s) that have greater connotational richness in a particular linguistic community. Furthermore, the indexing of identity or building rapport are only secondary causes for a conceptual code-switch or borrowing. The primary cause is language difference. Lastly, I propose that a successful conceptual code-switch or borrowing can be modularized for use in teacher training, thereby integrating code-switching or borrowing into classroom language policy. Examples are drawn from recordings of a literature teacher fluent in both English and Tagalog as he teaches a university-level class on Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

1 Difference over deficiency. Pedagogy over taxonomy.

This paper proposes that code-switching, which is the "alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent" (Poplack 1980: 208), can be pedagogically advantageous not just in classrooms wherein bilingual learners are deficient in the official medium, but even in classrooms wherein there is no proficiency gap. That is, even amongst bilingual teachers or learners who can wield two languages equally well, code-switching the communication of particular concepts may be more efficient, more precise, and more nuanced than communication of the same concept in one or the other language. The reason for this is the learner's or teacher's exploitation of language difference and not their language deficiency, the latter being the implicit crux in some studies that recommend the legitimization of code-switching in classroom language policy (e.g. Limoso 2002; Martin 2006; Gamiao and Lino 2013).

Emphasizing language difference over language deficiency may in the long run be a more effective approach than expending energy on making distinctions between borrowing and switching, which is what Ferguson (2003) recommends because "different forms of switching, and in particular different intensities of interpenetration, tend to associate with different attitudes and these, in turn, may elicit different policy stances" (44). Classroom language planners may indeed be more receptive to code-switching when it does not look like code-switching, but this approach plays into old prejudices such as the monolingual assumption. Besides, the distinction between switching and borrowing is far from clear-cut and has engendered competing criteria. A number of researchers already claim that

distinguishing between CS and borrowing is not critical and only distracts from understanding the "social and cultural processes involved in CS" (Boztepe 2005: 8).

If most studies of classroom CS recommend its legitimization in classroom language policy, then more research will be needed on the effects of CS on learning and teaching. This paper proposes a way of moving beyond taxonomies and deficiency-based justifications of CS while keeping in mind that language planners still need to be convinced. Taxonomies of function in particular are, at least in the Philippines, still prevalent (e.g. Limoso 2002; Martin 2006; Valdez 2010; Gamiao and Lino 2013; Madeja 2013). But as Martin-Jones (1995) recommended nearly twenty years ago, and after noting Auer's (1990) view that since CS functions are infinite and a comprehensive list impossible to compile, "a more productive task is to attempt to gain more insights into how code contrasts are strategically exploited in specific types of communicative encounters. We therefore need more detailed analyses of different kinds of teaching/learning events which occur in bilingual classrooms" (99).

One such strategic exploitation of code contrasts is code-switching that takes advantage of greater efficiency in one or the other language for the communication of specific concepts, what I call *code-switching for conceptual purposes* or *conceptual CS*. Section 4 of this paper will illustrate conceptual CS with examples drawn from the classes of a bilingual literature teacher.

2 Code-switching as a positive option.

Research on CS in Philippine classrooms is optimistic and virtually all scholars recommend its legitimization in language policy (e.g. Limoso 2002; Martin 2006; Valdez 2010; Borlongan and Roxas 2012). However, although these studies suggest the usefulness of and empowerment allowed by CS in settings wherein students are more proficient in the local language than they are in English, they do not comment on (or leave implicit) the possibility of CS being more effective even in situations where there is little or no proficiency gap, which are cases wherein CS can help attain

communicative, social, personal, and even cognitive goals ... more effectively compared to either Filipino only or English only. Thus, code-switching may be a viable and even potent medium which student learners and teacher facilitators can use as they collaborate towards developing and constructing knowledge in the different domains of learning, particularly as both students and teachers are bilinguals. Indeed, code-switching is a language that students and teachers share that can be their resource in their mutual pursuit of knowledge and understanding. (Bernardo 2005: 161–62)

For Bernardo (2005), CS should be seen as a "positive option for language in education" and not as a "compromise or fallback option" (161). To aid in this adjustment, more studies will have to be made that "explicitly point to the usefulness of code-switching for language learning or other educational purposes" (160). These studies will have to emphasize that CS can be a superior linguistic choice even amongst balanced bilinguals. That is, it is not always a 'fallback option' even when it appears to function as such in schools or universities with English-only policies. The decision to code-switch can be made not only to introduce a language more familiar to students, but to use a communicative resource that may in certain situations and for certain content be superior to monolingual discourse. To continue to position CS, as indeed it is positioned in most postcolonial contexts, as a communicative resource "especially for pupils with limited proficiency in the official

instructional medium”(Ferguson 2003: 43–44), would be to tempt obsolete but still robust notions of semilingualism.

3 communicative efficiency

For Bautista (2004), Filipino bilinguals code-switch for communicative efficiency. That is, CS “provides the fastest, easiest, most convenient way of saying something with the least waste of time, effort, and resources” (230). In an earlier paper, Bautista (1999) also includes richer color as one feature of communicative efficiency through CS (28).

What Bernardo (2005) points out as a significant function of CS can also lead to communicative efficiency: that of “expressing connotative or denotative meaning in more precise ways using words or phrases from one or the other languages” so that “code-switching may result to more definite rendering of a complex idea that would otherwise be imprecise or vague when expressed in just one language” (159). Thus, teachers may code-switch to take advantage of connotations and denotations absent in the official language. In this scenario, the primary motivation for CS is language difference. The desire to communicate in a language more familiar to students, the indexing of identity, the building of rapport, and other common functions play important roles but are causally secondary. Because of language difference, certain concepts may be more efficiently communicated in a student’s mother tongue than in the school’s official language, or vice-versa. As Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) point out: “Code-switching takes advantage of a larger bilingual vocabulary, playing on subtle differences between the two languages in connotative, denotative, or sociolinguistic meaning. Thus, while translation takes advantage of similarities across two languages, code-switching takes advantage of the differences” (146).

Borlongan (2009) makes a similar point in her description of nonce borrowing in a corpus of Filipino teacher language compiled at the De La Salle University, Manila: “the word being borrowed has no (close, semantic) equivalent in English and/or the speaker wants to achieve some pragmatic and even perhaps stylistic effect to which only the Tagalog word could bring out” (38).

4 Code-switching for conceptual purposes

Many studies of CS in the Philippines are concerned with taxonomies of function or with arguing for the legitimization of CS in language policy whether for reasons of identity or because of greater proficiency in the native tongue. However, in that mode, CS may too easily be seen by classroom language policy planners as a compromise or fallback option, especially if these planners still hold onto what Bernardo (2005) calls the *monolingual assumption*, a set of postulates “premised on the normalcy of monolingual behaviors and standards” (158). If the straight-speaking, code-separating student and teacher is the standard, then deviation will be met with resistance, even if these deviations are based on sound pragmatic reasons, or arise out of what is natural to bilingual communities (such as CS).

One way to undermine the monolingual assumption is to demonstrate the superiority of CS in the efficient communication of particular concepts, and to do so without reference to a student’s greater facility in a local language. Indeed, CS can be more efficient even in situations where there is no proficiency gap. That is, even amongst balanced bilinguals who can wield two languages equally well, code-switching the communication of particular concepts may be more efficient, more

precise, and more nuanced than communication of the same concept in one or the other language. The reason for this is language difference.

I call this code-switching for conceptual purposes (hereafter conceptual CS). Its primary motivation is the communication of a concept, hence it is notional and not practical. The code-switch is not done to effect change in the external environment or influence behavior. Furthermore, although a conceptual CS can be done because of language deficiency, the following examples illustrate conceptual CS done to exploit language difference. It is this highly-skilled type that I believe should be foregrounded in research that aims to legitimize CS in classroom language policy.

4.1 Conceptual CS for connotations

The examples in the following paragraphs are drawn from audio recordings of an undergraduate class on Dante's *Divine Comedy* taught in 2009 by a veteran teacher fluent in English, Tagalog, and a few Romance languages. In the following extract, the teacher talks about the author.

There's very little known about Dante's life. In fact, what we know about him is what he tells us in the *Divine Comedy*. Ah but we do know the following that when he was in his early forties he was in exile, in exile from Florence. He was living somewhere in central Italy and fell in love with a fifteen year old girl. And now, all the scholars writing about Dante, well a number of them, have identified certain poems which you will see in his collected works, and they say are all related to that chapter in his life. Now, if you read those poems, they're not poems where he's saying 'Come on. Yield to my love' or anything like that pero nanliligaw. Nanliligaw siya [but he was paying court. He was courting her]. Now that's all we know.

As the teacher says, Dante's behavior toward the young girl was not outright seduction, 'but he was paying court', which is the English translation of the intrasentential Tagalog code-switch *pero nanliligaw*. However, to use the English 'courtship' or 'courting' to describe his relationship with the girl would bring in unwanted connotations of formality and legitimacy: That Dante, married and middle-aged, writes figuratively but intimately about a girl less than half his age is neither courtship nor seduction, but it is potentially scandalous, a situation which the Tagalog *nanliligaw* captures because it can connote a wooing that, like Dante's, remains covert. 'To woo', 'to pay court', and 'to romance', on the other hand, presume a declaration and hence cannot accurately describe Dante's behavior toward the teenager.

This is not to claim, however, that the concept cannot be communicated in English. It certainly can. But doing so would require more words and less elegant constructions. To code-switch into Tagalog, on the contrary, allows efficient communication through the use of connotations not available in English counterparts. Therefore, the motivation for conceptual CS is first and foremost an awareness of the difference between languages: Tagalog, in this case, has the resources needed to efficiently communicate Dante's behavior toward the girl, which is not quite seduction, not quite courtship, but *nanliligaw*.

That Tagalog is the mother-tongue of many students is, at most, a secondary motivation for conceptual CS. In fact, in an interview with the teacher, he does not mention this as a reason for his code-switching. Many of his lectures feature very long monolingual stretches in English, indicating that the teacher does not think his students less proficient in that language. But he does point out communicative efficiency: in switching to Tagalog, "there are certain things about it which they would get immediately which might take you fifteen minutes to communicate in English" (personal communication, 19 September, 2011).

4.2 Conceptual CS for guest-language hyponyms

Another function of conceptual CS is to provide guest-language hyponyms to designate phenomena which, in the base language, would usually be contained in a single word. In his course on Dante, the teacher used the common Tagalog words *kalooban* [mind, interiority, interior world] and *kaluluwa* [shade, ghost] as hyponyms to differentiate two meanings of the English word 'soul', which can pertain to both the mind or inside world of a human being, or to his disembodied spirit or ghost. This distinction, crucial to a deeper understanding of the Divine Comedy, will in English take longer to communicate because the hyponym used to designate soul as inward experience is 'mind', 'interior world' or 'interiority', concepts more familiar to philosophers than to students who have yet to take philosophy. It is certainly possible to describe soul as interior world in English without using specialized language, but that for Filipino bilinguals will take much longer than code-switching to access the hyponyms *kaluluwa* and *kalooban*, familiar words from everyday Tagalog.

5 Conceptual code-switching and teacher training

The effectivity of conceptual CS is determined by the particular concept that a teacher wants to communicate and, for the communication of that concept, the teacher's awareness of differences in efficiency amongst the languages at his disposal. Hence, the communication of one concept may benefit from conceptual CS while another may not. Conceptual CS is ad hoc: it is specific to the efficient communication of a distinct concept, with this efficiency reliant on language difference, not deficiency. In the examples above, the teacher code-switches into Filipino because "there are certain concepts which are easier for Filipinos to understand *because their equivalents are more faithful to the ideas behind them than English [emphasis mine]*" (personal communication, 19 September, 2011). That is, he switches not because the concept is difficult and Filipino is more easily understood by the students, but because the concept is difficult and Filipino has different, more efficient, "faithful" resources for communicating that particular concept than English does. Hence, the appropriateness of conceptual CS will depend on lesson content.

As shown in the previous section, the Tagalog *nanliligaw* can express an attitude that is between the illegitimacy of the English *seduction* and the legitimacy of the English *courtship*. The difference between English and Tagalog is more pronounced in the second case: English does not have a familiar, commonly used word to designate the philosophical concept 'interiority' or 'interior world'. *Heart* is perhaps the best candidate. However, *heart* in everyday English is more synonymous with emotions than it is to the center of self that it is in the Bible and in the Divine Comedy. Filipino, on the other hand, has *kalooban*, a word that much more closely designates the concept 'interiority' or 'heart' needed to deeply understand the Comedy. Thus, the teacher's awareness of differences between English and Tagalog motivates his code-switching to communicate the two specific concepts above.

An important consequence of the specificity of conceptual CS to content is that it can be planned and taught. Conceptual CS may be planned, along with the rest of the lecture, as an efficient way to communicate content. If the switch works well, it can be used again or shared with colleagues for use in their own classes, or modularized for use in the content-specific training of teachers. The ad-hoc, content-limited, nature of conceptual CS may also make it more acceptable to language planners who resist the legitimization of CS because it is unruly and difficult to control.

Code-switching “lacks legitimacy and is consequently neglected or marginalised in teacher education” (Ferguson 2003: 38) because it is perceived as an accommodation of students’ greater proficiency in languages other than the official medium, which language planners then interpret as deficiency in that medium. Because conceptual CS has language and not deficiency-based advantages over monolingual discourse, and because it is specific to content, it may be one means by which code-switching can enter both teacher training and classroom language policy. Advocates of code-switching, perhaps, should not expect the blanket approval of code-switching by normal schools or language planners still influenced by monolingual assumptions. What they can do is propose a function of CS that works well for specific content and, for that content, well enough to outperform monolingual discourse.

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18

A tale of two cities: Investigating teachers and students' beliefs on grammar pedagogy in English language teaching

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Abstract

While the role of grammar in language teaching has generated much controversy in the last few decades, current research has highlighted the contribution of 'focus on form' instruction to language teaching (Ellis 2006). This has led to the discussion of appropriateness of various grammar teaching methods. Recently attention has been given to teacher and learner perceptions about teaching practices; however, limited research exists on teacher and student beliefs about grammar teaching, particularly in developing countries. The few studies examining beliefs revealed mismatches between teacher and learner expectations (Hawkey 2006; Lima and Fontana 2007) and suggested the need for more research to enhance the quality of language learning. Thus, this study explored teachers' and students' beliefs about deductive and inductive grammar teaching methods in Sri Lankan secondary schools. The Sri Lankan ESL context is a representative case study of an educational context which has undergone many curricular changes reflecting the changes in pedagogical grammar research. The present research employed interviews to obtain an in-depth understanding of teacher and student perceptions (Pajares 1992). The results revealed that both teachers and students agreed on the importance of grammar for their language learning. While the majority of the students appreciated the benefits of the teaching methods used in this context, they preferred grammar integrated in communicative tasks such as speaking and project writing. The study offers recommendations for effective teacher training based on teacher and student needs.

1 Introduction

The role of grammar in language teaching has been contested for the past 50 years. Grammar occupied a central position in language learning with the grammar translation method but came under scrutiny in the advent of communicative language teaching. In the last decade research on the function grammar teaching has confirmed the centrality of grammar under the umbrella of 'form focused instruction' to language acquisition (Ellis 2001).

Current research has focused on investigating techniques in integrating grammar in language teaching (Ellis 2006) and examination of teacher practices. Research into teacher and learner beliefs on grammar teaching can also provide insight into the understanding of the factors that influence grammar pedagogy. It is suggested that understanding the belief system of teachers and students can contribute significantly to language learning improvement. This research also offers suggestions for teacher training to minimize the impact of negative belief systems that influence teachers' practices.

Sri Lanka is a developing country, in which EFL teaching is an integral aspect of primary and secondary education. EFL education underwent many curricular changes, following the historical and political changes in the country and developments in western language research. English pedagogy in this context is

facing challenges due to the constant curricular changes and lack of research or evaluation of the curriculum.

Given the lack of research in the Sri Lankan context, and the need for investigating teacher and learner beliefs, this research filled the gap by investigating teacher and learner beliefs about grammar teaching in the Sri Lankan high school EFL education. The study will contribute to a better understanding of the Sri Lankan grammar pedagogy, which in turn can lead to education improvements. The study has applications to other ESL/EFL contexts facing similar historical and pedagogical dilemmas.

2 Teacher beliefs in grammar teaching

Teacher cognition research has been given special attention in both mainstream education and second language education in the past decade. Borg & Burns (2008: 457) define teacher cognition as “what teachers know, think and believe and how these relate to what teachers do”. Teachers’ instructional decisions (what teachers do) in classroom practices are based on their beliefs, knowledge, theories, assumptions and attitudes, (Borg 1999, 2006; Borg & Burns 2008; Pajares 1992; Farrell & Lim 2005). The literature suggests that terms such as attitudes, perceptions and beliefs have a great degree of overlap and for this reason they will be used interchangeably in this paper.

As Borg (2006) and Johnson (1992) explain, the teachers’ belief system can be influenced by the perceptions developed in their own language learning as learners, the perceptions developed in teacher-training programs, and the perceptions developed through context in their teaching experience. It has been pointed out that teacher’ own language learning experience impacts on their classroom behavior (Andrews 2003). Specifically, Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1996) show that teachers’ own experience as learners have both negative and positive effects on their practice. Specifically, studies conclude that teachers adjust their decisions depending upon the experience they obtain in classroom practice (Borg 1999; Johnson 1992).

Another important element that influences teachers’ beliefs and teachers’ awareness of their beliefs is their teacher training programs. Some research studies (Atay 2008; Lima and Fontana 2007) suggested that a research oriented program where teachers are exposed to current research in teaching and can critically reflect on these findings has a favourable impact on teachers’ professional development. Hence the investigation into teacher beliefs and practices in the Sri Lankan context can provide recommendation for improvements in teacher training.

With regards to beliefs on grammar, Borg (1998) examined the role of grammar teaching in the ESL classroom and the way in which teachers’ instructional practice is determined by their belief system. Drawing on interviews and questionnaires, Borg concluded that teachers have a personalised pedagogical system which is influenced by the teachers’ experiences as learners, their initial training, and classroom experience. Another study by Borg (1999) identified teachers’ personal theories in grammar teaching and suggested that strategies can be developed by providing opportunities for teachers to reflect on their grammar teaching and materials.

More recently, Borg & Burns (2008) investigated teachers’ beliefs about and practices in the integration of grammar and skills in adult TESOL classrooms. This study included 176 teachers from 8 different countries. Interestingly, over 84% of these teachers disagreed with the view that grammar should be taught separately

and noted that it should be integrated with other activities like reading and writing. Borg highlighted the importance of investigating teacher cognition in “unexplored contexts” (2006: 100), and especially non-native speaker contexts. This study addresses this gap, by exploring non-native teacher beliefs in a context in which literature is scarce.

3 Learner beliefs in grammar learning and teaching

Learning beliefs have received significant attention, and have been found to contribute to the learning process and guide pedagogical decision making (Mercer 2008). Learner beliefs have been shown to be dynamic in nature and subject to change (Ellis 2008). A series of studies highlighted the positive attitudes that young learners exhibit towards form focused instruction (Schultz 1996; Shak and Gardner 2008). Another body of research examined consistency between learner and teacher beliefs. Lima and Fontana’s (2007) research found that there is a gap between what learners want and what they receive in the secondary school education in Brazil. Similar results were reported by Hawkey (2006) and Schultz (1996) who found a significant difference between the perceptions of learners and teachers in some activities in the FL classroom. These mismatches can create tension in classrooms (Kern 1995). Moreover, negative learner beliefs may lead to learner inhibitions and anxiety, and can hinder development of learner autonomy. Therefore, research suggests that teachers need to adopt a strategic approach in eliminating inhibitive beliefs. Schultz (1996) recommends:

In order to establish pedagogical credibility and increase their students’ commitment to and involvement in learning, teachers make an effort to explore students’ beliefs about language learning and to establish a fit between their own and their students’ expectations. (343).

These studies highlight the importance of investigating learner beliefs about grammar learning to strengthen teaching practices. Given the limited research on learner beliefs of ESL students towards grammar teaching, and the importance of comparing teachers’ and learners’ attitudes, the current study fills an important gap by examining perceptions about grammar pedagogy in the Sri Lankan secondary classroom.

4 Data collection

The data collection followed ethics approval from the University ethics committee and approval from the school principals, and the Sri Lankan education department. The study used 30 semi-structured interviews with teachers and 30 interviews with learners to investigate their beliefs. While belief studies have employed a combination of survey inventories and interviews, Pajares (1992) cautions that for richer and more in depth analysis, interviews are preferred. The teacher participants comprised teachers who had more than five years of teaching experience and were aware of curricular changes. The learner participants were high school students, 15-16 years of age, and recruited based on the criterion that they obtained credit or above for their Ordinary Level examination which is a summative assessment conducted by the department of education in Sri Lanka. The reason for selecting competent learners was to allow them to discuss the issue with

a good understanding of teaching practices and to try to eliminate influence from other intervening factors such as lack of motivation, poverty and absenteeism.

Participants who volunteered to be interviewed after an initial invitation participated in an interview. Semi-structured interviews provide an opportunity for the researchers to ask for clarifications and allow participants to talk freely and elaborate on relevant answers. They are typically based around a set of topics or loosely defined questions (Borg 2006). The interviews were transcribed and translated into English and subjected to content analysis.

5 Results from teachers' interviews

The grounded theory content analysis (Cresswell 2007) was adopted in analyzing 30 interviews with experienced EFL teachers. Within the scope of this paper, results in relation to teachers' preferences to grammar pedagogy are presented. The overwhelming majority of teachers emphasized the importance of form focused grammar teaching. Based on the interviews, teachers reported using a diversity of approaches in grammar teaching, depending on the context and student needs. When they were asked to describe how they teach grammar, many teachers promptly responded 'it depends'. The majority highlighted that their approach is eclectic and dependent on the current language competency level of the learners (E.g. T1: 'My method depends on the level of the students and their needs'), student needs (E.g. T3: *I plan my lessons depending on the need.....* '), assessment of students interests and abilities (E.g. T6: *When I know their abilities I get them to discover things the by themselves.....* ') and the nature of input (E.g. T19: *It depends on the grammar lesson*).

Many teachers (87%) thought that knowing the basic rules was significant: "We have to explain the form, as they learn English as the second language; certain grammatical structures are difficult for them" (T 19). The majority generally agreed that grammar learning can be tedious but they believed that learning about the form is essential and they use different techniques to make the form focused lessons interesting and interactive. These techniques include using the form in speaking activities such as role-plays, writing tasks and group projects. Based on the sequence of steps described in their lessons, two form-focused deductive lessons were identified; 43% of the teachers described grammar lessons that start first with explicit instruction to the form and later provide examples of the form in function focused tasks. 33% of the teachers highlighted that they first start with function-focused tasks and then provide explicit instruction to the form and explanation of the rules followed by practice.

When asked about their preference and use of deductive or inductive methods, all teachers claimed they adopted both methods; however when asked to provide examples, most of them described deductive methods of grammar instruction while only 13% described inductive grammar lessons. Teachers agreed that deductive teaching is the most appropriate method as it allows for clarity of explanation while the inductive method may be difficult for students' limited language proficiency and time consuming. Others argued that the deductive methods are useful to teach beginner learners who have little knowledge about the second language and are not exposed to natural language acquisition.

6 Results from students' interviews

The students expressed their strong belief that their grammar knowledge advanced their language learning. The most frequently mentioned reasons were: grammar assisted them in developing accuracy in writing and speaking, (*"you can't speak wrong English which is embarrassing"* (S7)), in evaluating their own language mistakes, understanding the coherence of discourse/text and achieving success in examinations.

Students reported that they learnt grammar both deductively and inductively and they expressed positive attitudes towards both methods. 77% of students wanted their teachers to explain grammar rules deductively while 17 % of them thought that deductive lessons focusing on long explanation of the form were monotonous and ineffective. A small percentage (10%) of students valued the inductive approach for its discovery learning principle and 6% of them did not mind whatever the methods used as long as the lessons were relevant and useful to them. When the students were asked to talk about their memorable experience to grammar learning 70% of them discussed deductive grammar lessons they enjoyed with enthusiasm and 27% of students said that they enjoyed any lesson that was made relevant to their learning, irrespective of the approach used. Finally, students highlighted their preferences for games, speaking activities and interactive tasks which assisted their understanding and enhanced their language practice.

7 Discussion

Within the current debate on grammar instruction, the inquiry into teacher and learner beliefs offered significant insight into EFL grammar pedagogy in acquisition poor environments, such as Sri Lanka. One of the most notable findings of this study is that teachers and students are in agreement about the contribution of form-focused instruction to the development of students' language accuracy and learner autonomy. The finding contradicts the studies by Schultz who revealed students' favourable predisposition and teachers' negative assessment of the importance of grammar (Schultz 1996). However the finding that grammar needs to be contextualized in extended activities for students to identify and practice the meaning in context-based activities was consistent with Borg's and Burns' study (2008).

Teachers in this study think they adopt a suitable pedagogy in teaching grammar and the students think that their teachers use effective methods in teaching grammar. There is clear evidence in the data of concurrent beliefs. Teachers' comments demonstrate that they adapt their teaching based on the context, student needs and learner dynamics and try to incorporate innovative techniques. These results confirm the discussion on the appropriate methodology for language teaching which points to an eclectic and 'contextual' approach (Bax 2003; Kumaravadivelu 2003) in which 'context should be the crucial determinant'.

This study shows that focus on form is more than telling the students about "rules" or form but also contextualizing form in meaning-focused tasks. Anderson (1995) discusses the importance of the declarative knowledge that students receive from explicit instruction. He argues that there are three steps of processing knowledge: declarative knowledge, proceduralisation of the knowledge and automatising. Learning is a complex process and, if learning is only focused on the form and there is no extension, little learning can take place.

Teachers' beliefs demonstrated that teaching grammar is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Teachers seem to draw on a number of contextual factors for their pedagogical decision making which is consistent with current belief research (Borg 2003, 2006; Farrell & Lim 2005; Pajares 1992). This is echoed in Kumaravadivelu's work (2003) which suggests that teachers need to understand the particularities and practicalities in their context in order to engage in autonomous teaching. The results in this study illustrate that teachers need to have numerous skills for effective grammar teaching and this raises implications for teacher training. Teacher training programs should aim to enhance teacher autonomy, teacher involvement in action research and teacher reflection. This study agrees with Hayes (2005) in that countries like Sri Lanka should adopt a participatory approach in teacher training instead of the 'cascade approach' that they use at present which rejects teachers' involvement in curriculum changes.

8 Conclusion

This study highlighted students' and teachers' perceptions of form-focused instruction in the Sri Lankan ESL context. The results showed that teachers and students hold parallel views of the importance of learning grammar explicitly but warned about the dangers of focusing on grammar rules without meaningful and communicative tasks. Teachers reported using an eclectic approach to grammar teaching, paying attention to students' linguistic ability, needs and interests, showing their confidence and understanding of the fact that learning is a complex and multidimensional issue. The overwhelming majority of students and teachers had positive attitudes towards deductive and inductive grammar approaches but mostly reported deductive grammar lessons. As beliefs play a pivotal role in teacher decision making, the study recommends the development of effective language teacher training programs which reinforce teacher autonomy and participation in curriculum changes.

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19

The Attitude of Meaning Expression in Giving Advice on Love: The Appraisal Theory Perspective

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the hidden meanings of language used for giving advice about love. The appraisal theory is proposed as a theoretical framework. The study will mainly focus only on the idea of attitudes which can be explained in terms of being positive or negative based on peoples' interpretations of them. The data of this study were collected from the Club Friday radio program. The findings reveal that when the radio broadcasters do a telephone conversation with audience members, they not only share their opinions with the audience members but they also often do the speech act of the giving advice. It has been found that they prefer expressions that display a positive attitude rather than a negative one. The positive expressions which are used to express positive opinions are related to words or phrases for indicating the euphonious expressions of love and are expected to be interpreted positively. As for the negative, it has been found that all negative expressions pertain to unrequited love and unhappy love. Although the hosts of the program use expressions which convey negative opinions, the particular expressions would be manipulated so as to be positive.

1 Introduction

At present, love problems are one cause of social problems, as some people who have a love problem attempt to solve them in unproductive ways, such as hurting themselves or their beloved, only after their love was refused.

Radio is an option for those who have love problems and need advice to call in and ask for it. This radio program, Club Friday, is a kind of talk program, focusing on love in many aspects, such as homosexuality, heterosexuality, or love triangles. The program's objectives are to listen and try to find a way out of the problems together, by letting the audience call in and talk live on the air. They can share love stories that are either happy or sad. The DJ will give advice and comment on their problems. This program broadcast on every Friday night from 9:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The program is broadcast via Green wave, FM 106.5 MHz, and Green Channel of a cable television.

When consulting about love, the listener will call in to the program live to talk and ask for advice. The DJ listens and gives comments to that person. Thus, the words of advice express the attitude of the speaker toward the listener concerning what has happened and others involved in the listeners' situations.

This article aims to analyze meaning expressions of words in giving advice on love. The researcher aims to study only the attitude of these meaning expressions. This study can explain if the DJ has a positive or a negative attitude. In this article, the researcher uses a framework of appraisal theory in analyzing the consultation.

2 Scope of study

In this article, the researcher aims to analyze only the conversations via telephone between the audience members and the DJ concerning consultation. Also, the researcher will explain the advice in terms of which speech acts it represents, by considering the 4 conditions put forth by Searle (Searle, 1969: 66-67) as criteria as adjustment.

The researcher will not analyze the advice of the DJ regarding messages sent via SMS, e-mails, Facebook, and Twitter from the audience during the program.

The data for analysis are gathered from the radio program Club Friday, downloaded from <http://www.atimemedia.com/rerun/clubfriday>, and <http://www.youtube.com>.

3 Literature Review

Appraisal theory is a linguistic theory concerning evaluation of feelings that arise from situations, interpersonal relation and value meaning. This theory can be used for studying both spoken and written languages.

Appraisal Theory is a study of languages, developed from a theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) for explaining means to understand languages in aspects of interpersonal relation, social relation, individual feeling expression, and opinion or attitude expression (Martin, 2000: 142-177). A basis of Appraisal Theory used in evaluation of languages can be divided into 3 primary aspects: Attitudes, Graduation, and Engagement (Martin and White, 2005)

1. Attitudes concern the meanings of praise and blame. These meanings are used as a tool in the evaluation of the speech in the case of a speaker or writing in the case of a writer to see if they have positive or negative attitude concerning persons, places, actions, situations, etc. (White, 2001). The attitudes concerning meaning expression in words used by speakers are divided into 3 types. The system of attitudes is shown in Figure 1.

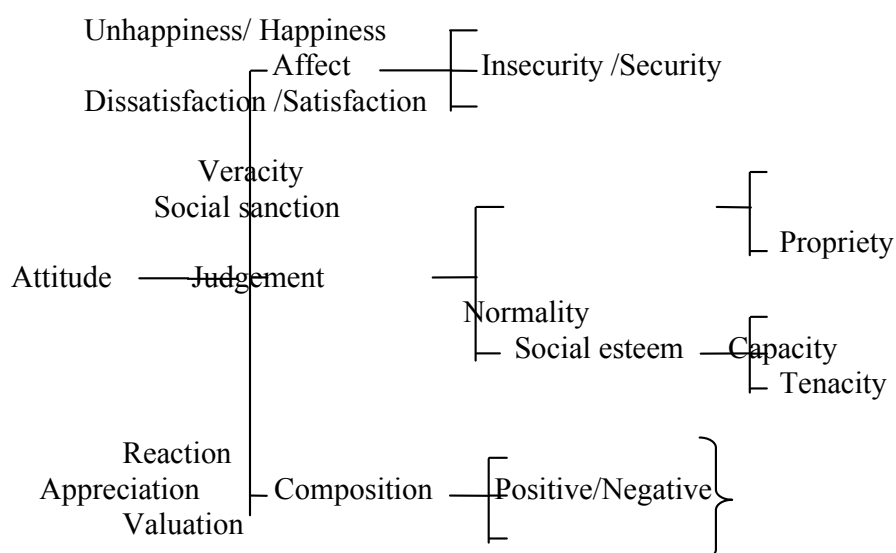


Figure 1: A system of Attitudes (Martin and White, 2005)

1.1 Affect concerns feelings and processes of mind. Evaluation of the speaker from the standpoint of affect can convey the feeling of the speaker about people or things that have happened. This can be divided into 3 groups with contrasting aspects. These contrasting aspects can be used for defining the words as expressing positive or negative feelings. These aspects are defined as unhappiness and happiness, insecurity and security, dissatisfaction and satisfaction.

1.2 Judgement is evaluation by the speaker using words concerning ethics or social norms, and human behaviors in ordinary aspects.

1.3 Appreciation is evaluation of the speaker concerning aesthetics. They are represented by words of praise from the speaker based on aesthetic beauty or any system of social values, especially those that cause acts or expression.

2. Graduation is about the ordering of density of words or adjustment of meaning in the words. Graduation is used to evaluate the speaker from the words used and in considering clearness or accuracy in expressing the meaning of the words. This is divided into 2 groups: force, and focus.

3. Engagement is about expression of information by the speaker. The words of the speaker in the conversation might be comments or opinions for the listener. The expression of information concerns a binding meaning of the words. Also, these meanings relate to the speaker. Engagement is divided into 4 groups: to Disclaim, to Proclaim, to Entertain, and to Attribute.

4 Results

The researcher divided the analysis of the attitude of meaning expression of giving advice on love into 3 parts: affect, judgement, and appreciation. The researcher shows the results of the analysis of each part in the following table:

1. Affect

Affect is divided into 3 types: unhappiness/happiness, insecurity/security, and dissatisfaction /satisfaction. Each of types of judgement can be divided further into positive/negative expression as shown in Table 1.

Table1. Types of Affect

Type of Affect		Examples
unhappiness	Negative	เขารักเราน้อยลง, รักห่างๆ, ห่างห่างๆ, ไม่ได้เป็นแฟน, เสียใจ, ร้องไห้, ไม่มีความสุข, รักกันห่างๆ, เขาไม่รักเรามากพอ, ทุกข์ทรมาน, อึดอัด, เลิกกัน
happiness	Positive	รัก, รักเขา, ห่วงตัวเอง, อย่าไปโกรธไปเกลียดไปเจ็บแค้น, ความรัก, ได้เพื่อน, มีความสุข, ความสุข, เราจะอยู่ด้วยกัน, ไม่ต้องคร่ำครวญ, คนที่เรารัก, เราอยู่กันมาเจ็ดปี, รักกัน, โรแมนติก, แฟนเรา, เป็นแฟน, ดูแลกันสองคน, อย่าไปยึดมั่นถือมั่น, อย่าไปอยากได้ในสิ่งที่เราไม่มี, เรารักกัน, มีแฟน, คิดถึง, ไม่ต้องเลิก
insecurity	Negative	คนหนึ่งกำลังร้อน, เริ่มหงุดหงิด, อันตราย, ระวัง, ลากเราให้ไปอยู่ในสถานภาพไหนก็ไม่รู้, ใจร้าย

security	Positive	ไม่ทำให้คนอื่นเดือดร้อน, ใจเย็นๆ, อย่าเพิ่งคิดไปในแง่ร้าย, อย่าเพิ่งไปกลัว, อย่าเพิ่งไปกังวล, ไม่ได้เดือดร้อน, ปลอดภัย, อยู่ในที่ปลอดภัย
dissatisfaction	Negative	ทำใจ, มีคนใหม่, ไม่มีเพื่อน, ไม่ดูแล, เผื่อใจ, สิ่งที่มีนัยยะสวไมใจ, เข้าใจผิด, การรอคำตอบ, ไม่พร้อม, ไปยึดติด, ข้างหัวมัน, ถอย, ลำบากใจ
satisfaction	Positive	มีโอกาส, อยากให้, ขอมรับ, ดูแลตัวเอง, ดูแลลูก, เปิดรับใคร, มีเพื่อน, มีสังคม, อยากทำ, หาเพื่อน, อยากจะมีลูก, มีความพร้อม, อยากได้, อย่าปล่อยปะละเลย, ชื่นชม, ปล่อยให้เขาเป็นในสิ่งที่เขาต้องการ, ใจแฟน, เปิดโอกาส, อยากคุย, ปรึกษากัน, ตัดสินใจ, อยากดูแล, อยากโรแมนติก, ความต้องการ, เอาใจเขา, ภูมิใจ, พร้อม, อย่าให้เป็นการคาดคั้นหรือบีบคั้น

From the information shown in Table 1, the researcher found that, after considering the meaning expression of the DJ's words involved in love consultation, the meaning expression of Affect was rather positive. This is because the evaluation of the speaker in that consultation is about love. The researcher found that the words expressing a feeling of satisfaction appear the most, followed by happiness and, lastly, is insecurity.

In the case of happiness, those words express meanings concerning love or words one expects to hear from a lover: รัก/rak/ 'love v.', รักเขา /rakkhao/ 'love him/her', ความรัก /khwamrak/ 'love n.', มีความสุข /mi khwamsuk/ 'being happy', เราจะอยู่ด้วยกัน /rao cha yuduaokan/ 'we will be together', คนที่เรารัก /khonthirakkan/ 'The one I love', รักกัน /rakkahm/ 'love each other', โรแมนติก /romaentik/ 'romantic', แฟนเรา /faenrao/ 'our beloved', เป็นแฟน /pen faen/ 'being beloved', ดูแลกันสองคน /du laekan song khon/ 'take care of each other' etc. Meanwhile, suffering is expressed by phrases that denoted disappointment in the realm of love, such as เขารักเราน้อยลง /khaorakraonoi long/ 'he/she loves me less', ไม่ได้เป็นแฟน /maidai pen faen/ 'I couldn't be his/her lover', เสียใจ /sia chai/ 'sad', ร้องไห้ /ronghai/ 'cry', ไม่มีความสุข /mai mi khwamsuk/ 'not being happy', รักกันห่างๆ /rakkan hang hnag/ 'Long-distance love', เขาไม่รักเรามากพอ /khaomairakraomak pho/ 'he/she doesn't love me enough', ทุกข์ทรมาน /thukthora man/ 'torment', อึดอัด /uet at/ 'frustration', เลิกกัน /luekkan/ 'to break up', etc.

With regard to insecurity, the words display meanings having to do with feeling threatened, which cause fear and worry, such as คนหนึ่งกำลังร้อน /khonkamlangron/ 'to begin to worry', เริ่มหงุดหงิด /roemngutngit/ 'to start becoming moody', อันตราย /antarai/ 'dangerous', ระวัง /rawang/ 'beware', ลากเราให้ไปอยู่ในสถานภาพไหนก็ไม่รู้ /lakraohaipaiyunaisaphapnaikomairu/ 'drag me into a state of uncertainty', ใจร้าย /chai rai/ 'cruel', etc. In the case of security, the words were expressed in 2 aspects. The first aspect relates to undisturbed peace and

physical safety. Words that display this meaning are: ไม่ได้เดือดร้อน /maidai duet ron/‘not distressed’, ปลอดภัย /plot phai/‘safety’, อยู่ในที่ปลอดภัย /yunaithi plot phai/‘being in a safe place’. The second aspect concerns, peace of mind; expressed by phrases such as อย่าเพิ่งคิดไปในแง่ร้าย /yaphuengpaikhitnaingaerai/‘don’t think of things from a negative perspective’, อย่าเพิ่งไปกลัว /yaphoengpaiklua/‘don’t be afraid’, อย่าเพิ่งไปกังวล /yaphoengpaikang don’t worry’, etc.

Dissatisfaction is represented by words that express a lack of success, such as ทำใจ /tham chai/‘get over it’, มีคนใหม่/mi khonmai/‘have someone new’, ไม่มีเพื่อน /mai mi phon/‘have no friends,’ ไม่ดูแล /mai du lae/‘not take care’, เข้าใจผิด /khao chai phit/‘misunderstand’, การรอคำตอบ /kanrokham top/‘waiting for answers’, ไม่พร้อม /maiphrom/‘not ready’, ไปยึดติด /paiyuet tit/‘being attached’, ถอย /thoi/‘backing off,’ etc.

Satisfaction is represented by words that express being desired, fondness, and future development/happiness. The words used for expressing satisfaction are: มีโอกาส /mi o kat/‘having an opportunity’, อยากจะมีลูก /yak cha mi luk/‘want to have a child’, มีความพร้อม /mi khwamphrom/‘be ready’, อยากได้ /yak dai/‘want to have’, อย่าปล่อยปะละเลย /yaiploipla la loi/‘not let go’, ปล่อยให้เขาเป็นในสิ่งที่เขาต้องการ /ploihaikhaopen nai sing thikhaotong kan/‘let him/her be as he/she wishes’, ร้องแค้น /ngofaen/‘asked for forgiveness from boy/girl friend’, เปิดโอกาส/poet o kat/‘give an opportunity’, etc.

2. Judgement

Judgement can be divided into 2 types, Social sanction, and Social esteem. Each type of judgement can be divided further as positive and negative expression, as shown in the Table 2.

Table 2.Types of Judgement

Types of Judgement		Examples	
		Positive	Negative
Social sanction (Moral and Legal)	Veracity	---	ล้อเล่นแบบน่ากลัว
	Propriety	บริสุทธิ์ใจ, ทำอะไรดีๆ, ทำดี, ทำสิ่งดีๆ	จะเอาแต่ความสุขของตัวเองฝ่ายเดียว, รู้สึกผิดอย่างเดียวไม่ทำอะไร, ความไม่รู้รู้จักพอ
Social esteem (Personal and Psychological)	normality	แฟนเก่า, คนกลาง, พี่ผู้ชายคนนั้น	---
	capacity	มีสติ, แข็งแรง	---
	tenacity	ตั้งใจ, ตั้งสติ	หมดความอดทน

Judgement can be divided mainly into 2 types, Social sanction, and Social esteem. From the Table 2, the researcher found that the DJ used positive rather than negative meanings of words when giving advice about love.

A study of Social sanction, including Veracity and Propriety, found that the DJ used only one word denoting Veracity in giving advice about love, that is ล้อเล่นแบบน่ารักแล้ว. This has a negative meaning. Words showing propriety expressed both positive and negative meanings. Words showing a positive meaning such as บริสุทธิ์ใจ /borisut chai/‘innocent/pure’, ทำอะไรดี ๆ /tham aria di di/‘do good things’, ทำดี /tham di/‘do good’, and ทำสิ่งดี ๆ/tham sing di di/‘do good things’, as well as words with negative meanings, such as จะเอาแต่ความสุขของตัวเองฝ่ายเดียว /cha ao tae khwamsukkhongtuaengfaidio/‘only concerned with his/her own happiness’, รู้สึกผิดอย่างเดียวนิไม่ทำอะไร/rusuekphit yang diomaitham aria/‘only feeling guilty, but doing nothing’, and ความไม่รู้จกพอ /khwammairuchak pho/‘not understanding appropriateness’.

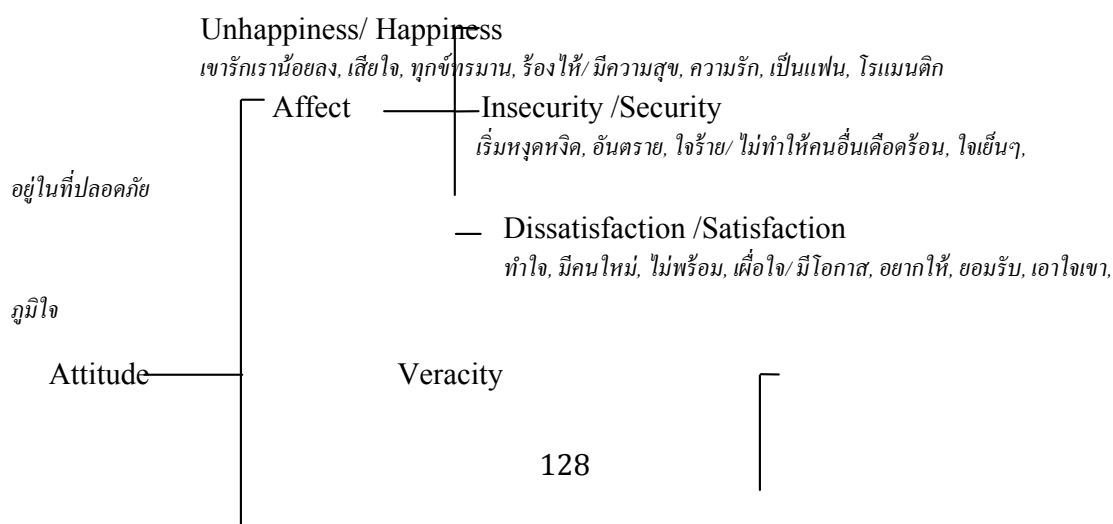
While Social esteem expressing of evaluating the audience can be divided into ‘normalitycapacity’ and ‘tenacity.’ Examples the researcher found are แฟนเก่า /faenkao/‘ex-boy/girl friend’, คนกลาง /khonklang/‘mediator’, and พี่ชายคนนั้น/phi chai khonnan/‘that elder bother’. The DJ used these words, which are positive, when talking about others involved in the callers’ situations. In the case of capacity, there were 2 words used to evaluate the listener: มีสติ /mi sati/‘mindful’, and แข็งแรง /khengraeng/‘strong’, both have positive meanings. As for tenacity, the DJ evaluated the listeners using words expressing positive and negative meanings. The positive words were ตั้งใจ /tang chai/‘intend’, and ตั้งสติ /thang sati/ ‘be calm’. While The only negative meaning found wasหมดความอดทน /mot khwamot thon/‘lose patience’.

3. Appreciation

Appreciation is divided in to 3 aspects: reaction, composition, and valuation. Each of these types of judgement can be divided further into positive and negative expressions.

In analysis, by examining the use of words in giving advice about love by the DJ, the researcher could not find words expressing appreciation in the Club Friday radio program.

The following is a network of words arranged by expression of attitude used by the “Club Friday” DJ when giving advice about love.



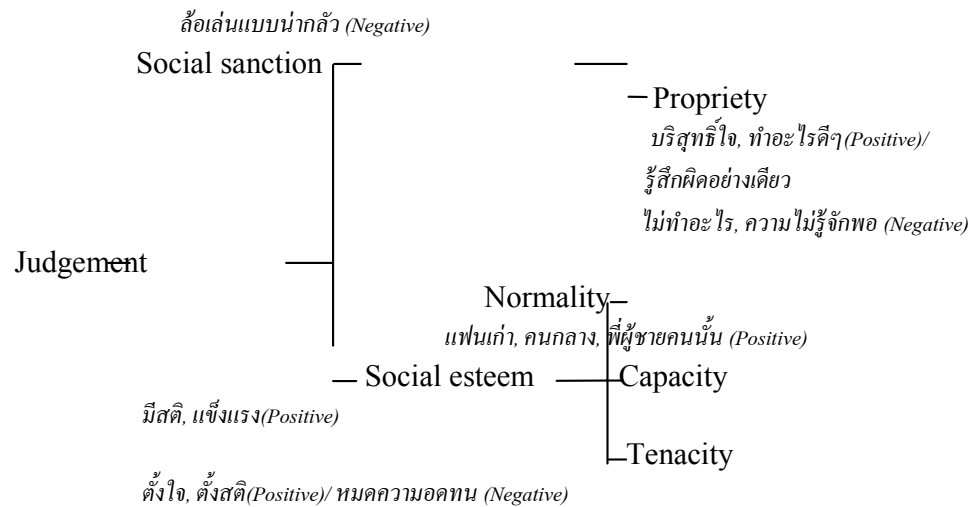


Figure 2: System network of Attitudes in Giving Advice on Love

5 Conclusion

The results of this study of the attitude of meaning expression when giving advice about love shows that the words used by the DJ for giving such advice to the audience express meanings with a positive affect rather than negative. The positive expressions of meaning concern feelings of love and happiness. While those with negative meanings are about feelings of disappointment, and unhappiness. Words expressing judgement are found in advice about love by which the DJ used to value the audience and show more positive than negative meaning. Moreover, words conveying judgement are found in love advice that the DJ used to value the audience and they show more positive meaning than negative. Lastly, there were no words expressing appreciation in the DJ's love advice.

6 Discussion

The results show that among the positive meanings from the DJ on giving love advice, most expressions are positive rather than negative. This is because in that situation the speaker wanted to guide the listener to do as the speaker's wished and the speaker believed such phrases were helpful. (Searle, 1969: 54-71) Thus, the DJ's words used to give love advice to the audience members who called in expressed a positive attitude of meaning. Moreover, the researcher noticed that though some words are negative in meaning, but the DJ had a technique to alter negative words, making them more positive. Words expressing judgement of the listeners were rarely used. This is because most of those who had love problems called in to ask for advice in solving their problems. Words expressing judgement were, thus, very rare. Also, words expressing appreciation were missing from the DJ's love advice.

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20

A Lexicographical Minefield: Treatment of Nonstandard *Like* in Dictionaries

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Abstract

The English word *like* is extraordinarily multifunctional: its standard forms encompass nearly all parts of speech, and in nonstandard forms it can be a quotative, an approximator, or several types of discourse marker (DM). These nonstandard forms cause issues for lexicographers, including: 1) they reflect differences between use of written and spoken informal English (Miller 2009); 2) DM *like*'s use varies geographically (Miller and Weinert 1995); and 3) they are difficult to categorise grammatically. Further, some dictionaries' treatment of DM *like* imply that lack of semantic import equals total lack of import, a conclusion shown to be untrue by Underhill (1988), Romaine and Lange (1991), Miller and Weinert (1995), Andersen (2001), and others.

Existing studies on *like*'s informal usage, geographic variation, and pragmatic effect, as well as a study suggesting a new taxonomy of DM *like* (Pugh 2011) provide guidelines for a more coherent dictionary entry for *like*. Pugh (2011) distinguishes three functional groups of DM *like*: stance management, information management, and speech production management, each with distinct uses of the word. We propose that dictionary entries for *like* use information from its abundant literature to present this complex lexical item in a clearer and more informative way.

1 Introduction

The English word *like* poses many problems for lexicographers, in its standard forms as well as in its evolving nonstandard forms. We argue that relevant entries in dictionaries do not accurately represent the current functions of this extraordinarily versatile word. Beyond the multifunctional nature of *like* in its standard forms, there are several aspects of the nonstandard forms of the word that can be troublesome to dictionary writers. These include the great number of ways nonstandard *like* can be employed, the variation of this word both between written and spoken English and among geographic regions, the difficulty of assigning a convincing part of speech to the different uses. An additional issue is that most standard dictionaries display a negative bias against nonstandard *like*, especially as a discourse marker, which prevents readers from fully appreciating this word.

A number of studies from Underhill (1988) to Miller (2009) have been conducted regarding this remarkable lexical item, providing analyses of nonstandard *like* that may be useful to lexicographers. Additionally, Pugh (2011) provides analyses of newer forms of *like* that have been ill considered thus far. We suggest that the ideas from these studies be used to aid in future lexicographical treatments of the word, to allow for a clearer and more informative explanation of a complex member of the English lexicon.

2 Standard uses of *like*

The basis for lexicographical difficulties with standard forms of *like* is its extremely varied nature. It can serve as a preposition (1), verb (2), noun (3), adjective (4), conjunction (5) or suffix (6), that is, nearly every part of speech in English (unattributed examples are invented):

- (1) She smokes like a chimney.
- (2) I like classical music.
- (3) I have not seen his like for many years.
- (4) We were all of a like mind.
- (5) Let's go swimming in the lake like we used to.
- (6) He held my hand in a vice-like grip.

As one would expect from a high-frequency, multifunctional word, *like* is used in many multi-word expressions, such as:

- (7) We can leave now if you like.
- (8) I would like the salad, please.
- (9) That's just like him!
- (10) He's nothing like as fat as his father.
- (11) It looks like rain.
- (12) That's more like it!

Thus even with long-established uses of *like* and related multi-word and idiomatic expressions, this word demands careful attention when constructing a dictionary entry.

3 Nonstandard uses of *like*

The standard uses of *like* are complex enough; the newer, nonstandard uses are even more complex. In these uses, *like* can introduce reported speech (1) or nonlexicalised sounds representing an attitude or feeling (2), and function as an approximator (3) and as various kinds of discourse marker (DM) (4a-c):

- (1) I was **like**, "Felicia who's got their foot on my table?" (Britney Spears 1999)
- (2) I was **like**, [makes inhaling, squeaky sound to indicate shock]. (Britney Spears 1999)
- (3) I'm going to Orlando thinking it's going to be **like** 90-degree weather...
(Britney Spears 1999)
- (4) a. I had **like** this huge bow on my head. (Britney Spears 1999)
- (4) b. Well, I would sing **like** at um competitions and **like** you know for functions I'd be **like** the entertainment... (Britney Spears 1999)
- (4) c. So you wanna be careful, **like**. (BNC)

A number of lexicographical issues arise from these modern uses of *like*, including accounting for differences in written and spoken informal English, recognizing geographic variation in the use of the word, categorising them under traditional part of speech labels, and addressing the negative bias in current dictionary entries.

3.1 Nonstandard *like* in written and spoken English

As shown in studies such as Miller (2009), *like* is used differently in written and spoken informal English. In the former, standard forms of *like* are used more often, but the latter contains both standard and nonstandard forms. Miller (2009) found 794 instances of DM *like* in the spoken part of the Australian International Corpus of English (ICE), but none in the written part: the figures for New Zealand ICE were similarly 670 and zero. Instances of written *like* in its nonstandard forms appear in the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), but tokens of these types are rare. Searches for spoken examples of nonstandard *like* result in significantly greater numbers; for example, Pugh's (2011) random sample of 500 tokens of *like* in COCA revealed that at least 20% of the time, *like* was used as an approximator, quotative, or DM. This marked difference in data between written and spoken English supports Miller's (2009) findings that *like*'s use in nonstandard forms is primarily spoken, an observation that would enhance relevant dictionary text.

3.2 Geographic variation

There is some geographical variation in the use of DM *like*. Clause-final *like* as in Section 3 (4c) has been reported in Scotland and parts of Northern England (Miller and Weinert 1995), as well as Australia and New Zealand (Miller 2009); it seems to be rare in North America and in Southeast England. Additionally, Anderson (2001) notes that while Miller and Weinert (1995) attribute *like* in Scottish English as functioning in cases where misunderstanding or argument could occur, his analysis of Southern British English does not support such a constraint. Thus it is possible that some forms of intra- and pre-utterance *like* also vary geographically. We propose that any considerable variation in the use of nonstandard *like* be differentiated in lexicographic entries.

3.3 Grammatical categorisation of nonstandard *like*

Some forms of nonstandard *like* do not fit neatly into any grammatical category. As a result, the rare forms of nonstandard *like* that are included in dictionaries are typically grouped under the blanket term 'adverb', whether or not they possess true adverbial properties. It may be appropriate to label approximator *like* as an adverb, since it can be glossed as 'about' or 'around' (D'Arcy 2007), but other cases are less clear, most notably quotative and DM *like*. In nearly all examples of the former, *like* is coupled with the copular verb (Romaine and Lange 1991), as in Section 3, (1-2), and thus would be more suitably labelled a compound verb *be like* than the catch-all 'adverb'. As for DM *like*, a variety of functions can be served depending on the context (D'Arcy 2007; Pugh 2011); some may be easily marked as a particular part of speech, such as conjunction, but others require careful analysis.

Further complicating the issue is the ongoing evolution of this versatile word. Studies such as Underhill (1988), Romaine and Lange (1991), D'Arcy (2007), and many others have highlighted the changes in the use of *like* over the past several decades. Yet dictionaries have failed to keep up.

3.4 Bias in current lexicographical treatment

The common perception that lack of semantic import equals total lack of import is reflected in some dictionaries' treatment of DM *like*. The *Collins English Dictionary* (2013) describes this use as "often used as a parenthetic filler", before giving this example: "there was this policeman just staring at us, like." This is clause-final *like*,

which cannot be ‘parenthetical’ or a ‘filler’; thus the entry indicates a perhaps dismissive lack of understanding of this usage. The online *Oxford Dictionaries* (2013) calls DM *like* “a meaningless filler”, and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2011) says that it is “used in speech to fill a pause while you are thinking what to say next”. Several studies (e.g. Schourup 1983; Andersen 2001) have found that *like* can be used as a ‘filler’ or ‘placeholder’, a function which is propositionally meaningless. It is not, however, the mere verbal tic that some dictionaries make it out to be; its use has been shown to be pragmatically significant as a means of keeping one’s speaking turn (Schourup 1983) and assisting in listener understanding (e.g. Schourup 1983; Schiffrin 1987). Moreover, *like*’s use as a DM goes far beyond that of a filler. Underhill (1988: 234) proposes DM *like* as a “marker of new information and focus”, Schourup (1983) notes instances in which *like* can be glossed as ‘for example’, and Miller and Weinert (1995) suggest that clause-final *like* is a way of countering assumptions and objections. Even further uses of DM *like* can be found in studies such as D’Arcy (2007) and Pugh (2011).

Although the quotative *like* is now typically recorded as an informal or spoken use of the word, so far many major dictionaries include neither the approximative nor the DM functions of *like* beyond ‘filler’. This is unfortunate.

4 New ideas from the literature

Among the plentiful examples of modern literature examining *like* in its nonstandard forms, Pugh (2011) may be helpful in providing a more rational presentation of this complicated word. Although this study does not examine the quotative and approximative functions, these forms are less in need of clarification, as mentioned in Section 3.3. It is DM *like* that is the most problematic, both for lexicographers and for linguists. Because it has developed reasonably rapidly to include at least a dozen distinct uses (Pugh 2011), its presentation in dictionaries must be planned carefully.

4.1 Pugh (2011)

Pugh (2011) takes a corpus-driven approach and distinguishes three categories of DM *like* that could help provide clarity in a dictionary entry: stance management, information management, and speech production management. Within each parent group is a set of individual functions that affect the pragmatic import of the utterance. Consider this example:

- (5) I still have my same friends at home, an’ we’re **like** sisters ‘cause we grew up together, so I’m always on the phone with them and when we go home it’s **like** still normal, **like** we go to the show and the movies and stuff. (Britney Spears 1999)

The first instance of *like* here is a standard usage and can be glossed as ‘similar to’ (sisters); the second instance highlights the phrase ‘still normal’, an instance of stance management; the third *like* is equivalent to ‘for example’, and comes under ‘information management’, making explicit the relationship between what precedes and what follows. The category of speech production management is used for examples such as (6), where *like* signals a false start, and (7) where the speaker repairs what has just been said:

- (6) Yeah, an’ I wanna **like**—I wanna big up—British produce... (Jamie Oliver 2009)

- (7) So it's very stressful, quite hard, and...but even—**like**, you have to do state plates.
(Jamie Oliver 2009)

In total, there are at least 12 separate functions of DM *like* which fall under the three parent labels put forth in Pugh (2011). Although this taxonomy of DM *like* does not lend itself directly to a lexicographical entry for the word, it can provide a helpful analytical framework.

5 Proposed dictionary treatments for *like*

The dictionaries discussed thus far are British publications; though American dictionaries also require updating, some can provide a strong base from which to improve the lexicographical treatment of the word. Take for instance *Merriam-Webster's* (2014) subentry for approximative *like*, listed as an adverb: “nearly : approximately <the actual interest is more like 18 percent> —used interjectionally in informal speech with expressions of measurement <it was, like, five feet long> <goes there every day, like>”. With the simple removal of the word “interjectionally”, the dictionary’s subentry would be viable.

Similarly, the listing for quotative *like* can be altered minimally: “—used interjectionally in informal speech often with the verb *be* to introduce a quotation, paraphrase, or thought expressed by or imputed to the subject of the verb, or with *it's* to report a generally held opinion <so I'm like, “Give me a break”> <it's like, “Who cares what he thinks?”>” (*Merriam-Webster* 2014). We would suggest moving the subentry from that of conjunction to a section on collocations (as *be like*) under the subentry for verbs, and changing the phrasing to “—used in informal speech to introduce a quotation, paraphrase, or thought expressed by or imputed to the subject of the verb, or preceded by *it* to report a generally held opinion”, using similar example sentences.

Merriam-Webster (2014) also has a subentry for clause-final *like*: “to some extent : rather, altogether <saunter over nonchalantly like — Walter Karig>”. This is the chief candidate for notation of geographic variation; thus we would add “—used in informal speech primarily in Scotland, Northern England, Australia, and New Zealand”.

Finally, we suggest that three subentries of DM *like* be based on the categories distinguished in Pugh (2011): stance management, information management, and speech production management. The parent DM categories could provide the basis for each subentry, and the functions could assist in the explanation given. For example, using the *Merriam-Webster* (2014) format as a guide, the category of information management could be labelled as a conjunction, and listed as follows:

—used in informal speech to introduce new information relevant to the preceding phrase, in order to provide examples, illustration, generalization, clarification, explanation, or expansion of ideas <we go to the gym like we do running and crunches and stuff> <I thought he wouldn't come, like he was too busy>

Using the analyses available in the relevant literature, future lexicographical presentation of *like* can be clearer and more positively informative to readers.

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21

Language as a political construct

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Abstract

Despite all recent talk of the politics of language, of language being political through and through (Joseph, 2006, Rajagopalan, 2002, 2005a,b, 2008, 2011), there is still an overwhelming tendency among linguists to conceive of language a-politically. Occasional reminders to the effect that “there is no such thing as a language, not if a language is anything like what many philosophers and linguists have supposed” (Davidson, 2001) have mostly fallen on deaf ears. However, if we opt for such a radical stance, the immediate prospects are simply mind-boggling. For instance, once we posit something called language to begin with—something whose identity and contours have always already been established—it would seem perfectly in the fitness of things to wonder how it varies across time and space and, furthermore, what constraints and limits are placed upon it. However, what the theorists of language variation should rather be asking is how come that there developed the notion of a unified language amidst so many fissiparous tendencies that were invariably at work in societies across the world and what specific conditions—to wit, geo-political, sociological, psychological and so forth—made possible its emergence. We may well be poised for a veritable paradigm shift.

1 In what sense may languages be said to exist?

The late American philosopher Donald Davidson (1917 – 2003) once threw a spanner in the works and caused quite a stir in the world of linguistics and philosophy of language when he claimed:

I conclude that there is no such thing as a language, not if a language is anything like what many philosophers and linguists have supposed. Therefore there is no such thing to be learned, mastered or be born with. (Davidson, 2001: 446)

Until the moment when Davidson decided to throw the beans, the idea that what we call languages are no more than woolly entities was, as it were, a closely guarded secret that professional linguists were rather reluctant to talk about except behind the curtain and, that too, in hushed tones. Not that those who are given to thinking about language haven’t known all along that languages in the sense we customarily talk about them do not exist as such in the world. There are no tangible, concrete entities called languages for linguists to turn their analytical scalpels to. Instead, what we do come across in the world of lived reality are people of flesh and blood who communicate to another (or at least seem to) and who, in the process, produce some audible vocables. From there on it takes a giant leap to conjure up abstract objects called languages, and involves a process known as reification. Languages are, in Mufwene’s (2009: 355) words, “like viral species in not having an autonomous existence that is independent of their speakers (their hosts and makers), in

constantly being reshaped to meet communicative needs of the latter, and in being influenced by the ecological conditions under which they are put into use.”

In other words, to refer to languages as *natural* objects involves a sleight of hand. Languages as eminently theoretical constructs and hence, if anything, they are *artificial* entities (not *natural* or ‘God-given’ ones in any full-blooded sense), created, initially at least, to help conversation going smoothly and in a less cumbersome manner. So long as one does not lose sight of this initial move, one does not run the risk of confounding matters. However, it is far too easy to forget that languages, in the sense in which we know them today, were all carefully and painstakingly constructed mainly in the last few centuries. (Wright, 2004)

The danger is when one gets used to talking about them freely and without much concern for the mental acrobatics one had to perform in order to conjure them up in a way that reminds one of Shakespeare’s description (cf. *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, v. i. 16) of the process of poetic creation:

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

2 The political life of languages

Once it receives “a local habitation” and “a name” is bestowed upon it, a language can afford to lead a life of its own. But that life will inevitably have to draw all its *élan vital* from prevailing cultural, sociological and geopolitical climate. Because, even after a language starts existing as an independent entity, albeit abstract and intangible, it continues to be shot through with politics. In the words of John Joseph (Joseph, 2006: 20), language “is political from top to bottom” and is, furthermore, “a political-linguistic-rhetorical construct.” In a review of the book, I made a point of highlighting what may otherwise run the risk of being brushed aside with a casual shrug of the shoulders that “Joseph is not saying that language has, in addition to everything else it is believed to have, a political dimension. Rather, he is saying, language is *constitutively* and hence indissociably political.” (Rajagopalan, 2007: 330)

This means that any attempt to subtract from language its inalienable political dimension is destined to skew whatever results one may obtain from submitting it to close scrutiny. We theorize language on the strength of our deep-rooted beliefs about a whole host of things that together constitute the *Zeitgeist* of our times (there is no other way of going about it!). In other words, our theories about language have their specific spatio-temporal coordinates. As Hutton (1999: 287) has persuasively argued,

Notions such as ‘mother-tongue’ and ‘native speaker’ are fundamental in contemporary formal as well as sociological linguistics, yet their status within organicist ideology and radical-nationalist identity politics is forgotten or ignored. At the very least it should be recognized that the rise of mother-tongues reflects a particular set of historical circumstances, not a transhistorical law of human identity formation.

This is further reinforced by the following claim by Heller (2008: 506):

Linguistics, sociology, and anthropology have all played important roles in nationalist and colonialist agendas, which involved major work on the naturalization, uniformization, and objectification of social groups (and hence their 'cultures,' their boundaries, and their 'languages') [...]

3 Some immediate fallout from considering language politically

It is important to stress at this juncture that bringing politics into the equation is not the same as just adding a new dimension to the study of language. Rather, once we begin to look at language as a politically constructed entity, a number of consequences, some more radical than others, follow from the new stance. To begin with, we are at once confronted with the realization that for a long time we have been asking the wrong kind of questions about the nature of language.

For instance, the million-dollar question about language variation. How does a language vary across time and space? This time-honoured question that has occupied a number of sociolinguists only makes sense if we consider language as a static entity in the first place. Rather than trying to figure out how a given language varies across time and space, we should be asking what led to the creation of the illusion that it is one and the same language that persists over a period of time or that spreads over such vast swathes of territory, trampling in the process obvious differences at all sorts of levels, from surface level lexical and phonetic differences to deeper morphological or even syntactic differences?

What makes it the case that Neapolitan, Sardinian, Sicilian, Ligurian, Piedmontese or Venetian forms of speech are considered dialects of one and the same language, namely Italian, in spite of widely attested difficulties in mutual comprehension amongst the speakers of these different 'varieties', whereas the common, mutually understood form of speech that the people in northern India and most of Pakistan have at their disposal is nevertheless referred to as two separate and distinct languages, namely Hindi and Urdu?

4 The phenomenon of 'World English'

Perhaps nowhere else is the political nature of language more evident today than in the case of the worldwide expansion of English or what many, not without plenty of reason, regard it as the strange linguistic phenomenon which has come to occupy its long-lost role as the symbol of the sway of Britannia over the rest of the world. There are many terms currently in use to refer to this extraordinary linguistic phenomenon. For reasons pointed out in Rajagopalan 2009 and 2012, my own preferred term is 'World English.'

But it is important to bear in mind that World English is a 'whole new ball game', the like of which has never before been witnessed in human history. Comparisons with prototypical 'mixed languages' such as pidgins and creoles do make some *prima facie* sense, but fail to grasp, in my view, the sheer scale of the phenomenon we are looking at and seeking to size up. The speed with which it is spreading across the world and beginning to have a life of its own has a lot to do with globalization that is taking the world by storm and fast changing the face of the earth. But where it will all end up is anybody's guess.

Some of its unique characteristics that make World English stand out amidst the familiar array of contact or makeshift languages are worth drawing attention to. First and foremost, it has no native-speakers. This may indeed shock many, but the argument for making such a claim is simple. No one is denying that English *qua* the mother tongue of anyone who claims it as such has no native speakers. The two terms help define each other, as a matter of fact. But World English is nobody's mother tongue. Another way of putting this would be that World English has no rightful owners, who can lay a claim to monopoly or a special vested interest over its destiny. Everybody who speaks it in whatever capacity has a stake in it. That is where the crucial difference between World English and 'good old English language' (the one in which, say, Spencer and Shakespeare expressed themselves) lies.

Perhaps more enigmatically, what one refers to as World English is not even a language in the full-blooded sense, if we approach it with the help of the concepts and categories perfected in linguistics over the years. It has, for instance, no clear boundary lines, no clearly spelt-out rules of the game. It is, at best, a language (if that is the right word for it!) whose rules are being formulated even as we (i.e. millions of people around the world) speak it. If anything, it is amorphous as yet, rather amoeba-like. It is, to be sure, something still in the making and likely, for all you know, to remain so for the foreseeable future

Once again, World English seems to illustrate Mufwene's point more starkly than any other language in the history of mankind, precisely in virtue of the fact that never before in the history of mankind has the need for countries to foster communication across geographical, cultural and linguistic boundaries been so great as today. World English is going 'viral' at an exponential rate even as we try to make sense of it.

5 Linguaging

The idea that what we call language is a process and not a product is best captured in the concept of 'linguaging', originally put forward by the Chilean biologist Humberto Maturana (The first-ever recorded use of word *linguaging* itself as a de-verbal noun or a gerund dates back, according to the Webster's Online Dictionary, to as early as 1913, although its meaning, recorded by the dictionary as "[t]o communicate by language; to express in language" was a far cry from Maturana's audacious gloss). Here is one of Maturana's many formulations of the term:

To language is to interact structurally. Language takes place in the domain of relations between organisms in the recursion of consensual coordinations of actions, but at the same time language takes place through structural interactions in the domain of the body-hoods of the linguaging organisms. . . . As the body changes, linguaging changes; and as linguaging changes the body changes. Here resides the power of words. Words are nodes in coordinations of actions in linguaging and as such they arise through structural interactions between bodyhoods." [Maturana 1988, §9.5]

World English is what it is because its 'body', in the wide sense of the body of people speaking the language world-wide is fast changing by expanding by leaps and bounds and, from the looks of it, with no letup in sight. This is not to say, as Maturana claims, that all languages are actually reifications from linguaging; it only draws attention to the fact that World English illustrates the point in a way no other

language does—precisely in virtue of the unique set of circumstances that attend on its current meteoric rise as a means of international communication.

6 By way of a conclusion

The random observations cobbled together in the foregoing paragraphs have the sole aim of driving home the claim that languages in the sense in which we today talk about them only make sense when they are approached and appreciated as political constructions. This is also the case when it comes to the myriad things we engage in that have to do with language in one way or another.

Take, for instance, the case of language teaching. For a number of years, the business of language teaching was regarded as an activity that drew its strength and sustenance solely from a scientific understanding of language—of the sort that linguistics, the scientific study of language, was claimed to be eminently capable of furnishing. Leonard Bloomfield (1925: 1), the Father of Modern Linguistics in the USA, was absolutely confident when he claimed in a speech on the occasion of the founding of the Linguistic Society of America:

Our schools are conducted by persons who [...] know nothing of the results of linguistic science, not even the relation of writing to speech or of standard language to dialect. In short, they do not know what language is and yet must teach it, and in consequence waste years of every child's life and reach a poor result.

In Bloomfield's view, in order to be able to teach a language one had to have a thorough grounding in 'the results of linguistic science'. In keeping with this tradition, applied linguistics began its existence primarily as a 'second fiddler' to its mother-discipline.

Much has changed since those days. Today, there is a growing perception among researchers that there is more to language teaching than what linguistics can provide and that language teaching is but the other end of a continuum that has at its other extreme language policies put in place in a given nation-state in accordance with its geo-political priorities and concerns. In other words, there seems to be a growing consensus among scholars that language teaching has to be sensitive to the political climate prevailing in places where it is carried out.

It is also becoming clear to a number of researchers that language learning is, over and above everything else, an exercise in identity construction. Languages constitute the very identity of those who speak it. It goes without saying, therefore, that when one tries to learn a language other than the one(s) one is used to from one's early days, one is *eo ipso* seeking to constitute a new self. Every new language with which one comes into contact helps one refashion one's identity. This truism has gained an added complexity in our globalized world, where mass migrations across the globe, aligned with the reach of satellite communication across the continents at lightning speeds have contributed to identities being submitted to stress and the need to reconfigure themselves constantly.

By way of wrapping up our discussion, we may note that the time is ripe for a paradigm change in the way we look at the phenomenon of language as well as several of the language-related issues that confront us on a day-to-day basis.

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22

In-Service Language Teachers' Development from the Perspective of Localization

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Abstract

This study investigates the development of Japanese language teachers in Hong Kong from the perspective of localization. This perspective refers to replacement of politics, methods, and teaching materials that are influenced from the target language culture with ones that are more appropriate for local context, has been widely recognized in the field of English language education. By examining two in-service non-native Japanese language teachers who took a teacher education course at a master's degree program in Hong Kong through action research, this paper discusses how they actually adapt or adopt theories and/or research findings they studied in the course into their own language classroom. The overall findings show that although these participants had already tried to localize teaching materials for their students prior to taking the teacher education course, they had difficulties of doing it with their limited theoretical knowledge. However, with new ideas gained from the course, they could contextualize innovative ideas into their own language classroom. Thus, both local knowledge and innovative ideas are necessary for promoting better teaching practice in the context investigated. From the findings, this paper discusses the importance of glocalization so that teachers can adapt innovative ideas for their own localized context.

1 Introduction: Globalization and localization

The word "globalization" has become a general term, which can be used in many fields including policies of countries/areas, media, business, and education. However, the concept of globalization has been criticized in a way that the cultural and economic activities from the dominant part of the world replace the ones in the local community through "Americanization," "Westernization," and "Cocacolanization" (Barber, 1995; Melnick & Jackson, 2002). From this perspective, it is discussed that the local culture of each area is on the verge of disappearance, and even the means of resistance is taken by the process of globalization (Ferrer, 2007).

In the field of foreign language education, similar concern was discussed. For instance, in English language education, as English language had spread with the influence of political and economic power of the inner circle of English speaking countries (such as Great Britain and North America), the characteristics and the original values of outer circle (such as India, Kenya, Philippines, etc.) and expanding circle (such as China, Russia, and Japan) were disregarded (Canagarajah, 2005). Through this process, according to Canagarajah (2005) and Kumaravadivelu (2006), "superior" teaching methods and materials in the target language culture were forced to be accepted in the local community. Because of this background, the importance of localization, which refers to replacement of politics, methods, and teaching materials that are influenced from the target language culture with ones that are more appropriate for local context, has been discussed by many researchers (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Edge, 2006; Kumaravadivelu, 2006; Pennycook, 2010).

However, the concept of localization discussed in these literatures is also problematic in a sense that it focuses too much on the local knowledge. By focusing

on “superb” local culture, they often tend to take a position of nationalism that rejects all the in-coming items brought to the local community. Thus, in the field of social science, dichotomy between the two: globalization and localization has been offset by the concept of glocalization. Glocalization is a coined word that combines the concepts of globalization and localization. In this view, people in local adapt (NOT adopt) new ideas that brought by the influence of globalization; they re-construct new socio-cultural activities through interaction of process of globalization and localization (Robertson, 1992). In order to raise the issue of glocalization in the field of foreign language education, by examining two in-service non-native Japanese language teachers who took a teacher education course¹ at a master’s degree program in Hong Kong through action research, this paper discusses how they actually adapt or adopt theories and/or research findings they studied in the course into their own language classroom.

2 Method

2.1 Participants of the study

The participants were two in-service non-native teachers of Japanese as a foreign language. The details are shown below. In order to protect their privacy, their names are pseudonym.

Table 1: Participants of the Study

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Origin	Brief Information about the participants
Peter	50s	Male	Hong Kongnese	Hong Kong	Peter was born in Hong Kong and lived there until he became 18 years old. Then, he stayed in Japan for 11 years in order to study at a university and work for a Japanese company after his graduation from the university. After coming back to Hong Kong, he has been working as a full-time company worker and teaching Japanese as a part-time instructor at the various language schools. He has never taken any teacher training courses, but has self-taught by reading books for Japanese language teachers and attending various seminars for in-service language teachers.
Stephanie	20s	Female	Mainland Chinese	Nanjing	Stephanie was born in Nanjing and lived there until she graduated from the university. She graduated from the university in Nanjing majoring in Japan Studies; then, went to Japan to study Technology Design at the private university for three years. After

¹ They were in the course entitled “Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language (FL)” at the master level.

					coming back to China, she has taught Japanese at a private language school in Nanjing for two years. With her private issue, she moved to Shenzhen to work at a Japanese company. After working there for two years, she came to the university in Hong Kong to obtain the master's degree. After the graduation, she is planning to open her own private language school in Nanjing with her friends.
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2.2 Context

The participants of this study were taking the teacher training course for MA students at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University from January to May in 2013. As the title of the course is "Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language (FL)," the content of the course focuses on FL setting where the target language is not spoken outside of the classroom. As the description of the course states that "this subject aims to develop students' basic skills of teaching Japanese as a foreign language, the skills especially tailored for the students with Chinese-language backgrounds" (Descriptive Programme Document, 2012, p.49), the course was designed with the concept of localization, whose methods and teaching materials are more appropriate for the local (Chinese-speaking) context. In order to incorporate the concept of localization, the tasks of the course were designed as follows:

1. Writing weekly reflections for recording understandings of theories/research findings obtained throughout the semester
2. Writing an autobiography in order to reflect on one's own language learning/teaching developmental history,
3. Writing an essay on the theories and practices of second/foreign language acquisition and teaching methodologies; and
4. Developing a series of pedagogical activities or materials based on needs of teachers in the local and/or relevant community.

In addition to the above-mentioned tasks, lectures on second/foreign language acquisitions, learning methods of classroom practice, and various teaching styles that impact FL learners' learning processes were delivered throughout the semester. Students also discussed on the topics outside of the classroom using discussion thread on social networking system.

2.3 Method/analysis

The method of this study was action research with some ethnographic approaches; it includes (a) participant observations, and (b) interviews with the participants about their teaching beliefs, knowledge, thoughts, and experiences. Since the researcher of the study was also the instructor of this course, the researcher took field notes about what was happening in the activities during the semester. In addition to the participant observation, the interviews with the participants were conducted before, throughout, and after the semester for 30-45 minutes at a time. All the interview data were transcribed for analysis.

In order to investigate the participants' experiences of the course, the Life Story Method (cf. Yamada, 2000; Sakurai, 2002) was used for the data analysis. The Life Story Method is widely used methodologies in the field of Sociology for qualitative research, and has been used for studies of Japanese language education as well. Creating narrative stories reveals the understanding of subjective meanings and

process of the experiences for individuals. In this study, after carefully reading both field notes and transcriptions of the interview data, the stories of Peter and Stephanie were created. "" describes the part quoted directly from the data. The interviews were conducted in Japanese and stories were constructed in English.

3 Data analysis

3.1 Peter's story

Peter first went to Japan for his study at the vocational school for business management of hotels, and then studied at a famous private university majoring in political economy. After graduating from the university, he was working at a trading company in Japan. However, due to his parents' illness, he decided to come back to Hong Kong. After coming back to Hong Kong, he has been teaching Japanese as a part-time instructor at various language schools while working as a full-time at a company. Although he has never trained to become a language teacher, he has learned to be a teacher through his experiences.

As he has taught Japanese for 15 years, he noticed how Japanese language learners in Hong Kong have changed over the years. However, he was not able to find solutions to cope with his learners. In these days, he found that learners in Hong Kong were willing to be able to communicate in Japanese; however, as he got used to the grammar explanation approach, he was feeling that he was not able to meet his learners' needs. This was the reason why he decided to take this course; he was seeking solutions to solve his concerns.

By taking the course, as Peter wrote on his autobiography and teaching philosophy, he has noticed that learners at his language schools were looking for teachers as "performers" and he strongly became sentient that teachers were "サービスの提供者 (providers of service)." As a provider of service, in order to "満足させる (satisfy)" his learners, he came to realize that it was important for his learners to have "コミュニケーションができるという満足感 (sense of accomplishment that they were able to communicate with their abilities)". As he became conscious about the above-mentioned issues, he started to conduct lessons at the language schools with the theories and research findings discussed in the course. However, as he simply "adopted" the theories and research findings into his own lessons without any adjustments, an expected effect was not acquired. Thus, he re-contextualized his practices by considering his own environments and discussing with his colleagues and the instructor; then, he was able to create lessons that both learners and teachers can satisfy. From this experience, he mentioned that he was able to "先生から習った内容で私のこれまでの間違っている考えに気づいた (notice his wrong ideas from the content delivered by the instructor)".

3.2 Stephanie's story

Although Stephanie has experiences of teaching Japanese for two years at Nanjing, she did not receive any teacher training. Although she did not have any formal training, she had enthusiasm to teach language at the beginning of her career. She thought no matter how many years of experiences teachers had or how much they taught in the classroom, there was nothing that excels "情熱 (enthusiasm)" for teaching. However, when she was teaching, she had difficulties of giving instructions to learners who were not interested in learning Japanese. Especially, by following the textbooks and materials provided by the school, which strongly focus on

grammar, she thought she would not be able to attract her learners; thus, she lost her interest in teaching Japanese anymore at that time.

At the beginning of the semester, Stephanie mentioned that she was planning to work in Hong Kong as a full-time company worker. In addition to her full-time position, she thought she might be able to teach Japanese as a part-time instructor at language schools; thus, she did not have much enthusiasm she had as she was in Nanjing.

By taking this course, Stephanie realized that grammar instruction was not only the part of Japanese language teaching and could create her lessons more entertaining. Especially, she noticed that her experiences of living in Japan could become the content that she could teach in the framework of Content-Based Language Teaching (CBLT), which she learnt from the course. With the CBLT framework, she designed the curriculum that she can satisfy with.

After taking the course, Stephanie went back to Nanjing and met her friends who were currently teaching Japanese at the language school. As she talked her experiences of taking this course with them, they realized that they could establish the language school that they truly want to create. By explaining this plan to the researcher, she mentioned that “先生の授業のおかげで、もう一度日本語教育の情熱を持つようになりました (because of the instructor’s class, she once again became enthusiasm toward Japanese language education).”

4 Discussions

From Peter and Stephanie’s stories, it was noted that although these participants had already tried to localize teaching materials for their students prior to taking the teacher education course, they had difficulties of doing it with their limited theoretical knowledge. Both of them were somehow looking for the solutions in order to overcome their difficulties. At such time, by gaining new ideas from the course, they could contextualize innovative ideas into their own language classroom.

In the current discussion of localization in the field of foreign language education, it strongly focuses on local knowledge, but ignores the influence of new ideas that brought by the influence of globalization (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Kumaravadivelu, 2006). However, in this study, it was revealed that both local knowledge and innovative ideas were necessary for promoting better teaching practice. From this point, it is important to discuss about the localization of foreign language education from the perspective of glocalization so that teachers in the local community can adapt innovative ideas for their own localized context. However, as Peter mentioned that he was able to “notice his wrong ideas from the content delivered by the instructor,” it is questionable that who can decide correct or wrong. If the power relationship, such native/non-native and researcher/practitioner, has risen, the true glocalization cannot be realized. For further practice and research of glocalization of foreign language education, these issues should be also addressed in the future.

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23

Gender Differences in Narrative Writing of Indonesian University Students

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Abstract

Writing is a productive skill in language learning where students express their idea in a written form. One challenge is that sometimes there is a gender bias appearing in the texts they write. Gender is understood as hegemonic social representation, and social representation of gender ensures that practices can become marked as masculine or feminine. These practices thus entail legitimate ways to be a boy/man or a girl/woman (Ivinson & Murphy, 2003). Tannen (1994:19) says the theoretical framework of power and solidarity is essential for understanding gender pattern in language use and that gender and language is a fruitful site for investigating the dynamics underlying language choice. This research explores gender differences in Indonesian university students' writing in Genre-based Writing class. The students were asked to create narrative texts by writing a romantic short story. A sample of 12 texts was analyzed. The result indicates that although the male and female students write from different perspectives, there are similarities in how male and female characters are depicted. Also, there was no conscious gender sensitivity and adequate gender equality in the texts. The male and female students describe the male characters as the ones having more power than the female ones.

1 Introduction

Writing is one of major productive skills in language learning. In this skill, students can express their idea in a written form. However, writing has been recognized as a skill which is hard to master. Students often find it difficult to express and organize their ideas in writing. There are also some problems faced by Indonesian students in dealing with this skill, especially writing in English. Based on the researchers' observation, many students do not perform well in English writing although they major in English, and they often have problems in organizing their ideal well. Problems in writing classes are also faced by teachers. Grading workload can be very time-consuming and finding methods to improve students' performance can be very complex. However, despite these problems, students' writing can be viewed as a way of perceiving the world. Each student usually has characteristics which can be seen through the topic they choose and their language styles. It is interesting to see how male students and female students have different styles and contents in writing their compositions.

A study conducted by Peterson in 1998 (Peterson, 2001) about the existence of gender characteristics in students' writing demonstrates that the teachers in her study tend to identify gender differences that paralleled the findings in research on gender patterns in elementary children's writing in many areas in United States. They found that the characters in girls' narrative writing exhibit more emotion and more prosocial behaviors (sharing, helping, and empathizing). On the other hand, characters in boys' narrative writing show more aggressive behavior and engage in more high-density, dangerous action. Moreover, the topics of girls' writing deal with

relationships within their immediate experience and boys' involve activities beyond their lived experience.

In this paper the researchers analyze gender differences in the students' writing in Genre-based Writing course. The researchers attempt to investigate how male and female students describe male and female characters in their writing. This research focuses only on narrative genre as it allows students to use their imagination, thus improving their creativity. The researchers designed a narrative on the topic of romance. Then, the researchers attempt to analyze the gender differences through the use of linguistic resources in the writing.

2 Frameworks

This section presents the theoretical framework underlying the analysis. It includes narrative writing and gender and writing.

2.1 Narrative Writing

Narrative genre becomes a quite common genre in teaching?(Tannen, 1982). There are several reasons for this, such as it is comparatively easy to elicit, and many people seem to like to tell stories. Another point of view is that the boundaries in narratives are easy to be recognized. The written version of a narrative turns out to be more like short story than like expository prose.

Writing short story can create a maximum effect with fewest words. According to Kay and Olson (in Tannen, 1982), writing is decontextualized. It is because cohesion is established in writing through lexicalization and complex syntactic structures which make connectives explicit, and which show relationships between propositions through subordination and other foregrounding or backgrounding devices.

A short story, like other genres of imaginative literature, has its goal to convince the reader through logical argument, but move the reader emotionally through a sense of involvement with its point of view. Thus features of involvement, in Chafe's sense, grow out of the establishment of what Havelock 1963 and Ong 1977, 1979 identify as 'sense of identification'. Written imaginative literature builds on and elaborates aspects of spoken language such as use of detail, direct quotation, sound and word repetition, and syntactic parallelism (Tannen, 1982).

2.2 Gender and Writing

Bakhtin (1981) and Gilbert (1993) explain in their work that the writers of narrative writing leave their sociocultural signatures. The language that the writers use to write their narratives has cultural meaning as the reflection of social contexts where the writers participate and the way they see the world. Because men and women are regarding the landscape from contrasting vantage points, the same scene can appear very different to them, and they often have opposite interpretations of the same action (Tannen, 1991).

With regard to gender, Ivinson and Murphy (2006) state that gender is a hegemonic social representation that circulates as a set of ideas, social norms, conventions and associations within societies. Social representations of gender emphasizes on the practices can become marked as masculine or feminine, and therefore entail legitimate ways to be a boy/man or a girl/woman. Duveen in Ivinson and Murphy (2006) say that the elaboration of social identities by referring to 'the transition from extended identities as children are incorporated into the

social world through the actions of others, to internalized identities as children become independent actors in the field of gender'. Classroom setting causes social representations such as gender to be actively reconstructed through the activities of teacher and students. In addition, the production of creative writing text can be seen as the expression of a social gender identity (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995, Duveen, 2001).

Gender is a quality that is learned and then reaffirmed through public performance of those behavior and speech pattern that are accepted as masculine or feminine (Cameron, 1999). If women speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy, while men speak and hear a language of status and independence, then communication between men and women can be like cross-cultural communication, prey to a clash of conversational styles. Instead of different dialects, it has been said they speak different genderlects.

A study conducted by Biber (1995) on epistolary writing found that there is a difference on the "involvement-informational" dimension. Women's writing demonstrates more usage of features identified as "involved" and men's writing shows more usage of features identified as informational". In the same sense, Halliday (1994) suggests that different foci portray the way male and female writers indicate to the reader what "things" are being talked about. For example, the pronouns of women's writing, as all pronouns, show things in a relational way: "I know that you know what I am referring to, therefore I will present the information as if we both know it". On the other hand, the specifiers found more frequently in men's writings imply: "here are some details about the things being mentioned".

3 Methodology

This research is qualitative in nature as it does not involve statistical procedures and the analysis is presented in the form of description. The method used in the study consists of three steps, they are collecting the data, classifying the data, and analyzing the data. The subjects of this study were taken from a sample consisting of 12 students (6 male, 6 female) in English Department of Faculty of Humanities, Dian Nuswantoro University Semarang. These students took Genre-based Writing course in the third semester. They had to write a narrative text with a given topic, namely romance. The data were analyzed by using the frameworks described in the previous section. Then, the findings were presented, followed by discussion.

4 Result and Discussion

The explanation below presents gender differences in the students writing. These differences are classified into the students' point of view in writing the text and the characterization.

4.1 Point of View

4.1.1 Male students' writing

In this research, the main characters in male students' writing are male. The students use proper names for the main characters in their story.

The sky was so dark, it drew what *Jack* was feeling (The Heart: Winny)

A long time ago, there was a *poor man named Anca* (A Hazard Lake: Haris)

There is someone names *Adi*. (Beautiful Day: Amin)

One day there was a man named Hendrova. (Love Me If You Dare: Bayu)
There was a man named Tejo (Surti and Tejo: Widiyanto)

4.1.2 Female students' writing

Female students use female characters and proper names in their writing.

Once upon a time there is a woman who lived in a little city which has beautiful skin (Sara's Story: Nirmala)

Komang was a beautiful girl in village (The Beautiful Tailor: Nawang)

Besides using proper names, female students use the first person singular pronoun (I) as their main characters.

A few years ago I have a romantic experience. (A Surprise: Donatia)

Three years ago, I was working as a sales clerk at one of supermarket in the Semarang city. (Dishonest: Emphy)

The use of the pronoun "I" implies that female students involve themselves in their story. This fact also means that female students invite readers to get involved in their story and to "listen" to what they think and feel through their story.

4.2 Characterization

4.2.1 Male students

The male characters in male students writing are described as the ones who are willing to sacrifice for the woman, who can also be related to male's bravery. By doing so, it can be concluded that male students' writing imply masculinity. It can be seen from the following excerpts:

"Suddenly, there were two guys with black suit grab her hand. She tried to runaway but failed. Hendrova didn't just stood there watching it. He moved out and run toward that black suite guys. He jumped and kicked one of those guy" (Love Me If You Dare: Bayu)

In the excerpt above, the writer wants to show the reader that a man will protect his woman even by using his physical power. This implies that men have power and should appear to be strong. It is also supported by the following excerpt written by another student:

"It looked tears would drop by his sad eyes, but he was a strong man that he could hold his crying and hide his sadness to his beloved son." (The Heart: Winny)

Moreover, the excerpt demonstrates a man is not supposed to cry and is not supposed to show his sadness as it will make him appear weak.

"I have deceived it. I will do the transplanted heart. I really need the money to pay the hospital cost and of course to give my heart to someone I love sincerely" Jack said firmly, no doubt. "(The Heart: Winny)

The second writer shows that a man is willing to sacrifice his life for a woman, in this case by giving his heart for transplantation. The word “firmly” emphasizes the strong will of the male character.

Another image revealed in male students is that men are free to express lust and desire, while women need to restrain. Some of the male students’ writings contain sexual act, while female students’ don’t.

“But before that, I want to make love with you now! Said Anca “no we haven’t married yet” Meir refused. “You should do my order, or I will force you” said Anca. (Haris)

“In party they were drunk too much which made them unconsciousness. They came to Hayley’s house and lose control until they were making love.” (Ario)

The last image described in male students writing is that men are the ones who are more active than women. Male students’ writings imply that men are the ones who take initiative in most actions.

“This morning is beautiful, I want you accept me because I like you” said Adi (Beautiful day: Amin)

“Listen dear, I want to marry you, I do this because I want to show my love to you” (A Hazzard Lake: Haris)

4.2.2 Female students

The female students’ writing is influenced by fairy tales. The image of the male characters in the writing has the same image with the description of a male character in fairy tales.

“Grey is a handsome man with long hair and always stays cool.” (Grey and Jingga: Kiswati)

“I liked him because he was handsome, tall and friendly.” (Dishonest: Emphy)

“At that moment Sara attracted to Jack, because Jack is handsome and tall, he also had sweet smile.” (Sara’s Story: Nirmala)

The excerpt shows that the female students have the same ideal type for the male characters. The type of person who is “handsome and tall” becomes the perfect type for a man. It shows that the female students are influenced by fairy tales which often describe a charming prince as a handsome and tall man.

In other texts, female characters in the female students’ writing are described as passive and submissive, for example in the following excerpt.

“Actually Jack has two girlfriends. Two days later, Jack came to Sara’s house and apologizes. Sara just give Jack a smile and she apologize Jack” (Sara’s Story: Nirmala)

The excerpt above shows that the female character is easy to forgive her lover even though he already cheated on her. The female characters in all students’ writings are not described as women who fight back or protest although they have been treated badly.

From the data described above, it can be seen that both male and female students have similar stance in viewing the position of male and female. In the texts, male characters are viewed as the ones with more dominance than the female ones. It can be influenced by cultural pattern in Indonesia especially Central Java in which women are supposed to conform to men's authority. Although in writing class students can convey freely what they want to express, the students are still constrained by social construction on how male and female are represented.

5 Conclusion

The analysis on gender differences in narrative writing of male and female students reveals that although the male and female students write the same topic from different perspectives, there are similarities in how male and female characters are depicted. Also, there was no conscious gender sensitivity and adequate gender equality in the texts. For example, both male and female students describe the male characters as the ones having more power and more dominant than the female ones.

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24

Reconceptualizing China English: an investigation of model argumentative texts by Chinese ELT teachers

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Abstract

Scholars tend to consider Chinese linguistic and cultural norms as the only contextual variable to explain and predict the uses of English in particular Chinese contexts, while few works on China English focuses on other contextual variables, including the functions of English language in local context. This study attempts to address this gap and investigate a particular practice of English language by local Chinese ELT teachers. The data of this study consists of 15 model argumentative texts selected from three IELTS exam cracking books authored by local English teachers. By drawing on the analytical tools based on Systemic Functional Linguistics, this study examines the lexicogrammatical features of the texts, in terms of the realization of textual meaning. The findings reveal particular patterns in realizing Themes and the preferences in the ways of text development. While these linguistic features may indicate, to some extent, the cultural identities of the writers, they are arguably more associated with the local functions of the texts, instead of the involuntary transference of Chinese language and culture. In so doing, the study questions the role of identifying Chinese characteristics played in conceptualizing China English, and calls for further investigations of the uses of English in various new local Chinese contexts.

1 Introduction—Conceptualizing China English

While China English has been studied based on the traditional user-based paradigm, some scholars start to argue the necessity of reconceptualise China English from the perspective of its usage in local Chinese context(You, 2008). However, works in this direction are more of study of stylistic variation, and it is argued that this is not enough if our research purpose is to contribute to the theorization of China English as meaning-making resources, for the reason that these studies still do not touch upon the essential question, from the meaning-making perspective, that is: how does a specific context affect the language user's choices of lexicogrammar in constructing specific meanings, therefore forming a particular language style?

It is suggested that Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) could be used effectively to address this question. This is because SFL considers meaning and social variation as playing the central role in understanding the uses of a language within a specific context (Mahboob & Szenes, 2010). In particular, SFL theorizes the dialogistic relationship between language and context. Furthermore, SFL consider the text as the object of linguistic analysis, because a text is defined as a selection and actualization of the meaning potential of its social context, which is further realized in specific choices of lexicogrammar. In this process, texts also realize the three types of meanings within a particular type of situation, including ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Against this background, this study presents an SFL-oriented analysis of a local practice of English language by Chinese ELT (English Language Teaching) teachers, namely, the model texts of English argumentation written by Chinese ELT teachers.

The analysis intends to examine how the lexicogrammatical choices are associated with the functions of these texts, especially in terms of the realization of the textual meaning of a text.

2 Research methodology

2.1 Data Source—argumentative model essays

The source of data consists of three exam cracking books for IELTS (International English Language Testing System). For conveniences, the three books were coded as B1(Liu, 2011), B2(NewOrientalSchool, 2006), and B3(Gu, 2008). All the three books are designed as reference books for IELTS candidates who need guidance on the writing component of the exam. They contain a fairly large collection of model argumentative essays on the topics related to IELTS test. According to the prefaces of the three books, these model texts are written by Chinese ELT teachers without involvement of ENL speakers.

Although there are two tasks in the writing component of IELTS, this study only focuses on the model texts in response to the Task 2, which requires candidates to write an argumentative text. Accordingly, this study selected the specific chapter which provides Task 2 model texts in each book. To create the data set, three sets of essay were collected from Chapter One in Book One, Chapter Three in Book Two, and Chapter Three in Book Three, respectively. For each book, 5 texts were randomly selected. The 15 texts were, accordingly, labelled as B1T1, B2T2, B3T4, etc. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is not to judge which text is better written, but to examine the similarities and differences in the writers' lexicogrammatical choices in relation to the realization of textual meanings, namely, the organization of a text.

2.2 Analytical Framework

2.2.1 Theme analysis

Theme analysis aims to investigate how the text is organized cohesively across sentence boundaries, especially how a text is unfolded at the paragraph level. The analysis is based on the notions of *Theme* and *Rheme* developed from the tradition of SFL. *Theme* refers to the local point of departure of a message, which "locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 64), and the rest of the message of the clause is called *Rheme*. The thematic structure, therefore, indicates the characteristics of the clause as a message, functioning to organize and carry forward the flow of discourse (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

The analysis was conducted at the level of T-unit, which consists of an independent clause and all hypotactically related clauses which are dependent on it (Fries, 1994). Within each T-unit, the types of *Theme*, such as textual *Theme*, interpersonal *Theme*, and topical *Theme*, was identified based on the definitions proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). The Theme Progression (TP) analysis was subsequently conducted to investigate how the Thematic structures contribute to the cohesive development of a text at the paragraph level, by examining the ways in which the elements of *Theme* and *Rheme* of successive sentences are linked. The coding system of TP was based on Daneš's (1974) three-pattern system, and ideas from Eggins (2005) and Mauraanen(1996). In this study, the TP patterns were divided into four types, including *Rheme-Theme* (RT), *Theme-Theme* (TT), *Motivated*

New (MN) and *Unmotivated New* (UN). This system is defined and exemplified in Table 1.

Table 1: TP patterns

Code	Definition	Examples	Comment
Rheme-Theme (RT)	An element introduced in the Rheme of the immediately preceding unit is picked up as the topical Theme of the current unit	To begin with, environment is a determining factor of <i>one's</i> personality. (B2T1) <u>One</u> may think that personality is already shaped once a baby is born(B2T1)	This pattern gives the text a sense of cumulative development (Eggins, 2005)
Theme-Theme (TT)	The topical Theme of the immediately preceding unit of analysis is repeated as the topical Theme of the current unit.	There is no denying that <u>some old buildings</u> are of aesthetic, archaeological or architectural values. (B3T3) <u>They</u> might be either integral to a culture as a symbol of a city or country or unique in the domain of architecture. (B3T3)	This pattern is a basic way to keep a text cohesive(Eggins, 2005)
Motivated New (MN)	The topic Theme of current unit is not picked up from the Themes or Rhemes of immediately preceding unit, therefore a new Theme. However, it is still semantically linked to the Hypertheme of the paragraph, including the topic sentence of the paragraph, or the main idea of the text.	It is oversimplistic to say that <u>advertising</u> plays a decisive role.(B3T4) Most of the time, <u>there</u> are a range of factors a consumer would take into account, including their income levels, circumstances, and so forth.(B3T4)	This pattern tends to be used more frequently by non-native English users (Ho, 2011).
Unmotivated New (UN)	The topic Theme of current unit is not picked up from the Themes or Rhemes of immediately preceding unit, therefore a new Theme. However, the entire unit is not logically and semantically linked to the Hypertheme of the paragraph, or the main idea of the text	<u>Government</u> should spend money on arts. <u>Some officials</u> are quite rich. (invented example)	This pattern lacks of an explicit link with the previous sentence, therefore indicating an unclear textual development (Ho, 2011).

Note: Topical Themes are underlined and in bold, and the *Rhematic element* that is reused as a Theme is in italics

3 Findings and Discussions

3.1 Theme choices

According to the findings, textual *Themes* tend to be frequently used in all the texts. A qualitative examination in terms of the realization of textual *Theme* in the 15 texts reveals that there are many repeated uses of certain linking devices, such as “in the first place”, “on the one hand”, “for example”, and “moreover”, and it seems that the usage of these expressions may lead to the formation of certain fixed templates, which can be illustrated in the extraction (a) below. The extraction (a) starts with a

general claim or argument, which is then followed by a relatively a list of points for supporting, which are typically listed with the textual *Theme*. While the frequent employment of textual *Theme* may be due to the fact that all the texts belong to the genre of argumentation (Ho, 2011), the position of these words identified in the analysis tends to be formulaic in a way that what the readers need to do is simply filling up the rest of sentences.

- a) On the other hand, **we** should not overlook the disadvantages. **The worst one I would say** is that it will isolate people farther and farther. For example, more people rely on the modern technology and are reluctant to get in touch with others. Moreover, the efficiency of long-distance education is in doubt. **Children, not like the adults**, need to be supervised and guided. When they are left at home to study through the internet, most of them tend to slack off. In addition, intensive use of computer is not good for one's health. **The screen** will harm the sights, making people become short-sighted. And sitting before computer for long time will damage the spinal column of children who are in the period of growth.¹ [B1T2]

In contrast, the instances of interpersonal *Themes*, such as Adjunct and Finite verbal operator (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), is much less, and they tend to be experientialized (Thompson & Thompson, 2009). In other words, the interpersonal system, such as Mood and modality, are realized metaphorically as a part of the propositional content, such as the wording "it seems that" in extraction (a) below. Accordingly, "it seems that" could be treated as an interpersonal grammatical metaphor realizing interpersonal *Theme* and "traditional courses" should be the topical *Theme*.

- (a) By contrast, it seems that **traditional courses** are out of date. (B2T5)
 (b) A question central to today's environmental debate is how economic development and environmental protection interrelate with each other. **It seems to be an irreversible trend that** no economic target can be attained without some sacrifice made to the environment. **As for me**, however, countries can pursue sustainable advancement while focusing on environmental issues. [B1T4]

An interesting observation of the employment of experientialized interpersonal *Theme* is that they are usually employed in the first paragraph to introduce the topic of the essay, or presenting the thesis of the essay, such as extraction (b) above. Accordingly, certain fixed rhetorical strategies of writing the introduction paragraph can be identified across the 15 texts. Meanwhile, it is noted that some of the experientialized interpersonal *Themes* are arguably construed as some kind of fixed string of words, such as "in my opinion", "it seems that", and "there is no denying that", and other semi-fixed word strings or grammatical structures, including "it is +adjective +that/to", and "some people argue/believe", which are frequently used in all the texts. It is suggested that the usage of experientialized interpersonal *Theme* seems to constitute a set of fixed forms of expression, or the "lexical bundles" (Hyland, 2012), pertaining to the genre of argumentation.

3.2 TP patterns

The analysis of TP patterns suggests that RT and MN patterns are mainly employed in the texts of the three groups (see table 2 below). In particular, the employment of marked topical *Theme* in the texts of this study are closely related to the patterns of Thematic Progressions. Generally speaking, the uses of marked *Theme* in many of the texts are usually associated with foregrounding the local "topic" of the unit. Such

¹ Unmarked **topical Themes** are both underlined and in bold.

Marked **topical Themes** are in italics, and are both underlined and in bold.

Textual Themes are underlined, and **interpersonal Themes** are in bold.

usage usually leads to the cases where the marked topical *Theme* does not pick up either the thematic or rhematic parts of the immediate preceding units, thus disrupting the thematic continuity of the texts and creating many MN patterns, as is illustrated by the extraction (a) below.

- (a) ***As “to err is human”,*** so it is the case with teachers. ***If the students have the chance to voice their opinions,*** not only will there be a cozy and liberal atmosphere in class, but both parties will benefit from the stimulus-response process. [B2T2]

According to the traditions of contrastive study, RT patterns usually are associated with English texts written by ENL speakers (Ho, 2011; Mauranen, 1996), which are associated with the linear development of the texts. The usage of MN patterns, on the other hand, tends to be associated with the style of non-linearity in argumentation, which is usually adopted by non-ENL speakers (Ho, 2011). For example, it is suggested that the employment of marked topical *Theme* in this study may be explained by Kirkpatrick and Xu’s (2002) observation that China English tends to be characterised by the transfer of the “frame-body” pattern from modern standard Chinese, where the subordinate clause tends to precede the main clause, creating a “local frame” only for the rest of the sentence. However, the findings of this study suggest the co-existence of both RT and MN patterns can be identified even in one paragraph. For example, texts in B3 employ close instances of RT patterns (42%), and MN patterns (38%) (see table 2). In fact, the usage of marked topical *Themes* identified in this study seems to be similar to the observations by Ho (2011) in the English essays written by Vietnamese ESL (English as a Second Language) learners. Therefore, it is pointed out that, while rhetorical strategies, such as organizing a paragraph, may be a socio-cultural construct (Y. Kachru, 2009), it seems impossible to mechanically correspond a particular lexicogrammatical choice to a particular English variety (e.g. China English).

Table 2: TP patterns

B1:								
TP patterns	RT		TT		MN		UN	
Total No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
68	22	32	12	18	34	50	0	0
B2:								
TP patterns	RT		TT		MN		UN	
Total No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
74	19	26	14	19	41	55	0	0
B3:								
TP patterns	RT		TT		MN		UN	
Total No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
79	33	42	16	20	30	38	0	0

3.3 Functions of the texts

As is indicated before, the model texts are chosen from three commercial exam cracking books, which aims to provide various “test strategies or tips” to help readers pass a particular test (in this case, IELTS test). Usually, the authors of these books tend to encourage readers to imitate and even memorize these model texts (Gu, 2008; Liu, 2011; NewOrientalSchool, 2006). This seems understandable, since Chinese culture seems to consider anything worthy of inclusion in a book to be true knowledge, and memorizing sample essays on the topics that might occur in the test is a widespread exam-preparation practice in China (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2012; You, 2012). This might also explain the formulaic employment of linguistic resources (in this case, *Theme* elements), which narrows the scope of linguistic choices, thus facilitating readers’ imitation and memorization. In fact, such exam-preparation

materials can also be seen in other EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries, such as Vietnam (Ho, 2011), which calls for further investigations into the long-term effects of these materials on the writing practices of EFL learners in real-life situations, such as the tertiary-level English writings in an English-medium university.

4 Conclusion—uses of English language in Chinese context

This paper reports on a small-scale investigation of the uses of English in a local Chinese context. The analysis reveals that the similar lexicogrammatical choices identified are more associated with the local purposes of the texts, the pedagogical tools for writing instruction, rather than with the Chinese language and culture as a whole. In fact, it seems that it is difficult to pinpoint particular rhetorical features that are exclusively belong to China English. Therefore, the paper suggests that, instead of arguing for the existence of the variety of China English, it is more important to explore how English language is used in various fields in China, such as education, media, and business, where English language may serve different local purposes.

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25

Representations of Brazilian Schoolteachers in Pre-Service Teachers' Reports

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Abstract

This paper presents a report of an ongoing research, in which we investigate how Brazilian schoolteachers are represented by pre-service teachers in their training reports construed in reflexive professional writing. For such result, Systemic Functional Linguistics is used as the main theoretical apparatus for investigating representation in the texts. A quantitative analysis regarding the total number of process encountered in the data of this study is presented in order to quantitatively investigate the general picture of how schoolteachers were construed as the grammatical subject of the texts.

1 Introduction

In the Brazilian context, the very first formal education teachers receive happens at an undergraduate degree level. These degrees, named *Licenciaturas*¹, cover several school subjects, such as Biology, Geography, History, Mathematics and Portuguese, chosen by the candidates according to their preference when entering university. After undertaking the compulsory credits/subjects, which takes approximately four years, students (here called pre-service teachers) are awarded the degree of licensed teacher. This degree is the least demanding degree that one may take so as to undertake any teaching role in Brazilian basic schools contexts².

When students reach half of their undergraduate program, they are required to attend supervised compulsory pre-service teacher training. This is organized in two distinct moments of learning. In a first moment, at university, pre-service teachers attend theoretical and practical lessons where academic knowledge is introduced as it can contribute more directly to their practices when they go to basic schools. During orientation sessions, lessons and pedagogical materials are planned in order to be used by the pre-service teachers in basic schools. Sometimes, during these sessions, there is also space where pre-service teachers can verbally share their experiences lived during their practicum. The practicum is the second moment of learning. It is carried out at a basic school and pre-service teachers observe lessons that are taught in a subject connected to their undergraduate teacher-training program. After observing these lessons for a certain period, pre-service teachers have to teach, preferably, the same group of students they have been observing being supervised by the teacher, who is the one responsible for the compulsory pre-service teacher-training subject.

¹ *Licenciatura* can be translated into *Licentiate*, however, due to the many possible translation equivalents assigned to such a term, we are using the general umbrella term Degree.

² This paper contributes to the scientific investigations developed by the research group “Práticas de Linguagens em Estágios Supervisionados” – PLES (UFT/CNPq).

The data set composing this study includes eight pre-service teacher training reports, produced by a group of Brazilian pre-service teachers who have attended their compulsory training focusing on the teaching of Portuguese Language and Literature, an option offered by the undergraduate programme so-called *Licenciatura em Letras – Habilitação em Língua Portuguesa*. This paper investigates how Brazilian basic school teachers are represented in this set of written texts, which construe what is known as professional reflexive writing, that is, a distinctive register construed in pre-service teacher education. The reports are the final assignment of the pre-service training written by pre-service teachers.

The data of this research is available for academic activities in a documentation and study center called *Centro Interdisciplinar de Memória dos Estágios Supervisionados das Licenciaturas* (CIMES), located at *Universidade Federal do Tocantins* (UFT), Araguaína Campus, Brazil. For the present paper, we have focused on looking at the most recent documents made available in CIMES found under the category of training subject in which pre-service teachers only observe Portuguese Language lessons taught by a basic schoolteacher. In the undergraduate programme investigated, this is their first subject of teaching training, which is followed by other three subjects in subsequent semesters, when they also must teach after having observed prior lessons. In this sense, the focus of the present paper is given to the written texts that were written during the observation stage. The data is, therefore, quantitatively analyzed through the use of the analytical tools made available by WordSmith Tools 5.0 (Scott, 2008), namely Wordlist and Concord Tools.

After this brief introductory section, the paper is organized in two main sections, Theoretical assumptions and Data analysis, followed by some Final Considerations.

2 Theoretical assumptions

In the context of language education and teacher training, the present research presents an innovative way of looking at reflexive writing in practicum stages, that is, it makes use of the holistic approach offered by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) for analyzing text produced by teachers in training. By innovative we mean, professional reflexive writing reports produced in the encounter of basic schools and universities have not yet been given focus in the interface of educational linguistics and SFL, let alone in the Brazilian context of academic writing. Despite the existence of research within the educational linguistics realm of enquiry oriented by genre-based literacy approaches using SFL, they do not touch upon the encounters of two distinct institutions. Martin and Rose (2008), Christie and Derewiank (2008), Ryan (2011) and Hewings and North (2006), to name but a few, are some of the studies that have value bearing for the research at hand. Martin and Rose (2008) as well as Christie and Derewianka (2008) have focused on students' writing in the Australian primary and secondary school context. Ryan (2011) has proposed an "Academic Reflexive Model" to improve reflective writing skills of higher education students, also in the Australian educational context. Hewings and North (2006) have compared conventional academic writing produced by geography and history undergraduate students in England.

The institutional social spaces of basic schools and universities are of extreme importance for the present research as they run in parallel with the premises of SFL, that is, language is a linguistic system that is realized within and according to specific contexts of use. The speaker/writer creates meaning on the basis of choices, because it [choice] represents an option that the speaker resorts to in order to create meanings in a text. The choices the speaker/writer makes, either consciously

or unconsciously, will control the configuration of the lexicogrammatical realization of the register construed from the activity being carried out in combination with the interactional relationship of the social context. In this sense, the text is a result of contextual factors and internal lexicogrammatical configuration, an operation of words exchanged in context and which receive their meaning from the socio-semiotic activities where words are construed based on social agents and goals (Halliday, 1998).

According to Halliday (1989, p. 4), “language is understood in its relationship to social structure”. Therefore, language is understood here as a social semiotic process through which discourses and social practices are spread out in different institutional settings, as is the case of the context where compulsory pre-service training takes place. Both discourses and practices are amenable to textually oriented analysis. This is no different when looking into the texts that constitute the data of this research, that is, they are texts characterized by the distinct social practices of the educational settings in which they are immersed. In this sense, when the representation of basic schoolteachers is investigated it will, inevitably, also reveal concerns around pre-service teacher education. Placing a critical eye on the pedagogical activities of pre-service training can lend itself to elaboration of future pedagogical activities by teachers for their workplaces.

In the context of diversified interactive situations of a literate society, the use of reflexive professional writing realized in the pre-service teacher training reports, exemplifies how written texts “mediate our social lives” and “discourses come to us via texts” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 549). The set of texts under investigation construe discourses in a complex social space, namely pre-service teacher training, where nebulous boundaries between universities and basic schools meet.

3 Data analysis

Pre-service teacher reports result on what we call here *reflexive professional writing*. We see such as a type of writing that is used as an instrument of mediation to promote the empowerment of pre-service teacher education. The textual organization of the reports are quite diverse, this is mostly due to compulsory pre-service teacher training at universities not having a systematic structure of the dynamism of such training/contexts. Silva (2012, p. 287) points out to “the lack of consensus among the educators responsible for coordinating and teaching the supervised pre-service training subjects as regards the operationalization of official guidelines concerning the subject”.

Even not being our objective to investigate the schematic structure of the selected reports, in general terms, a simple internal organization could be observed. Besides including *pre-textual elements*, such as, covers, index, nt and epigraph, references and attachment most of them also included: (i) an *introductory section*: containing the objectives of their compulsory pre-service teacher training; and, the general information about the school, the teacher and the group of students; (ii) a *core section*: part that reports and discusses the experiences lived in the basic school, the discussion part is, at times, presented in a separate section or in subsections focusing on the school infrastructure and/or contents concerning Portuguese Language Teaching, such as reading, writing and grammar; (iii) a *conclusion section*: this section explores pre-service teachers’ most relevant aspects of the experiences reported previously as well as discussing contributions of the practicum to their education. All of these sections are identifiable by headings or by paragraph division when in a single section.

In the set of texts under investigation, the only interactants portrayed are the pre-service teachers and their supervisors, while basic school teachers and students are almost not given reference to. Usually basic schools teachers and students do not have access to the pre-service teacher training reports, regardless the fact that all of the reports from the past four years are made available for consultation in the CIMES platform. The writers of the reports do not aim at writing these texts to schoolteachers and students since these social actors are not immersed in the academic context and therefore, they do not make use of or even visit the services and spaces provided by CIMES. The non-contact that basic school actors have with the training reports is evidence of the absence of a close cooperation between the two institutions involved in the supervised compulsory pre-service teacher-training subject.

From a quantitative point of view, pre-service teachers construe the *student* and the *teacher* as the main social actors in their writing³. This finding is presented in Table 1 where the ten most recurrent lexical words of the data are given. The total number of lexical and grammatical words in the pre-service training reports is 20,954.

Table 1: Most frequent lexical words

SOCIAL ACTORS	N	%	SOCIAL ACTORS	N	%
1. Student	331	1.57	6. Text	109	0.52
2. Teacher	224	1.06	7. Language	84	0,40
3. Lesson	215	1.03	8. Reading	66	0,31
4. School	124	0.59	9. Classroom	66	0,31
5. Education	117	0.56	10. Activity	58	0.27

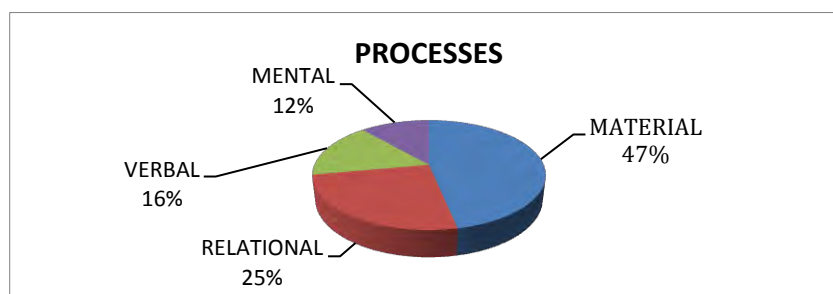
This result demonstrates that even though focusing significantly on the *student*, *teacher* and *lesson*, pre-service teachers do take into consideration the whole social semiotic environment involving other social actors such as the ones found in table (*school; education; text; language; reading; classroom; activity*). In doing so, pre-service teachers are able to handle the text as regards the social actors responsible for the problems and virtues observed at basic schools. In these texts, students discuss the social actors that are directly related to language teaching (*text; reading; language*) as well as the social actors that enable articulations with broader issues in the education sphere (*school; education; classroom*).

The lexical word *education* besides representing the educational level where the supervised pre-service training takes place (as *Basic Education*) allows the writers to expound on the challenges of teaching the mother tongue as well as the other challenges faced among the diverse school subjects. When making use of the lexical word *language*, students are able to elucidate the issues related to the specificities of teaching the mother tongue stating that what frequently happens is the articulation of the academic literature as an authority argument and a 'didactization' tool (Melo, Gonçalves and Silva, 2013). These findings suggest that in order to improve the use

³ According to Silva and Pereira (2013, p. 40), we conceptualize social actors as "human actors and non-humans actors responsible by the triggering of actions into different institutional domains. Those actors also suffer actions in similar proportion. They assume roles in social practices and are textually represented by lexical-grammatical choice from a linguistic system of reference" (our translation).

of reflexive professional writing in the context of teacher education, social actors that are directly related to Portuguese language teaching could be thematized in a more expressive way.

As a means of understanding how the basic schoolteacher was construed as the grammatical subject of the clauses, a quantitative analysis regarding the total number of process encountered in the data of this ongoing study was carried out. For the present study, we look at the grammatical subject as “the person with whom the message is concerned” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 55). To facilitate searching for this participant, WordSmith Tools, in particular Concord Tools (Scott, 2008) was applied to investigate the occurrences in the data set. In Graphic 1, the four types of process identified in the set of texts as well as their frequency are presented.



Graphic 1: Process types

These results demonstrate that basic schoolteachers are represented as social actors who undertake their occupations by doing, that is, are construed as the Actors of material clauses (47%). The occurrences of verbal (16%) and mental (12%) processes are low when compared with the schoolteacher represented portraying the role of agent in material clauses. In these occurrences, schoolteachers are represented as (a) agents of their own actions or (b) of actions proposed by others. In (a), pre-service teachers report schoolteachers' performance in classroom, whereas, in (b), pre-service teachers express what schoolteachers should do, according to pre-service teachers' own judgment or to a legal agent's (official documents or an author, for instance) point of view. In the first representation, schoolteachers are represented explicitly or by ellipsis, while in the second they are explicitly talked about.

Relational processes (25%) are the second most constant process type to concord with basic schoolteacher. In relational clauses, pre-service teachers seem to express a more critical judgment about schoolteachers' performance. Their performances are described by pre-service teachers, who can be represented in the relational clauses explicitly or by ellipsis as the author responsible for the representation in which s/he is configured. However, there are also few occurrences in which the schoolteachers are responsible by their own representation in relational clauses.

4 Final considerations

This paper brings a summarized version of a two-fold research (qualitative and quantitative approaches), which investigates professional reflexive writing in two specific phases: (i) from its embryonic steps, (ii) through field notes to its final steps

through reflexive writing itself. The representations of Brazilian schoolteachers demonstrate the need of a complexification of university's view about what is experienced in basic schools by pre-service teachers. Apart from deepening their discussions in the written reports, students need to take into account other social actors that are part of the dynamics of Portuguese language teaching in basic schools, avoiding the pre-judgment of teacher's in service end product. Despite of this demand, initial results are suggestive of reflexive professional writing being able to help pre-service teacher critical education. When comparing the two specific phases mentioned, we observe that, in training reports, pre-service teachers seem to complexify their views regarding the lessons they have observed.

This research will continue to investigate the representation of Brazilian teachers, however, looking at such social actor as realized by other grammatical function(s), that is, as a participant target of an action or as a circumstantial element in the construction of the data set of the present research. The language of evaluation, as basic schoolteacher are praised or criticized while being represented, also deserves a closer attention in pre-service teachers' writing, as is the case of the study at hand.

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He deserved to die by a woman's hand!': masculine and feminine traits of female kung-fu practitioners in films

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Abstract

As often discussed in the field of linguistic anthropology, mainstream media has been a common source of propagation of dichotomous gender ideologies about femininities and masculinities. Because the hegemonic ideas about suggested 'femininity' and 'masculinity' demonstrated in the media appear so effortlessly acceptable within cultural and historical contexts, people readily treat constant reiteration of any such ideology as commonsensical and naturalized. This study investigates female *kung-fu* practitioners, *nüxias*, in films to investigate how their femininity is mitigated with expected masculinity via mediation and mediatization. *Nüxias* are prototypically portrayed as empowered women who have the agency to take control of their own lives and are able to fearlessly challenge *wuxias* or male *kung-fu* practitioners. We analyze the film data from Asian, namely, Confucian perspectives in order to demonstrate a multimodal deconstruction of the various characterologies of *nüxias*. By observing different types of *nüxias* in *kung-fu* films, this study attempts to understand Chinese specific hegemonic ideologies associated with femininity and masculinity in media.

1 Introduction: Mediation and Mediatization of Chinese Masculinity

A naturalization of gender ideologies by media can be inflected along the vectors of race (a property of human bodies) and ethnicity (a social category of people). Illustrative of this is Bucholtz's (2011) study on the re-embodied voice in Hollywood films which highlighted how the mocking of the white hip hop fan uses ideologies of race, gender and language to enforce essentialized racial boundaries. In Chinese martial arts films, Hiramoto (2012) observed a process via which discursive practices employed began naturalizing a widely propagated concept of ideal Chinese masculinity rooted in Confucian ideology. Traits that index such masculinity include the *wuxia* heroes' reticence and use of formulaic or philosophical speech styles which are unlike those observed in Western masculinity (see Bloyle, 2010). These mediatized and racialized speech styles have generally been accepted by most viewers as naturalized forms. *Mediatization* is a specially formalized type of message which occurs by means of institutionalized communication including mainstream media discourse. It encompasses all representational strategies—choices made during production such as editing of linguistic resources—in the creation of media products yielding intertextual chains of communication like text, image, and talk (Jaffe 2011; Jaworski 2007; Lippi-Green 2011). *Mediation* here refers to processes of communication that connect people and elements of society through the exchanges of meanings and ideas (Agha 2011; Scollon 1998).

In this paper, we investigate representations of *nüxias* 'female *kung-fu* practitioners' in films to discuss how their femininity is mitigated with expected masculinity via processes of mediation and mediatization. Often, *nüxias* are portrayed as empowered women who are equipped with both physical and mental

prowess to take control of their own lives and are able to courageously take challenges against male opponents. While some western scholars raised an awareness of the subordination of *nǚxias* in films, their arguments are mainly centered on the dominant gender ideology without referring to Chinese-specific ideology (e.g. Gomes 2005; Reynaud 2003). However, multimodal deconstructions of the various characterologies of *nǚxias* need to be related to Asian-specific contexts and perspectives. The constant and consistent recontextualization of associating conformance to Confucian values with virtuousness (e.g. maintaining patriarchal hierarchy) and non-conformance (e.g. disobeying superiors) with wickedness perpetuates patriarchy. By having this particular system of measure for the identities of *nǚxias*, we attempt to understand mediation and mediatization processes of ideologies associated with Chinese femininity and masculinity.

2 Confucianism and Chinese Women's Place

In Confucianism, women belonged to the inside space (*nei*, a sphere of domesticity and wifely servitude) while men belonged to the outside space (*wai*, a sphere of business and scholarly pursuits). Within the realm of *wai* exists the mediatized world of martial arts and this is seen through the many fictitious heroic *wuxias* who project the ideal *wen-wu* 'cultural attainment-martial valor' masculinity of Confucian virtues like righteousness, self-mastery and selflessness. As Liu (1967: 1-2) explains, although they did not have much regard for the law, "they usually acted on altruistic motives and were ready to die for their principles".

Heroic *nǚxias* who transgressed the *nei-wai* boundary, on the other hand, are aware of their position as women and often participate in martial arts activities in order to fulfill their duties as daughter, wife, or mother. Thus, in fact, they are abiding by Confucian patriarchal values. Dong (2011: 13) explains that fictional heroic *nǚxias* are "carefully characterized without either challenging or threatening the dominant male-centred rule". Thus, it seems that in order to further understanding of the Confucian patriarchal hierarchy within the martial arts films, one has to be able to identify the subtleties of transgressing Chinese gender propriety as measured against Confucian ideals/values.

3 Data and Methodology

The observed data consist of 13 historical-action films dating from 1966 to 2011, selected based on the representativeness and prominence of heroic and villainous *nǚxia* characters. While no distinctions are made between *nǚxias* who fought with or without weapons, *nǚxias* equipped with magical powers are excluded from the data as their physical prowess was not achieved by martial arts trainings.

As mentioned in the previous section, the recognition of a heroic (exemplary) *nǚxia* revolves around male endorsement. This also means the construction of a villainous identity of a *nǚxia* is based on a distorted representation of the *wen-wu* philosophy or Confucian social order. All in all, endorsement by important male characters can be a significant factor for *nǚxias'* positions in realms of the martial arts world.

This paper categorizes the *nǚxia* characters as the following three types: 'heroine', 'villainess', and 'ambiguous (neither heroic nor villainous)' through the Chinese ideals of feminine qualities, namely, *san cong si de* 'three obedience and four virtues'. Within the films' setting of olden day China where patriarchal hierarchy was

strictly observed, these ideals were linguistically even more highlighted than today through mediation of both verbal and non-verbal communications. The representations of *san cong si de* traits concerning linguistic characteristics will be discussed in detail in the next section. Because selflessness and self-mastery are important male traits in the *wen-wu* philosophy, heroic *nüxias* are required to negotiate and balance their projections of masculine and feminine qualities by achieving mental nimbleness and resourcefulness.

4 Analysis: Three Obedience and Four Virtues

Before going into analysis of the feminine Confucian ideals in *nüxias*, *san cong si de* needs to be explained. *San cong* states that as women are bound to the 'inside' realm (*nei*), they "must depend on their fathers, husbands and sons at different stages of their lives" (Rosenlee 2006: 89). It required women to respect, honor and obey their parents before marriage, obey their husbands after marriage and raise their children and respect their children's choices in life should they be widowed. As the premise of the martial arts films includes teacher-student relationships as well, obedience towards teachers will be included within this *san cong*. The doctrine of *si de* consists of the following: *fu de* 'upholding moral integrity and chastity to husband and family', *fu yan* 'appropriate speech such as absence from vulgarity, interruption, hurtful words, or incessant talking/gossiping', *fu rong* 'modest manner with neat and demure appearance, and without sloppiness and seductiveness', and *fu gong* 'diligent work for husband and family by fulfilling domestic duties'.

In films which feature *nüxias*' parents, teacher or husband, those who are heroic will obey them. For example, in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Ang Lee, 2000), the heroic *nüxia*, Shu Lien, was involved in a community of martial artists and fighting bandits. In order to do what was right and to honor her father, she took over her father's security business and was praised for it. She humbly accepts her achievements as a part of her father's legacy.

Example 1: *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Ang Lee, 2000), Shu Lien praised as a good daughter

Boss Gao: Sun Security has constantly been the best ever since your father started it. You're a credit to his memory.

Shu Lien: Thank you.

Similarly, Wing Chun from *Kung Fu Wing Chun* (Tung Cho Cheung, 2010) was obedient towards her father and teacher while Miu Chui Fa from *The Legend of Fong Sai Yuk* (Corey Yuen, 1993) was so obedient and respectful towards her husband that she allowed him to cane her in front of other people even though she was skilled in martial arts and he was not. The only exception to this rule was the character of Tsuei Hong from *Mad Monkey Kung Fu* (Chia-Liang Liu, 1979). Tsuei Hong did not simply disobey her husband; she fought him to her death. Nevertheless, this is still acceptable as an act of *san cong* since she became the mistress of the villain to save her older brother's life, and she later sacrificed her life to assist her brother's revenge against the villain due to her loyalty to her brother.

Out of the nine *nüxias* who died at the end of the film in the data, seven of them went against the *san cong* doctrine regardless of the three categories. For example, the following 'ambiguous' characters demonstrated ties with their husbands, teachers, and families but ended up disobeying them. Xiao Mei in *House of Flying*

Daggers (Yimou Zhang, 2004) sneakily refused to follow her teachers' orders as she developed feelings for their enemy, and Li Siu Wan in *The Legend of Fong Sai Yuk* became unfaithful to her husband after falling in love with someone else. Little Melon in *Taichi Master* (Woo-Ping Yuen, 1993) could be said to have the unfortunate circumstance of having the villain lust after her and thus, could not obey him. As for the villainous *nüxias*, they are rarely shown to have strong attachments to their families or teachers, and have little concern for upholding the *san cong* doctrine. For example, Turquoise from *Reign of Assassins* (Chao-Bin Su, 2010) murdered her husband and his family, and attempted to sever ties with her teacher simply because she disliked them.

Villainous *nüxias* also ignore most of the *si de* ideals. In Example 2 below, the male hero of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, Li Mu Bai, confronted his archenemy, Jade Fox, an infamous *nüxia* who killed his teacher. In this exchange, Jade Fox insulted his teacher.

Example 2: *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Ang Lee, 2000), Jade Fox talks back to Li Mu Bai

Li: ... You don't remember me... But you should remember my master. You infiltrated Wudan while I was away. You stole our master! Now it's time for you to pay!

Fox: Your master underestimated us women. Sure, he'd sleep with me, but he would never teach me. He deserved to die by a woman's hand!

'Ambiguous' and 'villainous' *nüxias* are often projected to be unchaste or seductive as seen in the past behavior of Jade Fox in Example 2. Jade Fox's student, Jen, had a secret lover and ran away from home to be with him right before her arranged marriage. Xiao Mei in *House of Flying Daggers* seduced the enemy with revealing attire and entertainment skills. In *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* (Cheh Chang, 1969), Hua Niang 'Thousand Fingers' lured men with her femininity, and Turquoise from *Reign of Assassins* was a nymphomania.

In contrast, most heroic *nüxias* are neat and demure without revealing traits. Indeed as women venturing into martial arts communities, many of them adopted masculine dressing although this could be considered inappropriate in women's traditional domestic realm. Such examples include Golden Swallow in *Come Drink with Me* (King Hu, 1966), Wing Chun in *Wing Chun* (Woo-Ping Yuen, 1994) and *Kung Fu Wing Chun*, Master Ng Mui in *Kung Fu Wing Chun*, and Ling Yanqiu (Fig.1.1) in *Flying Swords of Dragon Gate* (Hark Tsui, 2011).



Figure 1: Examples of heroic *nüxias* dressing: (1) Still from *Flying Swords of Dragon Gate* © Distribution Workshop (HK). (2) Still from *My Young Auntie* © Celestial Pictures Ltd. Permission for reprint received 2013. All rights reserved.

One of the heroic *nüxias*, Cheng Tai-nun, in *My Young Auntie* (Chia-Liang Liu, 1981) could be an exception as she occasionally dressed inappropriately (Fig.1.2).

However, they were part of the humorous plots and she only did so in comedic scenes.

The appropriate speech part of the *si de* ideals is followed by most heroic *nüxias* as they spoke respectfully in accordance to the social hierarchy surrounding them, and it was the case even when they were in uncomfortable circumstances. For example, Zeng Jing in *Reign of Assassins*, despite being angry with her landlady for trying to match-make her with some men, her response was still respectful and polite.

Example 3: *Reign of Assassins* (Chao-Bin Su, 2010), Zeng Jing's angry response

Zeng Jing: Wait a minute. I already said I'm not going.

Landlady: If you don't go, I will be in trouble. ... If you don't like him, you can leave anytime. ...

[Matchmaking scene later on the same night.]

Zeng Jing: I'm leaving then. Auntie Cai, I know you're doing it for my own good, but please don't help me with these arrangements again.

While Wing Chun in *Kung Fu Wing Chun* did not start with speaking respectfully to her fiancé, she slowly acquired the Confucian (feminine) ideals after developing feelings for him. Conversely, as Jade Fox in Example 2, villainous *nüxias* can be inappropriate in their speech with vulgarity and/or insults. Example 4 below shows a speech of Turquoise from *Reign of Assassins* venting her anger on her gang member for making her go through a difficult task.

Example 4: *Reign of Assassins* (Chao-Bin Su, 2010), Turquoise's angry response

Turquoise: Screw your tortoise power! Do you know how scary it was? I may have looked dead, but I could hear everything clearly...

In terms of *nüxias*' work, a number of them engaged in male related 'outside' work as compared to the 'inside' domestic work traditionally associated with women. While the films did not focus very much on the *nüxias*' work aspect, domestic work skills demonstrated by Madam Biu from *Fist of the White Lotus* (Lieh Lo, 1980) exemplified model Chinese feminine qualities. This is especially true because she survived her pregnancy after her late-husband sacrificed his life to save her and the fetus from the villain. While engaging in childrearing and domestic work, she neither neglected her martial arts nor her plan of avenging her husband. The villain Jade Fox was also engaged in domestic work as a maid. This was because the position was not suspicious to the eyes of those who were after her. She took advantage of the traditional idea of *nei* 'inside' associated with women.

5 Concluding Remarks: Good, Bad, and Ambiguous *Nüxias*

From the analysis, it became clear that ideal qualities of heroic *nüxias* require a delicate balancing act of knowing when to allow the feminine or masculine side of them be more dominant depending on their positions in the expected social hierarchies. On one hand, as mediated characters, *nüxias* are portrayed as desirable to men due to their submissiveness, virtues and vulnerability or weakness during 'difficult' situations (thus, needing protection). On the other hand, they are portrayed as heroic honorary males by virtue of them being martial arts practitioners; however, it also entails the fact that *nüxias* are never 'masculine' enough to be treated as real men. Like Ling Yanqiu (Fig. 1a), an exemplary *nüxia* is expected to take submissive roles to support the male heroes. Other characteristics of the heroines in the data were that they live their lives around their loved ones though mastering high martial arts skills. That is, the heroic *nüxias* still lacked a

sense of independence as many of them belonged to martial arts communities in order to fulfill their duties as daughters, wives, or mothers. The feminine ideals required for the heroic *nǚxias* can be an appropriation of *wen-wu* masculinity's detachment from sexual desires that index their selflessness and self-mastery. Unlike *wuxias* whose separation from lust and love affairs demonstrates their stance of strong self-control, *nǚxias*' attachments to their loved ones demonstrate their true strengths and selflessness. Moreover, however skilled they are, heroic *nǚxias* are positioned as subordinate to *wuxias* and their strengths do not exceed strengths attained by *wuxia* characters. Such mediatization of heroic *nǚxias* help to convince viewers that these women are desirable to men and still do require male protection.

Characterologies of the villainous *nǚxias* as observed in the data reveal that they are women who do not conform to gender propriety (for both males and females) as governed by the Confucian social order. These *nǚxias* with their sense of self-preservation, hysteria (lack of control) and lack of righteousness regularly pay the consequences through violent deaths in the *kung-fu* films. This reinforces the existing traditional idea that women who wish to successfully cross gender norms must uphold Confucian virtues, and that women's entrance into martial arts communities must be validated by their family circumstances.

Lastly, from the analysis, an ambiguous *nǚxia* appears to be more reflective of a normal human being who is neither completely perfect nor imperfect. Their roles, however, are usually peripheral and they are typically killed at some unimportant point of the story. In the data, goodness and heroism are strongly associated with Confucian values while wickedness and villainy are straightforwardly associated with values that are in opposition to Confucian patriarchal values. This suggests that, in terms of Chinese ideals, ambiguous *nǚxias* are associated more closely to the villainous counterparts than the heroic *nǚxias* as they typically fail to follow important Confucian values of femininity.

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27

Problems in Understanding Spanish Tenses among Malaysian Chinese Students: A Case Study

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Abstract

This study examines the written production of four Malaysian Chinese students when they were in the middle of the second semester of their under graduation of the Spanish language course at University of Malaya (UM). More specifically, this study employs Error Analysis to determine the type of errors committed in verb tenses when they were in Spanish III. The errors were classified according to the different grammatical functions they served. The results revealed that the misconception of verb tenses and aspect in Spanish have nothing to do with the languages they speak or how inflected the target language(s) may be, but that are more influenced by other different and yet interrelated aspects in Second Language Acquisition such as: *linguistic input* and *individual differences*. This raises crucial theoretical questions as to whether L2 acquisition is influenced by the environmental factors that govern the input to which learners are exposed, or of internal mental factors which somehow dictate how learners acquire grammatical structures. Moreover, it was found that if problems in understanding verb tenses and aspects in Spanish are to be attributable to one phenomenon, that phenomenon is *intraference* and not so much *interference*.

1 Introduction

Teachers of a second or third language must know that the learning process in the acquisition of a foreign language is a succession of different stages ranging from the simplest to the most complex, in which the learner adds, deletes and restructures his grammar rules. In other words, “this **interlanguage continuum** is the construct through which the learner will internalize the norms that make up a language as a means of communication” Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams (2003: 360). These set of grammatical, lexical and functional tools will help him develop his linguistic and communication strategies at any particular point in time.

Teachers might wonder why students repeat the same errors and what it can be done to help them overcome such errors. The problem is that until now it has not been possible to construct a theory that can comprehensively and reliably explain the errors occurring during the acquisition of a foreign language. This is fundamentally due to the fact that the phenomenon is very complex and the studies in the area are relatively new. Furthermore, it was not until the end of the 1960's that theoreticians began to understand errors produced by foreign language learners.

First, it was thought that the structures from one language to another were copied, the influence or interference of the mother tongue on the new language as a source of errors began to be investigated. That is how the **Contrastive Analysis** theory (CA) came into conception, which pretended to describe formally the mother tongue and the foreign language, contrasting them to establish the different structures between each one and so predict the errors that may appear in the

learning process. This process has been referred to as “**negative transfer**” or “**interference**” by a number of researchers (James, 1980; Nobel, 1982; Swan & Smith, 1987; Brown, 2001; Parker and Riley, 1994; Horwitz, 2008). However, new studies in the 70’s showed that not all the errors catalogued as possible by the Contrastive Analysis were produced and that many of the errors made could not be explained as influenced from the mother tongue. This was the break-point for **Error Analysis** (EA) to appear.

This paper therefore examines samples of learner language to determine the types of verb tenses errors that learners of Spanish make and discusses what these errors can tell us about the learners’ knowledge of the language and their ability to use that knowledge. This information has practical pedagogical value, about which Parker and Riley (1994) commented that “the influence of L1 on L2 acquisition cannot be ignored” (p. 225), and Fillmore and Snow (2000) noted that “understanding the variety of structures that different languages and dialects use to show meaning, including grammatical meaning such as verb tenses and aspect, can help teachers see the errors of their students who are learning a second or foreign language” (p. 16).

The objectives of the study are to categorize the errors by different types and to identify the problems the subjects face and to determine the level of influence the mother tongue has on the tense choice of the subjects. As such, the study proposes to seek answers to the following research questions:

- 1- To what extent do verb tenses errors present evidence of students’ misinterpretations of the verbal systems in Spanish?
- 2- To what extent do students’ errors in verb tenses reflect or confirm the complexity of time and aspect in Spanish?

2 Literature review

This study uses **Error Analysis** henceforth not **Contrastive Analysis** as a theory to predict and explain learners’ mistakes or errors because researchers have found that not all errors predicted by the CAH are actually made. Furthermore, many of the errors, which learners make, are not predictable on the basis of the CAH. Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams (2003) state that adult beginners use simple structures in the target language either because of simplification or overgeneralization, such as, **durmiste** or **juegaron** instead of *dormiste* (*did you sleep*) and *jugaron* (*they played*), just as children do in their native language. Thus, such sentences are more similar to a child’s first language (L1) production than a translation from another language. Lightbown and Spada (1999: 75) have referred to these error types, which are common to both learners, as “**developmental errors**” and sustain that indeed some of these errors are shared by many learners across the world regardless of their L1 backgrounds.

E A, therefore, is based on the assumption that like child language, the language of adult second language learner is a system in its own right; that is, it is one which is rule-governed and predictable. Selinker (1972) used the term “**interlanguage**” to refer to learners’ developing second language knowledge. Nemser (1971) referred to the same general phenomenon in second language learning but stressed the successive approximation to the target language in his term **approximative system**. Corder (1971) used the term **idiosyncratic dialect** to connote the idea that the learner’s language rule is unique to a particular individual alone.

Another concept in E A is **intraference**, which refers to “the confusion a language learner experiences when confronting conflicting patterns within the

structures of a newly acquired language, irrespective of how the target language patterns might contrast with the learner's mother tongue" (Scovel 2001: 51). It is intraference more than interference that leads L2 learners to take a guess about what could be grammatically acceptable in their new language. These inferences are not always correct, but they are an indicator of the learners' creativity in the Second or Foreign Language Acquisition process and show furthermore, that they are not just responding from the habits they acquired while picking up their L1s, as the behaviourists would claim. As defined by Corder (1967) errors are a way the learner has of testing his hypothesis about the nature of the language he is learning.

From a behaviourist's perspective, "interference is based on old habits whereas intraference is based on new habits" (Scovel 2001: 53). Like children who acquire their L1 by creating new words and new rules, adult learners create new L2 or FoL constructions increasing in degrees of complexity from their overgeneralizations of what they have acquired in the target language. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982, cited in Scovel 2001: 54) coined the term "**creative construction**" to describe this innovative view of learner's errors.

3 Methodology

This study examines the language of four Malaysian Chinese students studying Spanish as part of their Degree requirements. The students who participated in the study are all local female Chinese students with ages ranging from 20 to 22 years old who are currently taking their second semester in Spanish language. The fact that the group analyzed is limited in number may be seen as a limitation in the design. Therefore, this is mainly a case study that was conducted during their Spanish III course to determine the type of verb tense errors that are most frequently made by these Chinese students of Spanish as a foreign language.

These students have to take 6 levels of Spanish in one and a half years; that is to say, 2 levels of Spanish in one semester (14 weeks) with an intensity of 16 hours a week. By the time the data was collected they had already completed level 3. The data comprises a midterm test the students sat for. It comprised a reading passage, followed by open-ended comprehension questions, gap filling, text completion, sentence construction and a composition-writing task. As the teacher's ability to design exams was not the issue here, a closer look at whether any of the errors presented by these students were the result of any misunderstanding in these examinations' directions or layout (exam design bias) was not verified, which might have led to another limitation in this study.

3.1 Data analysis and findings

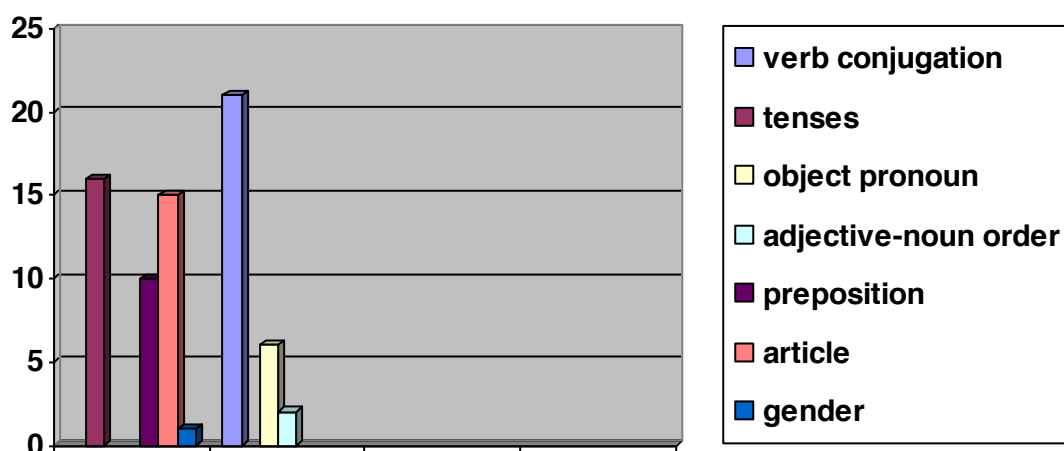
First, all the errors were classified according to the different grammatical functions they serve. It is important to note, however, that only those syntactical errors that are directly related to verbs tenses were analysed; some other categories like *article omission*, *preposition addition*, complement of time and placement (*ordering*) and so on, though presented in the graph, were not discussed. When analysing the information gathered in the test, this is what was found in relation to verb tenses; here are some of the most significant examples:

The words in bold show when the verb conjugation error occurred and the words in parenthesis show the correct conjugation for each one of the sentences. The words in parenthesis show that the co-preterit (imperfect preterit) for sentences 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 should have been used, as well as for the first clause in sentences 1, 5 and 9 and the

antecopreterit (preterit pluscuamperfect) for sentence 10 as well as for the second clause in sentences 1 and 5 and the preterit (indefinite preterit) for sentence 11 and for the second clause in sentence 9.

- 1- “**Está** (*estaba*) enfadado con las ranas que le **faltaron** (*habían faltado*) al respeto”.
- 2- “cuando mi padre era joven, él **estaba jugando** (*jugaba*) futbol en su universidad”
- 3- “Cuando yo era pequeña, **estaba viviendo** (*vivía*) en Klang”
- 4- “Él le dijo que había comprado un coche nuevo y que ahora **está** (*estaba*) trabajando”.
- 5- “Misan me dijo que le **duele** (*dolía*) el estómago porque **comió** (*había comido*) mucho”
- 6- “Cuando mi hermano era bebe **estaba llorando** (*lloraba*) todos los días”
- 7- “Mientras **esperamos** (*esperábamos*) a Luisa, **estaba leyendo** (*leíamos*) la noticia”
- 8- “Nosotras **estuvimos** (*estábamos*) estudiando cuando empezó la película”
- 9- “Tu **estuviste** (*estabas*) durmiendo cuando te **llamo** (*llamé*)”
- 10- “Que sus padres **viaja** (*habían viajado*) en las vacaciones pasadas”
- 11- “No, porque Júpiter **estuvo** (*estaba*) enojado con las ranas”

All these deviances in tenses may be explained by the fact that Chinese and Malay languages express the concept of time very differently from Spanish and English. “They do not conjugate the verb to express time relations; therefore, Chinese and Malay learners have serious difficulties in handling Spanish tenses and aspects” (Swan and Smith 1987: 228); figure 1 shows this percentage in a diagram.



In retrospect, it can clearly be seen that the category of verb tenses in this test outnumbers the other categories (gender, article, preposition), with a total of 16 wrongly-conjugated tenses. After having completed three semesters (about 42 weeks or 672 hours of instruction) it can be concluded that these learners have not understood the correct usage of tenses in Spanish. The reason may be because the modern Spanish verb system has sixteen distinct complete paradigms (i.e. sets of forms for each combination of tense and mood, plus one incomplete paradigm (the imperative), as well as three *non-temporal forms* (infinitive, gerund, and past participle); that is, Spanish verb conjugation is divided in four categories known as

moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and the traditionally so-called infinite mood (newer grammars in Spanish call it *formas no personales* “non-personal forms”).

Chou and Wu (2007) stated: “tense locates an event or situation in time with respect to the moment of speaking (speech time) or a reference point (reference time); aspect manifests the temporal constituency (the internal temporal status) of a situation (p.32)”. In most recent approaches many scholars agree that in English there are two tenses: the present tense and the past tense. Aspect further describes continuation, duration, repetition, and completion of events. For example: simple past tense, past perfect tense and past progressive tense manifest a distinction in aspect. Other scholars treat tense and aspect as an integrated whole. Based on this perspective, English consists of twelve verb tenses. However, the progressive tenses in grammar treatises are not usually considered as a special tense but just one of the **periphrastic** verbal constructions (in linguistics, **periphrasis** is a device by which grammatical meaning is expressed by one or more free morphemes - typically one or more function words accompanying a content word - instead of by inflectional affixes or derivation). It means that English only has 9 tenses; whereas Spanish 16 (10 for the indicative mood and 6 for the subjunctive); almost twice as many.

If the lack of tenses of the languages these students speak (Malay and Chinese) is the reason for their inability to master the verb-tenses in Spanish, then Spanish learners of English should not have any problems with verb tenses in the TL; however, this has been found not to be the case because in one study conducted by Bhela (1999), in which she analysed four participants whose mother tongues were: Cambodian, Vietnamese, Italian and Spanish, she discovered that while none made errors in tenses (present, past and past continuous tense) in their respective first languages, all of them made errors in these tenses in English; though all of them were bilingual. In the case of the Cambodian and Vietnamese languages the errors may be predicted on the basis that though these structures are present, their use is limited, but in the case of Spanish and Italian where the structures are similar and highly used; the errors cannot be predicted on the basis of interference.

The reason for which Chinese and Malay speaking students tend to have difficulties in understanding and applying tenses and aspects in Spanish, or for which Spanish Speaking students have the same troubles in tenses in English may lie in the **intraference** phenomenon, which is, according to Scovel (2001), the confusion a language learner experiences when confronting conflicting patterns within the structures of a newly acquired language, irrespective of how the target language patterns might contrast with the learner’s mother tongue.

The first question that this study proposed to address was:

- To what extent do verb tenses errors present evidence of students’ misinterpretations of the Spanish verbal systems?

It can be observed, that students not only tend to carry over the changes a verb suffers to all the pronouns in one tense but also the change of certain verbs from one tense into another where it does not necessarily apply. The analysis indicated that, there is a misunderstanding or confusion of the syntactic rules of the Spanish tenses and aspect; in other words, these students are not applying the rules accurately and properly. Thus students’ errors are a direct reflection of their misinterpretations of the verbal system because of the complexity of suffixation that Spanish verbs present.

The second question was:

- To what extent do students' errors in verb tenses reflect or confirm the complexity of time and aspect of Spanish verbs?

Spanish has a system of tenses much more inflected and complex than Chinese, English and Malay because Spanish is a relatively **synthetic language** (a language with a high morpheme-per-word ratio, as opposed to a low morpheme-per-word ratio in what is described as an **isolating language**) with a moderate-to-high degree of inflection, which shows up mostly in Spanish verb conjugations with over fifty conjugated forms per verb.

Mandarin has no suffixes at all for the present tense and no tenses whatsoever. Instead, Chinese verbs can have suffixes (aspectual particles) such as: "guò" (过) or "le" (了) that expresses perfective. Another way of expressing the past is to use adverbs such as "yesterday." For example: "zuótiān wǒ chī jī" (昨天我吃鸡, yesterday I eat chicken). It can also make use of adverbs of frequency like "I-jin (already). Past tense in Chinese can also be emphasized by surrounding the verb and direct object with the words "shì"- "de" (是-的). For example: "wǒ shì zuótiān chī jī de" (我是昨天吃鸡的). To express future tense, Chinese uses temporal adverbials such as: "Hsia Li Pai" (next week) (Swan and Smith 1987).

On the other hand, in Malay, tenses are understood from the context. The same form of verb can be used for the present, past, future and even the continuous tense. When the sentence is ambiguous, appropriate words or phrases (aspectual auxiliaries) or adverbs of time are used. Examples of such words are: **akan** (will, shall), which indicates future; **sedang/sekarang** (now), which indicate continuous tense; **sudah** (already), which indicates past tense and **telah**, which indicates perfect tense (Sulaiman 2000; Lewis 1968).

4 Conclusions

One of the reasons why Spanish tenses and aspect seem to be quite difficult to speakers of other languages to grasp, is because in order to form tenses, Spanish does not use helping verbs or auxiliary verbs as tense indicators like English, Malay or Chinese; instead, in Spanish, it is the verb ending that changes in order to indicate the tense and the mood of the verb.

The learner's L1 seems to be an important determinant of SLA but, it is not the only one and may not be the most important. But it is almost impossible here to determine its precise contribution because it has to do, among other things, with the linguistic factors on the one hand and the learner's stage of development on the other.

An important aspect of this study is that it provides an interesting comparison of four languages, namely Malay, Mandarin-Chinese, Spanish and English. The combination of two Asian and two European languages is a move away from a previous research focus on mainly European languages and this is useful for the current local teaching context.

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28

Comparing the Structure and Mappings of WAR Metaphor in English and Chinese Business Media Discourse

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Abstract

This paper compares the use of war metaphors in English and Chinese business discourse. A major goal is to investigate the morphological structure and mappings of war metaphors in business discourse in the two different languages. For instance, the compound *price war* in English is a competitive business attempt to drive down prices of commodities. The compound *marketing war* is different in that it is a competitive activity with competing firms to gain the most market shares. Similar expressions can also be found in Chinese. The study also finds that English and Chinese do share some of the war metaphors in their description of business activities, such as their use of terms denoting attack and aggression. However, Chinese employs more terms to describe different kinds of war, which reflects their more detailed schema of the concept of war. The war terms used in the English corpus are less diversified and the English 'war' or 'battle' is frequently waged against inflation and speculations.

1 Introduction

2008 has witnessed a world-wide financial crisis which was first triggered by the turbulence in the US financial market. In face of a severe financial crisis, the media increased and detailed its coverage of the economic conditions and activities. The coverage given by the news media, constituted by specific language choices and stance, will influence the public's perception of the financial crisis and their confidence or concerns as well. The use of metaphors, in particular, plays an important role in facilitating the public's understanding and perception of the crisis through vivid representation of the sluggish market activities.

Among the metaphors used in business media reporting, war metaphor has been found to be a dominant type (Koller, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004), which reflects the mainstream understanding of business activities in terms of military and warfare activities. The intertwined perception of war and business seems to be shared between English and Chinese, as the conceptual metaphor of BUSINESS IS WAR can be found in both English and Chinese. However, it is doubtful whether the two speech communities make use of the same terms or set of linguistic metaphors to realize the universal conceptual metaphor, as argued by Gibbs (1999). The study thus aims to analyze the metaphors whose source domain is war in the business and financial sections of general newspapers published during the years 2007 to 2009. The focus will be twofold: firstly, the similarities and differences of the linguistic metaphors manifesting the conceptual metaphor of BUSINESS IS WAR in the English and Chinese reports will be investigated in order to unveil possible cognitive and cultural differences between the two speech communities. Secondly, how the similarities and differences in the instantiations of the conceptual metaphor

BUSINESS IS WAR between the two languages facilitate the translation practices for business communications between the two speech communities.

2 Theoretical framework

Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out the pervasiveness of metaphor in everyday speech and thought and its major function for conceptual understanding, the cognitive dimension of metaphor has been explored widely. Nevertheless, the cognitive linguistic school has put much emphasis on the role of metaphor in individual cognition based on their analysis of individual metaphorical expressions. The approach of Critical Metaphor Analysis adopted by Charteris-Black (2004) integrates cognitive linguistics, critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. It takes into account the influence of context on metaphor interpretation and explains particular choice of metaphors in specific discourse context as affected by the social elements of ideology, culture and history. The study thus adopts the approach of Critical Metaphor Analysis and focuses on unraveling the ideological implications of war/fighting metaphors in business discourse.

As a weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis states that language suggests conceptual patterns and mental models of how the world works rather than having controlling effect upon thought, metaphor as a specific language use reflect the ways of how we understand and interpret the world. The different uses of metaphors in two different languages/cultures may be attributed to the different cultural and ideological differences inherent in the two languages/cultures. Kovecses (2005) and Goatly (2007) have probed into the issue of universality and variations of the conceptual metaphors. For the purpose of this study, it aims to explore the possible reasons for any variations caused.

3 Data and method

The data of this study consists of two corpora of general newspaper reports on business and financial matters in English and Chinese. The English corpus contains articles published between 2007 and 2009, taken from South China Morning Post and the Standard with each newspaper contributing roughly a half to the total of 1 million words. Both SCMP and the Standard are local English daily newspapers which give coverage on various aspects of life. The Chinese corpus consists of reports taken from the same period of time, taken from Hong Kong local Chinese newspapers of Ming Pao Daily and Sing Tao Daily which are mainstream local newspapers to guarantee a very close equivalence of text type between the languages, in terms of content and register. Function words in Chinese are frequently omitted, which partly contributes to the fact that there are far fewer Chinese words than English words in two texts of similar lengths. So the Chinese corpus has a total of 1.6 million characters to ensure the same amount of information reported. The period between 2007 and 2009 is particularly chosen as it is the time when the 2008 financial crisis burst out and hit hard.

The English corpus data was first processed by the computer software Wmatrix for identifying words in the source domain of war. Identification of metaphors in the Chinese corpus started from the collection phase, which involved manually noting down the potential war-related lexis manifesting the conceptual metaphor of BUSINESS IS WAR in the news articles. Wordsmith 5.0 was then used to perform search of the identified lexis and yielded rich information about their frequencies,

linguistic patterns and concordance lines in the English texts. The concordance software, Concapp, was employed to process the Chinese data to yield concordances of war-related Chinese morphemes.

Because of the fuzzy nature of metaphor and the blurring distinction between conventional metaphor and literal language, a particular set of procedures are used to ensure the reliability and consistency in the identification of metaphor. The difficulty of deciding the metaphorical status of a lexical unit is that researchers used to rely on their own intuition about whether the lexical unit was used metaphorically or not and consensus could not be reached given the different judgments based on intuition. Moreover, researchers have difficulty in making judgment in some exceptional cases, such as the use of *park* in relation to *money* in the following concordance line:

- (1) es are still negative. "Ordinary people are not willing to park their money into bank deposits unless the real interest rates turn positive.

Money is usually understood as something concrete as it is in the form of coins and bills. It may also be understood as an abstract concept in intangible forms such as online payment and account balances. The use of *park* in example (1) can be literal or metaphorical along with the nature of money being either concrete or abstract. This is an example of the exceptional cases. It has been resolved by noticing the mention of *into bank deposits* which suggests the concrete nature of money before it turns into an abstract concept as bank deposits. It is thus argued that the verb *park* is used literally, meaning 'to place (funds) in a stock, bond, etc., considered to be a safe investment with little chance of depreciation, as during a recession or an unstable economic period, or until one finds a more profitable investment'. For instance, one may park one's money in a savings account.

The first criterion of the identification procedure is derived from the definition of metaphor as 'understanding one thing in terms of something else'. For the purpose of this study, the lexical items located in the semantic domain of war are in contrast with items in the domain of business. As these two domains are inherently distinct, the two sets of lexical items were often found in sharp contrast with each other. Another criterion for identifying metaphors in the corpus is to apply the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) advocated by the Pragglejaz Group in 2007. In order to confirm about the potential metaphors identified, the more basic and specific meanings and contextual meanings of the compound words are elicited and compared. If the contextual meaning of a lexical item can be contrasted and understood with its more basic and specific meaning which relates to war, the lexical item was classified as the linguistic realization of War/Fighting metaphor. Basic meanings normally are: more concrete; related to bodily action; more precise (as opposed to vague); and historically older.

4 Metaphor analysis

It is found that the compound words realizing the conceptual metaphor of BUSINESS IS WAR in Chinese reflect the Chinese complicated notion of war. On the whole, the lexical items can be divided into items related to defensive actions, aggressive actions, formations of army, process of war, results of war and weapons. Under each division, a number of compounds work to elaborate and expound the idea and make it more specific and vivid. For instance, there are different types of war, such as *jianjia-zhan* (減價戰, reduce-price-war> competition to lower prices), *anjie-zhan* (按揭戰, mortgage-war>competition to lower mortgage rates), and *yingxiao-zhan* (營銷

戰, marketing-war>marketing is like war). The variety seems to be more diversified than in the English corpus.

On a closer inspection, the Chinese morpheme *zhan* (戰, war) is highly productive in the process of word formation and it contributes to the meaning of the whole word. The two characters preceding the morpheme of *zhan* (戰, war) has already made up a compound word. The two-character compound words denote concepts and actions in business and they are in fact topic indicators, as suggested by Goatly (2011). They point in the direction of the target domain of business, by means of an adjective/noun premodifying the source term *zhan* (戰, war). It is not likely that war is caused by price, but the cutting of prices or the pricing of products instead. So the actual target concept for the compound word *jianjia-zhan* (減價戰, reduce-price-war>competition to lower prices) is the cutting of prices or pricing of products. The same applies to other Chinese compounds as listed in the table below, except *chijiu-zhan* (持久戰, protracted-warfare>enduring competition), *yueli-zhan* (角力戰, wrestling-war>to compete like wrestling) and *zhengduo-zhan* (爭奪戰, scramble-war>to compete and scramble for). The compounds preceding the morpheme of *zhan* (戰, war), *chijiu* (持久, protracted), *yueli* (角力, wrestling) and *zhengduo* (爭奪, scramble for) are descriptions of the duration and manner of war, rather than indicating the semantic field where the target concept is located. On the other hand, except from *bidding* and *marketing* which are actual targets, all the nouns preceding the lexis *war* listed in the table below serve as target indicators. Yet there are slight distinctions among the topic indicators, for instance, *privatization battle* and *inflation battle* refer to battles against privatization and inflation. *Legal battle* indicates a battle which is concerned with the law.

Table 1. The metaphorical patterns involving war and battle in the English and Chinese corpus

English war phrase	metaphorical use	Chinese 'war' compound	metaphorical use
Price war	8	減價戰 reduce-price-war	31
Mortgage war	5	按揭戰 mortgage-war	7
Trade war	4	營銷戰 marketing-war	2
Bidding war	3	揭幕戰 opening-battle	1
Currency war	1	爭購戰 race-purchase-war	3
Legal battle	7	收購戰 takeover-battle	1
Business battle	1	持久戰 protracted-warfare	1
Mortgage battle	1	角力戰 wrestling-war	1
Property battle	1	爭奪戰 snatch-war	9
Privatization battle	1	貿易戰 trade-war	6
Inflation battle	1	司法戰 legal-battle	1
		股權戰 stock-right-battle	1
		匯率戰 exchange-rate-war	1

The metaphorical frequency of *jianjia-zhan* (減價戰, reduce-price war) in Chinese is 31, which makes it the most frequently mentioned type of war in the corpus. The following concordance lines show the use of *jianjia-zhan* (減價戰, reduce-price war) in relation to the telecommunication company China Unicom.

(2) 優勢的 WCDMA 制式的中國聯通(0762)，便被券商看好上調評級和目標價，加上聯通在 3G 領域上發動「減價戰」，取消國內長途、漫遊收費

Advantageous WCDMA system China Unicom (0762), and securities traders look-favorable up-regulating rating and target price, plus Unicom at 3G field launched reduce-price-war, cancel domestic long-distance, roam-charge

'China Unicom with its advantageous WCDMA system has been expected to raise its rating and target price by securities traders. Moreover, China Unicom has launched a price war and canceled the charges of long-distance calls and roaming'

The above concordance line shows that China Unicom initiates a price war in the telecommunication industry. The table also shows that both Chinese and English use price war relatively more frequently than other wars in business and both have *mortgage war/battle trade war*, and *legal battle*. *Jianjia-zhan* (減價戰, reduce-price war) occurs rather more frequently than others in the Chinese corpus. *Bidding war* and *zhenggou-zhan* (爭購戰, race-purchase-war>overbidding in the competition) both involve bidding. Another item that occurs relatively more frequently in the Chinese corpus is *zhengduo-zhan* (爭奪戰, scramble-war) which refers to the situation when firms scramble to win equity or capital. The concordance also shows the specific war terminology of *chijiu-zhan* (持久戰, protracted-warfare) is used for the discussion of exchange rate, thus achieving the same effect as the use of *huilu-zhan* (匯率戰, exchange rate-war>compete to lower interest rates), just as the following headline shows:

(3) 專家：匯率成持久戰

Expert: Exchange rate becomes protracted-warfare

'Expert: Exchange rate becomes a protracted war'

While battle is part of a larger war in English, the character *zhan* (戰, war) in Chinese bears no such distinctions, which helps to explain its same form when collocating with other compounds derived mainly from the business domain. When *battle* is used as a noun, it is found with adjectives such as *arduous*, *continuing* and *uphill* to indicate the time-consuming and laborious nature of the fight. And the targets of what it is battling include *crisis*, *economic downturn* and *inflation*. This pattern also applies to *war* with *war on inflation* and *speculators*.

Moreover, by comparing the English and Chinese statistics, there is less use of *strike* in the English corpus. Out of the seventy occurrences, only nine are used as metaphors. Most of the occurrences convey the literal sense of it. When *attack* is used metaphorically in the corpus, it co-occurs with the modifiers of *speculative*, *hacking* or *market*. *Fight* is used most frequently among the aggression-related terms in the English corpus, and it often collocates with *inflation*, *crisis*, which suggests that the two affairs become two imminent issues for the country to wage war against.

Though the equivalent attack-related English terms can roughly express the meanings as conveyed by the compounds of *ji* (擊, strike), the variety is less diversified. Certain level of strategy is involved in their meanings, but there are far fewer of them than the total sum of the compounds of *gong* (攻, attack) and *ji* (擊, strike).

5 Conclusion

The study finds that WAR metaphor highlights the aggressive and hostile nature of war and hides others and the acceptance of the metaphor forces us to focus on the feature of aggression and conflict. Thus other aspects about war, such as the defensive roles played by the rivals in war and the tactics involved, are lost. The readers can only get a sense of embattlement and aggression as highlighted by the well-acknowledged metaphorical mapping.

The contrastive study also shows that English and Chinese do share some of the war metaphors in their description of business activities, such as their use of terms denoting attack and aggression. This suggests that translators can just apply the same metaphor term in the target language when translating business communications. However, Chinese employs a lot of terms to describe different kinds of war, which reflects their more detailed schema of the concept of war. Some of the terms referring to the state of 'battle' and 'combat' in business can not be found in the English corpus, such as *hunzhan* (混戰, scuffle). On the other hand, the English data suggests that 'war' or 'battle' is frequently waged against inflation and speculations. Collocates of the different meanings of a word and the grammatical structure can offer hints to differentiate between the word's metaphorical meanings. The differences in the use of war metaphors should be noted and translated differently by translators so that target readers can comprehend the source business discourse.

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