ELOPE

English
Language
Overseas
Perspectives and
Enquiries

Volume VIII − Spring

Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Sdaš

CONTENTS

LANGUAGE

LITERATURE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

I.

LANGUAGE

Biljana Čubrović

University of Belgrade
Faculty of Philology, English Department

Voice Onset Time in Serbian and Serbian English

Summary

In this paper, the acoustic facts of Voice Onset Time (VOT) are exemplified by looking at two virtually different languages in terms of recognizing VOT as a distinctive phonological parameter. Selected tokens of Serbian and Serbian English are recorded in carrier sentences and analyzed acoustically, as spoken by four proficient Serbian speakers of EFL. The results show that, although Serbian does not recognize VOT as a parameter creating phonological distinctions, advanced non-native speakers of English are capable of learning how to relate the oral and laryngeal gestures in order to produce more native-like pronunciations of English voiceless stops in the phonetic contexts where English /p t k/ are expected to have a long lag. Special attention is drawn to CV sequences whose VOT values deviate in the two languages, as well as to those where VOTs are similar, which can be used to raise the awareness of this phonetic phenomenon in a Serbian EFL learner.

Key words: VOT, voiceless stops, English, Serbian, Serbian English, pronunciation

Čas do začetka zvenečnosti v srbščini in srbski angleščini

Povzetek

Članek obravnava čas do začetka zvenečnosti pri dveh jezikih, kjer ta fonetični pojav nima enake fonološke razločevalne funkcije. Izbrane srbske in angleške besede so v stavkih prebrali štirje srbski govorci angleščine kot tujega jezika. Posnetke smo akustično analizirali in rezultati so pokazali, da kljub temu da v srbščini čas do začetka zvenečnosti nima fonološke razločevalne vloge, se dobri nerojeni govorci angleščine lahko naučijo, kako s pravilno artikulacijo čimbolj posnemati izgovorjavo rojenih govorcev angleščine pri nezvenečih zapornikih v okolju, kjer imajo angleški /p t k/ daljši čas nezvenečnosti. Posebna pozornost je namenjena soglasniško-samoglasniškim sklopom, pri katerih so časi do začetka zvenečnosti zelo različni v obravnavanih jezikih, kakor tudi tistim, kjer so si ti časi podobni. Na ta način lahko povečamo zavedanje tega fonetičnega pojava pri srbskih učencih angleščine kot tujega jezika.

Ključne besede: čas do začetka zvenečnosti, nezveneči zaporniki, angleščina, srbščina, srbska angleščina, izgovorjava

Voice Onset Time in Serbian and Serbian English

1. Introduction

The parameter of Voice Onset Time (VOT), which is defined as the time interval between the stop release and the onset of vocal fold vibration for the following vowel (Lisker and Abramson 1964) has been a matter of debate in phonetic studies since it was first introduced in the 1950's in an attempt to deal with some heated issues in acoustically-based speech synthesis. Although the concept was originally designed for initial plosives, it was later implemented in other contexts, becoming the means of differentiating between voiced and voiceless stops in a large number of languages. A phonetic parameter like VOT was needed because current acoustic measurements at the time were insufficient to account for the absence of vocal fold vibration in typically voiced consonants.

All languages contain a category of stops in their phonemic inventories, which makes a stop a typical, optimal or ideal representative of the consonantal class. Various parameters are implemented when describing stops in the world's languages: phonation type, airstream mechanisms, relative timing of the onset of voicing and relative timing of velic closure. The relative timing of the onset of voicing is of interest in this article. Generally speaking, stops make use of at least three features in this domain: unaspirated, aspirated and pre-aspirated. The first two are significant for this article, as English and Serbian do not employ the class of pre-aspirated stops.

UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database (UPSID) presents results of a survey of 317 languages, claiming that the unaspirated voiceless category is found in 91.8% of languages. The unaspirated voiced stops are present in 66.9%, and the aspirated voiceless in 28.7% (Maddieson 1984, 27). The unaspirated voiceless category, as the most widespread one, seems to be most efficient from the aerodynamic and articulatory points of view, at least in word-initial positions. Due to their naturalness, Keating et al. (1983) claim that languages favour voiceless over voiced stops. Unaspirated categories are thus sometimes referred to as plain. Furthermore, statistics show that languages with two stop series are divided into two substantial categories: unaspirated voiceless/voiced contrast is evident in 117/162 languages (72.2%) and unaspirated voiceless/aspirated voiceless or unaspirated voiced/aspirated voiceless in 27 languages (Maddieson 1984). The issue of VOT continuum is therefore critical in a vast number of languages, but it is not the most widespread pattern. Serbian belongs to the former category, having a contrast between unaspirated voiced stops /b d g/, and unaspirated voiceless stops /p t k/. Furthermore, there is a difference in the place of articulation for /t/ in English and Serbian. Serbian /t/ has a dental articulation, whereas the English segment is produced on the upper alveolar ridge. Earlier research shows that there is variation in the effect alveolars have on VOT values, but velars repeatedly exhibit higher VOTs than labial stops. Many authors claim that the VOT descending scale ranges from velars to alveolars to labials in the speech of native English adults (Lisker and Abramson 1967; Klatt 1975; Zue 1976; Weismer 1979; Nearey and Rochet 1994).

The motivation to carry out the experiment with Serbian native speakers was sparked by a large number of papers studying VOT from different perspectives, acoustic, articulatory and perceptual, looking at both bilingual and multilingual language behaviour. Out of a solid number

of articles on the topic, I have chosen Lisker and Abramson's seminal article (1964), in which they examined 11 languages of the world, paying attention to their genetic and phonetic richness in order to create a representative language database. Word-initial prevocalic positions were studied both in isolated words and in connected speech. The results of Lisker and Abramsons's study are as follows:

	Average	Range	No. of tokens
/p/	58	20:120	102
/t/	70	30:105	116
/k/	80	50:135	84

Table 1. VOT values for stops in isolated words.

	Average	Range	No. of tokens
/p/	28	10:45	24
/t/	39	15:70	26
/k/	43	30:85	25

Table 2. VOT values for stops in connected speech.

Several striking differences exposed in Tables 1 and 2 need to be commented upon. A significant difference between VOT values in isolated words and in connected speech should be attributed to the tempo of speech. It is a commonplace to say that more careful speech is relatively slow, and thus the temporal dimension is longer.

Lisker and Abramson (1964) launched the idea of differentiating voiced and voiceless stops by means of VOT in their attempt to discover the best measure by which it would be possible to separate the two phoneme categories. The reason for singling aspiration out is that it seems spectrographically unambiguous because it registers as noise. Moreover, it could ultimately be checked by speech synthesis experiments, popular at the time. The VOT continuum offers 3 categories pertaining to the stop voicing contrast: voicing lead (with negative VOT values), short-lag VOT (with zero or low positive VOT values), and long-lag VOT (with high positive VOT values), all measured in milliseconds.

2. Experiment Design

2.1 Method

A list of 27 English and Serbian words, monosyllables or disyllables, was recorded. Wherever possible, minimal or near minimal pairs, were used in order to neutralize the potential differences which could have been created by deviations in the phonetic environments in the English and

Serbian tokens. Nine vowels, both short and long, were analyzed in accented positions. They were invariably preceded by one of the voiceless plosives /p t k/. The selection of 27 phonetic contexts provides a common vocalic denominator typical of English and Serbian. The English vowel qualities under investigation are: /e iː ɪ uː ʊ ɔː ɒ ʌ ɑː/. Their Serbian approximations /i u o a/, affected by both long and short pitch accents, with the addition of the short Serbian /e/, are taken into account. The rationale behind the elimination of the long Serbian counterpart of /e/, as in the word *pêta* (Eng. *fifth*) from the recorded corpus is the lack of this vowel quality in English.

Each token was recorded three times in carrier sentences. All tokens were placed in accented positions and informants were instructed to stress them. The two female and two male Serbian speakers are all proficient speakers of English (English language and literature graduates). All four speakers have lived in Belgrade for more than fifteen years now. None of the speakers lived in an English speaking country for more than 8 months. Speakers' mean age was 30.7, ranging from 25-35 years of age.

Recordings were made in Praat, version 5.1.33, at a sampling rate of 22,050 Hz, using a Sennheiser Pc156 noise cancelling microphone. Recordings were analysed in the same software package, with the help of waveforms.

2.2 Results

Each speaker's results were analysed separately for Serbian and Serbian English, bearing in mind common phonetic knowledge about how VOT functions in relation to other stop features (place of articulation, vowel type, etc.). For instance, the place of articulation seems to exert influence on VOT values. Velars, for instance, are significantly more aspirated than bilabials.

The following abbreviations are used for the four informants: F1 (female speaker no. 1), F2 (female speaker no. 2), M1 (male speaker no. 1), and M2 (male speaker no. 2). The main hypothesis postulated before the experiment is that VOT values are shorter for Serbian tokens than for Serbian English tokens, due to the fact that Serbian does not recognize aspiration as a distinctive feature of Serbian stops. Ranges of VOT values are given first for each individual speaker, followed by mean values for each CV sequence (presented in graphs underneath).

F1 VOT values range from 11-67 msec for the Serbian tokens containing /p/, 18-47 msec for the Serbian tokens having /t/, and 41-79 msec for /k/. The highest VOT mean value is found for the Serbian sequences /puː-/, /tuː-/ and /kiː-/, and the lowest mean value is characteristic of /pi-/, /te-/ and /ko-/. The VOT measurements are given in Graph 1 below for the first female speaker. VOT values for Serbian tokens are given in the first column (msec), and these are followed by the values for Serbian English tokens in column 2.

F1 VOT values range from 18-90 msec for the Serbian English tokens containing /p/, 42-111 msec for the Serbian English tokens having /t/, and 65-108 msec for /k/.

VOT values for Serbian English tokens are consistently higher in F1 speaker, which is clearly perceived in the graph.
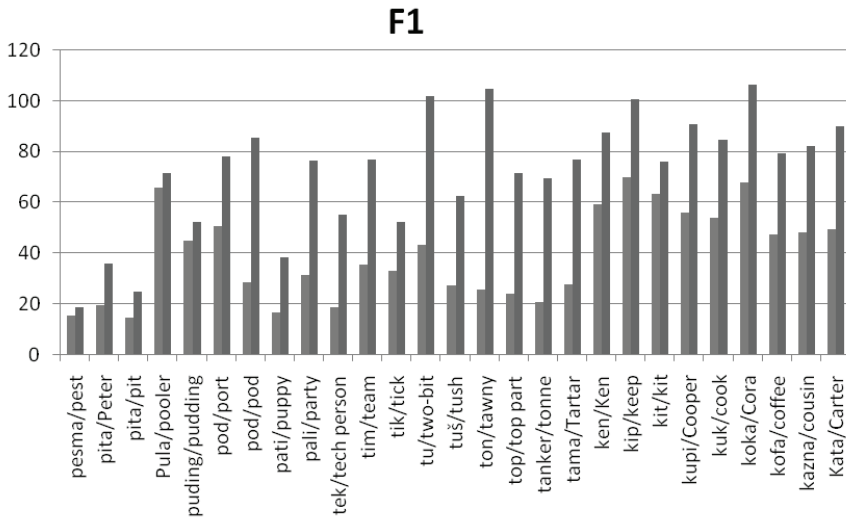
Graph 1. Mean VOT values for F1 speaker.

F2 VOT values range from 9-29 msec for the Serbian tokens containing /p/, 11-32 msec for the Serbian tokens having /t/, and 27-73 msec for /k/. The highest VOT mean value is found for the Serbian sequences /puː-/, /tiː-/ and /kiː-/, and the lowest mean value is characteristic of /pa-/, /te-/, and /kaː-/.

F2 VOT values range from 10-95 msec for the Serbian English tokens containing /p/, 40-123 msec for the Serbian English tokens having /t/, and 27-153 msec for /k/.

VOT values for Serbian English tokens are higher in F2 speaker's production, which is clearly perceived in the graph.

Graph 2. Mean VOT values for F2 speaker.

M1 VOT values range from 13-50 msec for the Serbian tokens containing /p/, 14-38 msec for the Serbian tokens having /t/, and 47-84 msec for /k/. The highest VOT mean value is found for the Serbian sequences /poː-/, /tiː-/, and /ko-/, and the lowest mean value is characteristic for /pa-/, /te-/, and / kuː-/.

M1 VOT values range from 23-60 msec for the Serbian English tokens containing /p/, 44-67 msec for the Serbian English tokens having /t/, and 54-85 msec for /k/.

VOT values for Serbian English tokens are higher in M1 speaker's production, which is clearly perceived in the graph. The biggest differences are evident in the production of /t/ in Serbian English and Serbian.
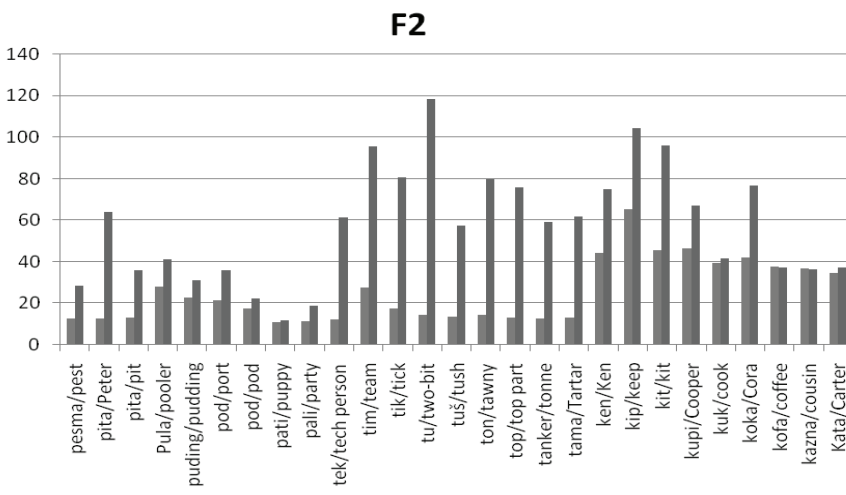
M1

Graph 3. Mean VOT values for M1 speaker.

M2 VOT values range from 10-38 msec for the Serbian tokens containing /p/, 11-20 msec for the Serbian tokens having /t/, and 30-95 msec for /k/. The highest VOT mean value is found for the Serbian sequences /poː-/, /tiː/ and /kuː-/, and the lowest mean value is characteristic for /pi-/ and /pa-/, /te-/, and /ki-/.

M2 VOT values range from 13-56 msec for the Serbian English tokens containing /p/, 26-66 msec for the Serbian English tokens having /t/, and 40-93 msec for /k/.

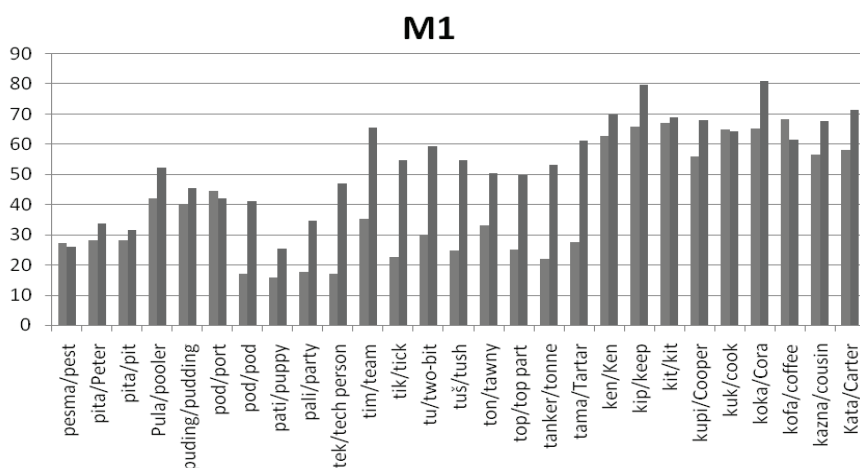VOT values for Serbian English tokens are higher in M2 speaker's production, which is clearly perceived in the graph. The biggest differences are evident in the production of /t/ in Serbian English and Serbian.
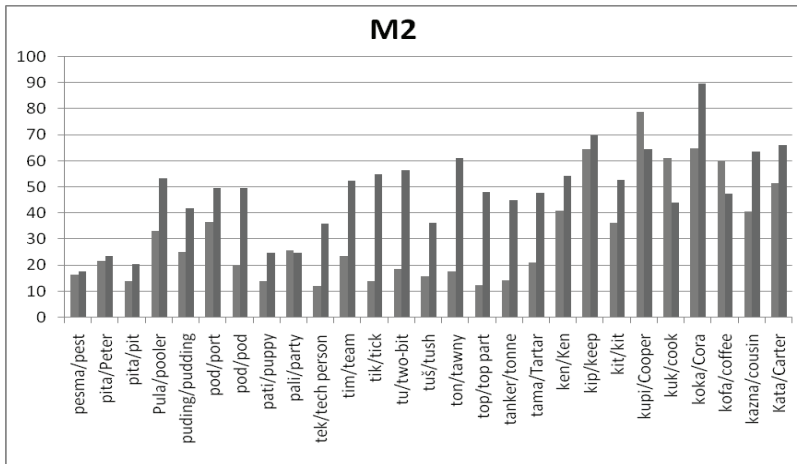
Graph 4. Mean VOT values for M2 speaker.

A great variation is noticed in the VOT values pertaining to Serbian and Serbian English. The most striking difference lies in the acoustic data for dental and alveolar /t/ in Serbian and Serbian English, respectively, which behave differently in the speakers' production. The average VOTs for both Serbian and Serbian English are given in Tables 3 and 4.

	Average	Range	No. of tokens
/p/	25	11:67	216
/t/	22	12:43	216
/k/	56	35:79	216

Table 3. VOT values for Serbian stops.

	Average	Range	No. of tokens
/p/	39	10:91	216
/t/	64	26:123	216
/k/	71	27:153	216

Table 4. VOT values for Serbian English stops.

Serbian tokens with dental /t/ exhibit a much shorter VOT value compared to their Serbian English alveolar counterparts. As shown in the data, the dental articulations of /t/ in Serbian exert influence on the ranking of VOTs in an ascending order. Dentals have the lowest VOT values in Serbian, and they are very closely followed by labials. Velars expectedly have the longest voicing lag. All VOT values are positive in Serbian stops.

Graph 5 summarizes the differences in the production of Serbian and Serbian English /t/. VOT values are almost invariably significantly higher for Serbian English than for Serbian (the data in the first column refers to Serbian, whereas column 2 shows the values for Serbian English). The informants, being fluent speakers of English, have learnt how to acquire long-lag VOT values necessary for native-like English pronunciations. However, at lower levels, Serbian EFL learners need to be drilled into pronouncing alveolar /t/ articulations first.
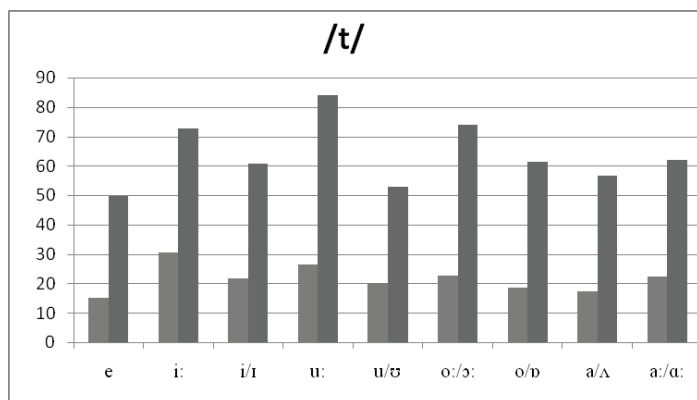
Graph 5. Mean VOT values for Serbian and Serbian English /t/.

VOT measurements for bilabial stops in Serbian and Serbian English consistently deviate, with the exception of the sequence bilabial + /e/, where VOTs do not differ significantly. The informants have successfully acquired the long-lag VOT in their English pronunciation. According to Graph 6, CV sequences characterized by significant differences in VOT values are bil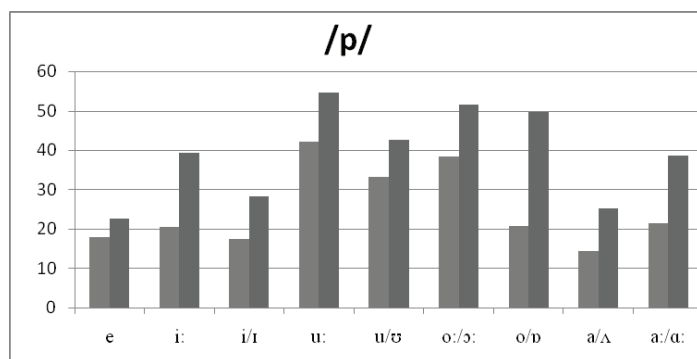abial + /iː ɒ ʌ ɑː/. These CV sequences should be treated separately in a Serbian EFL classroom by designing special pronunciation drills, dwelling on very simple vocabulary items, e.g. *peace*, *pot*, *pub*, *park*, etc.

Graph 6. Mean VOT values for Serbian and Serbian English /p/.

Labials and velars can be useful when learning how to relate laryngeal gestures in English as L2. By their nature, velars are characterized by high VOTs in many languages of the world. CV sequences of velar + short back vowel, according to the experimental data, have very similar VOT

values, and they can be used to raise awareness of the importance of aspiration in English (See Graph 7). A simple aspiration trick with a sheet of paper placed in front of the oral cavity whilst pronouncing a Serbian CV sequence should assist students in noticing how aspiration works even in their own mother tongue.
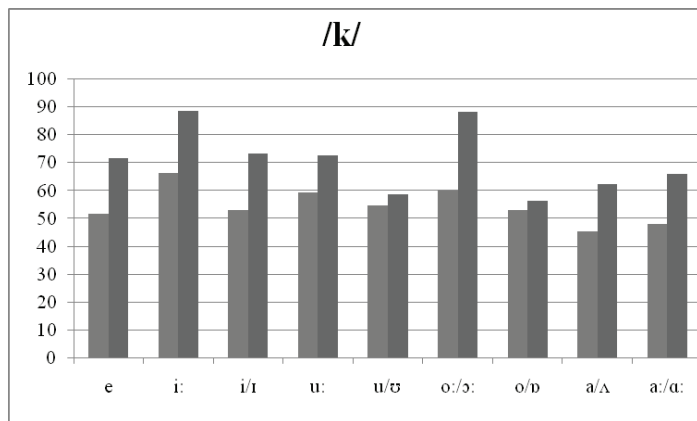
Graph 7. Mean VOT values for Serbian and Serbian English /k/.

3. Conclusion

Even though Serbian does not recognize aspiration as a distinguishing phonetic parameter, the experimental data shows that it is widely used in Serbian stop articulations. Serbian stop consonants with the longest lag are velars, as expected. However, dental and labial stops have quite similar VOT values, but the former stop category has a slighly longer lag. Such a phonetic state of affairs does not generate a foreign accent in Serbian speakers' English as such, due to the fact that Serbian EFL learners are required to learn how to pronounce English alveolar stops first.

Judging by the production of Serbian English stops as performed by the four participants in the present study, and considering the fact that the experimental conditions are artificial by default (influencing the VOTs to be longer than in connected speech), I claim that Serbian EFL learners can effectively acquire the VOTs necessary for native-like articulation of English stops. Velar stops are the best starting point as they are universally characterized by long-lag VOTs. Bilabials should be tackled in the second phase of the acquisition of English pronunciation. Due to the differences in the place of articulations, English alveolars should be handled last. This study shows that a number of stop+V sequences share similar VOT values in the two languages under investigation. Such sequences, especially if they are characterized by long-lag VOTs, can be productively utilized when teaching pronunciation to Serbian EFL learners. Although aspiration as such has not found its place in Serbian phonetic studies, this experiment shows that its presence in the phonological system of Serbian could undoubtedly be used to raise the phonological awareness of this phenomenon and trigger its usage in L2.

Bibliography

Keating, P.A., W. Linker, and M. Huffman. 1983. Patterns in allophone distribution for voiced and voiceless stops. *Journal of Phonetics* 11: 277–90.

Klatt, D.H. 1975. Voice onset time, frication, and aspiration in word-initial consonant clusters. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research* 18: 686–706.

Lisker, L., and A.S. Abramson. 1964. A cross-language study of voicing in initial stops: Acoustical measurements. *Word* 20: 348–422.

–––. 1967. Some effects of context on voice onset time in English stops. *Language and Speech* 10: 1–28.

Maddieson, I. 1984. *Patterns of Sounds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nearey, T.M., and B.L. Rochet. 1994. Effects of place of articulation and vowel context on VOT production and perception in French and English stops. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 24: 1–19.

Weismer, G. 1979. Sensitivity of voice onset measures to certain segmental features in speech production. *Journal of Phonetics* 7: 194–204.

Zue, V.W. 1976. *Acoustic characteristics of stop consonants: A controlled study* (Technical Report 523). Lexington, MA: Lincoln Laboratory, MIT.

Dušan Gabrovšek

University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

"Micro" Phraseology in Action: A Look at Fixed Binomials

Summary

Multiword items in English are a motley crew, as they are not only numerous but also structurally, semantically, and functionally diverse. The paper offers a fresh look at fixed binomials, an intriguing and unexpectedly heterogeneous phraseological type prototypically consisting of two lexical components with the coordinating conjunction *and* – less commonly *but, or, (n)either/(n)or* – acting as the connecting element, as e.g. in *body and soul, slowly but surely, sooner or later, neither fish nor fowl*. In particular, their idiomaticity and lexicographical significance are highlighted, while the cross-linguistic perspective is only outlined.

Key words: phraseology, fixed binomial, collocation, idiom, compound, advanced learners' dictionary, bilingual dictionary

Stalne dvočlenske zveze
kot primer delovanja "mikro" frazeologije

Povzetek

Večbesedne enote v angleščini so ne le številne, ampak tudi strukturno, pomensko in funkcijsko izredno raznolike. Članek obravnava stalne dvočlenske zveze, zanimivo in heterogeno vrsto frazeoloških enot, ki jo tipično tvorita dva leksikalna elementa, ki ju povezuje priredni veznik and, redkeje pa tudi but, or ali (n)either/(n)or (n.pr<http://n.pr>. body and soul, slowly but surely, sooner or later, neither fish nor fowl). Prispevek se ukvarja predvsem z idiomatiko in leksikografskimi vidiki tovrstnih zvez, le na kratko pa z njihovim medjezikovnimi vidiki.

Ključne besede: frazeologija, stalna dvočlenska zveza, kolokacija, idiom, zloženka, dvojezični slovar

"Micro" Phraseology in Action: A Look at Fixed Binomials

1. Introduction: The ABCs of Fixed Binomials

In linguistics, a fixed binomial[1] is a structurally frozen and often irreversible conventionalized sequence of two content words – occasionally including proper names – used together as an idiomatic expression or collocation, belonging to the same grammatical category, and having some semantic relationship. Fixed binomials can fulfill a variety of communicative functions, often showing emphasis or gradation, and indicating emotional involvement, informativeness, or precision. They are conjoined by some syntactic device such as *and* or *or*, with *and* clearly predominating: *aches and pains, bed and breakfast, before and after, business or pleasure, cause and effect, clear and concise, deaf and dumb, drink and drive, each and every, food and water, give and take, good or bad, heaven and hell, here and now, here and there, hook and eye, knife and fork, life and death* (also *life or death*), *north and south, older and wiser, once or twice, pots and pans, pure and simple, research and development, salt and vinegar, sadder but wiser, soap and water, sooner or later ; Adam and Eve, Jekyll and Hyde, David and Goliath ; [to be] neither here nor there, in every shape and size, [in the] dim and distant past, to win (something) / to beat somebody fair and square.* The prototypical binomial, it will have been noticed, can be extended in a variety of ways, the additional constituents being either (almost) obligatory or more or less optional. These fixed strings are also known by a number of other designations, including fixed order coordinates, irreversible binomials, irreversible coordinates, binomials, binomial pairs, freezes, twin formulas, paired parallel phrases, co-occurrences, or (roughly) Siamese twins.

While not being exactly overwhelming in number, thus representing a *micro* topic within phraseology in quantitative terms, this type of multiword unit is surprisingly varied, though structurally simple, and hence not really *micro* (that is the reason for quotes in the title), straddling as it does both compounds and idioms on the one hand, and collocations on the other.

2. Phraseological Status and Meaning of Fixed Binomials

As a phraseological category, fixed binomials are **diverse** in that they can be semantically either transparent or opaque (or somewhere on the cline between the two), just as they can be either frozen or only "loosely" fixed, the latter meaning that the order can be reversed (e.g. *day and night – night and day*). In some cases, the key distinction between **collocation-type** and **compound-/idiom-type** binomials is blurred at best. In most cases, however, a basic contrast can be made between the former, which are semantically transparent (e.g. *ladies and gentlemen, aims and objectives*) and the latter, which are opaque (e.g. *bread and butter, hit and run, up and about, divide and rule/conquer, under lock and key*).

Furthermore, a number of fixed binomials are also characterized by a substantial amount of **conventionality and stereotyping**, resulting in (heavily) clichéd and sometimes pragmatically complex strings such as *first and foremost, give and take, prim and proper, slowly but surely, in every shape and size, [not] in any shape or form, when all's said and done,* or *in this day and*

---

[1]   Judging from Google-derived evidence, *fixed binomial* is largely a mathematical and statistical term.

age. Some of them are semantically and pragmatically complex while comprising only the "easy" words; thus the spoken expression *when all's said and done* is far more than what it says on the surface: it is 'used to remind someone about an important point that needs to be considered' (Mayor 2009, 42). Likewise, their conventionality and/or fixedness can be observed whenever the sequence involved is "illogical"; for instance, while lightning logically must precede thunder, the fixed binomial – *thunder and lightning* – defies this logical order.[2]

Some binomials are pragmatically **restricted** and often "extended" by other items, thus making up larger fixed sequences, as in *our thoughts and prayers are with the* [e.g. family of the deceased person]. Yet others are restricted in other ways, for example stylistically, as in the old-fashioned "emphatic" binomial (to be full of) *vim and vigor*. Binomials can be (heavily) institutionalized and thus compound-like: *bed and breakfast, black and blue, cause and effect, fame and fortune, hide-and-seek, rock and roll*. Moreover, some are so heavily conventionalized that they are recorded as main entries in dictionaries in an **unconventional or abbreviated** form, e.g. *rock'n'roll*, *R & B* (=rhythm and blues), R & D (=research and development), *R & R* (=rest and relaxation [also an AmE term for a holiday given to army people after a long period of hard work or during a war]. The reasons for their unconventionality can be entirely commercial, as observed e.g. in *snap N slice*, the name of a kitchen cutter extensively advertised on TV in 2009. Indeed, binomials used as (brand-)names of consumer products are not difficult to find: *Fresh & Clean* (tissues), *Relax &* Tone (body massager), Head *and Shoulders* (shampoo), *Speak & Spell* (an American children's educational toy), for example.

Finally, some binomials resemble **patterns**, in that they comprise both "real" words[3] and "slot-like" spaces to be filled by any out of a specifiable set of lexical items, as in *to up and* [*do something*], for instance *he upped and left*.

Even though it is possible, in principle, to reverse the customary order of fixed binomials "if special effect is meant to be expressed", violating the fixed order is often regarded as a source of **unacceptability** (James 1998, 72). I would add that if anything, wrong ordering also affects **idiomaticity** in the broader sense of restricted nativelike textual selection and nativelike sequencing.

Let us note, merely as an aside, that it can be quite difficult to answer the very basic question of what exactly counts as a binomial as contrasted with, or distinct from, a mere grammar-based and -derived combination of noun + conjunction + noun. Take *simple and direct*, for instance: It is a fixed binomial and, as such, recorded in dictionaries? What criteria were applied? Was it

---

[2]   Of course, the "logical" ordering is not too difficult to find, as in (stories of) *survival and recovery*, spotted on CNN in February 2010. Overall, such sequences may be considered somewhat different from "genuine" binomials, because they only seem to follow logical ordering and are thus less likely to cause any interlingual difficulty, not to mention their phras(eologic)al status, but then quite a few of the "logical" ones too appear to be heavily conventionalized too (e.g. [*to be*] *born and bred, hit and run, wear and tear, seek and find, dead and buried*).

[3]   Note that a handful of items are likely to lend themselves to forming a variety of binomials, say the adjectives *nice* (*nice and warm, nice and clean, nice and easy),* and *bright* (*bright and breezy, bright and early, bright-eyed and bushy-tailed*), possibly due to their ability to function as intensifiers.

(only) semantic (non-)compositionality? Syntagmatic features? What about frequency of co-occurrence? Can the available criteria be applied successfully to all binomial sequences?

3. Significant Features of Fixed Binomials

Binomials can be **semantically** more or less **transparent** (*come and go, friends and acquaintances, loud and clear, peace and quiet*), **opaque** (*cloak and dagger, pins and needles, part and parcel,* 'a necessary feature'; *ins and outs,* 'all the facts and details'),[4] or on the **cline** somewhere between the two end-points (*rough and ready,* 'not perfect but good enough for a particular purpose'; *bits and pieces* informal 'any small things of various kinds'; *once or twice,* 'a few times'; *facts and figures,* 'the basic details, numbers etc concerning a particular situation or subject').

Secondly, fixed binomials can be **polysemous**, whether with two senses each, typically with a literal and a figurative reading (e.g. *wear and tear*),[5] or semantically more complex (e.g. *[be] neither here nor there; cat and mouse; black and white; bread and butter*).

Thirdly, some of them are also **grammatically restricted** as they can only be used in the plural (e.g. *twists and turns, swings and roundabouts, by leaps and bounds*).

Quite a few other features will be referred to later due to the fact that they are difficult and/or problematic. Specifically, fixed binomials can consist of phrases joined by prepositions, they can be extended, some are reversible, comprise the same item used twice, are used as different word classes, can be open-ended and rather elusive, all of which contributes to their heterogeneity and to making them something of a lexicographer's headache.

4. Brief Review of Literature

Following the two pioneering studies, the rather obscure Abraham (1950) and especially Malkiel (1959), the topic of fixed binomials has received its share of attention, for instance in Norrick (1988), including a handful of cross-linguistic studies such as Klégr (1991) and Ernestova (2007). There also exists a dissertation-type study of binomiality in the field of law (Dámová 2007), where fixed binomials are particularly common and have therefore been studied fully as part of specialized communication (Gustafsson 1984, Bhatia 1994).[6] They include *aid and abet, assault and battery, cease and desist, law and order, null and void, breaking and entering, without let or hindrance,* and *health and safety.*[7]

---

[4] Cruse (1986, 39-40) discusses their fossilization in terms of degrees of semantic opacity, where the constituent elements begin to lose their independent semantic value: "[a]s degree of opacity diminishes, we approach the somewhat indeterminate transitional zone between opacity and transparency."

[5] Thus one can figuratively speak about, for instance, somebody's success story *starting to show a little wear and tear.*

[6] Piirainen (2008, 222) observes, while citing evidence from German, that binomials can be traced back to gestures once performed in court, together with ancient wordings of laws, which may well be the reason why they seem to be so typical of the field. In legal English binomials are 4-5 times more common than in other prose texts (Gustafsson 1984, 123). The magisterial Fowler, however, suggested another reason: "Their abundance in English is perhaps partly attributable to legal language, where the multiplication of near-synonyms is a normal precaution against too narrow an interpretation, and also contributes a pompous sonority to ceremonial occasions" (Fowler 1965, 554).

[7] They can be found in business English too, witness e.g. *terms and conditions* and *profit and loss.*

Contemporary accounts of fixed binomials are not too frequent; they are largely corpus-based (Hatzidaki 2000). The most thorough analysis to date is Benor and Levy (2006), where it is pointed out, based on an analysis of some 700 binomial tokens retrieved from online corpora, that there are a number of semantic, metrical, and frequency-based constraints that contribute significantly to binomials' **ordering preferences**, overshadowing the phonological factors that have traditionally been given priority.[8] The fixedness of binomials often reflects what has been labeled a **syntax of preference**, e.g. the positive concept preceding the negative one (*good and bad*). Thus *Adam and Eve* iconizes hierarchy or preference, whereas *Cain and Abel* reflects precedence of the firstborn rather than preference. By contrast, *here and there* and *this and that* iconize a preference for proximity as against distance (Anderson 1998, 267).

There are very few linguistics textbooks and vocabulary books that include a section on binomials (Gramley and Pätzold [2004, 58, passim][9]; McCarthy and O'Dell [1994, Section #77, pp. 154-55] and McCarthy and [O'Dell 2001, Section #72, p. 81]). Similarly, most dictionaries of linguistics terms give the concept short shrift. Even the World Wide Web is weak in its coverage of fixed binomials: A Google search does turn up quite a few hits for the concept, but they refer chiefly to the mathematical/statistical notion. Those that <u>are</u> related to linguistics are few, aside from being mostly bloggers' random comments.

Almost none of the works referred to above are devoted to the lexicographical aspects and implications of fixed binomials. Hence this paper. Its orientation is quite broad; first it provides a concise description of the phenomenon and then looks at the basics of its lexicographical treatment, especially in a bilingual framework. That is why the term *dictionary* has been used here merely as a convenient abstraction indicating the standard alphabetized general-purpose language-reference source, no attempt having been made to discuss specific (types of) dictionaries, phraseological or other, and their salient features. Likewise, cross-linguistic issues have been raised only in general terms, which is certainly <u>not</u> to suggest that they are uninteresting or even irrelevant – quite the reverse, in fact.

5. Problems in the Treatment and Handling of Fixed Binomials

First of all, fixed binomials can be, one, not single-word items but **phrases** conjoined by *and/or/but* (e.g. *once and <u>for all</u>, last but <u>not least</u>, <u>take it</u> or <u>leave it</u>*), and two, connected not by conjunctions but rather by **prepositions** (*one after another, from head to foot, tit for tat*). Being joined by a preposition rather than a conjunction creates something of a categorial problem, because prepositions express various relationships, say temporal and spatial ones, while conjunctions "only" join. However, some authors make no distinction between "conjunctive" and "prepositional" binomials (e.g. Norrick 1988). Also, some binomials comprise not only phrases but also a **comma** instead of a conjunction (as e.g. in *easy come, easy go*, 'something

---

8   Yet the ordering of binomials not infrequently exhibits a considerable amount of variation (Benor and Levy 2006). Variation can indeed be extensive, as in *art(s) and science(s) / science(s) and art(s)*.

9   Of course, phraseology textbooks – not that there are that many in existence – are likely to be more generous in this respect, witness especially Fiedler (2007, 40–3, 63–4, passim).

- especially money - obtained easily was quickly used or spent'). Are these any different? Not likely – the comma, after all, is a kind of *and*-type conjunction.

Second, as has already been pointed out, there exist moderately or heavily **extended** binomials (e.g. *the rank and file, [we're] ready and waiting, every now and then, somebody's likes and dislikes, by leaps and bounds, to go to rack and ruin, to be few and far between, live and let live, [the] nuts and bolts [of something], to look/search high and low, in this day and age, over and done with, come hell or high water*). Are they to be given the same status and treatment as their binary, "basic" counterparts? Again, some are transparent and often emphatic ([we're] ready *and waiting*), while others are opaque (*come hell or high water*) while also including instances of the emphatic type (*to be few and far between*). Does this fact call for a different treatment? A single policy is difficult to apply because the extensions may vary a lot in terms of length as well as their nature (some are largely optional/additional, whereas others are virtually impossible to leave out, thus rendering the basic binomial somewhat suspect as to its very existence).

Third, some binomials are **reversible**, meaning that they exist in two synonymous forms/strings[10] (such as *pleasures and problems, off and on, clear and specific, night and day*), thus displaying a "looser" fixedness while firmly remaining fixed multiword units. A few synonymous binomials can also be found that are not identical (as in *errors and omissions* and *errors or omissions* [McIntosh 2009, 564]). Very rarely does the reversal result in a different meaning, as in *salt and pepper* ('condiments') vs. *pepper and salt* ('color') (Cruse 1986, 47). Reversal may only exceptionally occur within a phrase, or even within two parallel phrases, usually without affecting the semantics of the phrase, as in *easy come, easy go* vs. *come easy, go easy*. Note that unless there are semantic consequences, the possibility of reversing the sequence is, overall, not that important, given that in each such case the string still keeps Pawley and Syder's (1983) widely cited "nativelike selection" criterion of idiomaticity.

Fourth, some (extended) binomials comprise **the same item used twice** (e.g. *less and less, through and through, to be on the up and up[11]*). These are simple in structure, as there can be only one ordering; however, they too are either idiom-like or collocation-like.

Fifth, binomials used as **different word classes** (e.g. *to and fro* [noun, adjective, or adverb] or *crash and burn* [verb, noun, or adjective]) are likely to be an encoding problem, specifically with those L1 languages that lack conversion as a word-formation process. Generally, this feature is easier to show efficiently and systematically in monolingual than in bilingual dictionaries.

Sixth, the most intriguing – and difficult – feature of binomials may be their "**open-endedness**", witness e.g. the pattern **nice and** [adjective]: *clean/easy/warm/slow/quiet...* Many binomials appear to be **elusive**; (new) coinages often go unrecorded in dictionaries (e.g. *gently and effectively,*

---

10   Very rarely does a fixed binomial exist in two non-synonymous forms connected with different conjunctions but consisting of the same lexical components, an example being *life and death* and *life or death*.

11   This particular binomial, let us note, exhibits both "varietal" polysemy and obligatory expansion. Its polysemy stems from the fact that it has a different meaning in AmE ('honest and doing things legally') than in BrE ('becoming more successful').

inflation and unemployment, [to battle] boos and bruises[12], love and affection, money and business [newspaper section title]*, plain and simple, attractive and appealing, up and coming, (to be) up and running, words and phrases* [also title of a book], and many more). The idea that a fixed binomial is "used to convey a single meaning", proposed by H.W. Fowler in his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* of 1926 (Fowler 1965, 554), may well be somewhat elusive! Indeed, the latest revision (Burchfield 1996, 712) expands the earlier definition, recognizing the issue: binomials "often have the same meaning as each unit in the pair (or a slightly strengthened one), or are related in other formulaic ways". Four types are recognized (ibid.):

a)   those used mostly for **emphasis** (e.g. *bag and baggage, bits and pieces/bobs, rant and rave, in any shape or form*),

b)   **fixed collocations**, with one of the components being used in an archaic sense or the combination having acquired a meaning different from that of either component alone (e.g. *at someone's beck and call, odds and ends, part and parcel, spick and span*),

c)   those which consist of **associated ideas** (e.g. *huff and puff, nuts and bolts, thick and fast, ways and means*),

d)   those which consist of **opposites or alternatives** (e.g. *hit and miss, through thick and thin, to and fro*).

Anyway, even though binomials can be quite common, some of them hardly ever get listed in dictionaries (e.g. *theory and practice, to shoot and kill (someone)*, with millions of Google hits and an extensive record in today's corpora[13] but scant lexicographic evidence). Also, the back-cover blurb of a recent book on slang (Adams 2009) says, *inter alia*, "Adams shows it [slang] is much more than just flash and trash." Is there an English dictionary that has managed to record the string? Moreover, even culture-bound binomials can get short shrift; thus very few English dictionaries record *publish or perish*, a phrase used for describing the harsh realities of (originally American) academic competition, for which there are currently (June 2010) 166,000 Google hits, 65 occurrences in the WebCorp Live corpus, and 31 occurrences in the Corpus of Contemporary American English, for example.

Finally, binomials are quite frequent in English, which makes it difficult to work out a single lexicographical policy. To put it simply, are all binomials the same? Should they all be listed in dictionaries in bold?[14] In terms of what criteria? Their commonness is easy to show; for example, a *New York Times* obituary[15] of horticulturist David Murbach contains, *inter alia*, the following: *the world of* **trees and gardens** *; holiday crowds* **oohed and ahhed** *; a* **height and width** [of trees] *that we need ; I was* **more or less** *the one who was there to say … .* See what I'm driving at?

---

12   Taken from a Yahoo article on a famous NBA basketball player's performance in a late 2009 game. The binomial may well have been patterned on an existing binomial, viz. *cuts and bruises*.

13   Thus there are 470 occurrences of *theory and practice* and 49 occurrences of *shoot and kill* in the 400-million-word Corpus of Contemporary American English.

14   In this respect, dictionaries are not reliable, perhaps due to the (occasional?) application of an "intuitive" approach; thus a binomial may get listed, even several times, but not in bold (e.g. *arts and crafts* in the *Longman* [Mayor ed. 2009, 80, 393]).

15   Published on 5 January 2010 and written by James Barron. Retrieved from *http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/06/nyregion/06murbach.html*

6. Dictionary Treatment of Fixed Binomials

6.1 Monolingual Learners' Dictionary

The treatment of fixed binomials in most reputable English dictionaries is largely unsystematic, some being included and others being left out, with inconsistencies being quite common, not to mention the possibility of errors occasionally creeping in. Significantly, too, one and the same binomial may be given a very different treatment even in comparable dictionaries; for instance, the latest revised editions of three of the leading advanced learners' dictionaries of English record the fixed binomial *each and every*[16] in the following manner:

▶ as *each and every one* in the *Macmillan English Dictionary* (Rundell ed. 2007, 464)
▶ as both *each and every* (subentry) and *each and every one of* (boldfaced part of an illustrative example) in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Mayor ed. 2009, 530)
▶ it is ignored altogether in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Turnbull and Lea eds. 2010).

Generally speaking, in such dictionaries most binomials are included as – whether boldfaced or not – examples of use, sometimes with explanations of their meaning in parentheses; quite a few are not entered at all. Learners' dictionaries of English include many more binomials than their native-speaker-oriented relatives, which is both quite logical and quite appropriate, given the more diverse reference needs of their users coming from a variety of L1 backgrounds.

As to the **general lexicographical policy**, what should be done at all costs is preserving the distinction between compound-like and idiom-like binomials on the one hand, and those which are merely fixed sequences: the former, being as they are semantically non-transparent, should all be duly listed and defined. By contrast, the latter are clearly less crucial, and indeed do not, for the most part, represent a decoding problem, even though they clearly contribute to better language production in the encoding process, as their role in contributing to textual idiomaticity is quite significant.

6.2 Bilingual Dictionary

As to the general **cross-linguistic perspective** of binomials as observed in bilingual lexicography, the treatment of fixed binomials in general-purpose bilingual dictionaries should reflect the standard practice of handling fixed binomials primarily in terms of their semantic (non-)opacity and fixity, adding in each case a specific cross-linguistic dimension adopted for the benefit of the reference needs of the primary target group of their users, notably with respect to their L1 background. What this basically means is that bilingual dictionaries should not hesitate to show fixed binomials in bold especially for encoding tasks. The (partly) opaque ones should all be duly listed and translated, on a par with idioms.

---

16   There are 1285 occurrences of this binomial in the Corpus of Contemporary American English.

Furthermore, special care should be devoted to recording those binomials which are transparent and employ differently ordered fixed sequences in the two languages (e.g. SI *z dušo in telesom* ['with soul and body'] vs. EN *(with one's) body and soul*, or SI *jasno in glasno* ['clearly and loudly'] vs. EN *loud and clear*). Such cases are not infrequent, let alone exceptional: the fixed-word-order conventionality of fixed binomials can be simply (and often largely unpredictably at that) implemented differently in different languages, in that the fixed sequences in question can easily be reversed, as in the two cases above. Moving – however briefly – beyond the English and Slovene languages, for example, it has been pointed out that "in German and Italian you go 'forth and back' (*hin und her, avanti e indietro*)," and that "in Malay you address 'gentlemen and ladies' (*tuan-tuan dan puan-puan*). Neither way is more logical than the other, and while some may see cultural pointers determining the order of the items, they are probably best seen simply as fixed, arbitrary strings that combine two opposing items from the same lexical field." (Carter and McCarthy 1988, 25)

Finally, there are in principle four main options available to the lexicographer for the treatment of fixed binomials:

(1) **main entry** (recommended for opaque/institutionalized compound-like binomials [*rock'n'roll, hammer and sickle, down-and-out, fish and chips*]),

(2) **defined subentry** (recommended for opaque idiom-like binomials [*in the here and now*, 'at the present time'; *be neither here nor there*, 'be irrelevant'; *fetch and carry*, 'do simple and boring jobs for someone as if you were their servant'; *hue and cry*, 'angry protests']),

(3) highlighted part of an **example of use** (recommended for collocation-like binomials [*war and peace, theory and practice, flora and fauna, loud and clear*]),

(4) **ignored** altogether (not really recommended as this policy is likely to result in the violation of acceptability/idiomaticity, if not more. However, most transparent fixed binomials can be left out of dictionaries catering only to their users' decoding needs).

The four options should be selected judiciously and reflect consistency in the application of sound criteria. This may not always be easy, particularly in distinguishing between (1) and (2) and deciding on either the one or the other. Moreover, there is more to the lexicographical treatment of binomials than this – for example, should they, as a matter of principle, (always) be contextualized or not? In all (kinds of) dictionaries? Should extended binomials be given a different treatment than the basic binary ones?

Finally, faced with the issue of including or excluding fixed binomials for the sake of **reassurance** (this kind of lexicographical service is likely to be needed, in most cases, only for encoding tasks), the practicing bilingual lexicographer should, by and large, do well to follow intuition coupled with available teaching experience, and to consult extensively both learner corpora and fluent speakers of both languages.

7. Conclusion

Fixed binomials represent an intriguing and surprisingly diverse if minor category within the phraseology of English. This, however, should not deter the bilingual lexicographer from treating them as carefully and consistently as any major type of multiword items in English. Again, the basic element of lexicographical policy is that opaque binomials, being as they are idiom-like or compound-like vocabulary units, must always be listed and defined; on the other hand, whenever a binomial is transparent in meaning, it should merely get listed (not defined!) only in dictionaries designed also with an encoding component in mind.

What must be the priority, in addition to the cross-linguistic orientation applied to the two languages under consideration, is the inclusion of all semantically opaque binomials, to be followed by the representation of their idiomaticity in the broader sense. The former desideratum is essential in decoding L2 texts. On the other hand, the representation of their idiomaticity is to be shown via a judicious inclusion/exclusion policy for transparent binomials; this desideratum is significant in encoding, as it is likely to make for decidedly better – more idiomatic – L2 text generation.

Here, in tabular form, are the prototypical cases of fixed binomials in terms of their lexicographical treatment:

EXAMPLE	TYPE	DICTIONARY STATUS
fish and chips	compound	main entry
in the here and now	idiom	boldfaced defined subentry
war and peace	collocation	boldfaced (part of) example of use
errors and omissions	collocation	(part of) example of use or left out

These, to be sure, are but broad guidelines. Matters of detail will have to be dealt with in a separate paper incorporating a number of corpus-extracted examples, but on the basis of the general remarks presented in the paper.

Bibliography

Abraham, R.D. 1950. Fixed Order of Coordinates: A Study in Comparative Lexicography. *Modern Language Journal* 34, no. 4 (April): 276-87.

Adams, M. 2009. *Slang: The People's Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, E.R. 1998. *A Grammar of Iconism*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Cranbury, NJ and London: Associated University Presses.

Benor, S.B., and R. Levy. 2006. The Chicken or the Egg? A Probabilistic Analysis of English Binomials. *Language* 82, no. 2 (June): 233–78. Also available online at *http://idiom.ucsd.edu/~rlevy/papers/binomials-accepted.pdf*

Bhatia, V. 1994. Cognitive Structuring in Legislative Provisions. In *Language and the Law*, ed. J. Gibbons, 136–55. Harlow, Essex and London: Longman.

Burchfield, R.W., ed. 1996. *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage*. First edited by H.W. Fowler. 3rd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Carter, R.A., and M.J. McCarthy. 1988. *Vocabulary and Language Teaching*. Applied Linguistics and Language Study. Harlow, Essex: Longman Group UK.

Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). At http://www.americancorpus.org/

Cruse, D.A. 1986. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Dámová, P. 2007. *The Language of Law: A Stylistic Analysis with a Focus on Lexical (Binomial) Expressions*. Thesis, Masaryk University in Brno, Faculty of Education, Department of English Language and Literature. Also to be retrieved from *http://is.muni.cz/th/79361/pedf_m/THESIS.doc*

Ernestova, M. 2007. Role of Binomial Phrases in Current English and Implications for Readers and Students of EFL (English as a Foreign Language. In *Literacy without Boundaries: Proceedings of the 14th European Conference on Reading, Zagreb, Croatia 2005*, ed. G. Shiel, I. Stričević and D. Sabolović-Krajina, 273–8. Osijek: Croatian Reading Association. Also to be retrieved from *http://www.hcd.hr/datoteke/Zagreb_Conference_Proceedings.pdf*

Fiedler, S. 2007. *English Phraseology: A Coursebook*. Narr Studienbücher. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Fowler, H.W. 1965. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. 2nd edn. rev. by Sir E. Gowers. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [First edition published 1926]

Gramley, S., and K.-M. Pätzold. 2004. *A Survey of Modern English*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Gustafsson, M. 1984. The Syntactic Features of Binomial Expressions in Legal English. *Text – Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 4, no. 1–3: 123–42.

Hatzidaki, O. 2000. Binomials and the Computer: A Study in Corpus-Based Phraseology. Paper presented at ALLC/ACH 2000, University of Glasgow, 21–25 July 2000. To be retrieved from *http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/allcach2k/Programme/session5.html#513*

James, C. 1998. *Errors in Language Learning and Use: Exploring Error Analysis*. Applied Linguistics and Language Study. Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.

Klégr, A. 1991. A Note on Binomials in English and Czech. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica 1, Prague Studies in English* 19: 83–8.

Malkiel, Y. 1959. Studies in Irreversible Binomials. *Lingua* 8, no. 2 (May): 113–60. Rptd. in his *Essays on Linguistic Themes*, 311–55. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968.

Mayor, M., ed. 2009. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. 5th edn. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education / Longman.

McCarthy, M.J., and F. O'Dell. 1994. *English Vocabulary in Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, M.J., and F. O'Dell. 2001. *Test Your English Vocabulary in Use: Upper-Intermediate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, C., ed. 2009. *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norrick, N.R. 1988. Binomial Meaning in Texts. *Journal of English Linguistics* 21, no. 1: 72–87.

Pawley, A., and F.H. Syder. 1983. Two Puzzles for Linguistic Theory: Nativelike Selection and Nativelike Fluency. In *Language and Communication*, ed. J.C. Richards and R.W. Schmidt, 191–226. Harlow, Essex: Longman Group.

Piirainen, E. 2008. Figurative Phraseology and Culture. In *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. S. Granger and F. Meunier, 207–28. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Rundell, M., ed. 2007. *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Macmillan Education.

Turnbull, J., and D. Lea, eds. 2010. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English. [First ed.] By A.S. Hornby. 8th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WebCorp Live: The Web as Corpus. At *http://www.webcorp.org.uk/index.html*

Nada Šabec

University of Maribor
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

Slovene-English Language Contact and Language Change

Summary

The paper focuses on Slovene - English language contact and the potential language change resulting from it. Both the immigrant context (the U.S. and Canada) and Slovenia, where direct and indirect language contact can be observed respectively, are examined from two perspectives: social on the one hand and linguistic on the other. In the case of Slovene Americans and Canadians the emphasis is on language maintenance and shift, and on the relationship between mother tongue preservation and ethnic awareness. The linguistic section examines different types of bilingual discourse (borrowing, code switching), showing how the Slovene inflectional system in particular is being increasingly generalized, simplified and reduced, and how Slovene word order is gradually beginning to resemble that of English. In the case of Slovenia we are witnessing an unprecedented surge in the influence of English on Slovene, especially in the media (both classic and electronic), advertising, science, and the language of the young. This influence will be discussed on a number of levels, such as lexical, syntactic and intercultural, and illustrated by relevant examples.

Key words: language contact, language change, accommodation, language shift, borrowing, code switching, identity

Slovensko-angleški jezikovni stik in jezikovne spremembe

Povzetek

Članek obravnava slovensko-angleški jezikovni stik in jezikovne spremembe, ki izhajajo iz le-tega. Pri tem gre za dve okolji, izseljenskega (ZDA, Kanada) in slovenskega. V prvem gre za neposredni jezikovni stik, v drugem za posrednega, v obeh pa pojav raziskujem tako z jezikoslovenga kot z družbenega vidika. V primeru ameriških in kanadskih Slovencev je poudarek na jezikovnem ohranjanju oz. jezikovnem premiku ter na odnosu med ohranjanjem maternega jezika in etnične ozaveščenosti. V jezikovnem delu se osredinjam na različne tipe dvojezičnega diskurza (sposojanje, kodno preklapljanje), pri čemer ugotavljam, da prihaja do postopnega posploševanja, poenostavljanja in opuščanja slovenskih sklanjatvenih vzorcev, medtem ko postaja slovenski besedni vrstni red v nekaterih segmentih vedno bolj podoben angleškemu. V Sloveniji smo po drugi strani priča doslej najmočnejšemu vplivu angleščine na slovenščino, predvsem v medijih (tako klasičnih in elektronskih) in v jeziku mladih. Ta vpliv analiziram na različnih jezikovnih ravninah od leksikalne do sintaktične in medkulturne ter ga ponazorim z ustreznimi primeri.

Ključne besede: jezikovni stik, jezikovne spremembe, akomodacija, jezikovni premik, sposojanje, kodno preklapljanje, identiteta

Slovene-English Language Contact and Language Change

1. Introduction

Language contact is a widespread phenomenon that can be can be examined from different perspectives, including the social/functional and linguistic/structural ones. Depending on the specific circumstances in which it occurs, on the reasons for its occurrence and on the different outcomes that it may produce, it can be classified into different types. One criterion that I will rely on in my article is whether the contact is direct or indirect. Direct language contact refers to situations where "groups of people who speak very similar varieties are in contact with people who speak rather different varieties" (Thomason 2001, 2) such as immigrant situations. On the other hand, language contact may be indirect or distant (Winford 2003), where the influence of one language on the other does not occur directly, but rather through the mediation of written texts or, recently, mostly through the Internet and other electronic media, also referred to as CMC or computer-mediated-media.[1] Regardless of the type, however, language contact may trigger varying degrees of language change. Language contact and language change are thus closely interrelated, as will be illustrated by the case of Slovene and English. I will first address the direct Slovene-English language contact in the immigrant environment of the United States and Canada, and then focus on the situation in Slovenia, where we are currently witnessing the ever stronger indirect influence of English on Slovene.

2. Slovene-English Language Contact in an Immigrant Environment

For obvious reasons, immigrant environments, where people speaking different languages are in contact on a daily basis, are ideally suited to the study of language contact. In my research so far I have examined several Slovene speech communities both in the United States and in Canada (Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Fontana, Toronto, Vancouver). Due to space limitations I will not be able to describe all five of them. Instead, I will focus on Cleveland, the largest Slovene American community in the U.S., where I carried out the most extensive fieldwork and, for the sake of comparison with smaller communities, also briefly present the situation in Washington, D.C.

The language contact situation will be first addressed from the social perspective in terms of language use and language attitudes and then from the structural perspective, analyzing different forms of bilingual discourse and interlingual influences. Language change will be explained both on societal and individual levels as a consequence of sociolinguistic accommodation.

2.1 Sociolinguistic Accommodation on the Societal Level

As a starting point I will take the definition of Giles and Coupland (1991), who explore "accommodative processes" in relation to identity, whereby speakers may manipulate language in order "to maintain integrity, distance or identity" (ibid., 66). I believe that this concept of accommodation theory, which focuses on the interactive aspects of communication and

---

[1]   Computer-Mediated-Media is defined as "communciation that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers" (Herring 1996, 1).

emphasizes its negotiative character, is best suited to explain the various shifts in language use that occur in the case of Slovene Americans both on individual and societal levels.

On a broader, societal level, accommodation is manifested through different stages of intergenerational language shift from Slovene to English. In order to understand this process, we need some background information on Slovene immigration to the USA.

Slovenes immigrated to the US in general and to Cleveland in particular in two major waves: at the turn of the century and after WW II.[2] The early, economic immigrants had little or no education, most were illiterate and spoke only regional dialects. With no professional skills they worked in steel mills and other factories and lived in ethnically segregated neighborhoods, where they could rely on ethnic organizations and communicate in their mother tongue. These neighborhoods were so Slovene in character that the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic groups states that "In Cleveland, for example, St. Clair Avenue from 30th to East 79th Streets became by the 1920s so completely Slovene in character that English was the foreign language" (Thernston 1980, 973). The partial influence of English was seen only in borrowing, where lexemes from the donor English language were morphologically and partly phonologically adapted to the recipient Slovene language through the attachment of Slovene suffixes to the English bases. The second generation, their children, however, having already learned English, in most cases moved out of the inner city and progressed both socially and economically. This was even more true of the third, pre-war, generation, which is mostly college educated, but no longer or only exceptionally speaks Slovene. The post-war group of immigrants came to the States primarily for political reasons; they were better educated, had a working knowledge of English and thus a much better starting position. Residential concentration was no longer essential to their survival, and the majority settled in the suburbs. Linguistically, it is interesting that they have a good command of both the dialects and Standard Slovene, which is why they only rarely resort to borrowing. Instead, they engage in code switching, which involves the alternate use of two discrete linguistic systems. Their children are similar to the third, pre-war, generation in that they speak little or no Slovene and also in terms of their social and economic mobility.

Cleveland Slovenes are known for maintaining close contact with Slovenia and supporting an impres-sive number of ethnic organizations. After the general ethnic revival in the US in the 1970s, and again after Slovenia's independence in 1991, Slovene Americans experienced a renewed interest in searching for their roots and in preserving their heritage.

Washington Slovenes, on the other hand, represent a relatively small ethnic group (a few hundred). They moved to the capital city after WW II either from Slovenia or from other US federal states. They were attracted by occupational and professional opportunities that were quite different from those of early immigrants to Cleveland. Being well-educated, the majority of Washington Slovenes work in managerial positions, in academia, as federal employees and the like. For them, living together was never a matter of survival, but rather a matter of personal choice, a way to enrich their social and cultural lives and to express their identity.

Compared to Cleveland Slovenes, they are far less heterogeneous in terms of generations. In

---

[2]   WW II is used to divide the immigrants into two large groups: the pre-war and the post-war ones.

fact, it only makes sense to classify them into two groups: Slovene-born and American-born, as any more detailed classifications would yield few, if any, meaningful results. Those who speak Slovene are very proficient in it (some have even published in the language). There is practically no borrowing and even code switching is relatively rare compared to Cleveland. The Slovene-born participants are understandably better at Slovene than American-born ones, but there are a few cases where children speak very good Slovene, too. In all cases, however, the respondents are skeptical about Slovene language maintenance in the future and even though the Slovene-born respondents cite language as the most important factor in their ethnic identification, already their children do not see ethnic identity as depending primarily on the language.

The Cleveland data in particular reveal significant intergenerational variation both in the participants' bilingual competence and in their attitudes toward the two languages. While the older generations and the more recent Slovene-born immigrants still speak Slovene, the younger ones, born in the U.S., have to a great extent lost their facility in the language. The most bilingual of all is the second generation of pre-war immigrants, but their use of Slovene is confined to ethnic contexts. It is precisely because of this general perception that the Slovene language plays an important symbolic role, but has in fact very little, if any, pragmatic value, that the situation among American Slovenes is that of a very unstable, transitional bilingualism. This is best illustrated by the fact that the shift from Slovene to English among the pre-war immigrants occurred over the course of three generations, but took only two generations in the case of post-war immigrants.

Viewed from the accommodation perspective, the language shift just described could be interpreted as a form of adjustment, whereby Slovene communities experienced a kind of convergence of their language toward the dominant English and in the process also underwent certain language contact-induced changes, seen primarily in borrowing, code switching and various types of interlingual influences on different linguistic levels.

It is interesting that the partial or at times even complete language shift occurred despite the fact that, on the declarative level, the great majority of the respondents attribute a very high degree of importance to the maintenance of the mother tongue (even though they do not consider it to be the most important factor in ethnic identification – this is culture instead), and that the two communities share a very strong sense of appreciation of their ethnic heritage and a very positive self-image. The Slovene American communities are thus likely to survive even though its members may in the future no longer identify themselves as being bilingual but rather as bicultural.

A likely explanation for such a development can be found in their ambition to integrate into mainstream society as fully as possible as well as in the objective circumstances, i.e. the omnipresent, even though not overt pressure of English. The non-explicit character of the influence of English seems to be a relevant factor, as the immigrants' convergence toward English in this particular environment is in marked contrast to some other contexts, where Slovene under overt pressure has survived despite everything (e.g. during WW II, when in the occupied Slovene territories it was forbidden to speak Slovene; in 1989, when the prospect of a court trial against Slovene dissidents in Serbo-Croatian[3] triggered mass demonstrations and the eventual

---

[3]   Serbo-Croatian was one of the three official languages in the former Yugoslavia. Although Slovene, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian were declared to be equal, Serbo-Croatian was in fact the dominant language from the socilinguistic perspective and the only one

disintegration of the former Yugoslavia; in present-day Austria, where members of the Slovene minority keep fighting for bilingual signs and schools).

2.2 Sociolinguistic Accommodation in Face-to-Face Interactions

Even more transparent forms of sociolinguistic accommodation can be observed in the face-to-face interactions of the participants in the study. While their language choice understandably depends on the level of their bilingual proficiency, it is also to a large extent determined by their social and psychological motivations. In general, the interviews and the participant observation show that the subjects spoke more Slovene with those people who, in their opinion, felt more comfortable speaking Slovene (e.g. the elderly, visitors from Slovenia), and almost always switched to English when a monolingual English speaker joined in the conversation. Bilinguals therefore exhibit various degrees of linguistic intravariation in their conversations. Their choice of a particular language in any particular situation depends on the degree of intimacy or social distance that they wish to establish between themselves and their addressee. This phenomenon can be explained within the theoretical framework of the audience design (Bell 1984) and of the interpersonal accommodation theory (Giles and Johnson 1981, 1987). According to the former, speakers design their speech in such a way as to accommodate their addressees. This is done by style shifting, which in a bilingual situation translates into a choice between two codes/languages. The accommodation is directed primarily at the addressee, but also at the so called third persons (auditors, who are present, but not directly addressed, and overhearers). Their influence is of secondary importance compared to the addressee's, but can be observed in those cases mentioned earlier, when the appearance of an English monolingual may cause the switch to English. According to the interpersonal accommodation theory, something very similar happens. The interlocutors generally adapt their speech style to each other's when there is an affinity between them and when they want to bridge the social or personal gap between them. As they expect some potential benefit from the interaction (which may be anything from possible future cooperation to simply enjoying each other's company) they attempt to move closer to each other by resorting to their shared ethnic language. By converging in this direction they reduce their dissimilarities and express a sort of mutual solidarity. The opposite may, of course, also happen when instead of convergence we observe divergence from the use of the language shared by all the participants. The purpose of such behavior is to exclude the participant/s from the conversation. This again may happen for a number of reasons. A very common one, which I did not observe, but was told about by a number of participants in this study was for the parents to speak Slovene so that the children would not understand what they were saying.

2.3 Structural Aspects of Sociolinguistic Accommodation and Potential Language Change

In addition to the social/functional aspects of accommodation described thus far, there are also structural dimensions to be considered. The previously mentioned forms of bilingual discourse,

used in the Army. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the formation of new states it split into different varieties such as Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.

borrowing and code switching, are the most obvious instances of that. In the case of borrowing we deal with the contact of English and Slovene on the level of a single word, which results in words such as *kara, drajvati, zbrokan* (from *car*, *to drive* and *broken*). The most common items that undergo this process of phonological and morphological adaptation belong to open sets of word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives) and serve either to fill lexical gaps or are used in the case of most frequently occurring everyday words. While borrowing is typical of the early immigrants, later generations engage primarily in code switching, which involves the alternate use of two languages in the same conversation (Šabec 1995) but keeps them separate at all times. The phenomenon is rather complex, it may occur on intra- or intersentential levels, in different directions and may be subject to various syntactic constraints. A detailed analysis of these aspects would exceed the scope of this article, which is why I will only provide a few typical examples of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and discourse markers that are usually the subject of switching.

- Ko smo mi šli nazaj, *business* je vedno bil težek, *tough, but we made it, see.*

  /When we returned, the business was always hard, tough, but we made it, see./

- In moj ata so prišli v Cleveland *ninety twenty-one and then met and married my mother*

  /And my dad came to Cleveleand ninety twenty-one and then met and married my mother./

- Vsak večer špilajo kak šport, *baseball, soccer, you never know when they'll be home.*

  /Every evening they play sports, baseball, soccer, you never know when they'll be home./

While language change in the process of borrowing and code switching is fairly salient, monolingual stretches of the immigrants' discourse in Slovene also show traces of English influence. These can be observed on various linguistic levels from phonology (aspirated plosives, rhotic *r* etc.) to morphology and syntax. Morphology in particular, where the Slovene inflectional system is being increasingly generalized, simplified and reduced, is an important area conducive to language change. In syntax, change involves a gradual change of word order. It is occasionally more fixed, thus resembling English, or simply used at random, disregarding the rules of Slovene. The following examples show different degrees of convergence of the weaker Slovene toward the dominant English.

- Pa smo šli *z moja vnuk* in poli smo *vzeli ena slika* od *cela žlahta*. (wrong gender and case of the nouns, a calque *to take pictures* instead of the verb *slikati/fotografirati*)

  /We went *with my grandson* and *took a picture of the entire family.*/

- Pa se moraš ustavit *pri tisti lučem* in se potem obrniti na desno, da prideš do tam. (wrong case of the noun *luči*, wrong number of the demonstrative pronoun *tisti*, *luč*i instead of the Slovene equivalent *semafor*).

  /You have to stop *at those traffic lights* and then turn right to get there./

- In *ona* je pela tuď ko je b'la *ona* mlada, samo potem ko je *ona poročila*, ni b'lo več časa za vaje. /redundant use of the pronoun *ona*, omission of the reflexive *se* with the verb *poročiti se*).

  /And *she* also sang when *she* was young, but then when *she got married*, she no longer had time for rehearsals./

- Smo šli *z moja prijateljica mož.* (wrong case of the nouns and the pronoun).

  /We went with *my friend's husband.*/

- In dokler je prišel, ni šel nobeden proč. (analogy with the English word order, where in Slovene the negative particle would be used: dokler *ni* prišel).

  /*And until he came*, nobody left./

- Pa je mislil, da to taku *življenje* tam *delal*, pa ni šlo. (calque *delati življenje* instead of the verb *preživljati se/delati*).

  /And he thought that he would *make a living* there, but it didn't work out./

Yet another manifestation of language change in the immigrant environment involves a partial leveling of dialects in the case of immigrants originating from different parts in Slovenia. While it is true that Cleveland Slovenes especially maintain a degree of dialect distinctiveness in their speech, this is far less pronounced than it was in the "old country."[4]

And finally, the use of second person pronouns as terms of address may be at least partially explained as being influenced by English. While Slovene has a binary system of second person pronouns, whereby a single interlocutor can be addressed either as *ti* or *vi* and where the choice implies different degrees of personal and social (in)equality among speakers or, according to Brown and Gilman (1960), power and solidarity, English uses the single form *you* in all cases.

While in Slovenia, the distinction between *ti* and *vi* in addressing the other is largely observed (with the exception of some younger speakers), it is thus quite common for Slovene visitors to the States to be addressed as *ti* by complete strangers upon first meeting them. More precisely, the pronouns often seem to be used more or less at random, but with a very strong bias in favor of *ti*. Only some older Slovene-born immigrants still observe the distinction with any consistency, while all others state their preference for *ti*. There are of course at least two other possible explanations for such attitudes and use: the exclusive use of *ti* brought to the States by some early arrivals from the "old country,"[5] and the uncertainty as to which pronoun to choose due to poor linguistic competence in Slovene. The third one, the influence of English, however, seems very likely and is confirmed by the responses provided in by the participants in the Toronto and Fontana studies. Younger speakers especially believe that the more formal *vi* is

[4]   The name used by the immigrants to refer to Slovenia and the territories from which they had emigrated.
[5]   *Ti* as the only pronoun used by lower classes such as peasants.

redundant and that the less formal, casual *ti* better serves their needs in addressing others on an equal footing. Compared to the relatively conservative and stable *ti* vs. *vi* distinction in Slovenia, Slovenes in the U.S.A. and Canada use predominantly the informal *ti*, which is in line with the dynamics in the relations between people living in a fairly egalitarian and socially mobile society. The tendency to address people by first names only underscores this finding.

3. Slovene-English Language Contact in Slovenia

Compared to the immigrant context, the forms of Slovene-English language contact in Slovenia are somewhat different, as are the reasons for it. The contact is indirect: in the past it used to happen through written texts and via intermediary languages such as German (e.g. the work *keks* from the English *cake*), recently it has been occurring mostly via CMC. In the past, such instances were rare; in recent decades they represent almost daily occurrences. The reasons for the extent and the speed with which English influences Slovene should no doubt be sought in the ongoing globalization processes, increasing mobility and the widespread availability of the Internet. The three are largely based on the use of English as a lingua franca of international communication, which means that all other languages, Slovene included, can hardly avoid its influence. It should be noted that the mentioned processes have also impacted upon English itself. While in the past English used to belong exclusively to native speakers, and standard varieties of, say, British and American English, served as models for non-native speakers to emulate, this is no longer always the case. Non-native speakers of English now outnumber native ones, which has resulted on the one hand in the split of English into several local varieties such as *Indian English* and *Singapore English* (so-called *World Englishes*), and on the other into *Global English* used by the Internet community. This variety, also referred to as *World English*, *International English*, *Lingua Franca English*, *Globish, Weblish* (e.g. Crystal 2001a), displays a high degree of variation depending on the varying degrees of proficiency of its users, transfers from their mother tongues, deviations from the norm, simplifications and the like, thus defying easy or even precise codification. Its users can no longer be defined in terms of traditional speech communities constrained by physical or geographical boundaries (Labov 1966; Milroy 1980), but rather as on-line communities of practice based on different professional and other interests (Lave and Wengner 1991). English in lingua franca use then has become "deterritorialized or post-geographic" variety (James 2008, 79 and passim), which "as the linguistic manifestation of a myriad of set of contexts of using, can also be seen as a – globalised and globalising – linguistic resource for intercultural communication and transcultural flows" (James 2009, 86). This aspect of English in as far as it is relevant to Slovene both socially and culturally will be discussed in more detail later. First, however, I will turn my attention to the ways in which the influence of English is felt on various linguistic levels of Slovene.

3.1 Linguistic Influences

These occur primarily on lexical and partly on syntactic and orthographic levels.

3.1.1 Vocabulary

Since vocabulary is the part of language which is, as a rule, the most susceptible to influences from other languages it will be addressed first and in more detail than the rest. It should be noted that lexical items are not only among the most frequently borrowed ones, but also the easiest to accept by most speakers, as they generally do not disrupt the structure of the native language, but are simply inserted into it and used either in response to the need for naming new objects, concepts or inventions or for some other reasons. And it is precisely these reasons that distinguish the Slovene situation from that of Slovene Americans and Canadians. While Slovene immigrants borrow English words to fill lexical gaps (e.g. *fonati* from *to phone; gradžuirati* from *to graduate*), in Slovenia this is done for other reasons as well. Only some lexical items enter Slovene because the language does not possess its own words (e.g. *bojkot, parkirati, golf, skenirati, lobirati*; recently *klikniti, guglati, tvitanje*), in most other cases there already exist perfectly acceptable or established Slovene equivalents. The reasons for borrowing are thus of an essentially different nature and have to do primarily with prestige, whereby "an element is borrowed from a language which is culturally or politically dominant" (Shukla and Connor-Linton 2006, 294). The speakers presumably use them to appear more fashionable, cosmopolitan, and "in". Examples of such loanwords are *marketing, consulting, hit, lider, tekst* (instead of *trženje, svetovanje, uspešnica, vodja, besedilo*) and many others.

Depending on the age and type of borrowed words, they may develop in different directions. In the beginning they tend to be fairly unstable both in spelling and in pronunciation (e.g. *leasing/lizing*; in rare cases this happens also with some loanwords that have been in the language for a long time, e.g. *cocktail/koktajl/koktejl*)), after undergoing various degrees of phonological, morphological and orthographic adaptation, however, some may become totally integrated into Slovene and behave the same as any other Slovene word (e.g. *sendvič, pullover, piknik*). It is also possible for some to adopt phonologically and morphologically, but not orthographically (e.g. *wellness* and *jacuzzi*, which with their atypical spelling do indeed stand out). Borrowings or loanwords may continue to co-exist with their Slovene equivalents (e.g. *resničnostni šov* vs. *reality show, glamur vs. blišč, laptop vs. prenosnik*), in some cases they may acquire a specialized meaning, either narrower than in the original (e.g. *juice*, where in English this refers to all juices, in Slovene only to orange juice) or broader (e.g. *toast* in the sense of a ham and cheese toasted sandwich, while in English the meaning is limited to a toasted slice of bread), they may largely displace a Slovene word (*stres* instead of *pritisk*) or turn out to be short-lived and, after a while, fall into oblivion. It is worth noting that for some loanwords which had no Slovene equivalents when they were first borrowed, some very good and widely used Slovene substitutes have been created (e.g. *najstnik, računalnik, tiskalnik, dlančnik* from *teenager, computer, printer, palm calculator*; in some other cases, however, attempts to do the same were less successful, an example of which is the word *spletni dnevnik* for *blog*, where *blog* not only prevailed, but even gave rise to other related words such as *bloganje, bloger, blogerski* and the like). On the other hand, many other terms which have spread to Slovene (and many other languages) over the Internet more recently have never undergone that process precisely because of the speed with which they have "invaded" the languages; they have been accepted uncritically without due consideration of looking for suitable equivalents in the native language (e.g. *stand up* komik, *mobbing*). Yet another example of lexical influence are calques,

some already well established ones (e.g. *pranje možganov* from *brainwashing*), some of more recent origin (e.g. *mreženje* from *networking*) and some that may not be widely understood and whose status therefore remains uncertain for the time being (e.g. "…se mi zdi na neuspeh obsojeno prizadevanje, da bi (mu) dokazali *'kadečo se pištolo'* v roki" (Flegar 2009, 4) /…I find attempts to prove that he has *a smoking gun* in his hand doomed from the outset./)

Individual English loanwords and calques are used by scientists, business people and also by the general public, but nowhere do we find as much English influence as in the language of the young and in the media. The young use English as a basis for their slang, thus expressing their in-group solidarity and anti-conformist attitudes toward grown ups (e.g. *ful, kul, d'best, fajt, džoint, frend, brejkič, fensi, izi, skenslati, densat, biti na badu, bajdvej, enivej,* iti v *lajf,* in to je najbolj tekmovalna tekma *ever*). Slang, of course, is a rather short lived phenomenon that keeps changing with each generation, which is why the influence of English is not likely to have a lasting effect on the society as a whole. The same is true of teen magazines that often tend to imitate slang.

With other media, however, we see a real proliferation of English that may leave a more enduring mark on the language. This is true of both traditional print media and even more so of the electronic ones. The former often publish texts in which the authors insert whole phrases and sometimes even longer passages in English. Some expressions are thus written in italics, in inverted commas or even accompanied by glosses and footnotes. While realizing that such usage may strike readers as obscure, idiosyncratic or even incomprehensible, some authors nevertheless seem to take their readers' proficiency in English for granted. This is not typical only of the tabloid press, but also of more "serious" newspapers and magazines. By the same token, English is frequently used in TV programs, especially on commercial stations that are in some cases owned by American corporations. Consequently, programs catering to popular taste, including various entertainment shows, soaps operas and the like are typically globalized/Americanized.

Examples from newspapers and magazines:

- *Welfare state* je *farewell*, tisto, kar potrebujemo v 21. stoletju, je *enabling state*. (Mekina 2010, 43)
  /Welfare state is farewell, what we need in the 21st century is an enabling state./

- Zato upam, da se bo ta globalni trg nepremičnin čim prej sesul, do tedaj pa bi si morali prizadevati za institucionalizacijo in legalizacijo *skvotinga* – zasedanja takih praznih stavb. (Kučić 2010, 6)
  /I thus hope that the global real estate market will collapse as soon as possible. Until then we should strive for the institutionalization and legalization of squatting – taking over of empty buildings./

- Današnje *guglanje, tvitanje* in *fejsbukanje* se bo počasi skrilo v nove oblike druženja in postalo njegov sestavni del. (Kučić 2010, 7)
  /The current googling, tweeting and facebooking will gradually be subsumed into new forms of networking and become its integral part./

- TV (ali video) *on demand* (na zahtevo) sicer že nekaj časa obstaja, vendar stvar ni razvita in razširjena do te mere, da bi se otroška logika instantnega zadovoljevanja TV želja lahko uveljavila kot splošen "odrasli" način gledanja. (Crnkovič 2009, 54)
  /TV (or video) on demand has been around for some time now, but it has not yet developed and spread to the point where the children's logic of instant gratification of TV desires would be adopted as a universal "grown up" way of watching./

The language found on blogs, tweets (as a sort of "microblogs" or "facebooks SMS's"), forums, and other forms of CMC, on the other hand, is usually a mixture of Slovene and English with deviations in spelling, punctuation, combinations of figures and letters, acronyms, word plays and other features typical of netspeak (Šabec 2009). There are also Slovene bloggers who write exclusively in English, which is in most cases a variety of Global English as defined at the beginning of this article. The following example illustrates nicely the described situation.

- F.R.I.E.N.D.S. in "zobke umit pa spat" no more

Kdo jih ne pozna. Okej, bom polinkal.

Ampak – počasi gledam vse sezone, starting with numero 1.

Yep, well, I've done that one. Zdej sem v drugi, ko Ross in Rachel…umgh!

A ste bli vi tudi *slučajno* stari cca. 10 let (+/- 2 leti), gotta leave some room for standard error) in so bili F.r.i.e.n.d.s.i na TV-ju? Ob *RES** poznih urah?? No, well, jaz sem bil. And it sucked. Zakaj, pobarate? No, ker pač nisem mogel gledat frendsov. Pa še prestavljali so jih. Enkrat so bili ob 23.30. Uuuurgggh! Ampak zdej…zdej lahko gledam anytime I want. Ker so a) na netu in b) na prenosnem disku. In c) so izpiti. Damn. No, ampak d) sej človk rabi malce odmora, taku, možganskega anede? In se ne more učit čist *CEL* dan.

Kakorkoli, hotel sem samo napisati ene dve fori iz tega dela, ki je ravno in progress (you try to be awake a week in a row till 4 a.m., studying incredibly interesting facts of life, such as biology and co. offers).

Ross: ''Rachel and Julie…that's the problem."

Joey: "HEY! I've got two words for you: threesome!"

…

Chandler: "You still got one left, you know."

//Monica: "OK, this is pumpkin pie,…/…/ Mochocolate chip cookies, Mochocolate strawberry cake,…. Taste it!"

Rachel: "OMG!"

Monica: "OMG good?"

R: "OMG I can't believe you let me put this into my mouth!"

Phoebe: "Sweet LORD! Ugh! This is what EVIL must taste like."

…:)

*Really back then meant 22.30./ (http://aljobaljo.blogspot.com)

/F.R.I.E.N.D.S. and ''brush your teeth and off to bed" no more

Who doesn't know them? Okay, I'll check the link

But – I'm slowly going through all the seasons, starting with number 1…

Yep, well, I've done that one. Now I'm on the second one, when Ross and Rachel…. umgh!

Were you also about ten years old (+/- 2 years, gotta leave some room for standard error) when F.r.i.e.nd.s. was on TV? REALLY* late? Ok, well, I was. And it sucked. Why, you may ask? Well, because I was not allowed to watch the friends. And they kept changing the time. Once they were on at 23.30. Uuurgggh!

But now…now I can watch anytime I want. Because they are a) on the net and b) on portable disk and c) it's the exam time. Damn. Well, but d) a guy needs some time off, to rest one's brain, right? and e) and cannot study ALL day long.

Anyway, I just wanted to write about one or two little gems from this episode, which is now in progress (you try to be awake in a row till 4 a.m., studying incredibly interesting facts of life, such as biology and co. offers):

Ross: ''Rachel and Julie…that's the problem.''
Joey: "HEY! I've got two words for you: threesome!"
…
Chandler: "You still got one left, you know."
//Monica: "OK, this is pumpkin pie,…/…/ Mochocolate chip cookies, Mochocolate strawberry cake,…. Taste it!"
Rachel: "OMG!"
Monica: "OMG good?"
R: "OMG I can't believe you let me put this into my mouth!"
Phoebe: "Sweet LORD! Ugh! This is what EVIL must taste like."
…:)
*Really back then meant 22.30./

Finally, I cite some examples in which the media go too far in its eagerness to copy everything English, showing their ignorance in both their mother tongue and in English, as well as, in my opinion, a lack of respect for their readership.

- Leve vlade so privatizacijo velikih državnih podjetij in prodajo *blue chipov* bolj ali manj zadrževale. (Lorenci 2009, 15)
  /Leftist governments are trying to privatize state-owned companies and to stall with selling of blue chips./

- Staroselec na področju odnosov z javnostmi, z občasnimi izleti na področje *advertisinga*. (Magdalenc 2010, 26)
  /An old hand at PR, with the occasional excursion into the field of advertising./

- Se mi zdi *kul*, da kljub skrajno angažiranemu govorjenju o vseh okoli nas na koncu vedno ostanejo na površini kakšne domislice. Tudi v obliki *gossipov*. (Magdalenc 2010, 24)
  /I think it is cool that despite extremely engaged talk about everybody around us in

the end some smart ideas always surface. Also in the form of gossip./

- Drugi pa je, da je naša šola na napačnih točkah odprta do pritiska staršev, in to tistih, ki se gredo nekaj, čemur pravijo Angleži *overparenting*, prekomerno starševanje. (Snežič 2009, 15)
  /Another thing is that our school is too susceptible to pressure from parents who practice something referred to as overparenting by the English./

- Samo za orientacijo, kakšna naj bo javna RTV? Ali naj vključuje visoko gledane *entertaining* oddaje, kot je na primer Piramida? (Škrinjar and Kolšek 2009, 5)
  /Just to get things straight, what should public radio and TV look like? Should it include entertaining programs with high ratings such as Piramida?/

- *Sky is the limit!* Meja je nebo. Pa še uživati je treba zraven. (Luzar 2008, 20)
  /Sky is the limit! And you should enjoy, too./

3.1.2 Syntactic Influences

Compared to the huge influx of English lexical items into Slovene, the impact of English on Slovene syntax seems almost negligible. It is certainly less visible and more subtle, at times even difficult to detect. Occasionally, however, we come across strange sounding structures which, on closer examination, reveal that their ''creators" simply took a short cut and transferred them to Slovene directly from English.

- Če vas zanima glasba, vas *enkrat več* vabimo k poslušanju. (an invitation to listeners on Radio City; this one heard on 18.4. 2010 at 11.15)
  /If you are interested in music, we invite you to tune in one more time./

Enkrat več, heard several times on Radio City, seems to be used on the analogy of the English *once more/one more time* instead of the Slovene *še enkrat/ponovno*.

- "…si je privoščil…nekoliko grobo opazko na račun Van Rompuya, češ da ima karizmo kot *vlažna cunja*…" (Škrinjar 2010, 1)
      /….he went as far as using…a somewhat rude remark at the expense of Van Rompuy, saying that he has the charisma of a wet blanket./

To be a wet blanket is an English idiom, used figuratively and referring to a person who is not much fun and cannot be translated literally into Slovene.

- Bil je *ime, znano vsem gospodinjstvom* v ZDA. (Žigon 2009, 43)
  /He was a household name in the U.S.A./

An English fixed phrase *to be a household name* translated literally into Slovene sounds awkward and should have been translated as *populären/slaven*, i.e. popular/famous.

The copy-paste approach clearly speaks of the sloppiness and linguistic incompetence of their authors.

Another, more transparent case of English influence on Slovene word order, however, is the increase in the use of the noun+noun combinations typical of English instead of the Slovene adjective+noun structures or other types of nominal phrases.

- *Anti-stress program v našem wellness* centru /anti-stress program in our wellness center/

- *Anti-age posegi obraza in telesa* (anti-age treatment for face and body)

- *Cellfood kartica ugodnosti v izbranih lekarnah* /cellfood loyalty/benefit card in selected pharmacies/

- *City Center/Magazine*

- *UVA zaščita /UVA protection/*

- *Izobraževanje TOP strokovnjakov /education of TOP experts/*

- Kako prideš do brezplačne čokolade? 1. Postani oboževalec *(fan)* Gorenjke. 2. Pridruži se Gorenjka čokoman klubu. */How to get a free chocolate bar*? Become a Gorenjka fan. 2. Join the Gorenjka chocoman club./

The pattern has become quite common and many no longer see it as being foreign to the spirit of the Slovene language. Yet another aspect involves the excessive use of possessive pronouns, for instance with body parts, a feature typical of English, but not of Slovene.

- Potem, ko ste pripravljeni dvignite *vaše* roke do *vašega* čela v gassho položaj. (whttp://www.tomazflegar.si)
  /After you are ready, please raise your hand up to your forehead and put into the gashho position/

As pointed out, syntactic influences may not seem very obvious and are far less numerous than lexical ones, but they affect the structure of the language in much more profound ways than mere loanwords, which is why they have far more serious implications in terms of language change.

3.1.3. Orthographic Influences

Orthographic influences of English on Slovene have attracted practically no attention by researchers so far. I nevertheless see them as important because of their potentially long-term effect on the future development of Slovene. I have in mind especially young Slovenes, who have not had sufficient exposure to the orthographic norm of Standard Slovene and may find themselves simply copying what they see on the Internet or on billboards. These two (the Internet and advertising) are in fact the two areas that represent the richest source of data for anybody interested in the influence of English on Slovene orthography. In CMC as well as in short messages we find anything from the use of English characters that do not exist in Slovene (*x,y,w,q*) to the replacement of Slovene characters by English ones (*c,s,z,s* instead of *č,š,ž*; *c/ch* instead of *k*, *x* instead of *ks*), from the doubling of consonants and vowels (*ss, oo*) to the lack of punctuation or incorrect use of it (*O'glasna pošta, Hobby & Art, Odvetniki Šelih & Partnerji,, Rože*

& vrt), from English acronyms to a variety of combinations of figures and letters and to other forms of creative spelling.

- Dobro, *pis of kejk* je bilo rešiti tole. /Good, it was a piece of cake to solve this./

- Zakaj bi komplicirali…če je življenje lahko SIMPL? /Why complicate if life can be simple?/

- *Dogfrisbee 4 fun* tekma, sobota, 15.8.2009. /Dogfrisbee for fun contest, Saturday, 15.8. 2009./

- *Itaq, ex(xtra), exspress,* pravi *boom* na finančnem trgu /a real boom on the financial market/

- *&drej* (Andrej)

Similarly, advertising relies heavily on English-like spelling conventions. Various features from word play to simply including English letters are used to attract consumers' attention and make their products more appealing. The same is true of many companies, bands and artists who, by choosing English (brand) names or at least adapting them to English spelling, apparently feel more "in" and, by projecting the impression of being more creative, aim at reaching wider audiences.

Similarly, advertising relies heavily on English-like spelling conventions. Various features from word play to simply including English letters are used to attract consumers' attention and make their products more appealing. The same is true of many companies, bands and artists who, by choosing English (brand) names, apparently feel more "in" and, by projecting the impression of being more creative, aim at reaching wider audiences.

- /WO-HO! Clio has been entertaining us for twenty years./[6] (a car advertisement)

- *My Way* poletne počitnice po vašem okusu (Kompas MY WAY programi) /*My Way* summer holidays according to your taste; Kompas MY WAY programs/ (a tourist agency advertisement)

- Anything you need. Baby, you got it, anything you want, you got it (Merkur advertisement)

- Jesenski EGO SLIM & VITAL (a yogurt advertisement)

- RE.ST – reciklirani stoli /recycled chairs/

- FRUC – totalno kul, totalno old school. /FRUC . totally cool, totally old school/ (a soft drink advertisement)

---

[6]   Interjections are an intriguing part of language as they express emotions and may thus be indicative of deeper links between the users' language choice and their identification with a certain language and the related culture. In this case the interjection is not Slovene. Similar examples include the more and more widely used *oops, ouch* and *wow*.

- MEGA factory Outlet

- THE be the best (T.HE. d.o.o.) - revija o treningu in športni prehrani. Ob naročilu dobite brezplačno darilo THE VITaMIN. /THE be the best (T.H.E. d.o.o. a magazine on sports practice training and foods. Upon subscribing you will receive our free gift THE VITaMIN./

- Smuthies: energy/relax/antistress (a yogurt/smoothie advertisement by Ljubljanske mlekarne)

- Maxximum Shop, Merkur Group, Mercator, Dental Art, d.o.o.

- Alya, Neisha, Slon 'n' Sadež (names of pop artists and bands)

4. Social and Cultural Influences

The already discussed influence of English on advertising is just one part of a wider scene that exceeds strictly linguistic boundaries. It is part of broader phenomena that, with the increasing adoption of globalized/Americanized discourse patterns, seemingly friendly, but fundamentally more aggressive advertising, sensationalist tabloid-style approaches to writing, the popularization of various reality shows, infotainment programs and the like, affect the social and cultural character of Slovenia. Analyzing all of its forms in detail would require an article in its own right. For the purpose of this survey, however, I will focus on yet another socio-cultural dimension of the influence of English that has to do with the expression of identity through language. Language and culture are very closely interlinked and language choice, when applicable, is very telling in as far as personal, social, cultural and any other identity of the speaker is concerned. In a recent study of language choice in Slovene blogs, I found that many Slovene bloggers have moved away from the exclusive use of Slovene. Instead they use either (Global) English or a mixture of Slovene and English (referred to as *Sloglish* in my previous work; Šabec 2009). Their choice can be interpreted from two perspectives: social and cultural.

Socially, a choice by an individual is indicative of his or her desire to belong to an on-line community that also uses English and is in this sense more ''in'' than those who do not. They therefore share the code/language that they perceive as more prestigious. At the same time the kind of language that they use is sufficiently different from standard forms of English and Slovene; this therefore bonds them together in a sort of in-group solidarity, which has parallels in the way slang is normally used.

From a cultural perspective the choice of language is further motivated by psychological reasons. We can assume that in a code switching/mixing situation the language of choice is the one that the speakers feel most comfortable using in a particular situation. From this perspective it is interesting that many Slovene bloggers choose English for their (nick)names, blog titles and blog entries. The fact that the Internet allows its users communication under multiple/fake/deceptive and other kinds of identities that they can choose at will, and that in addition most function under the impression that they are anonymous, their choices are even more revealing. They are

free to use their imagination and to express their innermost feelings in any way they like. The fact that some often do it in English may reflect their more pragmatic ambitions to reach out to a wider network of potential ''friends'' and become part of the global virtual community. The dilemma between the local and the global is clearly visible, which no doubt has important cultural and social implications, also in terms of opening up new ways of (inter)cultural communication.

- Blog titles: so long sweet summer; Just the usual life; JeRNej's digital life; Fejker.net; Jackie4grace; Rat-ON-crack; …pieces of me…; C.C.P.cre@ions; Wild@heart: *Wilma* on green plant; Lance's corner; Another day in a geek's life; Way wrong way; It's a big world out there: Almost pure blue sky…almost; I'm good, I'm gone; I'm back (on track); life sucks when things don't go the way you want, sweet sorrow; Simon says

- Nick(names) in blogs and tweets: angryguy; i-love-emo; blackflower: just.crazy; punchka:bjutiful; Junior; Lance Vance; Majchek, UrSha

It should be noted that blogs and tweets are not the only areas where this phenomenon can be observed. As an example I cite the newsletter of the University of Maribor's medical students' association, whose title is INSAJDER, and last, but not least, a not negligible number of parents who choose English or more "internationally sounding" names for their newborns (e.g. Jason, Vanessa, Timothy, Amber, Damyan, Nikol, Tifani).

5. Conclusion

This article is an attempt at presenting Slovene-English language contact in its many forms and contexts and from different perspectives. As a result, it inevitably falls somewhat short of providing an in-depth analysis of a larger number of relevant examples. Instead it aims at providing a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon in the hope of drawing attention to its widespread occurrence and the implications that it has for language change. Language change is something that happens all the time. It can be studied diachronically or as an ongoing process. In both cases it is the one area that offers most valuable insights into the dynamics of language change and innovation. In the case of Slovene-English language contact, it naturally also poses the question of a balance between the imports from English and the (un)critical attitudes toward them, the question of the status of Slovene in the Slovene media, and of the benefit of taking from English in order to enrich the Slovene language by augmenting its flexibility and expressiveness on the one hand and on the other of the potential detrimental effect on it when done to excess. Describing the current state of affairs and predicting possible directions in which the two languages in contact might develop in the future makes contact linguistics a highly relevant and intriguing field of study and represents a challenge for further research.

Bibliography:

Bell, A. 1984. Language Style as Audience Design. *Language in Society* 13, no. 2: 145–204.

Brown, R., and A. Gilman. 1960. The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In *Style in Language*, ed. T.A. Sebeok, 253–76. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Crystal, D. 2001a. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

– – –. 2001b. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giles, H., and P. Johnson. 1981. The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In *Intergroup Behaviour*, ed. J.C. Turner and H. Giles, 199–243. Oxford: Blackwell.

– – –. 1987. Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory: A Social Psychological Approach to Language Maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 68: 69–99.

Giles, H., and N. Coupland. 1991. *Language: Contexts and Consequences.* Keynes: Open University Press.

Herring, S. 1996. *Computer–Mediated–Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross–Cultural Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

James, A. 2008. New Englishes as Post-geographic Englishes in Lingua Franca Use: Gender, Interdiscursivity and Later Modernity. *European Journal of English Studies* 12, no. 1: 97–112.

– – –. 2009. Theorising English and Globalisation: Semiodiversity and Linguistic Structure in Global English, World Englishes and Lingua Franca English. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies* 3, no. 1: 79–92.

Kingsley, B., and B.B. Kachru, eds. 2006. *World Englishes: Critical Concepts in Linguistics.* London and New York: Routledge.

Lave. J., and E. Wengner. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

McArthur, T. 2002. *The Oxford Guide to World English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Milroy, L. 1980. *Language and Social Networks.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher.

Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shukla, S., and J. Connor-Linton. 2006. Language Change. In *An Introduction to Language and Lingusitics,* ed. R. Fasold and J. Connor-Linton, 275–310. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press.

Stramljič Breznik, I. 2007. Slovenska slengovska frazeologija danes. *Slovenski jezik – Slovene Linguistic Studies* 6: 183–93.

Šabec, N. 1995. *Half pa pu: The Language of Slovene Americans*. Ljubljana: ŠKUC, Studia Humanitatis.

– – –. 1997. Slovene–English language contact in the USA. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 124 (Sociolinguistics of Slovene): 129–83.

– – –. 2002. Second Person Pronouns Used by Slovene and American Sovene Speakers as Linguistic Markers of Personal and Social (In)equality. *Acta Neophilologica* 35, no. 1/2: 115–26.

– – –. 2006. Language, Society and Culture: Slovene in Contact with English. *Slavistična revija* (Slovensko jezikoslovje danes/ Slovene Linguistics Today. Special issue, ed. A. Vidovič Muha.) 54: 703–18.

– – –. 2009. Sloglish or the Mixing/ Switching of Slovene and English in Slovene Blogs. *Slavia Centralis* II, no.1: 32–43.

Thernstorn, S., ed. 1980. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Thomason, S.G. 2001. Langauge Contact. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Žigon, P. 2009. O.J. Simpson, najbolj kriv med vsemi nedolžnimi. Obrazi 28, 9 July, 43.

Winford, D. 2003. An Introduction to Contact Linguistics. Oxford: Blackwells.

Weinreich, U. 1953. Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York. The Hague: Mouton.

Data Sources

Crnkovič, M. 2009. Velika integracija in konvergenca. _www.zurnal24.si_ (print edition), 19 September, 54.

Flegar, V. 2009. Rekli so: "Kadeča se pištola". _Večer_, 25 November, 4.

http://aljobaljo.blogspot.com (accessed 20 June 2010)

http://www.siblogs.com (accessed 9 February 2010)

http://www.tomazflegar.si (accessed 12 March 2010)

Kučić, J.L. 2010. Greet Lovink, raziskovalec spletnih družbenih forumov. Nepremičnine lahko tudi za dvajset let določijo vašo poklicno in ustvarjalno pot. _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 5 June, 6.

– – –. Greet Lovink, raziskovalec spletnih družbenih forumov. Današnje guglanje, tvitanje in fejsbukanje se bo počasi skrilo v nove oblike druženja in postalo njegov sestavni del. _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 5 June, 7.

Lorenci, J. 2009. Prepuščati dobra podjetja lastnikom iz tujine prostovoljno brez potrebe je norost brez primere. _Mladina_ 31, 31 July, 15.

Mekina, B. 2010. Intervju: Gregor Golobič, minister in prenovitelj. _Mladina_ 21, May 28, 15.

Luzar, M. 2008. Dnevnik: Vse je mogoče, vse dosegljivo. Meja je Nebo. _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 28 June, 20.

Magdalenc, L. 2010. Dovolj materiala za roman., Sobotna priloga, 13 _Delo_, March, 24.

– – –. 2010. Slovenski trenutek časa: totalna vlada neokusa in kiča. _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 20 March, 26.

Snežič, J. 2009. Šolsko polje branimo tudi pred plenilci (intervju z Igorjem Lukšičem). _Večer_, 29 August, 15.

Škrinjar, K., and P. Kolšek. 2009. Nacionalna RTV bo (p)ostala javna (intervju z Majdo Širca). _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 29 August, 20.

Škrinjar, K. 2010. Okrvavljenih nog čez prve ovire. _Delo_, Sobotna priloga, 6 March, 1.

Alenka Vrbinc

University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Economics, Slovenia

Macrostructural Treatment of Multi-word Lexical Items

Summary

The paper discusses the macrostructural treatment of multi-word lexical items in mono- and bilingual dictionaries. First, the classification of multi-word lexical items is presented, and special attention is paid to the discussion of compounds – a specific group of multi-word lexical items that is most commonly afforded headword status but whose inclusion in the headword list may also depend on spelling. Then the inclusion of multi-word lexical items in monolingual dictionaries is dealt with in greater detail, while the results of a short survey on the inclusion of five randomly chosen multi-word lexical items in seven English monolingual dictionaries are presented. The proposals as to how to treat these five multi-word lexical items in bilingual dictionaries are presented in the section about the inclusion of multi-word lexical items in bilingual dictionaries. The conclusion is that it is most important to take the users' needs into consideration and to make any dictionary as user friendly as possible.

Key words: macrostructure, multi-word lexical items, compounds, monolingual dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries

Makrostrukturna obravnava večbesednih leksikalnih enot

Povzetek

V prispevku avtorica govori o makrostrukturni obravnavi večbesednih leksikalnih enot v eno- in dvojezičnih slovarjih. Najprej predstavi klasifikacijo večbesednih leksikalnih enot in nameni posebno pozornost zloženkam – posebni skupini večbesednih leksikalnih enot, ki jim je najpogosteje dodeljen status iztočnice, vendar je njihovo vključevanje v geslovnik odvisno tudi od njihovega zapisa. Nato avtorica podrobneje obravnava vključevanje večbesednih leksikalnih enot in predstavi rezultate kratke raziskave o vključevanju petih naključno izbranih večbesednih leksikalnih enot v sedem angleških enojezičnih slovarjev. V poglavju o vključevanju večbesednih leksikalnih enot v dvojezične slovarje predlaga načine obravnave istih petih večbesednih leksikalnih enot v dvojezičnih slovarjih. V zaključku povzame, da je najpomembneje upoštevati potrebe uporabnikov in sestaviti slovar na način, ki je uporabnikom kar najbolj prijazen.

Ključne besede: makrostruktura, večbesedne leksikalne enote, zloženke, enojezični slovarji, dvojezični slovarji

Macrostructural Treatment of Multi-word Lexical Items

1. Introduction

"They that take a dictionary into their hands, have been accustomed to expect from it a solution of almost every difficulty." These are the words of Samuel Johnson, which still hold true today, since dictionary users have high expectations from dictionaries. We all know how bothersome it is to find that the word we are looking up is not in the dictionary. But is it necessarily so that the word we do not find is actually not in the dictionary? Is there perhaps a gap between the users' expectations and the actual inclusion and treatment of various pieces of information in a given dictionary?

One of the dilemmas the lexicographer is faced with at the very beginning of work on the dictionary is what to include in the dictionary macrostructure (cf. Cowie 1999; Béjoint 2000; Hartmann 2001; Landau 2001; Jackson 2002; Svensén 2009). Traditionally, the wordlist consisted of single-word lemmas, but modern dictionaries include an increasingly large number of multi-word lexical items featuring as lemmas. How does this affect the dictionary user? Does he/she recognize a string of words as belonging together? If he/she does, does he/she know where to look it up? Is it to be found in the headword list, or within individual entries?

The headword list is a list of words. Consequently, we first have to define what a word is. The most basic definition of a word is a group of characters placed together with spaces or punctuation marks before or after (Svensén 2009, 102). But, then, how should we deal with expressions, such as the compound *airdrop* that can be spelt either solid *(airdrop),* with a hyphen *(air-drop)* or as two words *(air drop)*? Should we treat *airdrop* and *air-drop* as one word and *air drop* as two words? Should we then include *airdrop* and *air-drop* in the headword list because they fit the above definition of a word, and treat *air drop* either in the entry for *air* and/or in the entry for *drop*? It is because of these difficulties in defining the word 'word' that I will avoid using it and rather use the term 'lexical item' to refer to any word, abbreviation, partial word, or phrase which can figure as the lemma in a dictionary.

The issues raised in the previous paragraphs will be addressed in this article and solutions will be proposed as to which lexical items should be given headword status in the dictionary.

2. Multi-word Lexical Items

A study conducted into dictionary use of Slovene learners of English (Vrbinc and Vrbinc 2004) comprising 70 test subjects tested among other things students' expectations of where in the dictionary they can find different multi-word lexical items (e.g. idioms, phrasal verbs, compounds). The results of the survey clearly show that students do not consider a multi-word lexical item as a lemma, since less than 22 % of the respondents would look up a multi-word lexical item in the headword list.

Taking these results into consideration, the question should be raised of what actually constitutes a legitimate dictionary entry and what it is that makes a multi-word lexical item worth including in the macrostructure of any mono- or bilingual dictionary. Before going deeper into discussion

about the lexical items that should be given headword status, we should first take a closer look at a very complex group of multi-word lexical items.

Multi-word lexical items are very frequent in a language. According to the XMELLT project, they comprise about 30 % of the lexical stock, which means that no dictionary can ignore this common phenomenon. The inclusion of multi-word lexical items causes problems for compilers and users of mono- and bilingual dictionaries because the question arises of which of the possible entries such lexical items should be placed and found. If we study the principles applied in existing dictionaries, we can see that they vary, which means that the user may have difficulties in finding multi-word lexical items. It is of the utmost importance to find a consistent procedure and then live up to it in order for the user to know where he/she should expect a certain type of information to be placed in the dictionary (cf. Martin and Al 1990).

As multi-word lexical items often pose real problems of identification, it is necessary to first determine types of multi-word lexical items. In dictionaries written in the Anglo-American tradition, multi-word lexical items are classified and treated as 'phrases' or 'idioms' (depending on the metalinguistic terminology of a particular dictionary). Such items include pure idioms, proverbs, similes, institutionalized metaphors, formulae, sayings, catch phrases, quotations and various other kinds of institutionalized collocation (cf. Moon 1998a, 2–3; Moon 1998b, 79; Atkins and Rundell 2008, 166–72). Apart from these items, phrasal verbs can also be regarded as multi-word lexical items and the same holds true of (transparent) collocations, compound nouns, adjectives and verbs.

It has to be stressed that not all multi-word lexical items can be given headword status in a general mono- or bilingual dictionary. Multi-word lexical items that are usually not afforded headword status are:

- (transparent) collocations (e.g. *suffer a worse fate*); they are commonly included as (parts of) examples illustrating use, sometimes given in bold;

- idioms, proverbs, similes, institutionalized metaphors, formulae, sayings, catch phrases, quotations (e.g. *a hard/tough nut (to crack)*); they are commonly included in a special idioms section.

Multi-word lexical items that may be given full headword status, but more commonly appear as secondary headwords are phrasal verbs (Atkins and Rundell 2008, 182). This mainly depends on the policy of each individual dictionary. If at all, full headword status was given to phrasal verbs in previous editions of monolingual dictionaries for native speakers (this policy is still adhered to in *Collins English Dictionary*, 9th edition), but the majority of monolingual dictionaries for native speakers now handle phrasal verbs as secondary headwords appended to the entry for the verb itself (the same as monolingual learner's dictionaries).

Of all the various types of multi-word lexical items, compounds are most commonly afforded headword status. Since compounds are not always easy to identify and since they represent a complex group, a few more words should be dedicated to this specific group of multi-word lexical items.

2.1 Compounds

Compounds of interest to lexicographers belong mainly to three word classes: nouns (e.g. *number plate*), adjectives (e.g. *blood-red*) and verbs (e.g. *deep-fry*). They may be idiomatic and non-idiomatic. Non-idiomatic compounds (Atkins and Rundell 2008, 169) are semantically transparent, they are spontaneously produced and are found in the corpus data with a high frequency rating. These are the reasons why they pose few problems to lexicographers and dictionary users. They are often included as lemmas in English dictionaries primarily due to their heavily institutionalized character (e.g. *animal rights, travel agency, tourist office*). On the other hand, if we take, for example, *table leg* (209 hits in the ukWaC), we can see that it does not have full headword status. It is included as a separate sense of the noun *leg* (= one of the long thin parts on the bottom of a table, chair, etc. that support it).

Idiomatic compounds, on the other hand, are more problematic to identify. They share a few properties (ibid., 170–1), one of them being frozenness of form. The only change such compounds can undergo is that they can take inflections: e.g. mother figures, letters of credit. Compounds of this type are mostly included as headwords.

Another problem connected with compounds is their spelling. They can be spelt in three ways: solid, with a hyphen or as two words. If a compound is spelt solid, i.e. as a single word and not hyphenated, it is not problematic at all because it can only appear as a headword. The same goes for hyphenated compounds. Compounds spelt as two words may be the most difficult for the user to find, since he/she may look them up under the first element, the second element or as a unit included as the headword. The look-up operation mainly depends on the user's recognition of two words as belonging together, thus forming a compound. If we go back to our example given in the introduction (*airdrop, air-drop, air drop*), we can see that the three expressions have been formed in an exactly parallel way and the graphic form cannot be held to justify treating them in different ways (Svensén 2009, 102). The conclusion is that items of this kind, whether written separately, hyphenated or solid, should be accorded the same lemma status. In connection with this, lexicographers have to decide right at the beginning what form of a certain multi-word lexical item to put in; here, the corpus is indispensable. It has to be stressed that among the many advantages of using a corpus in lexicography, perhaps frequency counts are the most important (cf. Landau 2001, 302–3). If an item has a frequency below a certain value in a large, representative corpus, one can conclude that the item is relatively uncommon and omit it with some degree of confidence. The relative frequency of variants in the spelling of a word can lead one to a decision about what to regard as the lemma or preferred spelling.

There are, however, two more criteria (Landau 2001, 358) that have to be taken into consideration when deciding which word to classify as a compound. First, a multi-word lexical item must function like a unit so that its meaning inheres in the whole expression (e.g. *guinea pig*) rather than in its separate elements. No part of it can be replaced without the loss of its original meaning. The existence of semantically comparable one-word units (e.g. *rat, rabbit*) is further evidence that *guinea pig* is a unit. Second, the stress pattern of compounds is usually distinctive, with primary stress on the first element and very little pause, if any, between the two elements (e.g. *blackbird*). But the stress is not always a reliable criterion as the stress test does not work with every multiple lexical unit (e.g. *safety glass*).

3. The Inclusion of Multi-word Lexical Items in Monolingual Dictionaries

If we closely examine the inclusion of multi-word entries in several monolingual English dictionaries, we can establish that they adopt a different policy. Every dictionary includes many phrasal entries that are not lexical items. As Landau (2001, 358) states, encyclopaedic terms, i.e. biographical (e.g. *Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great*) and geographical (e.g. *Julian Alps, United Kingdom*) entries, need no elaboration. Less obvious are entries such as *Copernican system*, *listed building* or *Riemannian geometry* which are included principally because the user expects to find them in a dictionary.

In order to study how multi-word lexical items are included, we have randomly chosen five multi-word lexical items (i.e. *old wives' tale, black and white, New Age traveller, act of God, walk of life*) and checked their inclusion in five leading British learner's dictionaries (OALD7, LDOCE5, COBUILD5, CALD3 and MED2) and two British dictionaries for native speakers (CED9, ODE2). Here are the results of our survey:

	old wives' tale
OALD7	included in idioms section under the headword *old* (adjective)
LDOCE5	included in idioms section under the headword *old* (adjective)
COBUILD5	headword status
CALD3	headword status
MED2	headword status
CED9	headword status
ODE2	headword status

Table 1. The inclusion of old wives' tale in English monolingual dictionaries.

The multi-word lexical item *old wives' tale* is given full headword status in the majority of dictionaries under scrutiny and is treated as an idiomatic expression in only two monolingual learner's dictionaries.

	black and white
OALD7	included in idioms section under the headword *black* (noun) in the form of three different idioms: *black and white, in black and white, (in) black and white*
LDOCE5	headword status
COBUILD5	headword status
CALD3	included as a 'phrase'[1] under *black* (noun), sense 2 included in idioms section under the headword *black* (noun) in the form of three different idioms: *be (down) in black and white, black-and-white, see things in black and white*
MED2	headword status
CED9	headword status, hyphenated spelling included as an idiom under the headword *black-and-white* (noun): *in black and white*

ODE2	headword status

Table 2. The inclusion of black and white in English monolingual dictionaries.

The treatment of the multi-word lexical item *black and white* is similar to that of *old wives' tale* in that it is included as a headword in five out of seven dictionaries. In CED9, the spelling of the headword differs in comparison to the spelling in other dictionaries where it also appears as the headword, since it is spelt as a hyphenated compound. In OALD7 and CALD3, *black and white* can be found in the idioms section under the headword *black* (noun) in the form of different idioms. Apart from including *black and white* in the idioms section, CALD3 also treats this item as a separate sense of the noun *black* (as a kind of 'phrase' describing photography that has no colours except black, white and grey).

	New Age traveller
OALD7	an example of use in the entry for the adjective *New Age* (with an explanation in brackets)
LDOCE5	headword status
COBUILD5	headword status
CALD3	headword status
MED2	headword status
CED9	not included
ODE2	headword status with a cross reference to *traveller* (noun)

Table 3. The inclusion of New Age traveller in English monolingual dictionaries.

In the case of *New Age traveller*, the dictionaries under discussion appear to have reached a consensus on its status, since five of them include it as a headword. ODE2 does not provide a definition but only a cross reference to the noun *traveller*, where *New Age traveller* is treated as a subsense of the headword. Interestingly, OALD7 includes this multi-word lexical item neither as a headword nor as an idiom, but rather as an example used to illustrate the use of the adjective *New Age*. It seems that the compilers of this dictionary considered it necessary to explain the meaning of *New Age travellers*, since an explanation (= people in Britain who reject the values of modern society and travel from place to place, living in their vehicles) is provided in brackets.

	act of God
OALD7	included in idioms section under the headword *act* (noun)
LDOCE5	included in idioms section under the headword *act* (noun)
COBUILD5	headword status
CALD3	an example of use in the entry for *act* (noun)
MED2	headword status

[1] The term 'phrase' is used in the front matter of CALD3 to refer to a string of words that is not regarded as an idiom.

CED9	headword status
ODE2	included in idioms section under the headword *act* (noun)

Table 4. The inclusion of act of God in English monolingual dictionaries.

Obviously, the status of *act of God* is more problematic, since three dictionaries give it full headword status, three include it in the idioms section and one treats it as an example of use under the noun *act*.

	walk of life
OALD7	included in idioms section under the headword *walk* (noun): *a walk of life*
LDOCE5	headword status
COBUILD5	headword status
CALD3	included in idioms section under the headword *walk* (noun)
MED2	included in idioms section under the headword *walk* (noun): *from all walks of life*
CED9	sense 23 of the headword *walk* (noun): *walk of life* included as an additional piece of information provided in brackets
ODE2	included in idioms section under the headword *walk* (verb, noun)

Table 5. The inclusion of walk of life in English monolingual dictionaries.

The majority of the dictionaries tested include *walk of life* in the idioms section and only two give it the status of a headword. Interestingly, *walk of life* can be found in CED9 under the headword *walk* (noun), sense 23, where the definition (i.e. a chosen profession or sphere of activity) is followed by the information in brackets (i.e. esp. in the phrase *walk of life*).

As is evident from the results of our short survey, the inclusion of multi-word lexical items differs if we compare different dictionaries. Full headword status seems to be preferred in *old wives' tale, black and white* and *New Age traveller* (in five out of seven dictionaries). A greater degree of uncertainty as to its status can be observed in *act of God*, since three dictionaries treat it as a headword and three as an idiom, while *walk of life* is included as an idiom in four dictionaries and as a headword in two.

From the point of view of user-friendliness, the treatment of *black and white* in CALD3 is not the best option, since it makes a distinction between idioms and 'phrases', which means that one and the same multi-word lexical item is dealt with in different places of the dictionary entry. Consequently, the user is expected to know that multi-word lexical items can have a different status in one particular dictionary. The look-up process is more demanding in such cases, since the user must refer to various parts of the dictionary entry.

If we compare full headword status and the inclusion of multi-word lexical items in idioms sections, it can be concluded that OALD7 prefers to include and treat them in the idioms section (none of the above-mentioned multi-word lexical items is given headword status). On

the contrary, COBUILD5 lists all five multi-word lexical items as headwords and also MED2 seems to be in favour of the headword status (four out of five multi-word lexical items). All other dictionaries do not show such great differences between the headword status and the inclusion as idioms. However, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions on the basis of such a small-scale study. Therefore, a further investigation into this matter would be needed to test the validity of the above results.

4. The Inclusion of Multi-Word Lexical Items in Bilingual Dictionaries

It can be seen that the inclusion of multi-word lexical items in monolingual English dictionaries differs, and a question can thus be posed regarding how to include them in a bilingual dictionary. Should the bilingual lexicographer follow the same principles as the monolingual one? In many cases, it is the compiler's decision where and how to include multi-word lexical items, but this decision has to be based on a careful study of existing monolingual sources and electronic corpora. If we take the multi-word lexical items whose inclusion in monolingual English dictionaries has been discussed in section 3, we can see that in a bilingual English-Slovene dictionary they can be treated in the following way (the examples below are taken from an ongoing project aimed at the compilation of a general English-Slovene dictionary):

old wives' tale sam. stare vraže, babje čenče
(plus as an idiom in the entries for other constituent elements with a cross reference to **old wives' tale**)

black and white prid. **1.** črno-bel **2.** jasen, očiten **IDIOMI (in) black and white** črno-belo; **in black and white** črno na belem
(plus as an idiom in the entries for other constituent elements with a cross reference to **black and white**)

New Age traveller sam. (v Veliki Britaniji) kdor zavrača vrednote sodobne družbe in potuje iz kraja v kraj ter živi v vozilu
(plus as an idiom in the entries for other constituent elements with a cross reference to **New Age traveller**)

act of God sam. PRAVO višja sila
(plus as an idiom in the entries for other constituent elements with a cross reference to **act of God**)

walk of life sam. družbena plast
(plus as an idiom in the entries for other constituent elements with a cross reference to **walk of life**)

All of these can be included as headwords, but it is next to impossible to predict whether users will look up a multi-word lexical item as a headword or will simply look up one of the constituent elements of such a lexical item (but which one?). This depends mainly on the user's ability to recognize a multi-word lexical item as a unit. It is therefore recommendable to approach this problem in a more user-friendly way, i.e. to include such items in two ways: as headwords

and as units in the idioms section of the entries for all constituent elements (e.g. *old wives' tale* should also be included in the entries for the adjective *old* and the nouns *wife* and *tale* and the appropriate cross references should be provided to guide the user to the entry where such a multi-word lexical item is treated).

Including multi-word lexical items as headwords and at the same time as idioms in the idioms section with the cross reference is one possibility, but there are cases where a multi-word lexical item can be given either full headword status or be treated in the entry for one of its constituent elements as a separate sense. For example:

- The multi-word lexical item *off day* is included as a headword:
  off day sam. POG. slab dan

- One of the senses of the adjective *off* is 'below the usual standard or rate' and 'dan, teden' (= day, week) can only function as an element of equivalent differentiation in the form of a collocator (sense 4 in the example below):
  off prid. **1.** (hrana) pokvarjen: *go off* pokvariti se **2.** BRIT., POG. nevljuden, neprijazen, nesramen **3.** BRIT., POG. nesprejemljiv **4.** (dan, teden) slab **5.** (sezona) mrtev

Since a lexicographer cannot presuppose where in the dictionary a user will perform a look-up operation, it is sensible to consider the option of including a multi-word lexical item in the idioms section although it cannot be classified as an idiom according to the phraseological criteria. For example:

day sam. … **IDIOMI** … **off day** POG. slab dan …

If we closely observe the inclusion of hyphenated and non-hyphenated items in the monolingual English learner's dictionaries, we can see that the treatment varies according to spelling. The hyphenated item appears in the macrostructure as an entry, whereas the same item that is not hyphenated is included in the idioms section. It seems sensible to adopt the same policy when compiling a bilingual English-Slovene dictionary. For example:

off-the-cuff prid. iz rokava
(when hyphenated, it is included in the macrostructure as an entry)

cuff sam. … **IDIOMI off the cuff** iz rokava
(when it is not hyphenated, it is included as an idiom in the entry for *cuff*, noun)

Such a treatment of compounds is recommendable for the sake of user-friendliness as the user may come across different spellings of the same expression which also dictate his/her look-up operation.

5. Conclusion

The lexicographers' task is the selection and classification of multi-word lexical items, which should be done in such a way as to ensure that users will have as few problems as possible finding such items in a dictionary. Users may have difficulties with identifying such items already in texts and if they fail to identify them in a text, they cannot successfully look them up in a dictionary. Before starting to compile a dictionary, whether a monolingual or a bilingual one, a decision should be reached as to what multi-word lexical items should be included and how they should be included – in the macrostructure (i.e. as entries in their own right) or in the microstructure (i.e. as idioms in the idioms section or as examples of use) or both, so that subjective judgements of dictionary compilers are minimized entirely and so that such items are treated in a way that is as consistent as possible. For the sake of user friendliness, it may be recommendable to include one and the same multi-word lexical item in two places in a dictionary, although this is a space-consuming policy. The front matter should provide clear instructions as to where these items are included and how they are treated so that users become familiar with the principles of inclusion and consequently, the number of times they look up a multi-word lexical item in a dictionary in a wrong place is reduced to a minimum.

Bibliography

A. Dictionaries

Anderson, S., et al., eds. 2007. *Collins English Dictionary.* 9th edn. Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers. (CED9)

Mayor, M., ed. 2009. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.* 5th edn. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited. (LDOCE5)

Rundell, M., ed. 2007. *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Macmillan Education. (MED2)

Sinclair, J., and M. Clari, eds. 2006. *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary.* 5th edn. London: HarperCollins Publishers. (COBUILD5)

Soanes, C., and A. Stevenson, eds. 2003. *Oxford Dictionary of English*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (ODE2)

Walter, E., and K. Woodford, eds. 2008. *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary.* 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (CALD3)

Wehmeier, S., ed. 2005. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English.* 7th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (OALD7)

B. Other literature

Atkins, B.T.S., and M. Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Béjoint, H. 2000. *Modern Lexicography: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cowie, A.P. 1999. *English Dictionaries for Foreign Learners: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cross-lingual Multi-word Expression Lexicons for Language Technology. http://www.cs.vassar.edu/~ide/XMELLT.html. Accessed on 6 November 2009.

Hartmann, R.R.K. 2001. *Teaching and Researching Lexicography.* Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Jackson, H. 2002. *Lexicography: An Introduction.* London, New York: Routledge.

Landau, S.I. 2001. *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, W., and B.P.F. Al. 1990. User-orientation in Dictionaries: 9 Propositions. In: *BudaLEX '88 Proceedings*, ed. T. Magay and J. Zigány, 393–9. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiádo.

Moon, R. 1998a. *Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English: A Corpus-Based Approach.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Moon, R. 1998b. Frequencies and Forms of Phrasal Lexemes in English. In *Phraseology: Theory, Analysis, and Applications*, ed. A.P. Cowie, 79–100. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Svensén, B. 2009. *A Handbook of Lexicography: The Theory and Practice of Dictionary-Making.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vrbinc, A., and M. Vrbinc. 2004. Language Learners and Their Use of Dictionaries: The Case of Slovenia. *Erfurt Electronic Studies in English* 3. 31 pp. *http://webdoc.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/eese.html*

Marjeta Vrbinc

University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

Lexicographic Approaches to Sense Disambiguation in Monolingual Dictionaries and Equivalent Differentiation in Bilingual Dictionaries

Summary

The article discusses methods of sense disambiguation in monolingual dictionaries and equivalent differentiation in bilingual dictionaries. In current dictionaries, sense disambiguation and equivalent differentiation is presented in the form of specifiers or glosses, collocators or indications of context, (domain) labels, metalinguistic and encyclopaedic information. Each method is presented and illustrated by actual samples of dictionary articles taken from mono- and bilingual dictionaries. The last part of the article is devoted to equivalent differentiation in bilingual decoding dictionaries. In bilingual dictionaries, equivalent differentiation is often needed to describe the lack of agreement between the source language (SL) and target language (TL). The article concludes by stating that equivalent differentiation should be written in the native language of the target audience and sense indicators in a monolingual learner's dictionary should be words that the users are most familiar with.

Key words: sense disambiguation, equivalent differentiation, monolingual dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries

Leksikografski pristopi k razločevanju pomena v enojezičnih slovarjih in razločevanju slovarskih ustreznic v dvojezičnih slovarjih

Povzetek

Prispevek predstavlja metode razločevanja pomena v enojezičnih slovarjih in razločevanja slovarskih ustreznic v dvojezičnih slovarjih. V sodobne slovarje je razločevanje pomena in razločevanje slovarskih ustreznic vključeno v obliki specifikatorjev ali glos, kolokatorjev ali označevalcev sobesedila, kvalifikatorjev in metalingvističnih in enciklopedičnih informacij. Vsaka metoda je razložena in ilustrirana z dejanskimi primeri slovarskih člankov iz eno- in dvojezičnih slovarjev. Zadnji del prispevka je posvečen razločevanju slovarskih ustreznic v dvojezičnih slovarjih za dekodiranje. V dvojezičnih slovarjih je razločevanje pomena pogosto potrebno v primerih, ko se izhodiščni in ciljni jezik ne ujemata v celoti. V zaključku avtorica ugotavlja, da mora biti za razločevanje slovarskih ustreznic uporabljen materni jezik ciljnega uporabnika, v enojezičnih slovarjih za tujce pa morajo biti za razločevanje pomena uporabljene besede, ki jih uporabniki najverjetneje poznajo.

Ključne besede: razločevanje pomena, razločevanje slovarskih ustreznic, enojezični slovarji, dvojezični slovarji

Lexicographic Approaches to Sense Disambiguation in Monolingual Dictionaries and Equivalent Differentiation in Bilingual Dictionaries

1. Introduction

One of the problems encountered in (general) lexicography is the problem of polysemy. The question posed by lexicographers is how to tackle polysemy in a way that is most user-friendly. Is it enough to split different senses without giving any more detailed information on the meanings themselves? Does information supplied in brackets help dictionary users to find the sense they are looking for? Is it necessary to make additional information typographically visible? Should the same criteria be observed in short and in long entries? Are the same principles equally suitable for both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries? These are some of the questions that need to be answered before starting any lexicographic work.

The problem of polysemy has been addressed by numerous scholars who deal with lexicography and it is dealt with in all important lexicographic works (cf. Landau 2001; Béjoint 2000; Cowie 1999; Hartmann 2001; Jackson 2002; Svensén 2009). Ascertaining how many senses a lexeme has and in what order to arrange them are difficult decisions for a lexicographer to make, and dictionaries may differ quite markedly in their respective policies. The area of sense disambiguation (also referred to as demarcation of meaning) has an immediate impact on lexicography. If we take, for example, the context surrounding the noun *hand* as the part of the body at the end of the arm, we can see that it differs from the context surrounding the *hand* as a part of a clock or watch that points to the numbers. It seems sensible to try to devise principles to distinguish between them.

In a bilingual context, the problem of equivalent differentiation is even more complex, since we are dealing with two different languages and only in rare cases does the distribution of meaning coincide exactly. For that reason, it is especially important to describe the lack of agreement between the SL and TL (cf. Svensén 2009, 261–2). This can be done by adding certain distinctive features on the side where the meaning range is wider or the degree of stylistic or other marking is lower. Such comments have an important role in equivalent differentiation (also called equivalent discrimination) – that is, they provide a more detailed specification of usage and shades of meaning in order to guide the user towards the correct equivalent.

This article is aimed at discussing ways of sense disambiguation in monolingual dictionaries and equivalent differentiation in bilingual dictionaries – a piece of information present in all modern dictionaries and an element that helps the user to locate the information he/she is looking for.

2. Sense Disambiguation and Equivalent Differentiation in Existing Dictionaries

Modern dictionaries use several means of sense disambiguation and equivalent differentiation. A more implicit way is the definition, since the definition itself often suggests the context (e.g.

hand – <u>a person</u> who does physical work on a farm or in a factory; underlined by the author of the contribution). Besides this implicit way of including semantic information, more explicit ways can be found in different dictionaries. In mono- as well as bilingual dictionaries, sense indicators (also called sense discriminations by some scholars) are used. Sense indicators can also be referred to as equivalent differentiation or equivalent discrimination in bilingual dictionaries. They are realized by specifiers or glosses, collocators or indication of context, (domain) labels and metalinguistic and encyclopaedic information.

In sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, the above-mentioned techniques used for sense disambiguation and equivalent differentiation are explained in greater detail.

2.1 Specifiers or Glosses

Specifiers or glosses (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008, 214–6; Svensén 2009, 262–3) may consist of expressions having a certain (content-)paradigmatic relationship to the headword whose meaning is to be specified. They can contain many different types of information, such as superordinates (e.g. *wolverine* below),[1] synonyms, co-hyponyms, typical modifiers and paraphrases (e.g. *corridor* below).

---

wolverine *sam.* ZOOL. (sesalec) rosomah, žeruh

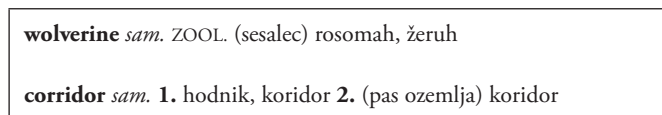**corridor** *sam.* **1.** hodnik, koridor **2.** (pas ozemlja) koridor

---

Figure 1. Specifiers in a bilingual dictionary.

In monolingual learners' dictionaries, specifiers are now used in the form of signposts, guidewords, short cuts or items in a menu (as they are variously called in different dictionaries) and are dealt with in detail in section 3. This is the reason for the absence of an example from a bilingual dictionary.

2.2 Collocators or Indications of Context

Collocators[2] or indications of context (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008, 217–8; Svensén 2009, 263–4) are an entry component and are thought up by lexicographers to help a user choose the appropriate sense of the headword or the appropriate translation equivalent. They are words that represent a lexical set, i.e. a group of words which belong to the same wordclass and which are similar in meaning. They show typical textual surroundings of a certain lemma. The grammatical relationship of collocator to headword depends on the wordclass of the lexical unit. For example, collocators of adjectives are usually nouns typically modified by the headword (e.g. *stiff* below).

---

[1]   The English-Slovene sample entries are taken from an ongoing project aimed at the compilation of a general English-Slovene dictionary.

[2]   Collocators must not be confused with collocates (= words with significant co-occurrence frequencies in corpora).

head ... *noun* ... OF RIVER **10** [sing.] **the ~ of the river** the place where a river begins SYN source OF TABLE **11** [sing.] **the ~ of the table** the most important seat at a table: *The President sat at the head of the table.* ... OALD7: 716–17 **massive** ... *adj* **1** (of objects) large in mass; bulky, heavy, and usually solid ... **5** *geology* **a** (of igneous rocks) having no stratification, cleavage, etc; homogeneous **b** (of sedimentary rocks) arranged in thick poorly defined strata ... CED9: 1002	**stiff**[1] *prid.* **1.** trd: *This drawer is very stiff.* Ta predal se zatika. **2.** (izpit, vzpon) težek **3.** (nasprotovanje, konkurenca) hud **4.** (kazen) strog **5.** tog **6.** POG. (cena) (zelo) visok, pretiran **7.** (veter, alkoholna pijača) močen …

Figure 2. Examples shaded pinpoint collocators.

2.3 (Domain) Labels

Domain labels are one of the most common methods used for sense disambiguation.

fractional … *adjective* **1** (formal) very small; not important SYN MINIMAL: *a fractional decline in earnings* **2** (mathematics) of or in fractions: *a fractional equation* OALD7: 614	**fractional** *prid.* **1.** KNJIŽ. neznaten, malenkosten **2.** MAT. ulomkov, ulomljen

Figure 3. Examples illustrating domain labels.

2.4 Metalinguistic and Encyclopaedic Information

Metalinguistic information is provided by part-of-speech labelling which has an evident differentiating function (cf. Svensén 2009, 265).

round ... *adjective* ...
1 shaped like a circle or a ball: *a round plate ◊ These glasses suit people with round faces. ◊ The fruit are small and round. ◊ Rugby isn't played with a round ball.* ... **2** having a curved shape*: the round green hills of Donegal ◊ round brackets* (= in writing) *◊ She had a small mouth and round pink cheeks.*
...
adverb (especially BrE) (NAmE usually **around**) ... **1** moving in a circle: *Everybody joins hands and dances round. ◊ How do you make the wheels go round?* ... **2** measuring or marking the edge or outside of sth: *a young tree measuring only 18 inches round ◊ They've built a high fence all round to keep intruders out.*
...

preposition (especially BrE) (NAmE usually **around**) **1** in a circle: *the first woman to sail round the world ◊ The earth moves round the sun.* **2** on, to or from the other side of sth: *Our house is round the next bend. ◊ There she is, coming round the corner.* ...

noun ...
STAGE IN PROCESS **1** a set of events which form part of a longer process: *the next round of peace talks ◊ the final round of voting in the election*
IN SPORT **2** a stage in a sports competition: *the qualifying rounds of the National Championships ◊ Hewitt was knocked out of the tournament in the third round.*
...

verb
1 [vn] to go around a corner of a building, a bend in the road, etc.: *The boat rounded the tip of the island. ◊ We rounded the bend at high speed.* **2** to make sth into a round shape; to form into a round shape: [vn] *She rounded her lips and whistled. ◊* [v] *His eyes rounded with horror.*
...

OALD7: 1324–25

round[1] … *prid.* okrogel …
round[2] … *prisl.* **1.** krožno, v krogu **2.** okrog, naokrog: *a tree measuring 40 cms round* drevo z obsegom 40 cm **3.** POG. sem, tja, h komu …
round[3] … *sam.* **1.** krog, runda **2.** ŠPORT partíja **3.** ŠPORT krog: *qualifying rounds* kvalifikacije **4.** niz, serija: *the daily round* vsakdanjik **5.** obhod: *be (out) on one's rounds* biti na hišnih obiskih; *ward round* vizita **6.** runda (tudi ŠPORT): *It's my round.* Naslednjo rundo plačam jaz. **7.** BRIT. (cel) kos (kruha): *Who's for another round of toast?* Kdo bo še en opečenec? **8.** BRIT. sendvič iz dveh kosov kruha **9.** *samo edn.* stegno **10.** kolesce, kolešček **11.** *round of applause* aplavz, ploskanje; *round of cheers* vzklikanje, pozdravljanje **12.** strel: *fire several rounds at sb* večkrat ustreliti proti komu **13.** naboj **14.** GLAS. kanon …
round[4] … *predl.* **1.** okrog, okoli: *a way round the problem* način za rešitev problema **2.** za: *come round the corner* priti izza vogala **3.** po **4.** glede na potrebe/želje koga …
round[5] … *gl.* **1.** peljati/iti okoli: *round a bend* zvoziti ovinek **2.** zaokrožiti **3.** zaobliti **4.** (oči) na široko odpreti …

Figure 4. Shaded examples show part-of-speech labelling.

Apart from part-of-speech labelling, metalinguistic equivalent differentiation consists of explicit constructional information or notes. For example:

government ... *noun* **1** [C+sing./pl. v.] (often **the Government**) (abbr. **govt**) the group of people who are responsible for controlling a country or a state: to **lead/form a government** ◊ *the last Conservative government* ◊ *the government of the day* ◊ *Foreign governments have been consulted about this decision.* ◊ *She has resigned from the Government.* ◊ *The Government has/have been considering further tax cuts.* ◊ **government policies/officials/ministers** ◊ *a* **government department/agency/grant** ◊ **government expenditure/intervention** ... OALD7: 672	**government** *sam.* **1.** vlada: *government forces* vladne sile **2.** *samo edn.* vlada, vladanje: *be in government* vladati **3.** JEZ. vezava, rekcija **RABA** Edninsko obliko samostalnika **government** lahko v prvem pomenu uporabljamo z glagolom v ednini ali v množini. Glagol v ednini uporabimo, če imamo v mislih vlado kot celoto (npr. ***The new government <u>does not have popular support</u>.***), glagol v množini pa uporabimo v primeru, ko imamo v mislih posamezne člane vlade (npr. ***The government <u>are planning further cuts in public spending</u>.***). Ta razlika velja samo v britanski angleščini. V ameriški angleščini edninski obliki samostalnika **government** lahko sledi samo glagol v ednini (npr. ***The government <u>says it is committed to tax reform</u>.***). Kadar z edninsko obliko samostalnika **government** uporabljamo glagol v ednini, mora biti tudi zaimek, ki se nanj nanaša, v ednini (npr. ***<u>The government</u> <u>says it is</u> committed to tax reform.***), kadar pa uporabljamo glagol v množini, mora biti tudi zaimek v množini (npr. ***The government <u>have made up their</u> minds that <u>they're</u> going to win.***).

Figure 5. Metalinguistic equivalent differentiation in the form of explicit constructional information.

Encyclopaedic information[3] is useful when dealing with culture-specific items. For example:

the FTSE Index … the Financial Times Stock Exchange Index: an average of the prices of SHARES from the 100 most important companies on the London STOCK EXCHANGE MED2: 605	**FT-SE 100 Index** *sam.* krajšava za ***Financial Times Stock Exchange 100 Index*** EKON. borzni indeks londonske borze (ki ga Financial Times izračuna na podlagi delnic 100 velikih podjetij) **gallon** *sam.* galona (= 4,5 litra v Veliki Britaniji, 3,8 litra v ZDA): *My car does 35 miles to the gallon.* Moj avto porabi 8 litrov bencina na 100 km.

Figure 6. Encyclopaedic information in culture-specific items.

3. Special Feature Used for Sense Disambiguation in Monolingual Learners' Dictionaries

A feature relatively newly introduced into monolingual learners' dictionaries to aid users with the disambiguation of polysemous items is called signposts (LDOCE5), guidewords (CALD3), short cuts (OALD7) or items in a menu (MED2, COBUILD5). The difference between signposts, guidewords and short cuts on the one hand and menus on the other is that signposts, guidewords and short cuts are placed at the beginning of definitions within entries, whereas menus are placed at the top of entries. They all give the core meanings of highly polysemous words. None of the five dictionaries under scrutiny use the two devices conjointly. A comparison between

---

3   Encyclopaedic information can take various forms, such as encyclopaedic notes, encyclopaedic labelling, an encyclopaedic section or illustrations. Frequently, it is realized by field or subfield labels or by means of short phrases that perform the function of sense disambiguation in monolingual dictionaries or equivalent differentiation in bilingual dictionaries (in cases of polysemy, of course).

the previous editions of LDOCE and COBUILD and the current editions shows that the two dictionaries have inverted their strategies: LDOCE has abandoned the combined use of menus and signposts in favour of signposts alone, while COBUILD has replaced signposts by menus.

A signpost[4] is a particular type of specifier which is increasingly used in monolingual learners' dictionaries. Signposts help the users to make mental connections with the word in the context in which they have encountered it. Signposts do not replace the full definition, but rather form a quick menu for the user's eye to scan. They guide the user quickly to the meaning he/she wants and are often realized by a synonym or paraphrase of the headword (*pool*, OALD7, senses 1, 4 and 5) but may also offer a superordinate of the headword (*pool*, OALD7, sense 6) or an indication of the domain or subject matter (*pool*, OALD7, sense 7). For example:

pool ... *noun, ...*	**pool** ... noun ...
FOR SWIMMING **1** [C] = SWIMMING POOL: *Does the hotel have a pool?* ◊ *relaxing by the pool*	
OF WATER **2** [C] a small area of still water, especially one that has formed naturally: *freshwater pools* ◊ *a rock pool* (= between rocks by the sea)	**1 area of liquid** **2 name of game** **3 light shining on area** **4 competition** **5 group someone/something chosen from**
OF LIQUID/LIGHT **3** [C] ~ **(of sth)** a small amount of liquid or light lying on a surface: *The body was lying in a pool of blood.* ◊ *a pool of light*	
GROUP OF THINGS/PEOPLE **4** [C] ~ **(of sth)** a supply of things or money that is shared by a group of people and can be used when needed: *a pool of cars used by the firm's sales force* ◊ *a pool car* **5** [C] ~ **(of sth)** a group of people available for work when needed: *a pool of cheap labour*	
GAME **6** [U] a game for two people played with 16 coloured balls on a table, often in pubs and bars. Players use cues (= long sticks) to try to hit the balls into pockets at the edge of the table: *a pool table* ◊ *to shoot* (= play) *pool* FOOTBALL **7 the pools** [pl.] = FOOTBALL POOLS: *He does the pools every week.* ◊ *a pools winner ...*	
OALD7: 1169	MED2: 1150

Figure 7. Shaded examples pinpoint signposts (OALD7) and a menu (MED2).

It should be pointed out that in many cases the context in which the user has met an unknown word will prompt the choice of signpost. Consequently, users should usually be able to select the right sense paragraph to read fully without having to read all the details in several other paragraphs first.

---

[4]   A signpost is a term used generically to refer to signposts, guidewords, short cuts or items in a menu as used in different dictionaries.

4. Equivalent Differentiation in a Bilingual Decoding Dictionary

So far, various methods of sense disambiguation in mono- as well as bilingual dictionaries in general have been presented, while monolingual learners' dictionaries have been dealt with more specifically in the previous section. At this point, I would like to focus on the purposes of the inclusion of equivalent differentiation in a bilingual dictionary for decoding. Careful indication of the meanings of the word being handled is necessary for various reasons and it is important especially in complicated and complex entries. It may make a look-up process quicker and easier in long entries but very often it is necessary because of partial equivalence, lexical gaps or culture-specific items.

Another dilemma faced by compilers of bilingual dictionaries only is which language to use for sense disambiguation. Is it appropriate to use the source language or the target language of the dictionary? Or should the native language of the user be chosen as the metalanguage of the dictionary, thus also for equivalent differentiation? These questions should be answered before starting work on a bilingual dictionary. Without a shadow of a doubt, it is the target users and their needs that are of the utmost importance. Consequently, it can be claimed that the metalanguage should always be the target users' mother tongue.

I would now like to present some sample entries from a bilingual English-Slovene dictionary intended for decoding purposes. All these entries employ at least one method of equivalent differentiation but very often several of the types of equivalent differentiation will have to cooperate in order for the desired result to be achieved.

Equivalent differentiation is used in highly polysemous entries. The primary purpose of equivalent differentiation is to help the user quickly identify the translation equivalent that fits his/her context. Equivalent differentiation can be included in the form of indications of context:

> **natural** *prid.* **1.** naraven **2.** (človek) rojen **3.** (lastnost) prirojen **4.** (sin, hči) roden, pravi **5.** GLAS. (ton) z razvezajem, z vračajem **6.** ZASTAR. nezakonski

Figure 8. Equivalent differentiation in the form of indications of context and domain labels.

In sense 2, the indication of context implies that this sense is restricted to a person, sense 3 to a characteristic, sense 4 to a son or daughter and sense 5 to a tone. Indications of context may indicate typical referents or reference domains. Apart from the indication of context, the domain labels (GLAS. = MUSIC, ZASTAR. = ARCHAIC) are used and sense 5 illustrates equivalent differentiation by cooperation of a domain label and indication of context.

The example that follows illustrates the entry for *nanny goat*, whose translation equivalent in Slovene is *koza*. The noun *koza* is a polysemous word in Slovene (in the *Dictionary of Standard Slovene* it has 5 senses) and the gloss in brackets that precedes the translational equivalent tells the user that in this particular case it refers to a female goat – a piece of information that is helpful

even though it is perhaps not absolutely necessary if we take into account that the user comes across the word in context.

> **nanny goat** *sam.* (samica) koza

Figure 9. Gloss narrowing down the specific sense of the TL polysemous word.

There are several common types of gloss, i.e., a (near) synonym of the lemma, a short paraphrase of the particular (sub-)sense of the lemma, a hyperonym of the lemma or a typical hyponym. In the above example, the gloss used is a hyperonym of the lemma. The same holds true of sense 1 (woman, mother) of the sample entry below (old woman), whereas the gloss provided in sense 2 (cowardly man) is an example of a short paraphrase.

> **old woman** *sam*. POG. **1.** (žena, mati) stara **2.** SLABŠ. (strahopeten moški) baba

Figure 10. Glosses in the form of a hyperonym and short paraphrase.

Very often, indications of context suggest possible collocations (cf. *lay*, senses 2–6, 8–10). Another factor that has to be highlighted is that one sense in a monolingual dictionary does not necessarily correspond to one sense in a bilingual dictionary. For example, *lay* may be defined as 'to put sth down, especially on the floor, ready to be used' (OALD7, sense 2). The examples of use that illustrate this particular sense are: *to lay a carpet/cable/pipe* • *The foundations of the house are being laid today.* • (figurative) *They had laid the groundwork for future development.* The collocates (carpet/cable/pipe, foundations, groundwork) of the English lemma produce quite different Slovene translations because of collocational requirements in Slovene. We can see that the first example is translated by means of the verb *položiti* (sense 1), whereas the second and the third ones are translated in the same way, i.e. as *postaviti* (sense 3).

> **lay** *gl*. **1.** položiti **2.** (miza) pripraviti **3.** (temelj) postaviti **4.** KNJIŽ. (breme, odgovornost) naložiti **5.** (zakon) predložiti **6.** KNJIŽ. (strah) premagati **7.** staviti **8.** SL. položiti (žensko) **9.** (jajce) leči, znesti, nesti **10.** (ogenj) podkuriti, narediti

Figure 11. Indications of context suggesting possible collocations.

It is helpful for users to include additional information in some entries (e.g., nouns denoting animals) although this is already a piece of information that can be regarded as an encyclopaedic one. But in this way the user quickly learns more about the lemma (e.g. *anchovy* is a fish (= riba) rather than a mammal, bird, snake, etc.).

> **anchovy** *sam*. ZOOL. (riba) inčun

Figure 12. Encyclopaedic information in nouns denoting animals.

Encyclopaedic information is also necessary in culture-specific items where the concept of the SL lemma is unknown to the TL speaker. For example:

> **gallon** *sam.* galona (= 4,5 litra v Veliki Britaniji, 3,8 litra v ZDA): *My car does 35 miles to the gallon.* Moj avto porabi 8 litrov bencina na 100 km.

Figure 13. Encyclopaedic information in culture-specific items.

The encyclopaedic information in brackets following the translation equivalent tells the users that, firstly, there is a difference between this unit for measuring liquid in Great Britain and in the USA, and, secondly, the users learn the unit of measurement it equals.

Similarly, encyclopaedic information is provided in some other culture-specific items. The translation equivalents offered in the entries *National League* and *Sally Army* can certainly be used in context, but the encyclopaedic information helps the users who are not familiar with what the National League (i.e. one of the two leagues in the United States-based professional Major League Baseball organization) and the Sally Army (i.e. the international Christian organization that helps the poor) are to understand the meaning of these two entries.

> **National League** *sam*. Nacionalna liga (= ena izmed dveh bejzbolskih lig v ZDA)
> **Sally Army** *sam*. ***the Sally Army*** POG. Odrešitvena vojska (= mednarodna krščanska organizacija, ki pomaga revnim)

Figure 14. Encyclopaedic information crucial for the understanding of the culture-specific lemma.

A kind of encyclopaedic information may also be represented by different symbols (e.g. a symbol used in email addresses) shown in brackets after the translation equivalent.

> **at²** *sam*. RAČ. afna (@)

Figure 15. Encyclopaedic information in the form of a symbol.

As has been seen from the above examples, different ways of equivalent differentiation are a powerful force in matching equivalents across languages, and therefore including different types of equivalent differentiation are an absolute must in bilingual dictionaries.

5. Conclusion

The function of sense indicators and equivalent differentiation is to guide the user to the appropriate sense in a monolingual dictionary and to the appropriate translation equivalent in a bilingual dictionary, respectively. For this reason, they are an indispensable part of a dictionary entry, especially a dictionary entry consisting of several senses or providing several translation equivalents, since they enable the user to find the right sense or the right translation equivalent more quickly. The lexicographers should strive to provide short but informative sense indicators. If sense indicators are used (e.g. in a monolingual learner's dictionary), they should be those words with which users are probably most familiar. If they are used in a bilingual dictionary to disambiguate different translation equivalents, they should be written in the native language of

the target audience, since the users will immediately know which type of equivalent differentiation guides them to the correct translation equivalent of the headword.

Bibliography

A. Dictionaries

Anderson, S., et al., eds. 2007. *Collins English Dictionary.* 9th edn. Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers. (CED9)

Mayor, M., ed. 2009. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.* 5th edn. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited. (LDOCE5)

Rundell, M., ed. 2007. *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Macmillan Education. (MED2)

Sinclair, J., and M. Clari, eds. 2006. *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary.* 5th edn. London: HarperCollins Publishers. (COBUILD5)

Walter, E., and K. Woodford, eds. 2008. *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary.* 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (CALD3)

Wehmeier, S., ed., 2005. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English.* 7th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (OALD7)

B. Other literature

Atkins, B.T.S., and M. Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Béjoint, H. 2000. *Modern Lexicography: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cowie, A.P. 1999. *English Dictionaries for Foreign Learners: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hartmann, R.R.K. 2001. *Teaching and Researching Lexicography.* Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Jackson, H. 2002. *Lexicography: An Introduction.* London, New York: Routledge.

Landau, S.I. 2001. *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Svensén, B. 2009. *A Handbook of Lexicography: The Theory and Practice of Dictionary-Making.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

II.

LITERATURE

Luka Ličar

University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

Literature of Scotland and Slovenia: From Devolution to Post-devolution, from Socialism to Independence and Beyond

Summary

This article looks at the situation of nationalism and literature in both Scotland and Slovenia in the 1980s and onward until the present day. In the case of Scotland the focus is on the devolution process and the literary renaissance which followed the failed referendum. The focus is also on the post-devolution literature and the challenges it faces both in terms of retrospect and the future challenges. In Slovenia in the 1980s the main points are the role of literature and culture in the process of democratisation and the reimagining of literature to reflect on the new situations. During this process comparisons as well as differences between both nations are revealed and some are specifically pointed out. Finally, there are certain concepts of how literature can advance and also hinder the development of a nation, which should be taken into consideration in the future developments.

Key words: Scotland, Slovenia, Devolution, Post-devolution, Nova revija, Mladina, Independence, Minority Literature

Literatura škotske in Slovenije: Od devolucije do post-devolucije, od socializma do neodvisnosti ter naprej

Povzetek

Članek skuša vzeti v obzir stanje na Škotskem in v Sloveniji od osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja do dandanašnjih dni. V primeru Škotske smo pozornost posvetili procesu devolucije in literarni renesansi, ki je sledila neuspelemu referendumu. Tu je še poudarek na literaturi post-devolucije in izzivi, s katerimi se sooča, tako v smislu retrospektive kot tudi prihodnjih izzivov. Ko gre beseda o Sloveniji v osemdesetih so glavni poudarki na vlogi literature in kulture v procesu demokratizacije ter ponovnem osmišljanju literature, da ustrezno odseva novonastale situacije. Skozi ta proces se razkrijejo nekatere primerjave kot tudi razlike med obema narodoma. Na koncu je vplogled še v nekatere idejne zasnove, ki bi jih veljajo podrobneje raziskati.

Ključne besede: Škotska, Slovenija, devolucija, post-devolucija, Nova revija, Mladina, neodvisnost, manjšinska literatura

Literature of Scotland and Slovenia: From Devolution to Post-devolution, from Socialism to Independence and Beyond

1. Introduction

The United Kingdom and Yugoslavia in the nineteen eighties – both can be described as a collective of nations, cultures and identities packed into an overarching super-state. In the case of Yugoslavia it was a Socialist Federal Republic, while the United Kingdom remains a constitutional monarchy. The intent of this article is to focus on only two parts of these super-states, namely Scotland and Slovenia, and to deal with a specific situation and time period, where literature, or culture in general, met with a political situation. These situations will be analysed and put into perspective from the viewpoint of both Slovenia and Scotland, while dealing with specific elements unique to each, which will be compared when so appropriate.

Initially it may seem like a long stretch to compare two nations which at first glance seem so unalike and indeed were in different political situations at the time. The core of the perceived problem, however, was quite the same in both Slovenia and Scotland. That problem was – and perhaps still is – how to maintain a national identity and culture in a country which is primarily opposed to such an idea, since one of the main points of its existence is to promote the idea of a single nation, more often than not quite irrespective of the personal aims of some of the people living therein. In Yugoslavia it was to be Yugoslavian, irrespective of the fact that the person originated from Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Slovenia. In the United Kingdom it was to be British, regardless of which part of the Kingdom or its colonies the person came from. Literature is a strong pillar in any state, one which tries to preserve or empower its national identity and, therefore, also one which is often pressured or sometimes even misused to that very end. In the first part of this paper, the focus is on Scotland, from a political and cultural viewpoint; this it will be followed by the situation in Yugoslavia and Slovenia. The final part deals with similarities but also unique elements of both, including the concluding thoughts.

2. Devolution and Post-devolution in Scotland

Devolution was an ongoing process in Scotland, Ireland and also Wales, the main idea was to slowly decentralise the government in Westminster and in the process grant more independence to various parts of the United Kingdom. The referendum on devolution in Scotland took place in 1979 and failed. Even though the majority was in favour, the devil was in the details, a clause added to the bill made all the difference. Peter Kravitz, the editor of *The Picador Book of Contemporary Scottish Literature*, explains it in a nutshell:

> In March 1979 the people of Scotland were asked whether they wanted their own parliament separate from England. The majority said yes. However, a last minute clause added to the bill stated that 40 per cent of the total electorate had to be in favour. This took non-voters to be saying no. Governments get elected on less. (Kravitz 1997)

Through this failure, Scottish national politics took a serious blow. The political option essentially failed Scotland or at least that was the general thought at the time. This, however, proved to be an opportunity for literature to experience a so called renaissance. The Irish-Scottish writer Donal McLaughlin, who himself experienced this period in the fullest, has this to say on the situation:

> The renaissance, it is often suggested, had its root in political setbacks. In the wake of both the failed referendum on devolution in March 1979 & Margaret Thatcher becoming Prime Minister in May that year, Scotland's writers – like their film-maker, painter & musician colleagues – invested in their art, rather than succumb to the double whammy delivered by the political arena.
>
> The very considerable fruits of the artists' response to this state of affairs soon gave rise to the theory that Scotland had achieved *cultural* (if not *political*) independence. Politics, Cairns Craig even suggested, had been reduced to a mere *side-show* in Scotland.
>
> (McLaughlin 2008, 4)

Literature replaced politics in Scotland's most desperate time of need. Scotland approached identity-building from the viewpoint of culture and to form an opposition to the predominantly British concept of the unity of all the nations living within Great Britain. While Scotland has had a great number of turbulent times throughout history it also produced some of the most well known and finest writers in the world. When one mentions Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, with his famous lodgings in 221B Baker Street in London, Scotland somehow does not seem to fit in the picture. Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* deals with Saxon noble families and the protagonist, William of Ivanhoe, is also Saxon. R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* tells of the high seas and exotic locations. Of course, they also wrote about Scotland – many of Sir Walter Scott's novels take place in Scotland, Robert Louis Stevenson's famous novel *Kidnapped* is also set in Scotland and yet these Scottish authors published mostly in England. The reasons for that are fairly simple, England, more specifically London, was the cultural centre. The British Empire stretched across the globe and the idea of being British was heavily advertised. "The two largest nations, Scotland and England, came together in 1707, but as commentators are becoming acutely aware this did not result in a British civil society" (Morton 1999, 6).

This union was a political construct, and to project the sense of 'unity', Crawford explains:

> To play a full part, Scottish people would have to move from using Scots to using English, an English, which was fully acceptable to the dominant partner in the political union. This English, it was argued, both had to replace Scots and had to be purged of what we would now call 'markers of Scottish cultural difference', purged of Scotticisms. The growing wish for a 'pure' English in eighteen century Scotland was not an anti-Scottish gesture, but a pro-British one. If Britain were to work as a political unit, then Scots should rid themselves of any elements, likely to impede their progress within it. Language, the most important of bonds, must not be allowed to hinder Scotland's intercourse with expanding economic and intellectual markets in the freshly defined British state.
>
> (Crawford 2001, 18)

Language, and through it literature, were subjected to the idea of unity. There were, however, also other factors, which helped promote the idea of being British. This continued well into the twentieth century:

> The Second World War had witnessed the extensive use of government propaganda to shore up British identity and the fact that half a million Scots were integrated with other individuals from the United Kingdom in the armed forces helped reinforce a sense of Britishness. The English were no longer stereotypes or caricatures, but serving comrades, and the fact that many Scots were stationed in England helped to introduce them to their fellow-countrymen and –women. (Finlay 2002, 8-9)

After 1979, the failed referendum and the rise of Margaret Thatcher, "which seemed then to be cementing Scotland's subnational status for good" (Schoene 2007, 8), there were also positive results as it "only induced the Scottish People to pull in more closely together and develop a more clearly defined and morally superior sense of national identity" (ibid., 8). This brought about the renaissance of Scottish literature. Schoene also refers to this literature as the 'devolutionary Scottish writing', and it encompasses the works which were produced and published in the time period between the two referendums, the first one, which failed in 1979, and the second successful referendum in 1997. This was the period saw the works of authors such as Ian Crichton Smith, William McIlvanney, James Kelman, Janice Galloway and many others. They sought to put Scottish literature and Scotland on the world map, strengthen the Scottish identity and create a distinctive voice, the voice of Scotland. With themes that dealt with the troubles of the common people, often set in bleak suburban settings, these authors "challenge limits of language, gender, received history, and authority, be it in law, education, religion. Scottish fiction – and indeed Scottish writing generally – is now more varied in mood, more eclectic, and more willing to challenge Scotland's traditional beliefs and values than ever before" (Gifford 2002, 980).

If the period of devolutionary Scottish writing was marked by an empowerment of the Scottish identity through the use of colloquial language, Gaelic expressions, local colour and situations specific to Scotland, there is also usually an opposing thought. The dangers of nationalism, which include also the fact that literature can become limited and that the scope in which it can operate "was always, of necessity, politically informed, or at least it was received and critiqued that way, and only considered a success if it made – or could be construed as making – some kind of case for Scotland" (Schoene 2007, 7). This raises the question of self-censorship. If the literary works authors produce are automatically judged against certain restrictions or prerequisites, even if these are merely presupposed, would they not cause the authors to gravitate towards operating within those limits? Schoene dedicates a large part of his text to this very question or whether the literature that was produced during the period of devolutionary Scottish writing had a specific purpose of promoting Scottishness and if that role is in some ways fulfilled by reintroducing the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and a successful transfer of power from Westminster to Edinburgh, what becomes of literature and can it be freed from the burden of nationalism? "Clearly, one task for critics of contemporary Scottish literature is to determine whether after devolution 'Scottishness' still remains a useful quality marker, viable identity descriptor, or suitable criterion for gauging the canonical eligibility of an author or text" (ibid., 8). Schoene then refers to

literature produced after 1999 as the post-devolutionary Scottish writing. This kind of shift was anticipated by other authors in the past. Gifford predicts it in *Scottish Literature in English and Scots*: "Perhaps a necessary part of this will be that Scottish writers become less 'Scottish' and that their writing will take on a 'post-nationalist' tone. If that is a feature that Scottish writers will share with other world writers, and if it is combined with an awareness of the past, then it is a development to be welcomed" (Gifford 2002, 1000).

One of the more significant elements in the post-devolutionary Scottish writing is the input and creativity of various ethnic groups within Scotland. Numerous works are being created by writers who come from intermixed ethnic backgrounds and communities, since modern Scotland is definitely multi-ethnic. They offer a wider range of what post-devolutionary Scottish literature can be, a literature that is not limited to being 'nationalistic', by incorporating their experiences and perceptions of the world they live in and also by reflecting the social aspects that cannot be covered by, as Gifford states, the members of the traditional Scottish community. Schoene elaborates further:

> Scottish nationalism has effectively ceased to be a minoritarian counterdiscourse, raising manifold questions regarding Scotland's internal interdependencies and alliances.

> Post-devolution Scotland evidently holds postethnic potential mainly due to its relatively flexible views on what constitutes a Scottish person, as detailed by its civic citizenship legislation, which values an individual's choice of residency as highly as their familial descent. (Schoene 2007, 10)

Literature in Scotland gains new strengths and becomes more eclectic as the voices of these minorities are heard. It also helps to move the Scottish literature away from a period, which was limiting in its scope and served only a certain purpose. Writers, such as Jackie Kay, of Scottish-Nigerian descent, Eugenie Fraser, a Russian Scottish writer, Raymond Soltysek, David Daiches and many others are just a few of these emerging voices which will carry on the literature of Scotland in the new millennia. Suhayl Saadi tells us in his *Infinite Diversity in New Scottish Writing*:

> We are dealing with people who have never known anything other than a multicultural society (and I'm talking here about Scottish writers from both Majority and Minority Ethnic groups). Scotland has actually always been a polyglot – but today perhaps it is simply that it is more visibly so.

> In a way, it's a kind of collective identity crisis. Scots are a minority ethnic group within Britain. The English are a Minority Ethnic group in Scotland. We are all Minority Ethnic communities in the world. (Saadi 2010)

Contemporary literature seems to be holding its own as the turbulent years of the previous century have passed by; numerous young writers continue to emerge and contribute to the Scottish literature cannon. Looking for new challenges and new opportunities, Scottish literature tries to rise over the self imposed boundaries of devolutionary writing and is trying to rediscover its most basic premises of representing Scotland in all its forms in the contemporary world.

Yet there are some who look at the critical side of devolution. "Following devolution, both Scottish critics and creative writers began to issue reminders that Scotland's assumed moral superiority as a victim of historical circumstances must not be permitted to persist uninterrogated" (Schoene 2007, 2). Schoene continues to elaborate that Scotland's part in the British imperial enterprises, such as colonisation or complicity in the slave trade as is disclosed in the award-winning novel *Joseph Knight* (2003) by James Robertson. There is also the fact that too many perceive devolution as simply a matter of Scotland, the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland and Wales while many forget that England is also a part of the puzzle. One of the fears is that devolution might exculpate the former British nations of historical accountability for colonial violence. Last but not least, there is the fact of long historical and economic ties of Scotland with England. Post-devolution brings responsibilities along with more freedom.

3. From Yugoslavia to Slovenia

Slovenia officially declared independence in June 1991. While Slovenia in the onset of the eighties was still a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, two events took place which shook the social circumstances on which Yugoslavia was based. Since literature was an inherent part of the social situation, it also had an impact on literary communications. The two events were the death of Edvard Kardelj in 1979, the main ideologist of communism in Yugoslavia, and the death of Josip Broz-Tito in 1980, Marshal of Yugoslavia. As discussed by Marko Juvan in his article *Iz 80. v 90. Leta: slovenska literatura, postmodernizem, postkomunizem in nacionalna država*[1], it signified the collapse of the two main ideologies which were presented in the ideology of market socialism and its myth of a unique type of socialism and the ideology of south-Slav brotherhood, unity and equality. Their charisma and presence in the consciousness of the people in Yugoslavia and their status as symbols of unity presented the main ties that bound the nations within the federation, and with their demise these ties began to loosen.

One of the things that followed was the pull towards centralisation. In order to salvage the sinking ship that was Yugoslavia, centralisation was supposed to strengthen the failing concept of unity and lessen the harsh rhetoric between nations. The consequence of such actions was that, as these concepts alluded to the solidarity of the working classes, they would also extend to the cultural and educational spheres. The idea was to have unified educational centres, which would present a unified curriculum of literature within Yugoslavia. This meant an unfair situation in which Slovenian pupils would have a significantly reduced amount of Slovene literature in their curriculums. An additional problem was the heavy taxation. "Slovenia, a republic within which lived 8.5 percent of the whole Yugoslavian national body, contributed approximately 20 percent of all its resources, while Belgrade still vehemently reproached it for selfishness and abuse of poorer republics" (Balantič 2007).[2]

These actions affirmed the conviction that existence in such a socialist federation would

[1] From the 80s into the 90s: Slovene Literature, Postmodernism, Postcommunism and the National State.
[2] Original Slovenian: Slovenija, republika, v kateri je živelo 8,5 odstotka celotnega jugoslovanskega državljanskega telesa, je v državni proračun prispevala kar okoli 20 odstotkov vseh sredstev, Beograd pa ji je še vedno vehementno očital sebičnost in izkoriščanje revnejših republik.

eventually no longer be possible. The eighties then saw the emergence of authors, intellectuals and collectives, who directed their actions to be more public and socially active and also more provocative.

The journal *Nova revija* (*New Review*) has its origins in the year 1982. It was published by a collective of liberal and conservative intellectuals. They were allowed to publish the *Nova revija* journal after a petition to the authorities of the then Socialist Republic of Slovenia, in which they explained the need for an independent critical journal, which was lacking in the cultural environment at the time. The petition included a letter signed by Tine Hribar, Niko Grafenauer, Andrej Inkret, Svetlana Makarovič, Boris A. Novak and Dimitrij Rupel. Over sixty cultural workers also signed the petition, and it was published in the national daily broadsheet *Delo*. Still, two years had to pass before the journal could see the light of day. It provided a voice necessary for the intellectuals and authors to express their ideas, which would culminate in the publication of the notorious volume 57 of *Nova revija*. This issue declared an open proposal of the possibility that Slovenia should become independent as one of the options for the future:

> In its 57th issue, published under the title Contributions to the Slovenian National Programme, a number of Slovenian writers, poets, lawyers, sociologists and philosophers (mostly belonging to the Heideggerian circle) expressed concern about the 'crisis' (a label widely used to describe the situation in Yugoslavia in the 1980s) and discussed options available to the Slovenian nation. (Kramberger et al. 2008, 2)

However, there were other publications with a national political agenda in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. *Mladina* was one such magazine. It was a magazine of the Slovenian Communist Party youth. In 1982 on the 11th Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Slovenia a decision came to change *Mladina*, giving it additional editorial autonomy and it became one of the main oppositions to the regime in Slovenia. It was in a sense an internal opposition, since they originated from the same position and were able to expose political conflicts.

In 1984 the emergence of a controversial political art and music collective called NSK, or *Neue Slowenische Kunst,* added their part to the existing social circumstances. Through provocative art, which used symbols derived from totalitarian regimes and music produced by arguably the most prominent part of NSK, *Laibach*, they managed to ridicule and challenge the powers and at the same time reach an audience beyond the boundaries of Yugoslavia.

> It was typical that the main artistic and political charges of the eighties were discharged especially through activities of the retrograde collective Neue Slowenische Kunst, which, through a unified creative concept ('art as a state'), saturated rock music, artistic collages and installations, poster designs, theatre and architecture. NSK, which in the second half of the eighties began a relatively striking march across Europe and the USA, as it was more radical and more total than, for instance, the Russian soc-art. It challenged the official party politics (Slovenian and Yugoslavian), scandalised traditional artistic circles and the taste of supporters of modernism.[3] (Juvan 1995, 6-7)

---

[3] Značilno je tudi, da so se poglavitni umetniški in politični naboji 80. let sproščali zlasti v dejavnosti retrogardistične skupine Neue slowenische Kunst, ki je z enotnim ustvarjalnim konceptom ('umetnost kot država') prežela rokovsko glasbo, likovne kolaže in insta-

The literary and artistic movements in the period of eighties and beginning of nineties were marked by the changes in the social structure, the oncoming democratization of Slovenia and the advent of consumer society. These affected the perceptions on the role of literature in our society. Marko Juvan puts forward two concepts of ideologies on the roles of Slovenian literature, inherited from the romantic and post-romantic periods, which fell to pieces. The first one is the concept of domestic literature as "privileged or perhaps even the single institution, which – due to the missing political, economic, jurisdictional and cultural organisational forms – establishes, affirms, keeps and develops the 'non-historical', stateless nation on the path to its emancipation; writers, not politicians or generals are in this view the nation's consciousness, visionaries, leaders and victims, who are establishing the community[4]" (Juvan 1995, 2). The second ideology is the "concept that literature or culture is the only authentic (and relatively tolerated by the authorities) reserve of an individual's identity and freedom of thought, especially when all other ways of expressing political opinions and unwanted messages are disabled"[5] (ibid.).

This departure from the old ideologies inescapably brought along the change in roles that authors have in our society. Since there was a direct challenge to the authorities through the referendum on independence and also the first democratic elections, political content in literature was transposed into direct political discourse. Some of these authors later became co-creators of the new Slovenian state. Drago Jančar is one such example, who as the president of the Slovene PEN centre in the years between 1987 until 1991 made a significant contribution to the independence of Slovenia.

What about the younger generation of writers? Since the independence of Slovenia, literature had to redefine some of its roles. Due to the loss of a giant market in the former Yugoslavia, which also provided a common pool for intellectuals and authors to meet, publish and share their ideas and works in, there was really only one place to go – west. The west presented – and still represents – a different kind of cultural and economic situation. Since Slovenia was now facing democracy and economic liberalisation, some of these effects became evident also in authors and literature.

> The market is, therefore, necessarily commercialised, dispersed over several smaller publishing houses, but is also becoming more flexible and sensitive to the needs of readers. Due to such circumstances, the young writers especially have well secularised the concept of being an author: they do not comprehend it so much as a mission, but rather as a vocation, a skill, not only of writing, but also of recognition.[6] (Ibid., 3)

lacije, plakatno oblikovanje, gledališče in arhitekturo. Skupina NSK, ki je v 2. polovici 80. let začela razmeroma odmeven pohod po Evropi in ZDA, saj je bila radikalnejša in totalnejša od, recimo, ruskega soc-arta, je izzivala uradno partijsko politiko (Slovensko in Jugoslovansko), škandalizirala tradicionalistične umetnostne kroge in okus zagovornikov modernizma.

[4] Pojmovanje domače književnosti kot privilegirane ali celo edine ustanove, kida – zaradi manjkajočih političnih, gospodarskih, pravnih in kulturnih organizacijskih oblik – vzpostavlja, potrjuje, ohranja in razvija "nezgodovinski", nedržavni narod na poti njegove emancipacije; pisatelji, ne pa politiki ali vojskovodje so v tej luči narodova vest, vidci, voditelji in žrtve, ki vzpostavljajo skupnost;

[5] Predstava, da je leposlovje oz. umetnost edini pristni (in s strani oblasti še razmeroma tolerirani) rezervat posameznikove identitete ter mišljenjske svobode, zlasti kadar so druge poti za izražanje političnih mnenj in neželenih sporočil onemogočene.

[6] Ponudba se zato nujno komercializira, razpršuje po številnih manjših založbah, vendar pa postaja tudi bolj prožna in občutljiva za interese bralcev. Zaradi takšnih okoliščin so zlasti mladi pisatelji dodobra sekularizirali pojmovanje pisateljstva: ne dojemajo ga več (toliko) kot poslanstvo, temveč kot poklic, veščino, ne le pisanja, ampak tudi uveljavljanja.

There are plenty of more marginalised types of texts, such as regional, dialectal literature and poetry, which receive surprisingly little attention despite the incredible richness of dialects and provincial life, folk tales and legends that can be found in Slovenia. Intellectual and cultural centres and institutions, which are usually positioned in larger urban areas, tend to give the impression of ignorance about or at least disinterest in such types of literature and poetry. If their voices are still waiting for sufficient recognition in Slovenian cultural consciousness, there is one marginalised category which took a long time to receive any spotlight at all, and that is the literature of minorities in Slovenia. This trend was slightly reversed by the publication of *Čefurji raus![7]*, a novel by Goran Vojnović. The novel won the Prešeren Fund award and most recently, at the 25th Vilenica International Literary Festival, Vojnović received the Vilenica Crystal for the best contribution to the Vilenica Almanac after he read an excerpt from *Čefurji raus!*. Additional exposure for minority literature in Slovenia is also the many contributions within the UNESCO World Book Capital Ljubljana programme, one of them being the *BuQve* project, which deals with the LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, transsexual, intersexual and queer) themes.

The fact that Ljubljana was the World Book Capital from April 23rd 2010 until April 23rd of 2011 gives recognition to and a nod towards the efforts and attempts of post-independence literature and the book industry in Slovenia. Despite this, there is still much to be done and although the book market is small and the chances of larger recognition minuscule, the language and culture still offer infinite possibilities that can and have to reach even farther beyond the received notions and borders of what we now perceive as literature 'proper'.

4. Conclusion

Trying to compare two nations and cultures, which seem so far apart geographically, in terms of language and history would seem a daunting task, yet there are as many similarities as there are differences. Both Scotland and Slovenia found themselves in a similar situation at end of the seventies and the beginning of eighties. Politically, they both tried to achieve a greater deal of independence. In the case of Scotland it was to gain more power in decision-making and restoring its parliament through devolution and in the end to establish a form of home rule. The failure of the referendum and subsequent rise to power of the conservative party headed by Margaret Thatcher consolidated the centralist tendencies in Britain. Scotland turned to culture and literature as a way of reaffirming their identity and to find their voice; the publication of *Lanark: A Life in Four Books* by Alasdair Gray in 1981 was crucial and "his work has been credited with spurring a renaissance in Scottish literature" (James Procter, 2008). In Slovenia, the beginning of the eighties was preceded by the deaths of two most influential figures in Yugoslavia at the time, Josip Broz-Tito and Edvard Kardelj. Similarly, the centralist tendencies arose as the socialist republic was trying to reassert itself. The literature and cultural circles in Slovenia actively started to get involved with the political situation in Slovenia. Through the inception of the *Nova revija* journal and the opposition voiced through the *Mladina* magazine, political elements and voices became predominant. These intellectual circles later gave rise to

---

[7]   In Vojnović's novel, the word 'čefur' denotes a specific minority within Slovenia, often hailing from the former states of Yugoslavia and the term frequently carries a derogatory meaning; 'čefurji' is the plural version. A possible translation, since an official translation of the title is not yet available, could be *Čefurji get out!*.

many people who helped develop national programmes and legislations. The result was the independent democratic Republic of Slovenia.

While Scotland has an abundance of critical literature that deals with devolution and the later post-devolution, in Slovenia there is a general lack of relevant literature for the period of the 1980s and onwards. According to Kramberger et al., some of this can be attributed to the general regard of Slovenia's process of achieving independence as a *success story*, especially when considering the other nations within Yugoslavia. Just as Scotland was a part of the British Empire so was Slovenia irrevocably a part of Yugoslavia. At the same time it played a key part in Yugoslavia's dissolution. It is something for the future writers to consider.

> Only recently have books dealing specifically with Slovenia's early phase of the exit from communism been appearing, yet they still remain scarce and – apart from a handful of articles in collective volumes – fail to provide a critical examination of ethno-nationalist conceptions of state and territory and their gradual rise throughout the late 1980s. Historians are particularly reluctant to treat these issues; if they do address them, they tend to avoid labelling various phenomena in Slovenia as nationalist, stressing that they were simply reactions to Serbian hegemony. (Kramberger et al. 2008, 7)

Bearing in mind the new developments also in the minority literature, be it from ex-Yugoslav immigrants, LGBTIQ elements, dialectal-provincial, minorities within or just beyond our borders or any other voice that functions, lives and operates in Slovenia and can thus be heard, Slovenia should continue to expand its literary horizon, while also bearing in mind its history and heritage, for better or worse. There is always the danger of writers becoming complacent, not exploring new possibilities, themes and especially there is the fear of avoiding certain subjects and self-censorship. There is subject matter, such as the entire process and the circumstances of Slovenia's independence that has so far received far too little attention from authors and is quite crucial to understanding our own history as well as an important pillar for future writers to build upon. It needs to be approached from a neutral viewpoint to ensure a bias-free retrospective on that period of time.

Scotland is already looking beyond the literary confines of devolution. "It is imperative that post-devolution Scotland cease once and for all to identify itself in opposition to all things English; not only were the histories of the nations intimately entwined for almost 300 years, they continue to be so" (Scheone 2007, 2). There are certainly many familiar aspects in development of literature and identity in the two nations and the way the 1980s moved on to the new millennia and beyond. With the knowledge of what lies behind and the possibilities of the future, both Scotland and Slovenia have the potential and the means to continue developing their cultures and literature.

The Canongate Wall, positioned under the Canongate building in the Scottish parliamentary complex, has quotations inscribed onto pieces of rock imbedded into the wall. One of the quotes, belonging to the famous Scottish writer Alasdair Gray, has this to say: "Work as if you live in the early days of a better nation." It is a statement that should be heeded; both Slovenia and Scotland need to continue to try and better themselves also through culture and literature and not rest on the laurels of complacency.

Bibliography

Balantič, P. 2007. *Zakaj sploh 57. številka Nove revije?* [On-line]. Available: http://www.rtvslo.si/kultura/drugo/zakaj-sploh-57-stevilka-nove-revije/151279 (16 September 2010)

Brown, I. ed. 2007. *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume Three: Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918).* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Crawford, R. 2001. *Devolving English Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dunn, D. ed. 2001. *The Oxford Book of Scottish Short Stories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gifford, D., S. Dunnigan, and A. MacGillivray, eds. 2002. *Scottish Literature In English and Scots.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Harvie, C. 2002. *Scotland: A Short History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Juvan, M. 1995. Slovenska literatura, postmodernizem, postkomunizem in nacionalna država: iz 80. v 90. leta. In *XXXI. seminar slovenskega jezika, literature in kulture,* ed. M. Orožen, 123–39*.* Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti.

Klemenčič, I. 2003. Več kot le revija. *Mladina*, 4, 52–3.

Kramberger, T., S. Mihelj, and B.D. Rotar. 2008. *Representation of the Nation and of the Other in the Slovenian Periodical Press Before and After 1991: Engagements and Implications*. [On-line] Available:http://www.theslovenian.com/articles/2008/kramberger.pdf (18 September 2010)

Kravitz, L. ed. 1997. Galloway Archive: Guest Essays. *As It Never Was* [On-line]. Available: http://www.galloway.1to1.org/Kravitz.html (19 July 2008)

Lambert, M. ed. 2008. *Discovering Scottish Literature: A Contemporary Overview*. Edinburgh: Scottish Book Trust.

Morton, G. 1999. *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland*, 1830-60. Tuckwell Press.

Thomson, A. 2007. International Journal of Scottish Literature. *'You can't get there from here': Devolution and Scottish Literary History* [On-line]. Available: http://www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk/issue3/thomson.htm (1 Aug. 2010)

Procter, J. 2008. Contemporary Writers. *Alasdair Gray* [On-line]. Available : http://www.contemporarywriters.com/authors/?p=auth43 (21 April 2011)

RoyChowdhury, S., and D. McLaughlin, eds. 2008. On Writers & Writing I Wouldn't Be Without. *SAMPARK Journal of Global Understanding SCOTLAND the edge is everywhere*, no. 10: 1–9.

Saadi, S. 2010.The Association for Scottish Literary Studies. *Infinite Diversity in New Scottish Writing* [On-line]. Available: http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scotlit/asls/SSaadi.html (16 September 2010)

Schoene, B., ed. 2007. *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

Nina Bostič Bishop
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Slovenia

Model Essay as a Feedback Tool in Task 2 of the IELTS Writing Exam Instruction for Slovene Students

Summary

The paper discusses using a model essay as a feedback tool when teaching EFL writing to Slovene EFL students in the context of Task 2 of the IELTS Writing exam. In the present study, four IELTS students of two different levels were asked to write a response to a Task 2 IELTS Writing Exam question and compare it to a native speaker or a native speaker-like model essay by means of note-taking. The notes were then analyzed, and the findings offer an insight into what aspects of the English language Slovene students noticed and how frequently they noticed individual language items. An analysis of the differences and similarities in the quality and quantity of noticing depending on the students' level is also provided. A comparison with a Japanese study made by Abe in 2008 has been done. Finally, recommendations for future research are made.

Key words: model essay, IELTS Writing Task 2, noticing, feedback

Esejski primer kot sredstvo za podajanje povratne informacije pri poučevanju naloge Task 2 pisnega dela IELTS izpita slovenskih kandidatov

Povzetek

Članek obravnava vlogo, ki jo ima primer eseja kot sredstvo za podajanje povratnih informacij pri poučevanju angleščine kot tujega jezika Slovencev v kontekstu naloge Task 2 pisnega dela IELTS izpita. V raziskavi so štirje učenci, ki so se pripravljali na IELTS izpit, napisali odgovor na vprašanje iz Task 2 IELTS Writing Test in ga primerjali z esejem na ravni maternega ali kot-maternega govorca in svoja opažanja zapisali. Njihovi zapiski so bili analizirani. Rezultati kažejo, katere prvine jezika učenci opazijo in kako pogosto opazijo posamezne jezikovne vsebine. Narejena je analiza razlik in podobnosti v kvaliteti in kvantiteti opažanja glede na učenčevo stopnjo znanja. Dana je primerjava z japonsko raziskavo, ki jo je naredil Abe leta 2008. Nazadnje so podana priporočila za nadaljnje raziskave.

Ključne besede: esej kot vzorec, IELTS Pisni izpit 2, opazovanje, podajanje povratne informacije

Model Essay as a Feedback Tool in Task 2 of the IELTS Writing Exam Instruction for Slovene Students

1. Introduction

Since Slovenia became a member of the European Union, more Slovenes than ever before have the opportunity to study abroad because it has become more accessible. In order to enter a foreign university, applicants are often required to achieve a certain Band Score on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) Test, which is widely recognized as a language requirement for entering universities worldwide and is administered at over 6,000 institutions across 120 countries around the world.

In Slovenia most students who look for help with their preparation for the IELTS exam do so after they have already taken the exam at least once, but failed to achieve the required Band Score. This author's experience shows that the majority of Slovene IELTS students need help with academic essay-writing (students requesting this author's help with IELTS preparation have mostly requested help with writing skills), which is one of the four macro skills tested by IELTS.[1] It is, therefore, imperative to look into methods that would help students improve their writing skills in the context of Writing Task 2 IELTS Academic Module, as it is this task that brings the highest number points but causes the most difficulties.

Due to the many difficulties in learning how to write well in a foreign language, there has been a vigorous debate on what the most efficient and effective teaching methods of academic writing would be. According to several researchers, feedback plays an important role in foreign language instruction (Ferris and Hedgcock 1998; Hedgcock and Lefkowitz 1994; Hyland 2003). Feedback on a written task can be given by means of correction, where the teacher corrects the writing, by reformulation, where the teacher rewrites students' writing by means of leaving the content as it is and only changing the misused grammatical structures and vocabulary in order to bring it to native speaker or native speaker-like level, or by peer feedback, where students correct each other's writing. Finally, feedback may also be given in the form of a model essay written by a native or a native-like teacher of English, where the students compare their own piece of writing with the model one.

This study attempts to investigate the role of a model essay as a feedback tool for foreign language writing instruction and, more specifically, it intends to show how four Slovene students of English, two at a higher and two at a lower level, notice their mistakes and gaps in knowledge when comparing their own writing of IELTS Task 2 with a model native or native speaker-like essay written on the same topic. The case study is partially based on the study conducted by Makoto Abe from the University of Queensland as part of his master's thesis. Abe attempted to find out how Japanese students notice their mistakes when comparing their writing with a model native or native speaker-like piece of writing. His study was to an extent a replication of Qi and Lapkin's study on the reformulation method (2001), where by means of a think-aloud method

---

[1]   Author's personal experience.

the researchers asked the participants to verbally comment on the differences between their own writing and the reformulated writing. In this way, the tendency of students' noticing was discovered. However, they investigated whether or not the participants improved their writing skills by using model essays, while this study looks at what aspects of language Slovene EFL students notice by comparing their own essays with model essays. Methodologies used in this case study were partly based on Hanaoka's study (2007), who measured noticing by means of note-taking. In addition, the research questions posed in this study to an extent followed those investigated by Abe, in order to enable a comparison between the quality of noticing of Japanese and Slovene students:

1. What aspects of language do Slovene EFL students notice by comparing their own writing with model essays?

2. Is there a difference in noticing between lower and higher level Slovene EFL students?

3. Is there a difference in noticing between Japanese and Slovene EFL students?

2. IELTS

IELTS is a test of English for academic and vocational purposes managed by three partners: the British Council, the University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations and IDP IELTS Australia. The test measures the language ability of candidates who need to study or work where communication is done in English. Test scores are reported for overall performance and for individual sections in the form of bands at nine different levels from Non User to Expert User.

IELTS consists of two modules, General and Academic, and candidates choose one of them according to their reasons for taking the test. If a candidate intends to enter an undergraduate or postgraduate course, they are advised to take the Academic Module. If a candidate intends to continue their secondary education in English, to work or undertake training or to emigrate, they often need to take the General Training Module.

The test is divided into four sections: Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing. Speaking and Listening tests are the same for both, the Academic and General Module, but Reading and Writing tests differ. The writing section consists of descriptive (Task 1) and argumentative (Task 2) essay-writing tasks. In Task 2 of the Academic Module, candidates are asked to write an argumentative essay in response to a problem, opinion or controversial proposition. They need to show that they can express and support an opinion by means of drawing on their experience and weighing their opinion against opposing views. The minimum length is 250 words.

Writing tests are assessed by Cambridge trained and certified examiners. Tasks 1 and 2 are marked individually and the total score is reported on a scale of 1 to 9 at intervals of 0.5. The total score is calculated from both tasks combined, but the weight of Task 2 is more than that of Task 1 as it is also longer. Below are the official IELTS assessment criteria for Writing Task 2 (UCLES 2007):

1. Task Response is the criteria on whether and/or to what extent the candidate's answer addresses individual parts of the task, if and/or to what extent it presents a relevant position in regards to the question and if and how well the ideas are supported.

2. Coherence and Cohesion criterion relate to overall clarity and the flow of ideas. In this respect, the quality of sequencing information and paragraphing are assessed. Coherence refers to the linking of ideas through logical sequencing whereas cohesion refers to the varied and proper use of cohesive devices.

3. Lexical Resource criterion is concerned with the range and accuracy of the vocabulary used to express nuances in meaning.

4. Grammatical Range and Accuracy criterion relates to the range and accuracy of the grammatical structures used.

3. Noticing and Feedback in L2 writing

Research on noticing has to a great extent focused primarily on the acquisition of spoken, language; however, the basic principles outlined below can also refer to written language acquisition. Schmidt's own experience of learning Portuguese suggested, for example, that implicit correction techniques such as clarification requests made no impression, while hearing the correct version immediately after making an error allowed him to match his present level with the target (Schmidt and Frota 1986). Drawing on work from Schmidt (Schmidt 1990; Schmidt and Frota 1986), who claims that learners need to notice a form before they can acquire it and that L2 learners must become 'aware' of certain aspects of language, mainly the meaning, Swain (1995) outlines three major functions of output: noticing, hypothesis testing and metalinguistic awareness. The noticing or triggering function means that L2 learners become aware of what they cannot say in the target language: "In producing the target language (TL), learners may encounter a linguistic problem leading them to notice what they do not know, or know only partially" (Swain 1995, 129). In other words, learners notice the gaps between what they want to say and what they can actually say by making comparisons between the current state of their developing linguistic system as realized in their output and the target language system available as input.

In the research on noticing, focus on form and lexis has been looked into. In some studies, focus on form is planned in advance and learners are prompted, through task design and input enhancement, to notice certain features of the input. However, it has been pointed out that planned focus on form does not always match the actual attention focus of the students (Izumi et al. 1999; Kowal and Swain 1994; Long and Robinson 1998). Williams (2001) questions the effectiveness of planned focus on form (FonF) and argues that "[I]f the effectiveness of FonF is ultimately determined by learner's need, then it is essential to examine the episodes in which learners themselves choose to focus on formal aspects of language" (quoted in Hanaoka 2007). Ellis (1995) also points out that it is important to be aware of the learner's internal syllabus or what they feel they need to learn. In his analysis Ellis found that the students were more likely to incorporate a form into an utterance of their own if the noticing was self initiated (ibid.). In this respect, model essays seem an ideal tool for

studying noticing in SLA and especially in teaching one-on-one IELTS preparation where it is of the utmost importance to follow what individual students need to learn. This type of analysis also allows for designing a course that exactly suits the needs of the student.

Several studies acknowledge the role of noticing in SLA theory. Qi and Lapkin's study (2001) conducted on two Chinese ESL students of different levels found that the reformulation technique, where the teacher reformulates the text so that it is as close as possible to a putative target language model, allowed learners to notice the gaps between their output and the target language in the input. Furthermore, the findings also suggested that the more proficient student noticed differences with a higher level of awareness than the lower-level student.

Hanaoka (2007), who based his study on Qi and Lapkin, found that the participants noticed the gaps in their knowledge and found solutions for their linguistic problems in the model text. He also found that the participants noticed more lexical aspects than other categories and that more proficient learners noticed differences more frequently.

Abe's study conducted on 14 Japanese EFL learners investigated the role of noticing in comparing students' own text with model essays. He found that students noticed various aspects of language from model essays and that the quality and quantity of noticing depended on the level of the students. His study also proved that model essays have many advantages as a feedback tool (Abe 2008) and is therefore in accord with Johnson, who states that "the most useful feedback comes from those areas of mismatch which students are themselves able to identify, because those areas will accord with the stage of their skill (or interlanguage) development" (Johnson 1988, 93).

In empirical literature, many methods which are considered standard, such as peer review, teacher written corrections and teacher-learner oral writing conferences of providing feedback, have been questioned, which is relevant to this study in the sense that some traditional feedback proved to be discouraging for L2 learners (Hyland 1998) and that it can be confusing for L2 learners as they have difficulties in understanding what in their writing is non-target like from teacher's comments alone (Hedgecock and Lefkowitz 1994). Furthermore, learners may receive corrections passively (ibid.), possibly also because they tend to concentrate on the negative sides of their writing.

However, in using model essays as a feedback tool, errors are not pointed out and it is up to the learner to identify them. This makes students active rather than passive participants in learning, which encourages noticing (Adams 2003) that is a prerequisite for learning (Hanaoka 2007). Qi and Lapkin also found that positive modelling of native-like writing is more helpful to the learner than error correction (2001, 286)

4. The Study

For the present study, the participants were given a Task 2 IELTS writing exercise. The opportunity to notice linguistic problems in the context of IELTS assessment and gaps in knowledge was provided by asking the participants to compare their original draft with a native speaker-like model. After the students had written down what they had noticed, the data was collected,

statistically processed, analysed and interpreted. The results were compared to those found by Abe (2008). Although to allow comparison the study is to an extent based on Abe's, there are two significant differences. First, noticing in this study was measured by means of note-taking, while Abe used think-aloud protocols. Secondly, Abe studied noticing by giving the participants two tasks, IELTS Writing Task 1 and 2, whereas in the present study only Task 2 was used, as experience shows that this is the task that causes Slovene IELTS students most difficulties.

4.1 The Participants

The participants were 4 Slovene one-on-one students; two females and two males. Due to a low number of respondents, a similar study where a larger number of students would participate should be conducted in the future in order to confirm or refute the present results.

Two of the students participating in this study had to take the IELTS exam for the purposes of migration to Australia and were aiming at getting a Band Score 7 in the IELTS Academic Module, while the other two wished to continue their studies abroad, one in the UK and the other in Australia, and also required a Band Score 7. Two students (one of them planning to immigrate and the other to study in Australia, Student 1 and Student 2), who were more advanced than the other two had completed a university undergraduate course and had both studied English for ten years on and off. Of the other students (one of them wishing to immigrate and the other to study in the UK), one was in his fourth year of grammar school (Student 3) and had, therefore, studied English for eight years, while the other (Student 4) never completed her university studies and had studied English for eight years, ten years ago. At the time of the study they had all been attending one-on-one IELTS preparation courses for two months once a week for two 45-minute lessons at a time. As it was the author who had been teaching these students prior to the present study there was no need to assess the essays in terms of their proficiency because as their tutor the author was well aware of their levels, which were established by a placement test written before the start of the first lesson.

4.2 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection methods were partly replicated from Hanaoka's study (2007), where, after they had completed writing, the students were provided with a text and took notes on whatever problems they noticed, and partly from Qi and Lapkin's study (2001), who studied language related episodes (LRE).

The data collection was conducted in a small and quiet study room. To avoid any misunderstanding, all the instructions were given in Slovene. The data collection procedure consisted of two stages.

Stage 1: Writing (in English for 40 minutes). The Type 2 Academic Writing Task was given and the students were asked to write an essay in approximately 40 minutes, which is the time recommended for finishing the IELTS Task 2 Writing Exam on time. The students were not allowed to use books, dictionaries or computers since one of the aims of the study was to investigate what the participants could notice just from their own texts and model essays, without any other help.

Stage 2: Taking notes (in Slovene; 15 minutes). In this stage, which immediately followed the Stage 1 task, the students received sheets with a model answer to Type 2 IELTS writing task question and each participant was asked to write whatever they noticed as they compared their original text with the models. Each student received a paper with instructions in Slovene as follows: 'Compare your own writing with the model essay and write down whatever you notice.' The time given was 15 minutes, but since time management was of no importance for the study the students could take more time if they wished. When the students had all finished, their essays, model essays and their written observations were collected.

4.3 Instrument

The writing task was taken from a textbook for IELTS preparation edited by Scovell, Pastellas and Knobel (2004):

> *You should spend about 40 minutes on this task.*
>
> *Present a written argument to an educated reader with no specialist knowledge of the following topic:*
>
>> *Discuss when, if ever, capital punishment can be viewed as a valid punishment for crime.*
>
> *You should use your own ideas, knowledge and experience and support your arguments with examples and relevant evidence.*
>
> *You should write at least 250 words.*

The above Task 2, therefore, asks students to write an argumentative essay on the topic of capital punishment. The students were familiar with the topic as we had discussed it and they had to do a 'crime and punishment' vocabulary exercise taken out of Cambridge Vocabulary for IELTS (2009) for homework. The students were also familiar with the structure of an essay as it had previously been covered in lessons; they had written essays before but not on this topic.

The model essay used in this study was taken from the same textbook as the task. The model was at native speaker level and substantially more advanced than the writing of any of the four students participating in the study.

4.4 Data Analysis

Since the students needed to write essays which satisfied the IELTS assessment criteria, the classification of linguistic items was based on the following IELTS Task 2 assessment categories: Task Response referring to the content (opinions, knowledge, experiences, evidence, counter-evidence and supporting sentences), Coherence and Cohesion (logical sequencing, organisation

of paragraphs and cohesive devices), Lexical Resource (selecting words, phrases and expressions) and Grammatical Range and Accuracy (articles, plural, sentence structure, verb form, tense, prepositions, comparison of adjectives and adverbs, punctuation and spelling). Examples below show how the items were categorized.

Task Response

"I wrote about advantages and disadvantages, but here only support of the writer's opinion is expressed." (Student 1)

Here the student noticed that the essay's structure could be descriptive and not only argumentative, which is the type of essay he used.

Coherence and Cohesion

"In cases where is a good connection. I should've used it." (Student 1)

Here the student noticed that the phrase 'in cases where' is a good way to introduce an idea and make the text more cohesive.

"I didn't give any examples but I should have." (Student 4)

On the basis of the model essay which gives a specific example, the student noticed that he should have given an example as this contributes to the flow of the essay.

Lexical Resource

"Abhorrent is a word that would bring a higher band." (Student 3)

Student 3 noticed that "abhorrent" is a more sophisticated word and that it contributes to lexical range.

Grammatical Range and Accuracy

"An If sentence would be good to use." (Student 1)

Here the student noticed an if-sentence and noticed that he did not use it in his essay.

After all the data were put into different categories, descriptive statistics for each of the four categories were first calculated in order to answer the question of what aspects of language Slovene EFL students notice by comparing their own writing with model essays. Secondly, descriptive statistics were calculated to find out whether there is a difference in noticing between lower and higher level Slovene EFL students. Finally, the data collected in this and Abe's research were compared in order to answer the third research question.

4.5 Results

1. What aspects of language do Slovene EFL students notice by comparing their own writing with model essays?

The first research question aimed at answering the question of which language items were noticed most frequently by the participants. The noticed items that the students wrote down in their notes were categorized into four categories in line with the IELTS assessment criteria. The frequency, proportion, mean and standard deviation are shown in Table 1.

All participants (N = 4)

	n	*%*	*MD*	*SD*
Task Response	21	21.87	5.25	0.58
Coherence and Cohesion	20	20.83	5.0	2.55
Lexical Resource	29	30.21	5.80	1.07
Grammatical Range and Accuracy	23	23.95	5.75	0.88
Other	3	3.12	0.75	1
Total	96	100	24.0	6.08

Table 1. Frequency, proportion, mean and standard deviation of the lexical items.

Table 1 shows that, altogether, the participants wrote down 96 language items that they noticed by comparing their own writing with the native-speaker like model and 24.0 on average. The largest proportion of the noticed items was lexical (28.12%, MD = 5.8), followed by grammatical (23.95%, MD = 5.75), Task Response (21.87%, MD = 5.25), followed by Coherence and Cohesion (20.83%, MD = 5.0), and finally, other (3.12%, MD = 0.75).

Lexical Resource

The largest percentage of all the language items noticed by participants was lexical at 30.21%, MD = 5.80%. The students wrote down observations such as "I used a more general word for criminal and the model essay uses a word like *perpetrator*." (Student 3) or "The word *abhorrent* is good." (Student 4), or "I like the word *valid*." (Student 3). Student 2 wrote: "Capital punishment is called *death penalty* – synonym is used – I only used capital punishment". "*A valid means of punishment* is a good phrase." (Student 3) Two students mentioned the item '*for example*', but this language item was put under the category Task Response. Similarly, '*however*', was classified as Coherence and Cohesion.

Grammatical Range and Accuracy

The second most often noticed IELTS assessment category was Grammatical Range and Accuracy with 23.95%, MD = 5.75. Here students mainly noticed forms that they did not use. For example, they wrote "An *If sentence* would be good to use" (Student 4), "*must* is used a lot – I didn't use enough *modal verbs*" (Student 2), "The rules of society are made and enforced…- *Passive Voice* is used – I also used it" (Student 1), or "There have been a number of examples of *Present Perfect*" (Student 3), or "I didn't spell *reasonable doubt* correctly" (Student 3).

Task Response

This category referred to opinions, knowledge, experiences, evidence, counter-evidence and supporting sentences and accounted for 21.87% of all noticed language items. In this way the students wrote down, "For example – I didn't give an example but I should have" (Student 4), "In the 3rd paragraph there is the same example I have" (Student 2), and "Opinion is expressed only in the conclusion" (Student 2). Student 1 noted: "The structure of the model essay is different, I wrote about advantages and disadvantages, but here only support of opinion is expressed in the introduction" (Student 2).

Coherence and Cohesion

This category included noticing of logical sequencing, organisation of paragraphs and cohesive devices and accounted for 20.83% of all noticed linguistic items. Notes included "*However* – I also used it" (Student 3), "*In this essay I intend to* – good phrase for introduction" (Student 2), "I forgot to write a conclusion" (Student 3) or "The model essay has 3 body paragraphs, but I only have 2" (Student 1) "There are no linking words used at the beginning of paragraphs, but the text is still coherent. I should've used the same technique." (Student 1).

Other

There were only 3 items which could not be categorized. These were: "I left an empty line between paragraphs" (Student 4), "Paragraph 3 only has 2 sentences" (Student 3) and "I wrote fewer words" (Student 4).

2. Is there a difference in noticing between lower and higher level Slovene EFL students?

Two of the participants were of a more advanced level (Student 1 and Student 2) and the other two were of a lower level (Student 3 and Student 4). The purpose of this research question was to find out whether the quality of students' noticing in any way depends on their level of English. A quantitative analysis was made and the results are presented in Table 2.

	Higher level (N = 2)				Lower level (N = 2)			
	n	%	MD	SD	n	%	MD	SD
Task Response	13	23.21	6.50	0.5	8	20.0	4.00	1
Coherence and Cohesion	15	26.78	7.50	0.5	5	12.50	2.50	0.5
Lexical Resource	18	32.14	9.00	1	11	27.50	5.50	0.5
Grammatical Range and Accuracy	10	17.86	5.00	0	13	32.50	6.50	0.5
Other	0	0	0	0	3	7.50	1.50	1
Total	**56**	**100.0**	**28.00**	**2**	**40**	**100.0**	**20.00**	**3.5**

Table 2. Descriptive statistics language items noticed by higher and lower level students.

In comparison with the higher level, it can be seen that the lower level students noticed far more grammatical items (32.50% vs. 17.86%) and less of all other items. A distinct difference

Nina Bostič Bishop *Model Essay as a Feedback Tool in Task 2 of the IELTS Writing Exam Instruction for Slovene Students*

is Coherence and Cohesion, where the higher level students noticed 26.78%, MD = 7.50 of all items, while the lower level students noticed only 12.50%, MD = 2.50 of all language items. From these results it can be concluded that there is a difference in noticing between students of different levels. The research shows that higher level students noticed more language items overall (56 of 94). They noticed more items characterized as Lexical Resource and fewer items characterized as Grammatical Range and Accuracy than lower level students.

3. Is there a difference in noticing between Japanese and Slovene EFL students?

The names of categories in Abe's and the present research differ to some extent:

Task Response = Content
Coherence and Cohesion = Discourse
Lexical Resource = Lexical
Grammatical Range and Accuracy = Form

Below, the author's terminology in the context of IELTS is used.

	Slovene students (N = 4)				Japanese students (N = 14)			
	n	%	MD	SD	n	%	MD	SD
Task Response	21	21.87	5.25	0.59	107	26.80	7.64	2.92
Coherence and Cohesion	20	20.83	5.0	2.55	44	11.0	3.14	1.92
Lexical Resource	29	30.21	5.8	1.07	133	33.30	9.50	4.15
Grammatical Range and Accuracy	23	23. 95	5.75	0.88	79	19.80	5.64	3.50
Other	3	3.12	0.75	1	36	9.0	2.57	1.34
Total	**96**	**100**	**24.00**	**6.08**	**399**	**100.0**	**28.50**	**5.73**

Table 3.   Comparison of frequency, proportion, mean and standard deviation of the lexical items between Slovene and Japanese students (Abe, 2008).

In comparing the quality of noticing between Slovene and Japanese students it can be seen from Table 3 that on average the Japanese participants noticed 28.50 LREs (language-related episodes), while Slovene students noticed 24.00 language items. Furthermore, Japanese students noticed more items classified as Task Response in this research and Content in Abe's research than Slovene (26.8%, MD=7.64 vs. 21.87%, MD=5.25). As far as Coherence and Cohesion (or Discourse in Abe's research) is concerned, Slovene students noticed far more items (20.83%, MD=5.0 vs. 11.0%, MD=3.14). Moreover, in the Japanese study 33.3%, MD=9.50 of all noticed items were lexical, while in Slovene 30.21%, MD=5.8 items were lexical. Therefore, the category of Lexical Resource is the most noticed category in both studies. 23.95%, MD=5.75 items were classified as Grammatical Range and Accuracy in the Slovene study and 19.80%, MD=5.64 in the Japanese study. In terms of frequency in the Slovene study, the categories follow each other in the following order; Lexical Resource, Grammatical Range and Accuracy, Task Response, Coherence and Cohesion, and other, while in the Japanese study, the students noticed items

in the following order; Lexical Resource, Task Response, Grammatical Range and Accuracy, Coherence and Cohesion and Other.

	Advanced (N = 5)				Intermediate (N = 5)			
	N	%	MD	SD	n	%	MD	SD
Lexical	61	39.4	12.20	3.49	31	24.8	6.20	3.11
Form	25	16.1	5.00	3.32	36	28.8	7.20	4.32
Discourse	22	14.2	4.40	0.89	5	4.0	1.00	1.22
Content	33	21.3	6.60	2.07	41	32.8	8.20	3.96
Other	14	9.0	2.80	1.92	12	9.6	2.40	0.89
Total	**155**	**100.0**	**31.00**	**6.96**	**125**	**100.0**	**25.00**	**1.41**

Table 4. Frequency, proportion, mean and standard deviation of LREs in Japanese students (Abe 2008).

Like Slovene students, Japanese higher level students also noticed more items in general; 155 in comparison to lower level students, who noticed 125 items. Slovene higher level students noticed 56 items in comparison to lower level students, who only noticed 40. Furthermore, as Slovene lower level students, Japanese lower level students also noticed far more grammatical items than more advanced students (28.8%, MD = 7.20 vs. 16.1, MD = 5.00). Moreover, Slovene higher level students at 26.78%, MD = 7.50 and Japanese higher level students at 14.2%, MD = 4.40 noticed more language items categorized as Coherence and Cohesion or Discourse, respectively. Therefore, in both pieces of research higher level students noticed more language items overall, more items characterized as Lexical Resource, Coherence and Cohesion and fewer items characterized as Grammatical Range and Accuracy than lower level students did. However, Japanese lower level students noticed more items characterized as Content or Task Response (32.8%, MD = 8.20 vs. 21.3%, MD = 6.60), while Slovene lower levels students noticed fewer items characterized as Task Response than higher level students (20.0%, MD = 4.00 vs. 23.21%, MD = 6.50).

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The present study aimed at examining the role of a model essay in teaching Task 2 of the IELTS writing exam. The study has found that noticing plays a vital role as students generally noticed a significant number of language items. In addition, the results also revealed that there is a difference in the quality and quantity of noticing between higher and lower level EFL students. A comparison between the quality and quality of noticing of Japanese and Slovene students showed more similarities than differences.

Furthermore, the results showed that model essays encourage students to find their own gaps in knowledge and may therefore contribute to taking responsibility for their learning. They might also function as a suitable tool for one-on-one instruction as such exercises focus on students'

needs by allowing students to realize what they already know and what they still need to learn. Alternatively, model essays could also be used to introduce students to samples of poor writing.

Data analysis of the first research question revealed general tendencies in noticing gaps between students' own writing and a native speaker or a native speaker-like model among four Slovene students of English. Considering that the students noticed 24.0 (MD = 24.0) items on average, it can be presumed that a comparison of students' own writing with a model could serve as a successful tool in EFL, especially if we consider Schmidt's observations that learners need to notice a form before they can acquire it (Schmidt 1990).

In general, the largest proportion of the noticed items was lexical (30.21%, MD = 5.8), which is consistent with some of the previous research works which tested noticing by asking participants to compare students' original writing with a model text (Abe 2008; Hanaoka 2007).

In the present study grammatical items were the second most frequently noticed items (23.95%, MD = 5.75), which could be attributed to the fact that the four participants had spent a significant proportion of their studying English, learning grammar as part of their compulsory formal education and private IELTS lessons where a lot of their homework consisted of grammar exercises in the IELTS context.

The second research question attempted to provide an answer to whether there is a difference in noticing between higher and lower level Slovene students of EFL. Consistent with previous studies, which showed that higher level students generally notice more frequently (Abe 2008; Hanaoka 2007), the present study also showed that higher level students noticed more language items (MD = 28.0) than lower level students did (MD = 20.0). Higher level students also noticed more lexical items than lower level students: MD = 31.14 vs. MD = 27.50, which is consistent with Abe's results as well as Qi and Lapkin's study from 2001 and Hanaoka's study from 2007. On the other hand, lower level students paid more attention to noticing grammatical items with MD = 32.50 in lower level students and MD = 17.84 with higher level students. In addition, lower level students paid very little attention to coherence and cohesion with the difference between higher level and lower level students being nearly 10 items on average. This is also consistent with previous research (Abe 2008; Qi and Lapkin 2001) and might suggest that lower level students focus on form more than on any other aspect of language and that they might find it difficult to notice logical sequencing in paragraphs and linking.

The third research question aimed at looking at the quality and quantity of noticing in comparing students' original writing with a native speaker or native speaker-like model between Slovene and Japanese EFL students. It has been found that on average Japanese participants noticed more language items than Slovene ones did: 28.50 in comparison to 24.0 language items noticed by Slovene students. Furthermore, Japanese students noticed far more items classified as Task Response in this research and Content in Abe's research than Slovene students did (26.8%, MD=7.64 vs. 21.87%, MD=5.25). As regards Coherence and Cohesion, Slovene students noticed far more items (20.83%, MD=5.0 vs. 11.0%, MD=3.14). Moreover, in the Japanese study 33.3%, MD=9.50 of all noticed items were lexical, while in Slovene 30.21%, MD=5.8 items were lexical. Therefore, both, Slovene and Japanese students noticed lexical items most

frequently, which makes model essays a suitable tool for teaching lexical resource in the IELTS Task 2 instruction.

Both Slovene and Japanese higher level students noticed more items in general. Furthermore, similarly to Slovene lower level students, Japanese lower level students also noticed far more grammatical items than advanced students did (28.8%, MD = 7.20 vs. 16.1, MD = 5.00). Moreover, Slovene higher level students at 26.78%, MD = 7.50 and Japanese higher level students at 14.2%, MD = 4.40 noticed more language items categorized as Coherence and Cohesion or Discourse, respectively. However, Japanese lower level students noticed more items characterized as Content or Task Response (32.8%, MD = 8.20 vs. 21.3%, MD = 6.60), while Slovene lower levels students noticed fewer items characterized as Task Response than higher level students did (20.0%, MD = 4.00 vs. 23.21%, MD = 6.50).

The similarities in the results show that stimulating noticing by comparing students' original writing with a model essay may be a successful feedback tool, especially in building students' vocabulary and improving grammar. On the other hand, the differences might be the result of different instruction style, which pays attention to different aspects of the language.

As the present study was conducted on four Slovene IELTS students only and with one essay task, further research should be based on a larger sample with a variety of model essays in order to confirm the results. Attention should also be paid to both the efficiency of note taking and vocalizing as data collection techniques, as well as the students' response to the model essay by means of a questionnaire in order to find out to what extent, if at all, the students find it useful. Finally, research into the effectiveness of noticing would be supported by asking participants to write another essay after they have taken notes in the noticing stage of the research in order to see if and how their writing has improved and to what extent they have simulated the model essay.

Bibliography

Abe, M. 2008. Exploring the Role of Model Essays in the IELTS Writing Test: A Feedback Tool. MA diss., Queensland: The University of Queensland.

Adams, R. 2003. L2 Output, Reformulation and Noticing: Implications for IL Development. *Language Teaching Research* 2003, no. 7: 347. *http://ltr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/7/3/347 (accessed 9 November 2009)*

Ellis, R. 1995. Interpretation Tasks for Grammar Teaching. *TESOL Quaterly* 29: 87–105.

Ferris, D., and J.S. Hedgcock. 1998. *Teaching ESL Composition: Purpose, Process and Practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hanaoka, 2006. Exploring the Role of Models in Promoting Noticing in L2 Writing. *JACET Bulletin* 42: 1–13.

---. 2007. Output, Noticing and Learning: An Investigation into the role of Spontaneous Attention to Form in a Four-stage Writing Task. *Language Teaching Research* 2007, no. 11: 459. *https://ltr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/11/4/459* (accessed 3 November 2010)

Hedgcock, J., and N. Lefkowitz. 1994. Feedback on Feedback: Assessing Learner Receptivity to Teacher Response in L2 Composing. *Journal of Second Language Writing* no. 3: 141–63.

Hyland, F. 1998. The Impact of Teacher Written Feedback on Individual Writers. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 7: 255–88.

Hyland, K. 2003. *Second Language Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Izumi, S., M. Bigelow, M. Fujiwara, and S. Fearnow. 1999. Testing the Output Hypothesis: Effects of Output on Noticing and Second Language Acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 21: 421–52.

Johnson, H. 1988. Mistake Correction. *ELT Journal* 42: 89–96.

Kowal, M., and M. Swain. 1994. Using Collaborative Language Production Tasks to Promote Students' Language Awareness. *Language Awareness* 3: 73–93.

Lapkin, S. and M. Swain. 2001. Focus on Form Through Collaborative Dialogue: Exploring Task Effects. In *Researching Pedagogic Tasks: Second Language Learning, Teaching and Testing*, ed. M. Bygate, P. Skehan, and M. Swain, 99–118. London: Longman.

Long, M., and P. Robinson. 1998. Focus on Form: Theory, Research and Practice. In *Focus on form in classroom second language acquisition*, ed. C. Doughty and J. Williams, 15–41. Cambridge University Press.

Qi, D.S., and S. Lapkin. 2001. Exploring the Role of Noticing in a Three-Stage Second Language Writing Task. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 10: 277–303.

Robinson, P. 1995. Review Article: Attention, Memory, and the "Noticing" Hypothesis. *Language Learning* 45: 283–331.

Schmidt, R. 1990a. Consciousness and Foreign Language Learning: A Tutorial on the Role of Attention and Awareness in Learning. In *Attention and Awareness in Foreign Language Learning* (Technical Report no. 9), ed. R. Schmidt, 1–63. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

–––. 1990b. The Role of Consciousness in Second Language Learning. *Applied Linguistics* 11: 129–58.

–––. 2001. Attention. In *Cognition and Second Language Instruction*, ed. P. Robinson, 3–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt, R., and S.N. Frota. 1986. Developing Basic Conversational Ability in a Second Language: A Case Study of an Adult Learner of Portuguese. In *Talking to Learn: Conversation in SLA*, ed. R. Day, 237-326. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Scovell, D., V. Pastellas, and M. Knobel. 2004. *404 Essential Tests for IELTS: Practice Tests for IELTS: Academic modula book*. Sydney: Adams and Austen Press.

Swain, M. 1985. Communicative Competence: Some Roles of Comprehensible Input and Comprehensible Output in Its Development. In *Input in Second Language Acquisition*, ed. S. Gass and C. Madden, 235–53. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

–––. 1995. Three Functions of Output in Second language Learning. In *Principles and practise in applied linguistics,* ed. G. Cook and B. Seidlhofer, 125–44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

–––. 2005. The Output Hypotheses: Theory and Research. In *The Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*, ed. E. Hinkel, 471–83. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Swain, M., and S. Lapkin. 1995. Problems in Output and the Cognitive Processes They Generate: A Step towards Second Language Learning. *Applied Linguistics* 16: 371–91.

Thornbury, S. 1997. Reformulation and Reconstruction: Tasks That Promote 'Noticing'. *ELT Journal* Volume 51/4 October 1997. *http://eltj.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/51/4/326* (accessed 20 December 2009)

UCLES. 2007. *IELTS Handbook 2007*. *http://www.cambridgeesol.org/assets/pdf/resources/IELTS_Handbook.pdf* (accessed 15 December 2009)

Williams, J. 2001. Learner-Generated Attention to Form. In *Form-Focused Instruction and Second Language Learning*, ed. R. Ellis, 303-46. Molden, MA: Blackwell.

VI.

CONTRIBUTORS

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Biljana Čubrović
English Department, Faculty of Philology
Studentski trg br. 3, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
biljana.cubrovic@gmail.com

Dušan Gabrovšek
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts,
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
dgabrovsek@gmail.com

Nada Šabec
University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts
Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška 160, 2000 Maribor
nada.sabec@uni-mb.si or nada.sabec@guest.arnes.si

Alenka Vrbinc
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics
Kardeljeva ploščad 17, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
alenka.vrbinc@ef.uni-lj.si

Marjeta Vrbinc
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
marjeta.vrbinc@ff.uni-lj.si

Luka Ličar
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts,
Cesta OF 41, 5282 Cerkno, Slovenia
luka.licar@gmail.com

Nina Bostič Bishop
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering,
Aškerčeva 6, 1000 Ljubljana
nina.bishop@fs.uni-lj.si

ELOPE

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

General. ELOPE publishes original research articles, studies and essays which address issues of the English language, literature, teaching and translation. The language of contributions is English. Manuscripts are welcomed from all countries and should be sent to Gašper Ilc, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, gasper.ilc@ff.uni-lj.si.

Submission of manuscripts. Manuscripts should be submitted for review on three anonymous printed copies and a diskette or a CD in Word (.doc, .rtf) and PDF. A separate sheet with the title of the paper, the name of the author, affiliation and address should be attached. Only one contribution by the same author per volume will be considered. Each paper should be accompanied by abstracts in English and Slovene (maximum 150 words) and keywords. Abstracts by non-native speakers of Slovene will be translated into Slovene.

Suggested length of manuscripts is between 5,000 and 8,000 words.

Manuscript style. *Page one* should contain the following information:
- article title in the language of the article
- author(s) name(s)
- author(s) affiliation(s)
- correspondence address (full address, phone number, e-mail address)
    The manuscript starts on *page two*, in the following format:
- title in English
- abstracts in English and Slovene (between 150 and 180 words each)
- the paper should be divided into:
    - introduction
    - body of the paper (possibly subdivided)
    - conclusion

References. References should comply with *The Chicago Manual of Style* (15th edition, 2003).

English
Language
Overseas
Perspectives and
Enquiries